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## The Autodidactic Process of Hugo Wolf and the Fourfold Learning Equation

By Frank L. Strnad

## **Approval of the Dissertation Committee**

This dissertation has been duly read, reviewed, and critiqued by the Committee listed below, which hereby approves the manuscript of Frank L. Strnad as fulfilling the scope and quality requirements for meriting the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Musicology.

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#### **ABSTRACT**

The Autodidactic Process of Hugo Wolf and the Fourfold Learning Equation

By

Frank L. Strnad

Claremont Graduate University: 2022

This dissertation investigates and discusses the self-study process of the Austro-Slovene composer Hugo Wolf. A fourfold learning equation consisting of imitation+emulation+invention = results will be presented, discussed, and applied to the musical compositions of Hugo Wolf, who learned how to compose music mostly by self-study, and minimal formal conservatory level training. Standard methods of analysis of musical construct, harmony, and orchestration will be used to evaluate each musical work. The selected musical works and their musical qualities were chosen to illustrate the effectiveness of the use of the fourfold learning equation by Wolf, both with and/or without instructional resources. This dissertation examines and makes the conclusion that the fourfold learning equation is still the most relevant and reliable method for training musicians, and for educating humans as a species.

## Acknowledgements

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#### CHAPTER ONE

# THE ORIGINS OF COMPULSORY SCHOOLING IN NINETEENTH CENTURY AUSTRIA- HUNGARY

### Introduction

Hugo Wolf (1860-1903) was the beneficiary of being born in an Austro-Hungarian Empire which was emancipating its citizenry from many of the restrictions of absolute rule, and then providing, despite class restrictions and a rigid social order, a newly available plethora of major educational opportunities.

I have coined a fourfold learning equation consisting of imitation+Emulation+Invention=Results, to illustrate how Hugo Wolf was not only schooled in this manner, but how he applied this same equation on his lifelong path to mastery of musical composition.

The Origins of Compulsory Schooling and Pietist Pedagogy in Austria and Austria-Hungary

From the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the Austro-Hungarian Empire possessed an excellent system of schools and universities. <sup>1</sup>This system had its origins in the Generalschulordnung (Compulsory School Law), signed into effect by Empress Maria Theresa (r. 1740-1780) in December 1774. By the 1770s Catholic rulers and clergy had come to view the reform of education as an urgent necessity. There was a growing sense of suspicion among absolutist Catholic rulers, prelates, and scholars that the Catholic territories of the Empire were lagging behind their Protestant counterparts. The Catholic Habsburg losses to the Protestant

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is in reference to the school system that emerged in Austria-Hungary as a result of compulsory school reforms of Count Leo von Thun, implemented in 1850. William Johnston: *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History, 1848-1938.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 66.

Hohenzollerns<sup>2</sup> during the Silesian wars<sup>3</sup> stimulated a sense of political and strategic inadequacy among Catholic rulers. Furthermore, the best and most distinguished universities in the Empire— Göttingen and Halle, respectively, were Protestant institutions. 4 In addition, there was reason to believe that attendance in Catholic parish schools was declining, and that Catholic parents were complaining that in the Catholic parish schools their children were not being taught how to read and write; but merely how to memorize and recite the Catholic catechism. Consequently, these parents would send their children to Lutheran parish schools, where their children would learn to read and write, and be educated in the Lutheran catechism, which the Catholic church and its Catholic monarchs considered to be heresy. The alarming conclusion to Austrian empress Maria Theresa and her Catholic clergy was that the Empire no longer had effective (institutionally based) instruments of exerting socio-religious control: i.e., loyalty to the Crown and the Church. This was especially due to the growing literacy rate among the lower classes, who in the Protestant schools were being instilled with the values of self-discipline, self-motivation, and individual efficacy of Protestant Pietism, producing new qualities of habitus <sup>5</sup> among the nonaristocratic classes, which could pose a threat to the then-extant (Stand) class structure and social hierarchy. To the Catholic Habsburgs, the influence of Pietist pedagogical methods backed by the Lutheran catechism could create among the non-nobility a new homo austriacus, who, by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The House of Hohenzollern was the ruling house of Prussia, and rival to the House of Habsburg, ruling house of Austria and the Holy Roman Empire.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The wars of the Austrian Succession (1740-42, 1744-45) and the Seven Years War (1756-63).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> James Van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria*. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Habitus\_(Lat.). From the Greek word Hexis, Habitus is a concept originally introduced by Aristotle, which references the system of embodied dispositions and tendencies that organize the ways in which individuals perceive the social world around them and react to it. Pierre Bourdieu, Outline of a Theory of Practice. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1977). In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the concept was re-introduced through the work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, who has provided a more systematic intent into social theory as a viable analytic tool for the job of accounting for the cognitive components of action. Omar Lizardo, Habitus. <a href="http://www3.nd.edu~olizardo/papers/habitus-entry">http://www3.nd.edu~olizardo/papers/habitus-entry</a> (accessed May 1, 2017).

attaining literacy, could begin to question their level of "contentment" with their social position, assume a level of personal efficacy towards both religious freedom and socioeconomic upward mobility, which could (and ultimately did) challenge the heretofore unquestioned authority of the monarch and the church. It became clear to both Empress and clergy that reform was needed concerning the manners in which absolutist social policy, (and power) were displayed and exercised. Critical to this was a shift in the *locus* of coercion, which was to be transferred to within the individual. The belief that the earlier extraneous, visible, and objective forms through which authority had been traditionally exercised were no longer efficacious. 6 In eighteenthcentury Austria and Prussia, cultural and educational reform movements<sup>7</sup> succeeded in overcoming major obstacles to the promotion and diffusion of popular literacy. The value of literate culture as an instrument of moral and religious reform was stressed by these reform movements and shed any fears of popular literacy left over from the Protestant reformation and the Catholic counter-reformation. As a result, the promotion of literacy was to become the central goal of compulsory schooling in these states.<sup>8</sup> Literacy through compulsory schooling had three foundational goals in mind: 1) to develop subjects loyal to their ruler, by being educated and informed from *literary* sources rather than oral and visual (non-literate), sources 2) to produce good Christians, strong in the Catholic faith and catechism, and 3) to produce informed, productive, efficacious, and economically self-sustaining citizens, for their own benefit and that of the Empire. The newly developed Sagan Model school system and its components and curricula were designed to produce in its students a compound product of

. .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Melton, xix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The reforms drafted by von Felbiger and his predecessors contain the goals and objectives which emphasize the importance of literacy among the populations of the Austrian empire, which was considered "backward" by rival European powers, such as Prussia and France.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Melton, 89-90.

nature, habit and reason, achieved by an appropriate disposing of personal inclinations and qualities. Habitus, defined here as a way of living, based on stable, well-ordered, and long-lasting dispositions, was to be developed in the character of the young. In this three-part construct, these foundational academic and socio-cultural learning outcomes were established in the Austrian Empire during absolutist rule, and continued (with reforms) through its transition to a constitutional dual monarchy, until the end of World War I.

As the acceptance of popular literacy came later in Austria than in Prussia, so did the pedagogical efforts to implement it.<sup>13</sup> Where Protestant Pietism had produced notable pedagogical innovation in Prussia, starting in the early eighteenth century, such innovation was notably absent in the Catholic regions of Europe. It was the Silesian Augustinian abbot Johann Ignaz von Felbiger (1724-1788), who developed and implemented major Catholic school reforms under the authority of Empress Maria Theresa (r. 1740-1780) and her son, Co- regent Joseph II (r. 1780-1790). Von Felbiger was the first Catholic school reformer of any note in eighteenth-century Europe.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Further discussion of the Sagan model is on page 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> From the Latin word *Dispositio*, meaning "to put things in a certain order". By one's disposition, we mean precisely the unique arrangement of all of one's moral traits. And when the arrangement makes him totally reliable and dependable in human affairs, we call the man and his disposition virtuous. Yves Simon, *The Definition of Moral Virtue*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1986. 84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> This occurred with the signing of the *Generalschulordnung* in 1774, by Empress Maria Theresa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The Constitutional Compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867, established a constitutional dual monarchy between Austria and Hungary, under Emperor Franz Joseph I. The *Ausgleich* was passed as a constitutional law by the Hungarian parliament. It also secured the rights of the individual, a genuinely impartial judiciary, and freedom of belief and of education was guaranteed. The Ministers, however, were still responsible to the emperor, not to a majority of the *Reichsrat*. <a href="http://www.britannica.com/place/austria/Hungary">http://www.britannica.com/place/austria/Hungary</a> (accessed January 16, 2017).

<sup>13</sup> Melton, 90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Von Felbiger was a Catholic Abbot in (Sagan) Silesia, which was geographically located between Prussia, and Austria, and consisting of both the Protestant and Catholic populations, with their contrasting doctrines, and catechistic norms, values and beliefs. Von Felbiger would eventually become the ideal candidate for Maria Theresa to select as head of the Austrian School Commission, based on his access to and mastery of "heathen" (Pietist-Protestant) educational methods, while being a Catholic of high hierarchal position, which "validated" his ability to reform the Austrian educational system, while simultaneously re-asserting and maintaining Catholic orthodoxy among the populace, per the Empress's wish.

Early Attempts at School Reform in Eighteenth-Century Austria, and the Arrival of Johann Ignaz von Felbiger

Before the arrival of the Silesian Catholic school reformer, Abbot Johann Ignaz von Felbiger at the Habsburg court in 1772, school reform plans for the Empire had already been drafted, the result of pleas to Empress Maria Theresa by the Prince-Archbishop of Passau, Leopold Ernst Count Firmian, who warned the Empress of rampant heresy and unbelief in his archdiocese, which oversaw many of the parishes (and parish schools) of Upper Austria and most of Lower Austria. He communicated that schools were the most effective instrument by which the youth of his archdiocese could be saved from atheism and heresy. 15 Firmian was an advocate of compulsory schooling and lay literacy. However, he warned the Empress that he and the ecclesiastical authorities in his region lacked the power to undertake such an immense task, and he pleaded for the monarchy's assistance in reforming the parish schools located in the Austrian part of his Archdiocese. 16 Firmian's plan was to also include the establishment of hospitals, workhouses, and a theological seminary. The plan was submitted to Habsburg officials, who in turn submitted the plan to the Archbishop of Vienna<sup>17</sup> and the Archbishop of Wiener Neustadt.<sup>18</sup> The plan was in turn approved, and forwarded to the Court Chancellery (*Hofkanzeli*), a cautious and ultra-conservative agency not inclined to initiate reforms. The intervention of the Council of State (Staatsrat) saved the proposal from certain extinction. Three of the six members of the council had been educated in Protestant universities.<sup>19</sup> The Council of State was charged with the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Joseph Alexander Freiherr von Helfert *Die Gründung der österreichische Volksschule durch Maria Theresia*. Prague: Weck Verlag, 1860. 122.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Cardinal Christoph Anton Migazzi (1757-1803), cardinal-archbishop of Vienna under Maria Theresa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Bishop Ferdinand von Hallweil (1741-1773), archbishop of Wiener Neustadt under Maria Theresa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Von Kaunitz was educated in law at the University of Leipzig. Egid von Borie was educated at Marburg, and Philip Gebler was educated

coordination and enforcement of the monarchy's domestic policies throughout the Empire. It was a dynamic force within the Habsburg bureaucracy and played a key role in most reforms of the Theresian era.<sup>20</sup> With the support of the other council members, Gebler proposed the creation of a special school reform commission. Simultaneously, he asked Joseph Messmer, a strong proponent of von Felbiger's "Sagan Method", as well the rector of the Stadtschule of St. Stephan (Stefansdom), to submit a series of detailed proposals for reform. It was Messmer who would play a vital role in disseminating and popularizing von Felbiger's methods and ideas in Austria. Messmer, like von Felbiger, recommended and stressed the importance for improved teacher training, a prescribed uniform normal method of instruction, group instruction of pupils instead of individual instruction (which wasted time and caused disorder), and a uniform catechism, a separation between the classroom and the schoolmaster's home and place of work. The emphasis here was on the need to professionalize the role and job definition of the schoolmaster. Messmer favored raising the salaries of schoolmasters, but also insisted on a thorough and intensive schoolmaster training program for them, which all schoolmasters had to undergo. Accordingly, he recommended transforming the St. Stephan Stadtschule into a normal school (Normalschule)<sup>21</sup> on the Sagan model.<sup>22</sup> The plan was enthusiastically approved the Council of State, and was forwarded to Maria Theresa in May of 1770. Additional endorsement and support

at Halle, Göttingen and Jena, Melton, p. 202. Also, important here is that these men were exposed to the ideas of the *Aufklärung* (Enlightenment), espoused in the Protestant universities, as well as at the court of Frederick the Great.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The significance of Protestant universities in the education and training of state and civil servants in Catholic Austria can be seen in an historic context, from the Catholic counter-reformation to the end of the Empire in 1919. See Klingenstein, *Aufstieg des Hauses Kaunitz*, 159-219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Normalschule: This refers to the educational institution set up by the reformers as the functional archetype of educational system "norms": uniformity of administrative procedures and protocols, curriculum, pedagogy, and teacher training for all other schools in its assigned region. Under the General School Ordinance of 1774, the establishment of a normal school in every province was required by law.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Melton, 203. Messmer, "Zustand der heisigen gemeinen deutschen Schulen," and "unmassgebliche Gedanken zur Verbesserung der hiesigen deutschen Stadt- und Vorstadtschulen," in *AVA*, Akten der Studienhofkommission, Fasz. 70 (Niederösterreich in genre).

of the plan was provided by Franz Karl Häglin and Philippides von Gaya, two of Gebler's protégés, who themselves were also educated at the University of Halle.<sup>23</sup> Häglin specifically viewed school reform, and Messmer's proposal, as a solution to the Empire's problems of mendicity, especially among children and young people.

Maria Theresa approved Messmer's plan, and the Vienna Normal School opened on January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1771, with Messmer as director. The school was divided into four classes: classes one through three provided instructions in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the catechism.<sup>24</sup> The fourth class trained soon-to-be schoolmasters and tutors. <sup>25</sup>

At this time, another school reform proposal was being reviewed by the Council of State, this plan, devised and drafted by Count Johann Anton von Pergen, <sup>26</sup> As a career diplomat, von Pergen, like other proponents of school reform in the Habsburg government, had received much exposure to intellectual ideas of the *Aufklärung* during his training at the Oriental Academy in Vienna. <sup>27</sup> In August 1770, von Pergen submitted his school reform plan, which outlined and proposed a complete reorganization of education in the Habsburg monarchy. A supreme administrative body was to be formed, whose authority was to extend from the universities down to the lowliest village school. He advocated complete uniformity at each level, with standardized textbooks, curricula, and normal schools. For prospective pre-university students, von Pergen's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Melton, 203. From Hägelin, "Beschreibung der verbesserten Lehrart in deutschen Schulen, und ihre Folgen für den Staat und die Religion," January 20, 1772, *AVA*, Akten der Studienhofkommission, Fasz. 70 (Niederösterreich genre).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The schools that Hugo Wolf attended in the late 1860s and early 1870s still followed this curricular order.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Helfert, 146-147.

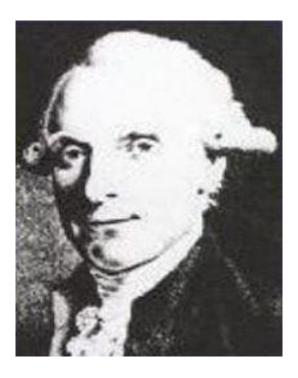
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Von Pergen is better known by historians as the infamous head of the secret police under Joseph II. The elements contained in his school reform plan illustrate his own almost fanatical commitment to the maintenance and control of "social order" among the population, which might be why Joseph II entrusted him later with the position of head of the secret police.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> The Oriental Academy was originally established as a foreign language and training center for Austrian diplomats. Established in 1754, the school had been so mismanaged under its Jesuit directors, that von Pergen was called in to reform its finances, administration, and curriculum in 1769. This same school exists today as the Diplomatische Akademie-Wien. <a href="http://da-vienna.ac.at">http://da-vienna.ac.at</a> (accessed Jan 5, 2016).

plan consisted of a three-tiered system comprising universal primary schooling, vocational schools (Realschulen) for those entering specialized, non-academic trades and occupations, and Gymnasien for pupils planning to enter the university.<sup>28</sup>

Von Pergen also recommended the exclusion of all clergy from all teaching positions. This was especially in reference to the Jesuits, whose particularized goals concerning the education of the populace were not compatible with those of the state. He claimed that religious orders monopolized secondary schools and universities, with the goal of recruiting the most talented and intelligent pupils for their orders at the expense of the state. This, as a result prevented the state from fully accessing and utilizing the intellectual resources of its educated subjects. Much of von Pergen's radicalism unmasks the extent of anti-Jesuit sentiment that had developed in the Habsburg monarchy by this time. Underscoring much of this resentment was the sense of Austrian cultural inferiority that afflicted reformers, both bureaucratic and ecclesiastical. The conviction that Austria was backward, at least in comparison with her Protestant neighbors, served to legitimate reforms that would have been considered too radical under any other circumstances.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> With the exception of the elimination of all clergy from teaching posts, the school system in Austria did eventually evolve into this construct by the mid nineteenth century, with the school reforms implemented by Count Leo von Thun, starting in 1850. This, coupled with the establishment of Dual Monarchy with Hungary in 1867, and the so-called December Constitution of 21 December, 1867 "emancipated" the populace from religious and civil rights restrictions, and class-based restrictions in upward mobility, despite the continuing presence of an unchanging social order. The primary source materials (admissions documents and grade reports) referencing the attendance of the non-aristocrat Hugo Wolf at the Gymnasiums in Graz, Kärten, and Marburg, respectively, show that he was on a scholastic path to a university education, despite his desire to only study music. It is interesting to note that Wolf was eventually admitted to the Vienna Konservatorium in 1875, despite neither having completed his studies at the Gymnasium, nor having taken and passed the final (Matura) matriculation exam. <sup>29</sup> Melton, p. 206.



Count von Pergen (1766-1830)

Although von Pergen's plan was enthusiastically received by the Council of State, the Council nonetheless recognized the formidable obstacles that implementation of the plan would face. The total removal of clergy from teaching posts would be impractical, the appointment of nonclerical (specifically non-Catholic) advisors would antagonize the Catholic population, provoking opposition to school reform, and finally, how would the bureaucracy obtain the funds to defray the substantial cost of such extensive reforms? The Council of State debated three options to this end: the levying of additional taxes on the populace, the monasteries, and the estates of the nobility, fully understanding that pursuing any of these options would provoke outcries from the populace, the clergy, and the nobility. It was the official dissolution of the Jesuit Order by Pope Clement XVI in 1773, and his subsequent granting of all Jesuit properties

and financial assets to Maria Theresa that the funds (and many facilities) for the extensive school reform plan became available.<sup>30</sup>



Empress Maria Theresa (1717-1780)

The empress then established yet another commission, for the task of complete reorganization of secondary and university education (formerly run by the Jesuits), plus the development of guidelines for a general reform of education in the monarchy. The Kressel Commission symbolized the alliance<sup>31</sup> of *Aufklärer*<sup>32</sup> and reform Catholics that had been so crucial in efforts to reform censorship, the universities, and religion. The commission's plan of December 1773 officially recommended that confiscated Jesuit properties and other assets be used in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Had this event not occurred, the proposed reforms might not have taken place until well into the nineteenth century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> The commission consisted of Kressel, Greiner, the Augustinian abbot Ignaz Müller, a reform Catholic, and Karl Anton von Martini, professor of law at the University of Vienna and a key figure in the Austrian Enlightenment.

<sup>32</sup> Referring to proponents and supporters of the *Aufklärung*, e.g., the Enlightenment.

financing of a system of universal compulsory schooling.<sup>33</sup> The plan called for the creation of normal schools to write and standardize curricula, textbooks, teacher training, and pedagogical methods. Most notable is that the council strongly asserted and maintained that schooling be standesmässig (appropriate to class structure and socioeconomic position in reference to social class and habitus). This is an example of the binding of the cultivation of habitus with the German concept of *Stand* (class distinction, and all that is meant and implied). The significance of Stand is based on criteria that the members of each social class have a common mode of life, well-defined codes of behavior, and, most frequently, will be of high social rank. <sup>34</sup> The unchanging social order in the Austrian empire was maintained by the enforcement and control of these criteria, in society, in the church, and in the school system. The school system was to make a clear distinction between the curricula of rural and urban schools. Schools in rural areas were to teach only reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion. In the towns and cities, a more advanced curriculum would be necessary, in order to educate future merchants, lawyers, bankers and so forth. This advanced curriculum was to include German, orthography, mathematics, applied arts and sciences, history, and geography. <sup>35</sup> To reduce the number of pupils pursuing higher studies and make primary education more *standesmässig*, the commission recommended transforming many of the smaller Latin schools into elementary schools.<sup>36</sup>

After having given her approval of the recommendations of the Kressel commission, Maria Theresa asked her chancellor Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz to make an official inquiry into the

continued in the Empire, at least officially, until 1918.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> HHStA, Alte Kabinettsachen; Studiensachen (1736-1773), Fasz. I, fol. 602-631. <a href="http://oesta.gov.at">http://oesta.gov.at</a>. (Accessed June 12, 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Gunther Roth and Claus Wittich, eds. "notes", in Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* 2 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978), 300.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Hugo Wolf's 1873-74 school grade report (*Schulzeugnis*) from the gymnasium in Marburg lists this curriculum. <sup>36</sup> I conclude that this was done to preserve class structure and social order, prevent labor shortages on the farms and in the trades, by systematically hindering the socioeconomic upward mobility of the non-nobility. These restrictions

possibility of bringing the Augustinian abbot Johann Ignaz von Felbiger to Vienna to implement and supervise the reforms. In January 1774 von Kaunitz wrote to the Austrian ambassador to Prussia, <sup>37</sup> inquiring whether Frederick II would grant von Felbiger a brief hiatus from his administrative duties. The king agreed, and upon release from his duties in Sagan, Silesia, von Felbiger made his departure for Vienna. Upon his arrival in May 1774, he was immediately given authority over primary education in the monarchy. Maria Theresa also appointed him to the Studienhofkommission; the Commission on Education, which possessed, after the empress and co-regent Joseph II, supreme authority over all matters in reference to education. Von Felbiger was also named to the Lower Austrian School Commission (Niederösterreichische Schulkommission), granting him complete authority over the Vienna Normal School and all elementary schools in the city.<sup>38</sup> Felbiger's prestige as the founder of the Sagan method enabled him to end the factionalism that had crippled the Vienna Normal School.<sup>39</sup> He immediately commenced work on his principal task, the drafting of the compulsory school edict, at which time he also prepared textbooks and teaching manuals<sup>40</sup> for future use in the school system. Schooling was now compulsory for all children of both sexes, between the ages of six and twelve. Pupils were to attend school five days a week, each day consisting of three hours of instruction in the morning and two in the afternoon. The General School Ordinance established three types of schools having to do with gymnasial arts. In every town and every rural parish seat was established at least one minor school (*Trivialschule*). The minor school was to provide instruction reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion, the subjects deemed necessary for all

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Baron Gottfried van Swieten, who later became a patron of Ludwig van Beethoven.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Melton, 212.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Von Felbiger's most important pedagogical work, *Methodenbuch für Lehrer der deutschen Schulen*, completed in 1775, the year after he drafted the General School Ordinance. <a href="http://www.newadvent.org">http://www.newadvent.org</a> (accessed March 12, 2017).

classes of the population. The second school, referred to as the major school (*Hauptschule*), was a grammar school designed for middle-class pupils residing in urban areas. Major schools were attended both by pupils desiring vocational preparation for vocational careers, and by pupils hoping to advance to a Gymnasium, and, eventually, the university. German composition, fundamental Latin, history, geography, mechanics, trigonometry, and architecture were offered, in addition to the curriculum offered in the minor schools. Lastly, the edict required that a normal school be established in every province. Every schoolmaster and tutor were to be certified, prior to hiring, by the director of the normal school.<sup>41</sup> Von Felbiger completed the General School Ordinance (*Allegeimine Schulordnung*) in July of 1774. Following revisions, the Empress signed the document on December 6<sup>th</sup>, 1774.<sup>42</sup>



The Generalschulordnung of 1774

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Von Felbiger's later publication, the *Vorschrift zur Unterweisung der Haus Lehrer* (Vienna, 1776) is a teaching manual, which was required for all schoolmasters and tutors.

<sup>42</sup> http://meilensteine.wörgl.at (accessed Jan. 4, 2017).

The General School ordinance did, however, have exclusionary implications. The Gymnasium reforms drafted in 1776 by the Piarist school reformer Gratian Marx<sup>43</sup> imposed a double standard on gymnasium aspirants. The children of the nobility and officials of the state were to be automatically granted admission but more rigorous standards would be imposed on children of the lower orders. These children were to be admitted only if they possessed exceptional talent. <sup>44</sup>

## Johann Ignaz von Felbiger and the General School Ordinance of 1774

Johann Ignaz Melchior von Felbiger was born in Gross-Glogau, Silesia in 1724. His father, Ignaz Anton was an official in the Imperial Post Office, and was knighted in 1733 by Emperor Charles VI. Not much is known about Johann Ignaz's early education. He most likely studied with private tutors and attended the Latin school<sup>45</sup> in Gross-Glogau, followed by the Jesuit Gymnasium, then the Jesuit-dominated University of Breslau.<sup>46 47</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Karl Wotke: *Das österreichische Gymnasium im Zeitalter Maria Theresias*. (Berlin: A. Hofmann & Co., 1905), 255-259.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Ibid. p. 271. "Exceptional talent" is defined as *übermittelmäβig:* i.e., above average grades. This prerequisite to admission to the gymnasium served as an instrument to preserve class structure. This prerequisite was not imposed upon the children of the nobility and upper classes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> The Latin school was the grammar school of fourteenth to nineteenth century Europe. The Latin school stems from the Middle Ages and was established by ecclesiastical bodies for pupils destined for the service of church and state. Latin schools also prepared students for university, as well as enabling students of middle-class status to rise above their *Stand*, at least theoretically, vis a vis the strict class system that was in place.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Melton, p. 92. At the University of Breslau, von Felbiger studied logic, metaphysics, physics, mathematics, and natural science. This course of study was known as the *studia superiora and* was normally completed in three years. <a href="http://www.archive.org">http://www.archive.org</a> (accessed Jan. 7, 2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> The University of Breslau was officially founded on October 1<sup>st</sup>., 1702, with the signing of the founding deed known as the *Aurea bulla fundationis Universitatis Wratislaviensis* by Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, of the House of Habsburg, with the designated name Leopoldina. The university opened on November 15<sup>th</sup>, 1702, as a Jesuit-run School of Philosophy and Catholic Theology. As a Catholic institute in (Protestant) Breslau, the new university was an important locus of the Counter-Reformation in Silesia. Upon the passing of Silesia to Prussia

Although educated by the Jesuits, von Felbiger never fully adhered to, or even embraced, their cultural and intellectual perspectives. He condemned the Jesuit curriculum in its failure to keep pace with new discoveries in the natural sciences, its neglect of the German language, as well as the languages of the non-German Habsburg lands, and the plodding scholasticism of Jesuit professors. He criticized the professors for their lack of specialization, and that at the Jesuit university, learning was not cumulative; what was learned in an earlier class was not elaborated upon, or expanded, in a later one. Each class constituted a closed unit, and the student had no freedom to choose either his classes or professors. Von Felbiger's criticisms were typical in the anti-Jesuit circles of the period, reflecting a growing dissatisfaction with a Jesuit curriculum that appeared increasingly rigid, arcane, and irrelevant.

The province of Silesia where von Felbiger came from, consisted of both Catholics and Protestants, first under Habsburg rule, and later, under Prussian rule.<sup>48</sup> Also, the geographic position of Silesia contributed to its cultural and religious diversity. It linked Protestant northern and Catholic southern Germany as well as Catholic western and Orthodox Eastern Europe. Von Felbiger grew up in a cultural milieu where he was exposed to the socio-religious-cultural diversity of both Catholics and Protestants.

Since Silesia did not have a university before the eighteenth century, Silesians who wanted to attend a university had to go abroad.<sup>49</sup> The result of this academic and intellectual migration is

during the Wars of Austrian Succession, the university still remained a religious institution for the education of Catholic clergy in Prussia. The oldest known mention of a university in Breslau dates from a foundation deed from 1505, the *Generale Litterarum Gymnasium* in Wroclaw. At that time, the King's foundation deed was rejected by Pope Julius II, and, as a result, the new academic institution was never built or put into operation until 1702. <a href="http://uni.wroc.pl">http://uni.wroc.pl</a> (accessed May 28, 2017). <a href="http://www.wroclaw.com/university/history.html">http://www.wroclaw.com/university/history.html</a> (accessed May 28, 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Austria lost Silesia to Prussia during the Silesian Wars: 1740-42, 1744-45, and 1756-63 (the Seven Years War). Dennis E. Showalter, *The Wars of Frederick the Great* (London, New York, Longman), 1996, 84-88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>As there was no university in Breslau until one was founded on November 15<sup>th</sup>, 1702, Silesian university students would go to Krakow or Bologna to study law, Protestant theology at either Wittenberg of Leipzig, or Catholic theology at Vienna or Prague.

that Silesia became an intellectual and theological moderator between widely disparate cultures. Italian and German humanism, Dutch Calvinism, Lutheran Pietism, and the Italian and Austrian Catholicism- all of these cultural currents met in Silesia. <sup>50</sup> The knowledge of these facts by the Austrian school commission, and the fact that as a Catholic Abbot, von Felbiger, by training, practice, and confession, represented himself as the ideal candidate for the Empress to select. He would serve both as her advisor and implementer in Austria of a General School Ordinance: a compulsory school law, which included numerous reforms in pedagogy, administrative structure and operation, special emphasis on the training of schoolmasters and tutors, and its own uniform curriculum and catechism, developed by von Felbiger, and other members of the Austrian school commission, and the clergy.



Abbot Johann Ignaz von Felbiger (1724-1788)

<sup>50</sup> Melton, p. 95. The three leading writers of the German Baroque: Martin Opitz, Andreas Gryphius, and Silesius epitomized cultural pluralism in their works. All three of these authors were Silesian.

In 1746 von Felbiger entered the Augustinian cloister in Sagan, Silesia. He chose the Augustinian order out of his dissatisfaction with the Jesuits and their educational methods, as well as their virtual monopoly over secondary and university education.<sup>51</sup> Von Felbiger was an anti-Jesuit reform Catholic. Based on his studiousness and brilliance, he first became secretary to the Abbot, then eventually, Abbot of the Augustinian cloister at Sagan. In addition to his education at the University of Breslau, he was widely read in astronomy and meteorology. In 1761 he began a program of reform in the Sagan (Catholic) parish schools under his control. His deputy reported two alarming facts: 1) that class attendance in all of the parish schools was extremely poor and 2) that Catholic parents were sending their children to neighboring Lutheran schools, because the Catholic parish schools were not teaching the children how to read and write! Felbiger further investigated the matter by visiting a Protestant bookseller in Sagan to learn which teaching manuals Protestant schoolmasters were using. He was presented with two items; the first was a Pietist teaching manual written by Johann Julius Hecker<sup>52</sup> for use in his Berlin schools. The second was a report on the reform of parish schools Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel.<sup>53</sup> After studying Hecker's manual, von Felbiger visited Hecker in Berlin in 1761 to observe directly how Hecker's methods were being followed there.<sup>54</sup> He observed the following: <sup>55</sup>1) pupils were divided according to ability, and received instruction collectively, instead of individually, as per earlier practice, 2) discipline and order were clearly present in the

<sup>51</sup> Many of the reform Catholic leaders in central Europe-Felbiger, Topsl in Bavaria, and Müller in Vienna- were Augustinians. Melton, p. 96.

<sup>55</sup> Melton, p. 101.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Johann Julius Hecker (1707-1768) established the first Realschule, and Prussia's first teacher training institute. After matriculating from gymnasium in Essen, he studied theology, languages, and natural sciences at the University of Halle, where August Hermann Francke had his Padagogium teaching institute. It was there that Hecker was drawn to Pietism and the ideas of Francke. <a href="http://alchetron.com">http://alchetron.com</a> (accessed January 7, 2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Ibid. p.95. Hecker was a graduate of August Herrmann Francke's teaching institute in Halle, where the tabular method was in use.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Felbiger had already aroused suspicion among the Jesuits in Sagan, as it was highly irregular for a Catholic Abbott to visit a Protestant school in Protestant Prussia, in this case, Berlin.

classrooms, 3) the Hähn tabular-literal method<sup>56</sup> was the mnemonic device that organized each lesson into outline form,<sup>57</sup> and, 4) he concluded that he would need a core of teachers, trained in the tabular-literal method, if he was to implement reforms in his parish schools in Sagan effectively. The adaptation of the methods and procedures von Felbiger observed and later implemented in his parish schools came to be known as the Sagan Method.

Upon his return to Sagan, von Felbiger sent his two young associates Anton Wende and Johann Coccius immediately to Hecker's Pädagogium in Halle, where they spent one full year. When they returned in June of 1763, Felbiger appointed them as rector and co-rector of the Stadtschule in Sagan, along with Josef Sucher (who accompanied Felbiger to Berlin) as the chief inspector of the school. Finally, von Felbiger issued a pamphlet, publicizing the reforms that were to be made in the schools, introducing Wende, Sucher, and Coccius as the officials charged with their implementation. He then described the subjects to be taught in the beginning classes, the method of collective instruction of pupils, <sup>58</sup> and the general aims of his reforms. Von Felbiger's debt to Pietist pedagogy is clear from his stated goals: "to educate not only good Catholics, but also loyal subjects and useful members of society; not only creatures of God, instruments of His holy will, and good members of the Church, but also honest subjects of their ruler, useful members of the state... and vessels of earthly happiness." He would later

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> This method of instructing is by using of initials and tables. The chief peculiarity of Von Felbiger's "too mechanical" method was the use of tables containing the initials of the words which expressed the lesson to be imparted and memorized. Although this method was eventually abolished from the pedagogy, pupils were still required to memorize assigned materials until 1918.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Felbiger was attracted to this method of outline organization as a tool specifically for teaching the catechism.
<sup>58</sup> Felbiger was also to house each class in separate buildings, according to level. This was not done previously. The realities of not enough classroom facilities, the demands on children by rural industry, the lack of appropriate funding, and suspicion among Catholic clergy that literacy fostered in young children could result in threats to the religious and socioeconomic status quo were among the real obstacles Felbiger and his reformers faced, first in Sagan, and later in Vienna.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Johann Ignaz von Felbiger, "Vorläufige Anzeige von besserer Einrichtung der öffentlichen Trivialschulen". In *k.s.*, 16-32.

admonish his teachers to help create "good Christians, upright servants of the common good and useful members of society." <sup>60</sup>

Von Felbiger insisted that the training of the child's memory was only the first step in the training of his cognitive faculties. 61 To ensure that children acted in accordance with what they had learned, it was also necessary to develop their faculties of understanding, judgment, and will. Most importantly, Von Felbiger insisted that a schoolmaster should "cultivate in his pupils the will to act in accordance with these faculties, so that they will be of practical value in daily life." <sup>62</sup> In addition to the academic subjects learned in the classroom, the moral and religious principles had to be learned, understood, internalized, and manifested by the children, who, by exercising their own reason and judgment, would be motivated to act in accordance with these principles. This is, in my opinion, a clear-cut descriptive example of the fourfold learning equation, consisting of imitation+emulation+invention=results. Furthermore, this example of the application of Pietist principles to the teaching and learning processes, as observed by von Felbiger in the Berlin schools was used to great advantage. Now, the *locus* of coercion and, eventually, motivation, was, through learning and practice, to come from within the individual pupil, and, eventually, the individual member of society. Each schoolmaster was also to compile a "Fleißkatalog," rating the effort and performance of each pupil. To prevent idleness in the classroom, the full attention and participation of each pupil was demanded. Hourglasses were provided to each class, with which each schoolmaster could announce the beginning and end of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Felbiger, "Anrede an die neuen Schulbedienten", in von Felbiger's *Des Saganischen Abts von Felbiger Vorlesungen über die Kunst zu Katechisieren, die er seinem jungen Geistlichen zu halten pflegt.* Wien: Kaiserl. königl. Hofbuchdruckern und Buchhandlern, 1774. 284.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> I conclude that for this reason von Felbiger was attracted to the Tabular-Literal method, as the visual letters and initials of the words which expressed the lesson at hand served as visual memory cues. This was particularly helpful to pupils, who were eventually required to recite their catechism lessons by memory every Sunday to their parish priest.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup>,,Vorläufige Anzeige", 22.

<sup>63 &</sup>quot;Diligence Catalogue"This was a precursor to the *Schulzeugniss*, grade report cards.

each class period. Parents of pupils were required to pay a fixed tuition fee to aid in the subsistence of the schoolmaster. <sup>64</sup>

Schoolmasters took roll based on parish baptismal records. Truancy was reported to the parish priest, who would settle such matters by visiting the parents of truant children. During peak agricultural periods, where children were needed to help with farm work, school would be held for only a half-day. Catechism lessons were given twice a week to each school. After each Sunday Mass, pupils were required to assemble before the parish priest to recite what they had learned during the previous week.

Von Felbiger's new school reform program was successful; and it established his reputation as an effective educational reformer. His task was to enable his Habsburg rulers to reconstitute their royal power and authority and its *locus* of coercion through developing and implementing a system of compulsory schooling which by training its students to be literate and informed, would motivate them to remain loyal to both the crown and the church.

## Joseph II, Josephinsm, Leopold II, Franz I, Ferdinand I and School Reform.

After the death of Maria Theresa in 1780, her son and former co-regent Joseph II (r. 1780-1790) became sole ruler of the Habsburg Empire. Joseph II is known, along with King Frederick II of Prussia, as an "enlightened despot" e.g., an absolute monarch who pursued legal, social, and educational reforms inspired by the Enlightenment. Typically, they instituted administrative reforms, religious tolerance, and economic development, but did not manifest or propose reforms that would undermine their sovereignty or disrupt the social order. In the case of Josephinism,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> In addition to this, schoolmasters were also granted their own garden plots to tend on their own, for their own subsistence.

i.e., the collective domestic policies of Joseph II, the Emperor's desire was to improve the lives of his subjects while keeping them blindly obedient to his will. To Joseph, his understanding and acceptance of constitutional and individual liberty versus his manifestation of divine right as ruler further exacerbated this conflict both in himself, and with his subjects of all classes. As an "enlightened" but conflicted absolutist monarch, he endeavored to strengthen his authority by improving the lives of his subjects, but according to his will. The implication here is that the emperor felt that he knew the interests of his subjects better than they themselves did, and, subsequently, the monarch, having taken this "responsibility" for his subjects, precluded their political participation. Through the secret police, 65 Joseph's government reached into all areas of life; agents would be dispatched to check if the houses in the villages had numbers, if the mentally ill were being treated well, if the clergy were being respected, and so forth. Joseph indeed carried out many radical reforms during the ten years of his reign.<sup>66</sup> Although Joseph was a Roman Catholic, he also established religious reforms aimed at making German Catholicism independent of Rome. His efforts to secularize the schools and make them vehicles of the state instead of the Church stem from these religious reforms. His 'Toleration Patent' of 1781 provided for extensive, although, not absolute, freedom of worship throughout the empire. His main piece of legislation was the abolition (1781) of serfdom and feudal dues. He enabled tenants to acquire their own lands from the nobles for moderate fees, and allowed peasants to marry whom they had wished, and to change their domicile.<sup>67</sup> Joseph founded hospitals, insane

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> This was the secret police force established by count von Pergen, after becoming *Oberlandsmarschall* for Lower Austria, in 1775, then Head of Police, in 1782. Chancellor Clemens von Metternich put the secret police into even more extensive use during his tenure from 1821 to 1848, on the eve of the *Vormärz* Revolution.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> During his reign, Joseph II made over 6000 laws and decrees.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> http:// Columbiaencyclopediaonline.com, s.v. "Joseph II" (accessed Feb.15, 2017).

asylums, poorhouses, and orphanages; he opened parks and gardens to the public. In judicial affairs Joseph liberalized the civil and criminal law codes, <sup>68</sup> abolishing torture, and



Emperor Joseph II (1741-1790)

removing the death penalty.

Joseph II and his extensive and radical reforms perpetrated strong criticism, as he granted his subjects freedom of opinion (*Meinungsfreiheit*), while requiring blind obedience. Consequently, the populace was no longer prepared to follow this conflicting "directive" from the *Obrigkeit*<sup>69</sup> of Joseph and his bureaucracy. The nobility defended itself against Joseph as well, as his laws and decrees were reducing and/or eliminating their class-based rights and privileges. Before the arrival of Johann Ignaz von Felbiger in 1773, Joseph in 1772 instituted a school "provision" for the children of military personnel, whereby these children were marched daily to the nearest

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> This included holding the nobility accountable to the law, prosecution, and criminal penalties. The peasants delighted in observing a nobleman forced to sweep the street barefoot, and in chains!

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Obrigkeit (dt.) German term for "influence of watchful and suspicious upper-level authority".

parish school. When changes in this system were proposed by then Hofschulrat Johann Ignaz von Felbiger in 1780, Joseph considered von Felbiger's efforts to be no more than an attempt to meddle in military affairs; if such changes were implemented, they could have negative effects on both discipline and military morale. To introduce an additional, "civilian" source of authority in the barracks, argued Joseph and his Court War Council, would be to undermine military discipline and encourage disobedience.<sup>70</sup> Von Felbiger was dismissed by Joseph II in 1782.

Von Felbiger's dismissal by Joseph II in 1782 by no means suggested or manifested an abandonment of the monarchy's commitment to school reform. Under Joseph's mother Maria Theresa, the monarchy had devoted much of its primary school budget to the creation and maintenance of normal schools. Under Joseph II, funds were allocated directly to parish schools, and elementary schooling expanded further through Joseph's confiscation of monastic properties, and expropriation of revenues previously earmarked for processions and pilgrimages. This latter act by Joseph II is notable, because it exemplifies the change in the priorities of the monarchy from the funding of non-literate culture to the funding of literate culture. The reconstitution of royal authority was now emanating through literacy and education, and the subsequent development of the new *locus* of coercion (via Pietist methods introduced by von Felbiger) in the populace from *within* the individual. By 1781, when Joseph decreed that "every common man should have a copy of the Bible", the idea of universal literacy had clearly triumphed. Joseph wanted to modernize the Empire, resulting in a mass of new laws and decrees. Through his Toleration Patent, Jews were allowed to be absorbed into the rest of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Melton, p. 229.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Ernst Wangermann, *Aufklärung und staatsbürgerliche Erziehung*. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1987) 62-68; Helmut Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, 3:125. (Vienna: Österreichische Bundesverlag, 1984), 233.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Melton, 235. See the decree published in *Gesetzeslexikon*, 296-297.

(Christian) society. Jews also were allowed to be involved in industry and commerce, and to study at the university (this was probably done more for economic than humanitarian reasons). His Empire reached into all areas of daily life; his system of government was bureaucratic, but also militant: i.e., a mix of Absolutism and liberalism. Joseph also relaxed literary censorship in 1781, which was another sign of the monarchy's recognition of the political utility of a literate culture. Joseph's liberal censorship policy represented a cunning, but calculated effort to enlist literary support for his policies. Through prudent but quiet government sponsorship, writers sympathetic to Joseph were encouraged to publish pamphlets in support of his reforms. In the end, however, six years of relaxed censorship ultimately abetted the formation of an autonomous literary culture that condemned Joseph's 'despotism', while still lauding many of his reforms. The increasingly radical tone of these literary "ally-opponents" alarmed Joseph, influencing him to re-impose strict censorship in 1787. <sup>73</sup>

Joseph II dreamed of a strong, well-organized State. He failed, however, to find allies for his plans. Eventually, everyone turned against him: the nobility, who felt itself provoked, threatened, and humiliated, the State officials, to whom he was unceasingly demanding, and, finally, the citizenry, whose lives Joseph wanted to emancipate from their centuries- old *habitus* of traditions, customs, and social order, with the goal of producing more productive citizens for the coming industrial age. Joseph simply did not understand that in its capacity as an already cultivated (and thus "sunk in") "way of living", *habitus* carries with it a heavy load of inertia and only changes when external conditions are so dramatically transformed as to permanently disrupt the extant capacity of accumulated, ordered dispositions. Joseph's constant inner conflict between his Divine Right as an absolute ruler, left him unaccepting of the possible concessions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Charles O' Brien, *Leslie Bodi, Tauwetter in Wien*, zur Prosa der österreichischen Aufklärung 1781-1795, 57. Ernst Wangermann, *From Joseph II to the Jacobin Trials*. London: Oxford U.P. 1969, 25-50.

he would eventually have to make toward the nascent social contract that an educated, more efficacious and self-determining populace might eventually require, as a result of his reforms. Joseph's personal "distance" from his people blinded him to the fact that *habitus* encompasses that which is most essentially a person's self; any rejection or transformation of the things that we do as second nature is in effect a rejection or transformation of what a person "is" in the most fundamental sense.<sup>74</sup> Far from creating a stable social and political order, however, Joseph's flurry of absolutist decrees, policies and laws merely contributed to creating social disorder instead of preventing it. Joseph wanted to be "among the people", but he could not reach them; his character was too sharp, his concepts and implementations of social engineering were too fast and too radical. Because he wanted to radically change everything all at once, he sadly never reached his goal. In hindsight, one can describe Joseph II as being "a century too early", or "too much, too soon". From a chronological perspective, he would have been more successful as a ruler during the reign of Emperor Franz Joseph I (r. 1848-1916). Reigning in the nineteenth century, Joseph II would have been a contemporary of the now renowned intellectuals of the Fin de siècle: Freud, Herzl, Adler, Hanslick, and others. The "emancipated" citizenry of the post Vormärz era would have better understood Joseph II.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Omar Lizardo: *Habitus* 

#### Leopold II, Franz II, Clemens von Metternich, Ferdinand I, and the Vormärz

Upon the death of Joseph II in 1790, his brother Leopold II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, ascended to the Austrian throne. Leopold II was a moderate proponent of enlightened absolutism. Despite his short two-year reign (1790-1792) Leopold II is considered a ruler of outstanding diplomatic and administrative abilities. As Leopold II grand duke of Tuscany (1765-90), he reorganized the Tuscan government, abolished torture and the death penalty, reduced taxation, removed the many restrictions on industry and personal freedom imposed by his Medici predecessors (and left untouched during his father's life). Leopold's reforms, no less radical than those of his brother Joseph II, and just as distinguished by an institutionalized anticlericalism, met less opposition. Because Leopold II discussed them with the local nobility and bourgeoisie in advance of their implementation, they were more easily received. Leopold II also approved and collaborated on the development of a political constitution. His concept of this was founded on respect for the political rights of citizens (a social contract), and on a balance of power between the executive and legislative branches of government. Leopold's constitution, however, could not be put into effect because Leopold moved to Vienna to become Emperor in 1790, and because it was so radically new that it might amass opposition even from those who might have benefitted from it.<sup>75</sup> During the last years of his rule in Tuscany, Leopold became increasingly concerned with the growing disorders in the German and Hungarian regions of the Empire, many of which were the direct consequence of his brother Joseph II's impetuous and unwise policies. Leopold II knew that he must succeed his eldest brother to the Austrian throne but was unwilling

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> George. Mora, "Vincenzo Chiarugi (1759-1820) and his Psychiatric Reform in Florence in the Late 18<sup>th</sup> Century." *Journal of the History of Medicine*. Xiv. no. 10 (1959). 424-33.

to inherit his brother's unpopularity. Leopold was still in Florence when Joseph II died in Vienna on February 20<sup>th</sup>, 1790 and did not leave for Austria until March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1790.

As Emperor, Leopold began to establish his authority and popularity by watering down or reversing many of his brother's reforms. He made large concessions to the interests offended by Joseph II's innovations. He gave official recognition of the Estates in his different dominions as "the pillars of the monarchy", pacified the Hungarians and Bohemians, and granted concessions to insurgents in the Austrian Netherlands (now present-day Belgium). One of his earliest (1790), harshest, (and historically most controversial) decrees was to force thousands of Bohemian serfs, freed by Joseph II, back into servitude.

During his short two-year reign as Holy Roman Emperor, he was hard pressed by peril from west and east alike. The growing revolutionary actions in France endangered the life of his sister Marie Antoinette of Austria, the queen of King Louis XVI, and threatened his own lands with the spread of subversive unrest. From the east he was threatened by the aggressive expansionist policies of Catherine II of Russia and the bellicose policy of Prussia. He marched troops into areas where his own authority needed to be restored yet did not surrender any part that could be retained of what Maria Theresa and Joseph had done to strengthen the power of the state. Like Joseph he continued, for example, to insist that no papal bull could be published in his dominions without his advance consent. He also forbade the church from reassuming control of the school system implemented by Maria Theresa and Joseph II. His successors Franz I, and Ferdinand I, with State Chancellor Metternich, would continue to preserve the state-controlled school system inaugurated by the General School Ordinance of 1774 as a means of preserving imperial authority and social order. Few, if any notable reforms to the General School Ordinance would

be implemented until after the *Vormärz* revolution of 1848, and the reforms of Count Leo von Thun.

<u>The School Reforms of Count Leo von Thun, the Constitutional Monarchy, and the Fin de Siécle</u>

Compulsory schooling in the Austrian Empire was eventually firmly established in the mid nineteenth century, circa 1849,<sup>76</sup> after the *Vormärz* revolution of 1848, and the reforms of count Leo von Thun in 1850.<sup>77</sup> Von Thun is credited with having implemented reforms in the existing system of schools. It was von Thun who brought the noted scholar and pedagogue Franz Exner to Austria from Germany to draft plans to establish additional schools in all parts of the Empire, as well as to replace and supersede the antiquated textbooks and methods of instruction. Von Thun, Exner, and others championed the formation of learned societies and the growth of a professional ethos and efficacy among teachers. Von Thun was also in part responsible for the *concordat*, which, again, subjected the school system to the control of the Catholic Church.<sup>78</sup>

Although the eventual success of the Austrian and Austro-Hungarian school system produced graduates of a high level of literacy, knowledge and socioeconomic efficacy among the non-aristocratic social classes, the monarchy's goal of retaining an unchanging social order remained firmly in place until 1918, despite the demands of the industrial revolution, the growing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup>An edict was passed by Emperor Franz Josef I on October 9<sup>th</sup>, 1849. The edict placed education under state control, the curriculum was prescribed and controlled by the state, the teaching of national history was from a Habsburg viewpoint.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Leopold Graf von Thun und Hohenstein (1811-1888), was a nobleman of Bohemian ancestry. In 1849 he accepted the position of minister of religion and education, which he held until 1860.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> During von Thun's administration, the influence of the Church over the school system was over the teaching of religion and did not return the system to its pre-1774 status.

discontent among the non-nobility concerning their political and socioeconomic positions, <sup>79</sup> the continuing growth of nationalism among the non-Germanic peoples and regions of the Empire, and their demand for self-sovereignty. Even those who had passed their Matura exams and graduated from university still faced formidable class-restrictive barriers to careers and success. The continuing link of the greatly expanded *habitus* to the unchanging social positions of the new educated non-aristocratic classes was still inhibiting individuals from recreating the very same conditions under which the system of skills and dispositions that are constitutive of it can be most profitably put to use.

Volksschulen (elementary schools), taught mostly by Catholic clergy<sup>80</sup>, prepared Christian and Jewish students alike to enter either Gymnasium or Oberrealschule (secondary schools). Gymnasium led in turn to the examination known in Austria as the *Matura*, and in Germany as the *Abitur*, which upon passing, entitled the student to enter any university in Germany or Austria-Hungary. These schools followed the pattern of classical education, based on facts. They memorized facts and drills (arithmetic and multiplication tables, lists of linking verbs and grammatical components, dates, and so forth).<sup>81</sup> As the students' thought processes matured, they would be taught how to fit their knowledge into logical structures: spelling rules, mathematics, basic logic, grammar/sentence diagramming, and timelines for organizing knowledge into logical order. Memorization of information, the logical organization and subsequent clear imitation of models, and spontaneous expression (the inventing of arguments) are the *tools to think*: e.g., the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Concern with labor supply was a consequence of the growing expansion of manufacturing and rural industry in eighteenth-century Europe. "Contentment with position" was a means of motivating pupils away from pursuing educational advancement (and socioeconomic upward mobility) beyond the standards of their social class. At the very moment the General School Ordinance was being implemented, measures were also being taken to curtail educational advancement among the rural and urban poor beyond the elementary level. Hugo Wolf and other school children of his era were not subjected to this, based on the reforms applied to school admissions in the mid nineteenth century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Notably the Piarist Fathers. Johnston, 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Ibid.,6.

tools by which the mind works. It is with these tools to think that the student can explore the broader concepts of their own creativity, intellect, and the knowledge of the world around them. This curriculum would dwell on *one* problem, *one* author, or *one* epoch long enough to allow even the youngest student a chance to exercise his mind in a critical- scholarly manner: to make connections, and to trace developments, lines of reasoning, patterns of action, recurring symbolisms, plots, and motifs. 82 Such an education would (and still does) continually demand that students work against their baser tendencies (e.g. laziness) in order to reach the goal of mastery of a subject. 83 These methods implanted a remarkable foundational knowledge of all the subjects taught: grammar, logic, arithmetic, history and physics. In reference to ancient literature and mythology, drills in translating ancient texts promoted a mastery of syntax, 84 and facilitated impromptu speaking, a skill which requires translating thoughts instantly into words. Political speeches and university lectures were filled with allusions to authors from Greek and Roman Antiquity, instilling in every student an awareness that he was participating in an enterprise (the "Great Conversation") begun ages ago by great thinkers<sup>85</sup> he could not hope to equal. The students had to spend five to six hours a day sitting on wooden school benches for five years of elementary (Volksschule) school and eight years of Gymnasium. In their free time they did homework, and in addition, they had to master the subjects required for "general culture" outside school: French, English and Italian, classical Greek, and Latin; five languages, as well as physics, geometry, history, and other subjects. This was a grueling regimen. The curriculum in the Austro-Hungarian school system had been carefully devised based on a century's worth of

<sup>82</sup> David Hicks, Norms and Nobility: A Treatise on Education. (New York: Praeger, 1981), 133.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.,17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup>Quintilian's lessons in tropes of speech, and figures of speech would be taught, learned, and mastered by students. See Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, Book 11.

<sup>85</sup> For example, Quintilian, Cicero, Aristotle, Plato, Homer, and Vergil.

experience, and if inspiringly taught, could have laid the foundations of a broad and fruitful cultural education. Unfortunately, however, it was taught according to a dry-as-dust plan that made the lessons themselves dry and lifeless:<sup>86</sup> a cold apparatus of learning that was never adjusted to the individual and, like an automaton programmed to recite the terms "good, satisfactory, unsatisfactory," to indicate to what extent the students met the demands of that curriculum.<sup>87</sup> This is what subconsciously embittered the students about attending school. Students attending Gymnasium in any of the larger cities in the Empire would have had an accessible means of feeding their curious young minds, as described by Stefan Zweig in his book *The World of Yesterday:* 

"We borrowed books from all the public libraries and lent anything we could find to one "Up to the age of fourteen or fifteen we coped with school reasonably well... And another difference became more and more obvious daily; on our school benches where we sat, we heard, in reality, nothing new, or nothing that we felt was worth knowing, while outside there was a city full of thousands of things to stimulate our minds: a city of theatres, museums, bookshops, a university, music, a place where every day brought new surprises. So, our pent-up thirst finding no nourishment at school, ardently concentrated on all that was going on outside it. At first only two or three of us discovered that we had these artistic, literary and musical interests, then a dozen, and finally it was almost everyone." How ashamed we schoolboys would have been, meeting our luckier colleagues, if we couldn't have described every detail of a first night at school next morning! If our teachers had paid closer attention, they would also have realized that the covers of our Latin grammars in fact concealed the poems of Rilke, and we were using our mathematics exercise books to copy out the best poems from books that we had borrowed. We read other things under the table, works by Nietzsche and Strindberg. We had to know everything, acquire knowledge of all that was going on in every area of the arts and sciences... And most of all, we read; we read everything we could another. But our best cultural source for all novelty was the coffee house."88

What Zweig illustrates so clearly but without direct mention, is that he and his classmates did indeed benefit from their "dry and lifeless" schooling, especially concerning their understanding of language in terms of grammar and syntax, mental focus while applying the desire to learn and "know everything," by mastering all the tricks (tropes and figures) of language through their own attempts at writing verse, showing, and subjecting it to each other's analyses and criticisms. By their final years at Gymnasium, their fanatical enthusiasm meant that in their own "expert"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*. Zürich: Williams Verlag, 1942. English translation copyright 2009 by Anthea Bell and Pushkin Press, 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup>Zweig, 67.

judgments and stylistic abilities to express themselves, Zweig concludes that "We were far ahead of famous critics in established positions." From his earliest years of schooling, and despite interpersonal conflicts with his superiors, and the lack of completion of his secondary schooling, Hugo Wolf was nonetheless educated in this manner until he left Gymnasium for good in 1875.

#### Hugo Wolf's Education

Hugo Wolf completed the full four years (1866-1870) of primary schooling at the Volksschule in his hometown of Windischgraz (present-day Slovenj Gradec). At this time, he was also studying piano and music theory and harmony with Sebastian Weixler, who provided the foundations of Wolf's eventual pianistic virtuosity. 90 At the age of ten (1870), Hugo, along with his elder brother Max, was sent to attend the *K.u.K. zweites Staatsgymnasium* in Graz; 91 after six months he was dismissed and sent home with the official explanation of "ganz ungenügend" (wholly inadequate). 92 Wolf spent the remainder of that year at home in Windischgraz. The following year (1871) he was sent to, and attended, the Benedictine school at the monastery of St. Paul, in Lavantthal, Carinthia, where his musical talents were recognized by the instructor Father Sales Pirc, who allowed Wolf to play the organ at church services and play

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup>Ibid., 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Sebastian Weixler was a pianist-teacher, and friend of Phillip Wolf. As a result of Weixler's tutelage, Wolf's pianistic ability was deemed good enough for the Vienna Conservatory to place him in the second-year piano class of Prof. Wilhelm Schenner, upon Wolf's admission to that institution in 1875.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup>Frank Walker: *Hugo Wolf: A Biography*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 8. The school was founded in 1869, the year before Wolf was enrolled. The school moved from its original location in the Griesgasse to its present location in the Lichtenfelsgasse in 1889. After a number of mergers with other schools and subsequent renamings from ca. 1907 to the present day, it is now named Bundesgymnasium Lichtenfelsgasse.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Ibid. Walker states that Wolf's failure was most likely the result of homesickness, the lack of parental coddling, the stern indifference of his teachers, and so forth.

in the resident piano trio. <sup>93</sup>Wolf was once again dismissed and sent home two years later (1873), because of unsatisfactory grades in both Latin <sup>94</sup> and Slovene. He then spent the following two years (1874-1875) at the Gymnasium in Marburg (present-day Maribor, Slovenia), where once again he was in confrontation with both classmates and superiors alike. <sup>95</sup>

Discipline at Gymnasium was stern, and fear of failure keen. <sup>96</sup> Near the end of the school year in 1875, he wrote to his father, pleading with Philipp Wolf to come for him, otherwise he would leave on his own. Philipp reluctantly obliged. As a result, the four years <sup>97</sup> of primary schooling in Windischgraz was the only formal schooling that Wolf completed in its entirety.

Although one might conclude that Hugo Wolf's schooling was wasted on him, I conclude that it was not. Despite Wolf's lack of completion, the nearly eight years Wolf spent in school, nonetheless benefitted him. The fact-based knowledge he acquired during his primary schooling, followed at Gymnasium with the language-intensive nature of classical education, coupled with Wolf's love of the German language, gave him the skill sets to read, write, think, and understand syntax, grammar, poetic rhythm, and meter. Like Zweig and many others, Wolf was able to have the "Great Conversation," and develop a passion for the things of the mind. This, in turn, was to become an indispensable synergist to his slow and difficult efforts towards the gradual mastery of musical composition resulting in acknowledged masterworks of the *Lied*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Jure Rozman, "The Formation of a Style: Selected Early Works by Hugo Wolf." DMA Dissertation, Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 2007, 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> The Gymnasien of Wolf's time required eight years of Latin, studied six hours per week, Also, the language of the province in which the school was located, would also have been taught. In Wolf's case, that language was Slovene. Wolf's teacher in Latin, Prof. Hermann, was unrelentingly demanding of his pupils, determined that only four of the twelve children in Hugo's class be promoted to the next grade. Wolf was not included in this group, and to avoid humiliation and disgrace, was removed from the school, at the suggestion of Father Sales Pirc. See Walker, p. 12.

<sup>95</sup>Rozman, 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup>Johnston, 66. In his work *Die Traumdeutung* (Vienna, 1900) Sigmund Freud probed what he called examination-dream and Matura-dreams in which an adult would imagine that he had failed his Matura, usually in his favorite or strongest subject. Freud, Sigmund: *Die Traumdeutung*, 8<sup>th</sup> ed. In *GW*, 2/3 (London, 1942), 282.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup>Attendance at Gymnasium was a requisite eight years, beginning in 1850, per the reforms of Count Leo von Thun. Johnston, 67.

#### CHAPTER TWO

THE FOURFOLD LEARNING EQUATION: IMITATION+EMULATION+INVENTION=
RESULTS

#### **Introduction**

Since all human beings have "the desire to know" and, consequently, do "what they know", we can build a fourfold learning equation consisting of Imitation+Emulation+Invention= Results. The "tools to think" that a student is to learn and master, via the practice and execution of this learning equation, are requisite to the exploration and mastery of the broader concepts and knowledge contained in the "Silva", 99 to which we then are able to add our own powers of invention, creativity, authenticity, and mastery. The school system in which Hugo Wolf and his classmates were educated made use of this model, starting from the inception of the system in 1774, continuing (with reforms) to 1918, and beyond. The following is an introduction to, and a brief discussion of, the first three elements of the fourfold learning equation, which will be applied to the discussion of the musical autodidacticism of Hugo Wolf.

## <u>Imitation: The First Element of the Fourfold Learning Equation</u>

Imitation (from the Latin *imitatio*, "a copying, imitation") is defined as: to model oneself after the behavior or actions of, to copy the literary, artistic, or musical style of, or finally, to copy or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup>"All men have the desire to know." From Aristotle: *Physics*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Silva (Lat.) meaning "forest". In Medieval terms, "Silva" refers to a "forest" or "thicket" of available knowledge, accessed by the "tools to think".

reproduce. The synonyms *imitate, copy, mimic, ape, parody,* and *simulate* mean to follow something or someone taken as a model. <sup>100</sup> Imitation is also an important aspect of social learning that leads to the development and manifestation of *habitus,* along with discernment. It allows the transfer of information (behaviors, customs, elements of learning and knowledge, etc.) between individuals and through generations without the need for genetic inheritance. In the [classroom] learning environment it is the *observational learning process* which takes place, in which imitative learning is practiced. The following criteria are involved: <sup>101</sup>
a) Attention: In order to learn, one needs to be paying attention. Anything that distracts one's attention is going to have a negative effect on observational learning. If the knowledge-information model is interesting, one is more inclined to dedicate one's full attention to learning. b) Retention: The ability to store and recall information is also an important part of the learning process; the ability to pull up information later and act on it is vital to observational learning. c) Reproduction: This is what I identify as the <u>imitation component</u> of observational learning. Imitation is the student's actual *performance* of the behavior and knowledge, observed from the

d) Motivation: Lastly, in order for observational learning to be successful, one must be motivated to imitate the behavior that has been modeled. Reinforcement and punishment play an important

teacher. Further practice thereof leads to further acquisition of knowledge and information,

improvement, and skill advancement.

<sup>100</sup>The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, Fifth Edition. s.v. "imitation". Retrieved April 24 2017 from http://www.thefreedictionary.com/imitation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup>Kendra Cherry, "What is Social Learning Theory?" http://www.verywell.com/social-learning-theory. Accessed Apr.23, 2017. The four criteria listed by Kendra Cherry are based on the social learning theory by famed psychologist Albert Bandura (b.1925), which suggests that observation, imitation, and modeling play a primary role in this process. Bandura's theory combines elements from behavioral theories, which suggest that all behaviors are learned through conditioning, and cognitive theories, which consider psychological influences such as attention and memory.

role in motivation. Experiencing and/or observing others experiencing reinforcement or punishment can be highly effective as motivators.

Imitation was a fundamental method of instruction in ancient Roman and in Renaissance humanist curricula and took place on many levels and through many methods, just as it does today. At the elementary level, students utilized imitation in learning the rudiments of Greek or Latin (starting with the alphabet and numbers, letter combinations, words, and spelling, and so forth). Imitative exercises were provided to help students learn and appropriate the qualities of the literary models assigned to them. At a more rudimentary level, imitative exercises consisted either of copying some outline or organization within the original, by supplying new content or, of copying the *content* of the original, but supplying a new organization thereof. 102 The intention was to provide a kind of literary and rhetorical apprenticeship by which the best preexisting models could be utilized in a regulated, graduated manner. The study and imitative transcription of preexisting musical models by students of musical composition is exemplified by this definition of imitation, as described above. As a method of rhetorical-literary composition, (and as a method of musical composition, for example, species counterpoint), students would move from close, literal imitations of their models to more relaxed sorts, using these models increasingly as starting points for longer, more involved compositions of their own making. 103 It has often been mistakenly assumed that imitation had only to do with the actual literal copying of the content, and shape of a given model. However, an authority such as Quintilian<sup>104</sup> gives considerable emphasis, instruction, and guidance in how students are to observe and imitate the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Rhetoric.byu.edu/Pedagogy/Imitation.htm (Accessed April 23, 2017)

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (c. AD 35-?) Roman rhetorician, Latin teacher and writer whose work on rhetoric, the *Institutio Oratoria*, is a major contribution to educational theory and literary criticism. It was published in Rome in 1470 and was used as a pedagogical reference throughout the Middle Ages, with renewed intensity in the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Johann Sebastian Bach also utilized Quintilian, in his own well-notated copy.

argumentative methods or the content of models. Quintilian makes five explanatory statements of how imitation in learning and teaching should be utilized: 105 First, he states that imitation is not sufficient on its own; stating that it is only a lazy mind is content with the work of others. Second, he considers it a disgrace to be content merely to attain the effect one is imitating. It is important that one adds to "previous achievements" to produce cognitive growth. Third, Quintilian states that it is generally easier to improve on something than simply to repeat it. He then hints to the natural faculties of invention and curiosity latent within us, by the following wise and insightful statement, that "Total similarity is so difficult to achieve that even Nature herself has failed to prevent things which seem to match and resemble each other most closely from being always distinguishable in *some* respect." Fourth, he states the veritable purpose of imitation: "...the models we choose have their own nature and real force, whereas all imitation is artificial and adapted to another's purpose." <sup>107</sup> I interpret this statement as an illustration of how the artifice of the imitative process is both the acquisition of the knowledge and/or skill set represented in the models, and the adaptation to our own purpose(s) is done through our own nature and real force, which is separate from the nature and real force of the models. This consists of our powers of invention, intellect, and so forth. This is where, in my opinion, educators of our present day often fail or refuse to recognize and acknowledge both the importance of a student's ability to engage their inborn intellect and curiosity during the process. If enough time is spent on the topic, the knowledge, and/or the skill set for the student to develop facility therewith, cognitive growth will occur. The student who truly "desires to know' will find him/herself motivated by their own inner force, to learn and master what is necessary, as a means

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Donald A. Russell, ed., Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*. Bk.10. (Cambridge, MA, London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 323-327.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Ibid.

to a specific end.<sup>108</sup> Finally, Quintilian summarizes that the greatest qualities of an orator are inimitable: talent, invention, force, fluency, everything in fact that is not taught in the textbooks.<sup>109</sup> In other words, the student (and eventually, the orator) *by nature* must possess these qualities, the "inner substance", to be cultivated and developed by learning and practice.

## Emulation: The Second Element of the Fourfold Learning Equation

"Emulation is a noble jealousy, between persons of virtue, or learning, contending for superiority therein. Emulation admires great actions and strives to imitate them. Emulation involves in it the esteem of the person whose attainments or conduct we emulate, of the qualities and actions in which we emulate him, and a desire of resemblance, together with a joy springing from the hope of success." In learning, emulation is the process whereby the student uses his ability to imitate (imitation or mimesis) in order to approach the unknown and unfamiliar, and, eventually, incorporates this new information into his own experiences, with the intention of mastering the learned materials and, hopefully, surpassing one's model. Oftentimes, imitation is confused with emulation, in that in the latter, the emulative *end* to be achieved must start by first employing imitation as the *means* toward that end. Imitative tasks such as copying, repetition, the memorizing of figures, words, actions, formulas, constructs, and so forth, are to result in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Hugo Wolf is an excellent example of an individual being impulsively driven from within his own life force, and his desire to compose musical works, despite having not completed gymnasium, and having been expelled from the Wiener Konservatorium in 1877. In order to acquire and master the compositional skills he needed in order to produce musical works, he embarked upon constant study of preexisting musical works by other composers: studying, transcribing, and analyzing their formal constructs, and melodic and harmonic construction. Wolf was particularly interested in studying preexisting compositional models involving text set to melody, syllable combined with tone, and the process of achieving melodic and harmonic nuance compatible with the literary nuances of the text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Ibid. 327.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia: or, a Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences.* s.v. "Emulation." London, 1738. 644.

mastery thereof. From an aesthetic perspective, the applied learning effort by the student and the knowledge, skill sets, and experience gained by the student during the imitation phase should, as a result of emulation, serve as homage to the source materials and the authors and teachers thereof. Optimally, the student is then equipped with the tools to think, the tools to work, and in the case of Hugo Wolf, the tools to compose. With these newly acquired tools, the student can then better utilize his own powers of access to, and processing of, knowledge and information. This can now be done using his now cultivated and differentiated intellect, creativity, and invention. Finally, without emulation as the end goal of imitation, pure imitation is merely a slavish exercise in copying. In our modern era, our educational systems tend to overemphasize end results with little to no attention to the process of acquisition (through imitation) and emulative mastery of the skills needed to achieve those end results to an acceptable, usable standard.

"I don't want to imitate or mimic. I want to be original." The two quoted statements which begin this paragraph indicate to me a clear disregard by present-day educators and students to recognize the *purpose* of imitation in a learning-instructional context, and as a result, ineffectively utilize the exercise of learning by imitation toward the goal of emulation, as I am discussing. As seen from the perspective of the fourfold learning equation, learning by imitation is now often wrongly labeled as mere copying, with plagiaristic implications. Therefore, imitation is thus seen by educators as dishonest and "unnecessary" to the process of achieving the emulative goal of the fourfold learning equation. Where is the line that separates mere copying from paying homage to an author? Or better, where, in an instructional-learning context, is our conscious *recognition* of the practice and purpose of imitation, which is to move

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Sarah Calender, "Imitation vs. Emulation." http://writerunboxed.com (accessed May 26, 2017).

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

toward the process of emulation, where mastery of materials and newly acquired skill sets result? In such a scenario there is little to no deliberate instruction-based emphasis communicated to the student concerning the difference between the legitimate instructional purposes of imitation versus outright plagiarism. Without emulation, there is a polarization between mere copying and creating. And, finally, where is our conscious recognition of emulation as a skill and knowledgebased prerequisite to the effective access to, and use of, one's own powers of cognition and comprehension, of invention, creativity, and productivity? In a learning-instructional context, what if writing out the pages of Jack London's *The Sea Wolf*, word by word, and sentence by sentence, helps a student to learn, internalize, and master syntax, diction, and narrative stance?<sup>113</sup> Is such an assigned exercise considered mere copying or plagiarism? When have we borrowed from, or found inspiration in other writers, musicians, artists, and scientists? In the teaching of music and composition, why for centuries, have students been assigned to the playing and memorizing of scales, arpeggios, chordal triads, and inversions, all of which are preexistent? Why, in addition, have they been assigned to the manual transcription of compositional exercises, 114 and of preexisting musical works in order to learn and master musical rhythm and meter, harmony, counterpoint, and so forth? The goals of the imitative+emulative processes provide the answer to these questions. Emulation depends on the student's choice to participate, and this in turn presupposes the feeling that what is happening is meaningful. Aristotle succinctly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup>J.S. Bach, Vivaldi, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, and many other great composers copied and transcribed thenextant musical works, in addition to written exercises in counterpoint from the *Gradus ad Parnassum*, which is still used today. Despite not finishing his formal musical (and academic) training, Hugo Wolf nonetheless still recognized the need to continue his study of counterpoint, in order to achieve greater mastery of musical voice-leading and part-writing in his own compositions. He struggled with this task all his life, particularly in his instrumental works, such as his tone poem *Penthesilia*, completed in 1885. When presented to the Vienna Philharmonic for a first-time read through, the orchestra noticed the awkwardly composed passages in the piece, and finally, burst out into laughter. This caused Wolf to jump from his seat, and run out of the concert hall, humiliated.

states it in this way: "Hence that which produces movement (action) will be one in kind, the faculty of desire, and prior to everything the *object* (italics mine) of desire."<sup>115</sup>

The concept of "cultivation", and the systematized cultivation of the young through education is founded upon the idea of emulation. The nineteenth century education pioneer Wilhelm von Humboldt<sup>116</sup> felt strongly that emulation was a link between the individual's external and internal world. Hugo Wolf, like his classmates, was educated *culturally*, in addition to academically and musically. He realized the importance of connecting his music to an aesthetic response. He lived, and was schooled, in a country, and in an era, predicated upon knowledge of the role of music in the lives of its creators, performers, and among audiences. His obsession with great works of German poetry and literature, with music, and his obsessive desire to set his chosen literary materials to music were his touchstone. This was the impetus behind Wolf's *desire* to emulate his compositional models, and ultimately, to compose. This presupposed his feeling and conviction that his efforts were meaningful. From a sociocultural perspective, we must bear in mind that in his desire to create a successful career as a composer of music, Hugo Wolf (like many others) was clearly aware of, and musically and academically engaged in, the academic-musical-cultural systems and traditions of his country, past and (his) present. Despite his clashes

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Aristotle, *De Anima*, 433b 10-11. I interpret this explanation in that a student must grasp the *prospect* of doing the thing we have deemed good, pleasant, or beneficial, in order to be moved to action.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Christian Karl Ferdinand von Humboldt (1767-1835) was a Prussian linguist, government official, diplomat, and founder of the University of Berlin (Now Humboldt University of Berlin). He is recognized as the creator of the Humboldtian Education Ideal (German: *Humboldtisches Bildungsideal*), whose core concept consists of an integration of the arts and sciences with research to achieve both comprehensive general learning and cultural knowledge.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Unfortunately, Wolf was not interested in other subjects or fields than music and literature. His grade reports (*Schulzeugnisse*) are testament to this. Wolf was forced to leave the Stiftsgymnasium of St. Paul-Graz, and later, the Stadtsgymnasium in Marburg (Present-day Maribor, Slovenia), on account of unsatisfactory grades. At the Vienna Konservatorium he was no readier to submit to a systematic course of instruction than he had been in the earlier stages of his schooling. He came to imagine that his progress was being retarded in the routine of the Konservatorium, and one day he announced to the director that he was leaving the establishment, where he was "forgetting more than he was learning". For this act of impertinence, he was expelled from the Vienna Konservatorium on official charges of "breach of discipline", in 1877. Walker, 44.

with various teachers (including at the Konservatorium), he clearly felt a sense of place; and therefore, a sense of meaningful purpose, as a motivation to learn, master, compose, and succeed. It is therefore important to note that when analyzing and discussing imitative and emulative practice in Wolf's compositional process, that elements in his works show attention to (and eventual mastery of) preexisting compositional techniques and procedures "from the past", coupled with his own innovations.

To understand how emulation works, it is essential to know how knowledge is communicated to students in a trusting relationship, and to be able to build a learning environment; because communication is at the heart of education and learning. Emulation, therefore, is functionally connected to *language* in the interaction between teachers and students. The meaning and significance of emulation appears if we consider that we as humans believe that we are equally worthy to attain the same qualities as those whom we respect and confide in. The seed of emulation is found in the quality of oral interaction in the student choosing (or desiring) to listen to a teacher who in some way resembles an image or quality he has of himself. In the teaching situation, a teacher needs to consider both the dependence of individuals on themselves, and their dependence on others. Aristotle uses the term 'confidence' (in Greek: *pistis*), <sup>120</sup> for the feeling that arises when an individual trusts another person, and which he believes is the foundation for all meaningful communication. The pedagogical function of emulation in the context of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Tina Kindeberg, "The Significance of Emulation in the Oral Interaction Between Teacher and Students." *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, vol. 47, no.1 (2013): 99-111. http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com (accessed July 8, 2017). 100.

Aristotle, *Rhetoric* Book II. Translated by C.D.C. Reeve. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2018, 148.
 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*. IX. Translated by Roger Crisp. Cambridge, UK, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. 1166a@-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> This sense of 'confidence' is also felt by the student towards his lessons and drills, based upon this trusting relationship with his teacher. I myself have experienced this. Hugo Wolf's first meeting with Richard Wagner on December 11th, 1875 is such an example. While Wagner explained to the then fifteen-year-old Wolf that it was too premature to pass judgment upon the quality of his (Wolf's) compositions, he also affirmed Wolf's use of "the classics" as his compositional models by saying: "Well yes, that's right. One cannot be original all at once." Wagner

learning is constituted by the fact that the student chooses whether to take part in the teacher's knowledge, proficiency, and values. 122 It must be understood that emulation is not a process of simply imitating or mimicking a particular behavior of someone, but rather to acquire and cultivate both the interest, and the desire to extend one's own knowledge of, and proficiency in, the subject at hand.

# The Biological Condition of Emulation 123

Emulation aims to embody the totality of skills and attitudes exemplified and expressed by the teacher, as well as both the meaning and the value invested in the subject. As a biological being, humans are *relational* by nature. We are born into a lifelong dependence on each other, and the fundamental need by us to be part of a community is the driving force of our will to survive. Our ability to speak and listen is not for the purpose of us speaking solely to ourselves, but to build relations with others. <sup>124</sup> Most importantly, we are not dependent on the spoken word *as such*. Rather, we are dependent on the emotions that are created by oral expression and its unseen oral-verbal-emotional *substance*. The access to, and the physical manifestation of unseen sonic-emotional substance by way of oral expression and written *figurae* was a fundamental conceptual component in the teaching of rhetoric, going back to Antiquity. Aristotle expresses this relationship by saying that the intellect can be set in motion by oneself, but the emotions that are needed for the sense of meaning can only be set in motion by others. <sup>125</sup>

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then encouraged Wolf to continue composing, and to begin composing larger-scale works. "Go on working hard and when I come back to Vienna again show me your compositions." Wolf then "... left the master, deeply moved and impressed." Walker, 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Kindeberg, 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Ibid., 103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Ibid., 103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Aristotle, *De Anima V*, Simplicius.

Through education we choose the "condition" of our emotions, and choose to transform them or cultivate them, as part of the process of forming our states of character or *habitus*. <sup>126</sup> We all have in common that we as humans are shaped as humans by other humans. We are simultaneously independent subjects, yet nonetheless dependent upon each other, and cannot be seen as simply either/or. We are human by nature but can only be *humanely* human in a community. Therefore, one of the most important human conditions for a teacher to consider is the human characteristic of dependency. Man, *by nature* "cannot be without others". <sup>127</sup> The individual cannot form his or her identity or character in isolation. Thus, we are not capable of self-development, but need others. It follows that we by necessity are malleable; we cannot help being "formed" and affected by our experiences.

Recent neurobiological research has shown that in the communicative relation between teacher and student, scientists have found something referred to as the 'mirror-neuron system'. 128 These mirroring phenomena are caused by the activation of 'mirror-neurons' in human encounters. This mirror-effect is a foundation for our ability to comprehend other people's speech acts, through the spontaneous stimulation of feelings within ourselves, associated to analogous situations. 129 When a teacher speaks to her students, the students not only reflect their previous experiences in what the teacher says, but simultaneously, feelings are activated that may move, upset, and ultimately also change them. It is within the mirror-neuron system that

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> See footnote 139.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Aristotle, *Politics* 1232a27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Mirror Neurons were first discovered by Di Pellegrino, Fadiga, Fogassi, Gallese, and Rizzolatti in 1992. What makes a neuron a *mirror neuron* is that it is active both when a subject engages in an activity, and when the subject observes a conspecific (or the experimenter) engaging in the same or closely related activity. Further research demonstrated that about one third of these mirror neurons are "strictly congruent"; that is, they require a close match in action production and action perception, whereas about two thirds are broadly congruent, and respond to actions with the same goal (e.g., grabbing a peanut) but differing movement specific (using a tool instead of the hand). Arthur M. Glenburg, "Introduction to the Mirror Neuron Forum." *Perspectives on Psychological Science* vol. 6, no.4 (2011) 363-68

<sup>129</sup> Kindeberg, 104.

individuals let themselves be influenced socially and emotionally. This, in turn, is a condition for a student's motivation or determination to be influenced by his teacher <sup>130</sup>.

The current lack of attention to the importance of the role of emotions has allowed modern learning theories to neglect the importance of emulation as a pedagogical support to a student's learning. One reason could be that the influence of teacher personality is not considered in relation to the learning outcome. The personal-educative character of the teacher has a crucial impact on how willing students are to interact and share the teacher's knowledge, skills, and values. This was the case with Hugo Wolf, who, on an almost daily basis, would be in confrontation with his (non-music) teachers at Gymnasium. Wolf's often incorrigible, mood-influenced nature, confronted by the strict and unyielding demands of his *Gymnasiallehrer*, eventually resulted in Wolf not engaging in his academic studies, receiving unsatisfactory grades, and eventually, being forced to leave both institutions without having matriculated from either.

# The Moral Condition of Emulation 132

The moral condition of emulation is a result of the biological condition. It poses and answers the question: "How should I act to feel good together with others?" <sup>133</sup> "Moral" in this context is collective-universal, and concerns people's mutual responsibility for their own actions with

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Notably Professor Hermann, who was Wolf's teacher in Latin at St. Paul. Wolf's carelessness with and apathy towards Latin were only exacerbated by Hermann, who was exceedingly strict and unbending, and demanded much of his pupils. Of the eleven children in Hugo's class, Hermann decided that only four deserved promotions in that school year (1873). Hugo was not among those four. Wolf's father Philipp Wolf was advised to withdraw his son from the school, to avoid embarrassment. The elder Wolf complied. Walker, 11.

<sup>132</sup> Kindeberg, 104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Ibid., 105.

words as well as other means of expression. In the culture of a society, morality is seen as universal, <sup>134</sup> whereas ethics are situational. Morality presents itself in our actions towards one another as human beings. Ethics are bound by context, based on the ability to reason. Ethics are dependent on knowledge in an intellectual sense and are always bound to content. <sup>135</sup> Because of the interdependency of morals and ethics, teachers cannot disregard either in any educational situation. Ethics can be seen as differences or variations of our actions, defined in terms of "good" and "bad". When one makes an ethical choice of action, that choice is bound to its circumstances, and must always be evaluated or better, adjudicated from its specific context, in order to enable a judgment concerning what is to be considered "good" or "bad". <sup>136</sup>

Here lies a simple, but definitive statement of the significance concerning oral interaction between a teacher and student in the task and art of teaching. It is about choosing and utilizing words, in the right moment, that are engaging, motivating, and suitable for those present. In his multivolume treatise the *Institutio Oratoria*, <sup>137</sup> Quintilian has much to say on this matter: "First of all then, let him adopt a parental attitude towards his pupils, and regard himself as taking the place of those whose children are entrusted to him. He should talk a great deal about what is good and honorable; the more often he has admonished his pupils, the more rarely will he need to punish them...He should deliver at least one speech, preferably several, a day, for his class to take away with them. For even if he provides them with plenty of examples for imitation from their reading, better nourishment comes, as they say, from the 'living voice,' and especially from a teacher who, if they are properly taught, the pupils love and respect. It is difficult to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> I am referring to moral universalism: the meta-ethical position that there is a universal ethic which applies to all people, regardless of culture, race, sex, or religion, and so forth. In the culture of a society, universal morality contains the foundation for humanism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachian Ethics*, VI 1141b7-23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, II 1103b29-1104a22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*. Edited by D.A. Russell. 5 vols. Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001.

overestimate how much readier we are to imitate those whom we like." Quintilian's explanation and discussion here points to what we refer to as "personal chemistry" between teacher and students.

#### The Political Condition of Emulation <sup>139</sup>

The mission and responsibility of teachers to influence a student's character, in accordance with established laws and regulations is what classifies teachers as a distinct group, or profession. The "political condition" of educators emanates from this. This condition concerns the question, "How are good habits created in students so as to produce a positive force for a humane and democratic society, as manifested through their character?" The meetings and encounters we experience with other humans form the interpretation of what we see, hear, feel, and consequently, how we act. <sup>140</sup> Since we (as humans) are formed from these experiences, it also means that we are influenced. The results of such influence are threefold: people who function well in society, people who function less well, or people who cannot function well at all.

The idea of education as an instrument or organ (tool) of the state, whose purpose is to shape citizens to become knowledgeable, responsible, and prudent, has existed since ancient times. It is an important matter for the future of a society which concerns what type of teaching habits to which a new generation is exposed. Habits are active processes and constitute guidelines and objectives for desire and will of many different qualities. Helpfulness, unselfishness and loyalty, or indolence, condescension and narcissism are such qualities that can appear in humans,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Ibid. II.ii.5-8.

<sup>139</sup> Kindeberg, 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Kindeberg, 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Ibid.

because of influence. For Quintilian, the teacher's example and role model are among the foremost means of persuasion and influence, instilling and cultivating properties of *habitus* <sup>142</sup> in their students. In turn, the students will, through applied differentiated practice, bring these properties to fulfillment (*perfectio*) in their own daily way of life. <sup>143</sup> In its initial Aristotelian formulation, the notion of *habitus* is captured in the idea of *hexeis* (Gr.), or "having" (Lat. *habere*) an acquired, trained disposition to engage in certain modes of activity when encountering particular objects or situations. For instance, the essential capacity to regularly engage in virtuous action was understood, in the context of Aristotelian ethics, to be the primary exemplification of *habitus*.

In the learning-instructional environment, students acquire primary socialization, the norms, values, and beliefs in accordance with established procedures, protocols, laws, and regulations, and, most importantly, the crucial differences (*differentiae*) associated therewith. The need for a student to develop his powers of differentiation is an essential component of his *habitus*. Both Cicero and Quintilian discuss this in their works. <sup>144</sup> The student's practice of differentiation of his reactions and behaviors in different experiential situations and contexts should, optimally, cultivate the proficiency to act in the morally required manner without effort; that is a person for whom moral behavior becomes second nature.

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<sup>142</sup> Habitus, defined by Cicero as "a way of living" (not simply a "habit"), is a concept originally introduced by Aristotle, referenced, and utilized by both Cicero and Quintilian, re-worked by Thomas Aquinas, and used by thinkers during the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and later. The discussion of "where does habitus begin?" occupied their minds in their study and contemplation of human behavior, relative to how one behaves "by nature", versus by influence and differentiated experiences. The term habitus was also used sporadically and unsystematically by some nineteenth century European social theorists, but it was only in the work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu that the concept was re-introduced with a more systematic intent into social theory as a viable analytic tool for the job of accounting for the cognitive components of action. Omar Olizardo, Habitus. http://www3.nd.edu/~olizardo/papers/habitus-entry.pdf (accessed June 9,2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> This was referred to by the scholars of Rome, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance as *modus in viam*, or "a way of moving through life".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> Quintilian, Xi.i.39.

Emulation matters in pedagogical relationships for the following reasons. As human beings, we are in a continuous state of change and transformation, where we are formed and reformed by experiences and conditions. From birth, we adapt to the people we meet and encounter, in accordance with the *biological condition*. The people with whom we interact and/or are dependent upon either confirm or block certain activities. Such actions create *differentiae* (points of differentiation), and thus contribute to how we discern, evaluate, and experience each situation, in what we can refer to as the *moral condition*. These experiences are later expressed as *habitus*. When thinking and acting come to a point of convergence, *habitus* has become a part of our character. Verbal habits affect how we think and act, in terms of the *political condition*.

To change an individual's conduct or character is consequently linked to the change of *habits*. Here is found another similarity to Aristotle, who says that a habit eventually transforms the will to act, and so gradually becomes a part of the character: "In one word, such as our actions are, such will our habits become." Actions, therefore, ought to be most diligently attended to; and it is not a matter of small moment how we are trained from our youth; much depends on this, or rather all. Aristotle outlines the idea of the significance of emulation in forming the citizens' character, when he interconnects human actions with the extension of human knowledge. The combination of these two parts of the human experience were part of process designated as *entelechy*. To Aristotle, the process is the condition of a thing whose substance is fully realized; actuality (completeness-*entelecheia*) as distinguished from personality. Second, in various philosophical systems, it is defined as a vital force urging an organism toward self-fulfillment.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1103b2-29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Aristotle *De Anima*, 412a21-22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> American Heritage Dictionary, s.v. "Entelechy". Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1979. 436.

Qualities in the oral interaction between teacher and students draw attention to an underlying factor in the pedagogical relationship: emulation. I express the function of emulation as a quality driving the dynamics and willingness to engage in oral interaction. In relationships between humans, the experience of an encounter first and foremost amounts to how one is treated and confirmed as an individual. Bearing this in mind, emulation is a quality in the content of the student's fourfold learning development through its foundation in biological, moral, and political conditions. The will to listen and participate in the teacher's knowledge is a beginning for the student's interest in studying and learning more; not with the aim of becoming what the teacher is, but because the subject thereby becomes more meaningful, and gains interest for the student. An anonymous view of the teacher, and the confidence in various techniques and methods characterize pedagogical practice today. The lack of research and education in the emotional aspect of oral interaction is one reason. Teachers no longer learn how to use oral expression for actions, in accordance with the moral and political idea. Spoken language helps us to evaluate what we to with and do to one another and negotiate which goals to which we adhere.

Finally, the political condition refers to the mission entrusted to the teacher by a democratic society, and the responsibility for shaping students, through their education, to professionals and citizens with a certain character. Obviously, the teachers themselves must be able to express this character in their own words and actions. The absence of emulation among the central concepts of contemporary pedagogical theory and teaching practices has led to a lack of knowledge and awareness concerning the necessity of the work of teaching as a verbal and political art.

## Invention: The Third Element of the Fourfold Learning Equation

In classical rhetoric, invention (Lat.: *inventio*) is the first of the five canons of rhetoric; the *discovery* of resources per persuasion inherent in any given rhetorical problem. Rhetoric was also one of the seven liberal arts that comprised a medieval education, and literate individuals of the Middle Ages would have known its rules. The writers of ancient Rome and ancient Greece discussed and codified the characteristics of well-prepared oratory, wherein they drew a strong connection between music and rhetoric. <sup>148</sup> In book 1 of his *Institutio Oratoria*, Quintilian states that "Timagenes asserts that music is the oldest of all literary arts, and this is confirmed by the evidence of the greatest poets, in whom the praises of heroes and gods were sung to the accompaniment of the lyre at royal banquets." <sup>149</sup> He then continues by saying that although music has "been abandoned by orators and taken over by philosophers it once belonged to our work, and eloquence cannot be perfect without the knowledge of such things." <sup>150</sup> The *Rhetorica ad Herrenium* <sup>151</sup> tells us that a speaker should "possess the faculties of invention (*inventio*), arrangement (*dispositio*), style (*elocutio*), memory (*memoria*), and delivery (*pronunciatio*). <sup>152</sup>

In a speech, a story, a constructed argument, and so forth, the *rhetoric* thereof has to do with the way each unfolds and is concluded over time. Music and its units of rhythm and meter, theme and motive, phrase structures, and expressive gestures also unfold and are resolved through *motion* and time. For composers and performers studying and matching (imitating and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Angela Mariani, *Improvisation and Inventio in the Performance of Medieval Music: A Practical Approach.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2017 (accessed October 11, 2017). 158.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> Ouintilian, 10.9-33, 160.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Marcus Tullius Cicero, and Harry Caplan. *Ad C. Herrenium: De Ratione Dicendi (rhetorica Ad Herennium)*. London: William Heinemann Ltd. and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964. This was once attributed to Cicero but is now of dubious authenticity and disputed authorship.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> Oportet igitur esse in oratore inventionem, dispositionem, elocutionem, memoriam, pronuntiationem. Ibid. I. ii.3.

emulating) the rhetorical characteristics of a text to its melody was (and still is) an indispensably important skill essential to learning, mastering, and *understanding* how music is constructed. Invention was known as *inventio* in Latin, and *heuresis* in Greek. Today, our English language word *heuristic* is defined as a strategy or set of strategies for exploring topics, building arguments, and discovering solutions to problems. Such strategies include free writing (or in a composer's case, his or her musical sketches), brainstorming, probing, clustering, listing, and outlining. Additional topics of invention include such *topoi* (commonplaces) as comparison, cause and effect, relationships, and particularities.

In our present day, the word *inventio* and its original meaning (to discover) are often confused either with the English word *invention*, which means "to make or make up," or the English word *inventory*, which refers to the storage of vast and varied materials. <sup>153</sup> Even if it is used in a scholarly context today, if the original Latin definition is not properly referenced and applied, the result will be both a mistranslation of the word, as well as a misapplication of the term. This distorts the meanings of both words, and the different contexts (and eras) they both denote. The verb *discover* means to become aware of something previously unknown. The modern Italian definition of the word *invention* is this exactly, as it was in Antiquity, and during the Middle Ages. As an example, Piero della Francesa's frescoes in Arezzo are translated literally from the Italian as the *Invention of the true Cross*: not that the true cross was "created," but instead that it was "discovered," literally dug up in the soil of Jerusalem. <sup>154</sup>

This physical concept of discovery has an artistic and musical one as well. For example, during the Renaissance antique sculptures, manuscripts, and other works from Antiquity were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Richard Nordquist, Invention (Composition and Rhetoric) http:// www.thoughtco.com/invention-composition. (accessed Oct.1, 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> David Mayernik, *The Challenge of Emulation in Art and Architecture Between Imitation and Invention*. Surrey, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2013. 215.

being either literally dug up or discovered in various places. As these things emerged, they initiated intense reflection and study. The object itself, whether a statue, a piece of pottery, a weapon, a written work, became a locus or better, a *figura* of "exchange" between Antiquity and modern times, between one (ancient) artist/scholar and the (modern) other.

#### The Use of Invention in Musical Improvisation and Composition.

*Inventio* depends on the skills acquired in the memory via imitation and emulation, but what makes *inventio* inventive is the composer's mind: the ability to conceive new work that extends the tradition of the genre which he is composing. <sup>155</sup> In addition to acknowledging that skill and proficiency at *inventio* requires a well-stocked storehouse of memory, we should also investigate and discuss the differences of application of *inventio* to musical improvisation and musical composition, respectively. Improvisation is often thought of as a type of "accelerated composition". This view, however, is often disputed by musicians who utilize improvisation in their work, as quoted below:

"Improvisation may be defined as spontaneous creativity with little or nothing planned in advance. It is perhaps best understood in relationship to compositional creativity, which is essentially an ongoing planning endeavor. Whereas composition occurs in a series of discontinuous episodes that can span days, weeks, or months in the completion of a work, improvisation occurs in a single, continuous creative episode. Whereas composers usually work alone, improvisation- which can certainly happen in solitude-often occurs collectively. Whereas

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> Ibid. 126.

compositions are created at times and places that are different from when they are presented to audiences, improvisation involves simultaneous creation and performance presentation."<sup>156</sup>

The two processes also denote different experiences of creativity in real time: "The moment the composer stops, steps outside the creative flow to reflect upon, capture, and structure as part of a larger work a moment that had just passed, a new kind of temporal consciousness begins to take shape that is the basis for a very different line of creative expression than that whereby the artist sustains a moment-to-moment flow throughout a single creative episode." <sup>157</sup>

My own conclusion to this is that the most distinctive difference between improvisation and composition is defined by temporal discontinuity. This difference in inventive process that separates, or rather, distinguishes improvisation from composition does not, however, mean that they may not be represented simultaneously, in the same performance. For example, a composed work might have sections contained therein which are designated specifically for improvisation, with or without predetermined structural or harmonic restrictions.

## Invention, Memory, and Talent

*Inventio* refers primarily to the use of the creative mind, with the skills and knowledge acquired and synthesized through imitation and emulation, then being stored in the memory. It refers to the discovery of ideas: the digging up of the physical past was a metaphor for the mind's ranging over "the vast fields of memory," as Augustine described it, to say new things. <sup>158</sup> While imitation and emulation in the learning process are occupied primarily with the means of

Edward W. Sarath, *Improvisation, Creativity and Consciousness: Jazz as an Integral Template for Music, Education, and Society.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013. Kindle ed., Locations 870-73.
 Ibid. Kindle locations 3367-69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> Augustine: Confessions, Bk. 11. Mayernik, 215.

conveying ideas via the form and construct of a model, *inventio* is mostly concerned with the content itself, or the ends to which emulation is put. <sup>159</sup> Concerning emulation, it is important to recognize that it was primarily a means of, and not the ultimate end of one's learning and heuristic activity. To invent, however, one needs both the resources of the proficient emulator, coupled with a deep vault of ideas. In the discipline of rhetoric, inventio was directly and indissolubly related to memory (memoria), and inventive skill and proficiency were bound to the possession of a well- stocked inventory of memory, which the speaker (or writer, artist, musician, or composer) could draw from. This applied in the schooling of Hugo Wolf and his classmates, and, it still applies today. Mary Carruthers refers to this inventory in her Book of *Memory*, in which she states that the development of a "structured memory" was a particularly important tool in medieval learning. 160 The words topos, sedes, and locus, used in writings on logic and rhetoric as well as on mnemonics, refer fundamentally to locations in the brain, which are made accessible by means of an ordering system that functions somewhat like the routing systems used by programs to retrieve, merge, and distinguish the information in a computer's "memory," and also postal addresses or library shelf-marks. 161 This "inventory" of memory, acquired via the processes of imitation and emulation, results in our internalization and ownership of the knowledge and skills we have memorized. The Roman philosopher-dramatist Seneca states it this way: "The food we have eaten, so long as it retains its original character and floats in our stomachs as a mass, it is a burden; it passes into tissue and blood only when it has been changed from its original form. So, it is with the food which nourishes our mind. we must

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<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> "Memory is most like a library of texts, made accessible and useful through various consciously-applied heuristic schemes." Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990. 33-34.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.,

digest it; otherwise, it will only come into our acquired memory-store (*memoria*) and not pass on to become part of our own abilities (*ingenium*)."<sup>162</sup>

The Ancients referred to the inventive mind as being in a state of madness. <sup>163</sup> The madness of the Muses was a much-desired condition that in fact freed one from hidebound rules, but only after one had mastered them. A command of one's craft was a prerequisite to "surrendering" to that madness. The surrender was called the *furor poeticus*, <sup>164</sup> and it was acquired by saturation in as much knowledge of the subject at hand as possible. That knowledge had to be processed through the memory, though, to pass into an inventive phase. Memory, or *Mnemosyne*, (Gr.) was the mother of the Muses, and the inventive Poetic artist had to have digested the raw material of knowledge in order to make of it the stuff of new ideas. <sup>165</sup>

It is the power of memory (learned and produced through imitation and emulation of preexisting models), instilled with one's culture, and absorbed into one's very essence that supplies most of what one needs to invent, discover, or create. In terms of standards and ideals (as exemplified by models), the learning, imitating, and emulating of preexisting works service as stimuli to new achievement. In the field of music, not only do they establish a bar of musical achievement, their rich musical-cultural associations unlock our modern musical capacities to discover (invent), and then produce new, richer compositional works.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> Seneca, *Epistulae Morales*. Carruthers, 238.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> In his work *Phaedrus*, Plato refers to this "madness of those who are possessed by the Muses; which taking hold of a delicate and virgin soul, and their inspiring frenzy, awakens lyrical and all other numbers; with these adorning the myriad actions of ancient heroes for the instruction of posterity." <a href="http://classics.nit.edu/Plato/phaedrus.html">http://classics.nit.edu/Plato/phaedrus.html</a> (accessed November 7, 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> The word *poeticus* here I translate and define in in reference to its true meaning, translated into English as "to make, to fashion," which is a more accurate and succinct translation of this word, and its application to the concept of *furor poeticus*. The "fury" here is one's execution of the inventive phase through the spontaneous, often prolific and exciting process of manifesting *poetica*: fashioning, making, discovering (*inventio*).

<sup>165</sup> Mariani, 216.

Students often question why they are asked to actively memorize facts, and then find it difficult to understand why they are required to do so, when the facts can be obtained from the internet more quickly. The answer to this is that a mental storehouse of (memorized) content enables us to integrate and internalize the different aspects of that content. Students frequently do not understand that by not actively memorizing facts and data, their minds remain in a semipassive state, wherein it is then difficult to formulate ideas, hypotheses, and so forth, if they must access an internet search engine every thirty seconds. Also, it is just a difficult to realize a figured bass line if one has not learned, mastered, and internalized the rules of interval order and progression, and cannot recall the numeric figures or the bass line itself. In other words, a preexisting model will not be effective if the demonstration offered by the model is not held in the memory. If a musician wishes to compose music and make it his own, he must begin the process by listening to it and familiarizing himself with the repertoire. For example, if one (like Hugo Wolf) choses to compose *Lieder*, learning just one *Lied* will not suffice. One must listen to, read through, transcribe, and live with dozens of pieces in a particular genre to begin internalizing the sounds in the memory. But that is still not sufficient. One must also develop the ability to: a) recognize what is on the page, as well as "not on the page," when looking at the notated musical model, and: b) set the intention to accumulate not just a storehouse of specific repertoire, but one's own memorized and *internalized* vocabulary of melodic patterns, modes (where applicable), techniques, instrumental scorings and timbres, tempo markings, and other elements that constitute what we know of the *Lied*. The latter (b) is the more challenging and often lifelong task to perform, as it results in the formation of a substantial storehouse of memory, which draws on the connection between composition and memory. 166 The requisite

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> Mariani, 55.

ingredients to such a memorial archive include: a) the availability of preexisting compositional models suitable for emulation, b) knowledge of the musical expectations and vocabulary (melodic, motivic-thematic, rhythmic, timbral, dynamic, harmonic, and so forth) specific to genre, c) the internalization in memory, through study and practice, of the specifics of that musical vocabulary, which in turn permits spontaneous musical invention, and, finally, d) the technical ability to compose musical material spontaneously, that fits within the structural, melodic, and harmonic framework of a particular genre. <sup>167</sup>

Throughout history, students of musical composition would acquire many, if not all, of the skills and resources listed above. The very processes of study and mastery of the content of preexisting instructional materials and compositional models would stimulate in the student past allusions and associations contained in these models, thus "triggering" the student's ability to create, unearth, and invent (discover) his own work, which is the final element, and the sum of the fourfold learning equation. This is the process that set off Hugo Wolf's well-stocked memory-mind into explosive periods of creativity. Hugo Wolf's "talent," e.g., his powers of *inventio* (discovery) made his songs not only a continuance of the tradition of the German *Lied*,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Notably the years 1888-1891, which were extremely productive years for Hugo Wolf, and a turning point in his career. After the publication of twelve of his songs in late 1887, Wolf travelled to the vacation home of the Werners (friends of the Wolf family) in Perchtoldsdorf (a suburb of Vienna), to escape from the city, and to compose in total solitude. Here, he composed the *Mörike-Lieder* at a frenetic pace. After a short break, and a change of residence to the vacation home of his friends the Ecksteins, he composed the *Eichendorff-Lieder*, followed by the fifty-one *Goethe-Lieder*, which carried over into 1889. After a summer pause, Wolf commenced on composing the *Spanisches Liederbuch* in October 1889. He completed twenty-six of these works by the end of that year, plus the first seven songs of the *Italienisches Liederbuch* in 1890, and fifteen more songs by 1891. By 1895, Wolf had also composed his first opera *Der Corregidor*. By the end of that year, his mental and physical health took a downturn, due to exhaustion from his prolific past years, coupled with the effects of syphilis, and his manic-depressive temperament. As a result, in he did not compose any new works until 1896, with the completion of the *Italienisches Liederbuch*, the three *Michelangelo-Lieder* in March 1897, and in July of that year, preliminary work on his second (unfinished) opera, *Manuel Venegas*. His work on this opera was abruptly halted on September 19<sup>th</sup> of that year, due to the first outbreak of insanity, caused from tertiary syphilis.

but a rebirth thereof. His active manifestation of the fourfold learning equation by imitation and emulation of preexisting compositional (and literary) models were the instructional means he utilized, to which he then added his own powers of creativity and discovery. As a result, he did not merely transform an existing musical genre, but allowed for a new and different interpretation thereof, in that he transformed the musical-textual language itself, by rereading it.

#### CHAPTER THREE

## HUGO WOLF, HIS ANCESTRY, AND FAMILY HISTORY

#### Introduction

Although Hugo Wolf was born into a family which has been traditionally identified by musicians and scholars as purely Germanic (Austro-German), recent scholarship has revealed important discoveries, based on historic records, which show Hugo Wolf and his family to be of Austro-German-Slovene descent. These discoveries have not only provided important revisions and updates to existing Hugo Wolf scholarship; they have sparked a genuine, renewed interest in Hugo Wolf among musicians, scholars, and the populace in the present-day nation of Slovenia, who now claim Hugo Wolf as their own. <sup>169</sup>

In addition to being reared by his parents, Hugo Wolf was influenced, encouraged, and supported by several key persons in his life. Also, however, there were other important persons who were unsympathetic to the young Wolf's obsessive interest in music, or, during Wolf's years as a newspaper critic, <sup>170</sup> offended by his written criticisms of musical events in Vienna. These individuals neither forgave Wolf, nor forgot, in reference to Wolf's stinging criticisms of Johannes Brahms and others. Wolf would, as a result, suffer the consequences of his own journalistic outbursts. Other persons, however, recognized his innate talent, and provided encouragement, means, and assistance<sup>171</sup> by which he could freely compose music, and, eventually, achieve legitimate recognition for his work.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Slovenia's embrace of Hugo Wolf is a positive step for historians and musicologists, but there is no denying that Wolf remains an Austrian composer. Rozman, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> The *Wiener Salonblatt* was a weekly publication, which engaged Hugo Wolf as *Musikkritiker* from January 10<sup>th</sup>, 1884, until September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1887. Ernst Hilmar. *Hugo Wolf Enzyklopädie*, s.v. "Musikkritiker". Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2007, 305-307.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> This included Wolf's meetings with Wagner, Liszt, and Brahms. Important persons in Viennese musical and cultural life provided Wolf with a money, housing, introductions to publishers, and most importantly, a broad

## Hugo Wolf, His Hometown, and his Family

Hugo Phillip Jacob Wolf was born on March 13<sup>th</sup>, 1860, to Phillip and Katharina Wolf, of Windischgraz, Austria-Hungary. The fourth of eight children, he was preceded in birth by his sisters Modesta (b. 1852), Adrienne (b. 1853), <sup>172</sup> and brother Max (b. 1858). After Hugo was born, he was then followed by his brother Gilbert (b. 1862), sister Käthe (b. 1865), and sister Adrienne, nee Jenny (b.1867). <sup>173</sup>

## Windischgraz: Birthplace of Hugo Wolf

The town of Windischgraz in the province of Lower Styria (now present-day Slovenj Gradec, Slovenia)<sup>174</sup> was the seat of the duchy of Windisch-Graetz (or Windisch-Grätz), an Austrian aristocratic family, whose recorded origins go back to ca. 1242.<sup>175</sup> The Windisch-Graetz family served the Habsburg rulers from ca. 1551 until 1918.<sup>176</sup> During that time, the town of Windischgraz, like many others in the Habsburg Empire, served as an Austro-German outpost, situated within a non-Germanic region and population. As part of the merchant class, the Wolf family declared itself (and 'officially' spoke) German, although they still used Slovene to interact with their predominantly Slovene customers.<sup>177</sup>

exposure to literature and the "Kaffehaus-Kultur", with many evenings spent at Café Griensteidl, an important gathering place for Viennese intellectuals.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> This sister was born after Modesta but died of typhus in 1858.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> This sister was actually referred to as "Jenny", and also showed signs of musical talent: a fine singing voice, and a talent for piano. Ernst Hilmar, *Hugo Wolf Enzklpädie*, s.v. "Wolf (Familie). 492.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> The town was officially ceded to Yugoslavia per the 1919 peace treaty, following the First World War.

<sup>175</sup> http://www.almanachdegotha.org (accessed December 22,2017)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> Rozman, 6.

Hugo Wolf's first biographer Ernst Decsey gives a brief introduction to the town of Windischgraz, in his biography of Hugo Wolf. It is, in my opinion, a somewhat romanticized description of Wolf's early life, in his hometown of Windischgraz. Decsey goes on to state (and admit) that Windischgraz is not an inviting, friendly city, and that after the beautiful but peculiar landscape, the most important thing is the how one "feels" the near south, the Italian weather and landscape. It is interesting to contemplate why Decsey considers this "important".

Wolfs Geburtsstadt Windischgraz ist durchaus kein freundliches Städtchen. Langgestreckt, von ein paar guten alten Häusern abgesehen, anmutlos, liegt es am Fuß der Hohen Ursula. Aber draußen entfaltet sich eine eigenartige Natur. Die Täler führen in eine seltsam geformte, oft durchhölte Alpenwelt, wie das Logartal, das opera Sanntal, das Tal nach Unterdrauburg und kegelförmige, kahle Einsamkeitsberge tragen auf äußerster Spitze die schneeweiße, winzige slowenische Kirche. Und das wichtigste ist: das schroffe Antlitz dieser unaufgesuchten Gegend liegt sonnenzugewandt; man fühlt den nahen Süden, man geht in Voritalien. <sup>179</sup>

Decsey argues in his next statement about Hugo Wolf's provincial origins that Wolf did not remain an uncultured, "provincial" individual, but brought his talents and abilities to the capital city of Vienna, whereby trial, hardship, friendships, and romantic affairs, he developed into the archetype of the "German musician".

Hugo Wolf ist kein "schneidiger" oder "biederer" Steirer, wie er nach Lesebuch-Ausdrücken in der landläufigen Vorstellung lebt. Er hat seine Heimat in der Untersteiermark, in einer ganz andern Volkswelt, im Land der südlichen Luft, der Rebenhügel, der einsamen Fernsichten, in einem der letzten Orte deutscher Zunge. Die Südsteiermark hat ihm eindrucksvolle, farbenreiche Knabenjahre gegeben: er war zum Glück kein Großstadtkind. Der Jüngling trug jedoch seine Begabung wie viele andere als Rohstoff in die Großstadt, und Wien hat unter Druck und Härte sowohl wie durch Liebe und Freundschaft den Mann entwickelt, das Wesenbild des deutschen Musikers ausgeprägt, das wir heute unter dem Namen Hugo Wolf kennen. So ist er der geistigen Zeichnung nach in erster Linie nicht "Steirer" sondern ein Landsmann der Wiener, Meister aus Salzburg, Bonn und Hamburg. <sup>180</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> Ernst Decsey, *Hugo Wolf: das Leben und das Lied.* Berlin, Schuster & Loeffler, 1903. Reprint from the collections of the University of Michigan Library. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> Windischgraz, the town of Wolf's birth, is not a friendly little city throughout. Long-stretched, apart from a couple of old houses, it gracelessly lies at the foot of (the high) Mount Ursula. But outside a peculiar nature unfolds itself. The valleys lead in a rarely formed, often hollowed-out alpine world, such as the Logar valley, the Sann valley, the valley toward Lower Drauburg and cone-formed, bald solitary mountains on whose highest summit stands the snow-white, tiny Slovenian church. And the most important thing is the harsh face of this unvisited area lies facing the sun. One feels the near South, going into Italy. Ibid. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Hugo Wolf is not a living resolute or simple-minded Styrian, according to book euphemisms in the common imagination. He has his homeland in lower Styria, in a quite different world, in the land of the southern air, the vine-clad hills, and solitary vistas, in one of the last places where the German tongue is present. The province of southern

Decsey's description appears more romantically idealized, rather than substantive and objective. Such a description only hints to Wolf not being influenced by the history and culture of the town and province he grew up in, but by the southern landscape of the region, per Decsey's description:

Windischgraz tritt im 11. Jahrhundert als Markgrafensitz in die Geschichte ein und stammt wahrscheinlich aus römischen Zeiten. Es gehört einem Boden vergangener geistiger Blüte an-Wolfram von Eschenbach erwöhnt Cilli, die südsteirische Hauptstade, im Parsifal- und ist nunmehr dem jugoslawischen Reich einverleibt. Geschichtliche Eindrücke wird der Knabe Wolf nicht empfangen haben: aber diese abgewandte Süddlandschaft hat ihn vielliecht auch Künstlerisch bestimmt.<sup>181</sup>

I agree with Decsey, in that Hugo Wolf was indeed a child of the provinces, with much exposure to the beautiful landscapes of the (then) southern Styrian province, but with little exposure to finer, more cosmopolitan cultural norms, values, and beliefs during his childhood in Windischgraz. To his credit, Decsey also states that Wolf's true coming of age was the result of his leaving his hometown, and moving to Vienna, where he would be exposed to the highest musical, literary, and cultural standards of the time. Oddly though, Decsey does not reference Wolf's own opinions about his hometown, and whatever cultural influence it might have exacted on him, outside of his exposure to music within his family home life.

One of Wolf's later biographers, German musicologist Kurt Honolka, gives a present-day (and quite different) scholarly description of Hugo Wolf's life in, and his relationship to Windischgraz. Honolka objectively, and without romanticized affectation, acknowledges the

Styria gave him impressive, colorful boyhood years. He was luckily not a big city child. As a youth, however, he, like many others, brought himself and his abilities as "raw materials" to the big city of Vienna, which developed in the emerging young man through pressure and hardship, as well as through love and friendship, into the pronounced character archetype of a German musician, whom we now know by the name Hugo Wolf. Ibid. 9-10. Translated by the author. All German language entries are translated by the author.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Windischgraz entered into history in the 11<sup>th</sup> century as a ducal seat, and probably originates from Roman times. It belongs to a Land of past intellectual flowerings- In his work *Parsifal*, Wolfram von Eschenbach (the medieval poet) mentions Cilli, (the South-Styrian capitol, now called Celju), which (and) is at this time incorporated into the Yugoslavian realm. As a boy, Hugo Wolf would not have received any historic impressions by all of this; but this diverse southern landscape might have artistically influenced (determined) him.

plainness of the town, in contrast to the beautiful surrounding landscape. He also brings to our attention three important facts: a) that Wolf spent the first fifteen years of his life in Windischgraz, and that these years were important to the development of his personality: b) that Wolf's own determination to become a musician, was cultivated early in his life in his family's house, and: c) that despite the conflicts the young Hugo had in school, the time and era of his youth were a time of sociocultural security.

Eine schöne Landschaft, ein reizloser Ort. Hugo Wolf verbrachte dort, mit den Unterbrechnungen auswärtiger Schulbesuche, die ersten fünfzehn Jahre seines kurzen Lebens. Eine für die Entfaltung der Persönlichkeit entscheidende Zeit. Denn Wolfs eigentliche Bestimmung, die des Musikers, wurde im Elternhaus frühzeitig gefördert, und seine Kindheitsund Jugendjahre ward trotz aller Schulkonflikte eine glückliche Zeit der Geborgenheit. 182

Honolka also gives a modern, fact-based description of how Hugo Wolf had <u>no</u> love for his hometown and province, and in later years, only returned there to visit his family. In addition, Honolka indicates that only in the uncompleted musical works of Wolf's youth, does one find occasional melodic references to the Slovene folk tunes Wolf heard as a child:

Dennoch dachte er, auch wenn er später öfter zu seiner Familie nach Windischgraz zu Besuch kam, nie mit Liebe an seine Heimat. Das abseitige Nest galt ihm als spießig, als lästige, abzustreifende Entwicklungshaut. Die Besonderheiten seiner Geburtsheimat-die Schönheit der Natur, die deutsch-slowenische Völkerberührung-hinterließen keine wesentlichen Spuren in seinem eigentlichen Leben, seiner Kunst. Nur in seinen unfertigen Jünglingskompositionen klangen da und dort Weisen aus der reichen, lebendigen slowenischen Volksmusik weiter, die er seit seiner Kindheit hörte. 183

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup>A beautiful landscape, a (civic) location without charm. Hugo Wolf spent the first fifteen years of his short life, with the interruptions of out-of-town stints in school. This was a decisive, critical time for the unfolding of his personality. Because Wolf's actual determination to become a musician was stimulated and encouraged in his parents' house, and his years of childhood and youth, despite his conflicts in school, were during a lucky time of (sociocultural) security.

<sup>181</sup> Nevertheless, he thought, when he would later on return home to visit his family more often, did he have any love for his homeland. The off-the-path nest he looked upon as backward-thinking, an annoying "layer of skin to peel off". The special characteristics of Wolf's place of birth: the natural beauty, the German-Slovene interaction-left no essential hallmarks in his life or art. Only in the uncompleted musical works of his youth appear here and there hints of the rich, lively Slovene folk music, which he had heard since his childhood. Kurt Honolka, *Hugo Wolf: Sein Leben sein Werk, seine Zeit.* Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1988. 39. Translated by Frank Strnad. The Slovenian music journalist Gojmir Krek, in his article "Hugo Wolf in Slovenci" (*Novi Akordi* IX, Jg. Nr.3, 1910), provides an example of the sixteen-year-old conservatory student Hugo Wolf, using for his musical setting of Goethe's *Mailied* for men's chorus, a preexisting Slovenian melody: *Se davno mrači, moj' ga pobča še ni dekt,* a well-known melody from the Slovenian province and culture, which surrounded his hometown. Krek writes that Wolf would use such melodies either knowingly or unknowingly (bewusst order unbewusst). Krek, does establish,

# Philipp Wolf, Father of Hugo Wolf

Philipp Wolf was born on May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1828, in Windischgraz and died there on May 5<sup>th</sup> 1887. Until very recently, Philipp Wolf has always been thought to be of purely German descent. This claim was made by Hugo Wolf's early biographers, starting with Decsey in 1903, and Frank Walker in 1952. It was not until the late 1980s that sources were discovered and verified that clearly show that Philipp came from a mixed German-Slovene family, if not from purely Slovene stock. 184 In 1985, German musicologist Kurt Honolka discovered baptismal books found in St. Georg in Cilli (present-day Sentjur pri Celju, approximately 30 kilometers south of Sloveni Gradec) show that Philipp Wolf's paternal ancestors were registered under the name Vouk, which translated into German is Wolf. Maximilian Wolf, the grandfather of Philipp, was the first member of Philipp's family whose (German) surname Wolf is entered in official records. It was also Maximilian who left St. Georg in Cilli and moved to Windischgraz, to establish his leather trade. It is interesting to note that the German version of the name was used to baptize Maximilian, who was brought to baptism by his German-speaking godmother. Three years later, Maximilian's brother Frantisek (Francis) was entered by the same clerk under the Slovene version of the name. 185 On the basis of these rediscovered religious-genealogical sources, scholars have been able to produce important revisions in the Wolf family tree, which now show predominantly Slovene elements. 186

however, that Wolf's later works would have no such links to or influences from these Slovenian melodies. Honolka, 307, footnote 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> Rozman, 8.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> Rozman (Ibid.) From a 2006 interview with Joze Leskovar, president of the Slovene chapter of the Hugo Wolf Society. 13



Philipp Wolf, 1828-1887

As was customary, it was assumed that eventually, Philipp would succeed his father (Franz Wolf) in the leather trade. Philipp was born in a time where the "family profession" was often passed on from generation to generation. This was done to ensure the survival of the family, and to maintain the social position of the family in the context of *Stand*. This was the practice, the tradition, and the *habitus* of a patriarchal culture, emanating from within the sociocultural and political framework of absolute monarchical rule. Hugo Wolf's great grandfather Maximilian Wolf and grandfather Franz Wolf were both examples of this practice and tradition. To Philipp, however, this was not his idea of an ideal life's occupation. Philipp pleaded with his father for opportunities to study for a more learned profession. Franz Wolf, who had successfully brought the family leather business to a high level of prosperity, was indifferent to his son's wishes. In his mindset, Philipp's ideas of having and pursuing alternative career choices

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> Maximilian and Franz Wolf were both born in an Austrian Empire which was still under absolute rule by the Habsburg emperors. Despite the impressive reforms of the General School Ordinance of 1774 under empress Maria Theresa, the hundreds of policies and decrees by emperor Joseph II to "enlighten" his people, royal and ecclesiastical power and control were still the sole prerogative of the ruler, and, by extension, the aristocracy. Also, the threat of Jacobian activism and civil uprisings in the shadow of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars resulted in the Habsburg rulers (through chancellor Metternich) tightening their grip on the populace. Social order and class structure were maintained through censorship, the secret police, and so forth. Attempts to rise above one's social class during this time were considered subversive. Surely, Maximilian and Franz Wolf, along with other tradespeople of the so-called "merchant" class were clearly aware of this. To them, contentment with one's social position was a means of staying out of trouble with the authorities.

<sup>188</sup> Walker, 2.

were unthinkable. From his class-based perspective, Franz Wolf understood the sociocultural "demand" that one was to contentedly remain in one's social class, as exemplified by one's *habitus*. <sup>189</sup> Much against his will, Philipp was made, if not forced by obligation, to apprentice in his father's workshops. In his leisure hours, however, he constantly strove to educate and improve himself. <sup>190</sup> Like his father Franz, Philipp was of a liberal, German nationalistic political persuasion. <sup>191</sup> Still, however, it was in music that he found solace and gratification. Unaided and singlehandedly, he taught himself to play (with proficiency) on the piano, violin, flute, harp, and guitar. <sup>192</sup> He also sang in the Windischgraz Mens Chorus. <sup>193</sup> In the tannery, a musical instrument would often be hidden under a pile of leather hides, ready for an opportune moment for a little extra practice, in Franz Wolf's absence. <sup>194</sup>

On his father's death, Philipp inherited the house and leather business, but never concealed his outright dislike for the family trade, which he had been forced to take up. Nonetheless, the business provided Philipp with a reliable source of income, and a comfortable living. This enabled him to marry Katharina Nussbaumer in 1851, and eventually bring a large progeny into comfortable circumstances. The prosperity of the family leather business, however, was interrupted by a fire in 1867, supposedly set by arson. Philipp was able to survive financially, and eventually left an inheritance to his wife and children.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> In this context, one's position relative to one's social class was to both contain and manifest the identifying behavioral qualities (*habitus* and discernment) of social and cultural hegemony pertinent to that class. The import of *Stand* is founded upon the criterion that the members of the group (class) have a common mode of life, a well-defined code of behavior, and, most frequently, will be of high social rank. Gunther Roth and Claus Wittich, eds. "Notes", in Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 300.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> Hilmar, 499.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> Walker, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> Ibid.,499.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> Honolka, 44.

Philipp Wolf was, by nineteenth century standards, a lenient, equivocating father when it came to making career choices for his children, especially his sons. Yet at the same time, his desire and his expectation that his children would achieve "something better" than he was able to do, coupled with his disappointment in his sons' lack of achievement (e.g. the sons not completing gymnasium, Hugo's inability to find stable musical employment, and so forth), was, I conclude, the result of Philipp's own inner conflict between being forced into the family business, when he could have pursued other educational and career opportunities that were becoming available. <sup>196</sup>

Music making in the Wolf home, with his friends and associates, and eventually, his children, was Philipp's greatest passion. Philipp founded his "Hausquintett" in which he played violin. <sup>197</sup> He also instructed his sons in violin, and at age five, he instructed Hugo in violin and piano. Philipp also put together his "Familienorchester", with all the children playing an instrument, and Hugo playing violin.



Wolf Family Orchestra, ca. 1870

Decsey describes little Hugo's first musical instruction and musicmaking in the family home as follows:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> As a citizen of post-Vormärz Austria, and the then soon-to-come Constitutional Dual Monarchy of 1867, under emperor Franz Joseph I, where religious freedom, relaxed censorship, voting rights, greater opportunities in education and socioeconomic upward mobility were becoming a reality. Philipp Wolf was 19 years old in 1867 and was strongly influenced by these events.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup>Another member of the "Hausquintett" was Sebastian Weixler, to whom Philipp sent Hugo for piano lessons.

Die musikalische Dämmerstunde im Wohnzimmer ist die erste Unterrichtsstunde des dunkeläugigen Kindes. Der Vater wird der erste Musiklehrer des Sohnes, der kein Durchschnittsknabe zu sein scheint, vielmehr sich gern abschließt, und allein vor sich hinsigt und hinfriedelt. Zwar, der Vater war ein ungeduldiger Violinlehrer; aber bald konnte der Kleine im Hausorchester am zweiten Pult mitwirken. Auch Klavier lernte er, vermochte aus den verdeckted Tasten zu spielen, zeigte er ein feines Gehör- er erriet die Tonhöhe der quietschenden Türß und errang auf einem Kostümball, in der Mozarttracht mit seiner Geige auftretend, die ersten Lorbeeren. Alles spricht für einen musikalische Entwicklung, auch hier wächst kein Lederer heran. Als der Elfjährige bei einer Turnübung stürtzte und sich die Hand brach, klagte er nicht über Schmerzen, sondern war verzweifelt, daß er noch nicht klavierspielen konnte. <sup>198</sup>

It was clear that Philipp Wolf was aware of his children's musical talents. Philipp's obsession with music represented what he wanted. His self-taught mastery of several musical instruments, the cultivation of music the family home, coupled with the running of a successful business, represented what he could *get*. Little Hugo, however, stood out among his siblings, and seemed to be most favored by his father. Honolka describes Philipp's condoning of Hugo's tyrannical behavior during house concerts with the family orchestra:

Der Vater hatte nichts dagegen, daß der kleine Hugo im familiären Hausorchester den Tyrannen spielte, und sich aufregte, wenn man während des Musizierens plauderte oder Zuhörer das Zimmer verließen. Musik mußte von allen ganz ernst genommen werden. Kindliche Vorwegnahmen der brüsken Publikumsbeleidigungen, die sich der Liedinterpret Hugo Wolf zwanzig Jahre Später in Wien Leistete. <sup>199</sup>

Philipp, however, decided that music was not a suitable profession for his sons, and that they should study and go on to "higher professions". At considerable expense, Philipp enrolled his sons in Gymnasium (to be discussed later), only to be disappointed by their lackluster academic performance, resulting in Philipp taking Hugo out of school on two separate occasions. Philipp voiced his discontent with his sons' poor scholastic performance, but seemingly *never* exerted

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup>The musical evening hours in the living room were the first hours of musical instruction for the dark-eyed child. The father was the first music teacher of his son, who did not seem to be a (musically) average boy. .......... The father was an impatient violin teacher, but soon, the little boy could participate by playing second violin. He also learned piano, and had hegemony over the covered keys, he showed a fine musical ear, and appeared at a costume-ball, entering the stage dressed like Mozart, with his violin the first blueberries.... All of this spoke for a musical development for the boy, but for this, the leather tradesman was not interested. As the eleven-year-old broke his hand during physical exercise, he did not complain about pains, but was in doubt that he could still not play the piano. Decsey, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> The father (Philipp) had nothing against little Hugo playing the tyrant in the family orchestra, getting upset when somebody would be talking or leaving the room during the (music making) performance. (In Hugo's mind) Music had to be taken quite seriously-a childlike anticipation of the brusque public insults the (Lied) song interpreter Hugo Wolf would suffer twenty years later. Honolka, 46.

any iron-clad, not-to-be-challenged demands upon his children concerning their studies and progress in school, or their realization of career goals, despite his expectations. This was highly unusual for the time, as middle-class families in nineteenth-century Europe (and the Americas) put much pressure on their sons to successfully establish themselves in trades and professions often chosen for them by their fathers. Philipp gave his children the opportunity to choose their own career paths with the expectation of success, but without *demanding* it, as was typical of the time. Perhaps he was not consciously aware of the fact that with the exception of Hugo (despite his early failures), his sons had neither a sense of survival-based motivation to achieve and become self-supporting in their own rites, <sup>200</sup> as Philipp himself had been unequivocally taught by his own father. A photo of the Wolf home is shown below:



The Wolf Family Home, 2019

In the case of his son Hugo, Philipp was dead set against his son's persistent interest in a musical career. In a letter to his father from the 29<sup>th</sup> of June 1875, Hugo describes his obsession with music, and laments his father's wishes for him to consider another profession:

Mir ist die Musik wie Essen und Trinken. Da Sie aber durchaus nicht wollen, daß ich Musikus nicht, wie Sie der Meinung sind, Musikant werde, so will ich gehorchen und mich einem anderen Fache widmen. Gott gebe nur, daß Ihnen dann die Augen nicht aufgehen werden, wenn es schon zu spät für mich zum Umkehren zur Musik sein wird. Sie bedauern mich daß ich Musiker werden

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Wolf's brothers Max and Gilbert Wolf eventually did succeed in their own rights as businessmen. Gilbert specifically, emigrated to America in 1891, and produced an important invention for the leather production business, generating wealth and prosperity for him. He was also extraordinarily musical but was looked upon by his father as a ne'-er-do-well. Among the three Wolf brothers I conclude that it was only Hugo who wanted to consciously please (and eventually surpass) his father by achieving a successful career.

will- ich bedauere aber Sie, daß Sie nicht zugeben, daß ich mich dieser Kunst widmen darf. Verzeihen Sie mir mein hartes Schreiben, aber ich bin über Ihr letztes Schreiben fast verzweifelt.. Ihr in seinen schönsten Hoffnungen getäuschter Sohn Hugo Wolf. <sup>201</sup> <sup>202</sup>

Shortly after receiving the letter, and a communication from Hugo that if Philipp did not come to pick him up, he (Hugo) would leave the school himself, Philipp went to Marburg, picked up Hugo, and brought him home to Windischgraz.

Later that summer, Philipp's sister Katharina Wolf Vinzenberg came to visit from her home in Vienna, and a discussion arose in which she made an offer to Philipp, while giving support to Hugo. Why not give Hugo a chance to show his mettle, by allowing him to return with her to Vienna, to attend the Conservatoire, where her own two daughters, Hugo's cousins Anna and Ida, were already studying? She undertook to give him a place in her own family and to supply his needs for the bare cost of 16 gulden monthly. <sup>203</sup> After much discussion between Aunt Katharina, Philipp, Mother Katharina, and Hugo, Philipp finally consented. Hugo was enrolled in the Conservatoire in September 1875, and remained there until he was expelled in March, 1877, for "offenses against discipline". Philipp's despair at this can be imagined. In his eyes Hugo had now failed in his chosen profession, as well as in his whole school career. <sup>204</sup> Wolf continued to disappoint his father, up to his father's death in 1887. For Hugo, however, the death of his father Philipp, his eventual return to Vienna, and his slow pathway to eventual success and recognition mark a rite-of-passage scenario writ large across Wolf's culture, his life, and his work. This is the scenario of a certain coming to manhood: of a youth who leaves home to establish his

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> To me, music is like eating and drinking. Since you absolutely do not want me to become a serious musician, or in your opinion, a minstrel, I will thus obey you and dedicate myself to a different (subject) profession. God willing, you won't roll your eyes when it becomes too late for me to return to the subject of music. You regret that I want to become a serious musician. I regret, however, that you do not admit that I want to dedicate myself to this art. Excuse my hard-nosed writing, but I am in a desperate frame of mind about your last letter. In his most beautiful hopes deceived (by you), your son, Hugo Wolf. Honolka, 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> Note that Wolf uses the formal *Sie* in addressing his father, which is long since fallen into disuse among German speaking families.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> Walker, 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> Ibid., 45.

independent identity, to succeed in a hostile world both vocationally and sexually, and even to surpass his father's example and authority.<sup>205</sup> In his essay "Hugo Wolf: Music and Subjectivity in the Fin de Siècle Lied", Lawrence Kramer focuses on the oedipal narrative as the normative and remarkably durable script for the formation of masculine identity in the modern West:

This scenario, as it would be codified in the early twentieth century, is the Oedipus complex. To say this is neither to make a Freudian claim nor to suggest that the secret of Wolf's art lay in neurosis, even though Wolf had neuroses to spare. Nor is it to suggest that Wolf's songs center around what would be his unsurprising fantasies, in childhood and early adolescence, of sexualized attachment to his mother and jealous violence against his father. Although such fantasies are the starting points for the classical Freudian account of the Oedipus complex, they are not the whole story or even its most prominent part. <sup>206</sup>

Kramer goes on to explain the sociocultural scenario of late nineteenth century Europe quite accurately, and the challenges the Wolf family (and other families) faced, in terms to ensuring the socioeconomic success of their sons, and the survival of the family:

At no time was the oedipal script more important than during the period of bourgeois social and cultural hegemony that peaked around the time of Wolf's maturity in the late nineteenth century. Privileged as a norm yet under siege from declining birthrates and agitation about gender and class, the middle-class (Western) nuclear family of this period made exceptionally strong demands on its sons (while obsessively walling up its daughters). The task of emerging from the family nucleus as a man of means (*ein vermögender Mann*, both sexually and economically potent) around whom another family could be formed became, with great visibility, the true test of manly character as well as a source of heightened vulnerability, to failure or, even worse, to modest success interpreted as failure. <sup>207</sup>

As a man of means, and a man of respected stature in his town of Windischgraz, Philipp Wolf was acutely aware of the uncontestable need for each of his three sons to succeed in school, and, eventually, to become men of means in their own rights, as per Kramer's description above. The lack of success of his three sons was a constant source of despair for Philipp. As the favored middle (and musically most talented) son, Hugo's relationship with his father was not only close and intense, as his correspondences with his father clearly show, Wolf was preoccupied with convincing Philipp that he, Hugo was man enough to achieve independence, success, and fame. Burdened by the heritage of two ne'er-do-well brothers, Wolf was determined to prove that he was indeed the lucky third son. His task was the more urgent because of his choice of (musical)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> Lawrence Kramer, "Hugo Wolf: Subjectivity in the Fin de Siècle Lied". *German Lieder in the Nineteenth Century*, Rufus Hallmark, ed. New York and London: Routledge, 2010. 242.
<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> Ibid. 243.

vocation. Philipp Wolf was a gifted amateur musician and Hugo's first music teacher; he was literally the man to whom Hugo had played second fiddle in the Wolf Family orchestra. For Hugo to succeed, his father must be surpassed, a goal that the oedipal regime mandates, but that the superego tends to regard as equivalent to parricide.<sup>208</sup>

#### In a letter to Hugo, Philipp writes:

Im Schicksalbuch steht es in flammended Buschstaben daß ich niemals zu einer Freude Ausdruck geben darf-daß keine für mich verfügt ist. Die Hoffnung flackert sich wie ein nördliches Licht auf, aber sie verschwindet im nächsten Augenblick. Der Traum ist vorbei. Mit Deinem Stern fällt mein mein eigener- halte dies stets vor Deinen Augen, da strenge Versuche warten auf Dich- mit vielen Enttäuschungen.. Aber Du warst zu Salzburg so Freudigwas ist geschehen? Worin liegt der Verdruß? Ist Dein Gehalt abgehalten worden? Ist der Direktor feindselig gegen Dich? Hast Du mit Muck gestritten? Weshalb willst Du Dich verabschieden?<sup>209</sup>

# Hugo replied on January 4th:

#### Liebster Vater!

Ihr trauriger Brief hat mich wahrhaft erschreckt. Wer wird nur gleich so verzagen? Mut! Mut! Wir wollen allem Ungemach eine eiserne Stirne bieten. Jetzt, wo alles gegen mich verschworen- ich will es Ihnen nur bekennenßjetzt erst komme ich zum Bewußtsein meiner Kräfte. Muck, Direktor, Orchester, alles wütet. Aber ich blieb gleichgültig gegen alles Toben und sah mich im stillen nach was anderem um. Die Radialtaue des Spinnennetztes, worin mir die ganze Bande kleben soll, sind bereits gezogen. Frankfurt ist die Lösung, Mottl, 210 der vor 10 Tagen durch Salzburg durchgereist und dem ich von meiner Lage erzählt, mimmt die Befreiung aus derselben vor. 211

#### Philipp would then reply:

Du bedenkst nicht den Grad der Kränkung, die Du mir durch Deine Entlassung zugefügt, war es doch die erste Freude.. dieser kostspieligen Zucht! O es ist bitter das Bewußstsein, daß ich mit großen Opfern blos Taugenichtse

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> Ibid. 245.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> In the Book of Faith, it stands in flaming letters that I may never give utterance to a joy-that none is ordained for me. Hope, like a Northern Light, flares up but often disappears the next moment- the dream is over. With your star falls my own; hold this constantly before your eyes, for severe trials await you, along with many disappointments...but you were at first so happy at Salzburg- what happened? Where is the trouble? Is your salary withheld? The director hostile? Have you quarreled with Muck? Why is it that you want to leave? <sup>210</sup> Felix Mottl (1856-1911) was an Austrian composer, conductor, and teacher. He was considered one of the finest conductors of his time, along with Mahler, von Bülow, Nikisch, Muck, and others.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> Dearest Father! Your sad letter has truly alarmed me. Who is going to despair like that so prematurely? Courage! Courage! We will present a brow of iron to all afflictions. Now, when everything conspires against me... now for the first time I have become conscious of my strength. Muck, the director, the orchestra- they are all furious. But I remained indifferent to their ravings and quietly looked about for something else. The radial lines of the spider's web in which the whole gang shall stick fast are already drawn. Frankfurt is the solution. Mottl, who passed through Salzburg ten days ago and to whom I related my position, undertakes my release from it. Spitzer, Leopold, ed. *Hugo Wolf Briefe.* Bd. 1. Briefe 1873-1891, Nr. 1-654. Wien: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2010. 121. Translated by the author.

erzogen habe noch bitterer der Hohn und Spott der Leute unter denen ich leben muß. Dine Erziehung war eine Sysiphus Arbeit; Graz- St. Paul- Marburg- Conservatorium- immer rollte der Stein Zurück.<sup>212</sup>

Interestingly enough, the beginnings of Wolf's slow but eventual attainment of artistic and professional success took place after the death of his father, commencing with the 1888 publication of Wolf 's first book of songs under the title 6 *Lieder für eine Frauenstimme*. This first "success" for Wolf was for him, the means by which the Oedipus narrative was set into motion. This Oedipus narrative would continue to be exemplified by Wolf's entire compositional output, in direct parallel to Wolf's increasing mastery of the compositional process, via the elements of the fourfold learning equation I discussed in Chapter I.

# Katharina Wolf: Mother of Hugo Wolf

Hugo Wolf's mother, Katharina Nussbaumer (Orehovnik)<sup>213</sup> was born on January 18<sup>th</sup> 1824 in Naborjet (Present-Day Malborghetto Valbruna, Italy), and died in Windischgraz on October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1903. She met Philipp Wolf in Kärtnen and was impressed by his violin playing. They married in 1851, and within the first year of their marriage produced the first of eight children, a daughter, named Modesta on June 8<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> You don't even think of the degree of injury which your release (from Salzburg) adds to me- this was my first enjoyment of a result of this costly training of yours! Oh, the bitter consciousness which I with great sacrifice have raised destitute good-for-nothings; and, to deal with the even more bitter derision and mockery of the people among whom I have to live. Your education was a Sisyphean labor. Graz, St. Paul, Marburg, the Conservatoire- the stone came always rolling back... Kramer, 245.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> Katharina's landowner father, Jakob Orehovnik, officially changed the family surname to the German Nussbaumer.



Katharina Wolf (1824-1903)

Katharina is portrayed in the *Hugo Wolf Enzyklopädie* and other sources as smart, energetic, with much mother's wit (*Mutterwitz*), and wisdom.<sup>214</sup> The article goes on to state that she was "Ausserordentlich belesen" (extraordinarily well-read), and from her, Hugo and his siblings may have inherited his literary propensities.<sup>215</sup> This statement contradicts the conclusions of modernday Wolf scholarship, as per the example of wolf biographer Frank Walker:

Although by no means intellectual, or particularly well-educated- the spelling and syntax of her letters are very faulty. 216

Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau makes a near identical description of Katharina Wolf:

Intelligent, voller Energie und mit Mutterwitz gesegnet, Fehlte es ihr gleichwohl an Geist und Bildung. 217

Fischer-Dieskau includes an excerpt of a letter from Katharina to Hugo from 1897, which shows errors:

"Ich werde wohl ne eine Musik beurtheilen können, da mir das Verständniss fählt, und doch sind Töne, die ich am innersten Fülle, es ist ein erzittern ich könte sagen ein tiefes Weh, bis ich oft weine. Musik war es das ich den Vater kenen lernte und ihm liebte. Und so alt ich bin liebe ich sie noch; du bis ja dopeld mein Leibling."<sup>218</sup> [sic]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> Hilmar, 496.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> Walker, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, *Hugo Wolf, Leben und Werk*. Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 2003. 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> I would never be able to judge a musical work, since my understanding of music is missing from my mind, but, however, there are tones that I feel in my innermost self, that make me tremble, with a deep feeling that brings

In the *Dalibor*, a leaflet periodical of the musicalia trader Mojmur Urbanek, Katharina was referred to as a Slovene, who did not have a powerful command of German, and as a result, her son Hugo must also be of Slovene, and not German *Abstammung* (ancestry).<sup>219</sup>

Although she abandoned her written correspondences (to her children) to her husband Philipp (and later her daughter Käthe), she took up correspondence with Hugo and her other children after Philipp's death in 1887. Until her death, Katharina Wolf was both the dominant partner in her marriage to Philipp, as well as the Mittelpunkt (center) of the Wolf family. Her photographs portray a kind and simple character; she nonetheless possessed an extraordinary vitality and strong-willedness, from which came an unusual hot-tempered nature, leading to marital difficulties with Philipp. Hugo Wolf is most likely to have inherited his neurological problems and subsequent dysfunctional personality from his mother. In the guarrels between his parents, Katharina often referred to Philipp as a Scheusel (monster) and would attempt to rally the children to her side during these quarrels. In the genius of Hugo Wolf, we see the development and flowering of the crude, unrealized musical talents of his father; from his mother he inherited the temperament that so often multiplied the practical difficulties of his life, and the iron willpower which alone enabled him to bring his genius to full fruition. <sup>220</sup> Although little is known about Hugo Wolf's childhood relationship with his mother, there is no doubt that he, like with his father, was fully loving and trusting of his mother.

Upon the death of his father Philipp in 1887, Hugo Wolf's relationship with his mother Katharina became closer. Katharina discontinued the leather tanning business, expanded the

me often to weeping. Music was what led me to meet and love the (your) father. And now in my old age I still love it; you are my beloved child.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> Hilmar, 496.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> Walker, 3.

leather shop, and continued to buy and sell leather in the markets. She also assisted Hugo financially, when necessary. For example, when Wolf was required to pay 500 Marks to Schott for printing costs, Katharina provided the funds. The later correspondences between Hugo and Katharina show that Wolf had "transferred" his anxiety about becoming successful in music from his father, over to his mother. These correspondences show that the relationship between Hugo and his mother had become closer: Hugo's letters dated 12 March 1894, 16 January 1895, 13 March 1897, and 14 March 1897 are testimony to this:

Dennoch lebe ich in der beständigen Sorge, daß es mit meiner Produktivität ein plötzliches Ende nehmen könneein furchtbarer Gedanke, der mir oft die bettersten Stunden bereitet und mich auch noch an den Rand des Irrsins bringen wird. Dann muß ich alle meine moralische kraft zusammennehmen, solchen dämonischen Einflüsterungen nicht zu unterliegen. Welch ein schreckliches Los für einen Künstler, der nichts Neues mehr zu sagen weiß! Ihm wäre besser, er läge tausendmal begraben. <sup>222</sup>

In January 1899, Hugo met with his mother several times, somewhere between Cilli and Windischgraz.<sup>223</sup>

As his mental capacity began to wane, there came letters to his mother that bordered on grotesque. For example, not only did he no longer remember the date of his mother's birth, but he would mix his wishes to have his mother's home-made sausages with his musings about his *Liebesangelegenheiten* (love affairs):

Wenn gerade einige Selchwürste im Hause entbehrlich sind möchte ich gern welch haben. Die letzten waren gar zu delikat. Verliebt hab ich mich auch in Deutschland u.z. in eine reizende junge Sängerin, <sup>224</sup> die meine Lieder über alle Massen Schön singt, u. ein teifes Verständniß mir entgegenbringt. Vielleicht erhalten Sie noch einmal einen Heirathsanzeige. <sup>225</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> Letter from 8.11.1890. Hilmar, 496.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> Letter to Katharina, 19 September 1891. Hilmar, 497.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> Walker, 465.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> If some sausages are in the house, I'd love to have some. The last ones tasted very delicate. I fell in love in Germany, and this is with a charming young singer (This was Frieda Zerny, a mezzo soprano) who sings my songs beautifully over all crowds of people, and shows great sympathy towards me. Maybe you'll get a wedding announcement.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> Letter from 1 March 1894. Spitzer, 2: 318.

When Katharina visited Hugo for the last time, in 1901, he was in the final stages of insanity due to syphilis, and did not recognize her.<sup>226</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup> Walker, 515.

#### CHAPTER FOUR

# SELECTED PIANO COMPOSITIONS OF HUGO WOLF, PRESENTED FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The compositions by Hugo Wolf, selected in chronological order, will be analyzed, and discussed to illustrate his gradual acquisition of compositional skill sets on his path to mastery, in reference to his study and use of preexisting compositional models, and his autodidactic application of the fourfold learning equation.

### Compositions for Piano

From an early age on, the piano occupied a special and indispensably important place in Hugo Wolf's musical life. His father Philipp taught him the piano and the first position on a miniature violin when Hugo was only four years old. The youngster made rapid progress, developing a soon-to-be astonishing musical memory. When Hugo began attending the *Volksschule* in Windischgraz, Philipp Wolf engaged Sebastian Weixler, a teacher and friend of his, to take over Hugo's piano instruction. Weixler laid the foundations of what Hugo was to develop into a remarkable mastery of the instrument. During Wolf's first two years of secondary school at St. Paul's (1871-1873) his ability as both a pianist and organist caught the attention of Father (Pater) Sales Pirc, the Catholic prefect of the school. Also, at the *Gymnasium* in Marburg (now present-day Maribor, Slovenia), which Wolf attended from 1873-1875, he was referred to as "an excellent piano player." He possessed enough pianistic technical facility when admitted into the Vienna Conservatory (1875) to be placed into the second-year piano class, under the instruction of Professor Wilhelm Schenner. At the Conservatory, Wolf chose piano as his minor

field of study, with harmony (*Tonsatz-Harmonielehre*) as his major field, under the instruction of Professor Robert Fuchs. In both courses of study, Gustav Mahler was one of his classmates.<sup>180</sup>

Wolf's mastery of the piano, his exploitative use of its full range of dynamics and tonal colors (*Klangfarben*), especially in the piano parts to his songs, emanates from his constant and intensive concentration on the instrument, which was indispensable to Wolf's creative process. After leaving the Conservatory, Wolf went on refining his piano technique well into the 1890s, but without the intention of becoming a virtuoso. <sup>181</sup> The period from 1875 to 1882, the period during which the pieces I have selected to analyze were composed, serve as proof of Wolf's occupation with instrumental music. <sup>182</sup> They are listed, analyzed, and discussed in chronological order of composition. The piano works, along with small-scale choral works, were edited and published as volume 9, in the Hugo Wolf Collected Works Edition, by the Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag in Vienna, in 1974, under the direction of then editor, Hans Jancik. A later volume, with additional musical fragments, plus revisions to the critical report appeared in 1997 as volume 18, under the current editor, Leopold Spitzer. The manuscript is undated.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Prof. Dr. Hans Jancik, ed., *Hugo Wolf, Sämtliche Werke*, Band 18. *Klavierkompositionen*. Prof. Dr. Hans Jancik, ed. Wien: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1974. [v.]
 <sup>181</sup> Ibid. [v.]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> This includes an unfinished and unorchestrated *Violin Concerto*, Op. 6 (1875), the third movement of the *String Quartet in D minor* (1878-1884), the *Overture to Byron's "Corsair"* (1877-1878, now lost), and a *Symphony in F Major* (1879), which Wolf himself misplaced. It has disappeared without a trace.

In Wolf 's musical diary, however, <sup>183</sup> the Opus 2 labeling of the manuscript by Wolf himself, plus his inclusion of an additional references to his Piano Sonata Op. 1. his *Lieder*, Op. 3., plus a non-surviving Op. 4, are all dated 1875.

All except one of the works in this volume (Op. 8) are complete compositions. Included in the volume are the following works, listed below:

- 1. Variations, Op. 2 (1875)
- 2. Sonata in G-dur, Op. 8 (1876)
- 3. Rondo Capriccioso, Op. 15 (1876)
- 4. *Humoreske* (1877)
- 5. Aus der Kinderzeit (From Childhood)

Schlummerlied (1878)

Scherz und Spiel(1878)

- 6. Paraphrase of *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (1880)
- 7. Paraphrase of *Die Walküre* (1880)
- 8. *Albumblatt* (1880)
- 9. Kanon (1882)

<sup>183</sup> This diary is in the Hugo Wolf collection of the Austrian National Library.

Frank Walker makes what I have concluded, is an inaccurate, uninformed, and pretentiously dismissive generalization of these early works of Hugo Wolf:

Musically all these compositions, and those that were to follow them for some time to come, are completely negligible. The young Wolf's manuscripts reflect, as in a mirror, his early enthusiasms: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert. In these works, there is nothing yet to be found that is characteristic of Wolf.<sup>184</sup>

To begin with, Walker establishes a perspective which starts from his own present time (1952), looking back to 1875, when Wolf was fifteen years old. Where Walker accurately states that these works are imitative of late eighteenth, and early to mid-nineteenth, century compositional models, he fails to mention that: 1) these models were the works that Wolf *knew*: by study, practice, performance, and from a compositional perspective, by imitation and *emulation* and: 2) those certain embryonic traits of Wolf's own creativity are indeed present in specific passages within his early piano compositions. Perhaps Walker never saw, heard, played, or analyzed these compositions. He simply refused to attach value to these early works, as harbingers of Wolf's later-to-emerge compositional genius. Walker seemingly did not cull and analyze these early compositions by Wolf, to get into the composer's mind, and the sociomusical context of Wolf's lifetime. Doing so would have allowed Walker to observe the beginning of a continuum of seminal musical-compositional markers of Wolf's creative process that would develop and later appear in his compositions. In Walker's mind, it would appear, if an early work of Hugo Wolf did resemble a later masterpiece by the composer, then the early work was not worth acknowledging.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> Walker, 16.

# Variations, Op. 2 (1875)

Composed by Hugo Wolf when he was fifteen years old, the *Variations*, Op. 2, are the earliest extant, known, complete work by Wolf. <sup>185</sup> The *Variations* were composed and completed in April 1875, while Wolf was a student at the gymnasium in Maribor. The ornamental lettering on the title page implies that Wolf dedicated the work to his father, Philipp Wolf. <sup>186</sup> The title reads: *Variationen /für /das/ Piano-Forte /von/ Hugo/ Wolf. /Op.* 2. This was most likely done by Wolf to placate his father, and to demonstrate Hugo's serious devotion to music. The manuscript, now in the Wiener Landesbibliothek, consists of ten sheets of 10-stave oblong music paper; fol.1v, 8v,9r are blank; written in ink <sup>187</sup> There are no extant sketches or fragments thereof by Wolf, which would precede this work. Scholars also speculate that manuscript of the *Variations*, Op. 2 may be among those which Wolf presented to Richard Wagner on December 12th, 1875, when Wagner was staying at the Hotel Imperial in Vienna.

The work consists of a theme in G major, which is followed by ten variations in the same key. In Variation IX, there is a cadenza in the right hand, which is played independently of the tempo (*a piacere*). It is interesting to note that the *Variations* have often been dismissed as insignificant, based on an acknowledgement of the obvious influences of preexisting models of other composers, notably 18th century Viennese classicists, as well as Beethoven and others, as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> This work apparently has no connection with the fragmented sketch entitled *Variationen*, *Op.* 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> The Piano Sonata Op. 1. contains an actual written dedication to Philipp Wolf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup>Jancik, [vi.]

well as a lack of "originality" shown by Wolf in this work. Frank Walker mentions this work but does not supply any information of a musical/analytical nature. The *Variations*, and other early works of Hugo Wolf, show important insights into Wolf's early struggle to manifest the fourfold learning equation via the imitation and emulation of preexisting compositional models.

# Variationen



Fig. 1

The theme (Fig. 1) is as two-phrase period, with symmetrical, 4-square phrasing: (ll:A:llBA:ll). Each section is eight measures in length. Part A consists of a parallel period with the two phrases, which differ only at the final cadence. The B section modulates to D major (the dominant of the tonic key) from measures 13 through 16, where it returns to the tonic key (G major). In measures 7 and 23, Wolf adds a C-natural to the melody in the right hand, producing an "inappropriate-to-the-model" sounding V13 harmony, which weakens the V7 cadential effect in measures 8 and 24. In measure 24, the first beat has only one single note G, instead of the complete first-inversion G major triad. Given the V7 triad on the third beat of the previous measure, a G triad in first inversion would have functioned more naturally and correctly. This is true in the variations as well, where Wolf leaves the seventh of the chord unresolved.

The model (s) Wolf utilized were most likely by Mozart, Haydn, and other late eighteenth-century composers. Virtually the entire theme is based exclusively on harmonies founded on both the first degree of the scale, and the fifth degree of the scale (tonic and dominant, respectively), except for m. 13, which employs a secondary dominant (V/V). The only indicator that this theme is not a product of the eighteenth century is the harmony on the third beat of m. 7; instead of a standard V7 resolution, we find here a V7 chord with the first note of the fourth beat (B-natural) implying an added sixth (V13).

## Variation I

Throughout this work, Wolf's method of modifying the theme is consistently through melodic variation, e.g., the melody is changed, but the harmonic pattern remains essentially intact, with only a few simple harmonic alterations. The first variation introduces writing for the piano that has all the brilliance characteristic of late eighteenth century and early-to-mid nineteenth century idiom, including arpeggiations in the highest registers, and virtuoso leaps in the left hand. The presence of these elements in this variation suggests that Hugo Wolf, even at the age of fifteen, must have already been a highly proficient pianist. Wolf's own emulative, pianistic proficiency: e.g., intervallic leaps, virtuosic runs at the unison, thirds, and sixths, (Fig. 2) allowed him to apply *inventio* to his creation and usage of these elements in composition.



Fig. 2

Wolf's imitation and emulation of compositional models here still show, however, certain details which indicate a lack of mastery of voice leading and part-writing. For example, in measure 16, the very last note in the right hand is a C natural, which has no place to resolve to in measure 17, where the variation is restated (Fig.3). If Wolf had been under the tutelage of a

composition teacher, this would have been pointed out, and most likely corrected by replacing the note D with the note F sharp, resolving logically and correctly, as illustrated below:



Wolf's variation.



My "Corrected" example.

Fig 3.

# Variation II

In Variation II, Wolf introduces a new melodic variation between the right and left hand. The A section consists of downward runs in the right hand, over counterpoint in the left, in measures 1 and 2. In measures 3 and 4, the parts are reversed, with runs in the left hand, and counterpoint in the right (Fig. 4a) Starting at measure 9, the left hand rhythmically imitates the right hand. Musically, this creates an antecedent-consequent effect (Fig. 4b).



Fig. 4a



Fig. 4b

Note that despite some slight alterations, the harmonic patterns remain identifiably the same. In the second example, the right hand and left-hand play runs in parallel thirds, again in an antecedent-consequent fashion, later incorporating octave leaps and sixteenth note figures in both parallel thirds and octaves, starting at measure 9, and continuing to measure 16. At measure 17, the A section material returns, and predictably, continues to the end of the variation at measure

24. In this variation, Wolf makes uses secondary harmonies to produce logical and correct harmonic progression and resolution (Fig. 5).<sup>188</sup>



Fig. 5

Here, Wolf produces effective and well-executed contrary motion between the hands, parallel motion at the third, and sixth, as well as good similar motion throughout. He also produces effective and logical voice leading, with certain exceptions. There is an awkward resolution of vii/07/V-I6/4 at measures 6 and 7. Here, Wolf does not construct smooth voice leading in the left hand, in conjunction with the harmonic alterations he utilizes. The problem here are the large intervallic leaps in the left hand, from the last beat of measure 5 to the first beat of measure 6, then again from the last beat of measure 6 to the first beat of measure 7 (Fig. 6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> Throughout this work, harmonic variations of the theme occur mostly at these two places: measures 6 and 15, respectively.



Fig. 6.

The C-to-C octave could have been written one octave higher, and the low bass D on the first beat of measure 7 could have been handled similarly. This would have eliminated the sonic-intervallic awkwardness in the left hand, by producing stepwise interval motion by a major second, rather than skip wise intervallic motion by a major seventh. Below is my hypothetically corrected example (Fig. 7):



Fig. 7.

Next is the incorrect resolution of the 7<sup>th</sup> of the chord at measures 13 and 14. Here, Wolf handles the intervallic leaps and sixteenth note passages effectively and convincingly, except at measure 13, where on the third beat, the seventh of the chord, played in the left hand, resolves awkwardly down a fourth, on the first beat of measure 14. On the third beat of measure 13, Wolf has produced a strong, downward descending harmonic sequence, with the seventh of the chord (G) clearly indicating its *stepwise* downward resolutory direction in measure 14. Instead, Wolf

incorrectly resolves the seventh of the chord down by a fourth, to the note D, instead of stepwise to F-sharp. The resolution to F-sharp is not only contrapuntally correct, but it is already anticipated by *supposition* from a notational perspective, as well as by the ear of the player and listener (Fig. 8).



Fig. 8.

The seventh of the chord should have resolved stepwise downward, as per my corrected and simplified example (Fig. 9).



Fig. 9

Finally, Wolf writes "unintentional" parallel octaves at measures 7 and 8. In this passage, Wolf has chosen the notes and intervals of the variation, clearly present in the right hand. In the left hand, however, he continues the sixteenth-note pattern used previously, but without attention to the correct contrapuntal *direction* necessary for correct resolution and completion of the

cadence for section A. Instead, he produces parallel octaves between the parts where they should not exist (Fig. 10).



Fig. 10.

A solution to this is below, per my corrected example (Fig. 11).



Fig.11

This interval combination produces an efficient stepwise V-I resolution, with effective contrary motion. This would have been pointed out to Wolf, if he were studying composition when he composed these variations. This achieves a logical, effective musical result in terms of interval directionality.

# Variation III

Variation III can be interpreted as a study in arpeggiation of the theme in the right hand, and contrary motion between parts. Clearly, both the theme and the harmonic pattern remain

identifiable, though slightly altered, except at measure 15. Here, there is a flatted third in both hands, as the melody progresses to the V4/3 resolution in measure 16 (Fig. 12).



Fig. 12

Also, in measure 16, the intervallic direction of the harmonies on the strong beats is leading downward, to the I chord in measure 17. Once again, Wolf does not recognize the contrapuntal direction of the descending intervals that these three chords suggest; he merely restates the G one octave above where it should have resolved as follows. A suggested correction is shown (Fig. 13).



Fig. 13.

At the end of the variation, in measures 23 and 24, Wolf again uses parallel octaves in the V-I cadence, but this time, most likely with intention (Fig. 14a).



Fig. 14b (My corrected example)

# **Variation IV**

Where variations I through III contain virtuosic elements emphasized for the right hand, variation IV presents itself as an "etude" for the left hand. The left hand is now actively showcased, with the right hand playing the theme mostly in block chords, with triplet alterations. This is an early example of Wolf's creative use of *rhythmic variation*, which will appear in his later works. Wolf uses strong, well-conceived, and musically effective contrary motion in both

parts, except at measure 13, where the left hand plays an awkward tritone resolution of the



seventh of the chord, into measure 14 (Fig. 15).

Fig. 15.

A more correct and effective treatment could have been achieved, per my corrected example



Fig. 16.

Finally, the seventh of the chord on the last beat of measure 23 is present once again with unintentional parallel octaves (Fig. 17a), along with my "corrected" example (Fig. 17b).



Fig. 17a.



Fig. 17b.

# Variation V

Variation V is the central episode of the piece. It is an *andante*. It is lyrical in quality and contains a newly invented melody. Wolf's introduction of Mozartean harmonic treatments in measures 6 and 15 both emphasize the importance of this variation (Fig.18).



Fig. 18

The model for this was most likely from Mozart, Haydn, or other eighteenth century composers. Wolf must have had a clear imitative perception of the model(s) for this variation, as he even uses and resolves the sevenths of the chords in the left hand effectively and correctly, in measures 13, 14, and 15 (Fig. 19).



Fig. 19. Measures 13-16.

# Variation VI

Variation VI serves as an "etude" for the right hand. The rapid, perpetual sixteenth-note sequential figurations make it such. Wolf handles sequential patterns very well. Also, he produces strong and effective contrary motion between the hands, in conjunction with the

sequential passages. There is a highly virtuosic quality of sequential figures, with well-conceived wide intervallic leaps in the left hand (Fig. 20). 189



Fig. 20

Most notably, in this variation, Wolf does <u>not</u> include the seventh of the chord at the points where he does so in the previous variations, as well as the theme.<sup>190</sup> The resolution he

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> From a performance practice standpoint, these leaps imply the use of the sustain pedal, and, perhaps, the use of *tenuto* on the strong beats.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> I am referring to measures 7-8 (Fig. 15), and 23-24 (Fig. 16).

produces in measures 23 and 24 is a pure V-I, but with unintentional parallel octaves. It would sound the most appropriate and correct (Fig. 21), if rewritten as per my corrections (Fig. 22). I therefore conclude that at the time he composed this work, Wolf, from a performance and study perspective, understood (at least empirically) that such harmonic usage would function as a unifying element throughout the entire piece. Conversely, his insertion of unresolved sevenths and unintentional parallel octaves in the theme and in certain variations was done because of his lack of understanding of melodic construct, voice leading and resolution, and part-to-part movement to consonance and dissonance.





## **Variation VII**

In variation VII, the eighth-note figure of the theme returns, albeit with a new melody. The melody shows more eighteenth-century harmonic alterations, and the left-hand accompaniment does not contain the wide intervallic leaps seen in the previous variation (Fig. 23).



Fig. 23

Measures 13 and 14 are interesting as well, in that Wolf uses sustaining tones in both hands, used as common tones over which the sequential passages smoothly transition harmonically, to Measure 15, then modulating back to G major (Fig. 24).



Fig. 24

The root position vi7 chord facilitates smooth, stepwise voice leading to the next chords, which also resolve smoothly to measures 15 and 16. Wolf convincingly changes the "texture" of the piano's sound, reinventing the melody in the right hand while keeping the harmonic pattern of the left hand almost completely intact. As in the beginning of this variation, Wolf's use of

deceptive resolution (V-vi chord) throughout the variation is well-executed, in a manner he most likely imitated and emulated from models by Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, and others. In measures 15 through 17, Wolf's excellent use of the first inversion vi6/5 chord and the common tone E natural produces well-voiced chord clusters in the right hand, which will resolve smoothly and correctly. His use of the seventh of the chord in beats 1 and 2 of measure 15 is done intentionally, with resolution via chord change (I6/4/V), relative to the intervallic necessity of the melody. In other words, Wolf is using the D natural as a function of the melody, while "minimizing" its note-function as a harmonic component. He shows an excellent non-use of the seventh of the chord at measure 7. Typically, Wolf still uses an unresolved seventh of the chord at measure 23, beat 3. The (C natural) seventh of the chord incorrectly resolves by leaping downward by a fourth, instead of stepwise by a second (Fig. 25). My suggested corrections are shown in Figure 26.



Fig. 25 Fig. 26

## **Variation VIII**

Thus, we have seen that the first seven variations are both conventional and predictable, based on late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century models. Contrastingly, the three concluding variations become progressively more (in the nineteenth century sense of the word) "modern," or "advanced". Variation VIII introduces a contrapuntal construct and texture: triplets throughout, and the meter is now changed to 4/4. The right hand utilizes more of the (newly invented) melodic material, and the left hand provides variety with large intervallic leaps and register changes (Fig. 27).



Fig. 27.

Both hands, however, maintain the harmonic pattern of the theme, leaving the variation "recognizable", yet still "new. "Wolf's combining of "point against point" in the right hand, combined with intervallic skips in the left hand, produce strong, and effective counterpoint.

Based on his preexisting knowledge and performance experience with such musical passages

from the piano repertoire he studied and played, this type of combination implies a well-studied and practiced mastery of counterpoint by Wolf. In reality, however, voice leading and part writing with contrapuntal accuracy were difficult for him. The extensive passage in octaves in the B section presents formidable technical challenges to the pianist. A passage like the one below is also a testament to Wolf's own pianistic skill (Fig. 28).



Fig. 28

## Variation IX

Variation IX appears to be a quasi-scherzo (Fig. 29), preserving the 4/4 meter of the previous variation, and combining duplets with triplets (as used in variation VIII), joined with alternating groups of slurs and staccatos, creating an innate sense of musical "flow." In this way, another of Wolf's creative talents comes to the forefront: rhythmic variation and invention. <sup>191</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup>Rozman, 18. The reference to invention is my own.

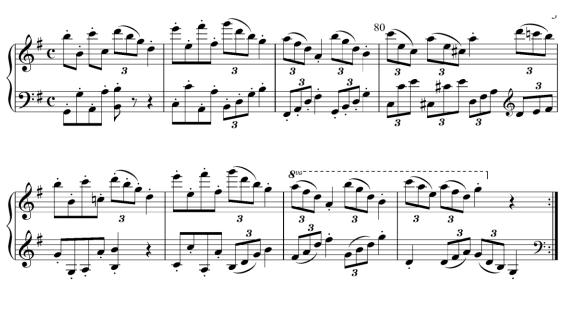


Fig. 29

Hugo Wolf's later works are full of novel and expressive rhythmical solutions not only concerning adaptations of text, but in his instrumental music as well. <sup>192</sup> Variation IX also includes a cadenza, based on the V7 chord, starting on measure 15 (Fig. 31). The use of the dominant, instead of the I 6/4 chord here, the long runs and sequential triplet patterns, is more reminiscent of a cadenza in an operatic aria, such as those of Donizetti and Bellini. Starting from his attendance at age eight at his first opera performance (of Donizetti's *Belisario*), and his resultant obsession with both that work, and opera in general, the construct of the Italian *Bel Canto* aria-cadenza-finale must have been firmly in his memory when he composed the cadenza in Variation IX.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> Walker, 49-50. The *Scherzo and Finale* is an excellent additional example of this.



Fig. 30

## Variation X

Variation X (Allegro) is the finale of the work. It contains some of the most overt pianistic challenges of the entire work, with octaves, chordal writing, and large leaps. In this final variation, the meter returns to the original 3/4. It is interesting that, except for the *f and ff* in the last variation, there are no dynamic markings anywhere else in the work. Also, with the exception of the staccato marks and slurs in variation IX, there are no other articulation indications anywhere else. Further, there are no pedal markings either in this variation, or anywhere else, as notably absent in those passages where the large intervallic leaps suggest the use of the sustain pedal. Since Wolf never intended to publish this work, it remains as a draft manuscript. 193

Variations, Op. 2 is by no means a masterwork, but it, nonetheless, deserves serious consideration. When one considers the lack of formal training in composition at this early stage of young Hugo Wolf's life, he nonetheless seems to possess an almost instinctive control of proper chord progression and voice leading. It shows that elements of Wolf's mature compositional process were already present at the beginning of his creative life. These include an inexhaustible capacity for melodic invention, rhythmic variation, rhythmic vitality, and an innate sense of unity, proportion and economy of means. Also, Wolf's compositional mastery of the pianistic idiom can be traced to his own pianistic proficiency, which began to develop under the instruction he received in piano under Sebastian Weixler in Windischgraz. Subsequently, Wolf's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> The published version I have referenced is from the Hugo Wolf Collected Works Edition, vol. 18.

exposure to, the study of, and the performance of the keyboard works assigned to him<sup>194</sup> provided him with important keyboard-idiomatic compositional devices to learn, memorize, and perform. From a compositional perspective, this repertory served as his first set of important, musically accessible models. This in turn, provided him with enough imitative skill and emulative mastery to *invent* and *discover* his own new musical work, utilizing musical-pianistic elements that were familiar to him, mastered and engrained in his own inventive memory-reserve. The pianistic treatments of the accompaniments to his songs give testimony to this.

<u>Aus der Kinderzeit</u> (From Childhood)

Schlummerlied (1878) and Albumblatt (1880)

Scherz und Spiel (1878)

#### Schlummerlied (1877) and Albumblatt (1880)

Schlummerlied was composed as No. 1 of a two-piece collection entitled: Aus der Kinderzeit, Kleine Stücke für das Pianoforte. It was composed in Vienna by the eighteen-year-old Hugo Wolf on 20 May, 1878, the same day as Scherz und Spiel. The manuscript is dated 20 May

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> In addition, Wolf was exposed to, and studied many other musical genres and repertoire. His experience in playing violin in the family orchestra, his exposure to opera (by his father, Phillip), church music, and so forth, were to broaden his musical curiosity, and fill his mind with musical ideas.

1878 and is located in the Wiener Landesbibliothek, as vol. 18 of the Hugo Wolf Collected Works.

Wolf composed both the *Schlummerlied* and *Scherz und Spiel* on 20 May 1878. Wolf would refer to the year 1878 as his "days of Lodi," meaning that during that year, his first period of intense creativity and inspiration occurred. Interestingly, in February of 1888, while he was composing his Mörike songs, Wolf once again referred to "the days of Lodi renewing themselves." <sup>195</sup>

In addition to his piano pieces, between 18 May and 22 June 1878, Wolf also composed ten songs. With the exception of only one of the poems, Wolf took the other nine poems from Heinrich Heine's *Buch der Lieder*. Wolf determined that seven of these songs were to constitute a *Liederstrauss* (garland of songs). The model for the cycle was Schumann's song cycle *Dichterliebe*, with texts by Heine. If *Liederstrauss* was modeled on *Dichterliebe*, then *Aus der Kinderzeit* can be regarded as indebted to Schumann's piano cycles *Kinderszenen* and *Für die Jugend*. Wolf most likely intended that these two pieces were not to be played only by children, but, also by adults. As in Schumann's masterwork, Wolf's pieces programmatically capture the jocularity and innocence of childhood.

I have also included with *Schlummerlied* the *Albumblatt für fr.Mizzi Werner*, <sup>197</sup>dated 31<sup>st</sup> July, 1880. *Albumblatt* is included in this group, as it is modeled on the *Schlummerlied*, but

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> Walker, 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> These songs were not published during Wolf's lifetime but were published later in the Collected Works Edition.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup>Mizzi Werner was the sister of Wolf's friend, Heinrich Werner, who hosted Wolf in the Werner home.

contains notable harmonic alterations by Wolf. These not only show Wolf's own relationship to his own preexisting work but reveal his growing understanding of harmony and structure. The *Schlummerlied* was first published under the title *Wiegenlied*, in the journal, "*Der Merker*," and later by Schott, in 1910.<sup>198</sup> Schott also published additional arrangements for violin, cello and piano, as well as for voice and piano. Impressively, the version for voice and piano was provided by none other than the German composer Engelbert Humperdinck, a loyal supporter of Wolf.<sup>199</sup> Humperdinck used the text *Su, su, su du Windchen*, written by his sister Adelheid Wette, who was also the librettist for Humperdinck's opera *Hansel und Gretel*.<sup>200</sup>

Like almost all of Wolf's early works, *Schlummerlied* and *Albumblatt* are constructed from a series of phrases of symmetrical, regular length. Wolf uses the same theme for both works (Fig. 31).



Fig. 31

<sup>199</sup>Hugo Wolf, Sämtliche Werke, vol. 18: Klavierkompositionen, [vi.]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup>Walker, 485.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Ibid. [vi.] Also, see footnote 200.

At the beginning, four two-measure motives in G-major are joined to produce an eight-measure phrase ending on measure 8, in the dominant. What follows immediately is another six-measure phrase, with altered harmonies producing a modulation to B-flat major in measures, then to D-major 11-16 (Fig. 32).



Fig. 32

From measures 15-22, an eight-measure extension of the second phrase leads, via modulating sequence, back to G-major in measures 20-23 (Fig. 33).



Fig. 33

In measure 23, Wolf returns to the original material; a (modified) statement of the main theme leads to a seven-measure coda, using both the three-note motive of the main theme, a constant tonic-based pedal tone in the left hand, from measure 31, to the end of the piece (Fig. 34).



Fig. 34

The formal construct of *Schlummerlied* and *Albumblatt* is an expanded period (AABA). The three statements of the main theme, which are in measures, 1, 9, and 23, respectively, serve as separate "verses". The transitional passage in measures 16-23 can be seen as an interlude-retransition to the main theme, and the final seven measures clearly resemble a postlude. It has never been determined if Wolf, while composing this work, had any particular poetic or textual sources in mind. It is, however, unavoidable that his co-occupation with composing the *Liederstrauss* would influence his instrumental compositions.<sup>201</sup> It is also likewise possible that

Dogman 48 According to Pogman, the Engelbert Humper

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup>Rozman, 48. According to Rozman, the Engelbert Humperdinck piano-vocal arrangement of *Scherz und Spiel*, is out of print, and despite my attempt to locate it, is not available for analysis and discussion in this paper. An analysis of Humperdinck's arrangement (with text) could have led to a greater understanding of the poetic potential of *Schlummerlied*.

both the formal and motivic constructs of *Schlummerlied* are simply the result of Wolf's efforts to musically encapsulate both the melodic-repetitive and simple folksong-like quality of a *Wiegenlied* (lullaby).

As is typical of Wolf, the entire composition is conceived and executed from a limited number of motives, which Wolf develops via *inventio*. In the case of *Schlummerlied* (and *Albumblatt*), one motive suffices. It consists of two measures and is found at the very beginning of the piece. This motive will appear, either pure or slightly altered, in almost every measure of the piece; the most common "alteration" is the use of only the first half (one measure) of the motive, either in its original, or in a variant thereof.

The primary melodic motive is the upper-neighbor eighth-note motive, which begins the piece. Wolf then invents (discovers) additional variants and expansions of this motive, as illustrated in Fig. 35.



Fig. 35

The primary motive is, of course, the most enduring and persistent, although it is subject to alteration. For example, the ascending version occurs in measures 3-4. The ascending motive in measure 8 is derived from this variant of the eighth-note motive; an additional appearance can be

found in measure 21.<sup>202</sup> The original form of the motive is expanded, in measure 22. Finally, those two motives combine in measures 16 and 18 to form still another version of the expanded motive.

In the second phrase (measure 9), we see the principal motive in its original construct, but not in the original parallel 3rds; Wolf expands the intervallic width to parallel 10ths. After two statements in each hand (measure 9-12), Wolf at measure 13 then modifies the motive by using only the first half thereof, using its rhythmic content in a retrograde way, while harmonically producing a modulating sequence to measure 15 (see Figs. 33 and 37). The result of this is a speeding up of the harmonic rhythm, and a quicker rhythmic (and harmonic) pace.

Harmonically, wolf utilizes the technique of modulating sequence (to measure 16), returning to D-major, the dominant of the original tonic key. The purpose of the succeeding transitional passage is to slow the harmonic rhythm, and to prepare the return of the next verse. Additional motivic invention continues here. In the second section (measures 16-23), most of the derived versions of the principal motive appear. A retrograde version of the principal two-measure motive appears in measures 16-17. The second segment of the motive (half-note followed by quarter-note) has been reversed. Additionally, the combined version of the melodic content of the principal motive appears in measure 16.

In measures 18-19, the retrograde of the second segment of the principal motive is obscured by the omission of the middle voices; otherwise, measures 18 and 19 are practically identical to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> Ibid, 21.

what is contained in measures 16-17. In this passage the most striking difference between the two versions of the piece takes place: In *Schlummerlied* Wolf uses in measure 20 a V/V harmony, which a) provides for smoother, stepwise voice leading in the left hand, and b) establishes the eventual return to the G-major tonic key. In *Albumblatt*, however, this measure restates the harmony from measure 17, and utilizes the more literal repetition of the two-measure retrograde motivic passage.<sup>203</sup> The A9 (V/V) chord is, in this case, delayed until measure 20.

The subsequent chord progression in measures 19 and 20 is the most lyrical and expressive moment in the piece. In *Schlummerlied*, Wolf uses larger intervallic leaps and chord clusters in the left hand. In *Albumblatt*, the harmonies in the left hand, starting in measure 19 function more as contrapuntally correct linear-harmonic movement, over which the right-hand modulating sequence (based on the retrograde variant of the principal motive fragment) moves (and resolves) smoothly to the D major dominant in measure 21 (Fig. 36).



Fig. 36

<sup>203</sup> Ibid, 61.

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This passage illustrates how Hugo Wolf, who at age twenty, better understood and applied to *Albumblatt*, the properties of the lateral musical line in the context of part-writing and voice leading, in comparison to his harmonic treatment of *Schlummerlied*, at age eighteen. This was most likely due to his self-imposed study of counterpoint. In other words, he had difficulty with consciously conceiving and producing well-constructed intervallic-melodic direction toward consonance and/or dissonance. One could attempt to label the harmonies in this passage via functional harmonic analysis, but to do so would direct the reader to understand this passage solely in terms of melody and harmony based solely on (vertical) triadic function, while dismissing the importance of lateral melodic function, described above.

In any case, the principal motive and its originally diatonic nature is transformed into a chromatic one, exemplified by a series of ascending half-steps in the left hand, from C-natural, to C-sharp, to D-natural, over which is juxtaposed the retrograde motive, with B-flat in measure 19, and B-natural in measure 20. The resulting harmonic progression in measures 19 and 20 is the most lyrical in the piece. The harmonic content in measure 19 is vague, if not ambiguous; it could function as a Neapolitan to the dominant with an added sixth scale-degree, or else as a second inversion of the diminished triad on A, with G and B-flat in the right hand representing the lower and upper neighbors to the root of the chord. The former interpretation is more convincing, especially since in the parallel harmonic spot (measure 17) is the A in the melody reharmonized as V/V, which indicates that pitches G and B-flat are members of the previous chord, but not A. In measure 20, the melody is repeated, but raised by one half step, while the harmony moves to A major. The interval of a minor third (between G and B-flat) is transformed to a major version which outlines the dominant-ninth chord before resolving to D major (V/V) in

measure 21. This type of chromatic alteration is a compositional device used by Wolf to portray ambivalence, equivocation, uncertainty, and so forth, and will appear in his later works. In this way, the climactic section is established with the eighth-note motive, which then prepares the restatement of the principal motive, in its original version, in both pieces. The last verse begins similarly to the previous two; after two statements of the principal motive the quasi-canonic exchanges is interrupted, as the first measure of the main motive is stated (measure 27). Finally, the movement by semitone in the left hand restates the major-minor duality, and creates the effect of ambivalence (Fig. 37).



Fig. 37

Measures 28 and 29 use the same fragmented form of the motive. On the third beat of measure 29 there is another notable difference between the two versions of the work; the second inversion of the sixth scale degree (E minor) in *Schlummerlied* is interpreted in *Albumblatt* as vii07/V (Figs. 38, 39).

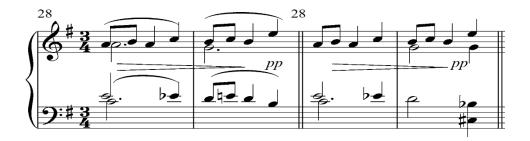


Fig. 38 Schlummerlied

Fig. 39 Albumblatt

This is the only instance in the entire work in which a diminished harmony is prominently used. The quality of the chord is emphasized by Wolf using the loudest dynamic marking in the work: a *mf*. In *Schlummerlied*, however, this marking is preceded by a *crescendo*, (beginning in measure 27), which indicates the escalating importance of the subsequent measures. Both versions conclude the return to *piano* (in the Coda), by using a short-length *diminuendo*.

The final seven measures of the work, which I have labeled a Coda, summarily present all the important elements of the work, albeit in a reduced version. The principal motive is stated in the left hand twice, and eventually fragments it to only its first half (see Fig. 37). The quasicanonic exchange between hands persists, except that the second measure of the motive is transformed into a dotted half note in the right hand. The diminished harmony (including the upper neighbor E-flat) occurs on the second beats of measure 32 and 34. All elements in this Coda take place over a G pedal-tone in the left hand. Each statement of the theme progressively diminishes in both volume and thickness of texture, until only dotted half notes and the principal motive remain. Presumably the *Schlummerlied* has served its purpose, and the child has finally fallen asleep.

Another noteworthy element of both *Schlummerlied* and *Albumblatt* is the strong presence of the interval of the third, used both melodically and harmonically. The principal motive illustrates this by assuming the melodic construct of a series of falling thirds. It is also presented in parallel thirds, texturally. Finally, in measure 2 we find a harmony (E minor) which is removed from the tonic by the interval of a third. In measure 5, both the major and minor modes of the third are employed in the left hand, creating a sonic quality of ambivalence. In both works, a relationship of falling, contiguous thirds can be observed harmonically, in measures 13-15.

Wolf's adherent use of this interval shows the influence of preexisting 18<sup>th</sup> century models, as well as those of Schumann, and even Brahms. Moreover, Wolf's concise process of motivic development in *Albumblatt* can be compared to compositional procedures used by Brahms in his own shorter works for solo piano (for example, op. 118, *Sechs Stücke für Klavier* (1893), and op. 119 *Vier Stücke für Klavier* (1893). Furthermore, earlier models to such works are found among Chopin's preludes. The existence of this influence on Hugo Wolf is supported by his own professed admiration of the Polish composer.

As character piano pieces, *Schlummerlied* and *Albumblatt* achieve an important compositional goal for Hugo Wolf: the ability to musically create a specific and particular atmosphere, notably at this early stage in his life and work. The most notable difference between *Schlummerlied* and *Albumblatt*, involves the way that Wolf (in *Albumblatt*) utilizes alternative harmonic solutions, as a "new take" on his own preexisting work. The result is an example of Wolf's use of *inventio*, and his maturing compositional skill and creativity.

# Scherz und Spiel (1878)

Scherz und Spiel, from Aus der Kinderzeit, was composed as piece no. 2 of the collection, on May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1878, the same day as Schlummerlied, when Wolf was eighteen years old. This work illustrates a completely opposite and contrasting atmosphere from Schlummerlied; in place of the innocent serenity and loving safety of bedtime in childhood, we find in Scherz und Spiel a spontaneous, playful, and carefree aspect of childhood. Translated into English, Scherz und Spiel means "A joke and play". As such, it is a perfect contrasting companion piece to the Schlummerlied. Together, these two works portray two contrasting elements of childhood that adults admire: the ability to forget (through sleep), and to experience unrestrained joy.<sup>204</sup>

The formal ABA construct of *Scherz und Spiel* is typical of Wolf, who again relies on *Viertaktigkeit*, or four-square phrasing. The sixteen-measure long A section consists of two identical statements of the opening eight-measure phrase, both of which end on the dominant (D major). The B section is eleven measures in length (measures 17-27) and is divided into two phrases of four measures and a four-measure extension. The work concludes with the thematic material from section A but modified.

Considering the brevity of the work, the contrast in texture between the first and second themes is pronounced. The outer sections (A) are polyphonic in nature: the two-voice texture, which Wolf divides between the two hands, is consistent. The constant exchange of the motive

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup>Rozman, 65. Paraphrased, with additions by the author.

between the hands contributes to the playful character of the work. Contrastingly, the more serious B section is homophonically written, with the chordal middle of the texture accompanying the melodic outer voices.

In *Scherz und Spiel*, the striking contrast in character between the two sections of the work is the most noticeable we have observed in these three early works of Hugo Wolf. It is especially important to remember that in this respect, this contrast is different from the rest of his *oeuvre*, including most of his later works. Even though the later works often contain dramatic shifts in character, these shifts always stem from the poetic-literary contents of the text rather than from Wolf's applications of established compositional devices in a musically absolute way, as was often the practice of Johannes Brahms. In the opening section of *Scherz und Spiel* there are two main motives. The first motive consists of a group of three sixteenth notes ending with four eighth notes (Fig. 40). It is present in almost every measure of the A section. In addition to its original version, it is also found in an abbreviated appearance as two sixteenth notes in measure 7 or as a triplet in measures 8 and 16 (Figs. 40, 41, 42).

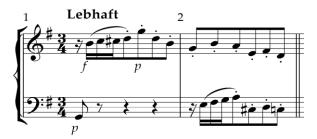


Fig. 40



Fig. 41.

Also, it is typical of Wolf to compose a motivic connection between the contrasting sections. In the case of *Scherz und Spiel*, the running sixteenth notes in measure 19 stem from motives in the opening section. As in *Schlummerlied* and *Albumblatt*, the motives are not characterized by their melodic contour and shape, but rather by their rhythmic elements.

The second motive consists of an ascending quarter note melody in the right hand, with eighth note accompanimental figures (Fig. 42). Two functions are accomplished by the second motive. First, following the first motive, it concludes the principal theme of the section.

Secondly, when the principal theme enters in another voice, it is used by Wolf as an accompanimental figure. This type of motivic use can be described as the principal theme representing the subject, and the continuation of the eighth-note motive functioning as a countersubject, specifically in terms of its *rhythmic* content. 205,206

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> Rhythmic, and not melodic content, as the subject and counter subject's melodic properties are often varied.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> Wolf also used this type of writing in his piano piece *Humoreske*.



Fig. 42.

Wolf uses an effective means of highlighting the contrasting qualities between the two motives through contrary motion of dynamics. The opening motion in sixteenth notes is marked *forte* whereas the eighth notes which follow are to be played *piano*.<sup>207</sup> Wolf does indicate this arrangement of dynamics in specific passages in work; therefore, it should be utilized where indicated, to emphasize clarity and contrast. Extremes of dynamics occur in measures, 4-5, 31-32, and 35. Measures 4 and 5 are shown below (Fig. 43).



Fig. 43

Another compositional device Wolf uses in *Scherz und Spiel* is metric displacement.

Schumann's and Brahms' often frequent use of metric displacement are, of course, the preexisting models for Wolf's use of this compositional procedure. He employs it most effectively in the A

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> See Figs. 43a and 43b.

sections, resulting in a hemiola-like blurring of the downbeats. Due to the rhythmic construction of the first motive, the three sixteenth-notes are aurally perceived as an anacrusis to the following eighth note (s). Consequently, the perceived strong beat of each measure is the second beat, not the first. In measure 5, Wolf restores this regularity, while the left hand becomes more independent, and then moves in groups of two or three beats. To account for this metric displacement, Wolf needed to make up for the added beat at the end of the eight-measure phrase. He accomplishes this by modifying the metric implication in measures 7-8, in effect creating 2/4 measures within a 3/4 framework (Fig. 44).



Fig. 44

Metric displacement is not present in the B section of *Scherz und Spiel*, most likely due to its more serious character. The concluding section, however, reutilizes metric displacement, to conclude the work in a jocular way. Here, Wolf uses this compositional tool to serve two functions: to end the piece with efficient reuse of a previously used compositional device, while at the same time transforming a compositional tool into a poetic device.

The strongly contrasting B section of *Scherz und Spiel* is produced by the following means. At the beginning of the section the key of B minor is firmly established. Additionally, legato lines are utilized, instead of the detached sixteenth-note rhythms of the opening section. In measure 19, the sixteenth-note climax is based from the motive of section A (measure 1). In addition, this passage also changes its melodic direction to a descending form, while the original motive is expanded in length. Similarly, the ascending and descending quarter notes in the outer voices from measures 17-18 and 21-22 could be seen as the reinterpretation and augmentation of the primary eighth-note motive. <sup>208</sup> In terms of dynamics, the middle section serves as the climax of the work. Forte is the dynamic at measures 17 through 22, except for the brief piano on the climactic run, in measure 20. Also, and most noticeably, in section B the metric displacement of section A is not used. Instead, a more common three-beat arrangement is used. The imitative quality of the A section is now replaced with homophonic writing. The contrapuntal element, however, is preserved by using contrary motion between the outer voices in measures 17-18 and 21-22. In measure 23, the minor key is abandoned, and the two rhythmic motives return, in a succession of sixteenth and eighth notes. In measures 24 and 25, Wolf distributes the two rhythmic motives between the two hands. The sixteenth-note motive is then presented as a chromatic version which alternates in a trill-like manner. This chromatic version of the motive is significant, as it serves as a unifying element to the work; it appears at the beginning, then just before the recapitulation, and, finally, at the conclusion. Similarly, Wolf inventively restates the eighth-note motive via octave leaps, showing the motive's flexibility via intervallic expansion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup>Rozman, 75.

From measures 23-27, the V7 chord is the cadential harmony, over which a cadenza-like run in the left hand, starting in measure 26, resolves to the I in measure 28 (Fig.45).



Fig. 45

The return of the first theme is stated exactly as at the beginning of the piece. Wolf then introduces modifications, starting on the third beat of measure 31. Instead of the vii07, he uses a vii 06/5 (second inversion), leading to a modulating sequence, descending stepwise (A minor to G major, in measures 32 and 33) of the now-familiar motives. In measure 34 the same material appears now in the dominant. A vii07/V chord on the third beat of each preceding measure anticipates all of these statements. The final statement is on the dominant, and it resolves the harmonic progression to the final cadence. Wolf then rhythmically brings back the principal motive with the metric pattern of the final four measures being similar to that found in the exposition. The right- and left-hand parts are now displaced by different rhythmic amounts: the right hand now uses the second beat of each measure as its perceived downbeat, whereas the left

hand uses the third beat. It is only in the two final measures of the piece, through the inclusion of perceived 2/4 measures, is the displacement "rectified."

Scherz und Spiel represents an important formative step in the development of Hugo Wolf's compositional process. Metric flexibility will be characteristic of Wolf's later output as well, and will help to alleviate redundancy, and add originality and authenticity to his works, while still composed on a platform of Viertaktigkeit. Schlummerlied, Albumblatt and Scherz und Spiel share important common elements. First, the meter (3/4) and keys (G major) are the same. Secondly, despite differing by only two measures, all three works are nearly identical in length.

Additionally, the principal motives of each respective work share a similar foundational outline, consisting of shorter note values,<sup>209</sup> followed by longer note values.<sup>210</sup> Furthermore, the intervallic contour of the motives in both works is similar, ascending-descending pattern. figure 34 shows the similarity between the two themes (Figs. 46, 47).



Fig. 47

Fig. 46

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> Eighth notes in *Schlummerlied*, and sixteenth notes in *Scherz und Spiel*, respectively.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> Quarter notes and eighth notes, respectively.

Both *Schlummerlied* and *Scherz und Spiel* are precursors to a better-known pairing of works in Wolf's later output. His songs *Der Knabe und Das Immlein* and *Ein Stündlein wohl vor Tag* <sup>211</sup> are paired in a similar manner. Although Mörike did not present these two poems in succession, they nonetheless follow each other in Wolf's musical-textual ordering. Here, the musical connection is clearly obvious, as the opening verse of *Der Knabe und Das Immlein* is restated almost verbatim in *Ein Stündlein wohl vor Tag*. The poetic message is the reason for this association. Both songs share the musical motive that describes the emptiness that results from a lover's absence. The shared musical motive is used throughout to depict the disappointment and despair of the protagonist. The piece ends on the dominant (D major), emphasizing the unfulfilled longing. In this manner, the two songs at the same time contrast and complement each other, much like the two-piano works.<sup>212</sup>

Whether Wolf intended for *Schlummerlied* and *Scherz und Spiel* to be part of a longer cycle of short piano pieces more analogous to Schumann's *Kinderszenen* is unknown. As has been shown conclusively, Hugo Wolf's early, formative period of composition is filled with unfinished works, works that are lost, and projected cycles. However, these two works function perfectly well in their surviving (paired) format. From a performance practice standpoint, they should unequivocally be played as a pair, as it is only in this manner that their programmatic message of contrasting aspects of childhood can be heard and understood.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> From the *Mörike-Lieder*,(1888).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup>Rozman, 72.

# *Canons* (1882)

This piece was composed by Hugo Wolf during his second stay at Maierling on 6<sup>th</sup> July 1882. Less than a month before, Wolf had composed his first acknowledged Lied masterpiece, *Mausfallen-Sprüchlein*, on 18<sup>th</sup> June 1882, for Mizzi Werner, the daughter of his friend Heinrich Werner. As Wolf's letters show, Wolf was at this time giving piano lessons to Lotte Preyss, the daughter of his Maierling host, Viktor Preyss.<sup>213</sup> This little canon was undoubtedly written for this youthful pupil.<sup>214</sup> Most likely, *Canons* was composed by Wolf as an autodidactic exercise in counterpoint (for himself), and as an exercise in *Blattspielen* (sight-reading) for his young pupil. Wolf's inclusion of fingerings for nearly every note of the piece corroborates its instructional purpose.

In the context of Hugo Wolf scholarship, it is important that *Canons* not be overlooked, as it is the only extant first work by Wolf which he attempts to demonstrate a fundamental degree of mastery of counterpoint. Wolf was clearly aware that he was deficient in the practice of counterpoint, due to a lack of formal training. In his only meeting with Johannes Brahms in Vienna in 1876, the celebrated composer suggested that the sixteen-year-old Wolf take counterpoint lessons from his friend and colleague Gustave Nottebohm, <sup>215</sup> one of the most

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> The Preyss family rented a residence in Maierling for two consecutive summers, and hosted Hugo Wolf as their guest.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> Walker, 486

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> Gustav Nottebohm (1817-1882) was a German pianist, composer, teacher, and musical editor, who spent most of his career in Vienna. From 1858-59 a board member of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, and the chief librarian of that organization from 1864, until his death in 1882. He was also a close friend of Johannes Brahms, who was the General Director of the organization.

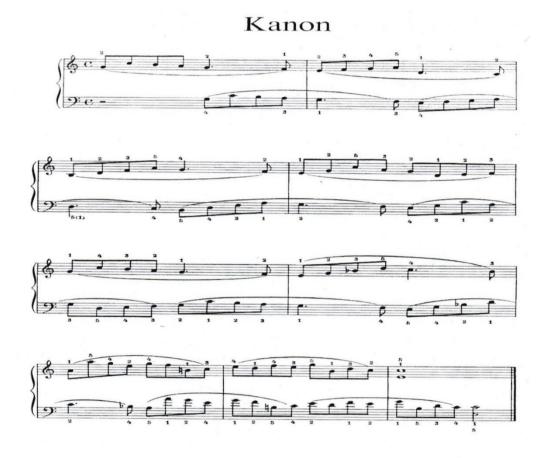


Fig. 48

highly respected teachers of counterpoint in the city. Unsurprisingly Wolf could not afford

Nottebohm's fees, but nonetheless, he took Brahms' advice seriously. He dedicated himself to self-study and practice of this important, but difficult musical discipline. Bearing this in mind, *Canons* is in itself a skilled and proficient example of Wolf's autodidactic efforts. The entire piece is printed out (Fig.48) from the Collected Works Edition, and includes Wolf's own Fingerings, from the original manuscript.<sup>216</sup> <sup>217</sup> Wolf's original title *Canons* is translated to the German title *Kanon*.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup>Mus. Hs. 19567 in the Austrian National Library

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup>Hugo Wolf Sämtliche Werke, vol. 18, 143.

Canons is the earliest example of Hugo Wolf's most "correct" execution of contrapuntal part-writing. It is a short, simple and clear, but uniform nine-measure canon at the octave, whose lower voice follows the higher by half a measure. At the end of the piece, an extension occurs in measures 8 and 9, in order to structurally accommodate the (canonic) delay. A two-measure phrase structure is present throughout; after two measures on the first degree of the scale (C natural), Wolf reaches the fifth degree of the scale (G) in measure 3. In measure 5, the opening motive reappears, and in measure 6, the first degree of the scale (C natural) turns in to a V/V, then resolves to IV in measure 7. A V-I cadence concludes the work.

## Conclusion:

In all four of these piano works composed by the then teenage Hugo Wolf, we see, hear, and experience exemplifications of the musical knowledge and skill sets that Wolf actually *possessed* at that time in his life. This is the result of his application of the fourfold learning equation to his learning how to play the piano, and his exposure to the repertoire of that instrument, as well as other performance media, such as opera and chamber music. We also see and hear the results of deficiencies in compositional techniques and skills which Wolf would have to later acquire. We see all four elements of the fourfold learning equation in Wolf's imitation and emulation of pianistic-compositional devices which he had learned and mastered in his own studies, plus new "discoveries", exemplified by compositional devices such as thematic development, reconception of his own preexisting work (*Albumblatt*), an abundant amount of motivic and

rhythmical invention and vitality. Significant to this is how Wolf utilizes these elements in a most original, and non-redundant way. Finally, as stated previously, we experience in these early works an innate sense of proportion, musical unity, and efficient economy of means.

Already present in these early works, these seminal characteristics of Hugo Wolf's later-to-mature compositional process would eventually become hallmarks of his own compositional mastery, authenticity, and genius. His first acknowledged masterworks attest to this. 218

Conversely, we also see, hear, and experience noticeable errors of a contrapuntal nature: interval choice, and (subsequent) errors in voice leading and harmonic-cadential resolution. Hugo Wolf would struggle throughout his career to eventually achieve conscious, applicable mastery of the requisite compositional skill sets necessary for his future work.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> Commencing with the song Mausfallen-Sprüchlein (1883), and the Mörike-Lieder (1888).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> These problems are especially noticeable in Wolf's tone poem *Penthesilea* (1884-85).

#### CHAPTER FIVE

#### ORCHESTRAL AND CHAMBER WORKS FROM 1884-1892

Penthesilea, Tone Poem for Orchestra (1883-5)

Serenade in G Major for 2 violins, Viola, and Violoncello in G major (Italian Serenade) (1887).

Italian Serenade for small Orchestra in G major (1892).

#### Introduction

On the 13<sup>th</sup> of February 1883, Hugo Wolf's idol Richard Wagner died in Venice. This shocking news coupled with Wolf's continuing lack of success in securing a publisher for his music put the young composer in a state of both profound grief and disappointment. On April 6<sup>th</sup> of that year, Wolf's spirits were transformed by the inspiration and personal encouragement of another one of his idols.<sup>220</sup> Franz Liszt was making a two-day visit to Vienna, and by prearrangement through Wolf's friend Goldschmidt, received the then twenty-three-year-old Hugo Wolf. Wolf biographer Frank Walker describes the visit in the following manner:

He played through some of his songs and Liszt confessed himself delighted and embraced the young composer and kissed him on the brow. He expressed, however, the hope of hearing from Wolf soon a work on a larger scale. This remark of Liszt's, in all probability, may be regarded as the germ-cell from which there developed, in the succeeding months, Wolf's great experiment on a symphonic scale—the orchestral tone-poem based on Heinrich von Kleist's poetic drama *Pentheselia*. <sup>221</sup>

In a letter to his parents dated April 7<sup>th</sup>., 1883, Wolf relived the whole experience.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> Walker [sic], 140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> Ibid.

#### Liebste Eltern!

Innigsten Dank für die herzliche Teilnahme an meinem Namenstage. Gestern um 11 Uhr vormittag war ich bei Meister Liszt! Ich habe ihm einige Lieder von mir vorgespielt, die ihm sehr gefielen, so daß er mich umarmt und auf die Stirn geküßt hat. Er war sehr liebenswürdig und heiter und sprach die Hoffnung aus, von mir bald ein größeres Werk zu hören! Er ist gestern abend schon wieder fortgereist, nachdem er nur zwei Tage in Wien verweilt... 222

Wolf's meeting with Liszt is seen by scholars as the *Keimzelle* (seminal moment) that inspired Wolf to make his first attempt at composing a *Tongedicht*, known as a single-movement symphonic work, based on a literary source. In a letter to his friend Emile Kauffmann, Wolf reveals his innate desire to seek out and utilize the "truth" contained in both art and literature. He writes as follows:

...Oberstes Prinzip in der Kunst ist mir strenge, herbe, unerbittliche Wahrheit, Wahrheit bis zur Grausamkeit. Kleist z.B.--- Wagner immer obenan--- ist mein Mann. Seine wunderherrliche Penthesilea ist wohl die wahrste, aber zugleich grausamste Tragödie, die je einem Dichterhirn entsprungen. Und selbst Mörike, dieser Liebling der Grazien! zu welchen Excessen läßt seine Muse sich hinreissen, wenn er die dämonischen Seite der Wahrheit ihr Antlitz zukehrt!...<sup>223</sup>

After Wagner, Heinrich von Kleist, and his tragedy *Penthesilea* were the most genuine and ineffable sources of "Truth", per Wolf's definition. As was typical of Wolf, he obsessed himself with a poet's works. He knew von Kleist's works thoroughly and could recite many of them from memory. To Wolf, the "truth": the search for, and the manifestation thereof in all of his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> Dearest Parents, (My) most heartfelt thanks for (your) sincere participation in celebrating my Name-Day. Yesterday morning at 11am I was with the Master Liszt! I played some of my songs for him, which pleased him so much that he embraced me and kissed me on the forehead. He was very kind and cheerful and expressed hope that he would soon hear a large work of mine! He has already departed, after having spent only two days in Vienna…Letter from Wolf to his parents, April 7th, 1883. Spitzer, 2:179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> ...The highest principle in art is to me strict, bitter, unrelenting truth, truth to the point of cruelty. Kleist, for example, with Wagner at the top, is my man. His wonderfully magnificent *Penthesilea* is probably the truest, but at the same time the cruelest tragedy that ever came from a poet's mind. And even Mörike, the darling of the Graces (!), whose muse lets him get carried away to excess when the demonic side of the truth turns itself to her countenance! Letter to Kaufmann, June 5th, 1890 [sic]. Ibid. 367.

work, was (and still is) the dispositive end, to which he employed the means: e.g., his powers of learning, mastery (*imitatio*, *emulatio*), and *inventio*.

#### Hugo Wolf, Heinrich von Kleist, and the Similarities in their Lives.

Hugo Wolf and Heinrich von Kleist had notable parallels in their lives, which one sees when comparing the creative dispositions of both artists. Because of the kindred spirit Wolf felt toward von Kleist based on what they had in common, I must conclude that Wolf was attracted to von Kleist more than any other poet, including, to my surprise, Eduard Mörike.<sup>224</sup> Wolf's first biographer Ernest Decsey, describes it in the following manner:

Es ist eine seltsame und geheimnisvolle Wechselbeziehung, die zwischen Hugo Wolf und Heinrich von Kleist wob, zwischen dem Dichter und dem Musiker, eine Wechselbeziehung, die sich noch verstärkt, wenn wir daran denken, dass der Dramatiker Kleist in der Musik "die Wurzel aller übrigen Künste" suchte, und der Lyriker Wolf zeitlebens nach dicterischem Ausdrucke, nach dem Drama verlangte.<sup>225</sup>

It is also notable that von Kleist stated that music was his primary source of inspiration, while Wolf almost exclusively and obsessively, drew inspiration literally from the written word.

<sup>222</sup> While he was working on *Pentheselia*, Wolf composed some (unfinished) incidental music to von Kleist's play *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*, dated August 1884, of which only two small fragments survive. By comparison, Wolf composed fifty-three songs to texts by Mörike.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> It is a strange and enigmatic reciprocal relationship that was woven between Hugo Wolf and Heinrich von Kleist, between the poet and the composer: and interrelation that tends to increase and become stronger when we think that in music, the playwright Kleist sought "the roots of all the remaining arts" and Wolf the lyricist, demanded throughout his life poetic expression from the drama. Ernst Decsey, "Hugo Wolfs Leben: 1860-67,"in *Hugo Wolf* (Leipzig: Schuster & Loeffler, 1903),75. Translated by the author.

As Wolf was well read on many subjects, most, if not nearly all his works (except from his early years) are based on literary sources. More than other composers, Wolf was from an artistic perspective, truly dependent on the written word, from which stemmed his own creative force, or *inventio*.

Wolf sensed a certain kinship between himself and von Kleist as incomplete creators.<sup>226</sup> During one of his most sterile periods, he wrote of his lost creativity and von Kleist's suicide:

Mit dem Componiren jedoch ist es rein aus. Ich kann mir gar nicht mehr vorstellen was eine Harmonie, was Melodie ist u. ich beginne bereits zu zweifeln, ob die Compositionen unter meinem Namen auch wirklich von mir sind. Du lieber Himmel, wozu der Lärm, wenn zum Schluß nur ein Pudel dahinter steckt? Wozu alle die herrlichen Aussichten auf eine goldige Zukunft, wenn ich jetzt elend im Dreck versinken soll? "Der Himmel gibt ein ganzes od. gar kein Talent; die Hölle hat mir meine halben gegeben." Wie wahr, o wie wahr! Unglücklicher! In deinen Blüthejahren bist du zur Hölle gegangen u. Hast ihr Danaergeschenk ihr in den tückischen Rachen geschleudert u. Dich selbst dazu! O Kleist!<sup>227</sup>

Quite remarkable are the similarities between the lives of these two men. First, both died young and in less than a decade wrote those works upon which their (posthumous) fame would rest. Second, they were considered radicals by their contemporaries, and their most ambitious works, particularly *Penthesilea* were considered *unverfassbar* (incomprehensible). Third, both men were not much appreciated during their lifetimes. In reference to von Kleist, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe was so repelled by *Pentheselia*, that he severely criticized von Kleist for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup> Raphael Metzger, "Hugo Wolf's Symphonic Poem "Penthesilea": A History and Analysis" (DMA Dissertation, Peabody Conservatory of Music of the Johns Hopkins University, 1979) 25, ProQuest ID 304885855.

With composing, it is completely over. I can in no way imagine what a harmony is, what melody is, and I am already beginning to doubt whether the compositions bearing my name are also really by me. You, Dear Heaven, to what end is the tumult, if in conclusion a puddle is placed behind it? To what purpose are the magnificent vistas toward a golden future, when I am now miserably sunken in muck? "Heaven gives us one whole talent or none at all: Hell has given me only half my talent." (Kleist). How true, oh, how true! Unfortunately, you (Kleist) descended into Hell in your prime and threw its Greek gift into its own deceitful jaws, and yourself with it! O Kleist! Letter to Hermann Wette, 13 August 1891 [sic]. Spitzer, 1:602.

the pathological excesses which, in his opinion, ruined most of the dramatist's creations.<sup>228</sup> Wolf equated and identified much with von Kleist, as he (Wolf) felt himself impeded (or better, thwarted) as a successor of Wagner, just as von Kleist felt himself in reference to Goethe.

If Wolf and von Kleist led parallel artistic lives, the similarity between their deaths is astounding, especially when related to *Penthesilea*. Von Kleist, who had bouts with insanity during his short life, made a suicide pact with his friend, Henriette Vogel, shooting her through the breast and then killing himself.<sup>229</sup> Wolf in turn suffered from periods of madness and became incurably insane during his last years. At the onslaught of one such period of insanity, Wolf recognized his disease and attempted to commit suicide. He failed in this attempt, and lived for another few years, eventually dying a miserable death from syphilis in 1903. Melanie Köchert,<sup>230</sup> his secret love, lost her senses soon after Wolf's death, and threw herself from a window three years later. That Penthesilea's madness, murder, and eventual suicide is realized to such an extent in the deaths of her greatest interpreters, is an enigma for all time. <sup>231</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> Robert Helbling, *The Major Works of Heinrich von Kleist* (New York: New Directions, c. 1976), 253. <sup>229</sup> Metzger, 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>230</sup> Melanie Köchert (1858-1906), wife of Heinrich Köchert, the jeweler to the Habsburg Court, met Wolf in 1879, and began her secret affair with him ca. 1884.

#### Wolf's Obsession with Penthesilea

From May until July of 1883, Wolf was obsessively devouring the works of Heinrich von Kleist. Of all von Kleist's plays, Wolf became most attracted to *Penthesilea* to the point of obsession. In early July of that year, he collected the sketches he had already written for *Penthesilea* and began composing the work. Wolf spent the summer of 1883 in Rinnbach-St. Veit, at the summer home of Heinrich Köchert, and was introduced to another of their houseguests, the novelist Hermann Bahr. The two became good friends, while enjoying the hospitality of the Köcherts. Bahr wrote of Wolf's obsession with von Kleist, the "Truth", and *Penthesilea*:

Schwer vom Trinken und von dem heftigen Begeisterungen der Jugend wollten wir uns dann hinlegen. Da öffnete sich die Thüre und aus dem anderen Zimmer erschein uns, in einem langen, langen Hemde, Hugo Wolf, eine Kerze und ein Buch in der Hand, sehr bleich, seltsam in dem grauen, verschwimmenden Lichte anzusehen, miträtselhaften, bald skurrilen, bald feierlichen Geberden. Er lachte schrill und verhöhnte uns. Dann trat er in die Mitte und schwang die Kerze, und während wir uns auszogen, begann er uns vorzulesen, meistens aus der Penthesilea. Dies hatte aber eine solche Kraft, dass wir schweigend wurden und uns nicht mehr zu regen wagten; so gross war es, wenn er redete. Wie ungeheure schwarze Vögel rauschten die Worte von seinem blassen Munde und schienen noch zu wachsen und das ganze Zimmer wurde von ihren schrecklich lebendigen Schatten voll. Bis er plötzlich wieder lachte und uns verhöhnte und in seinem langen, langen Hemde, die flackernde Kerze in der ausgestreckten Hand, langsam durch die Thüre verschwand...Ich habe in meinem Leben niemals mehr so vorlesen hören. Es lässt sich nicht beschreiben. Ich kann nur sagen: wenn er sie aussprach, nahmen die Worte eine ungeheure Wahrheit an, sie bekamen Körper, ja wir hatten das Gefühl, als ob sein eigener Leib auf einmal dann zum Fleisch der Worte geworden wäre, als ob diese Hände, die wir im Dunkel schimmern sahen, keinem Menschen mehr, sondern jetzt die Worten die wir vernahmen, angehören würden! Er hatte sich gleichsam mit seinem ganzen Körper in das Wort des Dichters verwandelt. Diese stand vor uns, unser Freund war verschwunden.<sup>232</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> Heavy with drink, and the impetuous enthusiasm of youth, we wanted to get to bed. Then, the door opened, and out of the other room appeared Hugo Wolf in a long, long night shirt, candle, and book in hand, very pale, hardly visible in the grey blurry light with enigmatic, now weird, now ceremonious gestures. He laughed in a shrill manner and mocked us.

Then he stepped into the middle of the room, swung the candle, and, while we undressed, began to read to us, generally something out of *Pentheselia*. This had such a strength that we became silent, not daring to speak another word, so impressive was he when reading. Like immense black birds the words came rushing and roaring from his pale mouth; they seemed to flow until the room was full of their lively and terrible shadows. Suddenly, he would

# Wolf's Early Works before Penthesilea

From the time he composed his first piano compositions in 1875 until he commenced work on *Penthesilea*, in 1883, Hugo Wolf produced over one hundred twenty-five musical works. These early works consist of piano pieces, chamber music, music for orchestra, choruses, and, of course, his early songs. His first known works for orchestra are the *Violin Concerto*, Op. 6, (1875) (unfinished and unscored), the orchestral transcription of Beethoven's 'Moonlight' sonata, (1876) (unfinished), the *Symphony in B flat* (1876-7) (in fragments), the *Overture on Byron's 'The Corsair*, (1877-8) (lost), and the *Symphony in F minor*, (1879) (also lost). The scherzo movement of the *Symphony in B* Flat is the only movement of this work which we can analyze. According to Walker, this movement "reveals a prodigious advance upon anything which the young composer had up to this time produced." 233 Also, and very importantly, Wolf had known and thoroughly studied the Berlioz *Traité d'orchestration*, beginning in 1875. In addition, he composed his *String Quartet in D Minor* (1879-1884). Although it is true that many of these works were either left incomplete or have been lost or destroyed by Wolf himself, Wolf

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burst into laughter again, mock us once more, and then slowly disappear through the door in his long, long nightshirt, the flickering candle in his outstretched hand...Never in my life have I heard such (a) reading. It is indescribable. I can only say that when he pronounced them, the words took on an enormous, tremendous truth; they became incarnate. Yes, we had the feeling as if his own body in one instant became incarnate with the words, as if these hands which we saw shimmering in the dark no longer belonged to a human being, but to the words we were hearing! He had transformed himself with his entire body into the words of the poet. This is what stood before us; our friend had disappeared. Hermann Bahr, "Vorwort", in *Gesammelte Aufsätze über Hugo Wolf*, ed. Hugo Wolf-Verein in Wien. Berlin: S. Fischer, 1898, 1:ix-xi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> Walker, 48, 49.

became able nonetheless to acquire a level of compositional mastery and invention to the point where he could compose a work of artistic complexity in a single movement for large orchestra.

## The Influence of Franz Liszt on Hugo Wolf and Penthesilea

Like that of Heinrich von Kleist, the influence of Franz Liszt on the *Penthesilea* of Hugo Wolf cannot be underestimated. Liszt served as a source of musical inspiration to Wolf, and as the *Keimzelle* of the young composer's inventive impetus. Liszt's own tone poems, plus his personal encouragement of Wolf to undertake the composition of larger works provided Wolf with both the inspiration as well as the preexisting models with which to embark on such a task. Moreover, the compositional processes and techniques which Liszt developed in his own *symphonische Dichtungen* <sup>234</sup> were to be employed by Wolf, along with techniques and procedures of Berlioz and Wagner. Since Liszt was also considered a "radical" in musical circles, Wolf, the anti-Brahmsian Wagner disciple was attracted to Liszt's work. This, coupled with Wolf's "kinship" with von Kleist provided Wolf with the desire to compose a larger musical work, based on Liszt's models.

Although the French-Belgian composer César Franck composed an orchestral work based on Victor Hugo's poem *Ce qu'on entend sur la montagne* between 1845-47, he neither published

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> Liszt coined and first used the term "Symphonische Dichtung" (symphonic poem) at a public concert in Weimar on February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1854, to describe his work *Les Préludes*. Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt*. Rev. ed. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1987. 304.

nor performed the work, nor did he attempt to define or designate the work as a symphonic poem. Beginning with the performance in 1854 (and publication in 1878 by Breitkopf & Härtel) of his first symphonic poem *Tasso* (1840-1854), Liszt became credited for developing and promoting the symphonic poem and became recognized by scholars as the inventor of that genre. It was Liszt's desire to expand the single-movement orchestral repertoire to something beyond that of the concert overture. Familiar with formal musical constructs of the past, Liszt approached his new compositional challenge with a new perspective towards a one-movement orchestral work designed to represent a natural scene, a poetic idea, or work of art or literature. Instead of following a strict structural order such as in a Mozart sonata, he employed a loosely episodic musical construct which followed the flow of ideas from the literary source. This episodic musical construct coupled with his innovative use of preexisting compositional techniques such as the episodic formal construct, thematic transformation, motivic usage and development, recapitulation, and extended codas were important models for Hugo Wolf (and other, composers) to imitate, emulate, and then invent upon.

As *Musikdirector* in Weimar (where he settled in 1843), Liszt had at his disposal a theatre, an orchestra, other artists and intellectuals, the nearby University of Jena, plus the patronage of the grand duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, specifically the Grand Duchess of Weimar, Maria Pavlovna, sister to then Czar Nicholas I of Russia. He also had the services of two competent assistants, <sup>235</sup> who orchestrated his musical sketches and scores. In the Weimar orchestra, he had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup> August Conradi (1821-1873) who assisted Liszt as copyist and orchestrator from 1844-49. Josef Raff (1822-1882) was a composer and pianist who provided Liszt with both orchestrations of (Liszt's) sketches from 1850-53.

access to prominent members of that ensemble which included the concertmaster Joseph Joachim, who provided much important musical counsel to Liszt. These artist colleagues were experienced orchestral players who knew the different sonic effects that could be produced by the various instruments in the orchestra. Liszt considered such interaction with these great musicians invaluable. In other words, Liszt had the artistic and interpersonal resources at his disposal which allowed him to hear his new orchestrated works on a trial-and-error basis, enabling him and his assistants to make changes and revisions to realize his ideas. The experience of trial-and-error, with the best resources available to him, was the path to mastery of orchestration for Liszt.

Concerning the actual performance of his symphonic poems, and their reception by audiences, there were, however four major challenges with which Liszt and later, Wolf, were confronted. First, for Liszt, the Weimar court orchestra, like many small orchestras of the time, did not possess a level of technical proficiency and virtuosity to play the new repertoire with ease. Written in new and unfamiliar constructs, the symphonic poems used asymmetric meters and rhythms, producing an "unpredictable" beat at times. The irregular rhythms proved difficult to play accurately, sounding erratic and "incorrect" to players and listeners alike. Due to the use of unusual, infrequently used key signatures, the music had extensive accidentals in its scoring, far more than in the standard musical works of the time. The sudden changes in tempi were another element of the complexity of this new music. Liszt also composed sections of music using chamber-music textures, which are produced by extended solo passages performed by single players or small ensemble passages. This put a stress on the orchestra, in that the mistakes of the solo artist or small ensemble would be obvious to ensemble and audience alike; the

collective sound of each instrument family group not "covering up" the mistakes of individual players.

Second, Liszt's new symphonic poems were not a sure success with audiences, especially where listeners were accustomed to more traditional, "conservative" repertoire and programming. Since he was aware that the public valued instrumental music with context, Liszt provided a written preface for each of his nine of his symphonic poems. Nonetheless the audiences of Liszt's time found his symphonic poems puzzling, if not confusing. Where Hugo Wolf and other composers would use the programmatic nature of the symphonic poem to illustrate a narrative episodically, Liszt conceived his symphonic poems by using the music to evoke a general atmosphere or mood, not to tell a story.

Third, in comparison to Franz Liszt, Hugo Wolf, on the other hand had never undergone any formal instruction in either orchestration or organology. As previously referenced, Wolf on his own had studied, beginning in 1875, the Berlioz *Traité d'orchestration*. He also had studied orchestral works by previous composers, and he composed and orchestrated his own earlier compositions. Never did Wolf have either a teacher of orchestration, or an orchestra at his disposal with which he could test and hear the results of his own work.

Fourth and finally, Liszt imitated orchestration by his transcribing of preexisting orchestral work-models to the piano. From this perspective, Liszt could literally see and hear how each instrument was treated according to its optimal capabilities, which he would then transcribe and adapt to the piano score. Coming from the other direction, Wolf's first work with orchestration

involved his transcribing of non-orchestrated works to orchestrated versions, scored by Wolf at the piano.

Jancik states that Wolf "envinced a natural aptitude for orchestral timbre (e.g., the Scherzo in G minor of 1877), and despite one or two instances of orchestral imbalance that can be attributed to lack of experience, the scoring of *Penthesilea* is a long way ahead of its time, and for sheer brilliance of color can rival Richard Strauss's."236 Based on my own study of the Penthesilea score, I conclude that Jancik was correct about the "innovative" qualities of the scoring of the work, and its "sheer brilliance of color", which would also be later utilized by Richard Strauss and others. I disagree, however, in that there are only one or two incidences of orchestral imbalance in the work; the work contains more than only one or two. I discuss this in the section concerning problems with the orchestration in *Penthesilea*. This "natural aptitude for orchestral timbre" must also be attributed to Wolf's voracious study and hearing of preexisting orchestral works, his previous compositional work, and his study of the Berlioz treatise. Aside from all of this, plus having been expelled from the conservatory, he never received any formal instruction either in orchestration, or the study of *Instrumentenkunde* (organology). The problematic element here which Jancik does not reference is that when he was composing and orchestrating Penthesilea, Wolf, to a level of mastery, only understood the capabilities of the piano (and his own pianistic capabilities),<sup>237</sup> but not those of orchestral instruments, with reference to their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> Hans Jancik, Preface to *Penthesilea*- Collected Works Edition. iv.

This became evident to Max Reger, during his study of Wolf's manuscript. When Reger produced the piano 4-hands edition of *Penthesilea*, he transcribed specific 'pianistically' conceived passages from the low strings, woodwinds, and brass instruments for the piano exactly as Wolf had written them for the orchestra.

usable ranges, registers, dynamic capabilities, and so forth. Subsequently in *Penthesilea*, there are passages which clearly show a "pianistic" application to the scoring of various instruments in the orchestra, whose true capacities (and limits) were neither understood nor even recognized by Wolf. A study of the manuscript of *Pentheselia* reveals serious problems in the scoring of various instruments, which often contradict their designed capabilities. By comparison, Franz Liszt, who with his own musical training and musical resources available to him, was eventually able to understand and master the techniques and procedures of orchestration, and then compose and orchestrate accurately and effectively. By comparison, Wolf, who did not have the orchestral and interpersonal-instructional resources at his disposal that Liszt had, was literally unable to hear the results of his work and remained bound to the piano-vocal score template. This was to affect his later works, specifically his operas. Wolf later admitted his dissatisfaction with his orchestration in *Pentheselia*, and eagerly took advice concerning revisions from the conductor, Felix Weingartner (who later premiered *Pentheselia* with the Vienna Philharmonic in 1910). For the remainder of his life, Wolf planned to completely revise the orchestration of *Pentheselia*. Although he was doing this work during his final stay in the Svetlin Asylum as late as 1897, he never completed the task due to the final onslaught of insanity.

#### Penthesilea, Song Compositions, and Hugo Wolf's Path to Artistic Maturity: 1882-1888

When viewing the *oeuvre* of Hugo Wolf in its chronological totality, I would conclude that the year 1888, with Wolf's composing of the Mörike-Lieder, to be the start of his artistic

maturity. The path to that maturity, however, began much earlier with Wolf's songs, 
Mausfallensprüchlein (1882), and later, Zur Ruh, zur Ruh (1883). These songs show elements of 
Wolf's own mastery and authenticity of his work in the Lied genre. Zur Ruh, zur Ruh was 
composed by Wolf two months after his meeting with Liszt, when Penthesilea was still a musical 
idea he was considering bringing to fruition. Later in his life, Wolf referred to this time period as 
his "Sturm und Drang" period. This is noteworthy, since Wolf's description accurately 
characterizes the "character" of Penthesilea, as Wolf thought not followed by further orchestral 
works, it represents a compositional path which Wolf no longer pursued. His lack of mastery of 
organology and instrumentation, the disastrous read-through of Penthesilea by the Vienna 
Philharmonic, offset by his greatest accomplishments being recognized in the genre of the Lied 
239 are most likely Penthesilea period in terms other than immaturity. Also, since Penthesilea 
was the factors which motivated Wolf to concentrate on that genre, in which he composed his 
most celebrated masterpieces.

# Penthesilea: Primary Sources and Published Editions

In addition to the autograph manuscript, the primary sources for *Penthesilea* consist of a *Skizzenbuch* (music notebook), a collection of unbound sketches, and two copies of the full

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> Letter to Oskar Grohe, 16 April 1890. Spitzer, 1:343.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> On the piano-vocal score template, and later in orchestrated versions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> Metzger, 36.

score, which were not copied by Wolf himself. Except for these two copies which are in the Vienna City Library, all other primary sources for *Penthesilea* are in the Austrian National Library. The original autograph, along with forty-two other Wolf manuscripts were donated to the Library by the Vienna Hugo-Wolf Verein on 26 May 1906. Upon its voluntary dissolution, the Vienna Hugo-Wolf-Verein dedicated these manuscripts to Emperor Franz Josef I in recognition of the generous support the emperor accorded Wolf from 1899 till 1903.<sup>241</sup> While these sources present a wealth of material for a study of *Penthesilea*, it is probable that the collection is incomplete since neither the notebook, nor the unbound sketches contain a draft for measures 355-475 of the work. It can only be assumed that such sketches were written but have been lost or discarded. It is also quite likely that further sketches in full score were prepared but now are no longer extant.

# Penthesilea: The Autograph Manuscript Score

The autograph manuscript of *Penthesilea* is catalogued as Mus. Hs. 97. The score consists of fifty sheets in ordinary format, and measures 343 mm x 264 mm, as listed by the editor Hans Jancik in the catalogue of the Wolf Collected Works edition. Of these fifty sheets, the first two are cover sheets while the remaining forty-eight sheets consist of the score, written on 30-stave

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> Hugo Wolf, *Penthesilea*, Symphonische Dichtung nach der von Robert Haas 1937 veröffentlichten Ausgabe. ed. Hans Jancik, *Hugo Wolf*, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 16. Wien: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1971. iv.

manuscript paper. The title page is written on the recto of the first cover sheet. The verso of both this sheet and the second cover sheet were left blank. In Wolf's own hand, the title page is as

follows:

"Penthesilea"

Nach dem Trauerspiel Heinrich von Kleists Symphonische Dichtung für großes Orchester Componirt von

Hugo Wolf<sup>242</sup>

The pages of the autograph manuscript are numbered, but not entirely in Wolf's own hand.

Except for the cover sheets, each sheet of the manuscript contains two numbers indicating the

sheet number in the upper right-hand corner of each recto page. Beginning with the first page of

the score, the larger of these numbers run from 1-48. Beginning with the (title) cover page, the

smaller numbers run from 1-50. In the upper left-hand corner of each verso page (except the last

page) are page numbers written in pencil. Here, only even numbers are utilized, commencing

with 2 on the verso of the first sheet of the manuscript continuing to the verso of the penultimate

sheet, ending with 94. On the rectos are erasure marks in the upper right-hand corners; these

erasures were probably made to provide space for the sheet numbers. The number 72 is found in

<sup>242</sup> "Penthesilea"

After Heinrich von Kleist's Tragedy Symphonic Poem for Large Orchestra Composed by

Hugo Wolf

Taken from the manuscript Mus. Hs. 97, in the Austrian National Library.

the center of the upper margin on the recto of the 31<sup>st</sup> sheet of the manuscript (the 33<sup>rd</sup> sheet of manuscript paper); each succeeding page is numbered consecutively, 115 being the last. At the foot of the final page of his autograph of *Penthesilea*, Wolf wrote the date of the inception (not completion) of the work: "Sommer und Herbst 1883".

Probebuchstaben (rehearsal letters) are in Wolf's own hand and appear in blue pencil throughout the score. The 48 rehearsal letters appear above and/or below the score in two alphabetical orderings: B-Z and AA to Zz (A, J, Jj, and Qq are omitted by Wolf). At the beginning of the score and at measures 203 and 276 respectively are penciled subtitles, written in Wolf's hand. These subtitles indicate each of the three sections of the work: "Aufbruch der Amazonen nach Troja" (Departure of the Amazons for Troy) (202 bars), "Der Traum Penthesileas vom Rosenfest" (Penthesilea's Dream of the Feast of Roses) (73 bars), and "Kämpfe, Leidenschaften, Wahnsinn, Vernichtung" (Struggles, Passions, Insanity, Destruction) (671 bars). On the first page of the manuscript, Wolf has written the abbreviated title "Penthesilea". What follows are the title of the first section of the work, plus the tempo indication: "Lebhaft wüchtig" (Lively, ponderous), which was written over a previous indication which was erased. The instrumentation in the full score is indicated in ink by Wolf as follows: "Kleine Flöte (iccolo), 2 grosse Flöten (2 standard flutes), 2 Hoboen (2 oboes), 2 Clarinetten in B (2 B flat clarinets), 3 Fagotte (3 oboes) (on 2 staves), 4 Hörner in F (4 French horns in F), 4 Trompeten in F (4 trumpets in F), 3 Posaunen (3 trombones), Basstuba, kleine Trommel (small drum), Pauken in F. C. G. (tympani in F, C, G), Becken (cymbals), 1 Violinen, 2. Violinen, Bratschen (viola), Violoncelle (cello), Contrabäße (Contrabasses)." [sic]. Important to note is that in its original version, *Penthesilea* had no percussion with the exception of the tympani; the

percussion (and cor anglais) listed above were added by Wolf in 1897, during his final stay in Dr. Svetlin's asylum. This is confirmed by the original manuscript, and a letter Wolf wrote to his friend Heinrich Potpeschnigg, while in the asylum.<sup>243</sup> Where the snare and bass drums are found, Wolf originally specified the harp. Wolf erased the indication for the harp, since the harp does not play at the opening of the work; instead, the staves for the harp were used for the drums. Nonetheless, the treble and bass clefs, plus the key signature for the harp remain here. The cymbals are notated on what was most likely a blank staff between the first violins and the timpani. At the very bottom staff of the manuscript Wolf notates the "Triangel" part. Above this staff and below the string parts is an instruction written by Wolf: "die Tasteninstrumente sind nur dan getheilt zu spielen, wenn dies ausdrücklich in der Partitur vorgemerkt ist."<sup>244</sup> According to editor Robert Haas, since both this written instruction and the triangle part itself are written in different ink from that used on the rest of the page, it is most likely that they represent the latest (or last) of Wolf's revision to the score. <sup>245</sup> On the left side of the page, all instruments except for the tam tam (gong), and the harp, Wolf has listed in the usual manner, in ink. The cor anglais (English horn) is not mentioned in the list of instruments, "Tam tam" (which enters only late in the work) is written in pencil in the space above the timpani, and "Harfen" (plural) is written in pencil in the space between the symbols and the first violins. The plural indicates that Wolf

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> Jancik, iv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> "The keyboard instruments are to be played separately, only when expressly mentioned in the score." Since the score contains no scoring for keyboard instruments, Wolf must have been referring to either the harp and cymbals, or the instruction was written in error.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> Robert Haas, "Bericht des Herausgebers," in *Penthesilea: Vollständig nach dem Original*, Series III, Vol. II of *Hugo Wolf: Nachgelassene Werke*, ed. Robert Haas and Hemut Schultz. Leipzig: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1937. 147.

might have originally intended for the harp to be doubled in performance, an important fact which has been overlooked and not mentioned by any of the editors of the work in its published editions. Wolf also wrote additional notations and instructions in pencil, to provide his ordering of percussion instruments for the preparation of a new score from the autograph.

### Penthesilea: Sketches

The sketchbooks to *Penthesilea* are catalogued as Mus. Hs. 19518 (bound), Mus. Hs. 19523, and Mus. Hs. 19573 (both unbound). Due to the confusion about Wolf's intentions concerning the assigning of dates to his sketches and completed works, it has been uncertain as to which phase (s) of compositional work Wolf was involved in, relative to those dates. For this reason, Wolf scholar Margaret Jestremski dates these sketch books literally as "1884 (?)" [sic], due to the inability of scholars to put exact dates of inception, commencement, or completion on either the sketches or the completed (supposedly in 1884) autograph manuscript of *Penthesilea*.<sup>246</sup> We do know, however, that for Wolf it was important to list the dates of the original inceptions and of his works. Until recently this date implied that before 1883 Wolf had done no sketches or other compositional work in reference to a symphonic poem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> Margaret Jestremski, *Hugo Wolf Skizzen und Fragmente. Untersuchungen zur Arbeitsweise*.(Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2002), 163.

Frank Walker states that after meeting with Franz Liszt, Wolf purchased a *Skizzenbuch* (sketch book) on May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1883, and began his "first" sketches for a symphonic poem at that time. In addition, Wolf was also intensely studying von Kleist, and *Penthesilea* in particular. In her own research of another sketch book of Wolf's dated 20 December 1882, Margaret Jestremski discovered motivic sketch examples, with written notes describing and alluding to programmatic-episodic content. Based on the content of theses sketches, <sup>247</sup> she concluded (and I agree) that Wolf was considering composing a symphonic poem in December of 1882, almost four months before his meeting with Liszt. I conclude further that these sketches indicate that it was not the meeting with Liszt specifically that inspired Wolf to compose a symphonic poem; Liszt's suggestion was simply for Wolf to compose a larger work. The meeting, however, certainly gave Wolf the impetus to do both, as discussed earlier.

#### Penthesilea: The Unbound Sketches

The unbound sketches of *Penthesilea* consist of seven sheets which as a group are catalogued under Mus. Hs. 19523 and 19573 in the Austrian National Library. On the bottom center of one side of each sheet are written the sheet numbers. Upon examination, the ordering of the sheets as well as the choice of side for numbering both seem to have been selected arbitrarily. The first sheet measures 331mm x 254mm and consists of 14 staves; the remaining manuscript sheets

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> Ibid. 159. Sketch 1882-12. Catalogued as Mus. Hs. 19533, fol. 3-4 in the Austrian National Library.

measure 252mm x 330mm and consist of 24 staves.<sup>248</sup> Only the first sheet is in short score. Except for the last sheet, which is a partial score, the remaining sheets consist of sketches in full score. Per the numbering of the sheets, all fourteen sides contain sketches, except for verso side of the second and third sheets, both of which are blank.

The recto side of the first sheet shows Wolf's sketch of measures 870-903 with much of the material crossed out. The verso side of this sheet contains Wolf's sketches of measures 802-15, and 828-69. The recto side of the second sheet contains a sketch of measures 904-21 and 926-39, respectively. The latter of these is crossed out with a large "X." On the recto side of the third sheet is contained a complete orchestration of measures 926-46. The fourth sheet contains sketches of measures 661-664 and 681-713 on the recto side, and measures 611-54 on the verso side. On the fifth sheet is a sketch of measures 828-55 which on the recto side continues with measures 856-79, indicating that the numbering on the fifth page is reversed. On the sixth sheet is contained a sketch of measures 792-809 which continues the verso side with measures 810-27. On the recto side of the final sheet are contained four bars omitted from the final version of the work followed by a partial scoring of measures 737-42. On the verso side of this sheet is contained a rough sketch of measure 755 and a few additional bars which follow. Most importantly, these seven unbound sketch sheets provide a clear example of Wolf's orchestration of *Penthesilea*, in latter sections thereof.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> Jancik, 148.

# The Penthesilea-Skizzenbuch

The "Penthesilea sketchbook" (*Skizzenbuch*) is an oblong volume measuring 250mm x 325 mm. <sup>249</sup> It is in the Austrian National Library and catalogued as Mus. Hs. 19518. On the both the hard cover and the binding is found the following imprint:

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A single cover sheet follows. The recto side of the cover sheet bears the signature of the composer and the inscription "Wien, 2. Mai 883", located in the upper right-hand corner. The rest of the volume consists of ninety-five sheets of 12-stave manuscript paper, which are numbered 1-26 in the upper right-hand corner of the recto pages. It is only these 26 of the 190 pages of manuscript paper that Wolf used. The remaining 160 pages (eighty sheets), as well as the verso side of the thirteenth sheet and the whole fourteenth sheet remain blank. The sketches are presented in particell format consisting usually of two or three staves, or occasionally one or four. The instruments are not generally specified.<sup>250</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> Jancik, 153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> Metzger, 87.

The first page (recto side) of the manuscript contains a short sketch of an *Orchester-Marsch* (orchestral march). In the right margin at the end of the first system appears the date "5 Mai 883" On the verso side the inscription "Gmunden, 21 Juli 883" is in the upper left-hand margin. A sketch in 2/2 meter for another orchestral work follows. Along with Haas, Jancik, and Jestremski, I conclude that neither of these sketches were intended for inclusion in *Penthesilea*. The first sketch reference to the work is located on the eighth staff of this page, dated "19 Juli". It consists of measures 520-539 of *Penthesilea*, the duple meter variant of Penthesilea's theme (to be discussed later). The last staff on this page presents a sketched "development" of this same material, which was not utilized in the final autograph version of the work, nor in the published editions. The following three pages are a sketch of the middle section (measures 203-75) of the work: "Der Traum Penthesileas vom Rosenfest." This sketch consists of a short score of three staves and is based on a metric variant of the preceding sketch. The verso side of the third sheet contains a variety of brief sketches. First is a sketch of an instrumental part on a single staff. Next is a short sketch in duple meter which combines the "Destruction Theme" with the "Amazon Theme" in a manner that Wolf decided not to employ in his final version of the work. Next come two variants of the "Destruction Theme" which Wolf also excluded from the final version of the work. Lastly, on the two final staves consists of a brief sketch (in pencil) of material associated with the middle section ("March of the Amazons"), which underwent further revisions by Wolf, before he used it as the opening section of the work.

# Handwritten Copies of the Autograph Score of Penthesilea

There are two handwritten copies of the score to *Penthesilea*, but they are not in Wolf's own hand. The first score is a complete copy; the second score is an incomplete copy. The Vienna Wagner-Verein had these two scores in its possession (perhaps beginning after Wolf's death) and catalogued them as W.V. 1 and W.V 2, respectively. They are currently in the Vienna City Library and are catalogued as Signatur 6863-M.<sup>251</sup> According to Metzger, the first of these manuscripts is a complete copy of the score consisting of 72 sheets of 28-stave paper.<sup>252</sup> All but the final two blank pages of this score are numbered in pencil. <sup>253</sup> The score was evidently prepared in connection with the first edition and bears many penciled revisions which were incorporated therein. The second score is an incomplete copy consisting of 32 sheets of 24-stave paper; the 64 pages of this score are numbered in ink.<sup>254</sup> According to Jancik, this score was prepared by the copyist Maresch, and cites Dr. Fritz Racek as the source of this attribution.

Jancik also references that the conductor-editor Ferdinand Löwe notated in pencil various changes in instrumentation which were incorporated into the first edition.<sup>255</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> Hans Jancik, "Anmerkungen" in *Penthesilea: Symphonische Dichtung: Nach der von Univ.-Prof. Dr. Robert Haas 1937 veröffentlichten Ausgabe*, Vol. 16 of *Hugo Wolf: Sämtliche Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Hans Jancik. Wien: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1971. 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> Metzger, 90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> Jancik, 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> Metzger, 91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> Jancik, 42.

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Published Editions of Wolf's Penthesilea

There are three published editions of Hugo Wolf's symphonic poem *Penthesilea*. The first

published edition was produced in 1903, the year of Wolf's death, by Lauterbach & Kuhn in

Leipzig. This edition presents the work in a severely truncated version, which also contains

minor editorial revisions to Wolf's original orchestration. The second edition of *Penthesilea* was

produced as an *Urtext* edition in 1937 by the then renowned Austro-Czech musicologist Robert

Haas. Haas dutifully restored the work to its pre-1903 version that Wolf had produced per his

autograph score and included Wolf's 1897 revisions as well. The result is a hypothetically

accurate *Urtext* edition of the work. The third (and final) edition was completed in 1971 under

the editorship of Dr. Hans Jancik of the Internationale Hugo Wolf-Gesellschaft, as volume 16 of

the Hugo Wolf Collected Works Edition. This edition of *Pentheselia* is essentially a reprint of

the 1937 Haas edition, with a preface and critical commentary by Jancik.

Penthesilea: The 1903 First Edition

The first edition was printed by Oskar Brandstetter-Leipzig and was published and

distributed by Lauterbach & Kuhn-Leipzig in 1903. The full score became available, along with

orchestral parts, and an arrangement for piano 4-hands by Max Reger. On the title page is the

reference: "Die Partitur bearbeitete J. Hellmesberger," which implies that Hellmesberger was the

sole editor of this edition of the work. There is neither a critical report nor a preface of any kind. The title page is immediately followed by a 115-page symphonic work, scored for orchestra.

The editorship and the resultant first edition of Wolf's *Penthesilea* has a convoluted history, the result apparently of a collaboration between three conductor-performers: the violinist-conductor Joseph Hellmesberger the younger, <sup>256</sup> and the conductors Willibald Kähler<sup>257</sup> and Ferdinand Löwe. <sup>258</sup> Each of these artists had previous performance experience with the work. Hellmesberger is the only one of the three listed on the title page of the first edition and the only one designated as an editor in the *Hugo Wolf-Verein in Wien*. (Of Heinrich Werner). Werner describes the process for publication of the first edition of *Penthesilea* as follows.

Die symphonische Dichtung "Penthesilea" nach Kleists Trauerspiel. Man Kennt die Geschichte dieses von Wolf so geliebten Sorgenkindes. Wohl lag es als noch nicht druckreifes Jugendwerk vor. Aber dieses an Gedankenfülle und Schönheit strotzende Produkt eines noch gärenden Genies durfte dem Publikum nicht vorenthalten werden. Eine Überarbeitung der Partitur war zweifellos notwendig. Sie wurde dem damaligen Dirigenten der Wiener Philharmonischen Konzerte, Hofkapellmeister Joseph Hellmesberger, dem jüngeren, übertragen, während ein Klavierauszug für vier Hände von Max Reger besorgt wurde...<sup>259</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> Joseph Hellmesberger the younger (1855-1907) was the son of Joseph Hellmesberger Senior, who was the director of the Vienna Conservatory, with whom Wolf had difficulties while a student, resulting in his dismissal. Hellmesberger Jr. was a violinist and conductor with the Imperial Court Orchestra, and later succeeded his father as leader of the Hellmesberger Quartet. He served as conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic from 1901-1903, and composed operettas, ballets, and other works.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup> Willibald Kähler (1866-1938) was a German conductor who in March,1902 had planned a performance of *Penthesilea*. During the rehearsals with the orchestra Kähler concluded that Wolf's instrumentation "absolutely would not allow the intellectually beautiful sections of the work to come to recognition." Before the printing of the then first edition of *Pentheselia*, Kähler was to have had a hand in the revisions to the orchestration, resulting in the reprehensible removal of 168 bars (measures 556-723). According to Jancik, "Irresponsible and unauthorized mutilation of other people's works seems to have been a popular pastime during the last years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, notably in the case of the original versions of Bruckner's symphonies." Jancik, iv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>258</sup> Ferdinand Löwe (1863-1925) was an Austrian conductor, a former pupil of Anton Bruckner and later editor of his works. He was also an ardent fan of the music of Hugo Wolf. Löwe conducted the Viennese premiere of *Penthesilea* on 15 March 1904 and was responsible for numerous revisions in the orchestration of the work, prior to the publishing of the first edition in 1903.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> The symphonic poem *Penthesilea*, based on Kleist's tragedy. The history of this work, Wolf's beloved problem child, is well-known. It was surely known as a youthful work, still not ready for publication. But this musical creation (product) of a still budding (fermenting) genius, luxuriating with abundance and beauty should not be withheld from the public. A revision of the score was undoubtedly necessary. The task was entrusted to the then

In the third and sixth editions of his biography of Hugo Wolf, Ernst Decsey does not even mention Hellmesberger the younger in connection with the *Penthesilea* first edition. Instead, he cites the revisions to the work made by the conductor Ferdinand Löwe:

Als Ferdinand Löwe zwanzig Jahre später das Werk wieder durchsah, änderte er daran, lüftete er oder unterstrich manches, und die Penthesilea erlebte bei den Aufführungen eine glänzende Aufnahme. Das Konzertstück zeigte klare Gliderung, edle Linie, Schwung und Sturm und stellte Wolfs Ehre wieder her- ein nutzloser Nachruhm. Decsey references Löwe's orchestral revision work once more, based on Löwe's Nachinstrumentierung of Penthesilea into a work suitable for the repertory of all orchestras. 261

That Willibald Kähler also contributed to the first edition is shown by the omission of the 168 bars (measures 556-723) which he suggested in the complete copy of the score. This cut represents by far the most significant deviation from the autograph manuscript score and thus, if any of the triumvirate of conductors is to be singly acclaimed the editor, the work of Willibald Kähler has certainly earned him this dubious honor.<sup>262</sup>

The first edition of Wolf's *Penthesilea* is a reprehensible presentation of Wolf's score in every aspect. The editorial premise of this edition was that a composer needs a competent conductor for the successful composition of a score. This attitude was prevalent during the mid-19<sup>th</sup> through the early 20<sup>th</sup>-centuries (and perhaps beyond) and resulted in the publishing of many

director of the Vienna Philharmonic Concerts and Court Music Director Joseph Hellmesberger the younger, while the work was transcribed for piano 4-hands by Max Reger. Heinrich Werner, *Der Hugo Wolf-Verein in Wien: Sein Verhältnis zu dem Meister, sein Kampf für dessen Kunst und seine Gesamttätigkeit.* Deutsche Musikbücherei, 45. Regensburg: G. Bosse Verlag, 1922. 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> When (As) Ferdinand Löwe again reviewed the work, he made changes, cleared up things, or crossed out much, and *Penthesilea* then was enthusiastically received. The piece shows clarity of structure, a noble sense of musical line, impetus and passion, and establishes Wolf's honor once again: useless posthumous fame. Ernst Decsey, *Hugo Wolf: das Leben und das Lied*, 3rd-6th rev. Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1919. 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup> Metzger, 98.

"illegitimate" editions in which conductors cut up and recomposed orchestral works, and then published such works under the composer's name without any reference to their own destructive editorial procedures. In addition to the scores of Hugo Wolf, the scores of Anton Bruckner also suffered from this practice as well. Ironically, it was again Ferdinand Löwe who was as much responsible for irresponsible alteration in his editorship of Bruckner's symphonies as he was (with Kähler) in *Penthesilea*.

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The title page of the first edition:

# Penthesilea

Sinfonische Dichtung für grosses Orchester nach dem gleichnamigen Trauerspiel Heinrich von Kleist's

komponiert von

# HUGO WOLF

Partitur M. 30.— netto. Orchesterstimmen M. 40.— netto.
Duplierstimmen je M. 2.— netto.
Klavierauszug von Max Reger für 4 Hände M. 4.50 netto.

Eigentum des Verlags für alle Länder.

Alle Rechte, insbesondere Aufführungsrecht vorbehalten.

Die Erlaubnis zur Aufführung wird vom Verlag nur gegen Revers direkt erteilt.

Die Partitur bearbeitete J. Hellmesberger.



VERLAG VON LAUTERBACH & KUHN, LEIPZIG 1903.

#### Additional Editorial Problems in The First Edition.

In his article in *The Music Review*, Musicologist Adolf Aber, referencing Wolf's *Penthesilea*, states that "A comparison of the *Urtext* with the edition published by Joseph Hellmesberger in 1903 shows that Hellmesberger rounded off the score by softening Wolf's striking and sometimes earsplitting orchestration." In this article, Aber also references Heinrich Werner's claim that "a revision of the score was undoubtedly necessary" and writes that this "is plain enough and should make anyone think twice before performing the famous *Urtext.*264 Most importantly, he also references Wolf's own dissatisfaction with his orchestration, coupled with his artistic affinity for, and personal friendships with, the conductors-turned-editors. He therefore concludes that: "I therefore believe that there is, after all, considerable justification in performing the *Penthesilea* arrangement." Based on my own conclusions, I agree that according to Metzger the opinions of Werner, Decsey, and Aber are quite fascinating, especially since the reorchestration by the editors is only cosmetic and does little, if anything, to ameliorate the truly severe problems of Wolf's orchestration.

Aside of making the large cut of 168 bars, and minor adjustments in the individual parts, the editors of the first edition did little actual reorchestration. The minor adjustments to individual

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> Adolf Aber, "Hugo Wolf's Posthumous Works: Preceded by some General Remarks on the Publishing and Performing of Posthumous Works," *The Music Review*, Aug. 1941. 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup> Ibid., 204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>266</sup> Metzger, 100,

parts were most likely made to render these parts easier to play, and to include editorial markings such as bowings, phrasings, articulations in conjunction with dynamics, and specific dynamic markings, which would be obvious to orchestral musicians and conductors. Importantly, they brought Wolf's occasionally stratospherically high register oboe parts into a more reasonable register. At the beginning of the work, they ineffectually reinforced the celli and basses by doubling with the bassoons, fortified the theme of the night march with doublings and increased dynamics of the sort that are commonly done in rehearsal, and provided editorial notations, as already mentioned. Finally, after close examination of the score, I observed that the editors neglected (or misunderstood) Wolf's revisions concerning the English horn; they neglected to give the oboe parts to the English horn (m. 223-227), wrote the English horn an octave too low (m. 380-384), incorrectly doubled the English horn with the second oboe (m. 390-391), and neglected to replace the second clarinet with the English horn (m. 924-925). And, to add insult to injury, the edition is full of notational errors such as wrong notes and rests, wrong note values, missing notes and rests, rhythmic notational errors, and so forth. Based on the cuts, poor and ineffectual reorchestration, and myriad notational errors, this first edition of *Penthesilea* is an editorial disgrace and a dishonor to Wolf. Once the errors in the first edition were corrected, an actual performance of *Penthesilea* based on the first edition except for the cuts, would sound more similar than different from a performance based on the later *Urtext*. Metzger draws a similar conclusion, expressed with clarity and detail:

<sup>...</sup>Indeed, only the most conscientious listener would be able to detect even minor differences in the performances. Thus, it is quite strange that the champions of the first edition found the reorchestration superior to the original and equally strange that the proponents of the *Urtext* edition found the original orchestration superior to that of the first edition. The truth is that the orchestrations differ little and are both flawed. Wolf realized that his

orchestration needed a major overhaul, but also knew what a great task this would be. Little suited to this type of assignment, he never completed such a revision; neither did the editors of the first edition.<sup>267</sup>

# Penthesilea: the Urtext Edition

In the late 1930s the Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag published a three-part series of Hugo Wolf's posthumous compositions under the title *Nachgelassene Werke*. The compositions were edited by Robert Haas and Helmut Schultz. The titles of the three parts of the series are: Lieder mit Klavierbegleitung, Zwei Orchesterlieder aus dem Spanisches Liederbuch, and Instrumentalwerke. Wolf's *Penthesilea* is contained in the third volume, with the publisher's copyright date 1937. Contained within the edition are a preface in German and English, the 139-page full score, and, finally, a *Kritischer Bericht* (critical report) by the editor, in German only.

Professor Haas was a trail blazing musicologist who established scholarly and ethical standards for musical editorship which were not yet in practice when he began his career. Renowned for his research and editorship in Baroque music, opera history, the life and works of Mozart, and his editorship of the symphonies of Anton Bruckner, Haas believed that in editing and preparing a work for publication, the composer's ideas and intentions should be represented accurately, and without alterations. This then-new imposition of such musical-scholarly ethics upon the process of editing music for publication was (and still is) in direct opposition with the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>267</sup> Ibid., 101.

earlier practice of previous (non-musicologist) editors of music. Haas not only restored Wolf's *Penthesilea* to its original length and orchestration, but he also incorporated (according to Wolf's final revisions) the additional parts for harp, English horn, and percussion. The result is an edition of *Penthesilea* that is as faithful to the composer, and as meticulously prepared as possible. In the Preface, Haas describes the numerous faults of the first edition, discusses and explains the need for a full restoration and updating of Wolf's score by producing an *Urtext* edition. Finally, Haas concludes the preface with a brief history of the work, and an analysis thereof. The score itself is well organized, and easily readable.

# Penthesilea: The Collected Works Edition

The third and most widely used edition of *Penthesilea* was published in 1971 by the Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag as volume 16 of the Hugo Wolf *Gesamtausgabe* or Collected Works edition. I will be referring to this edition in the analysis section of this paper. On the title page is included an acknowledgement to Robert Haas: "Nach Der Von Univ. Prof. Dr. Robert Haas 1937 Veröffentlichten Ausgabe." The editor for this edition is Dr. Hans Jancik, editor of the Hugo Wolf Collected Works edition from 1960-1992, and director of the International Hugo Wolf Society, until his death in 1992. This edition is a faithful, exact reprint of the Haas edition, except for the deletion of the English language subtitles which Haas had included. A two-page *Vorwort* (Foreword), both in German and English, precedes the score. Here, Jancik presents first a brief history of the work, plus explanatory references to the two previous editions. Two pages

of *Anmerkungen* (Commentaries) discuss and summarize Haas' Critical Report. Jancik also indicates that "These commentaries, excerpted from the report of the original editor (Haas) of this edition, are not to replace a detailed Revision Report whose publication will be withheld for a later date." Jancik does, however, supplement Haas' report with material from Frank Walker's biography of Wolf, in reference to Wolf's dating of the commencement of the sketchings in 1883, the commencement of the scoring 1884, and, finally, completion of the work in September, 1885. Finally, Jancik concludes the *Anmerkungen* with only two editorial references consisting of two errata; the first is a missing tuba indication, and the second is the missing rehearsal letter Qq which Haas might have deliberately omitted due to its absence in the autograph manuscript.

# Penthesilea: Formal Construct and Analysis

Penthesilea was the first and only attempt by Hugo Wolf at composing a Symphonische Dichtung (symphonic poem): a single movement orchestral work containing contrasting musical sections which followed a story and program based on a literary source. Wolf had heard and put much study into the symphonic poems of Franz Liszt, and the Grand traité d'orchestration by Berlioz. Prior to this, he had heard, studied, and played the orchestral works of Mozart, Haydn,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup> Diese Anmerkungen, auszugsweise dem Bericht des Herausgebers der Originalfassung Leipzig Univ. Prof. Dr. Robert Haas, entnommen, ersetzenen nicht einen ausführlichen Revisionsbericht, dessen Veröffentlichung einem späteren Zeitpunkt vorbehalten bleiben muß. Jancik, "Anmerkungen," 141.

Beethoven, and others. His exposure to and study of the operas of Richard Wagner were to have significant influence upon Wolf, especially concerning issues of part-writing and orchestral texture and color, for reasons given below.

To summarize, *Penthesilea* is a work for large orchestra, based on von Kleist's tragedy of the same name. Per the models of Franz Liszt, Wolf composed *Penthesilea* as a single movement work. It is 946 measures long, and is divided into three principal sections, the third of which is followed by two smaller sections, which conclude the work. In his manuscript (and in the printed scores) Wolf provides subtitles to each of the three principal sections of *Penthesilea*. Each section is listed as indicated in the manuscripts and the 1939 Haas edition score, with the corresponding measure numbers as follows:

I: Aufbruch der Amazonen nach Troja (March of the Amazons toward Troy), 1-203.

II: Der Traum Penthesileas vom Rosenfest (Penthesilea's dream of the Feast of Roses), 204-243.III: Kämpfe, Leidenschaften, Wahnsinn, Vernichtung (Struggles, Passions, Insanity,Destruction), 276-946.

Section III is in three sub-parts (Section IIIa, IIIb, and IIIc), and concludes with two additional subsections at the end of Section IIIc which conclude the work. Based on my reading of the von Kleist tragedy and my study of Wolf's score, I conclude that Wolf constructed the three parts and subsections of his symphonic poem in parallel to the plot of the tragedy. The first subsection begins at measure 832, ending at measure 903. The second and final subsection begins at measure 904, and ends at measure 946, which concludes the work. Previous scholarly analyses of *Penthesilea* have wrongly labeled the two final sections of part III as parts IV and V.

This is incorrect, as it implies a musical independence of these two subsections from Part III. Since Wolf himself did not label these two subsections separately on his manuscript, and the music therein represents the final conclusion of the story, which is descriptively labeled in section III, these two subsections should be more properly identified as "closing segments" of Part III: e.g., sections IIIb and IIIc, respectively, acknowledging Wolf's intentional integration of these two sections within the program of Part III, to conclude the work.

Wolf's subtitles were modeled after those of Liszt, who himself provided written prefaces to his own symphonic poems for two reasons: a) he knew that audiences of his time liked to attach stories to music, and b) the prefaces enabled Liszt to control both the literary and the musical narrative, preventing anyone else from attaching a different narrative to his compositions. Until the publication of the Haas edition of *Penthesilea*, conductors, editors, and publishers often mistook Wolf's subtitles to represent individual movements within the entire work. I agree with Haas, Jancik, Metzger, and others that these assumptions were in error, and for two reasons. First, per the models of Franz Liszt (which Wolf studied), a symphonic poem is a (non-overture) work for orchestra in a single movement, containing multiple sections (not movements) therein. Musicians, conductors, and others during the mid-19th century were not yet familiar enough with this new genre-construct to be able to recognize this. The symphonic poem genre and what I call its (then) innovative "episodic" formal construct were new to the musical conventions of the era. Second, Wolf's subtitles were not (and still are not) intended to be movement-based indicators of the work's formal construct. This is the basis of the false assumptions that Wolf's subtitles were written as titles to "movements" within the work. The subtitles were conceived and utilized by Wolf to provide the audience with a general idea of the plot of the story, composed in a new

episodic formal construct in three parts within a single movement, and not five separate movements. The work is musically unified by compositional techniques which Wolf understood well: thematic conception, motivic usage and development, thematic transformation and, most importantly, the technique of recapitulation. The formal construct of the piece does not follow the structural underpinnings of preexisting compositional models; rather, is based on the plot and program contained in the literary source, supported by traditional compositional techniques listed above. At the time he was composing *Penthesilea*, Wolf already possessed a sufficient mastery of the compositional techniques listed above, as this analysis will show. He also possessed a keen sense of musical proportion relative to the von Kleist literary source, which I have concluded through my own study and research. Finally, his obsessive study (and eventual emulative mastery) of von Kleist's tragedy gave Wolf clear access to his own *Inventio*, which he used to conceive, compose, and develop the themes and motives contained in the work. In addition, his mastery of von Kleist's tragedy, coupled with the models provided by Liszt's symphonic poems, makes Wolf's portrayal of the psychological aspects of the heroine Penthesilea clear in the music. It is in the area of orchestration that Wolf's work shows its greatest deficiencies.

# Penthesilea: Diagram of Formal Construct and Analysis <sup>269</sup>

Part I: March of the Amazons to Troy

A: The Amazons	B: Night March I	C: Night March II 133202	
162	63132		
War Music Call to Arms 1-17 18-62	March I Contrast Sect. 63-94 95-132	March II Codetta1-17 133-174 175-202	

Fig. 50

Part I, the March of the Amazons, is diagrammed and summarized in Figure 50, listed above. The work opens with a depiction of the journey of the Amazons to Troy, and their ensuing battle with the Greeks. Wolf, however, chooses to open the work amidst the intensity of the battle and only then musically depicts the Amazons' journey. According to Metzger, the reason for this chronological reversal is obvious: the battle between the Amazons and the Greeks provides a stunning opening to the work and also dramatizes the sudden fury of the Amazons' surprise attack. The reversal also parallels the drama since it is only in Scene 15 that von Kleist first describes the journey of the Amazons.<sup>270</sup>

The opening section presents a two-sectioned musical picture of the Amazons. In measures 1-17, the warriors are first presented in battle, followed by measures 18-62 where they are then mobilizing for their journey. In measure 18 the "distant bugle calls" are heard as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>269</sup> Analysis based on Metzger, 19, with corrections and revisions done by the author, in conjunction with Richard Batke, *Hugo Wolfs Penthesilea*. Leipzig: Lauterbach & Kuhn, 1904.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>270</sup> Metzger, 126. Verified and confirmed by the author.

trumpet fanfares from opposite sides of the orchestra. At measure 38, the trombones join the ensemble, increasing the musical intensity to the climax at measure 56.

Interestingly, and to Wolf's inventive credit, he portrays the journey of the Amazons (measures 63-132) as a march in triple meter. In his biography of Hugo Wolf, Frank Walker describes the music in this section as "a Berliozian scene, full of the muffled beat of horses' hoofs and the clash of arms." The march is in a three-part construct with a codetta, with the first and final pair of sections are each 70 measures long. The first section is composed as a double period (measures 63-94). The second section (measures 95-132) presents both a change of mood and a revelation of the intention of the Amazons not to slay the Greeks, but to capture them to use for their sacred feast of love. Here, the music becomes intensely chromatic, portraying the intense passion of the Amazons through much motivic development and transformation.

The march returns at measure 133, which begins the third section, with a change occurring 28 measures later, at measure 161. Here, Wolf shortens the phrases from four-bar lengths to two-bar lengths. At measure 175, a cadence concludes the section, followed by a 28-measure codetta. In this codetta, the march theme is presented first by the woodwinds, followed by the strings. Wolf alters the theme in the second measure with a descending chromatic scale. The section closes at measure 202 and is described by Batke as the encampment of the Amazons at night: resting from their journey and having reached their destination.

<sup>271</sup> Walker, 190.

Part II: Penthesilea's Dream of the Feast of Roses<sup>272</sup>

A: Penthesilea's Dream (Love Idyll Theme)		B: Destruction of Penthesilea's Dream			
203243		244275			
	Dream	Textural Contrast	Dream Continued	Approach of Amazons	Realization of Truth
	203-218	219-226	227-243	244-259	260-275
Fig. 51					

Part II of *Penthesilea* depicts Penthesilea's dream, in which her love for Achillies is musically revealed, and the ensuing destruction of her dream of the Feast of Roses. Part II is diagrammed and summarized in Figure 51.

Beginning at measure 203, the first section contains Penthesilea's dream-love idyll, which musicians, scholars, and concertgoers alike acclaim to be the best part of the work. The theme is in 3/2 meter and is played first by the upper woodwinds in a two-part (antecedent-consequent) phrase construct (measures 203-218) and is then developed in the first (divisi) and second (divisi) violins, from measures 210-218. At measure 219 the celli, English horn and violas play a variant of the theme, changing the orchestral texture and color. At measure 239, the dream-love idyll is continued up to measure 259, played by the horns, followed by the clarinets and celli, who further develop the theme. Measures 235-238 are a transposition up a fourth of measures 211-214, producing a climax which then diminishes in the final nine bars, concluding the section. At measure 244 the meter changes from 3/2 meter to 3/4 meter. As the wind section

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>272</sup> Ibid., footnote 269.

plays the love theme, the lower strings "answer", beginning at measure 246, with a theme portraying the approach of the Amazons. This occurs in sixteen bars and in the following sixteen bars Penthesilea realizes that she has not conquered Achilles. At measure 261 a new theme is introduced in the trombones, representing Penthesilea's wish for self-destruction, and the intensity increases with the approach of the Amazons.

Part IIIa: Struggles, Passions, Insanity, Destruction<sup>273</sup>

Subsection A	Subsection B	Subsection C			
276335	336475	476519			
Penthesilea Rescued	Penthesilea Tormented by Defeat	Penthesilea Resolved to Self-Destruction			
276-312 313-335	336-383 384-430 431-475	476-519			

Fig. 52

Part IIIa is diagrammed and summarized in Figure 52, listed above. The rescue of Penthesilea opens Part IIIa and occurs in the first sixty measures (276-335). This "rescue" music is followed by Penthesilea reckoning with her defeat by the Greeks and her failure to kill Achilles. Here, the music is divided into three sections of forty-eight, forty-seven and forty-five measures, respectively. In the fifth and final section, consisting of forty-four measures, we hear the climax of the entire work, as Penthesilea resignedly commits herself to suicide.

The rescue of Penthesilea is achieved by Wolf in subsection A is divided into two segments. The first segment from measures 276-312, and the second segment from measures 312-335. The

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>273</sup> Ibid., footnote 269.

first measures re-portray the "battle" music which opens the work, but in a metric and melodic variation. The winds then play victorious fanfares starting at measure 288, celebrating the rescue of the Amazon queen. The winds are joined by the harp and the strings at measure 292, and the brass at measure 293. At measure 306 a transition begins as the fanfare in the winds continues in an ascending sequence as the strings accompany this with ascending scales. As the cadence is reached at measure 328, the (divisi) trumpets play fanfare music in alternation with one another in a jubilant climax, which concludes at measure 335-336. Subsection B is itself divided into three segments of sixteen measures each. Here, Wolf introduces new thematic and motivic material, which will only play a minor role in the remainder of the work. Among the new motives he introduces, the most important is the motive (Fig. 53) which first appears in the horns in measure 328, where it serves to conclude the previous segment (subsection A) and transition to the next segment (subsection B), then, in the contrabasses in measure 336. This motive is related to the fanfare motives played by the trumpets, but with the whole note and or half note following the triplets:

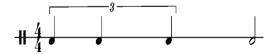


Fig. 53

Wolf later develops this motive in the manners indicated below (Fig. 54):

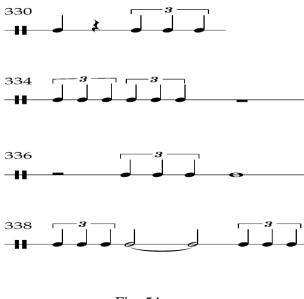


Fig. 54

Beginning at measure 352, a triplet motive is played by the bassoons and contrabasses, occurring in pairs of four-measure phrases. At measure 368, the strings play two four measure phrases accompanied by the triplet motive, which now includes the flutes, clarinet, and horns. At measure 376 the trombones and the tuba sound a warning of Penthesilea's coming self-destruction and suicide, producing a second climax at measure 383.

The third segment of Part IIIa continues to describe the anguish and eventual resignation of Penthesilea to suicide. Musically, Wolf has composed two subsections of twenty-one and twenty-six measures, respectively. At measure 384 the triplet motive of the previous section is presented by the contrabasses, celli, and (divisi) bassoons. At measure 388 The lower strings, second violins and horns join in a musical passage, followed by the clarinet, bassoons, English

horn, French horns, playing the same motive. The bass tuba enters with a new two-note motive (Fig. 55), which Wolf develops by having it played by additional instruments in the orchestra, to measure 401, where the upper strings now play the developed motive as a new four bar theme.



Fig. 55

At measures 416-17 the horns and winds play the latter part of the new theme as a quasicanon, producing a third climax, beginning at measure 423. This climax abruptly concludes at measure 431 with a *subito piano/subito pianissimo*, initiating the third segment of subsection B. Here the melodic idea derived from the motive first heard at measure 340 is exchanged between the clarinet and oboe, while the harp and upper winds exchange a triplet motive, rhythmically derived from the motive previously heard in the strings at measure 417. This passage continues to measure 445, where for the next eight measures the principal motive is developed in the low strings and low brass. From measure 446-463, the motive is not played; instead, Wolf redevelops Penthesilea's Love Theme, in a rhythmically diminished version. Meanwhile, the strings play their own motive beginning at measure 452 (Fig. 56), which is juxtaposed contrapuntally with what is played by the other instruments:



Fig. 56

This passionate, and intensely chromatic phrase transitions to subsection C, the fifth and final section of Part IIIa, at measure 476.

The overwhelming power and fury of this final subsection of Part IIIa is forty-four measures long and constitutes the climax of the entire work. At measure 476 subsection C begins, as the tam tam (gong) is heard for the first time in the work, with the trombones playing the theme of Penthesilea's eventual destruction and suicide. From a literary standpoint as well as a musical one, Wolf, even at this early age in his life, had a natural feeling for literary and musical proportion. This climactic section, from measures 476-519), is composed in two segments. In the first segment (measures 476-500), Wolf introduces three intense eight-measure phrases in the trombones, which play Penthesilea's "Destruction" Theme, followed at measure 480 by the strings playing a frantic variant of Penthesilea's "Love" theme, musically portraying the madness of the Amazon queen. After a diminuendo at measure 497, the second segment begins at measure 500, with the same musical material, but in a gradually slower tempo, in a more tranquil pianissimo dynamic. At measure 508, the first violins play a melodic idea derived from Penthesilea's "Resolved to Suicide" theme, developed from the "love theme. It is played by the violas from measure 514 to 519. According to Batka, this theme musically portrays Pentheselia's final words of Scene 19: "Ich will in ew'ge Finsterniß mich bergen!" <sup>274</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup>"I want to hide myself in eternal darkness." von Kleist, 107. Batka, 202.

Penthesilea: Part IIIb, Part IIIc, and the Conclusion of the Work <sup>275</sup>

#### Part IIIb:

A: Repris	e of Love l	ldyll			B: Contra	sting Section	A: Restat	ement of Lo	ove Idyll	
520-529	530				601	656	657			737
520-529	530-543	544-560	561-584	585-600	601-628	629-656	657-680	681-703	704-72	3 724-737
Transition	A-1	A-2	Contrast	A-3	B-1	B-2	A-1	A-4	A3	Transition
					Fig. 57					

In Part IIIb Wolf begins his three-part psychological study of Penthesilea, as her love for Achilles gradually transforms into madness. Later (in Part IIIc), this madness will result in her slaying him, followed by her own suicide. Part IIIb is diagrammed and summarized above (Fig. 57). I conclude that the reason for the complexity of this final section of the work, is that Wolf's (and von Kleist's) focus are on the psychological aspects of Penthesilea's degeneration. The subsections of Part IIIb consist of eighty-one measures for subsection A, fifty-six measures for subsection B, and eighty-one measures for the restatement of subsection A.

A reprise of Penthesilea's love idyll is stated in the strings and winds beginning in measure 520 and restated again at measure 530. Beginning at measure 520, this thirty-measure restatement is a metric transformation (from 3/2 to 2/2 meter) of the love idyll, which begins the second section of the work at measure 203. Wolf's statement of the transformed love idyll theme is akin to a musical recapitulation, which over the next 41 measures produces a musical climax. This is stopped by the onset of the second subsection at measure 561. For the next eight

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>275</sup> See footnote 269.

measures the highly chromatic "passion" motive of the third part returns after which the intensity increases during the following sixteen bars. The "love" theme returns at measure 585 restated five times by the winds, horns and first violins, increasing the intensity further, producing a climactic cadence at measure 601. Here the horns begin the middle section with a dotted rhythm fanfare motive. Wolf maintains this rhythmic motive continuously throughout the section, in segments of twenty-eight measures each. The latter subsection at measure 629 presents an intensification of the same material in a concluding climax.<sup>276</sup>

Beginning in measure 657, the final subsection of Part IIIb begins with a recapitulation of the Love Idyll, concluding at measure 737. In this final section, the first twenty-four measures emulate measures 530-43. The next passage of twenty-three measures provides further thematic development which produces another thwarted climax at measure 703. At measure 704, the second subsection begins *subito piano*, and its material emulates measures 585-96. At measure 724, a transition begins, emulating the passage at measure 556. At measure 734, a chromatic assent in the violins and violas is followed by the winds, producing a climax at measure 737 which leads to the recapitulation of the opening of the work (Part I), beginning at measure 738.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>276</sup> Metzger, 137.

#### Part IIIc

A	В	С	D
The Amazons	Penthesilea Pursues and Slays Achilles	Penthesilea Recognizes the Need for Self-Destruction	Penthesilea's <i>Liebestod</i> (Conclusion)
738791	792831	832903	904946

Fig. 58

Part IIIc is in four subsections of fifty-four, forty, seventy-two, and forty-three measures, graphically displayed in figure 58. As previously stated, the first section (A) serves as a recapitulation of the work, describing Penthesilea leading her Amazon army into battle. Section B follows, where Penthesilea pursues and finally slays Achilles, fulfilling her wish for self-destruction which is the subject of section C. In the fourth and final section (D), an emotional *Liebestod* shows Penthesilea finally wills her own death. Subsection A (measures 738-791) musically recapitulates the opening of the work but omits the night march. As in the opening, the Amazons are truly fierce in their onslaught let by the raving queen; the battle however is no longer a romantic quest, but a savage attack.<sup>277</sup>

Subsection B (measures 792-831) is the most musically stunning and intensely shows Wolf's creative genius. In this section where Penthesilea is pursuing Achilles, Wolf employs an intense, dramatic ascent sequence. Through the process of juxtaposition, he utilizes three thematic components from earlier in the work: dotted rhythm martial fanfares, the initial part of the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>277</sup> Ibid. 138.

"Destruction" theme, and the initial part of the "Love" theme, turned insane. Wolf presents all of this material in eight-measure periods, then again in eight measures, but a semitone higher. Wolf portrays the approach of Penthesilea by contracting the material into four-measure phrases at increasingly higher pitch levels, starting at measure 808. At measure 816 the "Destruction" theme ceases and Wolf contracts the phrases into two-measure units, beginning at measure 824. At measure 830, the grace notes in the horns portray the howls of her hounds, as Penthesilea, now upon Achilles, slays him.

Subsection C begins at measure 832, as the "Destruction" theme returns *tutta forza*: in full force, marked *ff and fff*. The return of the theme in full force condemns Penthesilea for her evil act. Here Wolf gives the theme new proportions in three ways. First, he adds a four-bar closing motive to the theme. Second, he presents the whole eight-measure theme twice. Finally, this is followed by two four-measure statements of the head motive at measure 848 and two of the concluding motive at measure 864, producing a strong climax. At measure 872 the cymbals are heard as the theme is played by the upper winds and violins. Then at measure 880, it returns to the low strings and bassoons in inversion, as in ultimate horror. Here, Penthesilea recognizes the need to destroy herself. Beginning at measure 888, sixteen measures close the section, *sempre diminuendo*, at measure 903.

Subsection D, the final section of Part IIIc which concludes the work, presents the "Love" theme in an idyllic manner, musically portraying Penthesilea's state of blissful unawareness in the final scene. The music shows Pentheselia's detachment as she asks: "O Sagt mir! - Bin ich in

Elysium?"<sup>278</sup> Conversely, the basses and cellos play an ascending motive beginning at measure 926, portraying Penthesilea's return to reality. As the "Destruction" theme returns for the last time, Penthesilea realizes her evil deed, and wills her own death. At measure 932, and again at measure 943, the first violins play the head motive of the "Love" theme, but now as a eulogy, as Penthesilea dies with her last words: "Nun-ist's gut."<sup>279</sup> In the final two measures, the strings play a *pizzicato* chord, as all the other instruments except for the first violins, harp, and piccolo play a fermata-sustained whole-note chord *pianissmo*. In this manner conclude von Kleist's tragedy and Wolf's symphonic poem.

#### Penthesilea: Themes and Motives.

Hugo Wolf was a truly gifted melodist and remains today as one of the greatest acknowledged masters of song. In his symphonic poem *Penthesilea*, the themes and motives are well conceived, vibrantly characterized, developed, and transformed with great skill. They are well integrated throughout the work, musically realizing von Kleist's tragedy through Wolf's powers of *inventio*. In *Penthesilea* there are three principal themes; Wolf also presents additional thematic elements of secondary importance in Part III of the work, which recur to the end.

Each of the three principal themes represent an aspect of Penthesilea's character and its evolution, eventually leading to her destruction and death. Wolf relates these three themes by using two melodic elements: a three-note motive and a descending chromatic scale, respectively. The motive consists of a simple descent of one semitone from an initial pitch and subsequent

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>278</sup> "Oh, tell me! Am I in Paradise? von Kleist, 172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>279</sup> "Now, it is good." von Kleist, 185.

return to that pitch According to Metzger, it is quite remarkable that Wolf would use this motive which Brahms immortalized in his *Second Symphony*, a work which Wolf knew well and despised along with the rest of the German master's works. Nevertheless, Wolf used this motive to represent the very essence of Penthesilea. <sup>280</sup> Wolf first presents it as the first three notes of both the "Amazon" theme (Fig.59) and Penthesilea's "Love" theme (Fig.60). The unifying effect of the simple motive ingeniously unites both the warlike and loving nature of the queen in one entity.

#### Amazon theme



Fig. 59

<sup>280</sup> Metzger, 141.

#### Penthesilea's love theme

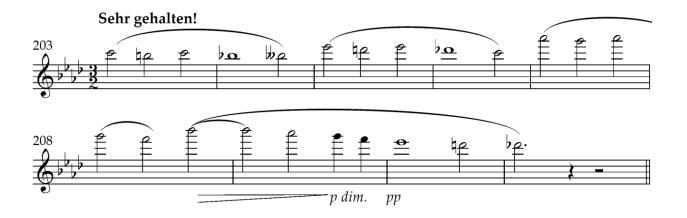


Fig. 60

The third principal theme of the work represents the self-destructive tendencies of Penthesilea (Fig. 61). It is not until quite late in the work that this third theme is heard, but its importance becomes increasingly greater in the latter part of the work. Since it appears as a descending chromatic scale, it is, in this respect, related to the "Love" theme. By composing and utilizing such a theme, Wolf shows that it is Penthesilea's love for Achilles that eventually compels her to kill the Greek warrior, thereby bringing about her own death in the end.

# Destruction theme



Fig. 61

# Theme Group 1: The Amazons

The principal theme of this first group appears at three key points in the work. First, it opens the work, portraying the onslaught of the Amazons in battle (Figs 59, 62), then it returns in a melodically and rhythmically transformed restatement, as the Amazons regroup and rescue Penthesilea at the start of Part IIIa. The theme makes its third appearance at measure 737 in the final part (Part IIIc, subsection A) of the work, as Penthesilea leads her army to capture and slay Achilles. It is played by the flutes, horns, and trombones. Structurally, the theme is in an antecedent-consequent configuration, with the consequent phrase extended by one measure. A variant of this consequent phrase also appears in measure 44, just before the night march.

#### Amazon theme



Fig. 62

The approach of the Amazons prior to Penthesilea's rescue is represented by this extension and development of the motive, the result being Penthesilea's rescue theme, which begins section IIIa, at measure 276 (Fig. 63).

# Rescue theme (Amazon theme transformed)

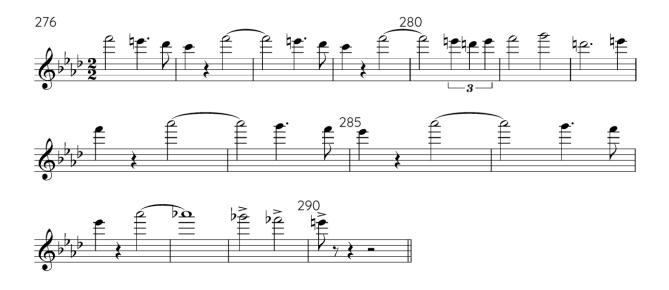
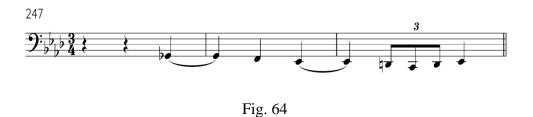


Fig. 63

At the end of Part II and before the beginning of Part III an ill-omened motive is played by the lower strings at measure 247 (Fig. 64).



At first, this motive implies a foreshadowing of the "Destruction" theme; it is then developed and extended so that it resembles the "Amazon" theme: The approach of the Amazons prior to Penthesilea's rescue is represented by this extension and development of this motive, which Wolf develops and later reuses as a brass fanfare, signaling Penthesilea's return to her people, at measure 279 (Fig. 65).



Fig. 65

Two other (secondary) themes that Wolf associates with the Amazons include the trumpet fanfares at measure 19 (Fig. 66) which serve as a call to arms, and, measure, 63, the night march, uniquely composed in 3/4 meter. (Fig. 67).

# Call to Arms Theme



Fig. 66

Both themes are composed in an antecedent-consequent construct; the night march, however, is subjected to much development by Wolf.

# Night March Theme



Fig. 67

#### Theme Group II: Penthesilea's Love Theme

Musicians and scholars alike consider Penthesilea's "love" theme to be the finest material in the entire symphonic poem.<sup>281</sup> From a compositional standpoint, the structural function of Penthesilea's "love" theme is important, as it is used by Wolf to initiate both Parts II and IIIa of the composition. Wolf's gifts as a superb melodist shine in this theme, giving it both the qualities of sensuality and *Sehnsucht* (yearning). Wolf accomplishes this by the use of chromaticism, expressive leaps of 6<sup>th</sup> and 7ths, and appoggiature, in the antecedent phrase of the theme. In the consequent phrase, Wolf extends the chromaticism and returns the melody to the original key and starting pitch, bringing the melody to its full-circle conclusion. (Fig. 68).<sup>282</sup> Fig. 69 shows

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, who sang many of Wolf's songs, also conducted and recorded *Penthesilea*, with the Radio Symphony Orchestra of Stuttgart, Germany, in 1998. Fischer-Dieskau's own artistic understanding and admiration of Wolf's gifts as a melodist are present in this recorded performance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>282</sup> This type of melodic construct shows elements that foreshadowed the music was eventually composed by Richard Strauss in his own symphonic poems, his operas (*Salome* in particular), and songs. Other Austrian and German Composers such as Marx, Korngold, Pfitzner and others would be influenced by this type of melody and its programmatic qualities.

the thematic variants relationships of the "love" theme between the Parts II and IIIc, respectively.

# Figure 70

# Penthesilea's Love Theme

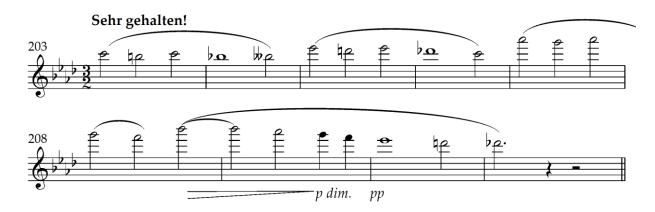


Fig. 68.

# Variants of the love theme



with inverted intervals:



Fig. 69

Part IIIb, subsection A: Reprise of the Love Idyll (Love theme rhythmically and metrically transformed) (Fig.70).



Fig. 70

Part IIIb, subsection A': Restatement and development of Love Idyll (Fig. 71):



Fig. 71

Part IIIc, subsection D: Penthesilea's *Liebestod*, based on the love theme, metrically and rhythmically transformed (Fig. 72):



Fig. 72

# Theme Group III: Penthesilea's "Self-Destruction" Theme

Penthesilea's "Self-Destruction" theme is the ominous musical message that Wolf first introduces at the end of Part II (measures 261-272). During Parts IIIa it reappears only in fragmented restatements until the climax section (measures 476-499), where it assumes full prominence. In Part IIIc of the work, it returns in an extended version (measures 832-839), then again in the original key (measures 872-879), then inverted (measures 880-87). The "Self-Destruction" theme and its developed variants by Wolf is shown in Fig. 73.

#### **Destruction Theme**



1<sup>st</sup> variant: theme extended by two measures:



2<sup>nd</sup> variant: theme, troped and extended by four measures:



3<sup>rd</sup> variant: theme extended by one measure:



 $4^{\text{th}}$  variant: theme in contrary motion:



5<sup>th</sup> variant: theme with metric and rhythmic alteration:



Fig. 73

#### Three Secondary Themes

In Parts IIIa and IIIb of the work, Wolf simultaneously introduces three new secondary themes. These themes are introduced together after the rescue of Penthesilea. Per the model of Liszt, Wolf endeavors to musically exemplify Penthesilea's disconcerted emotional state; the Amazon queen is humiliated by her failure to defeat Achilles, and her subsequent capture, grief-stricken and devastated that Achilles has deserted her, while still passionately in love with the Greek hero. According to Metzger, defining the character of each of the themes is a rather subjective endeavor, but to the sensitive listener the themes probably represent Penthesilea's grief, anguish, and passion.<sup>283</sup> The "Passion" theme is presented by the oboe, from measures 340-344. Wolf develops this theme extensively throughout Part III, from measures 340-369, but it is not restated in the remainder of the work. This theme and its derivations by Wolf are shown in Figures 74a and 74b.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>283</sup> Metzger, 149.

#### Passion theme



1st variant: transposed, rhythmically subdivded, intervallically altered:



2<sup>nd</sup> variant: rhythmically altered with single measure ascending scalar passage:



3<sup>rd</sup> variant: rhythmically altered, with two measure sequential passage:



Fig. 74a

4<sup>th</sup> variant: original first bar, rhythmically altered, with three measure chromatic scalar passage:



 $5^{\text{th}}$  variant: rhythmically and chromatically altered:



Fig. 74b

The "Grief" theme is first presented in the double basses and bassoons, beginning at measure 336. It is slightly developed in Part IIIb of the work and occurs at the recapitulation at measure 615. It is shown below, along with its variants, developed by Wolf, (Fig.75).

# Grief theme



1<sup>st</sup> variant:



2<sup>nd</sup> variant:



3<sup>rd</sup> variant:



Fig. 75

The third theme, which I'll refer to as the "Anguish" theme, is first played in measure 336 by the celli, and is nine measures in length (Fig. 76). Wolf does not develop this theme at all. In fact, Wolf drops the latter four measures after measure 351.

# Anguish theme



Fig. 76

In summary, Hugo Wolf shows much mastery, authenticity, and originality in his conception and development of themes and motives in *Penthesilea*. He employs both the "Amazon" theme and the "Love" theme as thematic-structural markers in the overall framework of the entire symphonic poem, while the "Self-Destruction" theme evolves to a profound climax, for maximum musical-dramatic effect. The "Call to Arms" and "Night March" provide both color and contrast, the former as an introductory fanfare, the former as a scene portrayal. The secondary themes of Part III to the end of the work offer a musically intensified characterization and realization of the intense emotions of the Amazon queen. Wolf's ingenious conception, development, and transformation of all the themes together produce an intense, vivid, and detailed portrait of the complexity of von Kleist's protagonist Penthesilea, the Amazon queen.

# Penthesilea: Rhythm, Phrase Structure, and Meter.

Of what little has been written about phrase structure and rhythm in Wolf's *Penthesilea*, the emphasis has been on periodicity, specifically the regularity and predictability of its phrase structure. However, one must remember the fact that such elements as the four-bar phrase period and antecedent-consequent phraseology were (and still are) fundamental elements of the German-European method of musical composition, from which both *Penthesilea* and Wolf's compositional methods emanate. In this respect, rhythmic interest in the work is no less than that in the orchestral works of Schumann, Liszt, Brahms, and others. The examples of the themes and their variants composed by Wolf illustrate his use and variations of rhythm in *Penthesilea*.

Although Wolf composed *Penthesilea* on a four-bar phrase construct and, to a lesser extent, on two-bar and eight-bar constructs, he did occasionally deviate from this. For example, the "Amazon" theme is an antecedent-consequent phrase, but of irregular length; the antecedent is the usual four-measure phrase, but the consequent is extended by one measure, producing a five-measure phrase. Additional (asymmetrical) phrases occur in measures 44-50 (seven measures long). Finally, another case is found in measures 384-392. These nine measures consist of two four-measure phrases preceded by a single measure which functions as a pause after the climax which takes place in the previous section. Despite Wolf's occasional use of sequential elimination in specific parts of *Penthesilea*, I agree with Metzger in that these examples

represent the only deviations from duple phraseology in the entire work and thus, the accusation of rhythmic regularity is well-founded, Romantic tradition notwithstanding.<sup>284</sup>

Of considerable interest is Wolf's employment of sequential elimination, <sup>285</sup> despite the rhythmic regularity of *Penthesilea*. This compositional technique has been attributed to Liszt; whether Liszt invented the technique is not known. We do, however, know that he employed the techniques in his symphonic poems, and the Sonata in B minor. Wolf learned the technique from his study of Liszt's symphonic poems. The technique consists of sequential repetitions of a musical phrase, and the successive repetitions being increasingly abbreviated or contracted, thus making it non-periodic by design. Wolf does not use this technique liberally throughout *Pentheselia*; Instead, he uses it only at key musical-dramatic points in the later part of the work. The most stunning example occurs from measures 792-831, the climax of the work, when Penthesilea is pursuing Achilles. It begins with an eight-measure phrase, starting on C (measures 792-99) which he then repeats sequentially, starting on D-flat (measures 800-807). Wolf then states the second repetition of the sequence on D, but now compressed into four measures (measures 808-811) and does the same with the third sequential repetition following on D# (measures 812-815), E (measures 816-819) and F (measures 820-823). Based on my analysis of the full score, Wolf's use of sequential elimination is diagrammed below, as follows:

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>284</sup> Ibid., 161.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>285</sup> Ibid., 162. Attributed to Metzger by the author. Although the author was unable to locate this term in scholarly musical reference sources, it well-describes the process Wolf uses here.

Initial Measure: 792 800 808 812 816 820 824 826 828 832

No. of Measures: 8 8 4 4 4 4 2 2 2 4

Initial pitch level: C Db D D# E F Eb Eb E F

Wolf's use of meter is both musically and dramatically effective. The metric changes and thematic transformations found in *Penthesilea* all occur effortlessly and naturally, showing Wolf's facility for effective use of meter in his compositional process. Each of the three parts of the work plus the subsections of Part III, is initiated by a meter change. First, the Amazon theme which begins the work, is presented at the beginning of the work in 3/4 meter. The theme is then metrically transformed at measure 276, at the beginning of Part III by its restatement in 2/2 meter. Second, the Love theme is first stated by Wolf in 3/2 meter at the onset of Part II and is then metrically transformed to 2/2 at measure 520, the beginning of Part IIIb and, finally, at measure 904 in Part IIIc.

Wolf's use of common time (4/4) serves as effective metric unit for the transition to both the third (Part IIIa) and fourth (Part IIIb) parts of the work. Also, and ingeniously, he utilizes common time in the final five bars which conclude the work tempo Wolf understood that in such a slow (*langsam*) "tragically" concluding section, there still must be continuing forward rhythmic movement, to the final bar of the piece. His use of 4/4 meter accomplishes this effectively. In conclusion, Wolf's adroit ability to transform his thematic statements via the alternation of triple and duple meter, and compound and simple meter provide contrast, and engage and sustain the interest of the listener, from the beginning to the end of the work.

# Pentheselia: Orchestration Problems.

In his youth, Wolf evinced a natural aptitude for orchestral timbre (e.g., the Scherzo in G minor of 1877), and despite one or two instances of instrumental imbalance that can be attributed to a lack of experience, the scoring of *Penthesilea* is much in advance of its time, and for sheer brilliance of color can rival Richard Strauss.<sup>286</sup>

After hearing a performance of *Penthesilea*, one could certainly agree with Hans Jancik's statements about Wolf, listed above. But upon careful study of both the autograph manuscript and published score, however, it is clear that the Wolf's orchestration of *Penthesilea* is indisputably flawed and was (and still is) the primary obstacle towards the performance of the work, and its inclusion in the standard symphonic repertoire. When one studies, plays, and considers Wolf's excellent treatment of instrumentation and orchestration in his later works such as the *Italian Serenade*, and the orchestrated versions of some of his songs, it becomes evident that *Penthesilea* was orchestrated by a "beginner": i.e., a composer who never heard his own scoring, nor had undergone formal instruction in instrumentation.

In 1890, Wolf considered having *Penthesilea* performed in Mannheim, but by 1894 he would not hear of a performance, presumably because he was seriously contemplating revising

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>286</sup> Konnte Wolf bei Wolf schon in jungen Jahren ein natürliches Gefühl für die Besonderheiten des Orchesters feststellen (Scherzo in g-moll von 1877), wo weist der Orchestersatz der Penthesilea trotz mancher Mängel in der Gewichtsverteilung des Klanges, wie sie jedem Anfänger unterlaufen, doch weit über seine Entstehnungszeit hinaus und kommt in seiner Farbigkeit Richard Strauss in die Nähe. Jancik, ii.

the whole work.<sup>287</sup> During his meeting in Mannheim with conductor Felix Weingartner in October 1890, and his meeting with conductor Ferdinand Löwe in 1891, Wolf confessed that he was dissatisfied with the scoring. Weingartner went through the work thoroughly with Wolf and made some practical suggestions, which found no objection from Wolf. Weingartner eventually conducted the premiere performance of *Penthesilea* with the Vienna Philharmonic in 1910. Since Wolf's own conclusion that *Penthesilea* suffered from unskilled orchestration and was in dire need of a complete revision, he refused to allow the work to be performed in its original orchestrated version.<sup>288</sup> I agree with the conclusion that since Wolf himself never completed his intended revision of *Penthesilea*, the work has remained neglected and in obscurity. It was Löwe, according to Wolf's first biographer Ernst Decsey, who tampered with the scoring, and was responsible for the elimination of 168 measures from the first published score of *Penthesilea*, in 1903. Perhaps Löwe (along with von Kähler) concluded he had been granted license to perform this extreme editing of Wolf's score, based on Wolf's "confession".

The issue of orchestral density and thickness is the one ubiquitous and most noticeable error in the instrumentation of *Penthesilea*, despite the numerous other miscalculations by Wolf throughout the work. Both Decsey and Jancik describe this as: "Schlechte Gewichtsverteilung im Klang": i.e., bad distribution of sonic "density". Upon first study of the orchestral score, my attention was immediately seized by the sheer number of notes on each page, and the noticeable

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>287</sup> Jancik, iv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> In a letter to his friend Grohe, Wolf had proposed a performance of *Penthesilea* in Mannheim in 1890, but the performance did not take place, perhaps due to the results of Wolf's meetings with Weingartner, and Löwe. Wolf was convinced that the work needed a complete revision of its orchestration and commenced with this task in Svetlin's Asylum in 1897. By that time, however, his mental and creative capabilities were succumbing to the final stages of insanity. He did, however, produce parts for the harp and percussion.

lack of rests (Fig.77). Both strings and winds have very few instances in the work where silence is indicated. Interestingly, the percussion parts which Wolf added in 1897 certainly add color to the existing score, but also contribute to the general clamor and confusion. Also, based on his study of Wagner's operas, Wolf constantly employs doublings and much *divisi* writing within each of the orchestral parts, in addition to simply composing too much music. *Penthesilea* is overflowing with so much rhythmic and melodic material, that it often overshadows the principal themes and important motives. All these "secondary" materials are assigned by Wolf to available instruments, and as a result, the orchestral texture becomes dense, or "thick". Furthermore, this problem is not easily solved since, in attempting to thin out the orchestration, one cannot always eliminate superfluous doublings, but most often excises actual counterpoints, thereby depriving the work of important compositional elements. This, however, must nonetheless be done since

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>289</sup> Metzger, 165.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>290</sup> Example: Wagner's operas *Lohengrin*, *Der Fliegende Holländer*, and *Die Meistersinger*, which I have sung, contain much divisi writing in both the orchestral and vocal ensemble parts, which produce a noticeable thickness in the sound. Wagner, however, shows a far greater command over vocal and instrumental assignment and usage in his scoring, without resultant superfluousness.

# AUFBRUCH DER AMAZONEN NACH TROJA



<sup>\*)</sup> Je zwei Trompeten sind an die beiden äußersten Enden des Orchesters zu postieren.
\*\*) Die Saiteninstrumente sind nur dann geteilt zu spielen, wenn dies ausdrücklich in der Partitur vorgemerkt ist.

Fig. 77

<sup>©</sup> Copyright 1971 by Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, Wien

Wolf's counterpoints are occasionally so numerous that they create a general melodic, harmonic, and orchestral din which precludes their own audibility.<sup>291</sup> As a result, Wolf's use of counterpoint in *Penthesilea* is sonically blurred.

In addition to this problem of density and thickness of orchestration, *Penthesilea is* overwhelmed with fundamental errors common to students learning the technique of orchestration. The most noticeable errors and their sonic results are listed as follows. Beginning with the strings, Wolf's parts for the contrabasses are poorly written, and are noticeably defective. This is due to his assigning the basses the constant and exclusive role of doubling the celli, and sometimes the bassoons. This constant doubling, especially with the celli, produces an unpleasant thickness with a lack of clarity, which becomes increasingly worse with more rapid bass motion, rhythmically and intervallically. Wolf was utterly clueless about how to use the contrabasses effectively. Additionally, the celli play divisi far too often, creating a muddling (clash?) of harmonics caused by pitches in the lower registers (often thirds), which conflict with the harmonic root (measures 759-762). The violas are rarely employed without woodwind doublings; instead of their unique timbre being utilized, they provide nothing more than mere harmonic and rhythmic filler.<sup>292</sup> The first and second violins play in octaves and/or *divisi* consistently throughout the work. Also, the entire string section plays far too often, and produces an overwhelming thickness of texture due to excessively divided parts, and the resultant density

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>291</sup> Metger, 166. Verified by the author, based on study of the manuscript and the urtext edition. <sup>292</sup> Ibid

in the middle register. A clear example of this is found in "Penthesilea's Dream of the Feast of Roses", beginning at measure 203.

Wolf produced very little writing for solo instruments or instrumental ensembles within the scoring of *Penthesilea*. The percussion, added by Wolf in 1897, is overutilized, and combined too often with various instruments which results in the canceling of their unique individual colors. The harp, also added by Wolf in 1897, plays consistently too often, and is overwhelmed by all the other instruments, especially at their various entrances (*Einsätze*) in the score where the harp is playing. Wolf's overuse of the brass is also problematic. The trumpets and horns play together too frequently, and the trombones and tuba play so often that their colors lose their effect. The oboe is written too high (measures 1-4), the piccolo is either written too high (Fig. 77) (measures 1-8, and other examples), or too low (measures 288-323). The piccolo part is overpowered by too many other instruments playing simultaneously, thus blurring Wolf's intended sonic effect.

The study of the both the sketches and the manuscript of *Pentheselia* show that Wolf conceived the work at the piano. In particular, the sketches interestingly resemble a piano reduction of the score (though they are not) which appears to lie quite comfortably for the pianist and sounds quite well when executed by as skilled a pianist as Wolf certainly was. This, unfortunately, is a major contributor to the faulty orchestration of the work in that Wolf, as previously mentioned, composed *Pentheselia* for the piano and then "assigned" his piano score to the instruments of the orchestra. Since Wolf had never undergone formal instruction in orchestration, from which he could have at least learned the rudiments of orchestrating a piano score, he merely transferred his piano music to the orchestra, often in not the most optimal

manner. Wolf writes the instrumental parts in a manner that is often unidiomatic to the instruments, exacerbated by awkward "pianistic" notations, more easily navigated by a highly competent pianist like Wolf himself and others, but not by orchestral players with their orchestral instruments.

#### Complete Reorchestration of *Penthesilea*

Hugo Wolf realized that a completely new reorchestration of *Penthesilea* would be necessary, if the work were to be performed by symphony orchestras and be included in the symphonic repertoire. In 1897 he had considered undertaking this task but was already on the verge of losing his sanity, due to the final stages of syphilis. A complete reorchestration of the work based on Wolf's more mature orchestral skill set as evidenced in his major works from the 1890s, would be a great service to symphonic music and orchestras, since such a revision would encourage performances of this work, which has otherwise remained in obscurity. The reorchestration of *Penthesilea* would be a monumental task, which could be done on commission from a renowned symphony orchestra or musical-philanthropic society, or, as a dissertation-project for a graduate or post-graduate student of composition or conducting. An effective, workable revision of the score would have to be based on two important requirements. The first would be a thorough knowledge and mastery of orchestration, for all the reasons referenced previously. Secondly, a true familiarity with as much of Wolf's total musical output as possible, leading to a study of and familiarity with his mature instrumental works, songs, and operas. This

could prove difficult, however, due to the dearth of recordings and performances of these works, notably the choral works and the operas.

Conclusion: Penthesilea: As an Example of the Fourfold Learning Equation Where Instructional

Resources and Assistance are Missing. Comparison of Hugo Wolf to Franz Liszt and their

Processes of Learning to Orchestrate Their Symphonic Works

When a student desiring to learn applies the Fourfold Learning Equation entirely without an instructor and/or the applicable instructional resources, problems often occur with the way the student learns, negatively affecting accuracy, proficiency, and mastery. Also, the individual student might not be able to define the actual learning goal to which the learning process is applied. The learning outcome of knowledge and skill (s) cannot be defined or accurately amended and revised by the student alone when a teacher and resources are neither present nor involved in the learning process. A comparison between the efforts of Franz Liszt (who had instructional resources and assistance), and later of Hugo Wolf (whose work was solely autodidactic) to learn and master the skill of orchestration for their symphonic poem compositions serve as a clear-cut example of this.

I am convinced that the fourfold learning equation works optimally when a teacher and instructional resources are involved. This is because when a teacher is involved, she can establish the learning outcome, select, and control the instructional materials used, teach, and establish proper study habits and, finally, guide and supervise the autodidactic learning process of the

student. Conversely, this comparison also shows clearly how the results of the fourfold learning equation are neither complete, accurate, nor optimal when a student works entirely on his own.

In imitation, the following characteristics must be present in the student, whether the teacher is present or not: a) Attention, b) Retention, c) Reproduction, and d) Motivation. We can and should assume that these are all present. Attention and Retention are left solely to the motivation of the student when a teacher is not present. These criteria were strongly present in the cases of both Wolf and Liszt. Also, reproduction is inhibited, as there is no teacher observing or recording the student's actual performance of the behavior and knowledge, e.g., the *imitation component*: its qualities and characteristics as manifested by the student. On the other hand, when reproduction is being observed and chronicled by a teacher, a condition of "controlled autodidacticism" is present. Where Liszt had many contact hours with his orchestrators and orchestral musicians who were able to control and influence his learning process in orchestration, Wolf had none of this. Motivation is also inhibited, since without a teacher, there is no source to provide reinforcement or punishment. Whereas previously stated, Liszt had multiple instructional and instrumental resources at his disposal while Wolf had none, other than the preexisting orchestral-compositional models he had studied. Wolf's motivation came from his obsessive, single-minded determination to achieve his goal of composing a symphonic poem, regardless of the difficulties he would experience.

In Chapter 2, I discussed emulation as essential to understanding how knowledge is communicated to students in a relationship of mutual trust with the teacher.<sup>293</sup> I also stated that the seed of emulation is found in the quality of oral interaction in the student choosing (or desiring) to listen to a teacher who in some way resembles an image or qualities he (the student) has of himself. Such a relationship can be cultivated by teacher and student by short discussions with the student, who reveals his own ways of study and practice, and how a teacher can then utilize and guide the student to learning and mastering the required skills and knowledge.

Liszt, of course, was surrounded by professional musicians either close to, or equal to his own level of ability (especially the violinist Joachim), making artistic-interpersonal compatibility both unconscious and automatic. Wolf worked entirely on his own. When a teacher is not present, the foundation for all meaningful communication, and the confidence (*pistis*) based on the student's trust of the teacher, are never manifested. The student is unable to take part in the teacher's knowledge, proficiency, and so forth, as they, along with the teacher, are unavailable to him. This results in the pedagogical function of emulation being inhibited. The student does not have the guidance to acquire and cultivate interest in the materials as well as knowledge, especially in terms of accuracy and proficiency.

As previously stated, humans are relational by nature. The individual cannot cultivate his or her identity or character in isolation. Thus, we are not capable of self-development, but need others. Hugo Wolf was by nature, dependent upon relationships and interaction with teachers,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>293</sup> Ibid., 34, paragraph 2.

friends, family, and so forth. I stated that within the mirror-neuron effect,<sup>294</sup> when a teacher speaks to her students, the students not only reflect their previous experiences or what the teacher says, but, simultaneously, feelings are activated within the students that may move, motivate, and ultimately, change them. This condition for a student's motivation or determination is to be influenced by the teacher. When a teacher is not present, the student has no access to the oral-verbal-instructional and emotional substance created by teacher and student through oral expression, and the subsequent relationship building with the teacher.

When a teacher is not present, there is neither an example nor a role model to follow, no instilling and cultivation of the applicable properties of learning-based *habitus* in the student. It is thus impossible for the student to bring such properties to *perfectio* in his own life, for he does not know exactly what these properties are. As previously stated, the notion of *habitus*: an acquired, trained disposition to engage in certain modes of activity when encountering objects or situations, remains underdeveloped. When a teacher is not present, the learning activities of the subject, and its experiences and conditions, are not clearly defined for the student, thus inhibiting his ability to cultivate effective powers of *differentiae*: his ability to discern, evaluate, and experience the subject, its knowledge, and skills.

Pure autodidacticism, in which a student is learning and studying entirely on his own, produces a most unfortunate result. The student's powers of *inventio* cannot be accessed or utilized in the most beneficial way, resulting in an incomplete mastery of the processes of

<sup>294</sup> 36, paragraph 2.

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imitation and emulation. Without guidance, the student's acquisition of the "tools": e.g., knowledge, skills, techniques, and proficiency, are incomplete and inaccurate. Also, the cultivation of the student's mind and character are incomplete as well, as there was no teacher with whom to interact. The student did not accommodate his own human dependency by engaging a teacher. A teacher can utilize instructional time by assisting her students with learning the skills required to complete assignments on their own. Explanation and discussion are utilized to a minimum, while the actual work on the knowledge, skills, and exercises for the assignment is maximized. Part of the assignment should be given without preparation, in which the student is expected to demonstrate his ability to transfer what he has learned to new, unprepared material. The emphasis is on the student being able to *reproduce*, not merely imitate, the musical examples in the assignment as the outcome of emulation plus invention. This is the learning scenario to which Wolf did not have access, which resulted in serious flaws in his orchestration of *Penthesilea*.

As previously mentioned, Liszt had access not only to musical associates who served as mentors and advisors; he also had access to a full orchestra, who could actually *play* his orchestrated work, providing him with the most accurate sonic reproductions of instrumental range, orchestral timbres and textures, and the capabilities of the instruments per their own unique designs and performance characteristics. In addition to having a teacher available, this is one of the most important resources a student of composition and orchestration must have access to. Once again, Wolf had no access to a live orchestra through which his work could be played,

tested, and evaluated.<sup>295</sup> If Wolf were alive in our present age, he could have utilized our computerized music notation and digital sampling software programs, which students today use as an instructional resource when learning and executing orchestration work and other musical assignments on their own. Although not an *Ersatz* for an actual teacher and live instrumentalists, this technology would nonetheless have granted Wolf an accessible means of reproducing the sonic substance of his work, serving by trial and error as a guide to more accurate and effective skill set in the techniques of orchestration, leading him to eventual mastery.

Serenade in G Major for String Quartet (Italian Serenade) (1887).

#### Introduction

Throughout his career as a composer, Hugo Wolf was influenced, if not possessed, by the desire to compose instrumental music in which he could express his interest for the life and landscape of the south, as he would later state in his *Italian Song-Book*.<sup>296</sup> This project was already in his mind in 1887, when his very first compositions were published.<sup>297</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>295</sup> This is in reference to the time Wolf was composing *Penthesilea*. The only actual "test" of the work was the readthrough by the Vienna Philharmonic on October 15<sup>th</sup>, 1886, with disastrous results.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>296</sup> Hugo Wolf, *Italian Serenade for 2 Violins, Viola and Violoncello in G major*, ed. by Arnold Aber. London: Ernst Eulenburg Ltd. 1942. i.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>297</sup> These works are the *Sechs Lieder für eine Frauenstimme*, published by Emile Wetzler, in 1888. These include Wolf's first acknowledged song masterpiece with text by Mörike: the *Mausfallen-Sprüchlein* (1882), and the two *Wiegenlieder*, to texts by Reinick. Walker, 503.

These two works by Wolf are the last, best composed, and the best-known of the relatively small number of works which are exclusively for instrumental ensemble. The first work, the Serenade in G Major, is scored for string quartet. The second work, entitled *Italian Serenade*, is a separate version of the Serenade in G Major, scored for small orchestra. Importantly, they show Wolf's mastery of various compositional techniques, gleaned from his composition of works which immediately preceded the Serenade. By 1887, he had already composed his String Quartet in D minor, his orchestral tone poem Pentheselia, the Humoristisches Intermezzo for string quartet,<sup>298</sup> and was composing some of his earliest successful songs.<sup>299</sup>In the early months of 1887, Wolf composed a small group of songs to texts by Eichendorff. This group of songs would eventually take their place together with the additional settings of texts by this same poet, which Wolf composed the following year. 300 Although Wolf's masterful achievements of the Mörike-Lieder (1888), the Goethe-Lieder (1888-89), the Spanisches-Liederbuch (1889-90) and the Italienisches-Liederbuch (1890-96) were to come later, and in spite of serious bouts of depression as well as previous setbacks, 301 Wolf must have had a sense of future fulfillment. The light-hearted, jocular nature of this happy serenade seems to reflect his newfound feeling of optimism. Once inspiration was present, Wolf, as per usual, composed impulsively, 302 and with

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<sup>302</sup> Wolf himself had once said: "I compose only upon impulse."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>298</sup> In his letter to Oskar Grohe from April 16<sup>th</sup>, 1890, Wolf refers to this work and the *Italian Serenade* as "zwei Streichquartettsätze", not as complete works.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>299</sup>Der Soldat I (1886), Der Soldat II (1887) (Eichendorff), Biterolf (1887) (Scheffel), Wächterlied auf der Wartburg (Jan. 12th, 1887) (Scheffel), Wanderers Nachtlied (January 30th, 1887) (Goethe), Beherzigung (March 1st, 1887) (Eichendorff), Die Zigeunerin (March 19th,1887) (Eichendorff), Waldmädchen (April 20th 1887) (Eichendorff), Nachtzauber (May 24th, 1887) (Eichendorff).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>300</sup> The year was 1888, a year in which Wolf possessed extreme creative inspiration, during which he composed nearly one hundred songs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>301</sup> Notably the disastrous read-through session of his tone poem *Penthesilea* by the Vienna Philharmonic, followed by the unanimous refusal by the Rose Quartet to premiere his *String Quartet in D Minor*.

fanatical intensity. His manuscripts for the *Serenade in G Major* show that after Wolf sketched the work on two staves, <sup>303</sup> on May 2nd, 1887, he then completed the score of the *Serenade* for string quartet on May 4<sup>th</sup> of that year. <sup>304</sup>

### Controversy About the Origins and Chronology of the Work.

For many years after Wolf's death, and due to the lack of availability of certain Wolf manuscripts and other primary source materials, the chronology of, and the relationship between the different versions of the *Italian Serenade* had been disputed. In 1941, Wolf biographer Frank Walker attempted to clarify the history and origins of the *Serenade* in an article in *The Musical Times*, for May 1941.<sup>305</sup> To Walker, the evidence of Wolf's letters suggested that Wolf's first biographer, Ernst Decsey, had "misunderstood and unnecessarily confused the whole matter."<sup>306</sup> Decsey (and others) state that the orchestral setting of the *Italian Serenade* was produced before the string quartet version. At the time Walker wrote this first article (1941), the manuscripts he referenced had not been sorted and catalogued by the Austrian National Library, thus making the chronology both inaccurate and questionable. According to Walker, there were "several"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>303</sup> This was Wolf's usual way of composing, based on the two-line grand staff keyboard template, which he knew so well. The scoring and orchestration of his two operas are described by scholars as emanating from the pianovocal score. Only in his last years, while he was still mentally coherent, was he able to expand his musical-cognitive processing from the two staff keyboard score-template, to the type of scoring which was more idiomatically suited both to genre and performance medium.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>304</sup> Located in the Austrian National Library, S.m. 19524, and S.m. 19521.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>305</sup> Walker, Frank. "Hugo Wolf's '*Italian Serenade'*: The Facts and a new Theory." *The Musical Times*, vol. 82, no. 1179 (1941): 180-183.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>306</sup> Ibid.

portfolios bulging with papers and one sometimes has to seek in different portfolios for the fragments of a single work."<sup>307</sup> In his second article (1947), <sup>308</sup> Walker states that the many problems concerning the chronology and different versions of the *Italian Serenade* could not have been solved without access to the manuscripts, which for wartime reasons, were inaccessible. In this later article, Walker reveals the results of his research, and settles the controversy about the origins of the *Italian Serenade* with primary source-based *facts*.

The manuscripts for the (first version) string quartet are in the music collection of the Austrian National Library. They are catalogued under S.m. 19524 and consist of two wide sheets with twenty-four lines. Four sheets of sketches are also catalogued under S.m. 19521. The sketches are of a grand staff piano score, now assigned to the four instruments of the string quartet. On top is the entry: "Serenade. Wien, 4. Mai, 887." Walker draws the conclusion that the sketch was begun on May 2<sup>nd</sup>, and finished on May 4<sup>th</sup>, which was also the day when Wolf began the instrumentation. Though the date of completion is not noted, there can be assumed from the appearance of the manuscript (Walker was right to refer to this), that the work was written entirely at once and therefore probably also finished in Vienna on May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1887. The manuscript contains the music in its final version, with only one exception that later in the second violin the bars 220-226, and 254-56 are figured in a more opulent manner.<sup>309</sup> The final "clean copy"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>307</sup> Walker, Frank. "The History of Wolf's Italian Serenade". *The Music Review*, vol. 8, no. 3 January, (1947) <a href="http://www.worldcat.org">http://www.worldcat.org</a> (accessed Jan 3. 2019). Walker is referencing a large collection of manuscripts which the library had collected from the Köchert family in 1940, the sorting and cataloging of which was not completed until after World War II.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>308</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>309</sup> Ibid.

manuscript<sup>310</sup> is the complete, final version of the work. This manuscript consists of seven long sheets with sixteen lines on each, it shows no date and no reference to its genre or (ensemble) performance medium, despite the obvious construct of the scoring, and the instruments utilized. The title is "Serenade", the tempo is marked "Sehr Lebhaft" (very lively). This manuscript is identical with the version first published for string quartet by Lauterbach & Kuhn in Leipzig, in 1903. Compared to Wolf's earlier String Quartet in D Minor, no editorial changes were made to the Serenade in G Major by the publishers.311 The work was premiered on January 19th, 1904, by the Rosé Quartet.<sup>312</sup> Based on the research done by Frank Walker in 1947, it was definitively concluded that the string quartet version of the Serenade in G Major, was indeed the original version of the work, followed by the later version for small orchestra, entitled *Italian Serenade*, in 1892. The last (and unfinished) version from 1897 was intended as the first movement of a three-movement work, which was never completed. Both versions of the Italian Serenade are exclusively in Wolf's own hand. The editorial revisions done to the 1892 orchestral version by Max Reger in 1903 were originally thought to be extensive, <sup>313</sup> but have been proven to be minimal, as verified by Walker.<sup>314</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>310</sup> In the Austrian National Library since 1928, as S.m. 3385.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>311</sup>Hugo Wolf, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Hans Jancik. Bd. 15-3 (Wien: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1960). ii. <sup>312</sup> Hilmar, 197. This was the string quartet made up of members of the Vienna Philharmonic (Rosé, Bachrich,

Ruzitska, Buxbaum), who, in 1884, flatly refused to play Wolf's *String Quartet in D Minor*, due to Wolf's volatile criticisms of Brahms and others in the *Wiener Salonblatt*. It is ironic that the quartet would agree to premiere Wolf's *Italian Serenade*, posthumously, since Wolf, Brahms, and others were deceased by this time.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>313</sup> In the original German preface to the current Eulenberg score to the string quartet version, Arnold Aber, erroneously implies that the posthumously published orchestral version is actually an arrangement by Max Reger, and that the string quartet version is the only undisputed version of the work that is authentically Wolf's. Walker has proven this to be false, noting that Reger's work was of a "microscopic", minimal, editorial nature. The Eulenberg firm should correct this inaccurate, disproven information in their printed score.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>314</sup> Frank Walker. "The History of Wolf's 'Italian Serenade'". *The Music Review*, vol. 8, no. 3, (1947). <a href="http://www.worldcat.org">http://www.worldcat.org</a> (accessed Jan. 8, 2019).

# Hugo Wolf's Musical Output which immediately preceded the Serenade in G Major

By the time the then twenty-seven-year-old Wolf had composed the string quartet version of the *Italian Serenade*, he had already composed his *String Quartet in D Minor* (1878-1884), his tone poem *Pentheselia* (1883-1885), and his *Humoristisches Intermezzo in E Flat Major* for string quartet (1886). He had also composed nine songs. In December 1886 he composed *Der Soldat II* (December 14th), and *Biterolf* (December 26th), From January through April,1887, he composed *Wächterlied auf der Wartburg* (January 24th), 315 Wanderers Nachtlied (January 30th), *Beherzigung* (March1st), *Der Soldat I* (March 7th), *Die Kleine* (March 8th), *Die Zigeunerin* (March 19th), and *Waldmädchen* (April 20th, 1887). 316

## Preexisting Compositional Models for the Serenade in G Major

Hugo Wolf's compositional output leading up to the *Italian Serenade* for String Quartet consisted of early piano works, short choral works, early songs, chamber works, several (both surviving and non-surviving) instrumental works, the three (surviving) instrumental works discussed in this chapter, and finally, his then first published six songs. In July of 1876, then then

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>315</sup> This song, plus the next two which follow, were included in Wolf's second song collection entitled: *Sechs Gedichte von Scheffel, Mörike, Goethe und Kerner*. The collection was published by Emile Wetzler Verlag-Wien, in 1888.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>316</sup> Wolf's last song composition of that month was *Nachtzauber*, completed on May 24<sup>th</sup>.

sixteen-year-old Wolf began studying Berlioz's *Grand Traité d'instrumentation*, and (before 1877), he began studying the Bellermann text entitled *Kontrapunkt*. His first attempts at orchestrating existing works stems from this time.<sup>317</sup> Through study, imitation, and emulation of various compositional models, he began to acquire much experience in composing instrumental works.

His experience as a violinist, having played chamber music with family members and friends in his hometown of Windischgraz, at the Gymnasium St. Paul, and other places, provided him with performance practice-based knowledge concerning chamber ensembles. The two versions of the Serenade in G Major show, in my opinion, Wolf's highest level of mastery of instrumental composition<sup>318</sup> up to that time in his life. This mastery is exemplified by the quality and artistic effectiveness of counterpoint and harmonic treatment in all instrumental parts, the inventive and creative originality of thematic material and melodic construct, and his effective and multivariate ways of utilizing and developing motives.<sup>319</sup> Also, Wolf shows clearly delineated musical-thematic sections, based on cadences and key relationships.

Wolf's compositional models for the Serenade *in G Major*, the *Italian Serenade* (and his String *Quartet in D Minor*, his *Humoristisches* Intermezzo, and his tone poem *Pentheselia*), were the string quartets of Haydn, Mozart, Schubert, and the Beethoven string quartets, opus 59. In addition to this, Wolf studied and emulated elements from orchestral works by those same

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>317</sup> A complete listing of these works is included in the section on *Pentheselia*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>318</sup> I am referring to both the string quartet and small orchestral versions of the work.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>319</sup> Wolf shares this ability with Beethoven, who himself was highly skilled at composing and developing musical motives.

composers and, the symphonic works of Anton Bruckner. Wolf's imitative-emulative study of these preexisting models, to which he added his own inventive-creative abilities, resulted in a greatly expanded compositional skill set, which he applied to the *Serenade in G Major*, and the *Italian Serenade for Small Orchestra* 

### Hugo Wolf and His Perspective on Chamber Music

Hugo Wolf had a special affinity for chamber music for two documented reasons. First, Wolf was trained in violin by his father, played in the Wolf family orchestra, and played string quartets and piano trios as a student. His hand-on experience as a chamber musician cultivated his affinity for *Kammermusik*, with the accompanying aesthetics concerning the relevance of genre to venue (place), as well as the performance of chamber works for the enjoyment of the players in addition to the audience.

Secondly, in his critiques in the *Wiener Salonblatt*, Wolf not only discussed many musical works by different composers; he also gave his highly opinionated perspectives about various musical genres and (according to him) their social-historical "function." In his critique from April 20<sup>th</sup>, 1884, Wolf bitingly describes a chamber music concert in the Vienna Grosser Musikvereinsaal as completely inappropriate:

Jeder Musikmensch weiß wie Hellmesberger Beethoven spielt, aber auch wie schlecht sich jede Kammermusik im großen Musikvereins-Saal ausnimmt. Es ist unglaublich, daß ein solcher Musiker wie Hellmesberger so unmusikalisch sich zeigen kann, im großen Musikvereinsaal Quartette zu spielen. Vielleicht veranstaltet er

nächstens in der Freudenau seine Quartett-Abende; da wäre noch mehr Platz vorhanden und mit der Zeit dann in der Pußta u.s.f., bis er endlich in der Sahara angelangt sein wird.<sup>320</sup>

This passage shows that Wolf possessed an acute awareness of the artistic and aesthetic efficacy of performing (and composing) musical genres conceived and composed idiomatically to *place*. By his wording, Wolf implies (albeit insultingly) that as an intimate, minimally scored musical genre, the string quartet requires a smaller, more intimate performance venue and ambiance, his personal attacks on professor Hellemesberger<sup>321</sup> notwithstanding. Wolf's message here is that the musical "dialogue" between the instruments in chamber ensembles should enact in the moment, during performance, and that in a large concert hall, this potential can be lost. Ironically, however, at the time Wolf was composing his own chamber works, there was already an established practice of performing chamber music in large public venues, most likely begun by Beethoven, with his middle-period and late-period string quartets. When Theodore Adorno spoke of "such a room as the site of a truce between music and society" (*Stand*), he was

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be Every musical person knows how (Professor) Hellmesberger plays Beethoven, but also, how badly every chamber music (performance) in the large Musikvereins-Hall turns out. It is unbelievable, that such a musician as Hellmesberger can show himself to be so unmusical, to play (string quartets) in the large Musikvereins-Hall. Maybe next time he'll arrange quartet performances in Freudenau (a forested park-like area along the Danube Canal in Vienna); there would be even more space there, and in the course of time, then he could go to the Puszta (the flatlands of lower Austria, leading to Hungary), until he finds himself settled in the Sahara! Criticism from April 20th, 1884. Leopold Spitzer, ed. *Hugo Wolfs Kritiken im Wiener Salonblatt*, Bd. 1. *Die Kritiken*, mit Kommentar vorgelegt unter Mitarbeit von Isabella Sommer. (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2002), 33.

321 Professor Josef Hellmesberger Sr. (1828-1893) was the founder and first violinist of the Hellmesberger String Quartet. He was also the director of the Vienna Conservatory, as well as the concert administrator for the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*. He personally dismissed Wolf from that institution in 1878, for "breach of discipline." In reference to this incident, we know now that Wolf was the victim of a cruel prank, whereby a rival student had written a death-threat letter to Hellmesberger, forged Wolf's signature at the bottom of the letter, then sent the letter to Hellmesberger.

addressing the element which, along with the string quartet, gives the genre its unique status.<sup>322</sup> Based on his criticisms, Wolf seems to have been oblivious to this.

In an earlier critique, Wolf questions the popularity of the chamber music of his time, makes comparisons to larger orchestral genres, in reference to a comparison of watercolors to oil paintings. He makes some definitive conclusions, which have a direct bearing upon his own compositions.

Wahrhaft erfreulich berührt uns die eifrige Pflege der Kammermusik und die rege Theilnahme des Publikums für diese Gattung Musik, Merkwürdigerweise wird auch von modernen Componisten in diesem Genre noch immer das leidlichste zu Tage gefördert, während dieselben Componisten in ihren Klavierstücken und Liedern, besonders aber Symphonien oder gar Opern Geduldproben an den Zuhörer stellen, die selbst einen Hiob zur Raserei gebracht hätten. Woher kommt das? Ein vortrefflicher Maler versicherte mir einstens, daß es leichter sei ein gutes Bild in Aquarell, denn ein solches in Oel herzustellen. Könnte man nicht die vier Saiteninstrumente mit dem blassen Aquarell, das blühende Kolorit des Orchesters mit dem warmen Ton der Oelfarbe vergleichen? Vom musikalischen Standpunktaus können wir die vorhin aufgeworfene Frage auch ganz gut beantworten. Es ist das gewandte Spiel mit der Technik und nicht das Bedürfniß, einen musikalischen Gedanken auszusprechen, das unsere modernen Componisten verleitet, Kammermusik zu schreiben; [...] daher ihre Adagio's fadegekünstelt, gequält sind und die Gedankenarmuth durch noch so spaßhafte Pikanteriein hindurch mit ihrer gelangweilten Fratze immer und immer uns angrinst. Am sichersten fühlt sich der moderne Componist noch im Scherzo und Finale. Er braucht nur ein tüchtiger Contrapunktist sein, die Stimmen recht bunt durcheinander schütteln, um sich den Anschein zu geben, als könne er was Rechtes. [...] Wie human es aber auch von unsern Quartettvereinen gemeint sein mag, moderne Componisten uns vorzuführen, ein Stück von Mozart, Haydn oder Beethoven sollte am Programm doch niemals fehlen.323

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<sup>322</sup> http://www.grovemusic.com, s.v. "String Quartet" (Accessed April 9, 2019).

<sup>323</sup> Truly satisfyingly does the ardent cultivation of chamber music and the keen, lively participation of the public for this musical genre touch us. Oddly enough, the composers of this genre always promote only the most passable, tolerable (chamber works), whereas the same composers, in their piano pieces, and songs, but especially symphonies and even operatic tests of patience, are put before the listener, which would have brought even a Job into a towering frenzy. Where does that come from? A splendid painter assured me once, that it would be easier to paint a good picture in watercolors, than to produce such a picture in oils. Could one not compare the four stringed instruments with the pale watercolors to the radiant sonic coloring of the orchestra, with its warm tone of oil colors? From a musical standpoint we can answer the question which came up just a short while ago. It is adept technical playing, and not the requirement to pronounce and express a musical thought, that leads our modern composers to writing chamber music. [...] From there their stale, feigned adagios are pained, and the poverty of thought through such facetious gory detail with its boring mug always grins at us. The modern composer still feels the safest in Scherzos and Finales. He needs only to be proficient in counterpoint, to colorfully agitate the voices through one another, so as to give himself the appearance that he's doing something right. [...] But also, however humane it is that our string quartet ensembles may to display modern composers to us, a piece by Mozart, Haydn, or Beethoven should (nonetheless) never be missing from the program. Criticism from 10. Feb. 1884. Ibid., 13.

In the first line, Wolf denounces mechanically mass-produced music, and then in a pompous, stilted manner, he notes its lack of inspiration and originality. The four-part instrumentation of a string quartet, since the time of the "Wiener Klassik" is as an equally entitled, respectable musical entity, producing its own highly technical, but musically charming qualities, done at will. In their jealousy, perhaps in order to write good musical counterpoint, many "modern" composers ascribe too much influence on the sound ideal of the string quartet as having too little meaning. Wolf asks if it is more important to compose music of purely technical difficulty, without honoring the "requirement" of expressing musical thought. In the same criticism, Wolf praises Beethoven's chamber music for his adagios as he states: "Beethoven's Herz sichzu einer unermeßlichen Welt erweitert, das alle Menschenherzen in sich einschließt." While Wolf describes Robert Schumann's String *Quartet in F-Major*, Op.41 as "eine der werthvollsten in der Kammermusik der Nach-Beethoven'schen Periode" Her then attacks Johannes Brahms, by making the following statement:

"Auf´s Varieren von gegebenen Themen versteht sich Herr Brahms wie kein Anderer ist doch sein ganzes Schaffen nur eine große Variation über die Werke Beethoven´s, Mendelssohn´s und Schumann´s?"<sup>326</sup>

In his criticisms, Wolf does not always critique works by Brahms solely in a destructive and derogatory manner. If a composition by Brahms was pleasing to Wolf, he would comment

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>324</sup> "Beethoven's heart expands itself to an immeasurable world, which includes the hearts of all people." Ibid. 13. Translation by the author.

<sup>325</sup> Criticism from 23. March 1884. Ibid., 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>326</sup>"On Variations on given themes, Mr. Brahms understands this like no other. Is, however, his entire creative output just a giant variation on the works of Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Schumann?" Wolf is speaking in reference to Brahms' orchestral work: *Variations on a theme of* Haydn. Criticism from December 7th, 1884. Ibid. 24.

favorably, but still with a final negative reference to the composer, as in the case of Brahms' *String Quintet in F-Major*, Op.88:<sup>327</sup>

Kehren wir [...] wieder zu dem Brahms'schen Quintett zurück, so dünkt uns der erste Satz wohl als der schönste. Die Phantasie des Componisten schweigt nur in pitoresken Bildern; die frostigen Novembernebel, die sonst über seine Compositionen sich lagern und jedem warmen Herzenslauf, noch ehe er erklingen kann, den Athem benehmen, -hier entdecken wir keine Spur davon; alles ist sonnig, bald heller bald dämmeriger; ein zauberhaftes Smaragdgrün gießt sich über dieses märchenhafte Frühlingsbild aus. [...] Im zweiten Satze senken sich die Schatten tiefer herunter. Der Abend und allmählig die Nacht hüllen die phantastischen Gebilde des wunderlichen Webens aus dem ersten Satze ein. Tiefes Sinnen und Schweigen. Ein lebhaft bewegtes, anmuthiges Bild durchschwirrt die tiefe Einsamkeit. Es ist als ob Glühwürmer ihren Reigen tanzten, so blitzt und funkelt es in den hastigen Figuren der Instrumente. [...] In seltsamen Harmonien, die wie zwischen Traum und Wachen moduliren, verhallt dieses mysteriöse Tongemälde. Dem Componisten, der sich an dem Duft der blauen Blume<sup>328</sup> zwei Sätze hindurch berauscht, schien es im Zaubergarten der Romantik unheimlich geworden zu sein, denn mit einem plötzlichen Ruck sitzt er auf der Schulbank zu Altona und erinnert sich im Finale mit vieler Freude seiner contrapunktischen Studien bei (Eduard) Marxsen, wohin wir ihm aber nicht folgen wollen.<sup>329</sup>

In this criticism, Wolf shares his own conception of how chamber music should be composed. Nonetheless, although Wolf shows some admiration for the first two movements of Brahms' work, he still attacks the older composer's "abandonment" of the Romantic musical expression contained in the first two movements of the quintet, for the enjoyment of the "absoluteness" of the contrapuntal passages in the finale of the quintet. Then, and somewhat insultingly, Wolf's

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>327</sup>Aschauer, 235.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>328</sup> The "Blue Flower" (German: die Blaue Blume) is an important symbol for Romantic literature. The poet Novalis (1772-1801) used term in his novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (1800). It then eventually became the keyword embodiment of Romantic yearning (*Sehnsucht*) for the infinite.

<sup>329</sup> Let's turn back again to the Brahms quintet, as the first movement (we) fancy as the most beautiful. The fantasy of the composer luxuriates only in picturesque images: the frosty November fog, which otherwise positions itself over his compositions and takes away that warm heartbeat, before it can resound. Here we discover not a bit thereof; everything is sunny, soon brighter, soon more in twilight; a magical emerald green pours itself over this fairytale-like picture of spring. [...] In the second movement the shadows sing deeper. The evening and gradually the night encase the fantastic picture of the wonderful weavings of the first movement. Deep reflection and quiet. A lively moving, graceful picture whirrs through the deep loneliness. It is as if glow worms are dancing their rounds, flashing and sparking in the hasty instrumental figures. [...] in strange harmonies, which modulate between dreaming and waking, this mysterious tonal portrait dies away. To the composer (Brahms), who in two movements has intoxicated himself on the fragrance of the Blue Flower, it seems to be uncannily become into the magical garden of the Romantic, because with a sudden jolt he sits on a school bench in Altona (a district of Hamburg, Brahms' hometown) and during the finale, he remembers with much joy his studies in counterpoint with Eduard Marxen, where we do not want to follow him. Criticism from March 23, 1884. Spitzer, 25.

states his own fabricated idea of Brahms reliving pleasant memories of his own studies in counterpoint, a place where Wolf and his listeners (and readers) should not follow. This last statement by Wolf illustrates an important artistic and aesthetic difference of compositional *process* between the two composers; where Wolf was centered on the conception and performance of music as a means of expressing "thought:" complete and unified via the musical (and non-musical) elements of whatever genre and performance media utilized, Brahms was more focused on the "absolute" qualities of solely the music itself.<sup>330</sup>

Wolf's detailed critique of Anton Bruckner's *String Quartet in F Major* gives us an additional revelatory insight into Wolf's musical-aesthetic perspective:

Offenbarungen, die begnadet sind, ein hohes Geheimniß in sinnig einfacher Weise. Quartett Hellmesberger. Anton Bruckner's Quintett ist eine jener seltenen künstlerischen auszusprechen, [...] Bruckner's Musik quillt voll und reich aus dem klaren Born eines Kindlich heitern Gemüthes. Von seinen Werken kann man wohl sagen: "es klang so alt und war doch so neu"; dies macht ein starker volksthümlicher Zug, der bald offen, bald versteckt, überall in seinen symphonischen Compositionen durchbricht. Wie reizend z.B. gibt sich das ländlerartige Trio im Scherzo des Quintetts! Wie versteht es der Componist, bei aller Volksthümlichkeit den vornehmen Herrn zu markiren, bald durch eine harmonische Ausweichung, bald durch einen kunstvollen Contrapunkt oder durch eine farbenreichere Instrumentation oder durch eine überraschende Umkehrung der Themen u.s.w. Nie wird Bruckner banal oder gewöhnlich, [...] Aber ebensowenig erscheinen Bruckner's Compositionen gesucht. Seine Harmonien sind kühn und neu, und verleihen der Melodie einen äußerst charakteristischen Schmuck, eine ganz bestimmte Physiognomie, die sich dem Gemüthe des Zuhörers, wie mit diamantenen Zügen, scharf einprägt. Seine thematische Erfindung ist das Ergebniß einer ungemein fruchtbaren Phantasie und glühender Empfindung, daher die bildhafte Anschaulichkeit

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>330</sup>The term 'absolute music' denotes not so much an agreed idea as an aesthetic problem. The expression is of German origin, first appearing in the writings of Tieck, Herder, Jean Paul Richter, and E.T.A. Hoffman. These philosophers considered the quality and purity of music as 'absolute', residing in its expressive elements, and not in their total absence. I refer to the term "absolute" as the "sound substance" or, the *material* nature of sound, which historically is the background of music as a discipline. The term features in the controversies of the 19<sup>th</sup> century- for example, in Hanslick's spirited defense of *absolute Tonkunst* (convention, as represented by Brahms) against the *Gesamtkunstwerk* (abandonment of convention) of Wagner. [...] It names an ideal of musical purity, from which music has been held to depart in a variety of ways; for example, by being subordinated to words (as in song and opera), to some representational meaning (as in program music), or even the vague requirements of emotional expression. *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Absolute Music", by Roger Scruton. <a href="http://www.grovemusic.com">http://www.grovemusic.com</a> (accessed March 19, 2019). With additions of my own.

seiner musikalischen Sprache. Der Satzbau allerdings scheint keine allzu großen Ansprüche auf raschen Fluß, auf wohlgegliederte Perioden, auf ein gewisses abgerundetes Ebenmaß der Formen zu erheben.<sup>331</sup>

In Wolf's journalistic criticisms we see some important landmarks in reference to his perspective on chamber music, and music in general. First, he is clearly well-grounded in his own sense of musical-cultural tradition and opinion. He strongly believes in music retaining a link with its models from the past (e.g., his reference to the *Ländler* in Bruckner's quintet), while adding inventiveness and creativity to those models, thus producing a recognizable, and "reassuring" sense of the old connected to the new, or vice-versa. For performers and especially listeners, Wolf states how the familiarity of the preexisting model with an innovative new take serves as a "tool", both "comforting", yet guiding us to experience a new musical work, without disturbing our musical sensibilities.

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with the ability to express a high secret in a clever and ingenious way. [...] Bruckner's music springs forth, full and rich, from the clear fount of a bright, child-like soul. Of his works one can say: "It sounds so old but was so new." This produces a strong, traditionally popular stream, which breaks through in his symphonic compositions, at first openly, then, again, concealed. How charming, for example, is the Ländler-like trio in the scherzo of the quintet! How well does the composer understand, in a sense of tradition and folksy popularity, to lay out and mark (the composition) first through harmonic modulation, then through artistic use of counterpoint or colorful instrumentation, or through a surprising reversal of themes, and so forth. Never does Bruckner become banal or ordinary. [...] Nor do Bruckner's compositions seem to be sought after. His harmonies are bold and new, and lend an extreme characteristic ornamental quality, a definite physiognomy, which imprints itself sharply, as with strands of diamonds, into the mind of the listener. His sense of thematic invention is the result of an uncommonly fruitful sense of fantasy and glowing sensitivity, hence the graphic vividness of his musical language. The structure of the movements, however, seems to need not to raise itself to a certain, well-rounded symmetry of form via too large musical demands in a hurried, flowing way, or via well-structured phrase periods. Criticism from Jan. 10<sup>th</sup>, 1886. Spitzer, 132-33.

## Serenade in G Major: Analysis

In the *Serenade in G Major*, Wolf strives to create a balanced and varied work. While many string quartets are truly pieces of high virtuosic display, this work exemplifies Wolf's understanding of how the musical function of all parts are vital to the quality of texture and homogeneousness of the genre: e.g., they are not merely soloistic or accompanimental.

The Serenade in G Major for String Quartet is 640 measures long, and is scored for the traditional string quartet, consisting of two violins, viola, and violoncello. Previous scholars and performers have labeled the formal construct of both the Serenade in G Major, and the Italian Serenade as a "modified rondo form", due to the return of the principal theme at designated places within the work. I would like to describe the formal construct of both the Serenade in G Major and the Italian Serenade as a symmetrical "framework composition", based on the (literary) model of the German Rahmenerzählung. Within this framework are contained the introduction, which is the 'frame' of the piece, contrasting principal and secondary themes and motives in non-strict alternating (quasi alternatim) order, a quasi-recitativo transition to the next (contrasting) section, followed by another transition back to an expanded principal theme, to the closing section, which itself is a repetition of the introduction followed by a coda, which completes the musical "framework" of the piece. I have listed the formal construct of the Serenade in G Major as follows:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>332</sup>Rahmenerzählung: Ger. "Framework Story", in which the first (framework) section of text appears at the beginning (the *Rahmen*), followed by the middle section of text (the *Binnenerzählung*), which is then "surrounded" or "framed" by the first section of text being restated at the end of the work, to its conclusion.

Introduction: measures 1-12.

Section A (principal theme): measures 13-302. Subsections: (a)13-129

Section B: measures 130-160. Subsections (a) mm. 130-148, (b) mm. 149-160, (c) mm. 161-179, (d) mm. 180-202.

Section A: measures 203-303.

Transition: recitativo-a tempo-recitativo: measures 303-334.

Section C: (secondary theme): measures 335-529. Subsections (a) mm. 335-424), (b) 425-469, (c) 470-497, (d) 498-529.

Transition to Section A: measures 530-543.

Section A (expanded): measures 544-625. Subsections (a) mm. 545-574, (b) mm. 575-593, (c) new material: 594-624.

Closing Section, based on introduction: measures 625-643. Coda: mm 639-643.

The piece begins with a twelve-measure introduction, shown below, which serves two purposes. The first is to prepare the groundwork for introduction to the music to come, and,

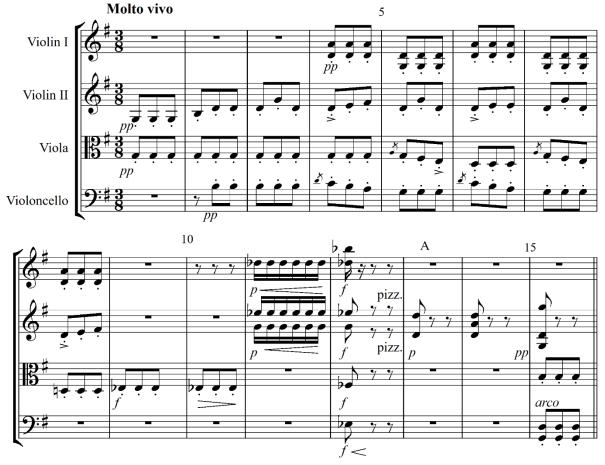


Fig. 78 Introduction

finally, to reappear as a reprise-transition-to-coda at the end of the work, in a "completed framework" manner (Fig. 78).

The introduction commences with the second violin and viola, followed by the cello, then first violin. The lower parts proceed in similar intervallic motion, while the first violin enters and plays in parallel 5ths until measure 8. Since the strings of each instrument in the ensemble are tuned in 5ths, and tuned right before a performance, Wolf might be hinting to the listener that the work is now commencing, by his deliberate use of parallel 5ths in the first violin. Wolf continues to use intentional parallel motion at the 5<sup>th</sup>, in conjunction with well-constructed partwriting, at various places throughout the work.

Measures 11 and 12 conclude the introduction, <sup>333</sup> and then the A section of the work commences, containing the principal theme. Following the introduction, section A commences with three measures of material in rhythmic pattern (long-long-long short-short), played by the second violin and viola, joined by the cello in measure 15. The fourth measure (measure 16) introduces the principal theme, and although the theme enters on the fourth measure of this four-phrase period, to the listener, its entrance does not imply any metric displacement or asymmetry. Here Wolf cleverly shows that it is possible to retain symmetry and proportionality of melody as if it commenced on the first beat of the first measure of the four-phrase period (Fig. 79).

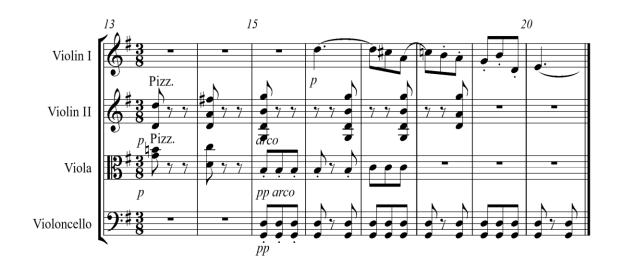


Fig. 79 (mm. 13-20)

It is important to note that Wolf uses 3/8 (and later 6/8) meter, which constitute the metrical basis of the themes and motives contained in the work. In these time signatures, the dotted

<sup>333</sup> Important to note is that this same introduction material reappears at measure 625, followed by the coda at measure 637, which ends the piece at measure 643.

quarter note is the constant, with its rhythmic subdivisions. Wolf understood that music is *motion*, and here he intentionally uses the rhythmic *figures* listed (Figs. 80,81,82) to exemplify rhythmic motion, and its particularities and relationships in a quasi-Italian, programmatic way. Wolf utilizes these motives in the cello and viola parts, both separately, and in juxtaposition over one another, to accompany the first violin. The rhythmic motives, and their rhythmic mode underpinnings are listed below:

Fig. 80 Trochee plus Anapaest:



Fig. 81 Anapaest plus Trochee:



Fig. 82 Anapaest:



Section A is divided into three subsections: a (mm13-44), b (mm 45-74), and c (mm 75-129). In subsection a, Wolf states the first segment of the principal theme in the first violin, with the lower three parts serving in an accompanimental function, using both the rhythmic motives and deliberate parallel motion, as previously described, to the cadence on the fifth degree of the scale at measure 44. At measure 45 (subsection b), the second segment of the theme is introduced, again by the first violin, with the lower three parts accompanying as before, to measure 74. At measure 75 (subsection c), the third and final segment of the principal theme is introduced in the first violin, with the second violin and cello "answering" with their own motive (Fig. 83) which the viola then plays, starting at measure 89. Section A closes at measure 129.



Fig. 83

Section B (mm 130-160) is divided into four subsections: a (mm 130-148), b (mm149-160), c (mm 161-179) and d (mm 180-203), which serves as a transition back to the return of the section A principal theme. In this section, Wolf shows his vast capacity for creating and using motives for the purpose of sustaining melodic and harmonic motion, and well-crafted contrary motion in the part-writing, and of dynamics. The secondary theme commences in the viola, beginning at measure 130, then answered by the first violin in measure 134 (Fig. 84). The accompanimental nature of the violin part consists of its own motive.



Fig. 84

The second segment of the theme, now slightly varied, is played by the cello, and answered by the viola in measures 138-141 (Fig. 85).



Fig. 85

From measures 142-161, a new section (subsection b) begins the transition to subsection c, which is the first powerful climax of the piece. Beginning in the first violin at measure 142, Wolf brilliantly combines more new motives, utilized with strong and effective part-writing (Fig. 86).

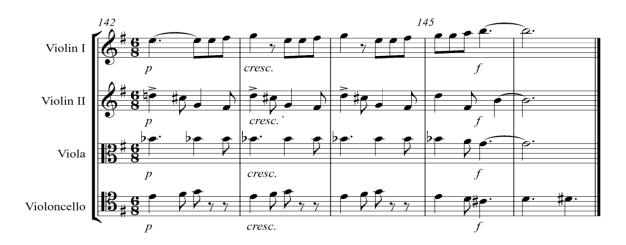


Fig. 86

## Wolf's Use of Extremes of Register and Dynamics

In subsection c (measures 149-172), Wolf uses contrary intervallic motion in all four parts (Fig. 87). From measures 157-169 (Fig. 88), he uses extremes of register, combined with extremes (contrary motion) of dynamics and expression (in this case *p* to *ff, con fuoco* in measure 161, *p* in measure 173, and *pp* in measure 178) to maximize the musical effect. In this way Wolf dramatizes the climatic effect by gradual, incremental arrival to higher and higher registral spaces, moving chromatically from the middle to the very high and low registers. Secondly, he makes sudden and immediate juxtapositions of very high and low notes, both in a single instrument, as well as across the ensemble. A clear example of this is at measure 161 (Fig. 88). In measures 157-60, Wolf has the first violin playing higher and higher in its registers, while the lower three parts modulate chromatically to measure 161, where the cello is playing in its lowest registers, the first violin is playing in its highest register (doubled at the octave by the second violin), and the viola (mm 165-69) is playing higher in its register, thus crossing over into the violin register (Fig. 88).



Fig. 87



Fig. 88

As the section concludes at measure 169, Wolf begins the next section, which serves as a retransition to the principal theme (A) at measure 204. The motive he used in the climax at measure 161 (Fig.89) he ingeniously repurposes as the unifying element in this retransition section. It is played by the first violin from measures 169-179 (Fig. 90). At measure 183, Wolf introduces a new motive (Fig. 91), derived from the principal theme, which unifies and carries the retransition to measure 204 (Fig. 92), where the principal theme is reintroduced (Fig.93).





Fig. 91



Fig. 92

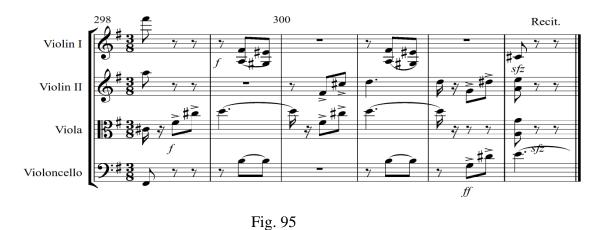


Fig. 93

The return of the principal theme (A) at measure 204 is treated by Wolf in the same manner in which it was introduced at the beginning of the work. To add variety, Wolf has written for the second violin to now embellish the first violin, crossing voices with the first violin, and playing more virtuosic passages (Fig. 93). The return of the section A thematic material at measure 204 exemplifies a duality of function, in that the principal theme is clearly restated, so as to conclude the previous section of the work and commence with the next section. The first return of the principal theme (section A) takes place from measures 204-303 and is divided into subsections the same way it was when it appears at the beginning of the piece. It is played in its entirety by the first violin. The difference here is that in measure 240, the second violin and the cello play tremolo, accompanying the viola and first violin. At measure 250 the second violin plays above the first violin, and the viola plays in partnership with the cello (Fig. 94).



He introduces new motivic material at measure 298 in the viola and continues it to measure 303, marked *recitativo* (Fig. 95).



The *recitativo-a tempo* begins at measure 302, and consists of a solo line in the cello, which is a motivic-rhythmic precursor to the new theme in section C. The cello is answered by the upper parts (Figs 96). Wolf indicates that the cello is always to play *recitativo*, while the upper three

parts are to play *a tempo*. The contrast of these two performance indications produces an antecedent-consequent quality between the parts. The parts are transposed up a 3<sup>rd</sup> each time they reappear, to measure 318. A series of solo entrances follow, beginning in the cello, then the viola, then the first violin, then second violin, from measures 321-326. At measure 327, all four parts are playing together, with the first violin and viola playing the rhythmic motive of the secondary theme, which takes place in section C.

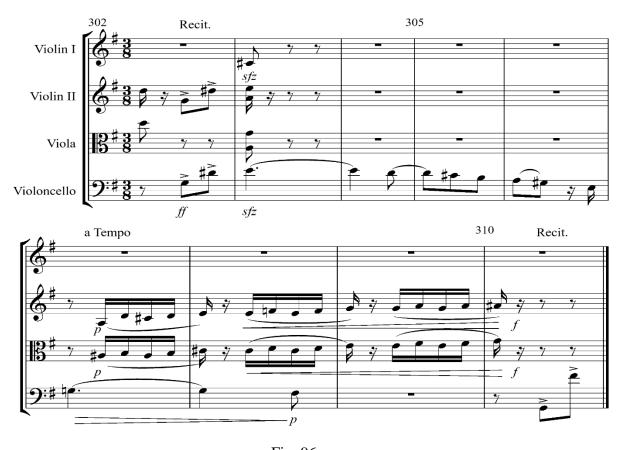


Fig. 96

Section C (mm 335-529) begins with its own introduction (mm 335), with the theme (Fig.

97) entering in the first violin at measure 343, then the second violin at measure 358. The two upper parts play the theme in alternation, with the lower parts playing the accompaniment.<sup>334</sup>



In the lower three parts, Wolf once again produces a rhythmic motive, emanating from the (long long short) rhythmic modes in the second violin, juxtaposed over sixteenth note figures in the cello (Fig. 98), to produce tremolo.



Fig. 98

This continues until measure 381, with the first entrance of the theme played by the first violin, then taken by the violin, starting at measure 358. A transition section from measures 382 is made

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>334</sup> When the first violin is playing melody, the second violin plays accompaniment, and vice-versa.



Fig. 99

from the motive of the Section C theme (Fig. 99). The (short-short-long) motive is played, by each of the four parts, beginning with the first violin, creating a quasi-stretto effect. This section then leads to a repeat of the theme (subsection a), starting at measure 398, played in the same manner by all four parts, as previously described. This leads to subsection b of the Section C theme, starting at measure 425, which reaches its climax at measure 497.

Starting in measure 450, Wolf begins another usage of extremes of register, this time between the first violin and the cello, with the former "answering" the other in an antecedent-consequent manner, and the second violin and viola providing accompaniment (Fig. 100). Wolf also uses extremes of dynamics in this entire section. First, he indicates the *piano-crescendo-subito pianissimo* in measures 450-453, before the interaction between the first violin and cello. Next, he uses a long *crescendo-fff* from measures 470-497, as the first violin is playing a long sequential passage over the lower three parts, playing accompanimentally, and moving chromatically to the cadence at measure 497 (Fig. 101).



Fig. 100



Fig. 101

In these powerful climactic sections of the work, Wolf employs extremes of registration and dynamics, as per the models he studied and emulated. These models are specifically Beethoven's *Rasumovsky* Quartets, op. 59.<sup>335</sup> Where Beethoven was working to achieve a more symphonic-orchestral texture and range in his own quartets, Wolf achieves the same effect, having studied Beethoven's models by imitation and emulation, which he (Wolf) then inventively employed into his own work.

Measures 498-529 constitute the closing subsection of section C, and here Wolf once again utilizes in all four parts, the extremes of registers and dynamics produced earlier in the work, and then reverses these extremes, by gradually returning the four parts in a chromatic modulating sequence downward to their medium registers by using a combination of *arco* and *tremolo* articulation, and, while reducing the dynamics incrementally downward from *fortissimo* (measure 497) to *subito piano* (measure 498) to *pianissimo* (measure 516), and finally, to *ppp*, from measure 514, to the cadence at measure 529. (Fig. 103). From measures 514-521 the tonic F sharp as a pedal tone occurs in the cello part over which the upper three parts complete their modulating sequence to the tonic, as described above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>335</sup> Wolf possessed an extensive knowledge of Beethoven's total *oeuvre*, which he studied and emulated. During his work as a critic for the *Wiener Salonblatt*, he referenced over seventy of Beethoven's works. Hilmar, 22.



Fig.103

The retransition section back to the Section A theme is constructed from the motive of the principal theme, which alternates between the upper three parts, beginning with the viola, at measure 530 (Fig. 104). The construct of this retransition section is noticeably similar to the



Fig.104

*recitativo a tempo* section, found at measure 303. Clearly present is the rhythmic-motivic construct of the original section A principal theme, repeated by the first violin in measure 534, followed by the second violin in measure 538.

The return of Section A, theme I begins in measure 544, played first by the viola, then by the first violin (Fig. 105). Wolf treats the second violin differently here, using triple stops. The theme is played in its entirety, and unaltered until measure 594, where Wolf introduces a new closing section, which continues to measure 624. At measure 625, Wolf reintroduces the introduction, with an extension at measure 626 (Fig. 106), which "frames" and concludes the work at measure 643.



Fig. 105

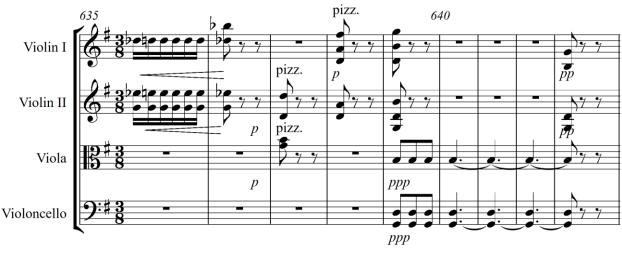


Fig 106

# Italian Serenade in G Major for Small Orchestra (1892)

In a letter to his friend Heinrich Potpenschnigg from 3 November 1890, Hugo Wolf suggested the performance of the *Italian Serenade* for string orchestra in one movement. <sup>336</sup> In February (in March he was in Vienna, recovering from illness), then again in April and May of 1892, Wolf was residing in Döbling, and occupied with completion of a version of his *Serenade* in *G Major for String Quartet* (1887) for small orchestra. In its newly orchestrated version, the existing string quartet was intended by Wolf to be the first movement of a larger, three movement, work. His correspondence indicates this. <sup>337</sup> Wolf was recurrently occupied with the idea of an orchestral version of his *Italian Serenade* for the remainder of his working life.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>336</sup> Letter to Potpeschnigg, 3 November 1892. Spitzer, vol. 1, 449.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>337</sup>Letter to Ludwig Strecker (Schott), 10 February 1892, Letter to Kaufmann, 2 April, and letter to Potpeschnigg, 19 May, 1892. Spitzer, vol. 2: 21-23, 69, 82.

### Italian Serenade in G Major for Small Orchestra: Editions, Sources, and Sketches

The first edition of the Italienische Serenade für kleines Orchester was edited and prepared by Max Reger, and published by Lauterbach & Kuhn in 1903, the year of Wolf's death. The score was listed as "arranged by Max Reger." This resulted in many years of considerable doubt and speculation as to the exact extent of Reger's editorial contribution to the final version. To make this even more unclear, Wolf's early biographer Decsey states that "Max Reger hat die Korrekturbogen der Orchesterpartitur durchgesehen, wie er dem Verfasser selbst mitzuteilen die Freundlichkeit hatte, fügt aber hinzu, er betone dies ausdrücklich, weil sich die Meinung verbreitet zu haben scheint, als hätte Reger die Serenade instrumentiert."<sup>339</sup> Although Decsey states in his biography of Wolf that Reger had told him that all he had done was to "look through the proofs of the orchestral score: and that he mentions this "since the idea seems to have gotten about that Reger scored the Serenade," there arose a widespread tendency to describe the work as "Wolf-Reger" or "Wolf, arranged by Reger." In 1946-47, Frank Walker set forth to settle the controversy, by performing a simple but most important task: comparing Wolf's actual manuscript of the orchestrated version in the National Library in Vienna, with the 1903 published score. Walker's findings reveal that in only sixteen small details do the manuscript and score differ; some of these details consist of corrections of obvious errors in the manuscript, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>338</sup> Listed in "Musikalsch-literarischer Monatsbericht," October 1903.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>339</sup> "Max Reger was kind enough to confirm to the writer that he corrected the proofs of the orchestral score," adding that he (Decsey) was anxious to make this perfectly clear "in view of the current opinion that Reger himself was also responsible for the scoring." Decsey: vol. III, 157.

that Reger's few editorial amendments add up to no more than is customary, when a finished work is submitted for publication. According to both Walker and Jancik, the orchestration, dynamics, phrasing, and so forth can therefore be described as being entirely Wolf's own, and the small variants and corrections made by Reger are of such little consequence that it is doubtful if any conductor would feel constrained to perform the Serenade strictly as Wolf left it.

The manuscript for the completed *Serenade in G-dur für kleines Orchester* is located in the Austrian National Library.<sup>340</sup> It consists of twelve sheets of twenty-four lines each. On the first page is the title "Italienische Serenade für kleines Orchester Hugo Wolf." The instrumentation is listed as Flute, Oboe, Cor Anglais, Clarinet in B flat, 2 Bassoons (after an erasure), 2 Horns in G, Violins, Violas, Celli and Double-Basses. The manuscript includes several erasures, alterations to the scoring and phrasing, and suggests that the work was written straight off at a single stretch. Important to note is that the manuscript proves that the orchestral version of the *Serenade* is indeed by Wolf himself. The original manuscript also shows that it was Wolf who altered the solo part from a cor anglais to a viola. To save himself the trouble of re-writing the whole score, he scribbled at the beginning of the cor anglais part "Soll anstatt engl. Horn durchweg eine Solo-Bratsche spielen."<sup>341</sup>

The authoritative version of the *Italian Serenade in G for Small Orchestra* was completed in 1965 for the Hugo Wolf Collected Works edition, vol. 17, by Prof. Hans Jancik. In this edition, the work is reproduced as accurately as possible to Wolf's manuscript and includes the complete

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>340</sup> Filed under Mus.Hs. 19505 in the Hugo Wolf Manuscript Collection.

<sup>341 &</sup>quot;Instead of cor anglais solo viola throughout."

solo viola part in the score per Wolf's instructions in his manuscript. In its preface, Prof. Jancik references and explains all editorial markings made by Reger, and Wolf's addition (contained in the manuscript) of eight additional bars (334-341), making the orchestral version 651 bars long, compared to the 643-measure length of the original string quartet version. The later Eulenberg pocket score is based on the Collected Works version, and based on Jancik's editorship, contains the same corrections, plus a preface.

Fragmentary sketches for two different slow movements exist: one from Perchtoldsdorf from 15 May 1889 for the string quartet version, and two sketches titled *II. Satz: Langsam, klagend* (slow, lamenting) The first sketch consists of 30 bars of a complete (but now lost) slow movement from 5 January 1893, for the orchestral version. 342 The second sketch, titled 2. *Satz, Langsam u. Klagend* (slow and lamenting) consists of 28 bars, and includes completed sketching and indications of instrumentation. 343 This sketch of the beginning has survived, but the work itself has disappeared. A third sketch, titled *Presto*, was "intended to take the place of a scherzo" 344 in the *Serenade*, was composed in Vienna between the 8th and 16th of March 1894. The sketch consists of 43 complete bars, with indications of instrumentation. Wolf's letters of the 16th of March and the 9th of June 1894 show that this movement was completed by the composer, 345 but only the sketch of its beginning still exists. A fourth sketch 40 bars long 346 intended for a finale in the construct of an orchestral tarantella dated 2nd December 1897, was

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>342</sup> In the Austrian National Library. Mus. Hs. 19570.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>343</sup> In the Austrian National Library. Mus. Hs. 34212.

<sup>344</sup> Letter to Frieda Zerny, 12th March 1894. Spitzer, vol. 2: 344-346.

<sup>345</sup> Ibid., 350, 403.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>346</sup> M.H. 6763c in the Vienna City Library.

begun by Wolf when he was in Dr. Svetlin's Asylum.<sup>347</sup> The sketch is headed "III Satz, Tarantella." The wind instrument parts, fully scored, end after bar 37, and the string parts, also fully scored, end after 40 bars. In this sketch there is no trace of the Italian song "Funiculi, Funicula" (a favorite of Wolf). There are two pages<sup>348</sup> of additional sketches, the first of which is headed "18 Dezember 1897 abends. III. Italienische Serenade. I. Satz." This sketch is 190 bars long, on two staves, which include indications for instrumentation, and the tempo indicated as "lebhaft". Both the themes are from the "Themen vom Oktober und November des Jahres 1897" that Wolf wrote on a single sheet.<sup>349</sup> Jancik concludes that perhaps the figure III means that Wolf regarded the String Quartet version as "I. Italienische Serenade," and the orchestral version as "II."

Only one sketch fragment of "Funiculi, Funiculi" exists; it is on the recto-side of folio 16 of the sketch book S.m. 19518 in the Austrian National Library. It is dated 20 December 1897 (not 28 December, per Walker), and it is not in Wolf's hand. It was possibly meant for the third movement of the orchestral version. It resembles a slow introduction to a Finale of which "Funiculi, Funiculi" was to have been utilized. This sketch-fragment is 47 bars long, scored in 2 and 3 staves. It also contains indications of instrumentation of a 6/8 G major movement, with a fundamental outline of the Italian song introduced at bar 19.351

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>347</sup> S.m. 19588 in the Austrian National Library

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>348</sup> S.m. 19525 in the Austrian National Library. Jancik, iv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>349</sup> S.M. 19531 in the Austrian National Library. Ibid. These are two of the twenty-three melody "inspirations" that Wolf composed while at the asylum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>350</sup> This sketch was dictated by Wolf to Bernhard Maresch, a music copyist from Graz. Jancik, iv.

<sup>351</sup> H.F. Redlich and F. Walker, Hugo Wolf and "Funiculì, Funiculà." *The Music Review*, May, 1952.

## Italian Serenade: Analysis and Discussion of Orchestration

The *Italian Serenade for Small Orchestra* is 651 measures long, and consists of the following instrumentation: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 B-flat clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 G-horns, Violins I and II, solo Viola, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass. The formal construct is based on the earlier Serenade in G Major for String Quartet, but with the addition of eleven extra measures in the middle of the work, between sections A and B. An analysis follows:

Introduction: measures 1-12.

Section A: measures 13-302. Subsection (a) 13-129.

Section B: measures 130-160. Subsections (a) 130-148, (b) 149-160, (c) 161-179, (d) 180-202.

Section A: measures 203-303.

Transition: recitativo-a tempo-recitativo: 303-341 (Including additional bars added by Wolf).

Section C: Measures 342-504. Subsections (a) 342-404, (a') 405-429, (b) 430-504.

Section C Closing Section: Measures 505-536.

Transition back to Section A: Measures 537-553.

Section A (expanded): Measures 554-633. Subsections (a): 554-582. (b): 583-600, (c): new

material: 601-632. (d) closing section, based on introduction: 632-651.

Hugo Wolf had specific intentions to realize when he orchestrated the *Serenade in G Major* for String Quartet. The first, and most important to him, was to expand the instrumental scope of the work for public performances in larger venues. The second intention was to utilize additional instruments to achieve additional qualities of sonic texture and color from the template of the original work. The third intention, I have concluded, is that Wolf wanted to utilize specific devices of orchestration technique which he had studied and mastered via the fourfold learning equation. This was based on his studies of the great operatic, symphonic, and instrumental works available to him. But by this time in his career, Wolf had also studied (and often restudied) the Berlioz treatise on orchestration, composed his tone poem *Penthesilea*, his *String Quartet in D Minor*, the *Humoristisches Intermezzo*, and several important new songs. Also, as mentioned previously, his meetings with the conductor Felix Weingartner, who willingly analyzed and evaluated the score of *Penthesilea*, provided constructive criticism, suggestions, and instruction to Wolf concerning revisions and improvements in the scoring of the work.

When a preexisting musical work undergoes the process of orchestration, two important characteristics become manifest; a: the ensemble, and subsequently, the sonic size of the work immediately become larger, due to the number of additional instruments playing, and b: the use of additional instruments increases the expressive potential of the music. The composer (or orchestrator) has more musical resources with which to exercise his powers of *invention* and creativity. The introduction (measures 1-12) uses the same instrumentation as the original string quartet, until measure 11, where the woodwinds, horn in G, and contrabass enter. To the listener, Wolf "reintroduces" the original string quartet template by having four solo string instruments play in the sections he reused from that work. Despite Wolf's more accurate use of orchestral

instruments (when compared to *Penthesilea*), one still hears the original string quartet model upon which this work is based. The score is marked Äußerst lebhaft (very lively) (Fig. 107).

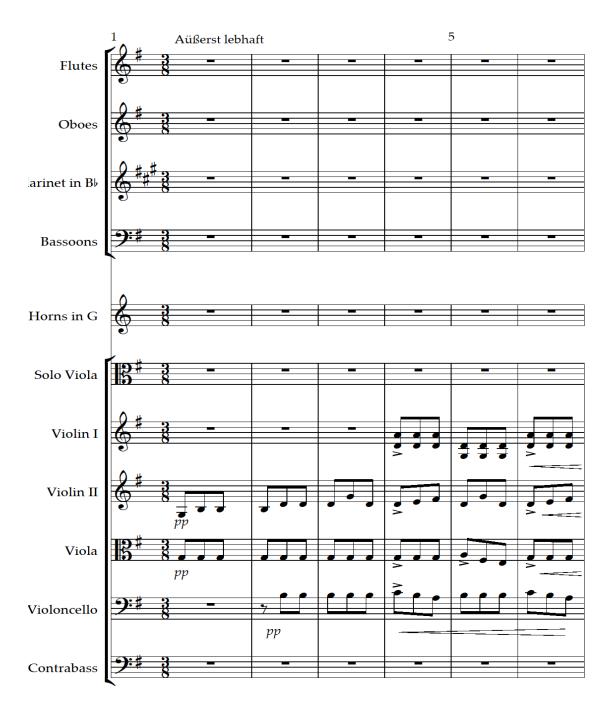


Fig. 107



Fig. 107 (continued)

## Sharing of thematic material by various instruments.

Wolf is innovative in his presentation of the principal theme. He shares the theme between various instruments, but not completely. Instead, he has one solo instrument play a part of the theme, then allows another instrument to complete that part of the theme, disregarding the numbered measure in which the thematic "handoff" is accomplished. The result is a subtle but effective change in the sonic texture of the piece.

The principal theme enters in measure 16, in the solo viola. The theme is then played by the first violin from measures 29-32, then returned to the solo viola, then again to the first violin at measure 41, with both instruments playing the theme together, to measure 44. (Fig. 108). This "sharing" of the theme continues, with the first violin at measure 41, the oboe at measure 44, with the viola joining in at measure 46 (Fig.109), the first violin at measure 53, the second violin at measure 71. The viola and cello play the same rhythmic figures, as in the string quartet. New here is Wolf's addition of the bassoon, which enters at measure 49, then again at measure 54. The bassoons play *divisi*, sustained over the bar lines from measures 15-35, 42-44, 49-74. The flute and clarinet are added from measures 45-50 (Fig. 110). The section follows the same formal construct as the string quartet, and closes at measure 129.



Fig. 108



Section B (a) begins at measure 130, with the four string parts playing exactly the same as in the original string quartet (Fig. 111). The solo viola is tacet here. What is different is that while the first four measures are played by the ensemble strings, the next four measures are played by the oboe, clarinet, and solo viola. The next entrance of the ensemble strings at measure 138-141

also include the clarinet. Measures 141-145 are again "answered" by the oboe, clarinet, bassoon, flute, and the horns. Section B (b) begins at measure 149, with the ensemble strings playing the same as in the original string quartet, with the (*divisi*) horns answering at measure 150, the (*divisi*) oboes answering at measure 151 (Fig.112), and the entire ensemble playing at measure 153 (Fig. 113), to the climax at measure 161, which begins section B (c) (Fig. 114).



Fig. 112



Fig. 113



Fig. 114



Fig. 114 (continued)

At measure 342, section C begins with the second theme played first by the flute at measure 349, followed by the first violin at measure 357, the oboe at measure 365, and clarinet at measure 373. The theme is below: (Fig. 115).



Fig. 115

Wolf creates a quasi-stretto effect in measures 389-405 played by the solo viola, horns (divisi), bassoon, flute, oboe, clarinet, and solo viola (Figs. 116, 117). At measure 430, section



Fig. 116



Fig. 117

C (c) commences, with the strings playing the melody in the first violin, accompaniment in the lower string parts, and the *divisi* winds sustaining for most of the section, except at phrase endings. Wolf has carefully assigned workable pitch ranges and dynamics for the wind instruments.

The lower cello, ensemble viola, and solo viola play the first iteration of the closing section. As the solo viola continues playing, Wolf then has the winds play the second iteration. At measure 520, all parts enter on pp, with the horns entering one measure later on pp. The flute and solo viola play the melody, as the strings play tremolo, and the winds sustain over several measures.

The clarinet does play a melodic segment from measures 528-536. At measure 537, the transition section back to section A begins. This time, Wolf begins it with the horn and *divisi* bassoons. At measure 541, the cello answers, followed by the winds, and finally (Fig. 118), the oboe and presents the principal theme (A), at measure 554 (Fig.119). The first violin takes the theme at measure 582, concluding at measure 600.



Fig. 118



Fig. 119



Fig. 120

# Wolf's Use of Antiphony

Another technique of orchestration which Wolf uses is antiphony, where the exchange of musical motives "call and respond" to one another between different instruments in the orchestra. In measures 87-88, the three-note motive in the violins is "answered" by the flute, oboe, and solo viola. This is repeated by the divisi clarinets, violins, and flute (measures 94-99). Wolf's most impressive and dramatic use of antiphony, and extremes of register and dynamics in all parts occurs at measures 161-64, with the violins "calling" and the horn "answering" in a unique, metrically displaced way (Fig. 121). This also occurs between the upper woodwinds and the second violins, violas, and cellos, at measures 165-167, and 171-173.



Fig. 121

### Wolf's use of Melodic Embellishment

Wolf uses solo instruments to enhance themes and to create variety. When the principal theme returns in the solo viola at measure 203, the flute plays a contrapuntal melody from measures 204-228 (Figs. 122, 124). From measures 240-250, the upper strings play a descending tremolo melody above the solo viola, while the horn plays a sustained pedal tone (Fig. 123).

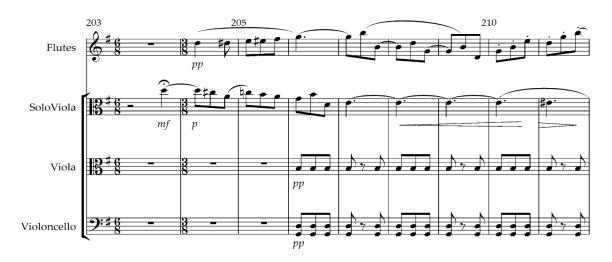


Fig. 122

Horn in G

Solo Viola

Violin II

Viola

Viola

Viola

Viola

Fig. 123



Fig. 124

## Wolf's use of divisi and multiple stops.

Throughout the score, Wolf uses much divisi and multiple stops in the strings. In the contrabass, cello and bassoon, Wolf makes effective use of these low-register instruments, both for establishing more volume for the bass register foundation (most often the tonic and fifth), and to provide a greater variety of instrumental color. He also crosses registers between the contrabass and the bassoon (measure 29, measure 187-90). The strings and upper winds are often scored in thirds, and/or with double and triple stops, using the extremes of register of the first and second violins.

It must be noted that in this work Wolf uses fewer multiple stops in the strings, and, more effectively than in his previous compositions. Originally, Wagner's opera scores had served as a model for multiple stop usage for Wolf, who at this time in his life realized that excessive multiple stops and divisi would result in a "top heavy" and "dense" quality of orchestration, for

which he was criticized. The *Italian Serenede for Small Orchestra* exemplifies the increased knowledge and experience Wolf gained from his previous compositions, as well as the criticisms, suggestions, and instructions from the conductor Felix Weingartner.<sup>352</sup> As a result, Wolf's understanding of the technique of orchestration, as well as his level of inventive *discernment* in his musical-analytical mind was at its highest point to that time in his life. This enabled him to exercise his mastery of the compositional devices he chose to use, but more prudently and efficiently in the compositional process, with a more intuitive, yet accurate understanding of how his construction of a melody, a phrase, a motive, and instrument combinations would work to his satisfaction.

#### Conclusion

The Serenade in G Major for String Quartet, and the Italian Serenade for Small Orchestra are the last compositions by Hugo Wolf of a purely instrumental nature and are regarded as "youthful masterpieces" by performers and scholars today. Both works show Wolf's growing mastery of harmony, counterpoint, motivic conception and usage, clarity of formal construct, and authenticity. In addition, Wolf's now greatly increased understanding and mastery of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>352</sup> Felix Weingartner (1863-1942) was an Austrian conductor, composer, pianist and teacher. Among his many musical and artistic accomplishments, he was the first conductor to record all nine of Beethoven's symphonies (1922-24). After a performance of Wolf's cantata *Christnacht*, conducted by Weingartner in Mannheim in 1891, Wolf admitted to Weingartner how dissatisfied he was with the overall effect of the scoring in *Pentheselia*. Walker, 191.

counterpoint shows that the part writing in his work is now more accurately and effectively oriented toward *horizontal* tendencies of musical motion and direction. These works stand appropriately as the result of much study, imitation, and emulation of important instructional and compositional models, coupled with Wolf's substantial output of works of his own, which preceded the *Serenade in G Major* and the *Italian Serenade*. In these preceding works, Wolf was able to exercise his powers of invention and creativity, armed with the "tools to compose": e.g., the compositional devices, techniques, and processes he had learned by study, imitation, and emulation. Beethoven's opus 59 string quartet served as a model for Wolf's use of counterpoint and contrary motion (melodically and with dynamics), extremes of register and dynamics in all parts, and, finally, motivic usage and development as a unifying device through economy of means.

#### CHAPTER SIX

#### COMPOSITIONS FOR VOICE AND PIANO

<u>Das verlassene Mägdelein</u> (1888)

Kennst du das Land? (1888)

#### Introduction

Having learned and performed many of the songs of Hugo Wolf, I must conclude that the strongest and most spontaneous inborn feature of his genius was his ability to recognize literary nuance and affect. He did not consciously "access" this talent. It came naturally, and obsessively to him, by his reading and re-reading ad nauseum the texts he used. Musically, his gifts as a pianist, violinist and composer of melody were similar, but not useful for harmony, counterpoint, and orchestration. His struggle to sonically manifest his ideas in his instrumental compositions is testimony to an aspect of his genius which required training and practice, as I discussed with reference to the orchestration problems in his symphonic poem *Penthesilea*. For Wolf, however, the piano-vocal score-template was the most familiar to him, which in his song compositions he utilized with great success. To Wolf, the texts of his chosen poets *always* came first, and his music, second. On the covers of his published vocal works, he insisted that the name of the poet appear at the top of the page, with his own name underneath that of the poet. Figure 125 shows an example of an original published edition of Wolf's songs, with the title page configured in this manner:

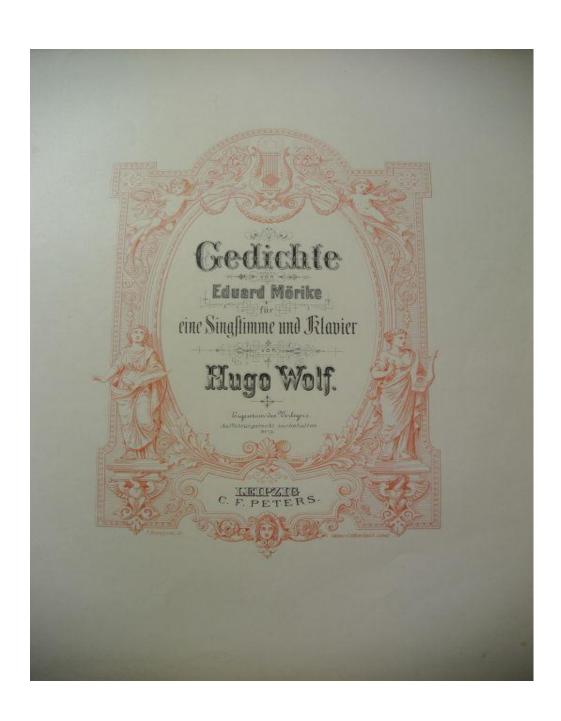


Fig. 125

### Wolf, Literature, and Declamation

Hugo Wolf was introduced to literature first by his father, then in school, then by friends who opened their libraries and collections to him. During evenings at home his father Phillip would recite passages by Goethe, Schiller, Richter, Eichendorff, and others. The works of these same great authors were also part of Wolf's schooling. During his period at the Conservatory, his growing circle of friends and associates<sup>353</sup> would invite him to their homes, and introduce him to the works of Nietsche, Schopenhauer, Keller, Mörike, von Kleist, and others. In addition to writing his own musical criticism in the *Wiener Salonblatt*, Wolf also was an avid reader of the *Neue freie Presse*,<sup>354</sup> where he read the musical criticism of the critic Eduard Hanslick,<sup>355</sup> articles by Theodor Herzl, Geza Silberer, and others. Wolf was not only an avid and obsessive reader, but a keen observer, mimic, and actor. This was witnessed by the way he would recite and "perform" to his friends and associates the texts he was studying, and the music he composed.<sup>356</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>353</sup> Among these were Adalbert von Goldschmidt, Gustav Schöniach, Felix Mottl, Josef Breuning, Viktor Preyss, Emil Kaufmann, Oskar Grohe, Heinrich Potpeschnigg, Hugo Faisst, Heinrich and Melanie Köchert, who, despite Wolf's dysfunctional yet charming personality, recognized his talent, and provided him with money, lodgings, sources of employment, and, most importantly, exposure to the Viennese-European sociocultural milieu. It was Schöniach, for example, who took the nineteen-year-old Wolf to Bayreuth for the first time, to hear the operas of Richard Wagner, in 1879.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>354</sup> *Die Neue freie Presse* was the leading Viennese newspaper from its founding on September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1864, until its closing on January 31<sup>st</sup>, 1939. Its renowned journalist-correspondents included Theodor Herzl (a founder of the Zionist movement), and the music critic Eduard Hanslick.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>355</sup> Eduard Hanslick, (1825-1904) was the chief music critic of the *Neue freie Presse* from 1855 until his death in 1904. At first, Hanslick was a supporter of Wolf, but eventually became annoyed at Wolf's own scathing criticism of Johannes Brahms and others, published in the *Wiener Salonblatt*. Representing and defending Brahms and the musical-sociocultural conventions of the time, Hanslick was also a strong opponent of Wagner, Anton Bruckner, and Wolf. Wolf, on the other hand, was a strong and outspoken supporter of Wagner and Bruckner, and an opponent of Brahms.

<sup>\*</sup>Ironically, Wolf himself was critical of the fact that so many *Liederabende* were taking place, both in the concert halls and in private gatherings in private venues and homes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>356</sup> See footnote 230 for Hermann Bahr's description of Wolf's recitation from *Penthesilea*.

In the *fin de siècle* era, some composers, including Wolf, used the speech inflections and intonations used by renowned actors and orators as models for the melodic constructs in their vocal music. In their *Lieder*, the effect of recitation is so successfully achieved that the term *declamation* (in the sense that denotes expressive use of language by stage actors) may justifiably be applied to their treatments of text. One may even go so far as to call these songs "frozen recitation" because they preserve what the composers considered the most effective oral reading of each poem. The use of declamation in many songs by Wolf and Strauss, as well as works of lesser-known composers such as Martin Plueddemann and Theodor Streicher, is in itself a strong indication that these composers possessed the ability to translate into musical terms the histrionics of accomplished actors.<sup>357</sup>

In the Europe of Wolf's time, orations, recitations, plays, and opera placed great emphasis upon *elocution* (clear and expressive speech, emphasizing pronunciation and articulation), and especially, *declamation* (physically expressive delivery of words or words set to music). Society was given exposure to the readings, recitations, and performances of the great plays of great German authors: Goethe, Schiller, von Kleist, and others. In the concert halls and theatres, Opera (German, French, and Italian), Operetta, *Singspiel*, Oratorio, and *Liederabende* were the principal (non-ecclesiastical) vocal performance mediums of the day. For this purpose, musical appreciation societies were formed, such as the Vienna Richard Wagner-Verein in Vienna (which featured the music of Wagner, and, later Wolf), the Hugo Wolf-Verein, and the Ansorge-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>357</sup> Kravitt, Edward F. "The Influence of Theatrical Declamation Upon Composers of the Late Romantic Lied." *Acta Musicologica* 34, no. 1-2 (1962): 18-28.

Verein in Berlin. Below is an itemized listing of the types of programs the Ansorge-Verein would hold during its meetings throughout the season featuring music and literature.

An itemized listing by Kravitt describes the types of programs below: 358

- -An evening of Ansorge's compositions.<sup>359</sup>
- -Liederabend of Ansorge and Pfitzner.
- -Liederabend of Ansorge, Gutheil, Streicher, and Zemlinsky.
- -A Schoenberg evening.
- -A Goethe Liederabend, featuring *Urworte* and *Orphisch* by Ansorge and *Mignonlieder* by Zelter, Beethoven, Schubert, Liszt, Wolf, and Tschaikovsky.
- -A Richard Dehmel evening.
- -A reading of works by Stefan George.
- -An evening of pianoforte music by Ansorge, Schubert, Liszt, Chopin, and Beethoven.
- -An evening of chamber music.
- -A theatrical evening.
- -An evening of authors.
- -A Liliencron evening.

In music, the term *New German:* referring to the avant-garde in Austria and Germany—signified modernism, and the expression of innovation.<sup>360</sup> In the mid nineteenth century this "label" referred to the then radical and innovative reforms of Liszt and Wagner. Composers were encouraged to breathe intensity of feeling into their music. Composers of vocal music, now more than previously, emphasized declamation, vivid characterizations, and the use of leitmotives.

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<sup>358</sup> Edward F. Kravitt: The Lied: Mirror of Late Romanticism. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>359</sup> Conrad Ansorge (1862-1930) was a German-Polish pianist and composer, and pupil of Liszt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>360</sup> Ibid., 21.

Instead of opera, these composers now wrote *Musikdrama*, and instead of symphonies, they wrote *Tondichtungen* (symphonic poems).

Hugo Wolf was known to have studied a text thoroughly, exhaustively, and obsessively, before setting that text to music. He would carefully think about, and reflect on, the importance of each word and syllable, look for the range of declamatory high points and low points, and consider the textual-musical factors necessary to produce the desired effect. And, of course, his study of the songs of Schubert, the ballads of Karl Loewe, and, most importantly, the songs of Robert Schumann, would exemplify formal-melodic-harmonic construct, the introduction and postlude, and the musical and declamatory treatment of the texts used by those composers in their songs. Wolf's intense desire to express the *truth* in his music<sup>361</sup> allowed him to search for means which would enable him to musically portray, almost theatrically, dramatic, or comic scenarios and characters vividly. His songs whose texts feature individual characters (ex. Der Rattenfänger, Das verlassene Mägdelein, Mignonlieder) are composed with a degree of verisimilitude that resembles a work for the stage. Bearing this in mind, Wolf carefully recognized that certain texts would be the basis for his songs to be sung either by a man or a woman, and their specific voice ranges. For example, *Die ihr schwebet* (Spanish Songbook), is sung, according to the text, by the Virgin Mary, watching over the baby Jesus. The texts for

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>361</sup> See the section on *Penthesilea* which references Wolf's own quoted opinion on truth.

*Michelangelo-Lieder*, written by Buonarotti himself, were to be sung by a man, preferably by a bass, according to Wolf.<sup>362</sup>

In the context of the *New German* music, Hugo Wolf found himself the victim of intense criticism from conservative German musicians, critics, and publishers. The composer-critic Walter Niemann described the Modern Lied as "false pathos, exaggerated emotional and dramatic perception." Critics often used the terms *new*, and *modern*, as pejoratives, meaning radical change, the repudiation of convention and tradition, and (in the case of the Viennese), a provocative threat to *Stand*: class-based social hierarchy and power. Wolf's own sensitivity to prosody was also criticized. For example, the response of publisher Breitkopf & Härtel after reading through a set of song manuscripts submitted by Wolf follows below:

These songs are among the most absurd that the extreme left wing of the New German school has yet brought forth." "They have nothing more in common with my conception of the musical art than the bare elements of sound and rhythm <sup>365</sup>

The critic Rudolf Louis not only disagrees with this statement, but makes a prophetically accurate statement of his own in reference to Wolf's ultimate objective concerning words and music:

"Wolf's objective is "to make evident with music that which the poet could only suggest with words, with the result that the poetry receives greater attention than the music.<sup>366</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>362</sup> Walker, 408. Walker, however, points out that Wolf did not always "reserve" certain songs for certain voice types according to gender. According to Kravitt, Wolf allowed his female friend Frieda Zerny to sing one of the *Peregrina* songs in the texts of which a man is supposed to be talking; see Walker, 374.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>364</sup> Hanslick considered himself a "guardian" of these conventions, both in print, and among society.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>365</sup> Walker, 270. taken by Walker from Oskar von Hase, *Breitkopf & Härtel, Gedenkschrift und Arbeitsbericht*, Bd. 2, vierte Auflage (Leipzig, 1919).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>366</sup> Rudolf Louis, *Die deutsche Musik der Gegenwart*. Hamburg: Severus Verlag, 2012. 212 and 214 ff. 144.

In this same writing, Louis also states that "the preferred form of the Modern *Lied* is intensification (German: *Steigerung*)-according to the Wagner prototype: a continual swelling and ebbing of intensity.<sup>367</sup> The "simplicity and brevity" of the traditional *Lied* was now evolving into a "symphonic *Lied*" for voice and piano, so called because its sonic corpus suggests the multi-timbered, and expansive range of the late nineteenth-century orchestra.

Wolf was in the middle of an endless dispute concerning musical-textual prosody: should poetry or music receive priority in vocal music? This is what was referred to as the Wort-Ton *Problem*: the age-old problem of musical-literary polarity in the context of unifying text and music. Before and during Wolf's lifetime, conservatives made the broad and inaccurate criticism that the increasing emphasis by composers on their vocal music serving the prosody of text (s) (the use of declamation) would bring the *Lied* into decline. With reference to Wolf, however, the critics failed to recognize the many other kinds of expression contained in Wolf's Lieder. First, none of Wolf's songbooks primarily emphasize declamation alone; typically, only individual passages within certain Lieder or certain individual songs are speechlike. Second, Wolf would often not use speechlike declamation in his efforts to musically exemplify the poetic idea of a text. His *Mörike-Lieder*, for example, are abundantly lyrical, consisting of fifty-three songs of extensive poetic and musical variety, which range from the then "modern" "symphonisches Lied" to the simple "volkstümliches Lied". On the other hand, Wolf would also assign a melody not to the voice part, but to the piano, such as in his settings of Goethe's West-östlicher Divan poems, Wolf would compose vocal lines emphasizing both rhythmic and melodic motives, lyricism, or,

367 Kravitt, 4.

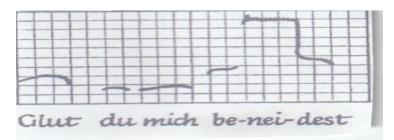
clear declamation. <sup>368</sup> Wolf was also greatly influenced by actors and singers who made extensive use of declamation in their performances. Josef Kainz <sup>369</sup> and Alexander Moissi <sup>370</sup> were renowned dramatic actors whose performances Wolf studied as declamatory models, for the melodies in his songs. Edward Kravitt produced a revelatory study, consisting of oscilloscopic readings of recorded performances by both Kainz and Moissi, dated 1908 and ca. 1929, respectively. The declamatory patterns of high-low frequencies and speed of delivery of the actor's recitations provided a model from which Wolf conceived the intervallic shape of his melodies. Below are two short examples from Kravitt's research, comparing the oscilloscopic readings of declamation used both actors, reciting Goethe's *Prometheus* to Wolf's actual melody lines in his setting of the same text <sup>371</sup> (Fig.126).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>368</sup> Wolf's setting of Goethe's "Prometheus" is such an example, shown on the next page.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>369</sup> Josef Kainz (1858-1910), two years older than Wolf, was a revered actor of the German-speaking theatre.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>370</sup> Alexander Moissi (1879-1935) was an Austrian actor whose performances involved extensive use of declamation. Promoted by Kainz, Moissi's performances of Hamlet, Oedipus, Faust, and other roles featured him using his extensive vocal and emotional range. His performances at the Vienna Burgtheater were seen by many of Wolf's friends and associates, and Wolf himself.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>371</sup> Edward Kravitt, "The Influence of Theatrical Declamation upon Composers of the Late Romantic Lied" *Acta Musicologica*, Jan.-June 1962, Vol. 34, 18-28.



Moissi: Prometheus; 1.10:



Wolf: Prometheus; measures 49-50.

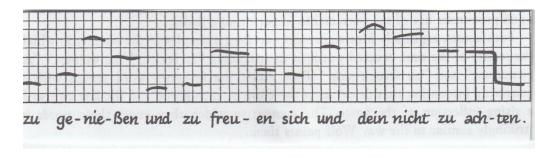
Fig. 126

In Figure 126, Kravitt's oscilloscopic reading shows how Moissi uses not only a portamento but also a slightly tremulous voice to stress the second syllable of "beneidest" (to envy), a word which in his reading appears at the peak of a climatic passage. In Wolf's musical example, the slurred notes to which Wolf set this syllable function as the equivalent of this histrionic effect. Wolf, and some (but not all) other composers of his era frequently used portamenti to stress words, strongly influenced by the practice of declamation by actors, and, by Wagner as well. Singers of today tend to frown upon the extensive use of portamenti in their performances of arias and *Lieder*.

<sup>372</sup> Ibid., 27.

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The oscilloscopic reading of Kainz's performance, listed below, shows how he utilizes a succession of carefully prepared inflections. The highest of these shows on the graph that he is reaching the uppermost limit of his voice range, placing special distinction to the word *dein* (Fig.



127):

Kainz: Prometheus; 1.55:



zu ge nie ßen und zu freuen sich und dein nicht zu ach- ten

Wolf: Prometheus; measures 167-171.

Fig. 127

Wolf constructs the melody in a fashion which closely resembles Kainz's declamatory reading.

Based on the similarities between the vocal inflections used by Kainz, Moissi, and other actors of Wolf's era and the shapes of Wolf's vocal lines, I conclude, along with Kravitt, that Wolf was influenced by the *fin de siécle* practice of declamatory recitation. Wolf's music, however, does not always indicate how closely the singer is to approximate to speech; in fact, it leaves room for him to decide this question himself. Since declamatory speech was only one of many preexisting models Wolf studied and emulated, he also constructed many lyrical melodies

and melodic passages in his songs.<sup>373</sup> Singers of our present era (myself included), generally tend to sing in a consistently *lyrical* manner, as we now tend to view *excessive* declamatory physical gesture while singing to be melodramatic and unnecessary. In my opinion, any and all physical gestures or movement while singing should be spontaneous, and in keeping with the message and affect of the text and music, and not for the mere sake of movement itself.

The cultivation and practice of declamatory writing for vocal composition began to wane ca.

1905. Wolf had died two years previously, and even earlier, composers were resisting and acting against the practice, both in composition and performance. Gustav Mahler, for example, composed songs during this time which contain only scant passages utilizing declamation.

According to Ernst Decsey, Mahler, during an interview with Decsey, unequivocally expressed his dislike for declamation:

[Mahler] answered [my questions] furiously... "I demand a theme, development of the theme, thematic manipulation, song, and not *de-cla-ma-tion!*" And with each syllable he hit the back of his hand with his palm. I had the feeling he was about to explode.<sup>374</sup>



Wolf, ca. 1890

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>373</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>374</sup> Ibid., 28. Taken from Ernst Decsey, "Stunden mit Mahler". *Die Musik* XI (1911), 143-144.

# Wolf, Wagner, and Opera

In November 1868 the then eight-year-old Hugo Wolf was taken by his father Phillip, to hear Donizetti's *Belisario* in the opera house in Klagenfurt. Frank Walker describes the event as follows:

This first glimpse, through the agency of a third-rate provincial opera-house, of the alluring world of the theatre made a profound impression on the young Hugo Wolf, who, preoccupied with the music and the fictions of the stage, sat as if spellbound throughout the performance, making no reply when he was spoken to and retaining such a vivid impression of the work in his mind that he was afterwards able to play long passages of *Belisario* from memory.<sup>375</sup>

As a student at the Gymnasium of St. Paul, Wolf's teacher, Father Sales Pirc, noted Hugo's passion for music, and his already remarkable ability as a pianist (although his small hands were barely able to span an octave). Father Pirc provided the music of operas by Bellini, Rossini, Donizetti, and Gounod for Hugo, which he studied and played obsessively. These were his staple musical diet at St. Paul.<sup>376</sup> In September 1875, Wolf was admitted as a student to the Vienna Conservatory. Through an arrangement with the conservatory director Josef Hellmesberger the elder, Wolf was granted free admittance to performances at the Vienna Hofoper <sup>377</sup> now the Staatsoper), along with the other students who would stand in line for hours, scores in hand, waiting to secure their *Stehplätze* (standing room). During the 1875 season, Wolf heard performances of Wagner's *Tannhäuser*, Meyerbeer's *Robert der Teufel*, Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* and *Don Giovanni*, Beethoven's *Fidelio*, and later, Wagner's *Lohengrin*, Weber's *Der Freischütz*. In 1876, he heard Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*, Wagner's *Der Fliegende* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>375</sup> Walker, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>376</sup> Ibid., 9. Wolf also played the organ for the students' weekly masses and played the piano in a trio with other students, Herr Denk, the school secretary, and occasionally, his father Phillip, playing violin.

<sup>377</sup> Letter to Alexander Pöch, Spitzer, vol. 1., 9.

Holländer, Meyerbeer's Les Huguenots. In 1877 he heard parts of Wagner's Der Ring des Niebelungen. Later, as music critic of the Wiener Salonblatt, Wolf heard many more opera performances, plus concerts, recitals and other musical performances taking place in the city. In his criticism, whatever he wrote about a work he heard performed would be based upon his own thorough study of the work as much as possible, as Wolf never accepted the idea of schreiben ohne zu wissen. In his capacity as a music critic, Wolf amassed an enormous knowledge of musical literature and performance practices. According to Hilmar, Wolf never went to any musical performance without having acquired detailed knowledge of the repertoire to be performed. The salond performance without having acquired detailed knowledge of the repertoire to be

Per Walker, the dominant influence of the opera is evident in what we know of Wolf's musical tastes at this early period in his life. His two cousins, the Vinzenberg sisters, were both his schoolmates as well as his chief confidantes (or "victims"), and he often sat at the piano for hours, trying out and testing different chord and harmony combinations. He tested the limits of his cousins' patience by enthusiastically sharing his musical "discoveries" with them at the piano. The operas of Gluck, Mozart, Weber, von Suppé, and others were obsessively devoured by Wolf, who would often play the music from memory. According to Walker, the work which made at this time the most powerful impression upon him was Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*. He procured a score of the work and was tireless in his study thereof. At this period, and to the end of his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>378</sup> English: "writing without knowing"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>379</sup> Hilmar, 366.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>380</sup> This would later instill in Wolf the innovative capacity for harmonic *Inventio*, which he would use in all his compositions later in his life. Wolf's harmonic usage and development would eventually show mastery, authenticity, and an innovative foreshadowing of musical elements from the twentieth century, while still retaining a connection to the past.

working life, it was a characteristic of Wolf's to form attachments of a most intimate and possessive nature for whatever made a special appeal to him. Per Walker, Wolf at this time stressed that *Les Huguenots* was "his" music, in the way that Mörike and von Kleist would later become "his" poets. <sup>381</sup>

In Vienna, the year 1875 was of great importance concerning the conflict which raged in the city's musical circles around Richard Wagner, his writings and theories, and his musical works. That year, Wagner came twice to Vienna for extended visits, and to conduct performances of his own music. And, as always, his presence would cause an uproar in the musical-cultural life of the city. Walker sums it up this way:

The Wagner question was one to which no one could remain indifferent, ... It resolved itself into a warfare of the generations, in which even family loyalties were frequently sacrificed to musical party politics. In the eyes of young men of that day Wagner represented modernity, freedom, and progress; to conservative parents and pedants he was the great iconoclast and seducer of youth. Not only the man's music, but every shade of opinion that could be associated with his name, from anti-Semitism to pan-Germanism, and, later on, even vegetarianism, was embraced wholeheartedly by the young Wagnerian party. 382

Richard Wagner and his family arrived in Vienna on November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1876. On November 3<sup>rd</sup>, he began rehearsals for *Tannhäuser*, which were reported on by the local newspapers. The entire Viennese musical-artistic milieu was in an uproar, and in the cafes and elsewhere, Wagner's presence, and the forthcoming performances of his music were the talk of the city. Wolf, however, pursued his own single-minded interest. First, he attempted to secure from his composition teacher (and friend of Wagner) Hauseggar an *Empfehlungsschreiben* (letter of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>381</sup> Walker, 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>382</sup> Ibid., 23. Wolf eventually gave up on becoming a vegetarian, by succumbing to his mother's home-made sausage, which he loved.

recommendation and introduction) to Wagner, but without success. On November, Wolf met and greeted Wagner at the stage door of the opera house. On November 22<sup>nd</sup>, Wolf heard a full performance of a Wagner opera (*Tannhäuser*) for the first time. In a letter to his parents, Wolf claims to have applauded so forcefully that his hands became sore, that he was quite beside himself about Wagner's music, and that he (Wolf) had now become a Wagnerian. On December 11<sup>th</sup>, he went to meet Wagner in his suite in the Imperial Hotel, and presented his Piano Sonata, Op.1, and his Variations for Piano, Op. 2. Wagner gave Wolf's manuscripts a cursory viewing, encouraged the boy to continue to study and work on compositions of larger genres, then told Wolf to return to him on his next trip to Vienna, and present his newest compositions. Wolf was enthralled and inspired by his meeting with Wagner and relived the experience in a letter to his parents. On December 15<sup>th</sup>, he attended the Vienna premiere of Wagner's *Lohengrin* at the Hofoper. Later that evening, he wrote in his diary that he was so moved by the power of the music that he wept. Section 120 hours and 120 hours and

Wolf immersed himself in the study of Wagner's operas, enthusiastically playing and studying the piano-vocal scores of these works: *Der Ring des Niebelungen, Parsifal, Tristan und Isolde, Der fliegende Holländer, Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*. He studied Wagner's compositional techniques: declamation, the leitmotiv, instrumentation, the use of the ranges of various voice parts, and so forth. From Wagner's operas, Wolf, experienced the effect of musical-dramatic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>383</sup> Wolf's letter to his parents, November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1875. Spitzer, vol. I, 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>384</sup> Wolf's letter to his parents, Mid December, 1875. Spitzer, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>385</sup> Entry from Wolf's diary, December 15<sup>th</sup>, 1875.

Steigerung (intensification), a technique which he utilized in his songs. His study of Wagner's works was so thorough and comprehensive, that he was able to compose piano paraphrase works of both *Die Walküre* and *Die Meistersinger*. Wolf then adopted Wagner's philosophical views (which included Nietzsche and Schopenhauer), made pilgrimages to Bayreuth starting in 1883 (to hear *Parsifal*), and wrote favorably of Wagner in the *Wiener Salonblatt*.

Wolf also suffered from the power, the personality, and the music of Richard Wagner. Wolf's friend Marie Lang wrote that the knowledge of Wagner's inordinate greatness, his vast affluence, and the universality of his genius all had a crushing effect on Wolf. In 1890, after attending a performance of *Tannhäuser* under Weingartner in Mannheim, Wolf declared that whenever he heard one of Wagner's operas, he was tempted to destroy his own work, which by comparison to Wagner's work, seemed fully meaningless. It therefore is not surprising that Wolf both lamented and revolted against the tyranny of Wagner's hold on his mind and emotions. Wolf's intense exposure to Wagner's achievements, however, formed a unique basis for Wolf's own development along the path to mastery, which scholars and musicians now identify as the year 1888. In this year, Wolf composed what is long considered his first masterpiece song book: the *Mörike-Lieder* of 1888.

By comparison to Wagner, Wolf's lyricism differs in that it is a balance of declamation and sung lyricism. Wolf's innovative use of harmony is not necessarily Wagner-like, and the text-music relationship is by far more subtle and richer in nuance. This is, in accord with my own conclusion, mentioned previously, that Wolf's greatest talent was his ability to recognize literary nuance in the texts he worked with, and set them to music in a most innovative way. These characteristics are unique to Wolf, whose powers of invention were greatly enriched by his

exposure to Wagner's music, allowing Wolf to find his own "voice" (Wolferl's own howl) in his own work. Decsey states this in the following manner:

Wolfs Weg führte durch den Strom der Wagnerkultur mitten hindurch, aber er landete am Ufer der Selbständigkeit. <sup>386</sup>

### The Controversy over Wolf as the so-called "Wagner of the Lied"

Wolf's entry into the *Wagnerkultur* proved itself to be remunerative for the dissemination of his own works. He was welcome at all the *Wagner-Vereine* (Wagner societies in Vienna, Berlin, Graz, etc.), which became important venues for the performances of his song compositions. One consequence, however, involved Wolf being more and more frequently referred to as the "Wagner of the Lied". Against this labeling of Wolf stood his friends and associates, resolute in their opinion that Wolf's innovative compositional work in the song genre was to the transformation of the *Lied*, as Wagner's *Musikdrama* was to the transformation of the opera. Moreover, they maintained that Wolf's music showed no artistic dependency on Wagner. Although Wolf had thoroughly studied Wagner's compositional methods and techniques (imitation +emulation), he was able to *reproduce*, not merely imitate, Wagner's methods while

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>386</sup> Wolf's path led through the middle of the storm of the Wagner-Culture, but he landed on the shore of (artistic) independence. Decsey, 58.

producing in his own music, an originality, and authenticity of his own. This is the correct result of emulation plus invention in the fourfold learning equation, as I discussed previously.

Although profoundly influenced by other composers and their music, Hugo Wolf nonetheless had his own authentic artistic manner throughout his career and pursued his own path. Bearing this in mind, his friends also maintained the position that his entry into opera composition with his work *Der Corregidor* was clearly the work of the composer of the *Spanisches Liederbuch*, and not that of an inferior Wagnerian "imitator". I conclude that Wolf's compositional predisposition was more toward *lyrik* (lyricism), and not to the *Musikdrama* of Wagner. I agree with Wolf's associates, and with current Wolf scholarship that both composers produced innovative and transformative work individually. For this reason, one should not make the false assumption that Wolf, through his association with Wagner, and the obsessive study and hearing of Wagner's works, became merely an imitator of the Bayreuth master, hence the inappropriate title "Wagner of the Lied".

This is untrue. Hugo Wolf, in my opinion, stands in a well-earned iconic position of his own, the result of his own efforts and successes. The fourfold learning equation is the process through, and from which, Wolf's own masterworks and successes evolved.

## <u>Das verlasseneMägdelein</u> (1888)

This poem shows how love and suffering belong together for Mörike. But it is how his poetic figures come to grasps with these opposites that gives Mörike's poems their beauty and significance. In this case, once the maid has become aware of what has happened, she refrains from divulging her feelings toward her unfaithful lover and is willing to go on with her drab

workaday life. Her inner strength expresses itself in her calm resignation to her fate. In the poetic figure of the abandoned woman (in this case, Mörike's forsaken maiden), there is something powerful about her *powerlessness*, something tempting that has drawn men time and again to her suffering and grief.<sup>387</sup> In the nineteenth century, Eduard Mörike conceived what was the most poetically influential abandoned woman, with publication of his poem *Das verlassene Mägdelein*, in his *Maler Nolten: Novelle in zwei Theilen*, in 1832. The allure of the abandoned woman is also quite evident in music. Since its publication, the poem (and not the *Novelle*) has engaged and sustained the attention of composers, performers, and critics alike. It has also inspired one hundred thirty musical settings dating between 1832 and 1985.<sup>388</sup>

Hugo Wolf's vocal setting of *Das verlassene Mägdelein* is the twenty-fourth song of Wolf's fifty-three song *Mörike-Lieder* collection. It was composed by Wolf during his stay at the Perchtoldsdorf vacation home of his friend Heinrich Werner, on March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1888. That same year, the Emil Wetzler firm published Wolf's first collection *Sechs Lieder für eine Frauenstimme* in 1888. The manuscript collection *Mörikeana*: *Gedichte von Eduard Mörike*: [für eine Singstimme und Klavier] [sic] includes *Das verlassene Mägdelein* <sup>390</sup> and the other fifty-two Mörike songs is also located in the Austrian National Library. This second collection was published by Wetzler (Julius Engelmann, signatory) with the title *Gedichte von Eduard Mörike*,

<sup>390</sup> Mus. Hs. 19581 in the Austrian National Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>387</sup> Karen Bottge, "'Das Verlassene Mägdelein': Grief Partaken." *19th-Century Music* 33, no. 2 (2009): 173-92. <sup>388</sup> Ibid., 174.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>389</sup> The manuscript is filed under Mus. Hs. 3387 in the Austrian National Library. Wolf's first acknowledged masterwork, *Mausfallen-Sprüchlein* (1882), is song number 6 in this collection.

in 1889. <sup>391</sup>Referred to today as the "*Mörike-Lieder*', it is Wolf's first collection of songs to be acknowledged as a masterwork and is performed today by singers worldwide.

In a letter to his friend Friedrich Eckstein, Wolf wrote about the two songs he had completed three days earlier: *Storchenbotschaft*, and *Das verlassene Mägdelein*. With reference to the latter, Wolf wrote:

Samstag komponierte ich, ohne es beabsichtigt zu haben, "Das verlassene Mägdelein"- von Schumann bereits himmlisch komponiert. Wenn ich dasselbe Gedicht trotzdem komponierte, geschah es fast wider meinen Willen; aber vielleicht gerade dadurch, daß ich mich von dem Zauber dieses Gedichtes plötzlich gefangen. ... nehmen ließ, ist etwas Vortreffliches entstanden, und ich glaube, daß meine Komposition neben der Schumann´schen sich sehen lassen kann. ... 392

From Wolf's letter, we see that Wolf set Mörike's poem to music "almost against his will"; in other words, he was so captivated by the poem that he broke his own "rule" of not setting to music those poems which had already received satisfactory musical treatment by other composers such as Schumann, in 1847. Eric Sams makes an inaccurate argument against this, by stating that despite Wolf's deference to other composers' settings, "a different treatment was relevant and justified". The text of the poem as used by both Schumann and Wolf is listed below:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>391</sup> A first-edition print of *Das verlassene Mädgelein* is filed under Mus. Hs. 43965-5 in the Austrian National Library. The print contains several printing and engraving errors (typographic errors in the text, missing accidentals, wrong note values), which are marked in red and blue pencil.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>392</sup> On Saturday I composed, without having intended to do so, *Das Verlassene Mägdelein*, already set to music by Schumann, in a heavenly manner. In spite of that I set that same poem to music, it happened almost against my will. But perhaps just because I allowed myself to be suddenly captured by the magic of this poem, something splendid arose, and I believe that my composition can show itself beside Schumann's. Letter to Friedrich Eckstein. Tuesday, March 27<sup>th</sup>, 1888. Spitzer, vol. 1., 271. The earliest known musical setting of the poem is by Louis Hetsch, composed in 1832, the same year that the poem was published by Mörike in his novella *Maler Nolten*.

<sup>393</sup> Eric Sams, "Homage to Eduard Mörike," *The Musical Times* (1975). 533.

Das verlassene Mägdelein

Früh, wann die Hähne krähn, Eh'die Sternlein schwinden,

Muß ich am Herde stehn, Muß Feuer zünden.

Schön ist der Flammen Schein, Es springen die Funken,

Ich schaue so darein, In Leid versunken.

Plötzlich, da kommt es mir, Treuloser Knabe

Daß ich die Nacht von dir Geträumet habe.

Träne auf Träne dann Stürzet hernieder;

So kommt der Tag heran-O ging 'er wieder! The Forsaken Maiden

Early, when the rooster crows, Before the stars disappear,

I must stand at the hearth, Must light the fire.

Pretty is the sheen of the fire, The sparks are leaping (flying?),

I look at them, Sunken in grief.

Suddenly it comes to me, Unfaithful boy,

That all night I Dreamed of you.

Tear after tear then Pours down;

So began the day-Oh let it end!

As she looks into the hearth, she finds in the fire something consoling and beautiful. This is interrupted when she suddenly remembers her dream about a young man (possibly her lover) whom she addresses directly, calling him unfaithful. The poem ends with the girl's tears falling, as she wishes the day to be over just as it is beginning.

The poem consists of four rhymed quatrains (ABAB), each quatrain containing two couplets, each of a different metric construct. The first line of each quatrain is a 3-beat iambic. In each second line is a 3-beat trochaic. This metric pairing gives a consistent accented opening, which is

followed by a softer, but intense, close. Through the use of the rhythmic motive discussed later, Wolf reproduces the rhythm of the text consistently throughout the song. Also, starting in the third line of each quatrain on the downbeat, Wolf preserves the unvarying rhythmic structure he created at the beginning of the song, despite the spoken rhythm beginning with a weak beat, implying a pickup. By making this slight alteration, the text is still treated idiomatically, as Wolf was attentive, if not obsessively obedient, to the prosody of his texts and his poets.

### Das verlassene Mägdelein: Wolf's Harmonic Conception and Treatment

Functional harmonic analysis tries to "identify, explain, and justify" the components, devices, and functions contained in a musical work from the tonal model of dissonance and its resolution. Wolf's concept and use of harmony exists right on an edge where such an approach might not be useful. Wolf (and others) viewed himself as being in the lineage of Wagner, and said the following, in a letter to his friend Emil Kauffmann:

Der Vorwurf: ungelöste Dissonanzreihen zu begehen, konnte mir nichts anhaben, und zwar aus dem einfachen Grunde, weil ich im Stande bin nachzuweisen, wie nach der strengsten Regel der Harmonielehre jede meiner noch so kühnen Dissonanzen zu rechtfertigen ist. <sup>394</sup>

Where one can state that Wolf's use of harmony might not be adequately analyzed and/or explained solely by using of functional harmonic analysis, we are nonetheless fortunate to have,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>394</sup> The reproach (that I) commit successions of unresolved dissonances could do me no harm, for the simple reason that I am in a position to demonstrate how according to the strictest rules of harmony, each of my boldest discords (dissonances) can be justified. Letter to Emil Kauffmann, May 21st, 1890. *Hugo Wolfs Briefe an Emil Kauffmann*, ed. Edmund Hellmer. Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1903. 8. Also in Spitzer, 1: 358.

via the quote from Wolf's letter listed above, some rare and valuable evidence of Wolf's compositional intent with reference to harmonic usage. Still, the question lingers: how then is it possible to explain and justify Wolf's harmonies "by the strictest rule of the theory of harmony"? In the context of Wolf's statement, I have included a harmonic chart of *Das verlassene*\*\*Mägdelein\*\* (Fig. 128). The chart is constructed to show the harmonic structures used by Wolf, some of which are clear to identify, and some of which are notationally incomplete, yet still imply specific chords, and their resolutions. Where specific harmonies are implied by incomplete notations, a quarter-note is inserted in the root position of the implied harmony on the musical staff.



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# Das verlassene Mägdelein: Analysis

Das verlassene Mägdelein is 52 measures long, composed in the formal construct listed below:

Section A: 1-12 Text: Früh, wann die Hähne Krähn,...

Section B: 13-26 Text: Schön ist der Flammenschein,...

Section C: 27-37 Text: *Plötzlich, da kommt es mir,...* 

Section A Reprise: 38-47 Text: *Träne auf Träne dann,* ...

Postlude: 48-52

Like Beethoven before him, Wolf was a master of the composition and usage of motives. Throughout the entire song, Wolf utilizes one specific motive to unify the entire piece, and he excels at avoiding redundancy by repeating the motive in conjunction with tonal center changes for each section of the song, producing different sonic affects based on the text. The unifying element is the three-note motive, shown here:

. Wolf also uses the motive in its retrograde variant, with a tie between the second eighth note and the quarter note, at measures 52 and 53:

. Finally, he creates a variant to the retrograde motive, to transition the piece from the B section back to the A section:

. Except at measures 45, 52, and 53, Wolf uses the three-note motive and its variants throughout the song. Among the one hundred-plus settings of this poem by other composers, none of them evoke the feeling of abandonment as

Wolf's does, which he intensifies by continuous repetition of the motive. <sup>395</sup> After his usual obsessive studying, reading, and re-reading of Mörike's text (imitation plus emulation-mastery), he became fully aware of the text, its structural elements (rhythm and meter of the text, rhyme scheme) and the formal construct of the poem. Possessing this knowledge, Wolf was able to recite the poem in a masterfully emulative way. Wolf was then able to use his own *inventio*, coupled with his vast knowledge of preexisting musical models, to produce the compositional devices that would be effective for the song.

I am convinced that the model Wolf used for the principal motive in *Das verlassene*Mägdelein is the motive from Beethoven's 7<sup>th</sup> symphony, second movement, along with

Beethoven's usage of the motive as a unifying device. Wolf's inclusion of a postlude in the song is based on Schumann's models. The song begins (section A), starting with a four-measure introduction. At measure 5 the voice part enters. It is a servant girl in the pre-dawn, as she performs the first task of the day by lighting the fire. The calm of the pre-dawn and the simplicity of the maid and her first task of the day are portrayed by Wolf by using the three-note



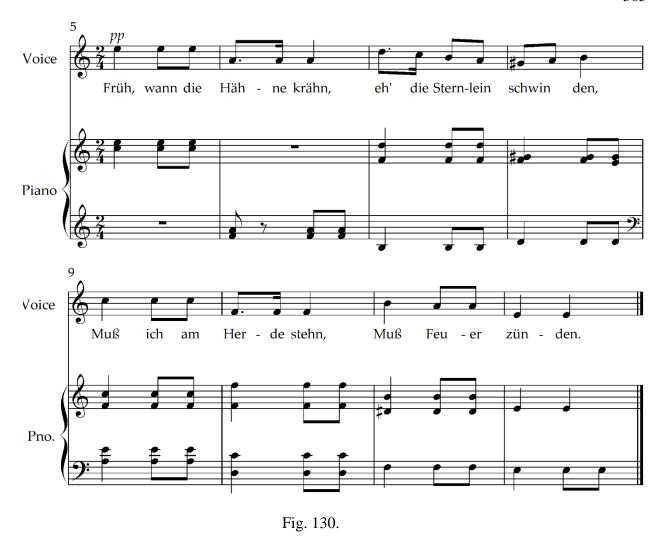
motive, alternating from the right hand to the left hand in the piano (Fig. 129).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>395</sup> Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, *Hugo Wolf: Leben und Werk*. Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 2003. 410.

The four sparse dyads imply harmonically the progression ii V i cadence in a minor, yet they also create an ambiguity that Wolf will expand and develop throughout the song. Perhaps without realizing, Wolf was establishing the presence of chord roots by *supposition*. The opening bar contains the notes F and A, which by themselves leave unclear the underlying tonal center. It is only after hearing *all* the dyads in the first four measures that we can identify the key as a minor. Wolf continues with this dyad-based "ambiguity", as the g# (the leading tone of in the key of a minor) in measure 4 is followed by only the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> of the A minor triad in measure 5. Wolf's use of delayed resolution will occur later in the song, as our recognition of the presence of *implied* or *supposed* notes and harmonies are based on suspensions and rootless triads: the devices which allow Wolf to justify his harmonies as "tonal".

Although my analysis of the harmonies which begin the work clearly indicate the key of A minor, the lack of all the members of each harmony in this section implies vagueness; the ii °7 (half-diminished) in measures 1 and 2, followed by the chords iv-V (or V9) in measures 3 and 4. The key of a minor is firmly established in measure 5. Here, the voice part enters, with the piano part scored as is in the introduction. The "empty" quality of such a sound immediately presents to the listener the hopeless, irreconcilable situation of the abandoned maid. Forsaken by her lover, and bereft of worldly goods and pleasures, she must now carry out her first task of the day: building a fire in the hearth (Fig. 130).



Section B begins at measure 13 when according to the poem, the fire has been kindled, and starts to crackle and give off its light and warmth (Fig. 131). The maiden expresses a moment of aesthetic contentment at the sight of the fire but gradually, she remembers her sorrow.



Wolf begins the section by modulating to A major, beginning at measure 13, continuing to measure 18. To change the affect from contentment to sorrow, Wolf modulates down one-half step, at measure 19. The rhythmic motive, however, remains unchanged, while the harmonies all contain their notational components, alternate between widely spaced voicing and close-spaced voicing in the piano part. A four-measure piano interlude, from measure 23 to measure 26, transitioning to section C, where suddenly, the maiden vividly remembers her dream of her unfaithful lover returns. Wolf continues to utilize the same rhythmic motive in the left hand, which "accompanies" the right hand, which is based on the previous vocal part (Fig. 132). but accelerates the tempo, and then alternates between (G-flat) major and (F-augmented) chordal

harmonies. The effect Wolf produces here is one of emotional consternation, foreshadowing what is to come in the next verse of the text.



Fig. 132

Section C begins with the voice entering at measure 27 with the text: "Plötzlich, da kommt es mir" over widely spaced (B-flat to A-augmented) alternating harmonies, which sonically portray the bitterness of the maiden in her recollection of her unfaithful lover, continuing to measure 34. A piano interlude occurs at measures 35-37, where Wolf continues to use the principal motive, but also adds the third variant of the motive to re-transition the song back to the reprise of section A (Fig. 133).



The A-reprise section occurs at measure 38, with the voice singing "Thränen auf Thränen dann...". The maiden is weeping profusely yet resigning herself to her fate. Here, both parts are exactly as in the beginning of the song, except at measure 44, where Wolf changes the harmony played by the piano, before the voice finishes on the words "O ging er wieder", then transitioning to a five-measure postlude at measure 47, harmonically alternating from i-iv-i-iv-i. This can also be interpreted as i-ii°6/5-i. (Fig. 134). The postlude serves to musically reconfirm the maiden's resignation to her fate, as previously mentioned.



Fig. 134

# Mignon (Kennst du das Land?)(1888)

This is the sixteenth of the fifty-one songs set to texts by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), and the first of the four "Mignon" songs which Hugo Wolf composed. It was composed in Döbling, on December 17<sup>th</sup>. 1888, as written by Wolf on the manuscript. On the manuscript, the title reads simply: "Mignon. (Goethe)"[sic] and is not numbered like the three other 'Mignon' songs. The manuscript contains all fifty-one songs, and is housed in the Austrian National Library, under catalogue number Mus. Hs. 19587. Wolf began composing his "Goethe-Lieder" on October 27<sup>th</sup>, 1888, with his *Harfenspieler I*, and concluded fifty songs later with *Die Spröde* on October 21<sup>st</sup>, 1889. The collection, titled in pencil in Wolf's own hand: *Gedichte von Goethe* underwent minor revisions by Wolf's friend Joseph Schalk, and was published by the Lacom-Verlag in Vienna in 1890. Wolf's *Gedichte von Goethe* is chronologically the fourth collection of his songs to undergo publication. The collection is published in volume 3 of the Hugo Wolf Collected Works edition. Wolf later produced orchestrated versions of *Kennst du das Land* in 1893 and 1897.<sup>396</sup> The source of *Kennst du das Land*? from Goethe's Wilhelm *Meisters* 

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>396</sup> An even earlier version was lost by Wolf, and not discovered until after his death, and not included until the second edition of the Goethe songs, at a time (June 1897) when Wolfs judgment may have been impeded by incipient brain disease. Eric Sams, *The Songs of Hugo Wolf.* London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1992. 92.

*Lehrjahre*. The work is a *Bildungsroman*, <sup>397</sup> and the first of the two *Wilhelm Meister* novels Goethe wrote. <sup>398</sup>

The Story is of Wilhelm Meister, the son of a wealthy bourgeois merchant, destined to join his father in the family business. Wilhelm, however, has other things in mind: since seeing a puppet play in his parents' house, he has fallen for the theatre, prompting him to think of stage and theatre life as something noble and sublime. He also falls in love with the young actress Mariane, who returns his love, but also must grant her favor to a patron named Norberg in order to secure her livelihood. One night he watches as a rival leaves Mariane's house. Devastated, he breaks off the relationship. Later, Wilhelm renounces all poetic and acting ambitions, destroys all mementos of Mariane and dedicates himself to business life to the delight of his father. Joined by his childhood friend Werner, Wilhelm embarks on a business trip to collect debts owed to the family firm. On the way back, he meets a group of artists who entertain people in marketplaces with tightrope walking, dancing, and harlequinades. Wilhelm sees Mignon, a young girl in the troupe being mistreated, and acquires her for 30 Thalers, becomes her surrogate (adopted) father, thus freeing her from the troupe and the mistreatment she has endured. She becomes very affectionate, behaves submissively towards Wilhelm and is extremely inquisitive. Her accent indicates that she comes from Italy, and she is very homesick. One morning she sings a song of

Meisters Theatrische Sendung, an earlier version of the 1821 novel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>397</sup>Bildungsroman: A (German) literary genre (novel), which emphasizes the formative years of the protagonist, particularly his or her moral and psychological development, emphasizing the growth of character. Gero Von Wilpert, *Sachwörterbuch der Literatur*, s.v. "Bildungsroman". Stuttgart: Kröner Verlag, 1997.

<sup>398</sup>Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre</sup> was published in four volumes in 1796. Goethe later published Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre first in 1821, then in a revised version in 1829. In 1785, Goethe wrote, but did not publish Wilhelm

longing from her homeland: "Kennst du das Land, wo die Zitronen Blühn?" The lyrics and translation are listed below:

Kennst du das Land, wo die Zitronen blühn, Im dunklen Laub die Gold-Orangen glühn, Ein sanfter Wind vom blauen Himmel weht Die Myrte still und hoch der Lorbeer steht, Kennst du es wohl?

Dahin! Dahin

Möcht ich mit dir, o mein Geliebter, ziehn.

Kennst du das Haus? Auf Säulen ruht sein Dach, Es glänzt der Saal, es schimmert das Gemach, Und Mamorbilder stehn und sehn mich an: Was hat man dir, du armes Kind, getan? Kennst du es wohl?

Dahin! Dahin

Möcht'ich mit dir, o mein Beschützer, ziehn.

Kennst du den Berg und seinen Wolkensteg? Das Maultier sucht im Nebel seinen Weg; In Höhlen wohnt der Drachen alte Brut; Es stürzt der Fels und über ihn die Flut,

Kennst du ihn wohl? Dahin! Dahin

Geht unser Weg! O Vater, lass uns ziehn!

Do you know the land where lemon trees blossom; where golden oranges glow amid dark leaves? A gentle wind blows from the blue sky, the myrtle stands silent, the laurel tall: Do you know it?

Do you know it? There, Oh there

I desire to go with you, my beloved (father).

Do you know the house? Its roof rests on columns, the gall gleams, the chamber shimmers, and marble statues stand and gaze at me: what have they done to you, poor child? Do you know it?

There, Oh there

I desire to go with you, my protector.

Do you know the mountain and its clouded path? The mule seeks its way through the mist, In caves the ancient brood of dragons dwell; The rock falls steeply, and over it the torrent.

Do you know it? There, Oh there

Lies our way. Oh father, let us go!399

### Kennst du das Land: Analysis

Hugo Wolf's setting of *Kennst du das Land* is 121 measures long, and is composed in the formal construct as follows:

Piano Introduction: Measures 1-4.

A Kennst du das Land... Measures 5-20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>399</sup> Translation by Richard Wigmore, with revisions by the author.

B (a) Kennst du es wohl? Measures 21-29.

B (b) Dahin! \_\_\_dahin... Measures 30-36.

A' Kennst du das Haus? Measures 37-57.

B (a) Kennst du es wohl? Measures 58-68.

B (b) Dahin! \_\_\_dahin... Measures 69-77.

A" Kennst du den Berg... Measures 78-98.

B (a) Kennst du ihn wohl? Measures 99-109.

B (b) Dahin! dahin... Measures 110-114.

C "...lass uns ziehn!" (Closing section and postlude); Measures 115-122.

Musically, Hugo Wolf faithfully and unerringly follows Goethe's indications in his setting of *Kennst du das Land*, and despite the textual and harmonic complexities, still produces a strophic song, <sup>400</sup> being noticeably clear in its musical organization. It begins in G-flat major and contains frequent key changes. The meter alternates between <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> and 9/8. While there is no actual expansion or repetition of the text except for the reiteration of the words "Kennst du es wohl?", and "Dahin" in each stanza, the total structure of each musical strophe does display Wolf's enlarged conception of the sectional elements of the poem. The affect of each verse changes with a change of rhythm in the accompaniment. Wolf's treatment of melody, harmony, meter, and the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>400</sup> Ibid.

piano accompaniment combine to produce a sectionalizing by means of which the descriptive section "Kennst du das Land," and the questioning section "Kennst du es (ihn) wohl", and "Dahin" components of the poem, take on a character particular to each of them, while serving the continuous musical development of the song. At the end of each strophe Goethe changes the word Mignon uses to address Wilhelm, innocently addressing him first as beloved, protector, and finally, father. Wolf, by his own study and emulation-mastery of Goethe's text, clearly recognizes the pattern here, to which he inventively applies his own sonic enhancement.

Typical of Wolf is his use of the primary motive (Fig. 135). Wolf employs this motive first at the beginning, then throughout all other sections of the work, notably in the interludes.



Fig. 135

The three-note figure, consisting of an ascending half-step followed by a return to the principal note, is presented first in the four-measure introduction and it recurs in the interludes between the succeeding stanzas (Fig. 136). The rhythm of the bass is in a syncopated pattern that remains constant in the accompaniment through the first twenty measures of the song.

# Langsam und sehr ausdrucksvoll Fig. 136

In measure 5 the voice enters with the same motive, slightly altered by Wolf's use of syncopation, which stress the poignancy, urgency, and hesitancy of the opening question "Kennst du das Land?", where it appears as an accompanimental figure at the interval of a third (Fig. 137). Before the end of the phrase, a second melodic figure, more descant-like and extended, appears in the accompaniment at measure 7 (Fig. 137).



Fig. 137

This is the basic material from which Wolf develops the vocal melodies of both the "Kennst du es wohl?" and the "Dahin!" sections.

Musically, Wolf provides much textual illustration: chromaticism on "Zitronen blühn," the ascent to "Goldorangen" and the treatment of it as a syncope, and the low registered "glühn." At measure 18 there is the melodic climax at "hoch" (Fig. 138), as the melodic line of this entire phrase increases the excitement in preparation for the interlude which separates the descriptive section from the questioning section "Kennst du es wohl?".



Fig. 138

Wolf has the interlude at measure 21 marked *Leidenschaftlich* (passionately), changes the tempo from *Langsam* (slow) to *Belebt* (lively), in conjunction with a meter change from 3/4 to 9/8 (Fig. 139).



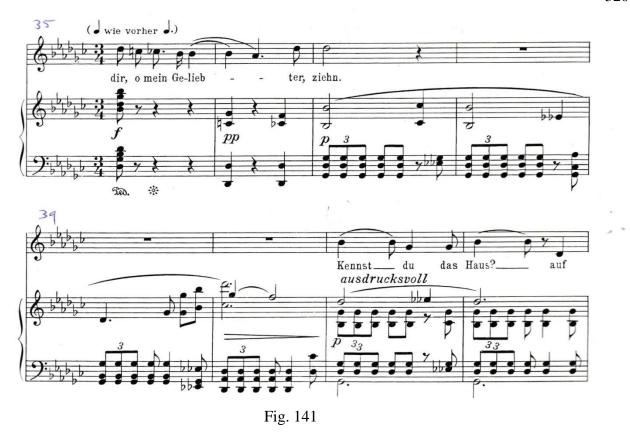
Fig. 139

While the key signature indicates four flats, the next ten measures have no true feeling of a distinct tonal center. The tonal center is veiled in a series of chord changes which show the influence of Wagner's harmonic models. The key of F minor is indicated by the key signature, but the section is constructed mostly on the IV and V chords, without resolving to I. There is a constant, repeated triplet figure in the left hand while the right hand moves in a downward direction. At measure 23 the piano melody begins on a high pitch and sweeps downward while

ritarding (with diminuendo to *piano*) to allow the voice to reenter, calmer, while re-asking the question "Kennst du es wohl?". Here (measure 27) the voice repeats the question "Kennst du es wohl?" a fourth lower, the piano becomes animated again, ascending to a repetition of the first interlude, and once again makes a *diminuendo* for the voice entrance at measure 32 ("Dahin!") (Fig.140).



Here, both voice and piano start *piano*, then crescendo to *forte*, to measure 35. To serve both the voice and the accompaniment throughout this section, Wolf has produced a pattern related to the melodic figure first introduced in the accompaniment of the opening vocal phrase at measure 7. Wolf musically enhances Mignon's anxiety, her passionate hope, and her breathless, almost fearful nature of her question to Wilhelm through the use of extremes of dynamic contrast, the slowing and acceleration of tempo, and the dramatic sweep of the melodic lines. Whereas in the slower descriptive section the accompaniment chords appear as eighth note syncopes, and increased in energy because of the meter change at measure 31, they are then changed to sixteenth note syncopes at the entrance of the "Dahin!" section, beginning in measure 32. They rush in a scalewise ascent to the climax of the stanza and the section. The voice enters, also in syncopation. The second "Dahin" a third higher than the first, and the word "möcht" ascending to the highest note in the work, finally settling down scalewise to "dir" (measure 35), where Wolf changes the meter back to 3/4, leaves the piano tacet for the rest of the measure, and has the vocal line descend chromatically, which allows for a tapering down of Mignon's emotional outburst, as he musically transitions from measures 37-40, to the next verse. The accompaniment here is a more subdued sequence of syncopated chords, but in a rhythmic pattern which retains a sense of Mignon's intensified emotional state (Fig. 141).



Wolf treats the second strophe (A') similarly to the first but with one exception; the primary motive does not appear in the voice. The rhythmic patterns have been changed to accommodate the text. Beginning at measure 37 he also increases the rhythmic tension through the use of a triplet figure on the first beat of each measure, tending to heighten the effect of the eighth note syncopes in the remaining two beats of the measure. The chord voicings remain unaltered, along with the melodic line, until measure 41. The effect Wolf achieves is the wandering, homeless ("Kennst du das Haus?") character of the mood, envisaged by his harmonization. Measures 58-76 ("Kennst du es wohl? Dahin!") (B) are treated by Wolf as in measures 21-37.

At measure 78 Wolf treats the third strophe (A") based on his interpretation of the fate of Mignon. Her memory is deceiving her, her imagination is overpowering her. It is simply her dream; there is no mountain, no mule, no cave, no torrents. Wolf makes use of the musical elements of the first two strophes, but he adds material, in keeping with the textual content. He



Fig. 142

also enharmonically changes the key from (G-flat) major to (F-sharp) minor at measure 77, the accompaniment is notated to play and maintain a tremolo throughout the descriptive section of the strophe (Fig. 142). Beginning in measure 78 (Kennst du den Berg und seinen Wolkensteg?) the notes of the vocal line are different in this section from those of the two preceding sections. They move in an arpeggiated pattern in the opening statement of the verse. (Fig. 142).

Once again, the leading motive is used only in the accompaniment and as before, the ascending treble melody rises chromatically, to the climax of the section, marked *molto crescendo*, from measures 88-94 (Fig. 143). The beginning of the vocal melody is drawn from the introduction. Wolf puts the vocal line in a high tessitura, and it intensifies Mignon's fantasy in her description of the cliffs and torrents. Starting at measure 86 ("in Höhlen wohnt der Drachen alte Brut;") Wolf intensifies the melody via the use of sharply dotted rhythms, as the melody rises to its highest pitch ("Flut.") at measure 93. The tremolo chords now rumble on *fortissimo* (Fig.143).



At measure 95, Wolf changes the key from F-sharp minor to F-minor, then begins a four-measure interlude (with diminuendo from *fortissimo* to *piano-diminuendo*) which separates the previous (descriptive) section, and begins the next (question) section "Kennst du ihn wohl? - Dahin!"... (B), Wolf treats this section unaltered, except with only one variation in the final statement of the remainder of this stanza, namely Wolf's inclusion of a fermata over the word "Weg", and the use of a rest which deliberately makes the vocal entrance dramatically late and breathless for the Mignon's final phrase "...lass uns ziehn!" (Fig. 144). At measure 115 Wolf begins begins the postlude by involving the second of the two iterations<sup>401</sup> of Mignon's threeword statement, using the primary motive in the right hand of the piano part, and the accompaniment construct found at the beginning of, the song, which concludes the work at measure 122 (Fig. 144).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>401</sup> The repetition of the phrase "lass uns ziehn" is not Goethe's but Wolf's.



According to Eric Sams the music of the third verse is superbly overwrought, perhaps depicting an irrational confidence in the reality of a dream and heightening the contrast between that dream and the sad truth. The intense power of the music, even in the piano version, remains a splendid conception, quite beyond anything attempted or imagined by any other of the

composers who had set this poem. <sup>402</sup> Wolf's setting is more elaborate than that of Schumann. Wolf changes meter and key more frequently. His accompaniment varies in each section, starting with the use of eighth note syncopations in the first stanza, followed by sixteenth note syncopations, followed by tremolo chords in the third stanza, finally returning to the simple syncopations of the introduction, to conclude the work.

## Conclusion

These masterpieces *Das verlassene Mägdelein* and *Mignon- Kennst du das Land* are but two of the many exemplifications of Hugo Wolf's innovative mastery of the art song genre. They also exemplify Wolf's optimal utilization of the fourfold learning equation more than in any other musical genres he composed, as defined the following way. First, as a gifted and solidly trained virtuoso pianist, trained from the age of four, Wolf was able to not merely imitate, but *reproduce* (by emulation) pianistic effects, and innovatively so. He fully understood and utilized the capabilities of the piano in a compositional context more than any other instrument. His powers of *inventio* are clear in his virtuosic treatment of the piano itself, and in conjunction with the voice parts in his songs. Wolf achieves a unique partnership between the piano and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>402</sup> Eric Sams, *The Songs of Hugo Wolf*. London, Faber & Faber Ltd., 1992. 191.

voice, emphasizing the independence of both parts and the close ensemble between the two, as dictated by the texts Wolf used.

Second, his training in musical harmony, his own obsessive harmonic experimentations at the piano, and his training in and study of compositional techniques such as deceptive cadences, chromaticism, and harmonic ambiguity through the use of enharmonic writing allow Wolf to obscure but control the harmonic destination of a musical phrase for as long as each textual-poetic affect and its tension is sustained. His gifts for melody and motivic conception and development figure prominently here. In addition to the enormous influence of the works of Wagner and later, Liszt, Wolf's study of numerous preexisting compositional models of different musical genres allowed him to use these tools of harmony and composition.

Third, and finally, Wolf's enormous gift for recognizing literary nuance, was, in my opinion, his greatest natural talent. Wolf's obsessive reading and re-reading of every literary source he accessed is an example of imitation+emulation, to which his own invention could be applied. His exposure to the declamatory style of recitation of text by great actors of his time provided him with models from which he conceived and composed melodies. Also, the written accounts by his friends who recalled his own recitations of literary works he was studying show us Wolf's own ability to manifest *affect*: both in his own recitations, and in his music. To Wolf, the *source* of the artistic idea, e.g., the *truth*, was always the text, served by his music.

## **CONCLUSION**

## The Fourfold Learning Equation and its Continuing Relevancy in Music Education

The autodidacticism of the composer Hugo Wolf as an example of the fourfold learning equation (imitation+emulation+invention=results) as the topic of this paper is especially relevant, as each musical example contained herein exemplifies the differing stages of musical development of the composer at various stages of his life, and his subsequent level of mastery of each of the elements of the fourfold learning equation. His strong desire to learn to compose music of the highest quality was the source of his motivation, despite the numerous setbacks he endured. He did, however, have sufficient formal instruction in music to realize, albeit unconsciously, the importance of adhering to the fourfold learning equation, and to seek instructional advice and council so that he could acquire (and master) the tools to compose in his own inventive way.

Post-secondary students of music in north America today are the products of a system where, with exceptions, the institution of musical learning and training is housed within the walls of an academic institution. More often now than in years past, students admitted as undergraduate music majors possess a level of musicianship and knowledge of music theory and history which is below that of students who were being admitted into such programs as short as a decade ago. I am convinced that this lack of requisite pre-admission proficiency is the result of an incomplete application and practice of the fourfold learning equation in the earlier stages of a student's life. With certain exceptions, our society no longer attaches a high level of sociocultural value to the

arts as a necessary component of life, as a public value. In the United States there now exists two, or possibly three generations of families who as school-age children received neither music lessons, and had little to no exposure to art, music, dance, theatre, literature, and so forth. This lack of experience with and exposure to the arts has produced families, and a society which sees the arts as mere "entertainment", and nothing more. When a child of such a family commences with music lessons, the parents are often "concerned" about their child's (age-based) thorough, and often "excessive" practice regimen. Parents of such students neither understand the importance of nor attach value to the practicing of scales, chords, arpeggios, in order to learn to play, just as the alphabet, spelling, phonics, silent e, and so forth, are indispensable imitationemulation components required for the acquisition and mastery of literacy. In both disciplines, these fundamental elements make up the important imitation component of the fourfold learning equation; the repeated practice and rote learning of preexisting musical skill sets to the point of masterful reproduction, not just mere imitation. As a result, the student does not aquire the "tools to play, sing", and so forth, yet is expected to be able to "play a song", so to speak. In other words, parents expect their child to learn to play music solely from his own powers of invention, undeveloped as they would be. Fortunately, qualified teachers will recognize this misunderstanding and not compromise the student's curriculum, while still making the effort to inform, educate, and "win" the parents over. Otherwise, the student will most likely fail to learn to play music. In the case of such a student applying for admittance into an undergraduate music program, the deficits in the student's musical knowledge and performance abilities will be recognized by that institution he has been admitted to, finding itself compelled to provide much remedial coursework and training, by dedicated and committed faculty, in an attempt to bring the student to the requisite levels of musical-artistic, and musical-academic proficiency. In many institutions there is simply not enough instructional time available to provide more extensive ear/interval training, and keyboard skills training at the level of a European conservatory, each to a higher level of mastery than is currently required for the majority of students of music in north America. The results produced by students through this model of (teacher controlled) autodidacticism in this manner is the only way by which a student of music will be able to manifest a credible, proficient musical performance component in their medium. Within this student-teacher dynamic also manifests the important elements of the student-teacher relationship, as previously discussed. More emphasis now seems to be on the inventive aspect of the equation, with little regard for the student having mastered the rudimentary tools to play music, the tools to compose music, and so forth.

The example of Hugo Wolf as a typical student of music in late nineteenth century Austrian parochial schools, and later, the Vienna Conservatory is, in terms of how he was trained, an example of the thoroughness and rigor of study and practice students of music were (and still are) subjected to; he was almost always under teacher supervision while he was enrolled. This is the opposite of our current students. Most students of music today do not come from national musical-sociocultural background as Hugo Wolf did, starting in his own family. His father's value attachment to music (and Austro-German culture) was very high, and he inculcated this in his children. Hugo received his first music lessons at age 4, where today's students often begin in their mid to late teens, often wondering why made to do something they're not interested in. On the other hand, Hugo Wolf, to whom music was "like eating and drinking", was still aware of his own musical deficiencies, and despite not having completed secondary school or conservatory

training, still accessed the artistic-instructional resources available to him. The reason for this is that Wolf knew he needed to learn more of the compositional skills necessary for each genre he composed for, and he needed access to persons who could provide constructive criticism, assistance, and inspiration. Wolf's symphonic poem *Penthesilea* is the clearest example of his attempt to utilize the fourfold learning equation without instructional resources present (pure autodidacticism) at each of the requisite learning phases leading to the composition of the work.

Based on the research I have done and the knowledge I have gained in writing this dissertation, I firmly conclude that the fourfold learning equation and all the elements contained therein is still the most effective and time-tested pedagogical framework for the teaching of humans as a species, as the intellectual-cognitive process in each of us has not changed. The requisite process of rote-learning of material based on a preexisting model beyond mere imitation, to masterly *reproduction* thereof is the only surefire way to access and utilize one's powers of invention, creativity, and innovation, to achieve results in a most complete and successful way.

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