Edith Cowan University

Research Online

Theses: Doctorates and Masters

Theses

2023

Fagotte forgotten? the bassoon in the early symphonies of Mozart, Haydn and contemporaries in the 1760s and 1770s

Katherine J. Walpole Edith Cowan University

Follow this and additional works at: https://ro.ecu.edu.au/theses



Part of the Music Commons

Recommended Citation

Walpole, K. J. (2023). Fagotte forgotten? the bassoon in the early symphonies of Mozart, Haydn and contemporaries in the 1760s and 1770s. Edith Cowan University. http://dx.doi.org/10.25958/55v8-5690

This Thesis is posted at Research Online. https://ro.ecu.edu.au/theses/2706

Fagotte Forgotten? The Bassoon in the Early Symphonies of Mozart, Haydn and Contemporaries in the 1760s and 1770s

This thesis is presented in partial fulfilment of the degree of **Master of Arts (Performing Arts)**

Katherine Juliana Walpole

Edith Cowan University
Western Australian Academy of Performing Arts
2023

COPYRIGHT DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not, to the best of my knowledge and belief:

- incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher degree or diploma in any institution of higher education;
- ii. contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text of this thesis;
- iii. contain any defamatory material; or
- iv. contain any data that has not been collected in a manner consistent with ethics approval.



Signed:

This copy is the property of Edith Cowan University. However, the literary rights of the author must be respected. If any passage from this thesis is quoted or closely paraphrased in a paper or written work prepared by the user, the source of the passage must be acknowledged in the work. If the user desires to publish a paper or written work containing passages copied or closely paraphrased from this thesis, which passages would in total constitute an infringing copy for the purpose of the Copyright Act, he or she must first obtain the written permission of the author to do so.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my previous teachers and ongoing mentors Donna Agrell and Alfredo Bernadini who have offered inspiration as well as the warmest, kindest and honest guidance over the past decades. Thomas Pitt, my brilliant and inspiring friend and fellow basso player, who postulated over this research with me. Andrew Burn, a bassoonist colleague in Basel, who directed me to the Avison quote, a vital piece of invaluable evidence adding much validity to my hypothesis. Samantha Owens and Janice Stockigt who provided encouragement and support, and who continue to champion me. Thanks to my wonderful supervisors: Jonathan Paget, Stewart Smith and Jonathan Marshall, for sharing their outstanding expertise, professionalism and kindness. This trio of academics walked with me through all weather conditions as I learnt and grew in the new world of academia. A very special thank you to the archivist at the Zisterzienserstift Zwettl, Dr. Andreas Gamerith who generously scanned and shared the Johann Traeg set of parts. He not only did this for free, he thanked me for assisting to understand and preserve this cultural heritage through my research. Pamela Griffiths, without whom, I could not have made it to the finishing line, nor the first lecture. You are a generous, dear, intelligent, fair and wonderful friend, I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

ABSTRACT

This research project investigates the role of the bassoon in the basso of the early symphonies of Mozart, Haydn and Contemporaries in the 1760s and 1770s. It draws on surviving primary source material pertaining to bassoonists and orchestral practices across Europe before 1780. Autograph scores of Haydn, Mozart and his contemporaries usually scored early Classical symphonies for pairs of oboes, horns, two violin sections, viola and basso. Modern scholars have described these compositions as symphonies for pairs of oboes, pairs of horns and strings, and have translated basso to mean cellos and basses. Eliminating the eighteenth-century term basso has also removed bassoons from the bass section of the early Classical orchestra.

The socioeconomic and aesthetic scene at the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century is discussed in order to envisage the world in which eighteenth-century bassoonists worked. From this contextual mindset, hypotheses about how bassoonists performed from the generic basso parts are tested against evidence from a variety of surviving sources. Convincing evidence shows the bassoon to be a valuable addition to the basso, adding timbral variation, clarity of articulation and support to the harmonic foundation. In the undertaking of this research, a complete set of orchestral parts was discovered in an Austrian monastery. This is a significant find because the parts were most likely created from Mozart's autograph, written out by a Viennese copyist frequently employed by Mozart. This previously unstudied set of parts for the A major symphony KV201 uncovers historic performance practice of how a bassoon plays the basso line. The significance of the findings are explicated in a hypothetical concert series.

CONTENTS

ii
iii
iv
V
ix
xi
N1
2
2
and Twentieth Centuries2
3
7
9
terature?
11
14
14
14
15
16
18
so Continuo19
22
23
23
23 23
soonists25
25

The Bassoon as a Basso Instrument Lack of Standardisation in Scoring Conventions	
Historically Informed Performance Practice	
Terminology/ Nomenclature	
Baroque, Early Classical, Classical	
Definitions for Terms Used in this Thesis	
Chronological and Geographical Parameters	32
Conclusion	33
CHAPTER 4 THE BASSOON IN THE	ORCHESTRA34
Evidence from Dictionaries and Treatises	34
Musicians of European Orchestras	37
Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg – A Reliable Source	
Orchestral Numbers of Europe's Musical Centres	
London	
The Hague	
Salzburg	39
Vienna	
Rome and Milan	
Berlin	
Dresden	
Paris	
Gotha	
Breslau	
Warsaw Stuttgart	
Zerbst	
Mecklenberg	
Summary of Orchestral Sizes	
·	
Non-Standardisation in Musical Performance Practice.	
Equal Usage of Bassoon as Cello	44
Conclusion	44
CHAPTER 5 HAYDN AND MOZART	·46
Joseph Haydn	
Early Career Employment	
Haydn's Basso Instrumentation	
Haydn's Symphonic Compositions	
Dissemination of Haydn's Compositions	
Haydn's Basso Bassoon	
The Applausus Letter	
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	55
Symphonic Compositions	
Wolfgang on Tour	56

	56
From Composer to Instrumentalist	
Conclusion	63
CHAPTER 6 EVIDENCE FROM	MUSICAL SOURCES64
Case Study A: Col Basso Theory	64
	nts66
	ony in F KV7666
	ony in G KV11070
	ony in G minor KV183
	or Symphony in D major K8773 Parts74
7 1	n
	76
Case Study B: Neue Mozart Ausgabe with Ca	ritical Commentary76
	Taxonomy?
•	
	82
	82
	91
Case Study D: Johann Traeg copy of KV201	95
	95
	o95
Hermann Beck's Edition of the Basso Line in the	e Neue Mozart Ausgabe96
	e Bassoon Offer?96
	Bass Line
•	103
Conclusion	103
CHAPTER 7 SUMMARY OF FIN	NDINGS AND APPLICATION105
	105 AND ATTLICATION105
	T Passage Carafully 106
	r Passages Carefully
	rly Classical Orchestra107
Suggested Modifications to the NMA	
The Oboe Accompanist Myth	107
Research Summary	108
Canalusian	100

CHAPTER 8 A HYPOTHETICAL CONCERT SERIES: SIXTIF	ES &
SEVENTIES MUSIC 110	
Concert One: London 1764	110
Concert Two: Feldmusik & Sturm und Drang	112
Concert Three: Road Trip to Italy 1768–1771	
Concert Four: Zwettl Abbey	114
CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSION	
Research Question 1: To what extent was the bassoon included in the basso section of M symphonies?	
Research Question 2: How does the bassoon play col basso in the basso?	
Questions Arising from Enquiry Avenue A	
Questions Arising from Enquiry Avenue C	
Conclusion	
Appendix A: Traeg Manuscript	119
Appendix B: Transcription of Traeg Manuscript	126
Appendix C: Mozart Symphonies Composed 1764–1774	142
Appendix D: Symphonies of Haydn Composed Between 1750–1780	143

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 J. Haydn Sinfonia in C Hob 1:56 Adagio, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin	10
Figure 2 J. Haydn Sinfonia in G Hob 1:3 Movement 1 bars 37-40	20
Figure 3 W. A. W. A. Mozart Sinfonie in F K 76, Neue Mozart Ausgabe	21
Figure 4 J. Haydn Symphony in C Hob 1:56 Adagio, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin	24
Figure 5 P. Van Cuyck, Detail A Procession of Swiss Guards	26
Figure 6 J. Haydn, Sinfonia in D Hob 1:72 Trio Bars 33-40	26
Figure 7 W. A. Mozart Sinfonie in F K 76, Neue Mozart Ausgabe	27
Figure 8 W. A. Mozart Sinfonie in F KV76 Allegro, Neue Mozart Ausgabe	27
Figure 9 The Salzburger Hofkapelle * In 1769 Mozart was appointed third concertmaster	40
Figure 10 European Orchestra Numbers 1750–1780	43
Figure 15 Haydn Symphony in C Hob 1:56 Cover Page, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin	51
Figure 16 Haydn Symphony in E flat Hob 1:55 Movement IV, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin	54
Figure 11 W. A. Mozart Symphony in G Basso, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek	58
Figure 12 W.A. Mozart Symphony in G Adagio, Biblioteka Jagiellońska	59
Figure 13 W.A. Mozart Symphony in G Movement I Basso, Leipzig University Library 'Bibliothec	ca
Albertina'	60
Figure 14 W. A. Mozart Sinfonia in G Title Page & Movement I Basso, Leipzig University Library	y
'Bibliotheca Albertina'.	61
Figure 17 W.A. Mozart Symphony in F Movement I, Pierpont Morgan Library	65
Figure 18 W.A. Mozart Symphony in F KV76 Movement I bars 12-22	69
Figure 19 W.A. Mozart Va Dal Furor Portata, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek	70
Figure 20 W.A. Mozart Symphony in G Movement I, Biblioteka Jagiellońska	71
Figure 21 W.A. Mozart Symphony in G Movement II, Biblioteka Jagiellońska	72
Figure 22 W.A. Mozart Sinfonia in C Movement I, Biblioteka Jagiellońska	74
Figure 23 W.A. Mozart Symphony in D Movement I, Pierpont Morgan Library NY	75
Figure 24 W. A. Mozart Sinfonia in G Movement I, Biblioteka Jagiellońska	79
Figure 25 W. A. Mozart Sinfonia in G Movement II, Biblioteka Jagiellońska	80
Figure 26 W. A. Mozart Sinfonia in D Movement I, Pierpont Morgan Library NY	81
Figure 27 Billhead for the Bach Abel Concert Series 1780, British Museum	84
Figure 28 C.F. Abel Opus 14/2 Basso, Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	86
Figure 29 C. F. Abel Overture II Opus 14/2 Movement I Basso, Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-	
Vorpommern	86
Figure 30 C. F. Abel Overture II Opus 14/2 Movement III Minuet and Trio Basso, Landesbiblioth	ek
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	87
Figure 31 J. Marsh Symphony in F Op. 4 Basso, University of Western Ontario-University of Tor	onto
Libraries	90
Figure 32 LC Rach Sinfonia I Opus 18/1 Fagott Universitätshihliothek Tühingen	92

Figure 33 J.C. Bach Sinfonia I Opus 18/1 Basso, Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen	93
Figure 34 J.C. Bach Sinfonia II Opus 18/2 Basso è Fagotto, Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen	94
Figure 35 W.A. Mozart Symphony in A KV201 Movement I Bars 77-99	97
Figure 36 W.A. Mozart Symphony in A KV201 Movement III Menuetto bars 24-33	97
Figure 37 W.A. Mozart Symphony in A KV201 Movement III Menuetto Bars 27-32	98
Figure 38 W.A. Mozart Symphony in A KV201 Movement I Bars 26-31	98
Figure 39 W.A. Mozart Symphony in A KV201 Movement I Bars 44-48	98
Figure 40 W.A. Mozart Symphony in A KV201 Movement III Menuetto Bars 1-20	99
Figure 41 W.A. Mozart Symphony in A KV201 Movement II Andante Bars 1-6	100
Figure 42 W.A. Mozart Symphony in A KV201 Movement II Andante Bars 1-27	101
Figure 43 W.A. Mozart Symphony in A KV201 Movement IV Bars 16-32	102

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

2021 Musicological Society of Australia WA Chapter Conference	Fagott Ad Libitum
2022 WAAPA Research Showcase	Fagott Ad Libitum
2022 Musicological Society of Australia WA Chapter Conference	Fagotto Col Basso
2023 International Double Reed Society Conference Thailand	Forgotten Fagotte
2023 Musicological Society of Australia	Forgotten Fagotte

PREFACE: INSPIRATION AND MOTIVATION

I became drawn to the Historically Informed Performance Practice (HIPP) movement as a graduate when involved in an Australian Youth Orchestra project with the wind ensemble from Frans Brüggen's orchestra, *The Orchestra of the Eighteenth Century*. So taken was I by the creative aspect of this approach, I determined there and then to relocate to Europe to pursue study and a career in this specialisation.

I abandoned modern practices and began to immerse myself in the eighteenth-century mindset. I set about learning how my colleagues of two and three hundred years prior might have made interpretational choices. It was delightful detective work accessing clues available in treatises, iconography, manuscripts, autographs and how the historic instruments (or copies) I played responded. It was the creative practice research element of the early music movement that aroused my curiosity and connected me with the music at a newer depth. To my ears it sounded fresh, new and exciting.

With this dissertation I now reconnect with this happy period of my life. I have much to say about the bassoon and the basso and posit that this research offers new light and fresh performance perspectives on the early Classical symphonies.

CHAPTER 1 LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature pertinent to the role of the bassoon in the early symphonies of Haydn and Mozart. It follows a chronological order of publication to demonstrate how understandings of this subject have been reported on since the first complete set of editions of Mozart's works by Breitkopf und Härtel in the mid-nineteenth century. As there is no literature on this exact topic, a number of avenues have been explored which include: collected editions of Mozart's scores, the history of the bassoon, mid-eighteenth-century orchestras and orchestration of early classical symphonies. Despite this vast and quality field of musicology, the precise role of the bassoon in the early classical orchestra remains nebulous.

Collected Editions of Symphonies of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Scholarship regarding the role of the bassoon in the early symphonies of Mozart started in 1877 when the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe* (AMA) or *Old Mozart Edition* was published by Breitkopf & Härtel. It was the first complete critical edition of Mozart's work. It claimed to be a faithful reproduction of Mozart's manuscripts, free from arbitrary editorial intervention. In cases where information was missing or inconsistencies in articulation and dynamic appeared, editorial assumptions were made according to understandings held in the nineteenth century. Of particular relevance here is the translation of Mozart's marking in the score of basso to mean *only* cellos and basses. This singular assumption effectively removed the bassoon (and other basso continuo instruments) from Mozart's early symphonies in many performances until this day.

A standout of the literature is the work of H.C. Robbins Landon on Haydn. It is meticulously researched and has remained the most comprehensive Haydn study, as yet unsurpassed. It holds relevance to the study of Mozart symphonies because Haydn was also a Germanic composer writing early symphonies in 1764–1774. Haydn and Mozart both wrote symphonies composed for two oboes, two horns, two violins, viola and basso. In the middle of the last century Robbins Landon's research yielded a historically informed publication of *The Symphonies of Haydn* (1955)² and a five-volume set *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* (1976-80).³ Quoting from primary sources at every step, the *Chronicle* presents reliable and detailed information of Haydn's life and work. The volume entitled *The Early Years*, 1732–1765⁴ gives a thorough account of Haydn's orchestras including his first tenure at the court of Count Morzin and following on to the court of Prince Esterházy. Whilst the information is drawn from reliable sources and is rather detailed, it does not offer any insight as to the number of bassoons used and when exactly the bassoon/s were or were not used in those early symphonies contemporaneously written with Mozart's output 1764–1774.

Cliff Eisen, "The Old and New Mozart Editions," Early Music XIX, no. 4 (1991): 514-515, https://doi.org/10.1093/earlyj/XIX.4.513.

² Howard Chandler Robbins Landon, *The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1955).

³ Howard Chandler Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976).

⁴ Howard Chandler Robbins Landon, *Haydn: The Early Years 1732-1765*, 5 vols., vol. 1 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976).

In the 1950s and 1960s Herman Beck and Wilhelm Fischer created volumes three,⁵ four⁶ and five⁷ of the symphonies composed between 1772–1774 for the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* (NMA). This New Mozart Edition (NMA) was a revised version of the AMA from the previous century. The practise of instructing only cellos and basses to play the bass line has been continued from the AMA.

Scholarship of the Twentieth Century

Adam Carse's highly influential *History of Orchestration* (1925, 1964) discusses orchestration in detail from the sixteenth century until its publication. A whole chapter is dedicated to the orchestration of Mozart and Haydn. Carse's taxonomy of orchestral instruments is worth noting. Rather than grouping instruments according to their musical function (as was common in the eighteenth century), Carse classifies instruments according to sound production; string instruments, wind instruments, percussion and brass (as is common in orchestration today). This modern taxonomy explains why Carse provides much discussion about string instruments and wind instruments but does not consider bass instruments as a group. Carse does talk about the obbligato bassoon in Mozart's later symphonies where the bassoon has a more melodic and solo function, but largely avoids significant discussion of the bassoon as an accompanying bass instrument in the earlier symphonies. Carse seems therefore to have followed the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe* in assuming that the basso was played by string instruments. These two sources—Carse and the AMA—have therefore contributed to a widespread omission or downplaying of the actual and/or potential role of the bassoon in Mozart's work.

Lyndsay Langwill in 1965 was the first to write a book dedicated to the bassoon and contrabassoon. The speculations of Langwill in his chapter on the employment of the bassoon 1750 – 1800⁸ illuminated an important insight that other musicologists of this time failed to mention. He is the first to consider the bassoon in its role as a basso accompanying instrument, not purely as an obbligato/solo instrument as it became in the final two decades of the eighteenth century. Langwill investigated the number of bassoonists employed in the eighteenth-century orchestras. He noted the large numbers of bassoonists employed and observed the lack of solo or orchestral obbligato parts for bassoon before circa 1780. He then considered the high financial cost and labour-intensive task of copying parts deducting that a basso part was sufficient for all bass instruments to perform from. These pragmatic factors explain why no bass parts were written for particular instruments, that a generic basso part was sufficient. Thus, arriving at an understanding that despite the lack of parts labelled 'bassoon', the bassoon regularly played the basso. Langwill's critical thinking, detective work and consideration

⁵ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, "Series IV: Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien Band 3," in *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*, ed. Wilhelm Fischer (Salzburg: Bärenreiter-Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1957), https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/nma/nmapub srch.php?l=2.

⁶ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, "Series IV: Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien Band 4," in *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*, ed. Herman Beck (Salzburg: Bärenreiter-Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1963), https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/nma/nmapub srch.php?l=2.

⁷ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, "Series IV: Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien Band 5," in *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*, ed. Herman Beck (Salzburg: Bärenreiter-Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1958), https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/nma/nmapub_srch.php?l=2.

⁸ Lyndesay G. Langwill, *The Bassoon and Contrabassoon, Instruments of the Orchestra*, (London: Ernest Benn; W.W. Norton, 1965), 259-61.

of how eighteenth-century musicians understood the roles of instruments, renders his work enlightening and in great contrast to his colleagues previously writing in this field.

In 1972 Ernst Hintermaier examined the Salzburg Court Calendar and completed a doctoral dissertation which investigates the organisation and members of the Salzburg Court Orchestra between 1700 and 1806. This dissertation confirms that between 1764–1774 bassoonists were on the payroll and appeared in a higher number than cellos. This is a significant finding, and even though it was discovered as early as 1972, the implications are seldom realised.

The 1982 article with the promising title *Neue Funde zu Mozart's Symphonischem Jugendwerk*, ¹⁰ 'New Discoveries of Mozart's Early Symphonic Works' by Robert Münster yielded either incorrect or ambiguous claims regarding the scoring of the early symphonies. He claims that the orchestral setting of the early symphonies is two oboes, two horns and strings. Such a statement would suggest that Münster, just like Carse and the old (AMA) and new (NMA) Mozart editions, believes the basso was played by string instruments.

The largest work focusing on the bassoon, is a five-volume encyclopaedia penned by the retired mechanical engineer and bassoon collector, Will Jansen in 1978.¹¹ It is an extensive report of the development of the bassoon and contrabassoon, playing techniques, repertoire, players and a discography. Volume II, Chapters Twenty and Twenty-One, explores the bassoon in the orchestral score. Jansen makes some outlandish and unfounded observations regarding Mozart and the bassoon. He suggests that Mozart loved the instrument despite it being 'far from perfect' and 'full of shortcomings'.¹² He suggests that if Mozart had only lived to hear the modern Heckel bassoon of the twentieth century, he would have composed better bassoon music.¹³

To demonstrate the number of bassoons used in orchestras of the second half of the eighteenth century, Jansen lists the number of bassoons in Dresden (from Rousseau), the Mannheim Orchestra, the Paris Grande Opera, the Westminster Abbey 1784 Handel Commemoration and the premiere of Handel's Water Music in 1749. As this was the only data Jansen referred to, one could believe that orchestras of this time contained four to twenty-six bassoonists. Jansen reports only on the orchestras with large numbers of bassoon omitting information about many other orchestras in Europe at that time. It appears Jansen wished to demonstrate the large numbers of bassoonists performing rather than giving an idea of what was common practice. The author's decision to select only a part of the information available is a misrepresentation which ignores the broader picture and further questions the authoratitive nature of this encyclopaedia. The assertions Jansen makes are wild and personal opinions are presented as fact, with little to no use of references supporting his claims. William Waterhouse who reviewed the

⁹ Ernst Hintermaier, "Die Salzburger Hofkapelle von 1700 bis 1806: Organisation und Personal," (PhD diss., Universität Salzburg, 1972).

¹⁰ Robert Münster, "Neue Funde zu Mozarts Symphonischem Jugendwerk," Mitteilungen Der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum (MISM) 30 (1982).

¹¹ Will Jansen, *The Bassoon: Its History, Construction, Makers, Players and Music* (Buren, The Netherlands: Uitgeverij Frits Knuf, 1978).

¹² Jansen, The Bassoon, 855.

¹³ Jansen, The Bassoon, 854-55.

¹⁴ Jansen, The Bassoon, 857.

volumes in 1980¹⁵ unsurprisingly questioned its academic integrity, describing it as garbled and inaccurate, extravagant and colloquial. Langwill's book of 1965 remains the superior contribution to the literature about the bassoon at this time.

Joppig in 1988 published a book about the oboe and bassoon. He explains how the orchestra developed in the eighteenth century. He discusses the orchestration of the 'new classical orchestra' and describes the bass section saying that the bass instruments, including the bassoon, played from a generic bass part in keeping with the practice followed during the baroque period. 16 Just like Langwill's work from 1965, 17 they both agree the bassoon would have been used, but offer little evidence to support this claim nor expand on any nuances of bassoon practice in the basso.

The more sustained work in the area of the bassoon's role in early Mozart Symphonies is by Christoph-Hellmut Mahling. In 1967 he published a journal article in the Mozart-Jahrbuch about orchestral practice in the time of Mozart, ¹⁸ he won his habilitation in 1972 researching orchestras and orchestral musicians of Germany 1700–1850.¹⁹ The most valuable piece of literature of Mahling in regard to this research is his 1988 article Con o Senza Fagotto? Bemerkungen zur Besetzung der 'Bassi' (1740 bis ca. 1780) 'With or without bassoon, remarks on the setting of the bassi (1740 to circa 1780)'.²⁰ Mahling draws on the work of Robbins Landon, which quotes Haydn (1768), Scheibe (1740) and Quantz (1752). He quotes the Applausus letter of Haydn, Scheibe's Der Critische Musikus and Quantz's Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen, these are three primary sources which make specific mention of using the bassoon in the basso. He talks about the concert stage and the opera theatre demonstrating how the concert stage did not require such prescriptive basso orchestration as theatrical works did. He considers notions of orchestral balance, acoustics and timbre expressing how important these elements were in the early classical period. Supported by the primary sources, he arrives at a very different conclusion to the AMA and even proves that the bassoon was used regardless of the presence of winds. Whilst Mahling agrees with Joppig about adding a bassoon to the basso, Mahling is able to support his claim with primary sources.

Also referring to the primary sources of Johann Adolf Scheibe (1708–1776) (1745), Johann Joachim Quantz (1697-1773) (1752) and adding sources by François Alexandre Pierre de Garsault (1691–1778) (1790) and Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart (1739–91) (1806), Sara Ann Edgerton, in her thesis of 1989,²¹ created a documentary and analytical study of the bass parts in Haydn's early symphonies. She discusses the role of the cello, bassoon and bass (violone) extensively, offering a

¹⁵ William Waterhouse, review of The Bassoon: Its History, Construction, Makers, Players and Music, by Will Jansen. Early Music, 8, no. 1 (1980): 99, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3126652.

¹⁶ Gunter Joppig, *The Oboe and The Bassoon*, trans. Alfred Clayton (Portland, OR: Amadeus, 1988), 134.

¹⁷ Langwill, The Bassoon and Contrabassoon.

 ¹⁸ Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, "Mozart und die Orchesterpraxis Seiner Zeit," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1967).
 ¹⁹ Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, "Orchester und Orchestermusiker in Deutschland von 1700 bis 1850" (Habilitation, University of Saarbrücken, 1972). See also Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, "Con o Senza Fagotto? Bemerkungen zur Besetzung der "Bassi" (1740 bis ca. 1780)," in Florilegium musicologicum, Hellmut Federhofer zum 75, Geburtstag, ed. Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988).

²⁰ Mahling, "Con o Senza Fagotto?."

²¹ Sara Ann Edgerton, "The Bass Part in Haydn's Early Symphonies: A Documentary and Analytical Study," PhD diss., (Cornell University, 1989).

chapter for each instrument. Of the bassoon she is quick to note that Haydn uses the bassoon *col basso* as well as an independent obbligato instrument. She approaches the challenges of understanding how the bassoon would play *col basso* by close consultation with autograph scores as well as Robbins Landon's critical edition. She arrives at some viable suggestions as to how a bassoonist would have played the basso in Haydn's early symphonies.

The American Musicologist Neal Zaslaw has made a great contribution to the research of Mozart and eighteenth-century music. He has authored many titles including; the conference paper of 1977 *Toward the Revival of the Classical Orchestra*²² the 1989 monograph, *The Classical Era:* Zaslaw 1989 Mozart Symphonies *From the 1740s to the end of the Eighteenth Century*²³ and also in 1989, the most important for this research; *Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception.*²⁴ This 'biography' of Mozart's symphonies explores every aspect of the symphonies themselves as well as enlightening information surrounding them. Now over thirty years old, it is not without fault, yet an outstanding source of information beautifully organised and intelligently presented. It notes that the early symphonies were scored for upper strings, woodwinds, brass and basso, yet fails to discuss the instrumentation of the basso.

Laurie Ongley wrote an article for Early Music in 1999 'The Reconstruction of an 18th-Century Basso Group.'25 The article recognises the difficulty of ascertaining which instruments play the bass line, due to bass lines being marked simply basso or organo. Her career research field centres around eighteenth-century music in Dresden, so this paper uses the Dresden Court Orchestra records to reconstruct the bass group of this orchestra. In particular she draws on sources from the Acta Das Churfürstliche Orchestre from the Dresden State archive, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's 1768 Dictionnaire de musique and scores and parts housed in the Dresden State Library. The number of musicians she reports is remarkably high. The Acta Das Churfürstliche Orchestre actually only tells us which musicians were employed by the court. This information does not provide sufficient detail to know exactly how many of those employed performed at any one time. Certain considerations have been overlooked: Were those musicians in active service or had they been pensioned? How many performance spaces did this orchestra service? Which ensembles were these musicians required to play in? Perhaps the church, concert stage and theatre were all performing the same night? She also investigates extant orchestral parts to draw a conclusion regarding the number of musicians who played. She speculates how many players could have played from one part suggesting four to six players may have performed from two parts. The twelve bass musicians she quotes could easily have been shared amongst three orchestras, it does not suggest that all twelve played in the same orchestra at the same

²² Neal Zaslaw, "Toward the Revival of the Classical Orchestra" (paper presented at the Royal Music Association, 1976–1977)

²³ Neal Zaslaw, *The Classical Era: From the 1740s to the End of the 18th Century*, Man & Music, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1989).

²⁴ Neal Zaslaw, Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

²⁵ Laurie H. Ongley, "The Reconstruction of an 18th-Century Basso Group," Early Music 27, no. 2 (1999), http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.ecu.edu.au/stable/3128679.

time. Her research is thorough and evidence-based but does not answer the question of how the bassoon was used in the early symphony orchestra.

In the 1980s and 1990s Gerhard Allroggen and Faye Ferguson created editions of the earliest of Mozart's symphonies (1764–1771) for the NMA.²⁶ Unlike the work his colleague Fischer and Beck did in the 1950s and 1960s, he added an asterix to the bottom line of the score. Fischer and Beck translated Mozart's *Baßo* marking for *Violoncello e* Basso. Yet Allroggen added and asterix which stated 'Fagott ad Libitum; hierzu sowie zur Mitwirkung des Cembalo vgl. Vorwort', which means, do as the harpsichord, according to the remark in the preface. The remark in the preface suggests using the bassoon in the manner which was customary of the time.²⁷ In 1999 together with Faye Ferguson, Allroggen wrote the critical commentary for the first two volumes which comprise the symphonies composed 1764–1771. In this critical commentary an explanation is given for their understanding of 'the manner which was customary of the time'. The authors' claim that it was customary for the bassoons to be used to reinforce the bass section wherever the wind section includes oboes (or flutes) and horns. No sources are provided in the commentary for where they gleaned this understanding.

Whilst Ferguson and Allroggen agree with Mahling that the bassoon was used in the bass, the information regarding when to use the bassoon is contradictory to the findings of Mahling in *With or without bassoon, remarks on the setting of the bassi (1740 to circa 1780),* ²⁸ written ten years earlier. Mahling realised that the bassoon was used without the presence of winds and yet was essential when other winds were scored. So, where Ferguson and Allroggen without support from primary sources suggest that the bassoon can play when oboes and perhaps flutes play, Mahling, supported by primary sources states that the bassoon was most definitely used often, and was obligatory in the presence of other wind instruments. This misunderstanding is particularly unfortunate as it is the NMA which is considered the most historically informed and therefore most widely consulted by performers. It is not surprising that Mahling's final comments suggested that the performers of today would be well advised to follow the research.²⁹

Scholarship of the Twenty-First Century

The eminent bassoonist William Waterhouse wrote the bassoon volume of the *Yehudi Menuhin Music Guides* in 2003.³⁰ Chapter Five covers the repertoire and use of the bassoon. Naturally the bulk of this chapter discusses solo repertoire, particularly the Mozart concerto KV191. The chapter's introduction mentions that Mozart in his youth employed pairs of bassoons to strengthen the bass line, although this claim is not substantiated by any references. It might be reasonable to assume that he may have arrived

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, "Series IV: Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien Band 1 & 2," in *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*, ed. Gerhard Allroggen and Faye Ferguson (Salzburg: Bärenreiter-Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1985–1999), https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/nma/nmapub_srch.php?l=2.

²⁷ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Symphonie in G* KV110, "Series IV: Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien Band 2," in *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*, ed. Gerhard Allroggen (Salzburg: Bärenreiter-Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1771 1985), XIII. https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/nma/nmapub srch.php?l=2.

²⁸ Mahling, "Con o Senza Fagotto?."

²⁹ Mahling, "Con o Senza Fagotto?," 206.

³⁰ William Waterhouse, Bassoon, Yehudi Menuhin Music Guides (London: Kahn & Averill, 2003).

at this conclusion by looking at the few symphonies which include pairs of obbligato bassoons in some movements.

John Spitzer joined forces with Neal Zaslaw in 2004 to write the six-hundred-page volume, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650-1815.* This is a comprehensive and richly detailed study. Reinforced by a large variety of source materials, it gives a historically informed view of many aspects about the orchestra. In the chapter dedicated to the classical orchestra, only the basics are covered. It states that the basso line was played by cellos, bassoons, double basses and keyboard instruments, until the later classical period when the bassoons played independent parts. He goes into detail discussing the 'micro-scoring' that the instruments of the basso can create in arias. So, sadly no illuminating material here regarding symphonic orchestration. This volume does offer a vast number of tables and documents including pay rolls and rosters of many European orchestras of the broader eighteenth century demonstrating the prevalence of the bassoon.

Another gift of twenty-first century scholarship built on primary sources is the *Acta Forchtensteiniana: Die Musikdokumente im Esterházy-Archiv auf Burg Forchtenstein* by Josef Pratl in 2009. This e-book draws on the archival material at the Forchetenstein Castle regarding the music of the Esterházy Court from the beginning of choral music in 1673 to the resolution of the Kapelle in 1877. Not in conflict with Robbins Landon's work from the middle of the last century, it adds much more detail where Robbins Landon could only draw educated conclusions. A clearer picture of the Esterházy orchestra which Haydn composed for gives a better picture of how much the bassoon and other instruments were used in the basso.

The most recent writing on the bassoon was completed in 2012, a part of the *Yale Musical Instrument* series. Initially intended to be co-authored by James Kopp and William Waterhouse, Waterhouse was an obvious choice considering his extensive research and previous authorship of the 2003 bassoon volume for the Yehudi Menuhin series. Sadly, Waterhouse fell ill and passed away as Kopp was travelling to the UK for their first meeting. Kopp drew extensively from Waterhouse's work, which included the Langwill archive bequeathed to Waterhouse. It gives a detailed account of the development of the instrument from the seventeenth century, challenging previous comprehension regarding the early beginnings of the instrument and misunderstandings of nomenclature. On the use of the bassoon in the early classical orchestra, Kopp quotes Haydn's 1768 *Applausus* letter expressing his wish to have bassoon in the basso. He is the first of the writers about the bassoon to quote Haydn when discussing the bassoon in unspecified bass parts. He also notes that the orchestras of the 1760s and 1770s comprised many bassoons, quoting eight in the Paris opera orchestra, but more typically two to four. He neglects to consider whether these bassoonists would have performed together or shared a greater workload therefore utilising a lesser number of bassoons at any one performance.

Considering the advances in musicology since the advent of the internet at the end of the last century, the NMA has become somewhat outdated. The most up to date version of Mozart editions is still being developed. It is the Digital Interactive Mozart Edition (DIME), an offspring from the NMA developed by the Salzburg Mozarteum and the Packard Humanities Institute (PHI). The advantage of

this digital edition is the flexibility with which it can update according to the latest scholarly findings.³¹ As of yet, none of the symphonies in the 1764—1774 period are available in this publication.

A Disappointing Yield from the Literature

This primary sweep of literature includes texts about the history of the bassoon, the early classical orchestras, orchestration, and editions of Mozart's symphonies. The quality and relevance of the literature on the role of the bassoon in the early symphonies of Mozart varies. Information on the exact subject is evaded, is vague or is unsubstantiated. The better-quality scholarship varies in relevance. To summarise the literature reviewed, the most reliable texts are those supported by primary resources. The most widely used music editions by performers are those of the NMA, which sadly do not refer to primary sources. The earliest scholarship on the subject occurred in the mid-nineteenth century by Breitkopf & Härtel (AMA). This edition referred to Mozart's autograph scores and decided on a basso without bassoon. The NMA by Bärenreiter which was published a century later, drew on remaining autographs and the AMA to create this edition which perpetuates the tradition set by the old edition excluding the bassoon. This misrepresentation was challenged firstly by Langwill in 1965. Langwill understood the bassoon functioned as a member of the bass and noted that despite the lack of bassoon parts (and limited solo bassoon literature) many orchestras of that period employed bassoonists. Rather than following the work of Carse and his successors, one must return to sources like Quantz to obtain more detail about basso parts and the likely employ of bassoon in eighteenth-century orchestras. Mahling (1967), Robbins Landon (1976), Hintermaier (1872), Pratl (2009) and Kopp (2012) did return to the sources, and they empirically confirmed that the bassoon was used in the early classical symphonies including those of Mozart. Having ascertained that indeed the bassoon was an essential part of the basso, a question remains: Did the bassoon play exactly the same as the other bass instruments? Or did the bassoon play intermittently leaving some passages out? Edgerton (1989) gives a convincing account of how a bassoonist would play col basso in the early Haydn symphonies. Would this practice translate to the symphonies of Mozart? To sum up, questions remain unanswered, and a lacuna prevails.

Further Speculations: Why the Lack of Reliable Literature?

Why is there a lack of clarity surrounding the use of the bassoon in the early Mozart symphonies? Why then do the authors provide such an array of answers on this topic? The eighteenth-century practise of unassigning the instrumentation of the basso has led to some misunderstandings. When Breitkopf & Härtel published the AMA, they used Mozart's manuscript scores and printed them in modern print. It would seem they felt it necessary to translate Mozart's use of the term basso to a mid-nineteenth-century practice, which was to stipulate exactly which instruments play which line of the score. Why were cello and bass assumed to be the instruments playing the bass line? The answers could lie in scoring

^{31 &}quot;Digital Interactive Mozart Edition," Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, accessed February 2022, https://dme.mozarteum.at/movi/en.

conventions. For example, this autograph score of Haydn's *Symphony in C* Hob 1:56, shows the bassoon next to the basso line. (*Figure 1*). This phenomenon is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.



Figure 1 J. Haydn Sinfonia in C Hob 1:56 Adagio, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin 32

Conclusion

This literature review highlights the challenges surrounding the role of the bassoon in the early classical symphonies. Scholarship on the subject yields a variety of attitudes and understandings. To focus on the work of scholars who referred to primary source material, there is no doubt that the bassoon was prevalent in the bass section of the early classical symphony. The questions remaining query how the bassoonist would play the basso, would it be the same as the cellos and basses, or would it be different and if so, how?

³²Joseph Haydn, Sinfonia in C Hob 1:56 (Esterháza: n.p., 1774).

CHAPTER 2 METHODOLOGY

This research project was inspired by my experience as a performer. I was trained by the pioneers and first generation of descendants from the Dutch/ Belgian pioneers namely the Kuijken brothers, Donna Agrell, Alfredo Bernadini and Phillipe Herreweghe. In addition to my experience as a performer in historically informed orchestras and chamber ensembles, I am a keen member of the audience. My observations as both player and listener have kindled a desire to search for knowledge. I believe that my experience as a performer has guided my research (Practice-led Research) and that this research paper is intended to impact performance Practice (Research-led Practice).

This research study engages varying qualitative methodological approaches to question if and how the bassoon was used in the basso of the early Classical symphonies composed in the 1760s and 1770s. Two main research questions were posed:

- 1. To what extent was the bassoon included in the basso section of early Classical symphonies?
- 2. How does the bassoon play *col basso*?

An exploratory research approach investigated several avenues in order to shed light on this poorly understood area of early Classical orchestral performance practice; namely:

- A. Examination of primary source material including written and musical manuscripts;
- B. Building a contextual picture to hypothesise what implicit performance practices/tacit knowledge were missing from the primary documentation;
- C. Challenging the work of modern scholars (potential anachronistic assumptions);
- D. Exploring performance possibilities through a hypothetical concert series.
- E. Exploration of these three avenues, yielded further questions and research design approaches which are explained in order, in greater detail.

Avenue A: Examination of primary source material including written and musical manuscripts. All symphonies between 1750-1780 available on RISM and IMSLP by the following composers were inspected: Thomas Arne (1710–1778), Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788), Franz Ignaz Beck (1734–1809), Luigi Boccherini (1743–1805), Joseph Bologne de Saint-Georges (1745–1799), William Boyce (1711–1779), Christian Cannabich (1731–1798), Domenico Cimarosa (1749–1801), Antoine Dauvergne (1713–1797), Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf (1739–1799), Ernst Eichner (1740–1777), Johann Christian Fischer (1733–1800), Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714–1787), François Joseph Gossec (1734–1829), Michael Haydn (1737–1806), Ignaz Holzbauer (1711–1783), Niccolò Jommelli (1714–1774), Joseph Martin Kraus (1756–1792), Georg Matthias Monn (1717–1750), Leopold Mozart (1719–1787), Joseph Mysliveček (1737–1781), Niccolò Piccini (1728–1800), Ignaz Pleyel (1728–1800), J. J. Quantz, Franz Xaver Richter (1709–1789), Antonio Salieri (1750–1825), Giovanni Battista Sammartini (1700–1775), Christoph Schaffrath (1709–1763), Joseph Schmitt (1734–1791), Carl Philipp Stamitz (1745–1701), Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767), Georg Christoph Wagenseil (1715–1777) and Johann Baptist Wanhal (1739–1813). This manuscript study showed that symphonies composed in

these three decades were composed for an almost standardised early classical symphony instrumentation of either: harpsichord, two violin sections, viola, basso and horns (or horns ad libitum); or for harpsichord, two violin sections, viola, basso and oboes (or flutes) and horns. There are exceptions when these settings were complimented with trumpets, extra horns, flutes, timpani and/or obbligato bassoons, yet the common ensemble of violins, violas, oboes horns and basso was homogenous Europe wide. Therefore, the symphonies of Haydn, Mozart, and the English symphonies are chosen as the focus of the study as they reflect this Europe wide orchestra setting and they provide compelling information to this study.

Three further avenues of questioning arose. These avenues were approached using research methods fitting to each question. The first question asked why information/instruction regarding basso orchestration/instrumentation is missing in the treatises? Employing deductive logic, consideration of the historical context (Avenue B) and absence of implicit instructions within the primary sources lead to a feasible hypothesis. The second question queried whether the scores and part sets by other composers of the early Classical period were as opaque and flexible as those of Mozart? A correlational research design compared music manuscripts of all the symphonic compositions available on RISM and IMSLP written between 1750–1780. The third and final question of Avenue A, reflects on whether the orchestral practices used by Haydn and Mozart may have been homogenous throughout Europe? A cross-sectional study of orchestras in many major and minor musical centres across Europe was employed. This approach proved that some centres, those which were better funded, more advanced and forward thinking, demonstrated practices unique to that location. It also proved that the concepts central to this research such as use of an unmarked basso part, was consistent in all musical centres during the period of this study.

Avenue B: comprised building a contextual picture of the historical, socioeconomic and aesthetic environment. Immersion in this historical context reduced the risk of anachronistic errors and assumptions. The goal of creating this contextual picture was to understand the working life of a bassoonist in the early Classical era. This avenue explored what music and in which venues bassoonists of this time played. What repertoire was written specifically for bassoon, was it solo repertoire, chamber music, orchestral or military music? It also questioned whether bassoonists were playing at church, in the theatre, on the concert platform, on the battlefield or for outdoor municipal events. Inductive reasoning drew on reliable information from primary source material and a general conclusion was made from observing and cross-referencing players, compositions and performance venues.

The goal of Avenue C was to challenge the work of twentieth-century scholarship, namely the inconsistent approaches within the five volumes of early Mozart symphonies in the NMA by three different editors. This avenue observed the influence that modern editions have on performance practice today. The questions raised in this avenue include the following; Why did the editors Beck and Fischer use the words *violoncelli e bassi* instead of Mozart's word basso or *bassi*? What did *Fagott Ad Libitum* in the editions by Ferguson and Allrogen mean? Was their understanding of 'practice of the time' aligned with that of the most recent research? On what did they base their understandings?

Avenue C also explored the development of the historically informed performance practice movement, the intentions, limitations and controversy within this field. My philosophy embraces Nikolaus Harnoncourt's understanding that our HIPP goal is futile and unachievable. Whilst this may seem to be an obvious statement, many have erroneously attempted to achieve 'authentic performances.' Researching historical sources offers performers a deeper understanding towards a wider palette of possibilities. By abandoning modern assumptions, performers are freed of traditional limitations. By embracing the surviving eighteenth-century material, a new and varied aesthetic is born. Modern performances of early music, inspired by extant manuscripts and instruments employ the human qualities shared with our former colleagues; creativity, intelligence, and a desire to be of service to the music and our twenty-first century audience.

The detailed questions posed in Avenue C required a pragmatic approach. Bärenreiter, the publisher of the NMA is a highly respected publishing house. Why or how could they have presented contradictory information in their authoritative collection of Mozart's complete oeuvres? The answer perhaps lies in the anachronistic mindset.

The question regarding the 'translation' of the term basso from Mozart's autograph required some mental gymnastics and critical thinking. I compared the manuscripts in Mozart's hand with the NMA editions; I compared views of both scores and sets of parts with a HIPP and a modern mind set. I analysed the notation and organisation of the scores, I considered the process of transferring a Mozart autograph to a modern typed score using modern scoring conventions and was able to make a convincing hypothesis. The errors made by the editors were hidden in plain sight.

Avenue D was interested in the application of findings in performance, although financial limitations and time constraints made the mounting actual performances impractical. Instead, pertinent issues were examined through the explication of four hypothetical performance programs. These performance considerations are encapsulated within the second main research question, 'How does the bassoon play *col basso?*

This paper employs several qualitative research approaches and designs to answer the two main research questions. In answering those two questions, further questioning arose. Each of those detailed questions demanded customised procedures. The use of mixed methods arrived at convincing outcomes and new understandings of basso performance practice ready for the concert platform.

CHAPTER 3 BACKGROUND

Introduction

The starting point for finding answers to the research questions is to understand the context. This first chapter explores the background, clarifies useful terminology and explains when and where the study takes place. Encapsulating a wide range of topics, the chapter begins with an overview of the socioeconomic and aesthetic environment, to an review of important musical aspects of the period (the symphonic genre, basso continuo, the treble/bass orchestral balance), and next to bassoon specific context, a brief discussion of the Historically Informed Performance Practice Movement, ending with a definition of terms and the geographical and chronological limitations.

Europe in the Eighteenth Century

Eighteenth-century Europe was vibrant with intellectual, social and political vitality. Referred to as 'the Age of Enlightenment', the wheels of change were turning slowly, yet dramatically. Simmering for centuries, the Renaissance's programme to prioritise and categorise knowledge and achievement was now approaching implementation. Logic, individualism, scepticism, freedom of expression and reform reigned amongst Enlightenment champions; there was an unprecedented optimism for new understandings and changes in the world. It was a time of discoveries in natural philosophy, the legal system, inventions and human rights. These ideals clashed with conservatives resulting in revolution and war. This age generated Robert Hooke's (1635–1703) *Micrographia* (1665), Isaac Newton's (1643–1727) theory of gravity (1687), Denis Diderot's (1713–1784) *Encyclopédie* (1751–1776), James Watt's (1736–1819) steam engine (1765), John Locke 's (1632–1704) *Two Treatises of Government* (1689) and Jean-Jaques Rousseau's (1712–1788) *The Social Contract* (1762), a political philosophy that influenced the revolutions in France and America. Emmanuel Kant (1724–1704) in 1784, wrote an essay entitled *Was ist Aufklärung*? (What Is Enlightenment?), to which he answered, 'Enlightenment is mankind's exit from its self-incurred immaturity,' an immaturity he defined as 'the inability to make use of one's own understanding without the guidance of another.'³³

The classical civilisations of ancient Greece and Rome which championed structure, unity, restraint and clarity were admired by the thinkers of the time as much as its artists. Literature flourished and readership increased thanks to developments in printing and distribution of the written word.³⁴ The visual arts movement, not only imitated classical Greco-Roman ideals, but also the principles of proportion, order, harmony and unity. The literary and visual arts were a means to disseminate knowledge; they relayed philosophical thought and documented current affairs.

In music too, the ideology and aesthetic of the Enlightenment prevailed. The ideals of orderliness and clarity, developed in *natural philosophy* (now called science), became sought-after

³³ Richard Taruskin, "What Was Enlightenment?," in *The Oxford History of Western Music* (New York, USA: Oxford University Press, 2005), https://www-oxfordwesternmusic-com.ezproxy.ecu.edu.au/view/Volume2/actrade-9780195384826-div1-09004.xml.

³⁴ Jane V. Curran, "Oral Reading, Print Culture, and the German Enlightenment," *The Modern Language Review* 100, no. 3 (2005): 696, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3739121.

desiderata in the new emerging musical 'languages'. As the eighteenth century progressed, the taste for sophisticated counterpoint dwindled and the new galant style became fashionable and popular. It favoured a lighter and clearer texture, where melody, and its accompaniment, predominated. Audience demographics were expanding and changing to include groups outside the church and the aristocracy. One result is that in some European centres like London and Paris, more people and a different class of people, attended the day's burgeoning concert series. Here the symphony ruled.

The eighteenth century was a time of rapid change in society, aesthetics and music – which indirectly precipitated the evolution of the symphony and a change in the role of the bassoon within the orchestra.

Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics

An aesthetic is not universal, rather it experiences 'fertile relativity'.³⁵ The aesthetic of a Mozart symphony cannot compare to the aesthetic of a Wagner opera, so how can an audience of today know the desired aesthetic of orchestral music in the Salzburg of 1770? Conditions, standards and tastes of music are forever changing. Is it possible for modern audiences to understand contemporary aesthetic taste in the eighteenth-century sense?

Aesthetic theory of the eighteenth century may better be understood as the appeal of good taste (bon goût). Although the term 'aesthetics' was first used in 1750, it wasn't until the nineteenth century that it enjoyed common usage. A highly sought and respected phenomenon, *le bon goût* defined the seventeenth and eighteenth-century holy grail of aesthetics.

Affektenlehre, the theory of how emotions affekt or move an audience, advocated that music was to move an audience by imitating nature and that a written text is the driving force. However, Jean Pierre Crousaz (1715) and the Abbé Dubos (1719), in their writings on aesthetics, describe sentiment as perceiving beauty via the senses and that it was not dependant on the setting of text. Gharles Batteux in his influential Les beaux-arts réduits à un même principe (1747) proposed a theory of sentiment in which music has the capacity to move an audience in a way that words fail. He therefore claims that taste is in fact an ability to sense the good or bad qualities in art, and thus, taste is actually sentiment. Johann Ulrich König in 1726 maintained that 'taste' is the 'sensitivity of our souls' (Empfindung unserer Seele) and so aesthetic judgement was decided according to the reactions of our soul to the phenomena accessed via the senses. Baumgarten (1752) believed in aesthetic knowledge claiming 'the goal of aesthetics is the perfection of sensory cognition as such, and this is beauty'.

Good taste in music is very much linked to how effectively one can sense its capacity to touch the soul. Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762), *Rules for Playing in a True Taste (1748)* and *A Treatise of*

15

³⁵ Curt Sachs, "Music History; The Two Sides of the Coin," *Papers of the American Musicological Society* (1940): 137-38, http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.ecu.edu.au/stable/43873096.

³⁶ Georgia J. Cowart, "Sense and Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Musical Thought," *Acta Musicologica* 56, no. 2 (1984): 253, https://doi.org/10.2307/933002.

³⁷ Cowart, "Sense and Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Musical Thought," 255.

³⁸ Cowart, "Sense and Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Musical Thought," 258-59.

³⁹ Cowart, "Sense and Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Musical Thought," 259.

Good Taste in the Art of Musick (1749)⁴⁰ seeks to explain the execution of ornaments in good taste and to express their intended sentiment. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718-1795), wrote a periodical of music criticism aimed at the amateur musician Der Critische Musicus an der Spree (1749–1750). The twenty-seventh publication opens with the statement; 'One knows how quickly everyone alternates in passions, since she herself feels nothing but movement and restlessness, every expression in music either has an effect or is based on a feeling.'41 Charles Avison's essay (1752)42 discusses the affect of music on the emotions and character. Quantz says the basic intent of music is to 'arouse and still the passions, to put the listener now in this affekt and now in another'. 43 These few examples demonstrate clearly how the desired aesthetic was for music to affect the feelings of its audience. Having successfully moved an audience, the performance was deemed to be 'in good taste'. Geminiani and Johann Mattheson (1681–1764)⁴⁴ advocated that the emotional impact of a musical performance is of upmost importance.45

Musical Styles of the Eighteenth Century

Galant, Entfindsamkeit, and Sturm und Drang were styles used during the eighteenth century in the fields of music, art and literature. They are ideological and aesthetic concepts and are often not easy to define. A brief discussion of how these terms were used in the eighteenth century aims to orient readers to the stylistic context of this study.

Un homme galant was; well mannered, elegant, virtuous, witty, fashionable, cultured, gay, pleasant, clever, free and spontaneous. The men and women adhered to social etiquette, had ancestral wealth, and they were accomplished in fields of music, art, literature, modern languages and the natural sciences. 46 The goal of the galant was, to delight as well as impress. 47

In the broadest musical sense, the eighteenth-century music critic, Marpurg, explained that galant music was simply non-contrapuntal music of the eighteenth century.⁴⁸ For Mattheson ⁴⁹ the term represented increased cultural awareness, the new and rational, it was in stark contrast to the idealisation

⁴⁰ Francesco Geminiani, Rules for Playing in a True Taste on the Violin German Flute, Violoncello, and Harpsicord Particularly the Thorough Bass. Exemplifyd in a Variety of Compositions on the Subjets of English, Scotch and Irish tunes. Opera VIII (London: n.p., c1748), http://ark.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb44906357t; Francesco Geminiani, A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick (London: n.p., 1749), https://lccn.loc.gov/2014572051.#

⁴¹ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, Der Critische Musicus an der Spree (Berlin: A. Haude und J. C. Spener, 1749), 215, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Der_Critische_Musicus_an_der_Spree.pdf&page=3.

⁴² Charles Avison, An Essay on Musical Expression (London: C. Davis, 1752), 109. https://imslp.org/wiki/An Essay on Musical Expression (Avison%2C Charles).

⁴³ Johann Joachim Quantz, Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte Traversiere zu Spielen (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voß, 1752),

⁴⁴ Margaret Seares and Johann Mattheson, *Johann Mattheson's Pièces de Clavecin and Das Neu-eröffnete Orchestre:* Mattheson's Universal Style in Theory and Practice (London: Routledge, 2016).

⁴⁵ David Damschroder and David Russell Williams, "Music Theory from Zarlino to Schenker: A Bibliography and Guide", Harmonologia, no. 4, (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1990).

⁴⁶ Robert Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (Cary, NC: Oxford University Press, 2007), 5. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ecu/detail.action?docID=415566.

⁴⁷ David A Sheldon, "The Galant Style Revisited and Re-evaluated," *Acta Musicologica* 47, no. Fasc. 2 (1975): 246.

⁴⁸ Sheldon, "The Galant Style Revisited and Re-evaluated," 240.

⁴⁹ Seares and Mattheson, Johann Mattheson's Pièces de Clavecin and Das Neu-eröffnete Orchestre: Mattheson's Universal Style in Theory and Practice.

of tradition or 'antique stupidity' and 'unnecessary school dust'.⁵⁰ His 1713 treatise *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre*⁵¹ is alternately titled:

Universelle und gründliche Anleitung, Wie ein Galant Homme einen volkommen Begriff von der Hoheit und Würde der edlen Music erlangen, seinen Gout darnach formiren, die Terminos technicos verstehen und geschicklich von dieser vortrefflichen Wissenschafft raisonniren mörge.

A universal and thorough instruction on how a galant man should attain a perfect understanding of the sovereignty and dignity of noble music, form his taste accordingly, understand the technical boundaries and skilfully reason from this excellent science.

His treatise is written in a clear, direct style avoiding overly technical terminology, perfectly aligned with the aim of the galant style. He discusses at great length the Italian, French, English and German styles; their practices and attitudes celebrating the virtues of mixing national styles. Whilst having embraced the galant ideal, less than a decade later, criticises galant musicians and composers as being overly simplified and unable to grasp the finer concepts of composition. By 1721, in Marpurg's book *Das Forschende Orchestre*, he clarifies the meaning of galant explaining its traditional virtuous sense, not the more modern pejorative meaning. The word galant had taken on negative shades of meaning, such as distinguishing a *galant homme* from a professional musician, that is a hobby musician from a true artist.⁵²

Towards the middle of the century, Quantz, spoke of the need for music to be simple, clear, light and flowing, as opposed to obscure and confused; 'Galant und lustig, galant und angenehm' (galant and light-hearted, galant and agreeable).⁵³ The stile galant was embraced for its uncomplicated, pleasing qualities and equally criticised for being the music of simpletons and amateurs. C.P.E. Bach⁵⁴ and Daniel Gottlob Türk (1750–1726)⁵⁵ reported on the contrast between the galant and the learned styles. In Anleitung zur Praktischen Musik of 1782 Johann Samuel Petri (1738–1808) described the galant as the 'great catastrophe in music'.⁵⁶

Empfindsamkeit, a term first used in 1755, is a phenomenon experienced by literary and musical audiences at the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century. The term aimed to explain an

⁵⁰ Sheldon, "The galant style revisited and re-evaluated," 251.

⁵¹ Seares and Mattheson, Johann Mattheson's Pièces de Clavecin and Das Neu-eröffnete Orchestre: Mattheson's Universal Style in Theory and Practice.

⁵² Sheldon, "The galant style revisited and re-evaluated," 253.

⁵³ Quantz, Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte Traversiere zu Spielen, 10, 20, 103-106.

⁵⁴ Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen (1787).

⁵⁵ Daniel Gottlob Türk, *Klavierschule* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1789)

https://archive.org/details/klavierschuleode00trkd/page/n1/mode/2up?view=theater.

Johann Samuel Petri, *Anleitung zur Practischen Musik, vor Neuangebende Sänger und Instrumentspieler* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1767) https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10527660?page=,1.

experience in which true and natural emotions were roused. It understood that intellect, feelings and sensuality (sensuality in terms of appealing to the senses) coexisted. Sudden changes in mood highlighted the capacity of the poem or piece of music to affect the emotions of its audience. Johann Georg Sulzer (1771–1774), was one of the first to define *empfindung*, finding that it pertains to what pleases or displeases whereas intellect distinguishes what is true or false and that the goal of fine art is to awaken sentiment in a listener or reader.⁵⁷ This experience is felt by audiences of keyboard music by C.P.E. Bach and his northern German colleagues. The music of Johann Christian Bach (1735–1782) also demonstrates elements of the *Empfindsammer* aesthetic.

The movement known as *Sturm und Drang* first appeared in German literary circles of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) and Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz (1751–1792) during the early 1770s. It is a passionate and multifaceted movement, central to European intellectual and artistic development. It is a response to the confines of Enlightenment universalism and rationalism and it resulted in an out pouring of inner torment. The *Sturm und Drang* literary texts came to music via the operatic stage. The energy and intensity of the movement can also be heard in other genres including the symphonies of C.P.E. Bach, Joseph Haydn (1732–1809), and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791).

The Development of the Symphony

The symphony developed throughout the eighteenth century into an important orchestral form still composed and performed today. The symphony developed from different sources; a descendant of the ripieno concerto, the sonata da chiesa/camera of Corelli's generation and from an opening piece from Scarlatti's generation of theatre composers, often known as an overture or a sinfonia.⁵⁸ At times an opera overture was detached from the opera to be performed separately, conversely symphonies which opened a concert program were titled 'overture'.⁵⁹ By the 1720s and 1730s it had become a three or four movement composition in its own right. Richard Taruskin describes these early symphonies as 'aristocratic party music',⁶⁰ because they accompanied evening functions. As the bourgeoisie became financially empowered and urbanisation grew, the public gained more access to concerts and so music became more emotionally and aesthetically captivating; it became music to be listened to.⁶¹

Early Classical symphonies were of three or four movements; fast, slow, optional minuet and trio, fast. Scored for violins, violas, basso with pairs of horns and oboes, this basic setting was sometimes augmented with horns, flutes, trumpets and timpani. The tables given in Appendices C and D provide some details of the early Classical symphonies written by Mozart and Haydn respectively including instruments augmenting the basic instrumental setting for each symphony. This orchestration was embraced Europe wide. Mannheim was an exception however, it included clarinets as early as the

⁵⁷ Cowart, "Sense and Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Musical Thought," 264.

⁵⁸ Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁵⁹ Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*.

⁶⁰ Taruskin, The Oxford History of Western Music.

⁶¹ Taruskin, The Oxford History of Western Music.

1750s. It wasn't until the 1780s that clarinets were used throughout Europe, by the turn of the century they were standard in all symphony orchestras.⁶²

The Fundament of Eighteenth Century Music: Basso Continuo

The basso continuo, or thorough bass, is the ever-present fundament of baroque, and many classical musical compositions. This rhythm and bass section is played by a basso continuo band comprising two types of instrument; an instrument capable of supplying the harmony – harpsichord, organ, guitar or theorbo – to realise chords of the figured bass, to fill in the harmony and a melody or sustained instrument – cello, gamba, bassoon, violone – to play and strengthen the bass line. A basso continuo band provides the harmonic fundament and set the rhythm and tempo of the whole ensemble.

All orchestral genres in the baroque and early classical utilise a basso continuo. This includes liturgical music, operas, oratorios, as well as instrumental works for orchestras or smaller chamber ensembles such as concertos and symphonies. Whilst the basso was a common feature across genres, the requirements of the basso varied from genre to genre. Liturgical music and theatre music almost always used a keyboard basso continuo.⁶³ In the performance of concerti, lighter forces were required. Research conducted by Richard Maunder convincingly suggests that concertos of the early classical period were accompanied by an 'orchestra' of one player a part. ⁶⁴ His research explored concerto practice in Northern, Central and Southern Germany, Italy, Vienna, Salzburg, Paris and London to find the single voice per part practice to be homogenous throughout Europe, the exceptions so rare rendering the hypothesis valid. In such a small ensemble a bassoon would not the be required. Conversely, a symphony orchestra would utilise a larger basso group. The example Ongley suggested from her study of the Dresden *Hofkapelle* is a symphony orchestra basso of five or six.

Basso Continuo Instrumentation

The instrumentation of this basso continuo group was flexible, with many possibilities and combinations existing.⁶⁵ Its instrumentation, which was seldom mentioned in the score, was decided by the musicians and instruments available to the ensemble. Instruments of the basso continuo included violones, bass de violons, bassoons,⁶⁶ cellos, double basses, harpsichords, organs, guitars, lutes and theorboes.⁶⁷ The basso continuo is varied in number, from a single harmony or melody instrument up to a whole ensemble of many harmony and melody basso continuo players. Conventions of terminology, performance practice, or instrumentation were not standardised. During the Baroque period, independent orchestral parts for the bassoon were only written in a score when the bassoon played a

⁶² Jane Ellsworth, *The Clarinet* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2021), 69-92, http://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/9781800103504/type/BOOK, 1 online resource (vi, 297 pages): illustrations

⁶³ James Webster, "On the Absence of Keyboard Continuo in Haydn's Symphonies," in *Haydn* (Routledge, 2017), 601.

⁶⁴ C. R. F. Maunder, *The Scoring of Early Classical Concertos*, 1750-1780 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014).

⁶⁵ Karl Hochreither, Zur Aufführungspraxis Der Vokal-Instrumentalwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs (Kassel: Merseburger, 1983); Konrad Brandt, "Fragen sur Fagottbesetzung in den Kirchenmusikalischen Werken Johann Sebastian Bachs," Bachjahrbuch 54 (1968).

⁶⁶ Halfpenny, Eric. "The Evolution of the Bassoon in England, 1750-1800." *The Galpin Society Journal* 10 (1957): 30-39. https://doi.org/10.2307/841803. http://www.jstor.org/stable/841803.

⁶⁷ Laurence Dreyfus, *Bach's Continuo Group: Players and Practices in His Vocal Works* Studies in the History of Music; 3. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987).

solo or an obbligato part separate from the basso. The bassoonist, like the cellists and bass players most often performed col basso from the basso part.

Unlabelled Basso Parts

Non-chordal instruments with the ability to sustain their sound, such as gamba, cellos, basses and bassoons played the bass line. The basso continuo harmony was filled by instruments capable of playing more than one note simultaneously; organ, fortepiano, harpsichord, theorbo. Until c1780, there were rarely parts written specifically for the bassoon, so the bassoon remained in the basso continuo band to strengthen the cellos and basses.⁶⁸ Travel diaries and treatises from the period contain pictures of how the orchestra was set up, where the players were placed. The bassoons were placed with the bass group next to the double basses or in the second basso continuo group (if the orchestra was big enough to have two harpsichords). 69 They would play from a generic part labelled 'basso'.

The Slow Decline of the Basso Continuo

By the 1780s baroque performance practices that were underpinned by a basso continuo group, had mostly transformed to a different aesthetic. As polyphony morphed into a more harmonic texture, and the baroque style developed into the classical style, the instrumentation changed to support the new musical texture.⁷⁰ For example, oboes and horns, once employed predominantly to perform melodies now also play long notes that support the harmonic structure. Examples of this can be seen the following two examples. Haydn's Sinfonia in G Hob 1:3 was composed in Dolní Luckavice (Bohemia) in 1761 whilst under the employ of Count Morzin. The excerpt in Figure 2 demonstrates the oboes and horns playing held notes which make up the chords of the harmony.



Figure 2 J. Haydn Sinfonia in G Hob 1:3 Movement 1 bars 37-40⁷¹

⁶⁸ Reinhard G. Pauly, *Music in the Classical Period* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1965), 43.

⁶⁹ John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650-1815 (Oxford, US: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2004), 351-55, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ecu/detail.action?docID=422499.

⁷⁰ Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (London: Faber &Faber, 1978).

⁷¹Joseph Haydn and H. C. Robbins Landon, Kritische Ausgabe Sämtlicher Symphonien: Volume I Critical Edition of the Complete Symphonies, Haydn, Joseph 1732-1809 Symphonies, (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1965), 73.

The second example is from Mozart's *Symphony in F* KV76 (Figure 3) composed in Vienna in 1767. It employs pairs of oboes, horns and bassoons holding semibreves for the opening eight bars which provide sustained chords supporting the harmony.



Figure 3 W. A. W. A. Mozart Sinfonie in F K 76, Neue Mozart Ausgabe 72

Around the 1780s, aspects of the basso continuo section were becoming obsolete. Wind instruments, the instruments of the *Harmonien*, were now installed in the orchestra. Haydn's and Mozart's symphonies of the late 1770s and early 1780s demonstrate elements typical of a new style. Charles Rosen suggests it was this time that basso continuo was completely abandoned. The demise of the basso continuo was, however, not so abrupt. There is evidence of basso continuo use right into

21

⁷² Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Symphonie in F* KV76, "Series IV: Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien Band 1," in *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*, ed. Gerhard Allroggen (Salzburg: Bärenreiter-Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1767 1984).

⁷³ Harmonien, Harmonie was a band of wind players initially oboes, horns and bassoons, then clarinets were added. The harmonien performed either on the battle field (feldmusiker) for outdoor, recreational or banquets.

⁷⁴ Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (London: Faber & Faber, 1978).

the nineteenth century. The basso continuo section of the baroque style was greatly reduced by the 1780s. The keyboard basso continuo in the symphonies of C.P.E Bach, for example, is 'explicitly suppressed'⁷⁵ Whilst basso continuo use was losing its important fundamental role, there is evidence it was a slow dwindling process. Francesco Gasparini's (1661–1727) much used harpsichord treatise titled *L'Armonico Pratico al Cimbalo*, ⁷⁶ was first published in 1708, and was reprinted eight times, with its final reprint in 1802. ⁷⁷ In the second half of the eighteenth century, composers began giving instructions to keyboard basso continuo players which limited their freedom to improvise. An example of which can be seen in *Il Trifono Della Practica Musicale* by Francesco Maria Veracini (1690–1768) in 1744. Although instruction in how a basso continuo player is to figure a bass continued into the nineteenth century, figured bass lines in compositions became rarer and written out realisations of the figured bass began to appear. ⁷⁸ With the decline of the keyboard figured bass over the second half of the eighteenth century, the notion of a basso continuo band changed. This is, importantly for this study, where the role of the bassoon began to change.

Balance Between the Treble and Bass

Orchestral treble-bass balance was another factor that changed during the shift from the baroque to the classical style. Polyphony experienced an equality of voices, yet the galant harmonic style saw a new voicing hierarchy, namely the polarisation of melody and bass. Therefore, the proportion of treble to bass in the orchestral balance held significance in the galant voicing.⁷⁹ Several mid eighteenth to early nineteenth-century musicians articulated very precisely how an orchestra should be balanced. These include: Johann Adolf Scheibe (1708–1776) in 1745,⁸⁰ Charles Avison (1709–1770) in 1751,⁸¹ Quantz in 1752,⁸² Petri in 1767,⁸³ Francesco Galeazzi (1758–1819) in 1791,⁸⁴ Anton Stadler (1753–1812) in 1800,⁸⁵ Heinrich Christoph Koch (1749–1816) in 1802,⁸⁶ Giuseppe Scaramelli (1761–44) in 1811⁸⁷ and Gottfried Weber (1779–1839) in 1822.⁸⁸

⁷⁵ RichardTaruskin, *The Bach Sons As "Symphonists"* (New York, USA: 'Oxford University Press'). https://www.oxfordwesternmusic.com/Volume2/actrade-9780195384826-div1-10004.xml.

⁷⁶ Francesco Gasparini, *L'Armonico Pratico al Cimbalo*, (Bologna: Giusseppe Antonio Silvani, 1722).

⁷⁷ Giulia Nuti, *The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo: Style in Keyboard Accompaniment in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 127, https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/e/9781315085609, 1 online resource.

⁷⁸ Nuti, The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo: Style in Keyboard Accompaniment in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, 129.

⁷⁹ Mahling, "Con o Senza Fagotto?."

⁸⁰ Johann Adolf Scheibe, Critischer Musikus (Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1745).

⁸¹ Charles Avison, Six Concertos in Seven Parts, Op. 3 (London, 1751).

⁸²Quantz, Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte Traversiere zu Spielen.

⁸³ Petri, Anleitung zur Practischen Musik, vor Neuangebende Sänger und Instrumentspieler.

⁸⁴ Francesco Galeazzi, *Elementi Teorico-Practici di Musica* (Rome, 1791).

⁸⁵ Anton Stadler, Musik Plan (1800).

⁸⁶ Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1802).

⁸⁷ Giuseppe Scaramelli, Saggio sopra i doveri d'un primo Violino direttore d'orchestra (Trieste, 1811).

⁸⁸ Gottfried Weber, "Besetzung," in Allgemeine Encyclopedie der Wissenschaften und Künste, ed. Ersch und Gruber (Leipzig, 1822).

As the Classic period came to full maturity, a taste for a lighter bass line came into vogue.⁸⁹ After 1790 Galeazzi, Scaramelli and Weber advocated for a bass section of no more than twenty percent of the whole orchestra.

History of the Bassoon in the Eighteenth Century

The Bassoon: A Workhorse of the Basso Continuo.

The history of the bassoon in the eighteenth century is an avenue worthy of exploration to understand how it was employed in the orchestral setting. Until the last couple of decades of the eighteenth century, the bassoon was employed in wind ensembles and orchestras. Solo literature played by bassoon and basso continuo was written for bassoon, cello or gamba and basso continuo (with the exception of some bassoon specific sonatas, for example by Telemann and Johann Friedrich Fasch (1688–1758). In chamber music it could be heard as a basso continuo instrument and in the obbligato role in the *quadros* by Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745) and J.F. Fasch. In the beginning of the century, it was the bass (bass oboe) of the newly popular oboe band originated in Versailles as *Les douze Grands Hautbois du Roi*. Oboe bands spread all over Europe and were ideal for the military, outdoor and festive occasions. This is a far from comprehensive list, but highlights how bassoons were most useful as bass instruments in the basso continuo band of the orchestra or in wind ensembles.

From Basso to Independent Parts for Bassoon.

As the bassoon slowly became emancipated from the basso, it no longer played only basso continuo lines, the bassoon played melodies and harmonic lines separate to the basso. The bassoon became obbligato, that is, an instrument playing an independent part. This change can been seen when comparing the scores of Mozart's symphonies from 1764–1788, the time from his first to last symphony.

The journey of the bassoon from its predominantly basso role in the Baroque period to fully independent parts in mature classical symphonies occurred over time. In the decade 1764–1774, of the forty or so symphonies/overtures composed by Mozart in this time, only parts for obbligato bassoon occur in four symphonies and one overture. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. By the 1780s the bassoons' position as an obbligato pair in the wind section was firmly established. Each symphony of Mozart's written from 1778 onwards used two obbligato bassoons.

The Bassoon in Scores of the Eighteen Century

In terms of the bassoon's position in the score, the bassoon no longer played the lowermost basso line, but had a part independent to the basso, a part labelled *fagott* or bassoon. The bassoon is still a bass instrument and independent bassoon parts included sections the same as music played by the other bass instruments. However, it also played sections different to the bass line, passages such as melodies, counter melodies or variations of the bass line. In autograph scores of the time, one can see the bassoon line written between the viola line and the basso line (Figure 4).

23

⁸⁹ Dexter Edge, "Mozart's Viennese Orchestras," *Early Music* 20, no. 1 (1992): 79, http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.ecu.edu.au/stable/3127669.



Figure 4 J. Haydn Symphony in C Hob 1:56 Adagio, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin⁹⁰

Bassoon Repertoire 1750–1780

Repertoire specifically for the bassoon in this thirty year period was scarce. It was seldom used as a solo or chamber instrument, yet frequently used in the concert and theatre orchestra, in military ensembles and for church music. A comprehensive list of solo compositions for bassoon during these three decades is difficult to compile, as some works have no record of a precise composition date and many are lost. Those most likely composed during 1750–1780 include concertos and sonatas:

J.C. Bach Paolo Girolamo Besozzi (1704–1778)	Concert for Bassoon in E flat WC82 Sonata in B flat major for Bassoon and Basso	(ca.1770) (n.d.)
Joseph Christian Willibald Michl (1745–1816)	Six Quartets for Bassoon 2 Violins and Cello	(n.d.)
Felix Rheiner	Concerto for Bassoon in B flat Concerto for Bassoon in F major Six Sonatas for Piano violin and bassoon (viola ad libitum) Concerto for Bassoon	(n.d.) (n.d.) (n.d.) (1763)
(1732–1782) Georg Wenzel Ritter (1748–1808)	Concerto for Bassoon	(1777)

⁹⁰ Haydn, Sinfonia in C Hob 1:56.

Christoph Shaffrath	Duetto for Harpsichord Obbligato and Bassoon in F minor CSWV F:18	(ca.1760)
	Duetto for Harpsichord Obbligato and Bassoon in G minor CSWV F:23	(ca.1760)
Carl Philipp Stamitz	Concerto for Bassoon in F major	(n.d.)
	Concerto for Bassoon in C major	(n.d.)
	Bassoon Quartet in F major	(n.d.)
	Sonata in B flat No. 2 for Bassoon and Basso	(ca.1780)
W.A. Mozart	Concerto for Bassoon in B flat KV191	(1774)
	Sonata for Bassoon and Cello in B flat KV292	(1774)

Employment Positions for Eighteenth-Century Bassoonists

During the eighteenth century, bassoonists were mostly employed in orchestras, Harmonie ensembles and Hautboisten Feldmusiker (military bands).91 Orchestras performed for church services, in the theatre pit, and on the concert stage. The symphonic repertoire of this time rarely had specific parts for bassoon. On some occasions one or two movements of a symphony indicated bassoons were required to play, or a phrase in the basso part may have had an instruction 'fagotto solo'. Harmonie ensembles played chamber music and the Hautboisten or Feldmusiker when not on the battlefield also played chamber music at outdoor occasions. Both ensembles used the same instruments; pairs of oboes, horns, bassoons, and then in the last few decades of the eighteenth century, clarinets were added. 92

Feldmusik

This group of men (Figure 5, below) is the Feldmusik or Feld Harmonie in 1752. It is an ensemble of wind (and percussion) instruments, most often a sextet comprising pairs of oboes, horns and bassoons. They were military musicians who also played at court for outdoor festivities as well as on the battle field. Count Morzin with whom Haydn had his first post in Dolní Luckavice, a small village near Pilsen, Bohemia (now the Czech Republic), had a Feldmusick ensemble with virtuosic Bohemian wind and horn players.

Haydn wrote many Feld Parthia for a sextet comprising pairs of oboes, bassoons and horns. In 1761 when Haydn was newly employed by the Esterházy household, he straight away fired the Grenadier bassoonists and had them replaced with players of his choosing. He did the same with the oboes and horns in subsequent months. Such an action may suggest the Feldmusik, especially the bassoon, were important to Haydn at the beginning of his career, even before independent bassoon parts became the norm.

⁹¹ David Rachor, "A Bassoon by Hirschstein: The Instrument and Its Possible Use in the Military," The Galpin Society Journal 64 (2011): 123.

⁹² David Rachor, "A Bassoon by Hirschstein: The Instrument and Its Possible Use in the Military," 123; Feldmusik, 2001, http://hw.oeaw.ac.at/ml/musik F/Feldmusik.xml.



Figure 5 P. Van Cuyck, Detail A Procession of Swiss Guards⁹³

The *Feldmusiker*, were invited indoors to play with the strings, making up the typical early Classical symphony orchestra. Symphonies of Haydn and Mozart composed in the 1760s demonstrate how the wind instruments were added to the strings in orchestral writing. They played as a wind ensemble alone, as in this trio from Haydn Symphony in D Hob 1:72. The *Feldmusik* sextet, was flexible in its instrumentation, sometimes diminished to include only one bassoon, and sometimes augmented as in this trio (*Figure 6*) with double horns.



Figure 6 J. Haydn, Sinfonia in D Hob 1:72 Trio Bars 33-4094

⁹³ Pieter Van Cuyck, *A Procession of Swiss Guards*, 1752, 1861, Used by permission The Trustees of the British Museum, The British Museum.

⁹⁴ Joseph Haydn and H. C. Robbins Landon, Kritische Ausgabe Sämtlicher Symphonien: Volume VII Critical Edition of the Complete Symphonies, (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1963), 305-28.

As well as playing melodies with a bassoon accompaniment, the winds of the *Feldmusik* in the orchestra played sustained notes providing chordal harmony, as in this symphony of Mozart KV76 (Figure 7).



Figure 7 W. A. Mozart Sinfonie in F K 76, Neue Mozart Ausgabe⁹⁵

Lastly, a more nuanced example from the same Mozart symphony, in which the bassoons play *col basso* for the first four bars and then step out of the basso in bars 5–8 to complete the *Feldmusik* (Figure 8).



Figure 8 W. A. Mozart Sinfonie in F KV76 Allegro, Neue Mozart Ausgabe⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Mozart, Symphonie in F KV76.

⁹⁶ Mozart, Symphonie in F KV76.

The chamber and orchestral music written for the *Feldmusick* ensemble of oboes, horns and bassoons by Haydn and Mozart indicates its popular use. This ensemble's insertion into the string group making up the early classical orchestra suggests that bassoons were as vital a component of the orchestra as the other members on the *Feldmusik*.

The Bassoon as a Basso Instrument

Although the sources do not specifically describe how a bassoon is to play in the basso, some primary sources make mention of the timbral qualities of the bassoon which render it ideal for playing in that section. Eighteenth-century treatises describe the bassoon has having a distinctive tone and a facility for articulating the bass line. Fan Laurent de Béthisy (1702–1781) in his treatise, *Exposition de la théorie et de la pratique de la musique, suivant les nouvelles découvertes* (1754) describes the sound of the bassoon as strong and abrupt sound, yet gracious and tender in the hands of a skilled player. François-Alexandre-Pierre de Garsault (1691–1778) wrote a dictionary/encyclopedia in 1761 his including an entry for bassoon. He describes the bassoon's sound as round and proud. He remarks how the bassoon is animated and marks out the bass well, complimenting large concerts. Haydn says that the quality of the bassoon compliments the violone and that certain passages are more easily distinguishable when the basso continuo band includes a cello, bassoon and bass.

Lack of Standardisation in Scoring Conventions

Standardisation is a concept foreign to the eighteenth Century. Standardisation of score and part markings is no exception. It was common that the lowermost line of the score was marked basso, this was indeed how Mozart labelled the bottom line of the score for the bass instruments. Information regarding which bass instruments were to play the basso was not provided. In addition to a score which includes the lines for every instrument/player, are the individual parts for each instrumentalist. Most instruments (and the musician of that instrument) are designated a part labelled with their instrument; for example Violin 1 or Horn 2, for example. Some parts and lines in the score are un-marked; for example basso, for example. Un-marked parts were a common feature of scores in the Baroque and early Classical periods.

Tacit Knowledge

Tacit knowledge or implicit knowledge is the knowledge, abilities and skills gained through experience. In this case, the experience of an apprentice seated with his master learning whilst playing in the orchestra. Performance practices in the eighteenth century were second nature to the well-educated musician. They were well versed in practice conventions of the contemporary style. It is the nature of tacit knowledge which explains the absence of information in the literature regarding some aspects of music making. Primary sources such as J. Mattheson in 1739, Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1773) in

⁹⁷ Edgerton, The Bass Part in Haydn's Early Symphonies: A Documentary and Analytical Study, 163.

⁹⁸ François-Alexandre-Pierre de Garsault, Notionnaire, ou Mémorial Raisonné (Paris, 1761).

1752,⁹⁹ Leopold Mozart (1719–1787) in 1756,¹⁰⁰ C.P.E. Bach in 1787¹⁰¹ and Johann Georg Tromlitz (1725–1805) in 1791¹⁰² discuss how to practice, articulate, compose, direct an orchestra, ornament, to accompany, to affect an audience, and so on. Specific instrumentation for the basso continuo in symphony orchestras, however, is absent.

Zaslaw suggests that it was up to the discretion, knowledge and skill of the player, to play from a generic part and to decide when to play and when to be tacet. He maintains that the bassoon and harpsichord would play *colla parte* with the generic bass and the timpanist would improvise a part from the second trumpet part.¹⁰³ Zaslaw's theory will be examined in later chapters.

Historically Informed Performance Practice

Throughout history questions are raised about the manner in which works were to be performed. Musical fashions, attitudes, trends and performance styles are and have been created, questioned and restyled. In 1953 Nikolaus Harnoncourt founded Concentus Musicus Wien, an ensemble which performed music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on 'period instruments', that is, instruments thought to be of that epoch. As a cellist in the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Harnoncourt was curious as to why Johannes Brahms (1833–1897) and Georg Frederick Handel (1685–1759) were performed in a similar way. This led to him embarking on a journey of exploration looking at eyewitness accounts, surviving instruments and documentation of the time of a composition. He was wise enough to understand that his mission was futile, recordings were not available and even autograph scores were limited due to the improvisational nature of music from these centuries. By the 1980s the early music movement was well underway all over Europe.

The authenticity debate ensued. Harnoncourt's initial caveat stating the impossibility of 'authenticity', was ignored and many went in search of 'authentic performance practice'. Richard Taruskin settled the debate in his essay *The Limits of Authenticity: A Contribution*. ¹⁰⁴ The Early Music Movement then shunned the word 'authentic' and rebranded itself as the Historically Informed Performance Practice (HIPP) movement.

Another red herring in the quest to perform in an historically informed manner was the tenet of 'the truth is in the score', especially an *Urtext* score. I do not wish to oversimplify the interesting werktreue debate, but do I wish to highlight the two-step process of relaying a composer's work to its audience via the musicians. The final artwork, in this case the performance of a Mozart symphony, is as much Mozart's score as the work of the musicians who transport the notes from the page to the audiences' ears. Whether in the eighteenth or twenty first century, it is a performer's interpretation and performance which brings it to life. The score does not provide all, and therefore the werktreuer belief

⁹⁹ Johann Joachim Quantz and Edward R. Reilly, *On Playing the Flute*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2001).

¹⁰⁰ Leopold Mozart and Editha G. Knocker, *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, 2nd ed., (London: Oxford University Press, 1951).

¹⁰¹ Bach, Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen.

¹⁰² Johann Georg Tromlitz, Ausführlicher und Gründlicher Unterricht die Flöte zu Spielen (Leipzig: Adam Friedrich Böhme, 1791).

¹⁰³ Zaslaw, The Classical Era: From the 1740s to the End of the 18th Century.

¹⁰⁴ Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

that the composers' true meaning of the work, cannot lie purely in the score. The notations in the score are yet to be realised by the performers to activate the magic in the music.

So where are we today with performance of historical works? There are as many answers to this question as there are musicians. Of uppermost importance is offering audiences engaging experiences which connect us as humans to each other and to a higher state of being. There is no right or wrong way to perform the works of dead composers. The Early Music Movement inspired us to question and to research, it showed us that, as with all the variety within humanity, there was variation in the practice of art; that art is how we understand our human experience. Unlike the highly standardised environment we work today, there were inconsistencies in all aspects of music making. Understanding the fashions, conventions and possibilities of eighteenth-century music making provides us with a wider palette of possibilities to bring those scores of music alive today. By studying historic material, we can take ideas and inspiration to create performances which elevate the minds and spirits of our audiences, performances which are varied and do not fall into any standardised style.

Three elements make up the end product of historical music performance, whether on period or modern instruments. The information we glean from our research of primary sources, our musical instincts and or creativity, and the reality of the political and bureaucratic situation in which musicians of today practice their art. Ideally our audiences are offered a wide range of historically informed performances which, to quote Gemaniani, 'not only please the ear, but express sentiments, strike the imagination, affect the mind and command the passions.'¹⁰⁵

Terminology/ Nomenclature

An attempt has been made to adhere to terminology which was used during the early Classical era. This task is of course not possible, as certain phenomena only become apparent looking back. Yet in some instances, it is possible, for example women, with rare exceptions, did not work as bassoonists. So gendered pronouns for bassoonists have be utilised.

Baroque, Early Classical, Classical

Traditional nineteenth and twentieth-century scholarship has attempted to categorise musical styles into time periods. The period from 1600–1750 is called 'Baroque'; 'Classical' is the name given to the period 1750 until the death of Beethoven in the late 1820s. ¹⁰⁶ It has also been suggested that the classical period dates from 1730 to 1800. ¹⁰⁷ Taruskin criticises these labels and time frames. ¹⁰⁸ His criticism is valid because the development of music is not so clearly defined, and it seems a shame to limit the great wealth of exploration and creativity just to create a stylistic, chronological box. The creation of the

¹⁰⁵ Francesco Geminiani, *The Art of Playing the Violin* (London, 1751), 1.

https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/4/42/IMSLP05501-Geminiani_art-of-playing.pdf.

¹⁰⁶ Pauly, Music in the Classical Period.

¹⁰⁷ Bertil H. Van Boer, Historical Dictionary of Music of the Classical Period (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2012), 9.

¹⁰⁸ Taruskin, The Oxford History of Western Music.

classical orchestra was 'a process rather than an event'. 109 The changing style of music is and has always been a process.

Alas, how then to label a style period of time? Marpurg in his *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* written in the 1750s and 1760s spoke of the old contrapuntal style and the new modern music which he referred to as the galant style. Johann Nicolaus Forkel (1749–1818) suggested in his 1802 biography of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), that the death of such a great musician in 1750 'marked a profound historical caesura'. ¹¹⁰ And as a result decided that this date ended what was then known as 'Old Classicism' or the 'Old Style' and that the following period be known as 'Viennese Classicism' or 'New Style'. Guido Adler (1855-1941) acknowledged that the epoch of true 'Viennese Classicism' started in 1781 or 1782, and so the term 'Early Classical' has been suggested for the 1750–1780 period. *Galant, Rococo, Entfindsamkeit*, and *Sturm und Drang*, terminology borrowed from the literature and art disciplines, encapsulate aspects of the aesthetic, yet these terms are nevertheless insufficient in capturing all the qualities of this epoch. ¹¹¹

For ease of language and so as to avoid the interesting but lengthy discussion on terminology, this paper will assume the following definitions: The Baroque period is the time of composers such as Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643), J. S. Bach and Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764). The music was highly polyphonic, and a basso continuo provided the harmonic and rhythmic foundation. The Classical period heard music of Mozart, Haydn Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1826) and a myriad of other contemporaries. This music become more homophonic in texture and new innovations such as genres like sonata form and ensembles such as the string quartet arose. New developments in musical instruments appeared such as the Tourte violin bow (François Xavier Tourte, 1747–1835), the fortepiano and the clarinet. For the purpose of this study, the period of time *circa* 1750–1780 adopts the nineteenth-century term 'early Classical' and provides the context for the focus of this research.

Definitions for Terms Used in this Thesis

Terminology in the eighteenth century is different from that used today, and this often leads to confusion. Below is a list of terms used in this paper. Definitions from early sources by Richolet, ¹¹³ Furetière, ¹¹⁴ Brossard ¹¹⁵ and Rousseau, ¹¹⁶ have been employed.

Affekt—the mood or character which a musical composition intends to elicit from its audience.

¹⁰⁹ Adam Carse, The History of Orchestration (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), 132. https://archive.org/details/historyoforchest0000cars/page/198/mode/2up?view=theater.

¹¹⁰ Johann Nicolaus Forkel, Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke (Leipzig: Hoffmeister und Kühnel, 1802), 5.

https://imslp.org/wiki/%C3%9Cber_Johann_Sebastian_Bachs_Leben%2C_Kunst_und_Kunstwerke_(Forkel%2C_Johann_N ikolaus).

¹¹¹Carl Dahlhaus and Ernest Harriss, "The Eighteenth Century as a Music-Historical Epoch," *College Music Symposium* 26 (1986), http://www.jstor.org/stable/40373817.

¹¹² Rosen, The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven.

¹¹³ Pierre Richelet, *Dictionnaire de la lange française* (Paris, 1680).

¹¹⁴ Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel* (La Haye, 1690).

¹¹⁵ Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris: Mortier, 1703).

¹¹⁶ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique*, First Edition ed. (Paris: Chez la veuve Duchesne, 1768). https://archive.org/details/dictionnairedem00rous/page/n599/mode/2up?view=theater.

Basso—the section of instruments which play the basso continuo line of the score.

Symphony—Heinrich Koch in 1802 defines the oldest understanding of the word as 'consonant harmony'. He continues to describe the understanding of the word by Praetorius and Mattheson throughout its development ending in a description of the 'modern' symphony as a cyclic sound work for full orchestra following the form of a sonata.¹¹⁷

Obbligato parts—Parts for instruments which cannot be omitted, they are obligatory.

Independent parts—Parts which are sperate from parts shared with other instruments, for example independent of the basso.

Bassoon - bassoon - fagott—these are all terms used to mean bassoon.

Violone - Vienna Bass - contra-basse - contraviolon - violon—are all terms referring to the largest and lowest of the string instruments in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Violone, violon, Vienna bass and contraviolon are survivors of the gamba family. Contre-basse or Contrabass is the lowest of the violin family. In the orchestras of Haydn and Mozart in Salzburg the sixteenfoot (the register of today's double bass) instrument used was referred to as the Vienna-bass. Towards the end of the eighteenth century Haydn moved to the term contrabass even though it was a Vienna-bass. To incorporate all types of bass instruments larger than a cello, the term 'bass' is used in this thesis.

Chronological and Geographical Parameters

This study broadly examines the period 1750–1780. The starting date 1750 was chosen, not only for the neatness of its round number, but because it is when the symphony becomes more commonly performed as an orchestral concert piece rather than as its earlier incarnation as an opening to an opera or oratorio. The closing date circa 1780, is a time when bassoons became mostly liberated from the basso continuo band. Mozart's symphonies composed from 1778 onwards employed bassoons as independent instruments with their own parts. Haydn starting writing two independent bassoon parts in the mid 1774, by 1776 every subsequent symphony had independent parts for two bassoons. Mozart wrote symphonies between 1764 and 1774 (the focus of this study), and returned to the genre again after a break of four years.

Geographically speaking, this study embraces the majority of Western Europe; centres where Mozart visited and performed his symphonies between 1764-74. These locations include; London, The Hague, Salzburg, Vienna, Rome and Milan. It also considers locations of interesting orchestral activity; Mannheim, Dresden as well as places which are reported on in the early literature which in addition to the aforementioned locations include Paris, locations in Prussia and Bohemia.

¹¹⁷ Dahlhaus and Harriss, "The Eighteenth Century as a Music-Historical Epoch," 2.

Conclusion

This introductory chapter has set a broad context, defined some terminology and clarified the geographical and chronological parameters of this study have been clarified. The eighteenth century and especially the early Classical era was a time of curiosity reinspired by the ancient civilisations of Greece and Rome. Although human rights were being championed, the journey to equality and the rise to secularism had only set out. A slow shift from practices of the past was well underway and many notions of musical traditions of performance were implicit, not standardised and far from our understanding of what today is implicit. To fairly answer the research questions posed in this thesis, one needs to unlearn certain ideas about the performance of early Classical symphonies and the function of the bassoon in modern times.

Some of the most important contextual understandings this introduction mentioned need to remain at the front of our minds. This was a period of philosophical, societal and artistic change. This change was embraced and opposed. Intellect and emotion were of equal importance in the *Empfindsammer* aesthetic, the galant style favoured a light-hearted and agreeable feel. The baroque institution of basso continuo was still in place in the early Classical symphonies, in keeping with the importance of the bass. The bassoon was rarely used as a solo instrument, orchestral parts specifically for bassoon were rare. The bassoon was employed in wind ensembles such as the *Feldmusik* and orchestras performing in church, the theatre and on the concert platform. Some primary sources describe the timbre of the bassoon as complimentary to playing bass lines. Closer inspection of the orchestras of Europe of the time is needed to clarify the role of the bassoon in the early Classical symphony orchestra.

CHAPTER 4 THE BASSOON IN THE ORCHESTRA

The greater part of the chapter explores the makeup of orchestras in various European centres. Using a variety of primary and secondary sources—including music dictionaries, performance treatises, and the contemporary periodical press—a clear picture emerges. Instead of a homogenous and 'standard' classical orchestra, the disposition of each ensemble varied considerably. Courts with lavish budgets could afford more players, certainly, but orchestral size and makeup was also determined according to local customs and tastes.

With regards to the role played by the basso a number of chroniclers are particularly helpful, such as Wilhelm Marpurg, Johann Scheibe and Johann Quantz, whereas others, such as Johann Mattheson, C.P.E Bach and Leopold Mozart, gloss over the area.

Drawing on the work of Neil Zaslaw, Christoph-Hellmut Mahling and Laurie Ongley, and my own primary source research, this chapter pulls together a variety of data to offer the most complete picture of eighteenth-century basso practices to date.

Evidence from Dictionaries and Treatises

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, treatises and dictionaries made mention of bassoons. The dictionaries of Richolet,¹¹⁸ Futetière,¹¹⁹ and Brossard¹²⁰ define the bassoon as a wind instrument with a double reed which plays the bass of the music. Specialist performance and organographic treatises from the seventeenth century by Praetorius¹²¹, Mersenne¹²² and Trichet¹²³ provide more detail, and in the case of Praetorius, furnish us with important plans and drawings.

Rousseau's 1768 *Dictionnaire de Musique* includes a detailed account of the Dresden opera orchestra under the direction of Hasse. It includes a seating plan for the forty-one member orchestra shows five bassoonists, two harpsichordists, three cellists and three contre-basses (basses), all playing the basso.¹²⁴

Béthisy (1754), Garsault (1761) and Francoeur (1772), describe in detail, the instrument used in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Béthisy in his treatise about music theory and practice explains:

Le basson est la basse naturelle des hautbois. Les sons de cet instrument sont forts & brusques. Un habile homme en sçait néanmoins tirer des sons très-doux, trèsgracieux & très-tenrdes. The bassoon is the natural bass of the oboes. The sounds of this instrument are strong and abrupt. A skilled man nevertheless knows how to draw out the most soft, gracious and tender sounds.

¹¹⁸ Richelet, Dictionnaire de la lange française.

¹¹⁹ Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*.

¹²⁰ Brossard, Dictionnaire de musique.

¹²¹ Michael Praetorius, *Syntgma Musicum ex Veterum & Recentorium Ecclesiasticorum Autorum Lextione* (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619).

¹²² Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1636).

¹²³ Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*.

¹²⁴ Rousseau, Dictionnaire de musique, Pl. G Fig. 1.

Ainsi, outre [sic] l'usage ordinaire qu'on fait de cet instrument pour exécuter des basse continues, on peut encore dans un morceau gracious ou tendre ou même plaintif de musique soit instrumentale soit vocale, faire une partie supérieure de bassson. Il n'y a point d'accompagnemens plus beaux, que ceux où un Auteur sçait mêler avec gout les sons d'un ou de plusieurs bassons à ceux des violons & des flùtes. Les tenues que le basson y forme vers le haut de son étendue, sont un effect admirable. M. Rameau & M. Mondonville ont donné de parfaits modeles de ces accompagnemens, & on leur a cette obligation, que par eux un instrument estimé seulement pour la force de ses sons, a paru un instrument agréable & touchant, capable également de plaire à l'oreille & d'intéreser le cœur.

Its usual usage, is in basso continuo, yet a better part can be written for the bassoon in a graceful or tender instrumental or vocal piece. There is no finer accompaniment than when a composer knows how to mix several bassoons with flutes or violins, as do Rameau and Mondonville. 125 M. Rameau & M. Mondonville have given perfect examples of these accompaniments and it is thanks to them that through them a fine instrument through the strength of its sounds, becomes an agreeable and touching instrument capable of equally pleasing the ear and capturing the heart.

Garsault wrote an encyclopaedia Notionnaire, ou Mémorial Raisonné which included information on musical subjects. He explains that the bassoon is a wind instrument with a double reed, the bass of the oboe. He describes the sound as 'round and proud' and says that the instrument is animated and marks out the bass well complimenting large concerts. 126 Louis Joseph Francoeur (1738– 1804) in his chapter for the bassoon in his treatise Diapason général de tons les instruments à vent looks at technical aspects of the instrument namely fingerings, how to play quickly and how to blend with clarinets. The edition of Hotteterre's flute method by Bailleux includes a fingering chart for the bassoon.127

¹²⁵ Jean-Laurent de Béthisy, Exposition de la théorie (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1754).

¹²⁶ Garsault, Notionnaire, ou Mémorial raisonné.

¹²⁷ Jacques Hotteterre, Méthode pour apprendre à jourer de la flûte, ed. Antoine Bailleux, Méthode par Mr. Hotteterre le Romain. Nouvelle édition augmentée des principes de clarinet et du basson., (Paris 1765).

Outside of France, mention of bassoon in treatises included Speer¹²⁸ (1697), Eisel¹²⁹ (1738), Berlin¹³⁰ (1744), Prelleur ¹³¹ (c1750), Tans'ur¹³² (1772) and Berg (1782)¹³³. No more information in these five works was provided other than a description of the bassoon (and dulcian) and a fingering chart. There is no explanation of how the instrument was used in the orchestra.

One would hope that the music treatises of the eighteenth century would provide information on which instruments play the basso. Matheson, ¹³⁴ C.P.E Bach, ¹³⁵Gemaniani ¹³⁶ and Leopold Mozart ¹³⁷ are all mute on this subject. Quantz however in his flute treatise of 1752 describes how to balance the instruments of an orchestra according to its size, this gives us clear indication of his recommendation for the inclusion of bassoons. ¹³⁸

Den Clavicymbal vertebe ich bey allen Musiken, sie seyn kleine oder große, mit dabey.

Zu vier Violinen nehme man: eine Bratsche, einen Violoncell, und einen Contraviolon, von mittelmäßiger Gröse.

Zu sechs Violinen: eben dasselbe, und noch einen Basson.

Zu acht Violinen gebören: zwo Bratschen, zweene Violoncelle, noch ein Contraviolon, der aber etwas größter ist asl der erste; zweene Hoboen, zwo Flöten, und zweene Bassons.

Zu zehn Violinen: eben dasselbe; nur noch ein Violoncell mehr. I assume that the harpsichord will be included in all ensembles, whether large or small.

In an ensemble with four violins, use one viola, one violoncello, and one double bass of medium size.

With an ensemble comprising six violins, use the same compliment as above and add one bassoon.

An ensemble of eight violins requires two violas, two violoncellos, and additional double bass, larger however, than the first, (a sixteen-foot violone?) two oboes, two flutes and two bassoons.

In an ensemble with ten violins, the same compliment as the ensemble with eight

36

_

¹²⁸ Daniel Speer, Grund-richtiger kurtz-leicht-und nöthiger jetz wol-vermehrter Unterricht der musicalischen Kunst. (Ulm: Georg Wilhelm Kühn, 1697).

¹²⁹ Johann Philipp Eisel, *Musicus autodidaktos, oder Der sich selbst informirende Musicus, bestehend sowohl in Vocal-als üblicher Instrumental-musique* (Erfurt: Johann Michael Funk, 1738).

¹³⁰ Johann Daniel Berlin, Musicaliske elementer eller anleednig til forstand paa de forste ting udi musiquen hvor udi den musikaliske signatur i den brung som den nu haves hos de fleeste. Applicaturen par nogle saa kaldte strygende og blaesende instrumenter (Trondheim: Jen. Christ. Winding, 1744).

¹³¹ Peter Prelleur, *The Modern Musick Master* (London, c1750).

¹³² William Tans'ur, The Elements of Musick Display'd (London, 1772).

¹³³ Lorents Nicolaj Berg, Den forste prove for begyndere udi instrumental kinsten. (Kristiansand: Swane, 1782).

¹³⁴ Johann Mattheson and Ernest Charles Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene capellmeister: A Revised Translation with Critical Commentary*, Studies in musicology; [no. 21], (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1981).

¹³⁵ Bach, Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen.

¹³⁶ Geminiani, The Art of Playing the Violin.

¹³⁷ Mozart and Knocker, A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing.

¹³⁸ Quantz and Reilly, On Playing the Flute, 214.

Zu zwölf Violinen gesselle man: drey Bratschen, vier Violoncelle, zweene Contraviolone, drey Bassons, vier Hoboen, vier Flöten; und wenn es in einem Orchester ist, noch einen Flügel mehr, und eine Theorbe.

Die Waldhörner sind, nach Beschaffenheit der Stüke, und Gutbefinden des Componisten, so whhl zu einer kleinen als großen Musik nöthig.¹³⁹ violins above, but add another violoncello.

With twelve violins use three violas, four violoncellos, two double basses (sixteen-foot violone), three bassoons, four oboes, four flutes and if the ensemble is playing in an opera pit, another keyboard and one theorbo.

Hunting Horns may be necessary in both small and large ensembles, depending upon the nature of the piece and the inclination of the composer.

Johann Adolph Scheibe (1708–1776) under the encouragement of Georg Philipp Telemann and Johann Mattheson, wrote an influential periodical Der Critische Musikus discussing and critiquing contemporary musical matters. The first volume contains twenty-six fortnightly issues written in 1738, and the second volume binds/holds/includes seventy-eight weekly issues written 1739-40. Well versed in law, poetry, drama, rhetoric, music, philosophy and aesthetics Scheibe's written work is of great value to our understanding of the shift in musical tastes during the rise of the galant style. Sadly, these volumes have essentially been neglected, perhaps due to his heavy criticism, despite his admiration of, J.S. Bach. 140 In addition to the discussion of significant composers, the Critische Musikus discusses performance practice including bassoon usage and orchestral balance. Regarding the forces required for a large ensemble of voices and instrumentalists, Mahling quotes in his article Con o Senza Fagotto? Bemerkungen zur Besetzung der 'Bassi' from Scheibe's Critische Musikus explaining that in a setting with trumpets and timpani, that it would be balanced with four to five violins 'for each voice' (presumably four to five first violins and four to five second violins), two violas and in addition to the 'concert bass' three to four small basses and two bassoons. He adds that anytime oboes play, bassoons must also play and that each orchestral voice must be heard. The treble instruments are acoustically more prominent and therefore a substantial and clearly defined bass corrects the balance.

Musicians of European Orchestras

Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg – A Reliable Source

In addition to dictionaries and treatises, an interesting report written by Marpurg gives an inventory of players from some eleven orchestras in the 1750s. Marpurg was a highly respected musician, historian,

_ .

¹³⁹ Quantz, Versuch einer anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen, 185.

¹⁴⁰ George J. Buelow, "Scheibe, Johann Adolph," (Oxford University Press, 2001 2001). https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000024777.

¹⁴¹ Mahling, "Con o Senza Fagotto?," 200.

composer, theorist and bureaucrat, who flourished during the reign of Frederick the Great (1740–1786). He composed and wrote extensively about music. He was also private secretary to Generallieutenant von Rothenburg, who was the Prussian emissary to Paris from 1744–1746. His authorative works include treatises on music theory, pedagogy, composition, music history and German, French and Italian musical style. 'Kunst das Clavier zu spielen' (The art of playing the keyboard) which he wrote in 1750, was one of the best-read books in his time on this subject. Many subsequent publications followed and he was quoted in method books written well into the Nineteenth-Century.

From his home in the Prussian capital, he travelled extensively studying the music of his contemporaries and networking. Personable in nature, he met prominent figures of the Enlightenment and even established close relationships with many including Voltaire, D'Alembert and Maupertuis in Paris.

Marpurg was famed for his wide-ranging knowledge, for the accuracy of his work and also for his scrupulous attention to detail. Burney, whom he met in 1772, said he was 'a man of the world, polite, accessible and communicative'. Burney admired his work greatly saying that 'his musical writing may justly be said to surpass, in number and utility, those of any one author who has treated the subject. He was perhaps the first German theorist whose work was accessible; so addicted were former writers to prolixity and pedantry.' 144

Marpurg wrote a series reports titled *Historisch-Kritsche Beyträge zu Aufname der Musick* (Historical critical reports recording musical activity) for the publisher Johann Friedrich Unger in Berlin .¹⁴⁵ They are essays covering the state of musical affairs across Europe between 1754 and 1778 including pieces of music, pedagogic exercises, entries about musical theory practice, forms, instruments, biographies of significant musicians and, important to this study, lists of the musicians and their roles in the prominent orchestras in Europe. These lists are included later in this chapter under the discussion of musical centres.

Orchestral Numbers of Europe's Musical Centres

The orchestral lists provided by Marpurg are most illuminating. Van Boer describes the main musical centres of the eighteenth century as Vienna (Empress Maria Teresa as the music patron), Paris (Louis XIV & XV), Berlin (Frederich II, the Great) and London, which was rich despite the lack of a strong political or royal artistic patron. The orchestras most relevant to this study include: those where Mozart worked (London, The Hague, Salzburg, Vienna, Rome and Milan); and other influential musical locations (Berlin, Mannheim, Dresden, Paris). The Marpurg reports include more orchestras not yet

41

¹⁴² Howard Serwer, "Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718-1795); music critic in a galant age." (1969).

¹⁴³ Jeffrey Pulver, "Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg," *The Musical Times* 53, no. 832 (1912), https://doi.org/10.2307/907328, http://www.jstor.org/stable/907328.

¹⁴⁴ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces* (London, 1773). https://imslp.org/wiki/The_Present_State_of_Music_in_Germany%2C_the_Netherlands%2C_and_United_Provinces_(Burn ey%2C_Charles).

¹⁴⁵ Pulver, "Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg."

¹⁴⁶ Bertil H. Van Boer, *Music in the Classical World: Genre, Culture, and History* (New York ;: Routledge, 2019), 201-09, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315145570.

mentioned; (Gotha, Breslau, Warsaw, Stuttgart, Zerbst, Mecklenberg). The Esterházy Kapelle is discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

London

The King's Band in London 1765 was an orchestra of twenty-two with a bass section of two bassoons, two cellos and a bass. It is unknown which orchestra premiered Mozart's first symphonies in London. Leopold may have assembled a group of friends and acquaintances, or he may have hired an orchestra such as one of the theatre orchestras or The Kings Band.¹⁴⁷

The orchestra of the *Antient Concert* Series in 1776 was forty-three players strong. The basso included four cellos, four bassoons and two basses. The Drury Lane orchestra in 1775 and 1778–1779, a smaller theatre orchestra of twenty-four included two bassoons.¹⁴⁸

One would get a picture of an orchestra of this time in London comprising twenty to forty players. Yet in 1784, a performance was held in Westminster Abbey to commemorate the death of Handel. This event was a spectacular of enormous proportions, all clearly recorded by Charles Burney in his book published the following year to recount the event. The orchestra alone included ninety-five violinists, twenty-six oboists, twenty-one cellists, twenty-seven bassoonists and fifteen bassists. ¹⁴⁹ Such a one-off performance does not assist in understanding the usual use of the bassoon in London orchestras, yet it does demonstrate the high availability of players of all instruments in the 1780s and it also shows the higher proportion of bassoons to other bass instruments.

The Hague

Zaslaw in his article *Toward the Revival of the Classical Orchestra* describes the orchestra in The Hague 1775 as being an orchestra of nineteen, with two bassoons, two cellos and a bass.¹⁵⁰

Salzburg

Marpurg in 1757 counted an orchestra of twenty-five in Salzburg. Eight violins (one of whom also played bassoon), two violas, pairs of oboes (both of whom doubled on flute and violin), two horns, two cellos, four bassoons (two of whom also played oboe), two bass players, two keyboard players (harpsichord and organ) and a trombone player.

Ernst Hintermaier's doctoral dissertation researched the organisation and personnel of the Salzburg Hofkapelle. His close study of the Salzburg continuo shows that two bassoons were available to perform in the orchestra between 1764–1774. From 1750–1761 the orchestra had four bassoonists and from the years 1762–1766 there were three and then from 1767–1778 two bassoons. Except for 1782–1784 the orchestra always had three bassoons between 1779 and Mozart's death in 1791. To set these figures in context, from 1764–1768 there were two cellists and from 1769–1774 there was

¹⁴⁷ Zaslaw, Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception, 25-26.

¹⁴⁸ Zaslaw, Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception, 27.

¹⁴⁹ Charles Burney, Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon, 1784. In Commemoration of Handel. (London: T. Payne and Son & G. Robinson, 1785), 120-22.

¹⁵⁰ Zaslaw, "Toward the Revival of the Classical Orchestra," 173.

¹⁵¹ Ernst Hintermaier, "Die Salzburger Hofkapelle von 1700 bis 1806," (1972), 542-44.

only one cello. For five of those years, there were two basses, otherwise three basses, yet in 1774 there were four. The orchestra always used two oboes and two horns, the number of violins and violas ranged from ten to thirteen with a total number between twenty-one and twenty-five (Figure 9).

Year	Oboe	Horns	Violin/Viola	Cello	Bass	Bassoon	Total
1764	2	3	12	2	3	3	25
1765	2	3	11	2	2	3	23
1766	2	3	11	2	2	3	23
1767	2	3	11	2	2	2	22
1768	2	3	11	2	2	2	22
1769	2	3	11	1	2	2	21
1770	2	3	12	1	3	2	23
1771	2	2	13	1	3	2	23
1772	2	2	13	1	3	2	23
1773	2	2	13	1	3	2	23
1774	2	3	10	1	4	2	22

Figure 9 The Salzburger Hofkapelle¹⁵² * In 1769 Mozart was appointed third concertmaster.

Vienna

From 1767-1768 Mozart and his father travelled to Vienna where they stayed fifteen months. The Burgtheater in Vienna 1756 was an orchestra of twenty-five and used one bassoon, two cellos and two basses. In 1773 that same orchestra grew to twenty-nine and had two bassoons, two cellos and two double basses. 153 More is known about orchestras for sacred and operatic performances. Of the concert orchestras little is known until Mozart's later performances from 1781 onwards. 154 Not dissimilar to the Handel commemoration earlier in this chapter, in 1781, an unusual and exceptional event took place in Vienna. The Viennese Tonkünstler-Societät raised funds to support widows and orphans of musicians within the society by staging concerts at the Kärntnertortheater. Participation by members of the society in this concert were obligatory and only excusable by payment of a fee. Musicians wishing to become members, also took part.¹⁵⁵ The performances in April 1781 programmed a symphony by Mozart. Accounts of the exact instrumentation varies, but the more modest numbers include forty violinists, nine cellists, eleven basses, six bassoonists, seven oboists, four hornists, two flutes, two cors anglais, two trumpeters and a timpanist. In subsequent years (1785, 1791) the orchestra remained essentially the same, except that the number of cellos decreased to eight, bass players to six and bassoons decreased to four by 1791. Edge suggests this reduction of bass instruments was due to the dwindling taste for strong bass lines.¹⁵⁶ As previously mentioned, in regard to the gigantic orchestra of the Handel

¹⁵² Hintermaier, "Die Salzburger Hofkapelle von 1700 bis 1806: Organisation und Personal," 542-44.

¹⁵³ John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution*, 1650-1815 (Oxford, United States: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2004), Appendicies A & B. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ecu/detail.action?docID=422499.

¹⁵⁴ Edge, "Mozart's Viennese Orchestras," 79.

¹⁵⁵ Edge, "Mozart's Viennese Orchestras," 79.

¹⁵⁶ Edge, "Mozart's Viennese Orchestras," 79.

commemoration, these fund-raising concerts were special events, and do not offer realistic data regarding orchestral sizes in classical Vienna. What can be seen, however, is the prevalence of bassoons in the orchestra and that a strong bass line was important in the early Classical time. In the later classic period, this fashion for equality between the treble and bass waned.

Rome and Milan

Between 1769–1773 Mozart made three trips to multiple places in Italy. The orchestras in Italy, especially the opera orchestras were large; Turin 1755, forty-three players, Naples 1759, forty-nine players, Florence 1767, forty-one players, Turin 1773, sixty players, Milan 1778, sixty-eight players, Bologna 1778, sixty-two players. More specifically, the *Teatro Argentina* in Rome in 1758 had an orchestra of fifty-eight players, with a bass section of four double basses and two cellos. The *Accademia del Disegno di San Luca* in Rome 1775 had an orchestra of thirty-four, with two basses and two cellos in the bass. *La Scala* Milan in 1778 had an orchestra of sixty-eight including two bassoons, two cellos and seven double basses. Whilst on tour in Italy, Leopold brought symphonies which had been composed in Salzburg with double sets of parts ready for concert use. This would suggest an orchestra with two desks of first and second violins, (eight violins), two desks of violas (four violas), two desks of basso, which could amount to a harpsichord, two cellos and bass, or a cello and bassoon and bass. ¹⁵⁸

Berlin

Marpurg reported an orchestra of forty in Potsdam in 1754. Fourteen violins, three violas, six oboes/flute players, including Quantz, two horn players, five cellists/gambists, four bassoonists, two bass players and four harmony basso continuo players who played harpsichord and theorbo, one of whom was the concertmaster Carl Heinrich Graun.

Mannheim

The Palatine Elector Carl Theodor reigned from 1743–1778, himself a keen amateur musician, he spared no expense in his support of music at the Mannheim Court. The town of Mannheim had no opera house and so instrumental music became the pride of the court's music making. This was a remarkable orchestra, famous Europe wide. Burney described it as an army of generals, so impressed was he with the brilliance and virtuosity of the players. Leopold in his letter dated November 13, 1777 described Manheim by saying –'that famous court, whose rays, like those of the sun, illuminate the whole of Germany'. Mozart's symphonic compositions were heavily influenced by this orchestra after his visit in 1777–1778. In 1756 Marpurg recorded a total number of forty-two in the orchestra consisting of; twenty violins, four violas, pairs of oboes and violins, four horns, four cellos (two solo, two ripieno), two bassoons, two basses and two organists.

¹⁵⁷ Spitzer and Zaslaw, The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650-1815, 144 & 536-538.

¹⁵⁸ Zaslaw, Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception, 160.

¹⁵⁹Leopold Mozart, letter to his son Wolfgang dated Nov. 13. 1777, https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/briefe/letter.php?mid=933&cat=.

Dresden

The Dresden *Hofkapelle* according to Marpurg, comprised forty-one in total. Fifteen violins, four violas, five oboists, three flutes, two horns, four cellos, four bassoons, two basses and two organists. There are enough here to fill two separate orchestras, and it is possible that the orchestra did separate for performances simultaneously in the church and the theatre. The large numbers in Dresden were not representative of the orchestral sizes in other European centres. Without the generous patronage of the arts loving Elector of Saxony as in many other music centres, ensemble sizes were more modest.

Paris

Marpurg remarked that the Parisian musicians in the church orchestra also serviced the opera orchestra. In 1755 there were a total of thirty-four players; sixteen violins, two violas, five who played both oboe and flute, a pair of horns, six cellists, three bassoonists and two bass players.

Gotha

A smaller orchestra existed in Gotha. In 1755, Marpurg counted in fourteen instrumentalists in this orchestra. There were five who alternated between violin and viola and a pair each of oboes and horns. He listed the accompanying instruments together; two organists and one each of bassoon, bass and lute. Interestingly, no cellos.

Breslau

Now in Poland, this town in 1755 at the time of Marpurg's visit was in Prussia under the rule of Frederick the Great. It is a small orchestra of seventeen with seven violins, a viola, two oboes who doubled on flutes, two horns and a basso of two bassoons and a bass. Again, no cellos.

Warsaw

The orchestra of the Branicki Palace in 1755 was twenty strong. Marpurg reported eight violins, one viola, five oboes/flutes, two horns, one cello, two bassoons and a bass player.

Stuttgart

Marpurg was in Stuttgart in 1756 where there was a small orchestra of fifteen; ten violins/violas, two oboes/flutes, one horn, one cello, no bassoons and one bass player.

Zerbst

Like the orchestras in Gotha, Breslau and Stuttgart, Marpurg reported a small orchestra of less than twenty players in Zerbst in 1757. The orchestra of fourteen included seven violins, one viola, two oboists, one bassoonist, one bass player, an organist who also played cello and a harpsichordist.

Mecklenberg

When Marpurg visited Mecklenberg in 1757 the orchestra included twenty-five players. There were seven violins, two violas, four oboes who double on flute and one of whom also played bassoon, two horns, two cellos, one bassoonists, a bassist, two keyboard players on harpsichord and organ, and a team of four trumpeters and timpanists.

Summary of Orchestral Sizes

Figure 10 presents an overview of the orchestras discussed in this chapter. It includes numbers from the 1750s, 1760s and 1770s showing the location, date, total number of instrumentalists including kapellmeister (violin or keyboard) and basso numbers: cello, bassoon and bass.

Location	Date	Total	Cello	Bassoon	Bass
Berlin	1754	40	5 (cello & gamba)	4	2
Paris	1755	34	6	3	2
Gotha	1755	14	0	1	1
Breslau	1755	17	0	2	1
Warsaw	1755	20	1	2	1
Vienna	1756	25	2	1	2
Mannheim	1756	42	4	2	2
Dresden	1756	41	4	4	2
Stuttgart	1756	15	1	0	1
Salzburg	1757	25	2	4	2
Zerbst	1757	14	1	1	1
Mecklenberg	1757	25	2	1	1
Rome	1758	58	2	0	4
London	1765	22	2	2	1
Esterházy	1765	12	1	1	0
Esterházy	1770	15	0	1	1
Salzburg	1771	23	1	2	3
Vienna	1773	29	2	2	2
Rome	1775	34	2	0	2
Esterházy	1776	20	1	3	1
Milan	1778	68	2	2	7

Figure 10 European Orchestra Numbers 1750–1780

Non-Standardisation in Musical Performance Practice

Observations of the orchestral numbers and of Marpurg's reports remind us of the lack of standardisation in the eighteenth century. Orchestral sizes vary from fourteen to forty-two, while the percentage of bass instruments in the orchestra varies from forty-four to thirteen. The term for a sixteen-foot string instrument varies from contraviolon to violon to contrabass, although this paper has used the term 'bass' for all. Bassoonists are referred to as 'fagottisten' yet in Dresden they are called 'bassonisten'. Singers are included as well as the instrumentalists. Sometimes he also included the name of the copyist, the dancers, ballet composer and the decorator (presumably a set designer). The orchestral list of the orchestra in Mannheim even included those who are pensioned. Understanding the lack of standardisation is of value so that modern assumptions that have become implicit in our practice do not distract from possible solutions to the questions of this research.

Equal Usage of Bassoon as Cello

Care should be taken in interpreting data in this chapter. The orchestral lists, for example, are only lists of the musicians on the payroll. Some musicians are listed as doubling on other instruments; two of the four bassoonists in Salzburg played oboe as well, and those listed as playing oboe and flute also played violin. The number of horn players in Esterházy in 1770 were seven; but hornists were paid remarkably more than other instrumentalists, so naturally multi-instrumentalists (still practiced, yet slowly dying out) would want to be documented as a horn player to receive the higher rate of pay. Also, these lists fail to tell us if the musicians were in active service or were sick or pensioned. The information regarding the Dresden Hofkapelle in Rousseau's dictionary describes a pit orchestra, which may or may not be relevant regarding the symphonic orchestra. Mahling describes how the orchestration for opera was more prescriptive than the symphonic orchestra because it demands specific orchestral forces to support the drama appropriately. 160 The Dresden Hofkapelle also used smaller forces in the opera pit and concert stage than for church performances. 161 Perhaps the size of the pit and the symphonic orchestra were the same, but the orchestration of the operatic music score was more detailed than that of the symphonic repertoire in order to fit the dramatic action. The performance practices in Berlin are covered by the information in Quantz's treatise. Haydn mentions that everyone but the Berliners liked his music. 162 Does this suggests that the tastes of the Berlin school may have been different to other European centres. The Dresden Hofkapelle orchestra according to Marpurg, comprised four bassoonists in 1756. The orchestra in this time serviced performances in the palace, church and opera theatre. 163 Could it have been that all four bassoonists were performing the same evening in three separate venues? Two bassoons in the opera pit, one on the concert platform of the palace and another performing in the church? It may also be that players were ill, or on leave, leaving fewer than four in service? In any case, these accounts of orchestral members and numbers do demonstrate that bassoons were available and were used in most orchestras. The information also demonstrates that the cello as well as the bassoon was at times absent in the orchestras. One could postulate that the bassoon and the cello were used equally, which is not always the case today—where the cello is often favoured.

Conclusion

Orchestras and orchestral performance practice was far from standardised in the eighteenth century. The instruments used in the early Classical basso were selected from a choice of keyboard, cello, bassoon or bass. A cello and or a bassoon most likely joined the bass, although, it was also possible to omit a cello or bassoon if necessary. Music dictionaries defined the bassoon as a bass wind instrument and prominent theorists described the bassoon as a bass orchestral instrument. The sources of Scheibe, Quantz and Rousseau all speak of bass groups comprising harpsichord, organ, cellos, bassoons and

¹⁶⁰ Mahling, "Con o Senza Fagotto?," 199-200.

¹⁶¹ Ongley, "The Reconstruction of an 18th-Century Basso Group," 270.

¹⁶² Howard Chandler Robbins Landon, The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn (London: Barrie Books Ltd, 1959), 20.

¹⁶³ Janice B. Stockigt, "The Court of Saxony-Dresden," in *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, ed. Barbara M. Reul, Janice B. Stockigt, and Samantha Owens (Boydell & Brewer, 2011), 32.

basses. Rousseau uses the Dresden *Hofkapelle* as an example: a French theorist choosing to model a German orchestra demonstrates the French influence in Germany.

As far as orchestral numbers are concerned, regional variations occurred not due to national taste, but rather the degree of enthusiasm for music of the governing patrons. Centres of great patronage like Dresden, Paris, Mannheim and Italy had the greatest orchestras. Eighteenth-century administrative documents provide lists of orchestral players from many orchestras. These sources reveal a surprisingly large number of bassoonists, on occasion more bassoons than cellos. What is also surprising is the larger number of bassists in relation to cellists. It may be that 'small' violone (violone playing at a similar register as cello) were used instead of cellos, but that is a separate research paper. The sources explored in this chapter show that the orchestras playing the early symphonies of Mozart and his contemporaries almost always included bassoons as an integral part of the basso and a substantial bass proportion of the orchestra was desirable in order to balance the more easily audible treble instruments.

CHAPTER 5 HAYDN AND MOZART

Haydn and Mozart are two of the greatest symphonists in the classical period. Whilst they are very individual in their own rights, and they lived and worked under very different conditions, there are similarities which assist in understanding certain musical performance conventions which were fashionable during the early Classical age. The manuscripts of Mozart's compositions, whilst ripe with details on phrasing and articulation, are void of certain performance directions. There was an element of anonymity between composer and orchestral musician, Mozart's scores were opaque, with less prescriptive instructions; ready to fit any performance scenario available to him. Haydn, in tenured employment, knew the players of the orchestra for whom he was composing. Through the Esterházy archives, his life and work was consequently well documented, which is not necessarily the case with Mozart's freelance career. A comparison of the two composers reveals conventions of symphonic performance practice in Europe during the early Classical era.

An exploration of Mozart is preceded by a study of Haydn. Haydn, older by twenty four years, had a wealth of experience the teenage Mozart was yet to gain. Aspects of Haydn are examined; employment, his orchestras, early symphonies, dissemination of those symphonies, his symphonic bassoon and the *Applausus* letter. The section on Mozart investigates his symphonic oeuvre, his travel, the distribution of his works, examination of extant sets of orchestral parts. This juxtaposition exposes certain maxims of Haydn's practice which may well be applicable to the performance practices of Mozart's works.

Joseph Haydn

Haydn was prolific, brilliant and creative, he had stable employment and lived a long life experiencing success and respect.

Early Career Employment

The beginning of Haydn's employment history started in Vienna in the 1750s, where he worked as a freelancer. Thanks to a recommendation from Baron von Fürnberg, Haydn gained his first appointment as director of music at the court of Count Morzin in about 1757. Whilst this position was based in Vienna, the summers were spent in Bohemia. It was during this period that Haydn wrote, in addition to chamber music and concertos, his first symphonies and music for ensembles of oboes, bassoons and horns for his Bohemian *Feldmusik*. ¹⁶⁴ In 1760 (or 61?) Prince Esterházy, so impressed on hearing Haydn's music, stopped the performance, made enquiries as to who composed it, and informed Haydn there and then that he was now to be in his employ and instructed him to go immediately and dress like a maestro, in red heels 'as tall in stature as your knowledge'. ¹⁶⁵ As Morzin was planning to disband his orchestra, Haydn was released from his employ and commenced with his new employer at Esterházy.

¹⁶⁵ Robbins Landon, *Haydn: The Early Years* 1732-1765, 1, 345.

¹⁶⁴ Robbins Landon, Haydn: The Early Years 1732-1765, 1, 236.

Haydn's Orchestral Musicians

Haydn composed consistently for orchestras at his disposal at the courts where he worked until he went to London at the end of his career. Robbins Landon suggests the orchestra of Morzin comprised three or four first violins, three or four seconds and a basso section comprising two desks of bass instruments which could have been bassoon, cello and bass. Robbins Landon deduces that as the *Feldmusik* had two bassoons, then they may have been used in the basso. ¹⁶⁶ If this were the case, then one would assume that the oboes and horns were doubled too, which indeed the scores show use of two oboes and two horns. Whether Haydn directed from harpsichord or violin is a topic which continues to be debated. ¹⁶⁷ The answer to this question may affect the number of players in the basso group.

Newly appointed at the Esterházy Kapelle, Haydn hand-picked the musicians for the *Kammermusik* (Chamber musicians). He hired the bassoonists Johann Hinterberger (first bassoonist) and Johann Georg Schwenda (other bassoonist), who also played bass. The pay roll of July 1761 lists five violins/violas, one cello, one flute, two oboes, two horns and two bassoons (one of the bassoonists also played bass), ¹⁶⁸ therefore a basso section comprising; cello, bassoon and bass. The payroll of 1772 would suggest that there were three bassoons and six horns. As horn players earnt more, any musician who played horn as an ancillary instrument claimed principally to be hornists when signing their initial contract, ¹⁶⁹ this may explain their large number. After calculating the instruments doubled and those currently pensioned or unwell, Robbins Landon suggests the orchestra then comprised five to eight violins/violas, one to three cellos, one double bass, and winds as required ¹⁷⁰ which was most likely; two oboes, two horns and one bassoon, the 'other' bassoonist would play bass in the *Kammermusik*, and bassoon in the *Feldmusik*.

Since the extensive research by Robbins Landon in the twentieth century, systematic inspection of the Esterházy's financial archives at Forchtenstein Castle including new documents previously unresearched, has resulted in Josef Pratl's 2009 book, *Acta Forchtensteiniana: Die Musikdokumente im Esterhazy-Archiv au Burg Forchtenstein.*¹⁷¹ Here is a summary of Pratl's finding for the period 1761–1774.

1761: In April a flutist, two oboists and two bassoonists (Johann Schwenda and Johann Hinterberger) were put on contract. On May 1, Haydn started his contract and the bassoonists Peinkhofer and Prantner were fired. On June 1, the cellist Joseph Weigl and the bassist Melchior Griessler were hired (Griessler for the *Kapellmusik/Chormusik*). It was the *Tageszeit* symphonies that Haydn wrote to showcase these newly employed musicians of the *Kammermusik*.

¹⁶⁶ Robbins Landon, Haydn: The Early Years 1732-1765, 1, 237.

¹⁶⁷ Robbins Landon, *Haydn: The Early Years 1732-1765*, 1, 237; James Webster, "On the Absence of Keyboard Continuo in Haydn's Symphonies," *Early Music* 18, no. 4 (1990), http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.ecu.edu.au/stable/3127988.

¹⁶⁸ Robbins Landon, Haydn: The Early Years 1732-1765, 1, 347.

¹⁶⁹ H. C Robbins Landon, Haydn: Haydn at Eszterháza 1766-1790, vol. 2 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 91-92.

¹⁷⁰ Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Haydn at Eszterháza 1766-1790*, 2, 91-92.

¹⁷¹ Josef Pratl, Acta Forchtensteiniana: Die Musikdokumente im Esterházy-Archiv auf Burg Forchtenstein (n.p.: Hollitzer Verlag, 2009), https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/j.ctvg8p23q.

1761 Kammermusik (Chamber musicians)

Vicekapellmeister (Co-Director) Joseph Haydn from May 1

Soprano I Marianna Scheffstos-Weigl Soprano II Barbara Fux-Dichtler

Tenor Carl Friberth

Violin I Alois Tomasini sen.

Violin IILucas Garnierfrom May 1Violin IIJohann Georg Hegerfrom June 1CelloJoseph Weiglfrom June 1

Bass Johann Georg Thonner died May 23 aged 66

Flute Franz Sigl from April 1
Oboe I * Michael Kapfer from April 1
Oboe II * Georg Kapfer from April 1
Bassoon I * Johann Hinterberger from April 1
Bassoon II (and bass) * Johann Schwenda from April 1

Horn 1 * Johann Knoblauch
Horn 2 * Thaddäus Steinmüller

1765 Kammermusik

Vicekapellmeister (Co-Director)

Joseph Haydn

Soprano I Marianna Schefftos-Weigl Soprano II Barbara Fux-Dichter

Singer Anna Bon Tenor Carl Friberth Tenor Leopold Dichtler Violinist I Alois Tomasini Senior Violinist II Johann Georg Heger Lucas Garnier Violinist II Cellist Joseph Weigl Michael Kapfer Oboist I Oboist II Georg Kapfer Bassoonist I Johann Hinterberger

Hornist I Carl Franz
Hornist II Franz Stamitz

Hornist III Thaddäus Steinmüller Hornist pagsIV Joseph Dietzl Junior

1770 Kammermusik: 172

Kapellmeister (Director)

Soprano

Gertruda Cellini

Soprano

Barbara Fux-Dichter

Soprano Magdealena Spangler-Friberth

Tenor Leopold Dichter
Tenor Carl Friberth
Bass Christian Specht
Violinist Alois Tomasini Senior

^{*} Under obligation to perform in the *Feldmusik* at military parades.

¹⁷² Josef Pratl, "Zur Geschichte der esterh\u00e1zyschen Hofkapelle (1673-1877)," in Acta Forchtensteiniana: Die Musikdokumente im Esterh\u00e1zy-Archiv auf Burg Forchtenstein (Hollitzer Verlag, 2009), 59-60.

Violinist Joseph Blaschek Violinist Joseph Purcksteiner Carl Schiringer Bassist/Bassoonist/Flutist **Flutist** Franz Sigl Oboist Georg Kapfer Zacharias Pohl Oboist Johann Hinterberger **Bassoonist** Hornist/violin Joseph Dietzl Junior

Hornist Carl Franz
Hornist Johann May
Hornist Joseph Oliva
Hornist Franz Pauer

Hornist Thaddäus Steinmüller

Barytonist Andreas Lidl

In 1776, the *Kammermusik* in *Eszterházy Kapelle* comprised the following musicians: ¹⁷³

Kapellemeister (Director)

Joseph Haydn

Soprano Barbara Fux-Dichter

Soprano Magdalena Spangler-Friberth

Elisabeth Prantner Singer Singer Katharina Poschwa Singer Marianna Puttler Tenor Leopold Dichtler Tenor Carl Friberth **Christian Specht** Bass Michael Ernst Scholar/violinist Scholar Joseph Koschwitz Violinist Alois Tomasini Senior Violinist Joseph Hofmann Cellist Xavier Marteau **Bassist** Johann Dietzl Bassist/Bassoonist/flutist Carl Sciringer Carl Chorus **Oboist**

Oboist Zacharias Pohl Oboist Anton Poschwa Raimund Griessbacher Clarinettist Clarinettist Anton Griessbacher **Bassoonist** Johann Hinterberger **Bassoonist** Ignaz Drobney Casper Peczival **Bassoonist** Hornist Carl Franz

Hornist Joseph Oliva Hornist Franz Pauer

Harpist Johann Baptist Krumpholz

¹⁷³ Pratl, "Zur Geschichte der esterházyschen Hofkapelle (1673-1877)," 62-63.

Haydn's Basso Instrumentation

This valuable information from Pratl reliably shows the players available for Haydn's bass sections. In 1761 the *Kammermusik* included the following bass section: one cello, two bassoons and one bass. As one of those bassoonists also played bass, another basso setting could have been: one cello one bassoon, two basses. In 1765 the *Kammermusik* comprised only eleven instrumentalists. This was a turbulent time with three of the musicians dying and a number of disputes and complaints occurring between the musicians and the administration. There were three violinists (plus Haydn as *vice Kapellmeister* who would most likely have led from the violin), plus two oboists, four horns and a cellist and a bassoonist in the bass section. In 1770, the bass section included one bassoonist, one bassist who doubled on bassoon and flute. In 1776 the Esterházy Kammermusik included a cellist and two bass players, one bass player who doubled on the bassoon and flute, and three bassoonists. This information paints a picture demonstrating flexibility in the bass section orchestration. Unlike the other winds, the chamber music ensemble always had a least two oboes and two horns. There was always a bassoon available, more so than a cello. May it be suggested that a setting of bassoon and bass was more common that cello and bass?

Haydn's Symphonic Compositions

Haydn's symphonic compositions of the early Classical period were composed in *Eszterháza*. Haydn's symphonic output is remarkable in quantity and quality; perhaps facilitated by long term artistic freedom and financial support afforded by his long-term employment. The symphonies can be grouped as follows: the Morzin symphonies (1757–1761), those from his time as the Esterházy vice-Kapellmeister (1761–1765), the *Sturm und Drang* symphonies (circa 1768–1774), and those showing a return to galant, lighter popular style which coincides with a resumption to writing operas *opera buffa* (*c*1775). The symphonies of the 1780s demonstrate yet another new style which includes the *Paris Symphonies*, and his final group are, the *London Symphonies* which were commissioned by the violinist and impresario Johann Peter Salomon (1745–1815) between 1791–1795. The first two groups composed during his Esterházy tenure are pertinent to this study.

Haydn's first role working for Prince Esterházy was as *vice-Kapellemeister* (Vice Concertmaster). Before his promotion to full *Kapellemeister* in 1766, he had a prolific symphonic output. During 1761–1765 he composed approximately twenty-five symphonies: 6-9, 12-16, 21-4, 28-31, 33-4, 36, 39-40, 72, 108B. Inclusion of a fourth minuet and trio movement became the norm in these symphonies. Eleven of the twenty-five employ concertante scoring (alternating tutti and solo passages) and for the only time in his vast symphonic oeuvre, four horns are scored in nos. 13, 31, 39 and 72. It was during this initial period at Esterházy that he wrote the *Tageszeit* Symphonies (nos. 6-8). These symphonies are discussed later in this chapter as they hold great significance to the role of the bassoon and employ orchestration quite unusual for this period.

The symphonies in the years circa 1768 until 1774 are often emotionally intense, quite unlike the bulk of his output which are full of humour and elegance. The symphonies 26, 41-9, 52 and 65 show the stylistic and aesthetic qualities of the *Sturm und Drang* movement. The symphonies composed 1773–1774, nos. 50-51, 54-7, 60, 64, whilst to a lesser degree, also demonstrate *Sturm und Drang*. A sense of excitement and unease is relayed via complex harmonic and rhythmic features, extremes of dynamics and greater technical demands on the instrumentalists. Figure 11 shows the title page of the Symphony in C composed in 1774, it reads 'Joseph Haydn Symphonie ex C Autograph 1774 a 2 Viol. Viola & Basso Timp. 2 Clarini 2 Corni in C Oboi'.



Figure 11 Haydn Symphony in C Hob 1:56 Cover Page, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin¹⁷⁴

From the mid 1770s until the beginning of the 1780s, symphonies 53, 61-3, 66-71 and 73-5 departed the intensity of the previous group and aimed to please and delight. It was during this time which Haydn resumed the composition of opera, and the *opera buffa* humour is ever present in these symphonic works.

Dissemination of Haydn's Compositions

Haydn's symphonies were published and disseminated more than Mozart's. Joseph (Senior) Elßler (1738/39–1782) was a personal friend of Haydn. Not only was he the witness at Haydn's wedding, he was the godfather of his children. He was Prince Nikloaus Estherházy's copyist from 1764 to 1782. After his death in 1782 he was succeeded by his son Joseph (Junior) (1769–1843) until 1787. Johann

7

¹⁷⁴ Haydn, Sinfonia in C Hob 1:56.

was Haydn's personal copyist and valet from 1787 until Haydn's death in 1809.¹⁷⁵ Performance parts of the symphonies were made by Elßler from Haydn's autograph score.

Haydn himself employed Viennese copyists to make further copies for sale. An example of this is the *Symphony in C* Hob 1:37 of which a set of orchestral parts was purchased by Prince Schwarzenberg. The cover page is dated 1758 in the same ink.¹⁷⁶ In addition to private households, Haydn's works including symphonies made it to monasteries such as Melk, Lambach and Zwettl.¹⁷⁷ The Breitkopf office in Leipzig was distributing foreign printed copies of Haydn's works. The first printed publications of his music appeared in Paris in 1764, *Six Simphonies ou Quartours Dialogues*.¹⁷⁸

Haydn's Basso Bassoon

Haydn was clear about his use of the bassoon. Instructions such as *fagott solo*, *fagott col basso* and *senza fagott* can be seen written in the in the basso line. In Chapter 6, the first case study investigates *Col Basso* theory, where Haydn's use of *Col Basso* is discussed in detail. Until the mid 1770s, Haydn included the bassoon in the basso and gave the instruction *fagott solo* or *fagotti* to indicate that the bassoon is to play, and the other basso instruments to be tacet.

The first noticeable aspect about these specific instructions, is the number of bassoons used in Haydn's orchestra. Haydn uses *fagott* and *fagotti*, showing clearly when to use one or two bassoons. One bassoon was required until 1771 when the first request for two bassoons came. In the *Symphony in D* Hob 1:42, there is, for the first time in the plural, an instruction '2 fagotti o violoncelli'. *Symphony in G* Hob 1:54 and *Symphony in E flat* Hob 1:55 composed in 1774 also request two bassoons. By the end of the 1770s, two independent bassoons were regularly required. Before 1774, one bassoon played *col basso*, yet after 1774 he used two bassoons playing from independent parts. Until 1774 there are only three instances where two bassoons are asked for, one of those instances calls for '*two fagotti or violoncelli*'.

The *Tageszeit* (Times of the Day) symphonies composed in 1761, are unusual due to the *concertante* nature of the writing. When Haydn was new at the Esterházy Kapelle, he engaged some new musicians including the bassoonist Johann Hinterberger, and took this opportunity to showcase them. These symphonies are nicknamed *Le Matin*, *Le Midi* and *Le Soir*.

Symphony no 6 *Le Matin* includes passages for solo bassoon. The first movement has solo bassoon in bar 38, where it plays four bird-like semi quavers in response to the flute. Together with the flutes and oboes, the bassoon plays an eight-bar section which is completely independent from the basso and is marked *fagotto solo*. In the minuet, the bassoon plays with the other wind instruments for six bars in which each of the wind players are marked solo. The whole trio is solo bassoon in the true sense of a solo. The bassoon is the prominent melody instrument, the solo cello coming in intermittently to

¹⁷⁵ http://www.rathay-biographien.de/persoenlichkeiten/E/Elssler_Joseph/elssler_joseph.htm

¹⁷⁶ Robbins Landon, *Haydn: The Early Years 1732-1765*, 1, 575 & 84.

¹⁷⁷ Robbins Landon, *Haydn: The Early Years 1732-1765*, 1, 588-9.

¹⁷⁸ Robbins Landon, *Haydn: The Early Years* 1732-1765, 1, 595-6.

play counter melodies or solo accompaniment. In the final movement, the bassoon plays a solo melody for a couple of bars on two occasions.\

Indications for the bassoon to play solo are given in *Symphony in C* Hob 1:7 *Le Midi*, four times in the first movement, and three times in the last movement. These are little solos never of more than five bars. Movement 1 bars 27-30, the bassoon plays a motive in thirds together with the solo cello. This motive is in conversation with the solo violins. Bars 50-52 is a one phrase solo melody to compliment the end of a cello solo. Bars 118-121 is a repetition of the material in bars 27-30 and bars 137-141 is a melody played one third lower than that of the cello. In the final movement *fagott solo* is marked for bars 26-29; the bassoon plays a simple line of quaver upbeats to the downbeat crotchets which is rhythmically identical to the solo cello, but in harmony, this simple line compliments the scalic semiquavers in the solo violins. Bars 57-59 is a repeat of the solo bassoon and cello playing a melodic theme in thirds as a conversation partner to the violins. Bars 95-99 repeat the quaver and crotchet motif as heard in bars 26-29.

The third of the *Tageszeit* symphonies, *Symphony in G* Hob 1:8 *Le Soir* also has indications for the bassoon to play solo. The first instance is in the opening movement in bars 175-176 and 179-180. The second movement asks for the bassoon to twice play a beautiful four bar solo melody as a harmonised duet with the solo cello and again at the end of the movement for nine bars.

Symphony in D Hob 1:72, written in the early 1760s, has a basso part from which the bassoon plays independently, as the cello and bass are presumably marked *senza cello e violone*. This trio is for two oboes, four horns, bassoon and timpani.

Symphony in B flat Hob 1:108 also written in the early 1760s also uses the basso independently in the *Trio* of the *Minuet*. In this case it is a bassoon solo melody accompanied by the strings throughout the whole trio.

Solo fagotti is written in the in the final movement of the basso parts of Symphony in D Hob 1:42 (1771) and Symphony in E flat Hob 1:55 (1774). In these instances the two bassoons jump out of the orchestral basso section to play a different kind of basso role. The movements commence with sections for violins, violas and basso (only string bass instruments?). Next are sections for only wind instruments, that is two oboes, two horns and two bassoons; the instruments of the Feldmusik. On the autograph score of the Symphony in E flat Hob 1:55, it is marked on the bottom left-hand corner where the basso is to be played by the bassoons, see Figure 12.

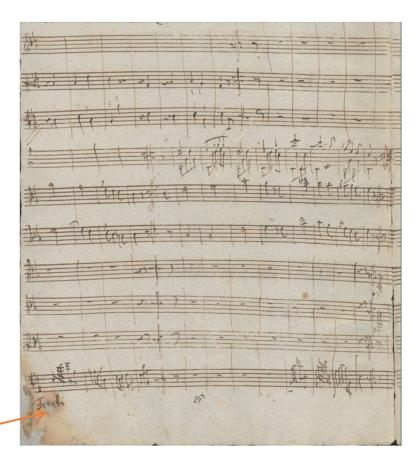


Figure 12 Haydn Symphony in E flat Hob 1:55 Movement IV, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin¹⁷⁹

In *Symphony in C* Hob:56 (1774), the *Adagio* movement has a bassoon line added in the score between the basso and the viola part. In bar 12 Haydn has marked solo in the bassoon part as it is not only playing from its independent part. Rather, it has been designated the solo melody for ten bars, which is accompanied by strings and a pedal in the second horn.

There are further examples of independent bassoon use in the early symphonies, yet the close exploration of the above-mentioned symphonies indicate some important points about the use of the bassoon in these symphonies of Haydn. It is clear that the bassoon was an imperative part of the basso. Evidence is in the instructions *fagott solo* or *fagotti* written in to the basso part on Haydn's autograph score. This instruction for the bassoon to play independently is notated not at the beginning of the score but over or under the exact bars. This method of orchestration indicates that the bassoon's inclusion in the basso was implicit. Were it not implicit, the bassoon would be listed at the beginning of the score. The frequent use of the wind ensemble similar to the *Feldmusik* with tacet strings supports the notion that the oboes, horns and bassoons and the strings were united to form the frequently used early Classical orchestra comprising oboes, horns, violins, violas and bass instruments; cello, bassoon and bass. Haydn drew on the bassoon to play obbligato either as a solo concertante instrument, or as a bass to the winds when the wind ensemble plays without the strings.

¹⁷⁹ Joseph Haydn, Sinfonia in E flat Hob 1:55, 1774, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

The Applausus Letter

Haydn wrote a letter in 1768 accompanying the delivery of the *Applausus Cantata* which was commissioned for the fiftieth anniversary of the Abbot's post at the Zwettl Abbey. It is known as the *Applausus* letter, as it pertains to performance instructions for that cantata.

Haydn was not to be present at the performance of this work. Concerned for his reputation, he made ten recommendations regarding matters such as tempos, organisation of the overture sections, how the parts should be copied to facilitate page turns, clarity of diction in the boy soloists, the number of rehearsals suggested, but most importantly, to this research, how he wished the bass section to be orchestrated.

10tens In der Sopran-Aria kann allenfalls der Fagott ausbleiben, jedock wäre es mire Lieber, wann selber zugegen wäre, zumalen der Baß durchaus obligat, und schätze jene Musik mit denen 3 Bassen, als Violoncello, Fagott und Violon, höher als 6 Violon mit 3 Violoncello, weil sich gewisse Passagen hart distinguieren Letztens. 180

No. 10 In the soprano aria, it is possible to leave the bassoon out, but I would much prefer to include it because the bass is so important. It is also preferable to me to have a bass group of cello, bassoon and violone than a bass group of three cellos against six violins because certain passages are difficult to distinguish.

He requested that the basso line of the soprano aria was to include a bassoon. He said that it could be omitted if needed, but would much prefer to include it due to the importance of the bass line. He continues to say that certain passages are not easy to distinguish if the basso continuo band comprises three cellos; yet replacing two of those cellos with a bassoon (and bass) would result in a more easily distinguishable bass line as the sound quality of the bassoon compliments the violone (bass). Haydn says that he would prefer the orchestral balance to include three basses, one cello and one violin, rather than six violins and three cellos. ¹⁸¹

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Mozart is famed as being a prolific and precocious composer, arguably the greatest in history. He wrote with speed, with few drafts and demonstrated an incredible ability from a young age. Sadly, he also died at a young age. His prolificness appeared across many genres, including his symphonic output. It is of use to investigate Mozart's symphonic compositions in the context his predecessor, Joseph Haydn who was twenty four years his senior.

Symphonic Compositions

Mozart composed symphonies in two ten-year periods. In the first decade 1764–1774, the focus of this study, Mozart composed in excess of forty symphonies. The exact number is unknown as some works

¹⁸⁰ Joseph Haydn, Applausus, ed. Georg Feder, vol. 2, *Joseph Haydn Werke*, (München-Duisburg: G. Henle Verlag, 1768).

¹⁸¹ Mahling, "Con o Senza Fagotto?."

are of dubious authenticity and others have been lost, some rediscovered, making an exact catalogue impossible. The second decade 1778–1788, saw the composition of his ten most frequently performed symphonies. In each of these later symphonies the bassoon is now emancipated from the basso playing in pairs from independent bassoon parts.

During the first period of symphonic writing Mozart was aged eight to eighteen. The earliest symphonies, 1764–1765 KV16, 17 & 19, were inspired by those of J.C. Bach and Carl Friedreich Abel (1723–1787) whom he heard in London at that time. The subsequent symphonies were premiered in; The Hague 1765–1766 (KV22 & 54a), Vienna 1767–1769 (KV43, 76, 45, 48 & 73), Rome 1770 (KV74) and Milan 1771 (KV112). From 1771 to 1774, whilst in Salzburg, Mozart composed KV110, 114, 161, 124, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134, 162?, 181, 182, 183, 184, 199?, 200, 201 and 202 and quite possibly KV73 in 1769.

Wolfgang on Tour

During the 1760s and 70s Mozart toured widely with his father and sometimes his sister or mother. Mozart's first tour (1763–1766) commenced in London, and together with his father and sister, they travelled through important European centres. From September 1767 to January 1768 Leopold went to Vienna with Wolfgang and Nannerl. At the end of 1768 Wolfgang and his father set out to Italy returning to Salzburg fifteen months later in 1771. A second Italian tour occurred in the second half of 1771 and a third from 1772–1773. With so much touring between the ages of 8–17, he saw and heard many musicians in his formative years. Such experience gave insight to musical happenings throughout Europe, making him privy to many orchestras and performance practices which he adopted in his compositions and their performances.

Dissemination of Compositions

Mozart had very few opportunities to publish his works, and none of his symphonies was published in his lifetime. In the middle of the eighteenth century there was essentially no publishing industry in the Hapsburg empire. In a letter to his father in 1784, Mozart expressed a concern that engravers may print extra unauthorised copies of his music if he were to employ an engraver at his own expense. Attracted by the financial gain this new vogue of self-publishing would entice, he did choose to sell manuscript copies to the general public and to specific buyers with the help of freelance copyists. In 1778 the Artaria brothers expanded their music shop in Vienna to include music publishing. In 1785 *Artaria* published the six quartets that Mozart dedicated to Haydn K.387, K.421, K.428, K.458, K.464, K.465 and perhaps the concertos KV413–415. Other publishers may have published chamber works of his

¹⁸² Zaslaw, Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception.

¹⁸³ Zaslaw, Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception, 14-17.

¹⁸⁴ Rupert Ridgewell, "Publishing," in *Mozart in Context*, ed. Simon P. Keefe, Composers in Context (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

¹⁸⁵ Ridgewell, "Publishing."

¹⁸⁶ Cliff Eisen and Stanley Sadie, "Mozart, (Johann Chrysostom) Wolfgang Amadeus," (Oxford University Press, 2001). https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-6002278233.

at the end of his life, the symphonies however, were not published during his lifetime. ¹⁸⁷ Johann Traeg, the owner of a copy house in Vienna, was mostly responsible for the dissemination of manuscript copies of Mozart's Symphonies. ¹⁸⁸ A complete set of parts made by Traeg for KV201 is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. From 1775, Leopold allowed the Leipzig publisher Johann Gottlieb Immanuel Breitkopf to deal with Wolfgang's manuscripts; the financial benefit was irresistible. ¹⁸⁹ After Mozart's death in 1791, his widow Constanze was left to manage his estate which included many debts and an only half paid for, yet unfinished Requiem. Initially, she kept his autographs, selling only the publishing rights to Breitkopf & Härtel and other publishers. In 1799 she sold all the manuscripts in her possession (446 works in total) to Johann Anton André, ¹⁹⁰ who published them as an 'Édition faite d'après la partition en manuscript original de l'auteur' (Edition made from the original manuscript score of the composer). ¹⁹¹ In that same year Traeg catalogued the manuscripts in his possession which included nineteen symphonies. ¹⁹²

From Composer to Instrumentalist

Mozart composed his symphonies in score form, ¹⁹³ parts for each instrument of the orchestra were then copied ready for performance. From 1775–1781 the court calendar of the Salzburg *Hofkapelle* shows the addition of a copyist to the payroll. ¹⁹⁴ This appointment have have only coincidently aligned with Mozart's tenure between 1773–1780. Whilst on tour Leopold advised Wolfgang to take symphonies as either a score or a single set of parts, a master copy, which would then be reproduced by local copyists for sale or performance. ¹⁹⁵ Single sets of parts were more easily transported than the multiple copies required for performance. More autograph scores of Mozart symphonies survive than sets of parts. Sets of parts are rare. According to Zaslaw and the NMA only eight of the forty plus symphonies from this decade have extant parts whereas there are about thirty scores of these early symphonies. ¹⁹⁶ Even from such a small sampling, it is possible to draw conclusions.

Orchestral Parts of Mozart's Symphonies KV45a, KV110

To understand the basso of Mozart's early symphonies we can look at some basso parts from available sets of parts. There are three symphonies with sets of parts at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Bayarian

¹⁸⁷ Zaslaw, Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception, 14-15.

¹⁸⁸ Bertil H. Van Boer, "The Case of the Circumstantial Meeting: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Joseph Martin Kraus in Vienna," *Eighteenth-Century Music* (2004): 90,

¹⁸⁹ Christian Broy and Deutsche Mozart-Gesellschaft; Deutsches Mozartfest der Deutschen Mozart-Gesellschaft, "Leopold Mozart's Kontakte zum Verlag Breitkopf," Acta Mozartiana 58, no. 2 (2011 2011): 132.

¹⁹⁰ Erich Hertzmann, "Mozart's Creative Process," *The Musical Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (1957): 187, http://www.jstor.org/stable/740312.

¹⁹¹ Ridgewell, "Editing Mozart."

¹⁹² Zaslaw, Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception, 370 & 374.

¹⁹³ Hertzmann, "Mozart's Creative Process," 192.

¹⁹⁴ Hintermaier, "Die Salzburger Hofkapelle von 1700 bis 1806: Organisation und Personal," 543-44.

¹⁹⁵ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Stanley Sadie, and Fiona Smart, The Letters of Mozart and his Family (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 350.

¹⁹⁶ Zaslaw, Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception, 14; "Kritischer Bericht Series IV: Orchesterwerke Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien," Neue Mozart Ausgabe: Digitized Version, Bärenreiter-Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1985 & 1999, accessed October 2020, https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/nma/nmapub srch.php?l=2.

State Library) available online; KV19, KV19a and KV45a and a set of incomplete parts at the Leipzig University Library, 'Bibliotheca Albertina' KV110.

The sets of parts which will be discussed are *Sinfonia in G* KV45a¹⁹⁷ (The Hague 1766) held in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and the *Symphony in G* KV110 (Salzburg 1771) at the 'Albertina' Library in the Leipzig University. The first page of the basso part for the *Sinfonia in G* KV45a can be seen in Figure 13.¹⁹⁸



Figure 13 W. A. Mozart Symphony in G Basso, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek¹⁹⁹

These parts are predominantly in Leopold's hand, but this basso part was copied by Nannerl. The cost of copyists in London were exorbitant, so Leopold preferred to complete the copying within the family. This bass part contains no performance indications, no list of instruments which were to play this part. Such knowledge was implicit, a trade practice passed via an oral tradition from master to apprentice.

The *Symphony in G* KV110 (Salzburg 1771) has two independent bassoon parts in the *Andante* movement, but no other movement. The autograph manuscript score (Figure 14) can be found in Krakow, at the Jagiellońska Library.

¹⁹⁷ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Sinfonia in G, "KV45a Alte Lambach," 1766, The Hague.

¹⁹⁸ Mozart, Sinfonia in G.

¹⁹⁹ Mozart, Sinfonia in G.



Figure 14 W.A. Mozart Symphony in G Adagio, Biblioteka Jagiellońska²⁰⁰

According to Zaslaw there is an incomplete set of parts from Mozart's estate at the *Stadt-Bezirksbibliothek* in Leipzig.²⁰¹ These parts are however no longer in this collection. The NMA correctly lists these parts in the collection at the Leipzig University Library, '*Bibliotheca Albertina*'. The set comprise a copy each of the first and second violin parts made by the copyist Maximilian Raab and two *bassi* parts made by an unknown copyist.²⁰² Sadly the bassoon parts are missing, and the basso parts make no mention of the bassoon. Figure 15 shows the first part for basso. The second set of parts (Figure 16) is in a different hand.

 $^{^{200}}$ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Sinfonia in G KV110, 1771, Salzburg.

²⁰¹ Zaslaw, Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception, 210.

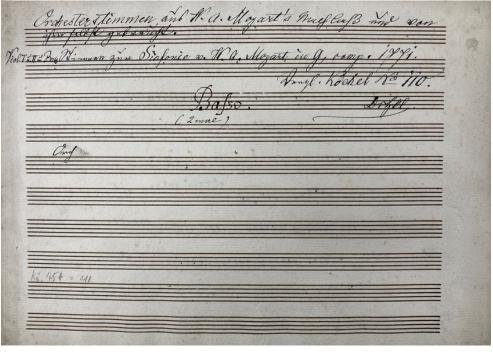
²⁰² Allroggen and Ferguson, "Kritischer Bericht Series IV: Orchesterwerke Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien Band 1 & 2," 20.





Figure 15 W.A. Mozart Symphony in G Movement I Basso, Leipzig University Library 'Bibliotheca Albertina' 203

 $^{^{203}}$ Mozart, Sinfonia in G.



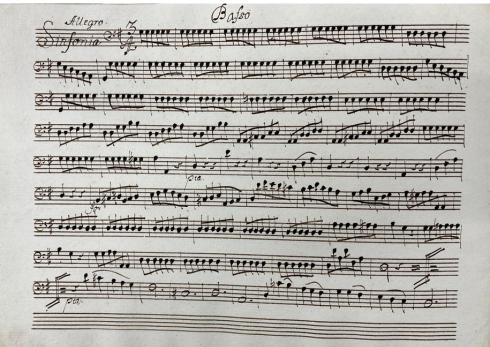


Figure 16 W. A. Mozart Sinfonia in G Title Page & Movement I Basso, Leipzig University Library 'Bibliotheca Albertina'²⁰⁴.

Differences between the two parts include the handwriting, the spelling of *Allegro*, piano and forte markings, the writing of repeated quavers and the layout of pages. They are otherwise identical. Neither include any rehearsal markings or make any mention of whether or not a bassoon was used. The two parts may have been shared between a harpsichordist with a cellist looking over his shoulder and a desk of a bassoon and a bass. It may also have been one copy for the harpsichord and another

²⁰⁴ Mozart, Sinfonia in G.

desk for cello and bass. In 1771 the Salzburg Hofkapelle did have a harpsichordist, one cellist, three bassists and two bassoonists on the payroll, 205 so it may even have been a bassoonist looking over the shoulder of the harpsichord and a desk of two basses. One can only speculate.

In summary, there is no indication from the orchestral parts regarding the instruments Mozart wished to play the basso. Unlike Haydn, who occasionally wrote specifically requesting the bassoon to play certain places in the basso. Mozart was writing for many different orchestras, Haydn for either the Morzin or Esterházy Kapellen. May it be presumed that Mozart avoided specific instructions as he did not know the capacity of the musicians who were to perform his works? Were the basso lines left open to accommodate any performance circumstances he encountered?

Mozart and Haydn - Mutual Admiration

Mozart and Haydn enjoyed a friendship full of reciprocal admiration. It was in 1785 that the two read Mozart's first Viennese string quartets during an afternoon or quartet sightreading.²⁰⁶ Leopold Mozart, who visited Wolfgang in Vienna in February and March 1785, wrote to Nannerl describing this quartet party at Mozart's home where Haydn told him, 'Before God and as an honest man I tell you that your son is the greatest composer known to me either in person or by name. He has taste and, what is more, the most profound knowledge of composition'. 207

Sept 1, 1785 Mozart wrote to Haydn sending those same six quartets saying 'I send my six sons (the quartets) to you, most celebrated and very dear friend'. 208 In 1789 Mozart wrote to Michael Puchberg asking to loan money. He extended him an invitation to him to hear a rehearsal of his opera, an invitation, he continued which had only been offered to him and Haydn. ²⁰⁹ In 1790 they met regularly and a touching farewell was reported in the first English language biography by Edward Holmes in 1845, 'Mozart on this day dined with his friend Haydn and said at the moment of parting, 'We are probably saying our last farewell in this life.' Tears welled from the eyes of both.'210 'The attachment of these two men remains accordingly one of the most honourable monuments of the virtuous love of art, that musical history can produce.'211

Mozart immediately recognised the excellence of Haydn and bestowed him the utmost respect and regard. In view of the twenty-four year age difference and aware of all he could learn from the master, Mozart maintained a humble stance in all his future dealings with him. Mozart frequently submitted many of his compositions to Haydn for review before publication. Haydn was generous with

²⁰⁵ Hintermaier, "Die Salzburger Hofkapelle von 1700 bis 1806: Organisation und Personal."

²⁰⁶ Simon P. Keefe, "Personal Relationships," in Mozart in Context, ed. Simon P. Keefe, Composers in Context (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

²⁰⁷ Eisen and Sadie, "Mozart, (Johann Chrysostom) Wolfgang Amadeus."

²⁰⁸ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Mozart's letters: An Illustrated Selection*, ed. Emily Anderson, trans. Emily Anderson (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1990), 192.

²⁰⁹ Mozart, Mozart's letters: An Illustrated Selection, 221-23.

²¹⁰ Keefe, "Personal Relationships."

²¹¹ Edward Holmes, *The Life of Mozart: Including his Correspondence*, Reprinted ed. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1845; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 206-07.

his support and frequented Mozart's musical parties where he delighted in the beauty and perfection of Mozart's playing. Reflecting years later, Haydn said, 'Mozart's playing, I can never forget.'212

Conclusion

There is much overlap between Mozart and Haydn despite the differences in age, life circumstances and personality. The practice of using the instruments of the wind ensembles such as the Harmoniemusik and Feldmusik in the symphony orchestra was shared. This is evident in the Europe wide use of two oboes and two horns with strings and basso for most symphonies of this time. Haydn specifies within the basso part when and how the cello, bassoon and bass is to play, yet often times this information is assumed. Mozart did not give clear orchestration instructions for basso musicians. Mozart often performed in new locations and so did not know which instruments or musicians would play his music. Perhaps parts with less detail regarding basso instrumentation best accommodated unknown performance conditions. Haydn, on the other hand, performed his symphonies with the same musicians of the Esterházy Kapelle. Haydn's specific instructions indicate that bassoons, cellos and basses were the preferred instruments of the basso. Haydn may have had a particular musician in mind when asking for them to play specific passages, or to showcase a particular quality of their playing. In addition, the instructions suggest that these were occasions that were not the most obvious places to play, perhaps examples of less usual practice, exceptions to the tacit knowledge.

²¹² "Part the Fourth: His Manhood," in *The Life of Mozart: Including his Correspondence*, ed. Edward Holmes, Cambridge Library Collection - Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 207.

CHAPTER 6 EVIDENCE FROM MUSICAL SOURCES

This chapter comprises of a suite of four case studies, chosen to illuminate how the bassoon has been used in the basso. The first case study hypothesizes *col basso* theory, the implicit use of the bassoon in the basso, as first proposed by Langwill.²¹³ The second study looks at modern editions of the early symphonies in the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*, Bärenreiter's New Mozart Edition. The third case study peruses symphonies of the English School which explicitly have instructions for bassoon. Each of these written by composers of the English School; Avison, J. C. Bach, Abel and John Marsh (1752–1828). The final case study analyses a recently discovered bassoon part for the A major Mozart symphony KV201, which represents a key finding in this research project.

Case Study A: Col Basso Theory

This case study hypothesises that a bassoonist, in the absence of independent parts specifically for bassoon, played the bass line of the score along with the bass group, or *col basso*. It is a concept rather than an instruction directing the bassoonist to play the basso line. As the bassoonist had no bassoon part specifically written for bassoon, the *col basso* player (by this theory) understands implicitly that he is to play the basso part. This case study looks at several symphonies demonstrating the reasoning behind the theory; the Mozart symphonies with obbligato bassoon sections, some of the later Mozart symphonies, and some symphonies of Haydn with specific instructions for the bassoon. The bassoon's gradual transition from the basso role to independence is visible in the symphonies examined.

Throughout the 1760s and 1770s, the bassoon slowly gained independence. The first five or so symphonies composed by Mozart between 1764–1766 show no indication within the parts or score for bassoon use. In these symphonies, the bassoon, cello and bass played from a part titled basso. The thirty or so symphonies composed between 1767–1774 include four which had some but not all movements with independent bassoon parts. The final ten symphonies composed between 1778–1788 all used two independent bassoon parts. It is the symphonies and movements *without* indication of bassoon that are the focus of this research. Yet, the symphonies and movements with sections composed for bassoon, arguably give some indication as to how the sections without bassoon may have utilised a *col basso* bassoon.

Before 1767, there were no instructions for the bassoon, nor any independent parts. It is what is *not* instructed, it is the *lack* of any mention of bassoon before the independent parts which is under investigation. This absence of instruction suggests that the bassoonist implemented their tacet knowledge, knowledge learnt through observation of their master. The conventions of the time may have been so routine, that need to write about it in treatises, or to include it in the score was superfluous because the bassoon's *col basso* role was implicit, a part of their tacit knowledge.

Formal music education for bassoonists did not begin until during the French Revolution. The profession of a bassoonist was learnt from master to apprentice, an oral tradition and therefore undocumented. So much attention is placed in the literature on the more independent and melodic or

²¹³ Langwill, *The Bassoon and Contrabassoon*.

soloistic role of the bassoon in the eighteenth century. In this study, it is what the bassoon does in its basso continuo role which is of interest, it is the tacit knowledge which is under the microscope.

It could even be suggested that Mozart (and in a later example) Haydn either wrote *fagotto col basso* or included independent parts for bassoons in the sections where they wanted the bassoon to be involved outside of standard practice. For example, oftentimes the independent bassoon parts are written into slow quiet movements, or movements with flutes not oboes, even a *Trio* not the *Minuet*. Surely loud and fast passages with *tutti* orchestra would better suit the animated qualities of the bassoon? For example the *Minuet* rather than the lighter *Trio* section? But no, the most obvious sections suited for a bassoon have no indication from the composer at all, it is not required as this knowledge is inherent in the performers. It is only the less idiomatic sections where specific instructions for bassoons to play either *col basso* or with their own independent part are given, because perhaps the composer wanted the bassoonist to engage in something new, or out of the ordinary in comparison to its established basso role.



Figure 17 W.A. Mozart Symphony in F Movement I, Pierpont Morgan Library 214

Col basso is a term used by composers when writing scores so as to avoid the labour of writing out duplicate lines. The copyist would then write the line out in each orchestral part. Col basso literally means 'with the bass'. It is a directive asking a musician to play the same as the basso. Mozart used this as a shorthand when composing scores to mean that the instrument he directs the instruction to is to

²¹⁴ W. A. Mozart, Sinfonia in F KV112 (Milan: n.p., 1771) http://www.themorgan.org/music/manuscript/115416.

play in unison with the bass. Figure 17 is an extract from the F major symphony written in Milan in 1771. In bar five of the viola line (one line up from the bottom) *Col Baβo* is written.

Mozart Works with Obbligato Bassoon Movements

Mozart's first period of symphonic writing is almost always scored for two oboes, two horns, first and second violins, violas and basso. Modern scholars often articulate this as pairs of oboes, horns and strings. This is an oversight which assumes the basso is only ever played by string instruments. There are occasions where symphonies include flutes, two more horns, bassoons, trumpets and timpani. Four of these early symphonies have some but not all movements with independent bassoon parts. It is of great interest that these four particular symphonies have independence from the basso for bassoon in only parts of the whole symphony because this not only demonstrates that Mozart used the bassoon in his early symphonies, it marks the beginning of the changing role for the bassoon from a basso instrument to a more soloistic instrument playing from fully independent parts. By 1778, Mozart no longer requires the bassoon to play *col basso*. From this time onwards, when he wrote his final ten symphonies, the bassoons have been fully liberated from the bass role and always have two independent parts. What is of most interest, is questioning how the bassoons were employed in the other movements of these symphonies where there were no independent parts. Did they play *col basso*?

The four symphonies with movements including parts for independent bassoons are: *Symphony in F* KV76 (Vienna, 1767), *Symphony in G* KV110 (Salzburg 1771), *Symphony in G minor* KV183 (Salzburg1773) and *Symphony in E flat* KV184 (Salzburg 1773). There are no extant complete sets of orchestral parts for any of these four symphonies.

Some overtures to operas are also performed as symphonies. *La finta semplice* KV51 D composed in Vienna in 1768 is the only overture/symphony which includes parts for two independent bassoons. There are also no extant sets of orchestral parts for this composition. The genre of symphony began life as overtures with fast, slow, fast sections; it is common practice of this time for overtures and symphonies to assume those two roles and even for symphonies intended only for the concert platform to also be titled, overture as will be seen in the overtures of Abel later in this chapter. Whilst none of the movements in the overture/symphony include obbligato bassoon, there are occasions in the opera where obbligato bassoon is utilised, and so like the four above mentioned symphonies, it is a valuable example supporting the *col basso* hypothesis.

Mozart Obbligato Bassoon Movements - Symphony in F KV76

The *Symphony in F* KV76 was composed in either Salzburg or Vienna sometime in 1766 or 67. The location of the autograph score of this symphony is unknown. A set of parts was sent by Nannerl at the turn of the nineteenth-century to Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig.²¹⁵ In World War II the parts went

²¹⁵ Zaslaw, Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception, 102-03.

missing, before then, they were used to create the score in the NMA²¹⁶ which is now referred to in Figure 18.

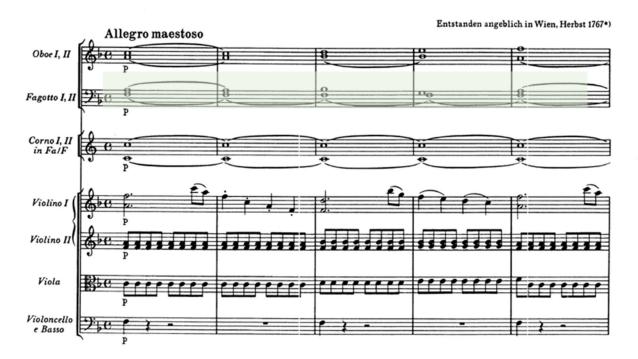
This symphony has intermittent independent or *obbligato* bassoon parts in all movements except the *Minuet* and *Trio*. The three movements containing independent parts are not continually independent. From time to time, the bassoons free themselves from the basso, playing similar harmonic or melodic lines with the oboes and horns, returning to *col basso* every phrase or two. The independent parts for bassoon in this symphony represents a new role for the bassoon in the symphonies of Mozart. The continual return to a *col basso* function after the sections of material independent from the basso, implies that this is the usual function of a bassoon. The instructions now written for the bassoons illuminate what previously was not instructed. It is the return to the bassoons' natural habitat in the basso, which this example of new independence for bassoon, so clearly highlights.

A closer analysis of the opening of this symphony highlights the bassoons' different roles nicely. This symphony witnesses the bassoons' first departure from their *col basso* role in Mozart symphonies. The bassoons appear as a part of the *Feldmusik* ensemble (introduced in Chapter 1). The *Feldmusik* (field music) ensemble of oboes, horns and bassoons were initially used in a military context. Added to a string ensemble, a early Classical orchestra is formed comprising violins, violas, oboes horns and basso. The first eight bars of KV76 utilise the bassoons to play long notes just like the oboes and horns. The chords played by the sextet of winds set out the harmonic sequence I, ii⁷, V⁷, I, ii⁷, V7, I. The bassoons' harmonic role is highlighted in field green. During the following nine bars, the bassoons play in unison, the same part as the bass instruments, or *col basso*, marked in yellow. The next section, bar eighteen, the bassoons playing in thirds, join the oboes and violins with a melodic motif (in blue), then in bar twenty, the bassoons jump back to their harmonic chordal function together with the oboes and horns to reinforce the dominant seventh of the new key C in bar twenty, then resolving to the tonic chord of C in bar twenty-one.

²¹⁶ Mozart, Symphonie in F KV76.

NMA IV/11/1: KV 76 (42a)

Sinfonie in F $_{\text{KV 76 (42^{a})}^{\bullet)}}$





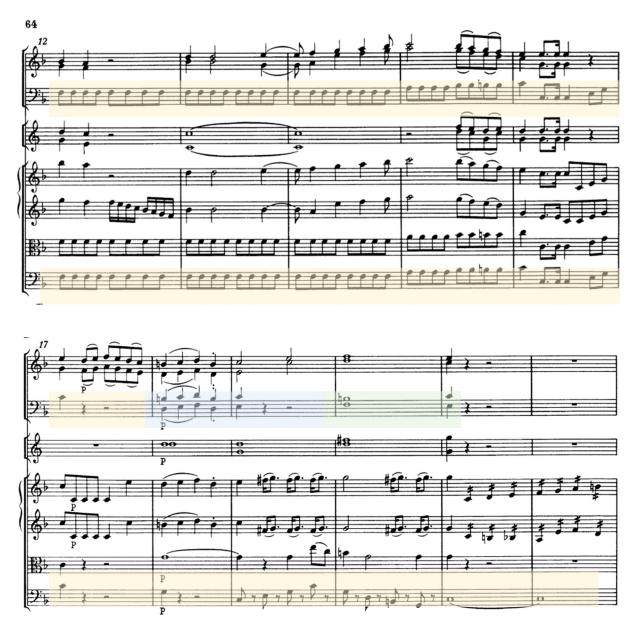


Figure 18 W.A. Mozart Symphony in F KV76 Movement I bars 12-22²¹⁷

In the modern NMA edition, Allroggen & Fergusson wrote a line in the staff of the score for the bassoon up in the wind section in every movement, even the col basso Minuet and Trio. Yet Mozart's autograph scores place the bassoon line just above the basso line. Just like in the autograph manuscript of the aria KV21 Va Dal Furor Portata²¹⁸ (Figure 19), written in London 1765. This manuscript shows more clearly how the bassoon would slip in and out of the bass line. The bassoon line and the bass line are near each other, on either side of the vocal line. I have dared to deface it with highlighter to demonstrate the many hats of a bassoonist in and out of its col basso role. Again the col basso parts in yellow, the harmonic parts with the oboes and horns in green, and blue highlights a melodic motive played together with violins and violas.

²¹⁷ Mozart, Symphonie in F KV76.

²¹⁸ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Pietro Metastasio, Va Dal Furor Portata, KV21 (London: n.d., 1765/1766).

Unfortunately as the autograph score is missing, a comparison with the NMA score of the F major Symphony KV76 cannot be made. One can however speculate that the method of including the bassoon in the score would look very much the same as the aria *Va Dal Furor Portata* for which the autograph score does survive, (Figure 19) composed two years earlier.



Figure 19 W.A. Mozart Va Dal Furor Portata, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek²¹⁹

Mozart Obbligato Bassoon Movements - Symphony in G KV110

This symphony was written in Salzburg in 1771. The original set of parts of this symphony are those discussed in Chapter Five. This set of parts is incomplete. There are two basso parts and a part each for violin one and two. The parts for viola, oboes/flutes, horns and bassoons are missing. This is unfortunate because there are obbligate parts for a pair of bassoons in the *Andante* movement.

Were the original bassoon parts inclusive of the outer fast movements and the minuet? If so, would they have been exactly the same as the basso parts? Or would they have shown where the bassoons would play *col basso*, or be tacet? Would those bassoon parts have only been provided for the *Andante* movement, expecting the bassoonists to play *colla parte* with the basso looking over the shoulders of the other basso musicians?

The autograph manuscript score (Figure 20) can be found in Krakow, at the Jagiellońska Library. Here is the first *Allegro* movement.²²⁰ From the top of the score going down, Mozart has scored this movement for Horn I & II, who share a line, Oboe I & II, Violin I & II, Viola and Basso. One can

²¹⁹ Mozart and Metastasio, Va Dal Furor Portata.

²²⁰ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Sinfonia in G KV110, (Salzburg: n.p., 1771).

see that there is no mention of bassoon in this movement. In bar eight of the viola part, Mozart uses the term *col basso* indicating that the violas must continue by playing the same as the basso part.



Figure 20 W.A. Mozart Symphony in G Movement I, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 221

The second movement (Figure 21) however, from top to bottom of the manuscript is scored for: Flute I & II, Violin I & II, Viola, Bassoon I & II and Basso. The subsequent *Minuet* and *Trio* and final *Allegro* movement are scored the same as the opening movement.

²²¹ Mozart, Sinfonia in G.



Figure 21 W.A. Mozart Symphony in G Movement II, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 222

This orchestration raises a few questions. What do the wind instruments do when they are not required? The Hintermaier dissertation studying the Salzburg continuo shows that in 1771 the orchestra's oboists double on flute. The bassoonists arguably played *col basso* in the outer *Allegro* movements and the *Minuet*. The analysis from KV76 in the previous section demonstrated how easily the bassoon can switch from its obbligato role to playing *col basso*. To think that the bassoons would sit tacet during the outer movements and *Minuet*, seems ludicrous. The short Trio however, is a section in contrast to the *Minuet*, it is piano and legato throughout and scored for violins, viola and basso. String instruments can produce a very soft and gentle articulation with a mellow and sweet sound. This timbral quality of strings without bassoon, would suit the introverted and reflective nature of this *Trio* and provide a contrasting sound to the vibrant and regal mood of the *Minuet*. For these reasons, it is quite possible that the Trio is where the bassoons would be tact. It is by using bassoons as basso members, that the basso can enjoy the variety of colours and timbres simply by changing the orchestration of the basso to match the effect or mood of the different movements. The *Minuet* and *Trio* of this symphony are a good example of this.

²²² Mozart, Sinfonia in G.

²²³ Hintermaier, "Die Salzburger Hofkapelle von 1700 bis 1806," 542-44.

Mozart Obbligato Bassoon Movements - Symphony in G minor KV183

This symphony very much embraces the *Sturm und Drang* style pioneered in German literature in the early 1770s. Mozart wrote the symphony in Salzburg in 1773. The autograph score has independent parts for two bassoons in the *Andante* movement and the *Trio* of the *Minuet*. The first and last movements as well as the *Minuet* have no independent parts for bassoons. KV76 and KV110 demonstrated how likely it is that bassoons would play *col basso* for tutti sections such as the outer fast movements and the *Minuet*. These movements include many passages which would benefit from the strong animated sound of the bassoon which can provide fullness to the harmonic fundament and clarity to passages of melodic or rhythmic interest.

The earliest set of parts of this symphony were sent to Vienna by Leopold Mozart, but they are now lost. Their last known whereabouts was with C.A. André in Offenbach, near Frankfurt in Germany. J.A. André, C.A. André's father, listed them in a catalogue in 1833.²²⁴ At the end of the eighteenth century, a score was reconstituted from this set of parts, both of which belonged to Prof. Dr. Hellmut Federhofer of Graz. According to Hermann Beck, editor of the NMA, the bassoons in this version are tacet in the outer movements and the *Minuet*, not playing *col basso* at all. Did Herr Beck accidently interpret no bassoon part to mean tacet instead of *col basso*? A third set of parts owned by Aloys Fuchs, which is now housed in the Prague University Library, do have bassoons playing *col basso* in the outer movements but not the *Minuet*.²²⁵ Beck chose to use the bassoons in the same way as those parts owned by Herr Fuchs in the NMA.²²⁶ An unusual choice to exclude bassoons in the *Minuet*, surely better to have the bassoons play *col basso* in the *Minuet*, so that they are not coming in cold for the exposed Trio section played by the *Feldmusik* sextet. What is demonstrated here, is how the flexible nature of the early Classical basso section can be adapted according to taste or each performance scenario.

Mozart Obbligato Bassoon - Overture Mitridate or Symphony in D major K87

This overture composed in Milan in 1770, was circulated widely as a symphony in itself, as was common at the time. Sets of parts have been located in many places; Donaueschingen, Česky Krumlov, Milan, Zurich, Vienna and Graz. The overture is scored for flutes, oboes, horns, violins violas and basso. There are sections in the opera, however, that include bassoons and trumpets. Aria Number 20 *Se il rigor d'ingrata sorte* is scored for the usual pairs of oboes, horns, violins plus viola and basso as well as a pair of bassoons. It would seem unlikely that the bassoons would be employed in only one aria of a three act opera. The overture is a festive D major piece with arpeggiated, scalic and repeated quaver passages. These types of passages are so well suited to the bassoon, if they are called on to play obbligato in Aria Number 20, it would suggest that their use in the overture and finale would be implicit. It may well have been the case that Mozart did not feel it necessary to spend time or money for a copyist

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, "Symphonie in G Minor KV183," in *NMA IV/11/4: Sinfonien Band 4*, ed. Hermann Beck, Neue Mozart Ausgabe: Digitisied Version (Salzburg: Bärenreiter-Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1960 1773). https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/nma/nmapub srch.php?l=2.

²²⁴ C.A. André, "Thematisches Verzeichnis W.A. Mozartscher Manuskripte, chronologisch geordnet von 1764-1784 von A. André," in *Thematisches Verzeichnis derjenigen Originalhandschriften von W.A. Mozart*, [...] welche Hofrat André in Offenbach am Main besitzt (Offenbach: André, A., 1833).

²²⁵ Beck, "Kritischer Bericht Series IV: Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien Band 4," XII.

to write out a part when the bassoonist can simply look over the shoulder of one of the other players in the basso. This is mere speculation however.

Late Mozart Symphonies with Full Independent Parts

Mozart's second compositional output 1778–1788 comprised ten symphonies all of which had two independent bassoon parts. The above-mentioned works with obbligato sections are a stepping stone from the *col basso* works to the final ten symphonies which are fully emancipated from the ad libitum nature of the *col basso* role. The completely independent parts of this late period, utilise all three bassoon roles identified in the analysis of KV76. Yet the parts are for Bassoon I or II, not basso, and the bassoonists sit separately from the other basso players, the bassoonists are seated together with the other woodwind players. As is seen in the score in Figure 6.8, regardless of the availability of two independent bassoon parts, the lowermost line of the score is still designated simply as basso which bassoons no longer implicit.

The autograph score of *Sinfonie in C* KV388 Salzburg 1780 (Figure 22), is an example of a late symphony. It is clear to see how the independent bassoon parts are so closely related to the basso. Not only is the bassoon line located next to the basso (*bassi*) in the score, but in the opening tutti, the bassoons play the same as the basso as they were accustomed, but this line has been written out into their bassoon parts. This point is relevant because it highlights the continuing close connection of the bassoon to the bass, from where the independent bassoon came.



Figure 22 W.A. Mozart Sinfonia in C Movement I, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 227

²²⁷ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Sinfonia in C, "KV338," 1780, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Salzburg.

The *Symphony in D* KV358 (Figure 23), was written in Salzburg in 1780. The bassoon line is situated between the timpani and the basso. This symphony has independent bassoon parts throughout the symphony and yet it is evident to see how closely the bassoon is connected to the basso. In this example, the bassoon, despite its independent line, is being instructed to play the exact same notes as the basso. In particular, note the marking in the first bar of the bassoon line, *col basso*.



Figure 23 W.A. Mozart Symphony in D Movement I, Pierpont Morgan Library NY²²⁸

Col Basso Examples in the Symphonies of Haydn

In the symphonies of Haydn, there are even clearer examples of the bassoon in a *col basso* role. Haydn wrote specific instructions for the bassoon into the score. The *Tageszeit* (1761) or 'Times of the Day' symphonies (*Le Matin, Le Midi, Le Soir*) have *solo fagott* and *senza fagott* written in the basso line. The Robbins Landon score of *Symphony in D* Hob 1:6 *Le Matin*, includes a *solo fagott* section in all but the slow movements. This suggests that for the remaining time of those three movements, the bassoon would play *col basso*.

Robbins Landon editions were made in consultation with Haydn's autograph scores. The bassoon is tacet for the slow movement, which suits the *affekt* of the piece perfectly. The opening slow section of Symphony in C Hob 1:7 *Le Midi*, uses the bassoon in a role independent from the basso. The pairs of oboes, horns and bassoons play the same rhymical figures resembling a fanfare played by the *Feldmusik* ensemble accompanied by the strings. The fast section of that movement includes solos for

²²⁸ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Sinfonia in D, "KV385," Vienna: n.p.,1782.

the bassoon and cello, yet the bassoon predominantly plays *col basso*. The slow movement is marked *senza fagotto*. The final two movements have the cello and bassoon again playing solo duets, or playing *col basso*. The final symphony of the trilogy, *Symphony in G* Hob 1:8 *Le Soir*, has solos for bassoon in the first three movements, with *col basso* at all other times. The *Symphony in G* Hob 1:47 *Palindrome* (1772) is marked *fagotto sempre col basso* in the slow movement. Haydn makes it very clear that he wishes the bassoon to play throughout this slow movement. Did he write that instruction *sempre col basso* because this case was an exception to usual practice? Could this mean that it was less likely for bassoon to play in slow movements, which are often dolce, peaceful or serene in *affekt? Symphony in C* Hob 1:48 *Maria Theresa* (1769) requests *senza fagotto* in the Trio, clearly indicating that a bassoon had been present, and that it is now required to be tacet. *Symphony in B flat* Hob 1:51(1771/73) instructs the bassoon to play *col basso* in movements numbers 1, 3 and 4, with the second movement asking the bassoon to play *col basso*.

Conclusion

Analysis of the scores in this case study strongly suggests that a bassoonist implicitly plays *col basso* in the absence of parts specifically for bassoon. As there are no specific cello or bass parts either, they too play *col basso*. The basso, a hangover of the basso continuo of the 'old style' (or later referred to as the baroque period), had been the habitat of most bassoonists for nearly a century. The new (independent from the basso) role of a bassoonist may have initially been with the *Feldmusik*. The early symphonies with obbligato bassoon parts of Haydn and Mozart demonstrate how bassoonists may have switched between the old *col basso* role and the new independent role. Analysis of the later symphonies with full independent bassoon parts, illustrate how connected the bassoon is to its role as a bass instrument. In the later symphonies the bassoon is very much a member of the wind section, no longer a basso continuo instrument. The symphonies of Haydn, present precise indications (such as *col basso*, *senza fagotto* and *fagotto solo*) for bassoons. Study of the compositions and their orchestration assist in understanding the contemporary practice of the eighteenth century and how different it is from practices today.

Case Study B: Neue Mozart Ausgabe with Critical Commentary

Introduction

It is fortunate that there are many easily accessible sources for Mozart's music. Zaslaw²²⁹ provides a comprehensive record of these. There are surviving scores and parts from the eighteenth century housed in libraries in Europe and The United States. Available for study are thirty plus autograph scores in the composer's hand as well as orchestral parts used for performance in the eighteenth century. Breitkopf & Härtel published a few pieces of Mozart's work at the end of the eighteenth century and at the end of the nineteenth century Ludwig Ritter von Köchel compiled a thematic catalogue, the Köchel-Verzeichnis which is still used today. This publication is known as the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe* (Old Mozart Edition), distinguishing it from the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* (New Mozart Edition) published by

²²⁹ Zaslaw, Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception.

Bärenreiter more recently. The Neue Mozart Ausgabe (NMA)²³⁰ or in English, The New Mozart Edition, is the most respected modern edition of Mozart's collected works. It consists of edited scores with prefaces and critical reports. This multi-volume collection was edited by many different musicologists over a period of some decades in the second half of the twentieth century. In the preface, it claims to provide 'impeccable scholarship' for the basis of research and practising musicians. However, the discussion about the bassoon in those early classical period symphonies contains inconsistencies and inaccuracies. It would be fair to say that the editorial decisions made reflect mid-nineteenth-century understandings of eighteenth-century performance practice more than the quality of the scholarship. It also indicates how much thorough investigation into historically informed performance practice has taken place in the last sixty years.

Series IV: Orchestral Works, Volumes 1-5

The NMA comprises ten series, each divided up into thirty-five workgroups. The early Mozart symphonies can be found in Series IV: Orchestral Works, Volumes 1-5. These five volumes contain roughly forty symphonies, that is, all the 'symphonies' composed between 1764-1774. Volumes one and two are edited by Gerhard Allroggen and Faye Ferguson, volume three by Wilhelm Fischer and volumes four and five by Hermann Beck. The work of these editors has provided different results regarding the use of the bassoon.

'Basso' to 'Violoncelli e Bassi' and 'Fagott Ad Libitum'

The most interesting observation is the different interpretations of Mozart's autograph across these five volumes. Mozart wrote Baßo (a German spelling of basso) on the bottom line of the score. ²³¹ The editors Fischer and Beck simply changed the Baßo instruction to Violoncelli e Bassi. 232 Arguably, the vague instruction Baßo was utilised to leave the instrumentation of the basso flexible, to accommodate changes according to varying performance scenarios or availability of players? The label 'violoncelli e bassi' however removes the opportunity to instrument the bass line on a case-by-case scenario and it permanently excludes the bassoon.

In the first two volumes, Allroggen/Ferguson²³³ have changed *Baβo* to *Violoncello e Basso**. The asterix reads, 'Fagott ad Libitum; hierzu sowie zur Mitwirkung des Cembalo vgl. Vorwort' which means, do as the harpsichord, according to the remark in the preface. The remark in the preface suggests using the bassoon in the manner which 'was customary of the time'. 234 There are more detailed instructions for the bassoon/s in the preface of each volume edited by Allroggen and Ferguson.

Volume 1 remarks: Concerning the participation of the bassoons: Mozart prescribed obbligato bassoons in only one symphony within this volume, the not entirely unproblematic Symphony KV 76.

²³⁰ "Series IV: Orchestral Works." Bärenreiter-Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1956–1999, accessed October 2022. https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/nma/nmapub srch.php?l=2.

²³¹ Mozart, Sinfonia in G.

²³² "Kritischer Bericht Series IV: Orchesterwerke Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien Band 3," Bärenreiter-Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1956, https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/nma/nmapub srch.php?l=2. Beck, "Kritischer Bericht Series: IV Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien Band 5."

²³³ Mozart, "Symphonie in G KV110."234 Mozart, "Symphonie in G KV110," XIII.

In the other symphonies, one needs to adopt the unmentioned and self-evident performance practice of the time, according to which, bassoons can be included to strengthen the bass group if the oboes (or flutes) and horns are playing.'

The remarks in Volume 2 are: Concerning the participation of the bassoons: It is only the slow movement of the symphony KV110 that Mozart wrote specifically for bassoons. The instruments emerge from the bass group to play independent obbligato roles. In accordance with the practice of Mozart's time, the bassoons should play *col basso* in the other movements of this symphony, except for the *Minuet* and *Trio* which are scored for only strings. Within those remarks the editors have not referenced from where they sourced 'practice of the time', nor is there an explanation of what their understanding of what that practice is.

Why the Omission of Bassoon in Volumes 3-5? Taxonomy?

Whilst Allroggen and Ferguson, editors of the first two volumes of the five, have made consideration for inclusion of the bassoon in the basso, Fischer and Beck, chose to omit the bassoon completely. But why? Perhaps it has to do with scoring conventions?

The scores in Mozart's time utilised no standard order of listing the instruments at the beginning of each movement. Sometimes, such as the autograph of the KV201, the score order is as follows: Violins I, Violins II, Oboes I and II, Horns I and II, Violas and Basso. Yet in the autograph of KV110 (Figure 24) the instruments are listed: Horns I and II, Oboes I and II, Violins I and II, Violas Basso. Sometimes the violins are first, sometimes the horns are first in the score order. Today, the oboes would be first, with all the other winds grouped underneath and all the strings would be grouped together at the bottom of the score.

In the middle movement of that same symphony (Figure 24) the instruments are listed: Flutes I and II, Violins I and II, Viola, Bassoons I and II and Basso. Comparing these two movements from the same symphony demonstrate firstly how there was no consistency with score order of instruments and secondly how the bassoon is closely connected to the basso; it also underscores how the bassoon is not a wind instrument in the modern sense, but rather a basso instrument. What *was* consistent within the inconsistent scoring conventions, was to group all the bass instruments together.



Figure 24 W. A. Mozart Sinfonia in G Movement I, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 235

A nineteenth or twentieth-century scholar could very easily have sighted this first movement (Figure 24) and imagined that the bottom section is the string section, and the top parts are the wind/brass; and so there is no bassoon in the wind/brass section. Yet for the eighteenth-century musician who categorised instruments according to the musical function, the score would group melody instruments together and the basso instruments together. These are not symphonies for oboes, horns and strings; they are symphonies for violins, oboes, horns, violas and basso. This distinction has an enormous impact on the role of the bassoon.

²³⁵ Mozart, "Sinfonia in G Major KV110."



Figure 25 W. A. Mozart Sinfonia in G Movement II, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 236

The following example includes a symphony from his later symphonic output (1782), the *Symphony in D Major* KV358 (Figure 26). It again demonstrates how the bass instruments are grouped together, a very different score layout to the layout of today. Violins and violas are at the top of the score, winds and brass and timpani in the middle with bassoon and basso on the lowermost two lines.

²³⁶ Mozart, "Sinfonia in G Major KV110."



Figure 26 W. A. Mozart Sinfonia in D Movement I, Pierpont Morgan Library NY 237

The Danger of Modern Day Assumptions

About a sixth of Mozart's autographs went missing from the Berlin Library during the Second World War. Therefore, the NMA referred to the AMA to 'replace' the missing works. Fortunately, early scholars such as Aloys Fuchs, Otto Jahn and Ludwig Köchel had made copies of the autographs from which the NMA could refer, yet even these copies contained certain nineteenth-century assumptions and biases untrue to the autograph.²³⁸ As a result the AMA via the NMA has heavily influenced how we think about Mozart today. Eisen makes a perfectly fair comment, 'Modern Mozart Editions suffer from the burden of a tradition that has never been critically examined.'239

Shifts in the Taxonomy of Instruments

The editors have interpreted Mozart's autograph to accommodate modern day orchestral practices, scoring conventions and understandings. In the eighteenth century the bassoon was very much a basso (basso continuo) instrument, as it played predominantly bass lines. It was not grouped as a wind instrument as it is today. The modern-day classification of instruments according to whether their sound is made by strings, being stuck (percussion) blown through wood (woodwind) or brass (brass). While the adoption of modern scoring conventions (ie. Score order) is pragmatic for performances, it can also distract from the possibility of both editors and players to the possibility that the bassoon could also legitimately be one of the instruments that played the 'basso'.

²³⁷ Mozart, Sinfonia in D.

²³⁸ Eisen, "The Old and New Mozart editions," 514.239 Eisen, "The Old and New Mozart editions," 523.

Case Study C: The English Symphonists

Clearer Instructions for Bassoonists in England

Between the middle of the eighteenth century and Haydn's arrival in London, the composers writing symphonies in England appear to have been more specific regarding the use of the bassoon. Whilst on the continent bassoon use appeared to be tacit knowledge for orchestral musicians, in London instructions were very clearly marked. Charles Avison does not mince his words in his written communications. Likewise J.C. Bach, Abel and Marsh make the orchestration very clear on their scores.

Charles Avison Preface Op. 3

Charles Avison was an English composer and organist, who wrote extensively about music. According to Charles Burney and William Hayes he studied with Geminiani in London, hence the Italian influence on his compositions. He directed concerts and theatre productions in his hometown of Newcastle and also in Durham. Charles Burney described him as 'an ingenious and polished man, esteemed and respected by all who knew him; and an elegant writer upon his art'.²⁴⁰

The preface to a set of *Concerti Grossi* by Charles Avison²⁴¹ in England in 1751 includes instructions for orchestrating this piece. These instructions were called for as the performance orchestration was not necessarily what was prescribed in the title or the cover sheet of the composition. The *Six Concertos, in Seven Parts,* Op. 3, was composed for four violins, one viola, a cello, a ripieno bass and basso continuo for the harpsichord. The preface has a detailed description of performance practice advice, amongst which are recommendations for the wind players:

As to the wind instruments, these are all so different in their tone and register from those of the stringed kind, besides the irremediable disagreement of their rising in their pitch, while the others are probably falling; that they shou'd [sic] neither be continued too long in use, nor employ'd [sic] but in such pieces, as are expressly adapted to them; so that in the general work of concertos for violins, etcetera they are almost always improper; unles [sic] we admit of the bassoon, which if performed by an expert hand, in a soft and ready tone, and only in those passages that are natural to it, may then be of singular use, and add fulness to the harmony.

There is no doubt that the bassoon adds value to the overall tutti sound because of its ability to support the fundament of the harmony and to mark out the bass. It is also clear from this quote that the bassoon is exceptionally good in an ensemble with no other winds, only string instruments and harpsichord. These concepts are contradictory to Gerhard Allroggen's notion in the NMA (see Case Study B) which claims that bassoons can be added only if the oboes and horns are playing.

In addition to this preface, Avison was engaged in correspondence with Dr. Bever, fellow of All Souls, concerning performance advice for the Marcello Psalms.²⁴² Avison's reply to Dr. Bever's letter gives a clear instruction for the numbers of musicians suggested for the performance:

2/

²⁴⁰ Norris L. Stephens, "Avison, Charles," (Oxford University Press, 2001), 2.

²⁴¹ Avison, Six Concertos in Seven Parts, Op. 3.

²⁴² John Darch and Thomas Bever, 1758.

The number of voices and instruments employ'd on this occasion is generally about twenty-four, which are disposed in different manners according to the different Psalms they perform.

For the Psalms in the vocal parts and the accompanying bass, we have for the chorus performer, four ladies who sing the contralto, four tenors by gentlemen, and of same number of basses. To these are added one solo voice to each of the parts, which make up fifteen vocal performers. The ladies who sing in the chorus have two violins to conduct them, who play the part as it stands. The tenors have also two violins, who play the part eight notes higher than it is sung and the basses have two tenor violins, which part is also performed an octave above the voices. To complete the performance, we have accompanying the basses, a violoncello with a harpsichord, one double bass and bassoon and two other ripieno basses.

In all the Psalms the greatest part of the instruments should only accompany in the chorus and in the solo movements, harpsichord and violoncello only.

In summary, Avison makes clear more than once, the importance of a strong musical foundation in the bass, to which the bassoon adds value when performed by a skilled bassoonist who can blend and choose the most fitting passages in which to play or be tacet.

Abel Overtures Op. 14 (London 1777 or 1778)²⁴³

Carl Friedrich Abel (1723—1787) was born in Cöthen. His father worked with J.S. Bach there and Carl Friedrich himself later studied with J. S. Bach in Leipzig. He spent fifteen years in Dresden where he played in the court orchestra under Hasse.²⁴⁴ Most likely fleeing the Seven Years War, Abel migrated to London in 1759 where he lived out his life. He composed symphonies and chamber works which were popular and typical of the early Classical style; formally constructed and straightforward in the melodic and harmonic material. In business partnership with J.C. Bach, they organised and performed an influential and prolific public concert series in Soho from 1764 which lasted for about twenty years.

²⁴³ Gwilym Beechey, "Carl Friedrich Abel's Six Symphonies, Op. 14," *Music & Letters* 51, no. 3 (1970): 280, http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.ecu.edu.au/stable/731565.

²⁴⁴ From Stephen Roe(https://stor.imslp.org/naxos/booklets/booklet-555137-2.pdf)

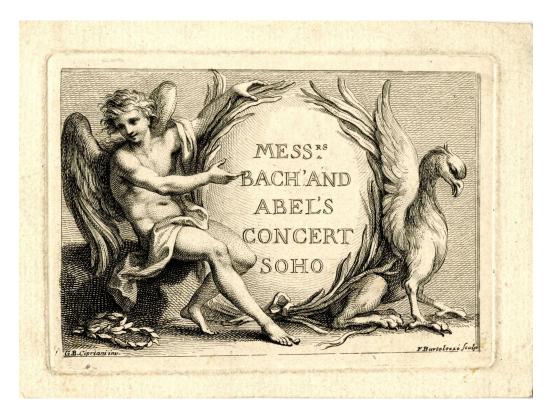
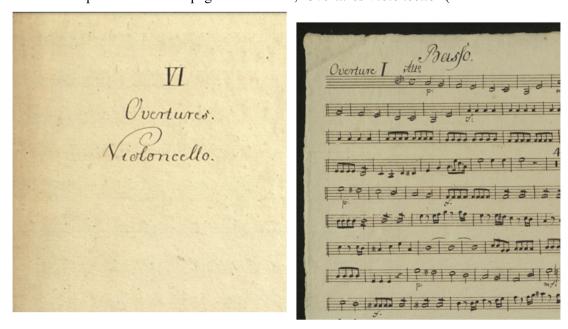


Figure 27 Billhead for the Bach Abel Concert Series 1780, British Museum²⁴⁵

His three-movement symphonies were composed in sets of six with parts for two violins, viola, basso/violoncello. The extant set of manuscript parts includes one of each part. The *Overture/Symphony Number Two* of the Op. 14 set is very interesting because of the labelling of the basso part and the instructions within the basso part.

The manuscript includes a title page which states, 'Overtures Violoncello' (



²⁴⁵ Bill-Head for the Bach Abel Concert Series 1780, 1780, The British Museum, Used by permission The Trustees of the British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1897-1231-321.

Figure 28) and then at the head of the first page it states 'basso'(

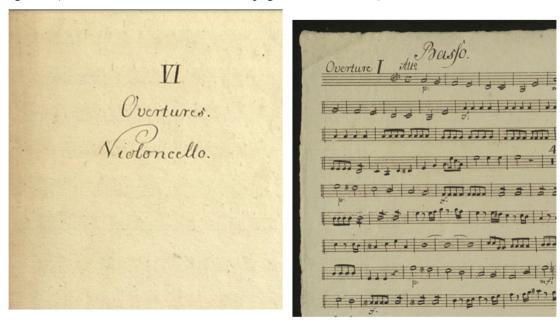


Figure 28). In the first movement in the penultimate line of page one, (Figure 29), it is written (highlighted in green), 'Fag: Solo', which means *fagott solo*; that is, for the bassoon to play alone without the other basso instruments. The other basso instruments are to re-join at the end of the solo marked tutti. The 'Fag: Solo' occurs again later in the movement (highlighted in green) and again in the trio (Figure 30). It is significant that the overture is written for two oboes, two horns, two violins, viola and basso. The bassoon is not listed in the instrumentation, yet is required to play solo sections. How is a bassoonist expected to know that it is required to play in the symphony? There is no indication until the solo arrives. Unless of course, the bassoonist is always there, because it is an implicit member of the basso.

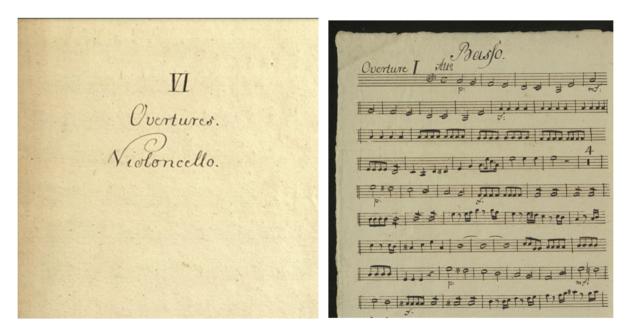


Figure 28 C.F. Abel Opus 14/2 Basso, Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern²⁴⁶



Figure 29 C. F. Abel Overture II Opus 14/2 Movement I Basso, Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern 247

 ²⁴⁶ Carl Friederich Abel, "Overtures Op. 14," (London, 1777), orchestral parts.
 https://s9.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/9/9a/IMSLP548558-PMLP885493-abel_op14_lbmv.pdf.
 ²⁴⁷ Abel, "Overtures Op. 14."



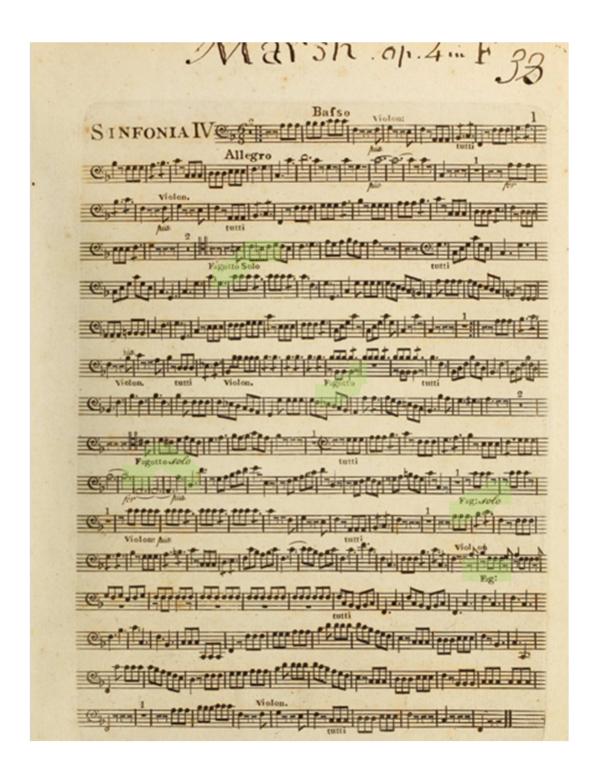
Figure 30 C. F. Abel Overture II Opus 14/2 Movement III Minuet and Trio Basso, Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern ²⁴⁸

Marsh Symphony Number 4 in F major

John Marsh (1752–1828) born in England was trained as a solicitor, yet taught himself music, becoming proficient and prolific. He played violin, organised subscription concerts and composed well admired chamber music and symphonies.

The *Symphony Number 4 in F major* is a four-movement symphony. A set of manuscript parts survive comprising parts for two violins, viola, basso, two oboes and two horns. On the cover sheet is written, *'Symphony in eight parts for violins, hautboys, french horn, tenor and bass'*. Despite the bassoon not being included in the list of instruments, there is an instruction *fagotto solo* in the bass part (Figure 31). Like in the previous symphony by Abel, the instruction requesting a bassoon only appears in the part where the solo is written. Once more this suggests the implicit use of the bassoon. A practice so customary, that no mention of the bassoon is required in the list of instruments or the labelling of the parts because the bassoonist is installed as a regular member of the basso.

²⁴⁸ Abel, "Overtures Op. 14."





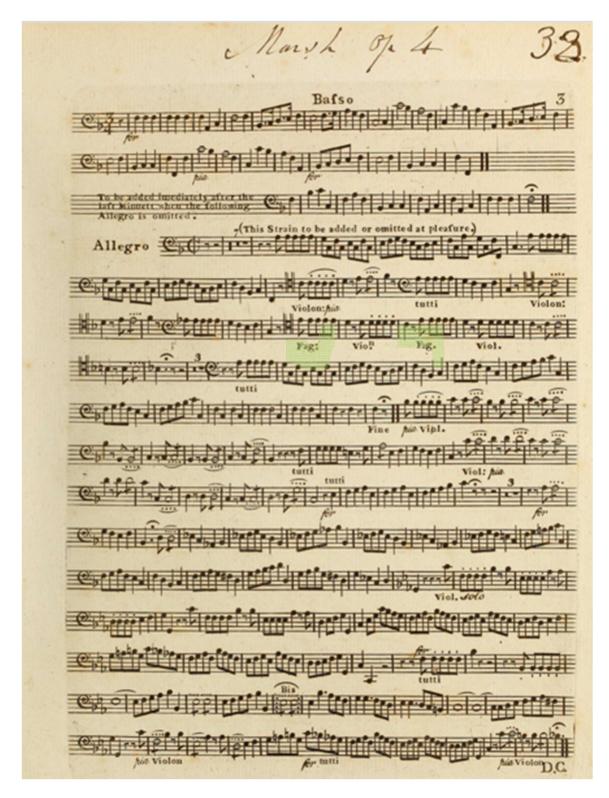


Figure 31 J. Marsh Symphony in F Op. 4 Basso, University of Western Ontario-University of Toronto Libraries²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ John Marsh, *Symphony No. 4* F Major, (London: Longman and Broderip, 1788). https://imslp.org/wiki/Symphony_No.4_in_F_major_(Marsh%2C_John).

J.C. Bach Symphonies Op. 18

J. C. Bach, youngest son of J.S. Bach was born in Leipzig. He lived in Italy for five years during which time he studied with the violinist, scholar and composer of sacred music, Giovanni Battista 'Padre' Martini (1706–1784) in Bologna. Martini is not to be confused with G.B. Sammartini the early symphonist, whom J.C. Bach admired. He settled in London in 1762, hence his nickname the London Bach.

The Opus 18 (1781) includes two symphonies (sinfonia). In *Sinfonia I* there is an independent part for *Fagotti* (Figure 32) and another part for Basso (Figure 33). The two separate parts in *Sinfonia I* are very similar, which again reinforces the *col basso* theory proposed in Case Study A. The basso and *fagotti* parts in the first symphony ,whilst not identical, are very similar. There are no solos for the bassoons, yet there are some sections where the bassoons break into thirds or play a slightly more embellished version of the basso part. In the first movement, there are two, two bar phrases in which the bassoons play a question-and-answer sighing motive in thirds. This is then followed by long notes, and again the bassoons play held notes in thirds after which they play *col basso*. Further in the first movement, the bassoons again reclaim their independence from the basso to repeat a similar melodic motive played in thirds. There are five such short passages in which the bassoons escape the basso role. In the slow movement, the bassoons play nothing outside of the basso part, yet are instructed to rest for six phrases; basso phrases offering but the simplest skeleton of the harmonic structure. The third, and final quick movement is a repeat of the first movement's exposition.



Figure 32 J.C. Bach Sinfonia I Opus 18/1 Fagott, Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen²⁵⁰

 $^{{}^{250}~}J.C.~Bach, "Symphonies Op.~18," (n.d.).~https://s9.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/7/72/IMSLP308881-PMLP499375-JCBach_2_Symphonies,_Op.18.pdf.$



Figure 33 J.C. Bach Sinfonia I Opus 18/1 Basso, Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen 251

In *Sinfonia II* there is a part entitled 'basso è fagotto' (Figure 34). The *Sinfonia II* is identical for bassoon and basso with exception of the middle slow movement where the bassoon plays a solo melody over four bars, which is then repeated in the reprise along with arpeggiated embellishments over new phrases.

²⁵¹ Bach, "Symphonies Op. 18."



Figure 34 J.C. Bach Sinfonia II Opus 18/2 Basso è Fagotto, Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen 252

The symphonies of Abel and Marsh in the previous two examples use generic basso parts with specific instruction for the bassoonist written directly into the body of the part. It is usual for a symphony written in the 1780s to have independent bassoon parts. In these two Opus 18 symphonies the point of liberation of the bassoon from the basso is on show. In support of the *col basso* theory, it is evident that before that moment of emancipation, the bassoon is utilised before *col basso* and after as an obbligato instrument.

The English School of the early Classical symphonists wrote more prescriptive instructions regarding orchestration either in correspondence or directly in the scores of the compositions rendering no doubt about the inclusion of the bassoon in the basso. Were the English hoping to fairly copy their continental colleagues who had so strongly influenced their musical tastes? Was the clear instruction necessary as the practices described were not yet learned and implicit? European influences were reciprocal, there was much cross pollination in all directions. Mozart was highly influenced by Abel and J.C. Bach during his first visit to London when he wrote his first symphony. The language of the English symphonists had in turn been influenced by emigrees such as Gemaniani, importer of the popular Italian style, and teacher of Avison, the Saxons J.C. Bach and C.F. Abel. Bach travelled to England via Italy bringing the Italian symphonic style with him. Were the instructions to ensure that the implicit performance practice of basso bassoon in Saxony and Italy was continued in England? In any case, these examples of basso parts from four English symphonists assist in supporting our modern understanding of the implicit use of the bassoon in the basso.

²⁵² Bach, "Symphonies Op. 18."

What these four English symphonies show, is the development from the beginning of the early Classical (Avison 1751) to the end (J.C. Bach 1781). There is no mistaking that the bassoon was at home in the symphony orchestra regardless of whether that residence was in the basso or independently in the wind section.

Case Study D: Johann Traeg copy of KV201

Discovery of the Traeg Set of Parts

In addition to autograph scores of the Mozart symphonies, individual parts of each instrument from the score copied for the musicians can provide convincing evidence regarding performance practice. Whilst more than thirty scores of the early symphonies survive, extant complete sets of orchestral parts are rare. Only seven or so known sets survive today. In 2021, I discovered a previously unstudied complete set of parts in an Austrian monastery for the A major symphony written in Salzburg in 1774, now known as the *Symphony No. 29*, KV201. The parts were copied by Johann Traeg (1747–1805), a Viennese copyist frequently used by Mozart in Vienna. The life and work of Mozart has over the years been studied in great detail. Despite the extensive work, this previously unstudied manuscript of Traeg is fortuitous discovery. Equally fortuitous is that this set of parts includes a part fashioned from the basso for *fagotto* (bassoon).

RISM estimates the date of these parts as between 1790–1799.²⁵³ This estimate is feasible, yet may have even been a few years earlier. Traeg commenced business in Vienna in 1779.²⁵⁴ Mozart wrote to his father in Salzburg in January 1783 requesting the score be sent to him.²⁵⁵ A letter of February 1783 confirmed the arrival of the score in Vienna.²⁵⁶ In 1799 Traeg published a catalogue of the manuscripts available for copying, the autograph of KV201 was listed in this catalogue. This means that Traeg could have had access to the score to create a master set of parts from as early as 1783. Had Traeg created these parts as late as 1799, one must ask if the inclusion of the bassoon truly does reflect the practices of the 1770s when the symphony was first composed.

An Original Bassoon Part Crafted from the Basso

Traeg's *fagotto* part assists our understanding of how the bassoon did play the basso line. Most notable is how the use of bassoon is very closely aligned with its role as a bass instrument. The bassoon very much functions to highlight the musical qualities of the bass line and how the bass interacts with the other voices. More precisely, the Traeg copy uses the bassoon to add volume to forte sections, to provide a clear articulation in the passages of rhythmic interest, balance out the easily audible instruments in the higher registers, and to provide timbral colour enhancing the desired effect the score wishes to elicit. What it teaches us, and how this learning can be applied in twenty-first-century performance practice

. . .

²⁵³ W.A. Mozart and Johann Traeg, *Sinfonia in A a 2 Violini, 2 Oboe, 2 Corni, Viola, Basso, Fagotto Dal Sig: Mozart*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM), updated October 2021, *ca*.1790.

²⁵⁴ Dexter Edge, "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (Ph.D., University of Southern California, 2001), https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/mozarts-viennese-copyists/docview/276036906/se-2?accountid=10675 (3065782)

²⁵⁵ Neal Zaslaw, "Mozart's Paris Symphonies," *The Musical Times* 119, no. 1627 (1978): 757, https://doi.org/10.2307/959591, http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.ecu.edu.au/stable/959591.

²⁵⁶ Edge, "Mozart's Viennese Copyists," 806.

is covered in Chapter Seven. Avison remarked that the bassoon should only play the passages which are best suited to the bassoon. Study of the Traeg part and the *violoncelli e bassi* line from the NMA in juxtaposition, shows that there are many passages well suited to the bassoon and that these bassoon qualities enhance particular musical features in the score.

Hermann Beck's Edition of the Basso Line in the Neue Mozart Ausgabe

In the NMA, the *Symphony in A* KV201 appears in Series IV, Volume 11, Number (Volume) 5. It was edited in 1957. The autograph score in currently in a private collection in New York in a bound volume which also includes the symphonies KV162, KV181, KV182, KV183, KV184, KV199, KV200 and KV202. The critical report lists extant sets of eighteenth-century parts and scores which include the abovementioned autograph score and two sets of eight parts, one in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena, Italy and the other in Zittau, at the Chirstian-Weisse Library. This study uses the Beck edition with which to compare the Traeg part.

Which passages suit the Bassoon? What Does the Bassoon Offer?

The bassoon can provide a substantial addition to the forte dynamic of tutti sections. There are examples of this throughout the symphony. The first example is of a strong and triumphant section in the final section of the first movement before the coda, bars 169-183. The bassoon provides welcome reinforcement to the dynamic and *affekt* of this section.

The next two examples show contrasting forte and piano sections in quick succession. The development of the first movement in sonata form starts with a passage of contrasting forte and piano passages; bars 77 to 99. There are two bars of forte followed by a piano section for four bars and then again a sudden forte section for eight bars, which is then again followed by a longer piano section. These sharp contrasts from forte to piano has a greater effect with the basso reinforced by bassoon. Figure 35, which compares the Traeg part on the uppermost line and the *violoncelli e bassi* part on the lowermost line, shows how Traeg has included the bassoon for the forte sections.



Figure 35 W.A. Mozart Symphony in A KV201 Movement I Bars 77-99²⁵⁷

The next soft loud contrast example comes from the *Menuetto*, bars 27-30. Traeg adds the bassoon to the basso for the forte section, to enhance in the piano forte contrast. *Figure 36* shows the excerpt from the NMA score and *Figure 37* shows the Traeg bassoon part with the *violoncelli e bassi* part. i

97

²⁵⁷ This is a written out except from the Traeg manuscript (see Appendix B for the complete manuscript written out) created for this research paper, for the ease of the reader.



Figure 36 W.A. Mozart Symphony in A KV201 Movement III Menuetto bars 24-33258



Figure 37 W.A. Mozart Symphony in A KV201 Movement III Menuetto Bars 27-32

In addition to the support in forte sections, the bassoon lends itself nicely to passages which benefit from a clear articulation. In bars 27 (*Figure 38*) and 45 (*Figure 39*) of the first movement, the bass line plays an accompanying line with crotchets jumping up and down in large intervals; these examples are even marked with *kyles* (daggers) demonstrating the favourable well-articulated nature of the notes beautifully enhanced with a bassoon.



Figure 38 W.A. Mozart Symphony in A KV201 Movement I Bars 26-31

²⁵⁸ "Kritischer Bericht Series IV: Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien Band 5," Neue Mozart Ausgabe: Digitized Version, Bärenreiter-Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1957, accessed October 2020, https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/nma/nmapub srch.php?l=2.



Figure 39 W.A. Mozart Symphony in A KV201 Movement I Bars 44-48

The second example shows how the crisp articulation of the bassoon adds clarity to passages of particular rhythmic interest. Traeg added the bassoon in bars ten and eleven of the *Minuetto* even though there are no notes in the basso, the bassoon here is added to the oboes and horns in the same manner as the *Feldmusik* (Figure 40). From bars ten to thirteen, there is a nice contrast of timbre, first this motive is played by the winds, and then it is echoed by tutti strings...with the bassoon playing both with the winds and with the strings; the timbral call and response effect is delightful.



Figure 40 W.A. Mozart Symphony in A KV201 Movement III Menuetto Bars 1-20

The Value and Authenticity of a Well Supported Bass Line

In Chapter One the work of Spitzer and Zaslaw on orchestral balance was referenced. They found that orchestras pre 1780 used a bass comprising a third of the orchestra and that after 1780 this ratio of basses was reduced to about one fifth of the orchestra. There are examples in this symphony currently

under examination in which one can see musically how important the bass line is; either to provide a solid footing for the melody, as a conversation partner in the musical rhetoric or as an equal contrapuntal voice.

The basso accompaniment to the melody in the *Andante* movement is sparse, a walking type bass of quavers as well as quavers interspersed with quaver rests (Figure 41). Over the top, the upper strings play long muted legato lines. Traeg adds the bassoon (Figure 42) despite the piano dynamic marking; clarity of those piano quavers add definition to the architecture of the accompanying line. This bass line although rather uninteresting does provide a 'floor' a 'stage' on which that melody may 'walk'. Without the bassoon, that bass line can become inaudible. The marking is piano, and piano does not necessarily mean few decibels, it means in this context to be accompanying and soft, but not inaudible. The bassoon can play quietly, and within the piano dynamic it offers structure to the accompanying nature of that bass line.



Figure 41 W.A. Mozart Symphony in A KV201 Movement II Andante Bars 1-6²⁵⁹

²⁵⁹ Beck, "Kritischer Bericht Series IV: Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien Band 5," 10.



Figure 42 W.A. Mozart Symphony in A KV201 Movement II Andante Bars 1-27

Rhetorical expression in the works of Mozart is evident in conversational passages in which questions and answers are posed from one instrumental group to the other. In the final movement between bars 16-24, this conversation appears to be more like a shouting match of 'I don't agree' or exclamations of encouragement 'come on, you can' between the violins and basso (Figure 43). Such a conversation or argument is effective only when the voices are equal. Mozart has already scored horns to join the bass demonstrating the need for the lower voices to be strengthened. It is no wonder that Traeg suggested the bassoon join the bass line.



Figure 43 W.A. Mozart Symphony in A KV201 Movement IV Bars 16-32²⁶⁰

Polyphony Lives On

Polyphony, despite falling out of fashion during the rise of the galant, is ever present in the works of the great composers of all time. Mozart of course is no exception. In the first movement there are three examples of the bassoon added to the bass to make an equal voice in the counterpoint. The opening forte of the first movement in bar 13 is an example where the fugal voices enter in close succession similar to the *stretto* technique of polyphony. In bars 9-14 of the same movement, there is a piano section of four contrapuntal voices and in bar 59 there is a quaver contrary motion motive between the violins and the bass.

Having a bassoon in the basso adds to the wide variety of timbral colours within the bass section. The basso can play with or without the bassoon depending on the timbre the *affekt* of that passage requires. Opening the symphony is a special string only colour. This is a section where the bassoon would be tacet. In bar thirteen of this opening movement, there is a shift from piano/strings to forte/tutti, a full wind and string sound. In addition to strings only and tutti orchestra, there are sections

 $^{^{260}}$ Beck, "Kritischer Bericht Series IV: Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien Band 5," 19.

with only winds and sections with strings and bassoon in the bass. Bar 53 for example in the first movement is piano and the horns and oboes are tact, yet Traeg has requested the bassoon to join the basso as the bass is an important foundation to this section in which the violins play a legato melody of minims, the violas play repeated quavers and the basso provides crotchets on the least important beats of the bar. In the texture of this passage, the bass is of fundamental importance, and so requires some support from the bassoon. Adding a bassoon to the basso expands the timbral palate to support the variety of *affekts* and musical idioms.

The Accompanist to Oboes Myth

The discovery of the set of parts including a part for bassoon of the *Symphony in A Major* KV201 illuminates our understanding of the bassoon in the basso of the early Mozart symphonies. Many have believed the bassoon to be used only as an accompaniment to the oboe, but study of the Traeg bassoon part suggests that the full picture of a bassoonists' role is to encompass more than simply an oboe accompanist. The bassoon's ability to provide volume and clarity to the basso group assists in adding contrast, variety and interest to the musical ideas in the score. Whilst the bassoon is the natural bass to the oboe, analysis of the Traeg part shows that accompanying oboes is only one of many roles of the bassoon.

Conclusion

The four case studies presented in this chapter enhance our understanding of orchestral performance practice in the early Classical period. In relation to the bassoon, there are some important points worth highlighting;

- bassoonists played the bass line together with the other bass instruments (cellos and basses);
- the bass instruments played from a generically titled part labelled basso;
- the bassoon's role gradually moved from a *col basso* player, to playing independent parts in the wind section labelled Bassoon I and Bassoon II;
- the NMA has erroneously excluded the bassoon from most of their editions of the early Mozart symphonies.

Col basso practice, Case Study A, was implicitly understood; bassoons, cellos and basses all played col basso, that is they played the lowermost line of the score or parts labelled 'basso'. The other lines in the score were dedicated to particular instruments; Violins I and II, Viola, Oboes I and II and Horns I and II. In the eighteenth century this instrumentation was; violins, violas, oboes, horns and basso. Musicians and musicologists, of today are mistaken when describing this instrumentation as; oboes, horns and strings. Case Study B investigates how the modern editions of Mozart's scores were transcribed without consideration for a true understanding of eighteenth-century scores, especially in terms of the labelling of each line of the score, even naming the instrumentation of the symphony. This oversight is perhaps the reason that the bassoon is so frequently excluded from performances of early Classical orchestral music. The English Symphonists in Case Study C, showcases the bassoon more prominently, perhaps due to the clear instructions they embraced in the hope of faithfully imitating their

continental influences from Germany and Italy. The jewel in the crown of this research is Case Study D, an analysis of the bassoon part copied by Johann Traeg. This recently discovered, complete set of orchestra parts for the *Symphony in A major* KV201 is previously undocumented in the Mozart scholarship and therefore has not been studied since the eighteenth century. It illuminates the eighteenth-century basso practice of a bassoonist.

CHAPTER 7 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND APPLICATION

This chapter collates findings from the converging avenues of investigation in the preceding chapters and suggests implication thereof in performance practice today. This information is twofold; to what extent to include the bassoon and if so how it is to perform the basso. It begins with a summary of the findings and continues to suggest their application in performance.

Summary of Findings

Chapter Overview

What can be yielded from the previous chapters which can be carried to the concert stage? Chapter Four quotes theorists who make mention of the bassoon. In 1754 Béthisy²⁶¹ describes the bassoon as an instrument which predominantly plays the basso continuo. In 1761 Garsault²⁶² explains that the bassoon marks the bass well and is a complement to large concerts. In 1752 Quantz²⁶³ on the subject of orchestral balance states that an orchestra with six violins requires a bassoon, and that with more violins oboes and even more bassoons are to be added. In 1740 Scheibe²⁶⁴ suggested adding a bassoon every time the oboes play, he claimed the importance of every orchestral voice and that because treble instruments are acoustically more prominent, that a substantial and clearly defined bass is needed to counteract that imbalance. Chapter Four also proved the wide usage of the bassoon, equal in prominence to the cello, in orchestras between 1750–1780.

Chapter Five showed how Haydn wrote for the basso bassoonist. He employed two new bassoonists immediately after his appointment in Eszterháza, he wrote extensively for the *Feldmusik* and included this ensemble, comprising pairs of oboes, horns and bassoons, directly into his symphonies. He even expressed a desire to have a basso with one cello, one bassoon and one violone (bass) in the letter which accompanied his *Applausus* Cantata.

Chapter Six investigated the bassoon playing *col basso*. The obbligato bassoon parts in select movements of four of Mozart's early symphonies suggest that the other movements require the bassoons to play with the other bass instruments, that is *col basso*. This chapter reports on the instances of specific instructions given to the bassoon within basso parts in the symphonies of Haydn and the English Symphonists. The preface of Avison's Op. 3²⁶⁵ describes how the bassoon in the basso is 'if performed by an expert hand, in a soft and ready tone, and only in those passages that are natural to it, may then be of singular use, and add fulness to the harmony.' Yet the most important and convincing piece of evidence in this research is the manuscript by Traeg²⁶⁶ of a bassoon part for the *Symphony in A major*, KV201 of Mozart. Traeg was a Viennese copiest frequently used by Mozart. This manuscript is the closest artefact we have which provides evidence of which parts of the basso were played by a bassoon. Traeg has written down a practice of bassoon basso playing, for which there is no other written evidence

²⁶¹ Béthisy, Exposition de la Théorie.

²⁶² Garsault, Notionnaire, ou Mémorial Raisonné.

²⁶³ Quantz, Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte Traversiere zu Spielen.

²⁶⁴ Scheibe, Critischer Musikus.

²⁶⁵ Avison, Six Concertos in Seven Parts, Op. 3.

²⁶⁶ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Sinfonia in A, "KV201," ca. 1790, Johann Traeg, Stiftsbibliothek Zwettl, Vienna?

due to the implicit nature of the practice and the oral tradition of an apprentice learning this practice from a master bassoonist.

Skilled Bassoonists Welcome – But Choose Your Passages Carefully.

The application of this research into modern day performance practice of early Mozart symphonies recognises that the bassoon was frequently included in the orchestra. It is true that it is not obligatory, and were a skilled bassoonist not available, the basso would have been performed with cellos and or bass. The records of Marpurg²⁶⁷ show that the orchestras in Rome and Stuttgart in 1758 and 1756 respectively did not include bassoons. As the Marpurg report and the Esterházy records show orchestras in Gotha, Breslau (both 1755) and Esterházy (1770) without cello, but which all used one bassoon (two in Breslau) and one bass. Yet the orchestras of Mozart, Haydn and other documented orchestras of the time employed bassoons anytime they were available. The information regarding orchestral players mentioned here came from Marpurg's reports, and the administrative records from Esterházy and the Salzburg court calendar. It may be that we interpret these primary sources incorrectly. How did Marpurg record those numbers? Did he view administrative documents or did he count those present at a performance? Were 'extra' bassoonists and cellists hired to fill those places in performance? In any case, it would appear that the 'anchor' basso instrument other than harpsichord was bass. Most preferable was cello, bassoon and bass, but cello and bass or bassoon and bass are all possible combinations. Haydn did mention that the quality of the bassoon complimented the bass.²⁶⁸ So it is not surprising that of the four years there is data for the Kammermusik (1761, 1765, 1770 and 1776), Haydn's ensemble always included bassoon.

There are a couple of conditions under which the bassoon is welcome in the basso. Firstly, there may have been a varying degree of competence amongst bassoonists. Béthisy²⁶⁹ described the sound of the bassoon to be strong and abrupt, however in skilled hands, he continues, is soft, gracious and tender. Avison²⁷⁰ called for bassoonists with an 'expert hand and a soft and ready tone'. Alas, a degree of excellence is required of the basso bassoonist. Secondly, not all of the basso part is fitting for a bassoon. A cello and a bass are suited to play all of the basso part because the stringed instruments have a timbre which can easily play quietly. The quietest, most dolce passages requiring almost inaudible articulations are not well suited to double reed instruments. Avison²⁷¹ advised the bassoon to play passages which are natural to it. This indicates that not all the passages of the basso part are well suited to the bassoon. Garsault²⁷² agreed with Béthisy's description of the bassoon's strong and abrupt sound, yet described it as 'round, proud and animated'.

²⁶⁷ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik. Band 1*, (Berlin: Lange, January 2022 1754/55). https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb10598985.

²⁶⁸ Simon P. Keefe, *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

²⁶⁹ Béthisy, Exposition de la Théorie.

²⁷⁰ Garsault, Notionnaire, ou Mémorial Raisonné.

²⁷¹ Avison, Six Concertos in Seven Parts, Op. 3.

²⁷² Garsault, Notionnaire, ou Mémorial Raisonné.

Which Passages of the Basso Should a Bassoonist Play?

In choosing the sections of the basso best suited to bassoon, Traeg's bassoon part to the A major symphony KV201 is an invaluable guide. Whilst each performance scenario may demand varying requirements, a rough guide is as follows. The bassoon has a natural ability to articulate clearly and to provide a substantial support to the sound and volume of the bass section. Due to the distinctive qualities of a bassoon, it adds certain character, strength and clarity to the bass line in any dynamic loud or soft. Haydn explained in his *Applausus* letter that certain passages stand out better with a bassoon in the basso. Close analysis of the Traeg part shows that the bassoon is of particular value in adding volume to forte sections and to add clarity to the articulations of the bass line. Both of these qualities assist in balancing out the easily audible higher register of the treble instruments whether it be by volume or by highlighting the bass line thanks to the clear articulation. Motives of special rhythmic interest or contrast also benefit from the support of a bassoon due to the clarity and volume it provides.

A Twenty-First Century, Historically Inspired early Classical Orchestra

So, how would a modern orchestra performing early classical symphonies look today? The orchestras of Italy ranged from 34 – 68. Mannheim a total of forty-two, including: twenty violins, four cellos, two bassoons and two basses and Dresden; forty one in total, including: fifteen violins, four cellos, four bassoons and two basses. Smaller orchestra models used up to twenty-five players such as Salzburg, which included: twelve violins, two cellos, three bassoons and three basses, Zerbst: seven violins, one cello, one bassoon, one bass.

A Mozart orchestra of today can be big or small, from fourteen to forty-two. What is more important is that the balance between treble and bass is correct to ensure that all orchestral voices are equally discernible. A bass section including harpsichord is ideally thirty to forty percent of the whole ensemble.

Suggested Modifications to the NMA

The findings present a convincing argument to modify the five volumes of the early Mozart Symphonies by Bärenreiter in the *NMA*. Three of the five volumes omit the bassoon completely and the critical commentary in the two volumes which suggest the bassoon play 'ad libitum' advise that the bassoon should play when the oboes play. This would be a very nice simple easy to follow direction, yet the primary sources demonstrate that a much more nuanced approach is required.

The Oboe Accompanist Myth

The bassoon plays more than just when the oboes play. Bärenreiter²⁷³ was mistaken to suggest bassoons are to adhere to the 'unmentioned and self-evident practice of the time'; bassoons can be included to strengthen the bass group if the oboes (or flutes) and horns are playing. Scheibe²⁷⁴ did mention that bassoons were to play when oboes played, he did not say that bassoons are only to play when oboes

72

²⁷³ Allroggen and Ferguson, "Kritischer Bericht Series IV: Orchesterwerke Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien Band 1 & 2."

²⁷⁴ Scheibe, Critischer Musikus.

played. Both Quantz²⁷⁵ and Avison²⁷⁶ make it clear that the bassoon is to play in the absence of oboes. Bassoon is more frequently used than oboes, and when oboes do play, the bassoon will almost always accompany them.

Research Summary

The answers to the two research questions can be summarised thus. The bassoon, whilst not obligatory, was used to a great extent. The bassoon plays the basso by choosing passages best suited, and observing tact in those which are not.

Evidence of the extended use of the bassoon can been seen in the members of European orchestras of the time. Over thirty orchestras in Germanic counties (modern day Austria, Poland, Germany), England, The Netherlands, Italy and France between 1750–1780 were examined. Only two of those did not include bassoons. There were one to four bassoonists recorded in each of those orchestras, mostly one or two, the orchestras in Dresden, Mannheim and Berlin included four. There were as many cellos on average as there were bassoonists, except for Paris and Mannheim where the number of cellos were double that of bassoons. Yet bassoons doubled the number of cellos in Gotha, Breslau, Warsaw, Salzburg and Esterházy. In the Salzburg court calendar, between the years 1764–1774, there were two to three bassoonists; compared with cellos, one to two.

In regard to how the bassoon played the basso, it is not so easily defined. The bassoon added value to the orchestral sound because of the support it provided to the harmonic fundament, the variety it added to the timbral colours, the strength and clarity it contributed to the bass group so as to balance the easily audible treble instruments and because of the animated quality it provided to certain musical affekts. The bassoon was used in passages which best suited the its character. In the passages not suited, the bassoon would be tacet. These passages best fitting for the bassoon include:

- Forte passages (not only, but always)
- Passages of rhythmic interest
- Bass lines which need marking out
- Bass lines requiring clear articulation.

Understanding when basslines benefitted from marking out and clear articulation is evident when observing the rhetorical and contrapuntal nature of the galant musical idiom; and the importance of all the voices within the musical texture.

The findings present a picture of the bassoon's role in the early Classical symphonies and the context in which these symphonies were first played. The scholarship of the mid to late twentieth-century has driven performance practice decisions for the last fifty or so years. Those understandings contrast somewhat to the findings which the evidence explored in this study has uncovered.

7

²⁷⁵ Quantz, Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte Traversiere zu Spielen.

²⁷⁶ Avison, Six Concertos in Seven Parts, Op. 3.

Conclusion

To sum up, passages that are suited to the bassoon are not only loud passages or passages including other winds such as oboes. The bassoon is well adapted to play passages expressing an *affekt* which would benefit from an animated, pronounced and well-articulated bass line. Passages which require strengthening to balance the treble lines, passages of rhythmic interest, passages which profit from extra volume in the forte and passages which seek pronounced articulation in the bass are all welcome habitats for a bassoon. Avison explained that the expert hand of a bassoonist is able to play 'in a soft and ready tone'. ²⁷⁷ Béthisy described the bassoon as being strong and abrupt yet gracious, Garsault's words for the bassoon are 'round, proud and animated'. Haydn wrote how well the bassoon complimented the violone and that it assisted certain bass passages to be more easily distinguishable, and therefore a basso with bassoon is preferable.

²⁷⁷ Avison, Six Concertos in Seven Parts, Op. 3, iii.

CHAPTER 8 A HYPOTHETICAL CONCERT SERIES: SIXTIES & SEVENTIES MUSIC

This concert series has been curated to reflect the journey and findings of this research. There are a number of indented purposes for the series. Firstly, to hear the bassoon in a *col basso* role and to hear how this affects the tutti orchestral sound. Secondly, to hear the type of music which was played during the early Classical period. Thirdly, to expose and celebrate the unique language of galant music in the 1760s and 1770s, which is too often overlooked by concert programmers. Four concerts in total, the series travels from London, to Salzburg and Vienna (and Mannheim), to Italy and ends in the Zwettl Abbey in Lower Austria.

The bassoon is heard *col basso* as well as in obbligato roles. As a basso instrument, the bassoon will adopt the practice suggested by the findings. Playing in a tone which blends and supports the basso, adding definition to the articulation and clarity of motives or accompanying passages which balance the treble lines. Adding a bassoon to the cello and bass in the basso provides a greater range of timbral colour to the orchestral sounds.

The majority of the works in this program are for an orchestra comprising two sections of violins, violas, pairs of oboes and horns and basso. The basso is played by cello, bassoon, bass and harpsichord. The 'conductor' is the harpsichordist directing from the keyboard or the first violinist directing from the violin. The size of the orchestra performing these four concerts depends on the repertoire, availability of players and size of performance space, as was the practice of the time. This means the orchestra may be as small as thirteen like the orchestra in Esterházy between 1765–1770, or it may be as large as the orchestra in Milan in 1778 comprising sixty-eight players.

Concert One: London 1764

J.C. Bach Sinfonia to Artaserse (1760) 6'

C. Avison Concerto in G minor Op.3 No.3* 9'

Mozart (Leopold, Wolfgang or Nannerl) Sonata in C major (1764) KV19d. 12'

J.C. Bach Artaserse No, che non ha la sorte 1'30"

C.F. Abel Symphony in G Op. 4 No. 5 WKO11* (1762) 7'34"

Improvisation on cello or harpsichord

J.C. Bach Vauxhall Songs: Cease a While ye Winds to Blow* soprano & orchestra 3'

J.C. Bach Folk Song Braes of Ballanden 3'

W.A. Mozart Symphony in E flat KV16* (1764) 11'

Concert One: London 1764 exhibits Mozart's youth. Aged only eight, and under the influence of J.C. Bach and C.F. Abel, he wrote his first symphony (with heavy corrections in the score by his father) for a London audience in 1764. This concert attempts to recreate the performance of May 13, 1764 where this symphony was premiered. London newspapers advertised the event two months in advance, promoting it as a concert 'For the Benefit of Miss Mozart of Thirteen, and Master Mozart of

Eight Year of Age, Prodigies of Nature. Hickford's Great Room in Brewer Street, a concert of vocal and instrumental music, the overture of the little boy's own composition.'278

The opening work of the concert is an opera sinfonia by J.C. Bach. The very first symphonies were indeed works which opened an opera or a concert performance. The opera or oratorio sinfonias became better known as overtures in later years. They comprise fast, slow and fast sections, and are the earliest incarnations of symphonies. *Artaserse* was written by J.C. Bach in 1760, it premiered in Turin.

The Concertos Op. 3 of Charles Avison are important to our understanding of bassoon use in the early Classical orchestra. The preface of the first edition by John Johnson in London 1751, states that a bassoon, 'if performed by an expert hand, in a soft and ready tone' can be added to the passages 'which are natural to it' in order to add fullness to the harmony. He advises against using other winds because of their difference in tone to string instruments and their tendency to rise in pitch 'whilst the others are probably falling'.

As was common at this time, concerts would include a variety of genres. It was typical for symphonies to open and close the concert, and sonatas, concertos or arias were performed in between. At the premiere of Mozart's first symphony, Leopold and Nannerl may have performed a C major sonata for four hands composed by any one of the three Mozart's. Following the sonata is an improvisation on the keyboard, a skill lost in classical music today, but it was an important part of the *partimenti* style of music education which flourished in and outside of eighteenth-century Italy. An opportunity for Leopold to flaunt the talent of his son, was not to be missed.

Next, an aria from *Artaserse* of J.C. Bach, the symphony from which opened this concert; *No, che non ha la sorte*. A castrato would have sung, yet the cruelty of castrating young boys gifted with beautiful voices, has thankfully been outlawed, and today is sung by a soprano.

C.F. Abel, a close musical and business colleague of J.C. Bach, was also a talented symphonist inspired by the Italian school. This G major symphony, composed in 1762, has much in common with the J.C. Bach Sinfonia which opened the concert. Three movements; fast, slow, fast was typical of the Italian symphony.

In contrast to the Italian aria from *Artaserse*, the following two songs also by J.C. Bach embrace the simple beauty of the galant style. Both sung in English, the first is from the third set of Favourite Songs Sung at Vauxhall Gardens for soprano and orchestra, with obbligato bassoon. The second is a folk song *Braes of Ballanden* scored for soprano, oboe, violin, viola, cello and keyboard.

The final work in the program is the *Symphony in E flat major* KV16 of W.A. Mozart. The influence of J.C. Bach and C.F. Abel on the young prodigy in London can be heard.

With the exception of the sonata, improvisation and the J.C. Bach songs, all the works on this program are scored for two oboes, two horns, two violin parts, violas and basso. The Sonata is for four hands at one harpsichord. The Vauxhall song is for the same orchestral scoring as the other works here,

²⁷⁸ Zaslaw, Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception, 24-25.

plus an obbligato bassoon. The folksong is for soprano, and quintet: oboe, violin, viola, cello and keyboard.

Neal Zaslaw suggests the orchestra playing in Hickford's Great Room, Brewer Street in May 1764 included: direction from the harpsichord, eight violins, two violas, one cello, one bassoon, one bass, two oboes and two horns. These numbers will be used in Concert One. The bassoon plays in the pieces with an asterix. The overture and aria from *Artaserse* will not use a bassoon, for the reason that the theatre in Turin, where the opera was premiered in 1760, most likely did not have a bassoon and so provides an opportunity to compare the sound of the orchestra without the bassoon in the basso. The Avison concerto in G minor is for strings and a bassoon playing in the bass. The Abel and Mozart symphonies include a bassoon *col basso*, and the Vauxhall Song, uses a bassoon obbligato. This program offers opportunities to hear the orchestra with and without the bassoon in the basso as well as its first modest excursion to independence from the basso.

Concert Two: Feldmusik & Sturm und Drang

J. Haydn Feldparthie Divertimento in F major Hob. II:15 (Vienna 1760) 9'25"

W.A. Mozart Symphony in F major KV76 (Salzburg 1766/67) 15'

J Haydn Symphony in D minor Hob 1:26Lamentatione (Esterházy 1768) 14'39"

Holzbauer Simphonie a grande orchestra 'La Tempete' Po. 4 No. 3 (Mannheim 1769) 13'

W.A. Mozart Symphony in G minor KV183 (Salzburg 1773) 20'

Concert Two: Feldmusik & Sturm und Drang has been curated to celebrate two phenomena; the Feldmusik and Sturm und Drang. Two of Mozart's Salzburg symphonies feature in this program. The Symphony in F major KV76 (Salzburg 1766/67) features the Feldmusik embedded in the orchestra and the Symphony in G minor KV183 (Salzburg 1773), a fine example of Sturm und Drang. Of the forty something symphonies Mozart wrote in his early period, only four use bassoon parts independent of the basso, this program enjoys two of them.

The first section of the concert hears the ceremony of the *Feldmusik* ensemble, then combined with strings to make up the typical early Classical orchestra. Haydn's Divertimenti or *Feldparthien* were written at the beginning of the 1760s whilst under the employ of count Morzin in Vienna and Bohemia. The *Feldparthien* were written for the Bohemian musicians of the *Feldmusik* ensemble of oboes, horns and bassoons. In addition to playing on the battlefield and at military processions, this sextet performed at outdoor civilian events. This divertimento is typical of the entertainment the *Feldmusik* provided on such occasions.

This ensemble of winds is nicely inserted to the string ensemble to create a early Classical orchestra to perform the *Symphony in F* of Mozart KV76 (Salzburg 1766/67). This symphony is the first time that bassoons are used independently in a Mozart symphony. Except for the *Minuet* and *Trio* movement in which the bassoons adopt their usual *col basso* role, there are independent parts for both bassoons in the other three movements.

The final three symphonies of the concert immerse the audience in the *Sturm und Drang* experience. Written a year after the *Symphony in F* of Mozart KV76, Haydn's *Symphony in D minor Lamentatione* Hob 1:26, is scored for the typical early Classical setting pairs of oboes, horns, two violin sections, viola and basso. The basso today will be played by cello, bassoon, bass and harpsichord for all pieces in this program.

Another year on (1769) and a trip to the famous Manheim Court Orchestra to hear a symphony by Holzbauer *Symphonie a grande orchestra 'La Tempete'*. Thanks to the financial generosity of the music loving Carl Theodor, Elector of the Palantine, the Mannheim orchestra was extraordinary by all accounts. 'An Army of Generals' according to Charles Burney. This symphony is scored for the same instruments as Mozart KV76; pairs of oboes, bassoons, horns, two violins section, viola and basso.

The concert closes with Mozart's beloved *Symphony in G Minor* KV183, written at home in Salzburg in 1773. The trio of the *Minuet* and *Trio* movement uses the *Feldmusik* ensemble without the strings, yet not two, but four horns. One pair in B flat, one pair in G so as to play more open sounding notes of the scale. The bassoons adopt *col basso* roles in the outer two movements as well as the *Minuet*; the slow movement and the *Trio*, use the bassoons in obbligato roles.

The musical forces in this concert reflect the orchestral sizes in the locations and the years that the pieces were premiered, with the exception of the second Mozart symphony; which will be performed using the forces used in Mannheim. This decision has been made not for the sake of 'authenticity', but because I think Mozart would have liked it, because it would give an exciting finale to the concert and out of compassion for the stagehands. They are as follows: Haydn *Divertimento* - two oboes, two bassoons, two horns; Mozart *Symphony in F* (Salzburg 1766/67) - two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, eleven violins and violas, two cellos, two basses and harpsichord; Haydn *Symphony in D minor* Hob 1:26 (Esterházy 1768) - two oboes, two horns, four violins, one viola, basso (one cello, one bassoon, one bass and one harpsichord); Holzbauer *Simphonie* (Mannheim 1769) – two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, twenty violins, four violas, four cellos, two basses, two harpsichords; Mozart *Symphony in G minor* (Salzburg 1773) will use the same numbers as in the Holzbauer.

Concert Three: Road Trip to Italy 1768–1771

W.A. Mozart Lucio Silla KV135 Overture (Milan 1772) 7' 34"

N. Jommelli Armida Abbandonata Misera me! Gia provo avverati I presage (Naples 1770) 10'

J. Mysliveček Symphony in C/Overture to Demofoonte EvaM 10:C4 (Venice 1769) 7' 37"

W.A. Mozart Lucio Silla KV135 Se lusinghiera speme 5' 39"

J.A. Hasse Ruggiero Farò ben io fra poco & So che un sogno è la Speranza (Milan 1771) 10'29"

W.A. Mozart Symphony in F major KV112 (Milan 1771) 13' 41"

Concert Three: Road Trip to Italy 1768–1771 In this four-year period Mozart (aged 12-15) and his father embarked on three Italian tours. In this same four-year period Wolfgang completed three

symphonies; KV73 in C, KV74 in G and KV112 in F and three operas; *Mitridate, Ascanio in Alba* and *Lucio Silla*. This program enjoys the operatic quality of his musical language in both genres. In addition to a selection from those compositions, the program includes music which Wolfgang and his father heard in performance during those tours by Jommelli, Mysliveček and Hasse.

The program opens with the overture/symphony to *Lucio Silla* followed by an aria from Jommelli's *Armida and* Mysliveček's *Symphony in C* or *Overture* to *Demofoonte*. This symphony by the Bohemian native Mysliveček, was much admired by both Leopold and Wolfgang. Wolfgang wrote to his sister on 22 December 1770, including the incipit to this symphony asking her if there was a copy in Salzburg, for if not, he intended to bring a copy from Italy.

The second half of the concert is framed by two of Mozart's Milanese compositions; an aria from *Lucio Silla* and the *Symphony in F* KV112. The meat in this Mozart sandwich is a pair of arias from Hasse's opera *Ruggiero* which was also composed in Milan the same year as the symphony which follows.

This concert program is performed by soprano and full orchestra. Orchestras in Italy between 1750–1780 were large between thirty-five and seventy players. This concert is modelled from the orchestra of the Teatro Regio in Turin in 1773. That is a violin section of twenty-eight, five violas, two cellos, eight double basses, six oboes (who doubled on flute and clarinet), four bassoons, four horns, two trumpets, timpani and two harpsichords. The pieces in this program call for oboes, horns, trumpets, timpani, violins, violas and basso (cello, bassoon, bass and harpsichord). There are no independent parts for the bassoon in any of the pieces, and so the bassoon will play *col basso* in the fitting passages.

Concert Four: Zwettl Abbey

W.A. Mozart Symphony in A major KV201 Salzburg 1774 24'

J. Haydn Cantata Applausus 1768 Commissioned by the Cistercian Abbey of Zwettl 90'

Concert Four: Zwettl Abbey. The final concert in this series performs two important works that hold vital clues to the use of the bassoon in the basso of the early Mozart symphonies. Both of the works in the program have a close connection to the Zwettl Abbey in Lower Austria.

The concert opens with Mozart's *Symphony in A major* KV201 composed in Salzburg in 1774. Musicians are performing from a set of parts copied by Johann Traeg, a copyist and publisher in Vienna frequently used by Mozart. This set of parts was found in the archive of the Zwettl Abbey in December 2021. This discovery is remarkable for two reasons. Firstly, this manuscript has not been studied by any scholar, despite thorough research of Mozart artefacts, there is no record of this set of parts in any literature nor any mention of it in the comprehensive *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* complete edition of Mozart's works. Secondly, the set of parts includes a part for the bassoon which Traeg created from the basso part.

The next piece on the program is a cantata commissioned by the Zwettl Abbey to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Abbot's first vows. It is the first major work to be commissioned from Haydn outside of Esterházy. The cantata was delivered together with a long detailed letter including clear performance instructions. It is in this *Applausus* letter that Haydn explains his preference to use a bassoon in the basso and is therefore of great value to this research.

The orchestral forces for this concert will be similar to those in Esterházy and Salzburg at the end of the 1760s. The symphony will comprise: two oboes, two horns, eight violins and two violas, basso (one cello, one bassoon, one bass, one harpsichord). In the letter accompanying the delivery of the *Applausus Cantata* Haydn specifically asked for two viola players (as he said that those inner parts are of great importance and his viola parts rarely play *col basso*), he also requested that if the violin parts were to be copied twice, to pay attention to the page turns. This tells us that the violins maybe have been one or two desks of firsts and seconds. Therefore, I suggest an orchestra of: two oboes, two horns, eight violins and two violas, basso (one cello, one bassoon, one bass, one harpsichord), two trumpets and timpani. In addition to the instrumentalists are four soloists; soprano, alto, tenor and bass.

The hypothetical concert series titled 'Sixties and Seventies Music' has been designed to better understand the research outcomes through exploration of the repertoire and application of findings. It ties together the findings with the application whilst presenting some of the key components visited through the research. Those components include Mozart's first symphony and the musical context in which it was composed and premiered (Concert One); the *Feldmusik* on the concert stage as well as positioned in the orchestra and the *Sturm und Drang* aesthetic (Concert Two); The influence Italy and opera had on Mozart's style, the enormity (to our modern understanding of classic orchestras) of Italian opera orchestras (Concert Three); and the coincidence of the Zwettl Abbey, a location of two prize pieces of evidence namely the *Applausus* letter written by Haydn and the Traeg set of parts for Mozart's *Symphony in A Major* KV201 (Concert Four).

CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSION

This chapter directly answers the research questions as well as the further questions which arose from the avenues of inquiry. This chapter also makes recommendations for further research which could positively impact performance practice of early Classical orchestral works.

Research Question 1: To what extent was the bassoon included in the basso section of Mozart's early symphonies?

The instruments used in the bass line, basso, of the early Classical symphony were most often, a harpsichord and cello, bassoon and bass. It was possible to play the basso without a bassoon (or cello), but if a skilled bassoonist was available, it was preferable to include bassoon. The bassoon has a clear and crisp articulation, it delivers a strong and animated sound yet is capable of delicacy and a roundness of tone. These qualities give clarity and strength to passages and motives which need to stand, balance the easily audible higher pitched instruments, add fullness to the harmony and provide timbral variation orchestral tutti sound.

Research Question 2: How does the bassoon play col basso in the basso?

The bassoonist (or director) is to choose the passages it can compliment. The other passages which do not suit the character of the bassoon are to be tacet. This bassoon reinforces the harmonic fundament, adds volume to the tutti sound and clarifies the articulation of rhythmically interesting motives.

Questions Arising from Enquiry Avenue A

The first of the three avenues of inquiry examined primary source material from which three further questions arose. 1. Why are the treatises mute on this subject? 2. Did Mozart's contemporaries offer more instruction to bassoonists? 3. Were Mozart's practices homogenous across Europe?

Why is information/instruction regarding basso orchestration/instrumentation missing in the treatises? It appears that the absence of information regarding basso bassoon practice is the answer to the question. Before the French Revolution when formal training for bassoonists first became available at the Paris Conservatoire, 279 an apprentice would learn from their master. This form of education rendered method books or treatises unnecessary. It is the oral nature of this type of instruction which leaves no records.

Did the scores of Mozart's contemporaries provide any more information regarding the basso than Mozart's? This research project investigated nearly two hundred symphonies of composers all over Europe composed between 1750–1780. Generally speaking, the basso lines of the score or parts of all of those symphonies studied were sparce, just the music notes, and sometimes figures for the keyboard player. The parts viewed did not have pencil markings from rehearsals, it may be that they were not rehearsed. In the scores of Haydn, and those of the English symphonists however, there were instructions for bassoons. Haydn marked scores with fagott solo, fagott col basso, senza fagott, fagotti o violoncelli, fagotto sempre col basso. In the symphony of Abel, the basso part has Fag: Solo written

²⁷⁹ Jean-Laurent de Béthisy, *Exposition de la Théorie*, ed. Fuzeau, Méthodes & Traités Basson, (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1754).

over the bars the bassoonist is to play alone. Marsh also write *fagotto solo* over the bars of the basso part where the bassoon is to play solo. J.C. Bach wrote two nearly identical basso parts, labelling one *Basso* and the other *Fagotti*.

Were the orchestral practices of Mozart's homogenous throughout Europe? There were regional variations in performance practice yet there was also much cross pollination as fashions were replicated thanks to traveling musicians. Courts such as Mannheim and Dresden flourished with enthusiastic support from art loving patrons. The orchestras in the Italian opera houses were also significantly larger. The orchestral numbers were larger than in Salzburg or Esterházy. These orchestras naturally became well known and the smaller orchestras were influenced by their reputation. In the early Classical era, sizes of orchestras varied greatly, yet it was the use of the term basso in the scores and parts of the eighteenth-century manuscripts which was homogenous. It was only in rare exceptions that orchestras did not have administrative evidence of bassoons.

Questions Arising from Enquiry Avenue C

The second avenue of enquiry raised no further questions and so it is the questions from Avenue C which remain. This third avenue scrutinises the work of modern scholars who created the Neue Mozart Ausgabe volumes of the early symphonies. The following questions arose.

Why did the editors Beck and Fischer use the words *violoncelli e bassi* instead of Mozart's term; basso or *bassi*? This change of terminology could have been made to assist modern performers in deciding which instruments should play the basso.

What did *Fagott Ad Libitum** in the editions by Ferguson and Allroggen actually mean? The asterix leads the reader to the critical commentary which simply states that the bassoon is employed according to the 'self-evident' practice of the day which is to reinforce the bass section when other wind instruments are used.²⁸⁰ The findings of this study agree there was a tacit knowledge, a practice which was self-evident to the practitioners of the time.

The work of Beck, Fischer, Ferguson and Allroggen is indicative of the mid to late twentieth century understandings of basso instrumentation and orchestration during the life of W.A. Mozart. It demonstrates the depth of insight now available thanks to the research undertaken during the last thirty years. Further research work could update the NMA editions to better reflect current understandings of historic performance practice including the advice from Quantz, Avison, Haydn and Traeg. Using the Traeg part as a model, bassoon parts could be created for the thirty-four plus symphonies written by Mozart between 1764–1774.

Conclusion

Guided by a broad exploration of primary source material, the research undertaken in this project demonstrates that bassoons in modern day performance of early Classical symphonies have frequently been forgotten. Unnotated basso parts and the implicit nature of basso performance practice was most likely the result of the 'master to apprentice' oral tradition of education. As a result, there is no

²⁸⁰ Allroggen and Ferguson, "Kritischer Bericht Series IV: Orchesterwerke Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien Band 1 & 2."

information in treatises explaining which instruments are to play the basso, it was tacit knowledge. The many avenues of questioning within this project have converged to show that the bassoon was a vital and important part of the early Classical symphony and therefore, the early symphonies of W.A. Mozart. Playing *col basso* and tacet where fitting the musical language, bassoonists provide volume and clarity of articulation in order to support the harmonic fundament, they add timbral colour and counterbalance the easily audible treble instruments.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries editors creating printed copies of Mozart's scores and parts adhered to contemporary scoring and orchestration conventions. The early symphonies of Mozart's were written for two violin sections, violas, pairs of oboes and horns with a basso. Scholars of the last two hundred years describe the instrumentation of these symphonies as two oboes, two horns and strings. In the modern editions, basso was written as *violoncelli e bassi*, sometimes adding *Fagott ad Libitum*. In a simple misinterpretation of terminology, the bassoons (and harpsichords) have been forgotten.

The significance of this study is substantial. It has challenged longstanding beliefs and offered an alternate and convincing view of historic performance practices for the bassoon. It provides a launching pad from which steps can be taken to create a different experience for concert goers. Musicology exists to enhance performances and so the hypothetical concert series was designed in order to connect theory with practice and to visualise the research impact on an audience. This research project is complete once performance materials have been created, the scores have been rehearsed and the applause has ceased.

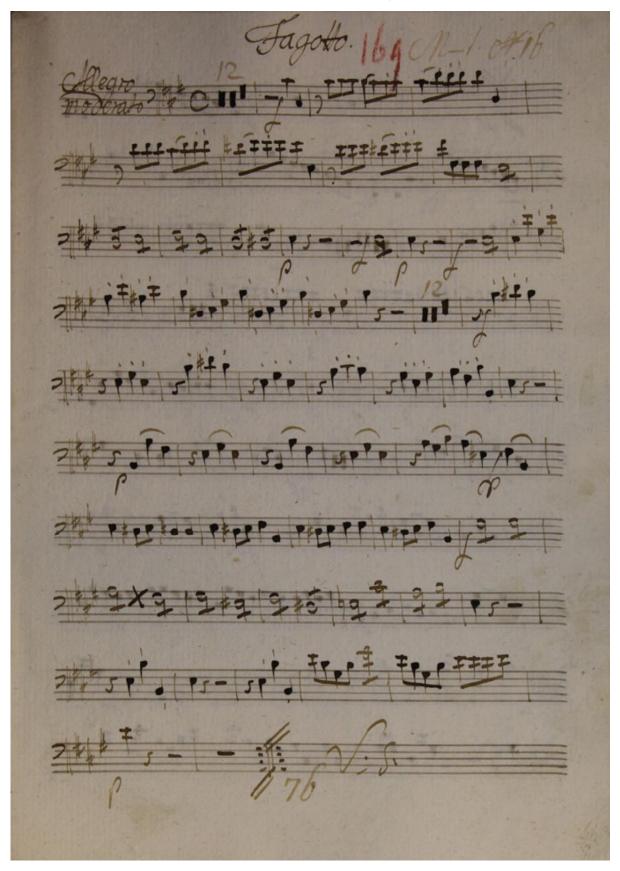
The next stages and continuation of this research on instrumentation and orchestration of the basso include, but are not limited to the following areas. 1. Chronological and geographical expansion of the repertoire search fields to include all orchestral compositions using the term basso (c1600-1810) in a wider Europe (including for example Spain and Scandinavia). 2. Further exploration of source material (scores and sets of orchestral parts of the broader geographical and chronological boundaries).

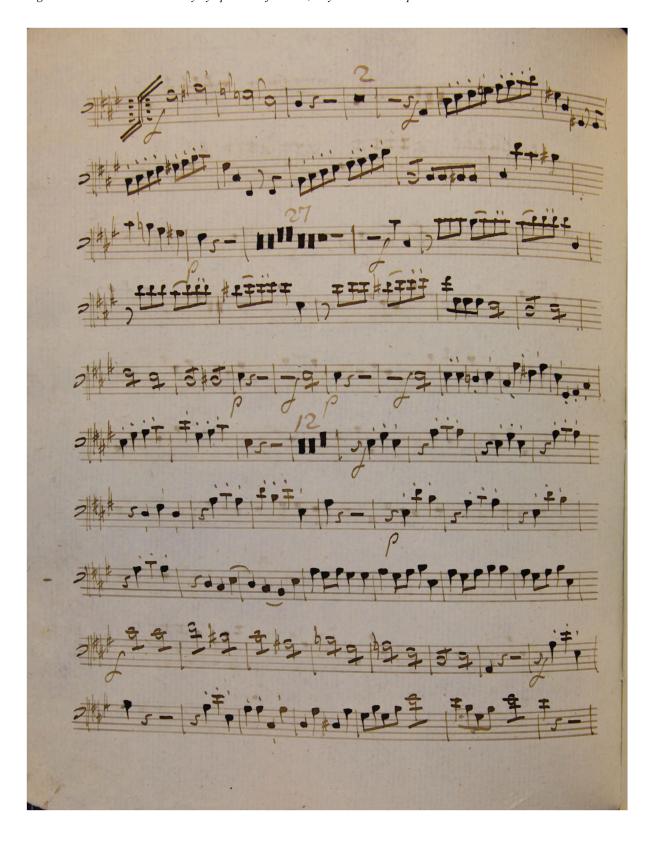
3. To investigate performance practices of all basso instruments. 4. To create new editions or recommendations to the NMA of the first five volumes of Mozart symphonies and their critical commentaries. 5. To write performance guides for players of orchestral basso instruments and or orchestra directors. 6. To perform the hypothetical concert series so as to fully test the research outcomes in practice.

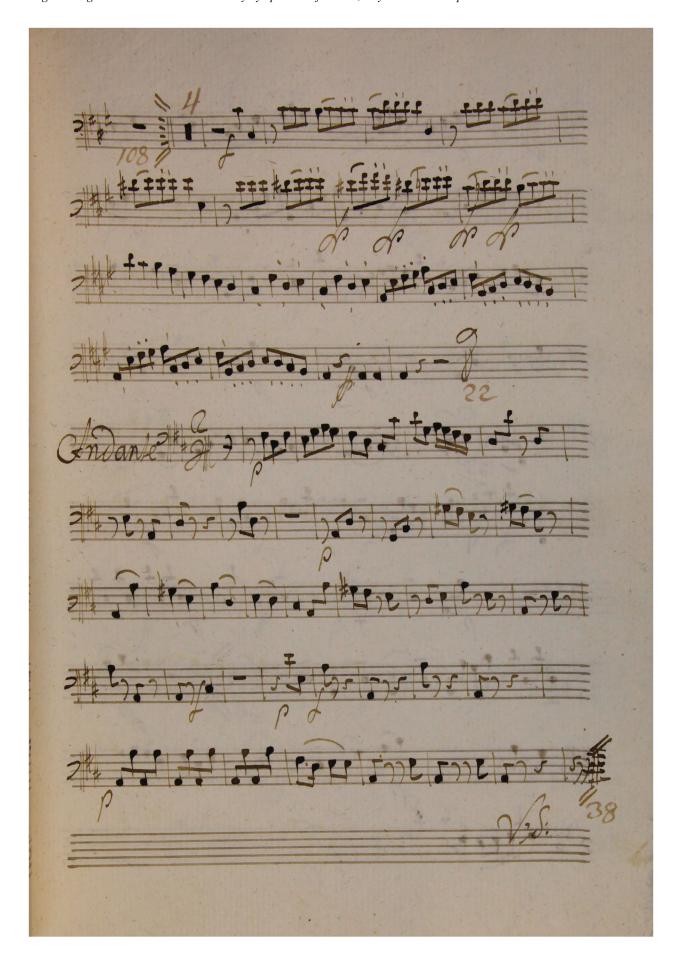
The orchestral music composed in the early Classical era is unique and delightful. The research findings resulting from this project offer a varied and full sound from the basso. May concert programmers embrace these exquisite symphonies written before the young Mozart reached adulthood. The final ten symphonies, written four years after these juvenile works, are magnificent, however they need not overshadow the beauty and wonder of those forty plus seldom played earlier works. May we see them on a concert platform soon, with the bassoon not forgotten.

Appendix A: Traeg Manuscript

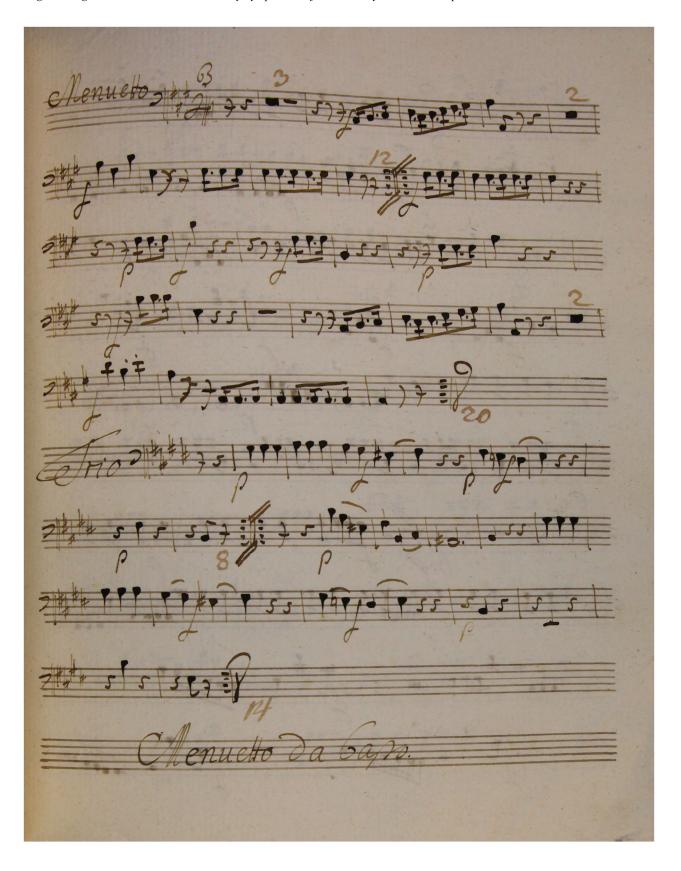
With Permission Zisterzienserstift Zwettl, Musikarchiv



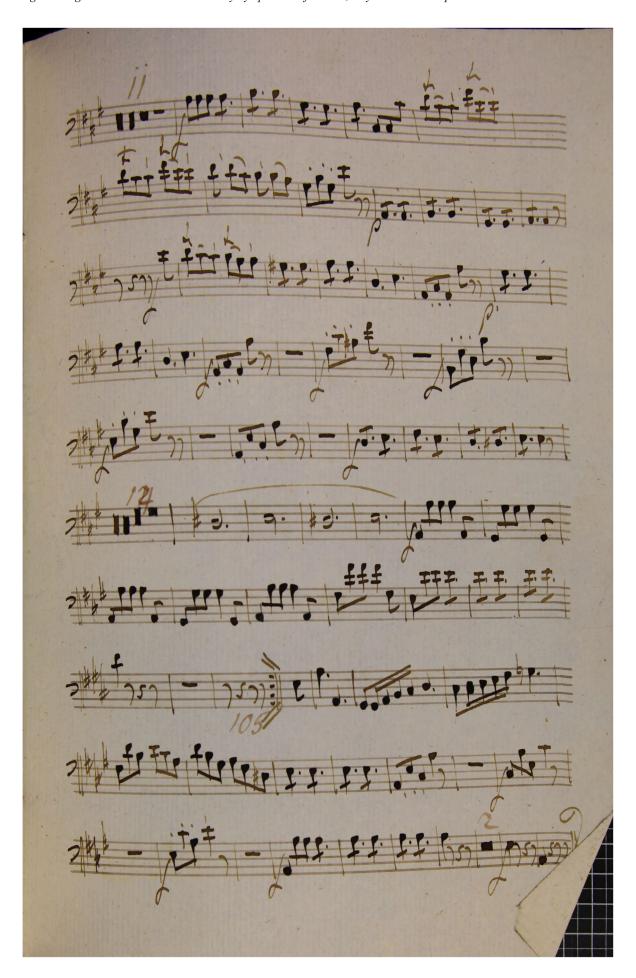












Appendix B: Transcription of Traeg Manuscript

The upper line of the stave is the bassoon part created by Traeg. Underneath is the cello and bass line from the NMA.

Fagotto (Traeg) Violoncello e basso (Beck NMA)

Symphony in A Major

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart









































Appendix C: Mozart Symphonies Composed 1764–1774

NB This list excludes any symphonies of dubious authenticity. It includes overtures, which were performed as symphonies.

Symphony Symphot	Composed	Obbligato Bassoon (relevant movements)	Instruments (in addition to 2 ob, 2 hn, 2 vn, vla & basso)
1 KV16 E flat	London 1764		,
2 KV17 B flat	?		
3 KV19 D	Netherlands 1765		
KV19a F	London 1765		
5 KV22 B flat	The Hague 1765		
Alte Lambach KV45a G	The Hague 1766		
Die Schuldigkeit KV35 C	England 1766		
Apollo et Hyacinthus KV38 D	Salzburg 1767		
55 KV45b B flat	Salzburg 1767?		
KV95 D	Rome 1770 ?		ob doubling fl, 2 tr, timp
43 KV76 F	Salzburg 1766/67	2 (I,II & IV)	, , ,
6 KV43 F	Vienna 1767		
La finta semplice KV45	Vienna 1768		2 tr, timp (KV45)
La finta semplice KV51 D	Vienna 1768	2 (I & III)	2 fl
Bastien and Bastienne KV50	Vienna 1768?		
8 KV48 D	Vienna 1768		2 tr, timp
Neue Lambach G16 G	Salzburg 1769		
KV100 D	Salzburg 1769?		2 tr
9 KV73 C	Salz./ Italy 1769/1771		ob doubling fl, 2 tr, timp
10 KV74 G	Rome 1770		, , ,
Mitridate KV87 D	Milan 1770		2 fl
Ascanio in Alba KV120 D	Milan 1771		2 fl, 2 tr, timp
13 KV112 F	Milan 1771		, ,
Lucio Silla KV135 D	Milan 1772		2 tr, timp
12 KV110 G	Salzburg 1771	2 (II)	ob doubling fl
14 KV114 A	Salzburg 1771		ob doubling fl
15 KV124 G	Salzburg 1772		
16 KV128 C	Salzburg 1772		
17 KV129 G	Salzburg 1772		
18 KV130 F	Salzburg 1772		2 fl, 2 hn
19 KV132 E flat	Salzburg 1772		2 hn
20 KV133 D	Salzburg 1772		fl, 2 tr, timp
21 KV134 A	Salzburg 1772		2 fl
Il sogno di Scipione KV126 D	Salzburg 1772		2 fl, 2 tr, timp
26 KV184 E flat	Salzburg 1773	2	2 fl, 2 tr, timp
27 KV199 G	Salzburg 1773?		2 fl
22 KV162 C	Salzburg 1773		2 tr, timp
23 KV181 D	Salzburg 1773		2 tr
KV185 D	Salz./Vienna 1773		ob doubling fl
24 KV182 B flat	Salzburg 1773		ob doubling fl
25 KV183 g	Salzburg 1773	2 (II&Trio)	2 hn
29 KV201 A	Salzburg 1774	, ,	
30 KV202 D	Salzburg 1774		2 tr
KV203 D Serentata	Salzburg 1774	1 (<i>Trio</i>)	2 tr
28 KV200 C	Salzburg 1774		2 tr, timp
La finta giardiniera KV196	Munich 1774/5		

Appendix D: Symphonies of Haydn Composed Between 1750–1780

Symphony No.	Composed	Obbligato Bassoon	Instruments in Addition to 2 ob, 2 hn, 2			
			vn, vla & basso			
Morzin Symphonies 1757–1761						
1	1757					
37	1757/58					
18	1757/59					
2	1757/59					
4	1757/60					
5	1760/61					
10	1758/60					
11	1760/61					
17	1760/61					
19	1759/60					
20	1758/60		2 tr, timp			
25	1760/61					
27	1757/60					
32	1757/60		2 tr			
107	1760/61					
?3	1761					
?15	1761					
First Esterházy G	roup 1761–17	765				
6	1761	1	fl			
7	1761	1	2 fl			
8	1761	1	fl			
9	1762		2fl/ob			
12	1763					
13	1763		fl, 2 hn, timp			
14	1761/63					
15	1760					
16	1760/63					
21	1764					
22	1764		2 cors anglais			
23	1764					
24	1764		fl			
28	1766					
29	1765					
30	1765		fl			
31	1765		fl, 2 hn			
33	1760		2 tr, timp			
34	1766					
36	1761/5					
39	1769		2 hn			
40	1763					
72	176?	1	fl, 2 hn, timp			
108	1757/61	1				

Sturm & Drang circa 1768–1774					
26	c1768				
41	c1769		2 tr, timp		
42	1771	2 fg (or vc)	•		
43	1771				
44	1771				
45	1772	1			
46	1772				
47	1772	1			
48	1769	1	2 tr, timp		
49	1768				
52	1772/74	1			
65	1772/74				
50	1773		2 tr, timp		
51	1771/73				
54	1774	2	2 fl, 2 tr, timp		
55	1774	2			
56	1774	1 (Adagio only)	2 tr, timp		
57	1774		(timp)		
60	1774		2 tr, timp		
64	1773				
Opera Buffa Mode 1776–1781					
53	1777/79	2 (in version b)	fl,timp		
61	1776	2	fl, timp		
62	1780	2	fl		
63	1777	2	2 tr, timp		
66	1776	2			
67	1776	2			
68	1778	2			
69	1778	2			
70	1779	1	fl, 2 tr, timp		
71	1779/80	1	fl		
73	1781	2	2 tr, timp		
74	1780	2	fl		
75	1780	1	fl, 2 tr, timp		

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abel, Carl Friederich. *Overtures* Op. 14. London: n.p., 1777. orchestral parts. https://s9.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/9/9a/IMSLP548558-PMLP885493-abel op14 lbmv.pdf.
- André, C.A. "Thematisches Verzeichnis W.A. Mozartscher Manuskripte, Chronologisch Geordnet Von 1764-1784 Von A. André." In *Thematisches Verzeichnis derjenigen Originalhandschriften von W.A. Mozart, [...] welche Hofrat André in Offenbach am Main besitzt.* Offenbach: André, A., 1833.
- Avison, Charles. *An Essay on Musical Expression*. London: C. Davis, 1752. https://imslp.org/wiki/An Essay on Musical Expression (Avison%2C Charles).
- -----. Six Concertos in Seven Parts, Op. 3. London: n.p., 1751.
- Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. Versuch Über Die Wahre Art Das Clavier Zu Spielen. Berlin: Henning & Winter, 1753/1762.
- Bach, J.C. *Symphonies* Op. 18. London: n.p., n.d. https://s9.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/7/72/IMSLP308881-PMLP499375-JCBach 2 Symphonies, Op.18.pdf.
- Beechey, Gwilym. "Carl Friedrich Abel's Six Symphonies, Op. 14." *Music & Letters* 51, no. 3 (1970): 279-85. http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.ecu.edu.au/stable/731565.
- Berg, Lorents Nicolaj. Den forste prove for begyndere udi instrumental kinsten. Kristiansand: Swane, 1782.
- Béthisy, Jean-Laurent de. *Exposition De La Théorie*. Méthodes & Traités Basson. Edited by Fuzeau. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1754.
- Bill-Head for the Bach Abel Concert Series 1780. Used by permission The Trustees of the British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P 1897-1231-321.
- Brossard, Sébastien de. Dictionnaire De Musique. Paris: Mortier, 1703.
- Broy, Christian, and Deutsche Mozart-Gesellschaft; Deutsches Mozartfest der Deutschen Mozart-Gesellschaft. "Leopold Mozart's Kontakte Zum Verlag Breitkopf." *Acta Mozartiana* 58, no. 2 (2011): 132.
- Buelow, George J. "Scheibe, Johann Adolph." Oxford University Press, 2001 2001. https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000024777.
- Burney, Charles. Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon, 1784, in Commemoration of Handel. London: T. Payne and Son & G. Robinson, 1785.
- ——. The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces. London, 1773.

 https://imslp.org/wiki/The_Present_State_of_Music_in_Germany%2C_the_Netherlands%2C_an d United Provinces (Burney%2C Charles).
- Carse, Adam. *The History of Orchestration*. New York: Dover Publications, 1964. https://archive.org/details/historyoforchest0000cars/page/198/mode/2up?view=theater.
- Cowart, Georgia J. "Sense and Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Musical Thought." *Acta Musicologica* 56, no. 2 (1984): 251-66. https://doi.org/10.2307/933002.
- Curran, Jane V. "Oral Reading, Print Culture, and the German Enlightenment." *The Modern Language Review* 100, no. 3 (2005): 695-708. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3739121.
- Dahlhaus, Carl, and Ernest Harriss. "The Eighteenth Century as a Music-Historical Epoch." *College Music Symposium* 26 (October 1986): 1-6. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40373817.
- Damschroder, David, and David Russell Williams. *Music Theory from Zarlino to Schenker: A Bibliography and Guide. Harmonologia*; No. 4. Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1990.

- "Digital Interactive Mozart Edition." Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, accessed February 2022, https://dme.mozarteum.at/movi/en.
- Edge, Dexter. "Mozart's Viennese Copyists." PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2001. https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/mozarts-viennese-copyists/docview/276036906/se-2?accountid=10675 (3065782).
- ——. "Mozart's Viennese Orchestras." *Early Music* 20, no. 1 (1992): 64-88. http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.ecu.edu.au/stable/3127669.
- Edgerton, Sara Ann. "The Bass Part in Haydn's Early Symphonies: A Documentary and Analytical Study." PhD diss., Cornell University, 1989.
- Eisel, Johann Philipp. Musicus Autodidaktos, Oder Der Sich Selbst Informirende Musicus, Bestehend Sowohl in Vocal-Als Üblicher Instrumental-Musique. Erfurt: Johann Michael Funk, 1738.
- Eisen, Cliff. "The Old and New Mozart Editions." *Early Music* XIX, no. 4 (1991): 513-32. https://doi.org/10.1093/earlyj/XIX.4.513.
- Eisen, Cliff, and Stanley Sadie. "Mozart, (Johann Chrysostom) Wolfgang Amadeus." Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-6002278233.
- Ellsworth, Jane. *The Clarinet*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2021. http://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/9781800103504/type/BOOK.
- Forkel, Johann Nicolaus. *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst Und Kunstwerke*. Leipzig: Hoffmeister und Kühnel, 1802. https://imslp.org/wiki/%C3%9Cber_Johann_Sebastian_Bachs_Leben%2C_Kunst_und_Kunstwerke (Forkel%2C_Johann_Nikolaus).
- Furetière, Antoine. *Dictionnaire Universel*. La Haye: A. et R. Leers, 1690. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k50614b/f3.item.zoom.
- Galeazzi, Francesco. Elementi Teorico-Practici Di Musica. Rome: Stamperia Pilucchi Cracas, 1791–1796. https://www.loc.gov/item/07034213/.
- Garsault, François-Alexandre-Pierre de. *Notionnaire, Ou Mémorial Raisonné*. Paris: Desprez, imprimeur ordinaire du roi, 1761. https://openlibrary.org/books/OL24194473M/Notionaire.
- Gasparini, Francesco. *L'armonico Pratico al Cimbalo*. Bologna: Giusseppe Antonio Silvani, 1722. https://imslp.org/wiki/L'Armonico Pratico al Cimbalo (Gasparini%2C Francesco).
- Geminiani, Francesco. *The Art of Playing the Violin*. London: n.p., 1751. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/4/42/IMSLP05501-Geminiani_art-of-playing.pdf.
- Gjerdingen, Robert. *Music in the Galant Style*. Cary, NC: Oxford University Press, 2007. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ecu/detail.action?docID=415566.
- Haydn, Joseph. *Applausus*. Joseph Haydn Werke. Edited by Georg Feder. Vol. Band 2, München-Duisburg: G. Henle Verlag, 1768.
- ——. *Sinfonia in C* Hob 1:56. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Esterháza: n.p., 1774. https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN1012143791.
- . *Sinfonia in E Flat* Hob 1:55. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Esterháza: n.p., 1755. https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN1037012526.
- Haydn, Joseph, and H. C. Robbins Landon. *Kritische Ausgabe Sämtlicher Symphonien: Volume I Critical Edition of the Complete Symphonies*. Haydn, Joseph 1732-1809 Symphonies. Vienna: Universal Edition, 1965.
- . Kritische Ausgabe Sämtlicher Symphonien: Volume VII Critical Edition of the Complete Symphonies. Haydn, Joseph 1732-1809 Symphonies. Vienna: Universal Edition, 1963.

- Hertzmann, Erich. "Mozart's Creative Process." *The Musical Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (1957): 187-200. http://www.jstor.org/stable/740312.
- Hintermaier, Ernst. "Die Salzburger Hofkapelle Von 1700 Bis 1806." PhD diss., Universität Salzburg, 1972.
- Holmes, Edward. *The Life of Mozart: Including His Correspondence*. Reprinted ed. London: Chapman and Hall, 1845. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Hotteterre, Jacques. *Méthode Pour Apprendre À Jourer De La Flûte*. Méthode Par Mr. Hotteterre Le Romain. Nouvelle Édition Augmentée des Principes de Clarinet et du Basson. Edited by Antoine Bailleux. Paris 1765.
- Jansen, Will. *The Bassoon: Its History, Construction, Makers, Players and Music.* Buren, The Netherlands: Uitgeverij Frits Knuf, 1978.
- Joppig, Gunter. *The Oboe and the Bassoon*. Translated by Alfred Clayton. Portland, OR: Amadeus, 1988.
- Keefe, Simon P. *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- ——. "Personal Relationships." In *Mozart in Context*, edited by Simon P. Keefe. *Composers in Context*, 3-9. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Koch, Heinrich Christoph. *Musikalisches Lexikon*. Frankfurt am Main: August Hermann der Jüngere, 1802.
- Langwill, Lyndesay G. *The Bassoon and Contrabassoon*. Instruments of the Orchestra. London: Ernest Benn; W.W. Norton, 1965.
- Mahling, Christoph-Hellmut. "Con O Senza Fagotto? Bemerkungen Zur Besetzung Der "Bassi" (1740 Bis Ca. 1780)." In *Florilegium Musicologicum: Hellmut Federhofer Zum 75. Geburtstag*, edited by Christoph-Hellmut Mahling. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988.
- ——. "Orchester Und Orchestermusiker in Deutschland Von 1700 Bis 1850."Habilitation, Univeristy of Saarbrücken, 1972.
- Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm. *Der Critische Musicus an Der Spree* Berlin: A. Haude und J. C. Spener, 1749.
- ——. "Historisch-Kritische Beyträge Zur Aufnahme Der Musik. Band 1." Berlin: Lange, 2022 1754/55. https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb10598985.
- Marsh, John. "Symphony No. 4 in F Major." London: Longman and Broderip, 1788. https://imslp.org/wiki/Symphony_No.4_in_F_major_(Marsh%2C_John).
- Mattheson, Johann, and Ernest Charles Harriss. *Johann Mattheson's Der Vollkommene Capellmeister: A Revised Translation with Critical Commentary*. Studies in Musicology; No. 21. Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1981.
- Maunder, C. R. F. *The Scoring of Early Classical Concertos*, 1750-1780. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014.
- Mersenne, Marin. *Harmonie Universelle*. Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy, 1636. https://imslp.org/wiki/Harmonie_universelle_(Mersenne,_Marin).
- Mozart, Leopold, and Editha G. Knocker. *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*. 2nd ed., London: Oxford University Press, 1951.
- Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus. *Mozart's Letters: An Illustrated Selection*. Translated by Emily Anderson. Edited by Emily Anderson. London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1990.
- ——."Kritischer Bericht Series IV: Orchesterwerke Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien Band 1 & 2." In *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*, edited by Gerhard Allroggen and Faye Ferguson, 2–57. Salzburg:

- Digitised Version, Bärenreiter-Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1999, accessed October 2020, https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/nma/nmapub_srch.php?1=2. -."Kritischer Bericht Series IV: Orchesterwerke Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien Band 3." In Neue Mozart Ausgabe, edited by Wilhelm Fischer, 2-20. Salzburg: Digitised Version, Bärenreiter-Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1957, accessed October 2020, https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/nma/nmapub srch.php?l=2. -."Kritischer Bericht Series IV: Orchesterwerke Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien Band 4." In *Neue* Mozart Ausgabe, edited by Hermann Beck, 2-51. Salzburg: Digitised Version, Bärenreiter-Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1963, accessed October 2020, https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/nma/nmapub srch.php?1=2. -."Kritischer Bericht Series IV: Orchesterwerke Werkgruppe 11: Sinfonien Band 5." In Neue Mozart Ausgabe, edited by Hermann Beck, 3-36. Salzburg: Digitised Version, Bärenreiter-Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1958, accessed October 2020, https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/nma/nmapub srch.php?l=2. . Sinfonia in A a 2 Violini, 2 Oboe, 2 Corni, Viola, Basso, Fagotto Dal Sig: Mozart. Stiftsbibliothek Zwettl, Vienna: Johann Traeg, ca. 1790, accessed October 2021, https://opac.rism.info/metaopac/singleHit.do?methodToCall=showHit&curPos=1&identifier=251 SOLR SERVER 1758738444. -. Sinfonia in C. Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Salzburg: n.p., 1780. —. Sinfonia in D. Pierpont Morgan Library NY, Vienna: n.p., 1782. —. Sinfonia in F. Pierpont Morgan Library NY, Milan: n.p., 1771. —. Sinfonia in G. Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Salzburg: n.p., 1771. Sinfonia in G. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, The Hague: n.p., 1766. —. "Symphonie in C Kv200." In NMA IV/11/4: Sinfonien Band 4, edited by Hermann Beck, Neue Mozart Ausgabe: Digitised Version, 107-29. Salzburg: Bärenreiter-Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1960 1774. score. https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/nma/nmapub_srch.php?l=2. -. "Symphonie in F Kv76." In NMA IV/11/1: Sinfonien Band 1, edited by Gerhard Allroggen, Neue Mozart Ausgabe: Digitised Version, 63-78. Salzburg: Bärenreiter-Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1984 1767. -. "Symphonie in G Ky110." In NMA IV/11/2: Sinfonien Band 2, edited by Gerhard Allroggen, Neue Mozart Ausgabe: Digitised Version, 97-114. Salzburg: Bärenreiter-Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1985 1771. https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/nma/nmapub_srch.php?l=2. -. "Symphonie in G Kv74." In NMA IV/11/2: Sinfonien Band 2, edited by Gerhard Allroggen,

Mozarteum, 1985 1770. https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/nma/nmapub_srch.php?l=2.

Neue Mozart Ausgabe: Digitised Version, 67-82. Salzburg: Bärenreiter-Internationale Stiftung

- Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, and Pietro Metastasio. *Va Dal Furor Portata*. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek London: n.p., 1765.
- Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, Mozart, Leopold, Mozart, Nannerl. *The Letters of Mozart and His Family: An Illustrated Selection*, trans. Emily Anderson. London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1990.
- Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, Mozart, Leopold, Mozart, Nannerl. *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, trans. Emily Anderson. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Münster, Robert. "Neue Funde Zu Mozarts Symphonischem Jugendwerk." *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 30, nos. 1-2 (1982): 2-11.

- Nuti, Giulia. *The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo: Style in Keyboard Accompaniment in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016. https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/e/9781315085609.
- Ongley, Laurie H. "The Reconstruction of an 18th-Century Basso Group." *Early Music* 27, no. 2 (1999): 269-81. http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.ecu.edu.au/stable/3128679.
- "Part the Fourth: His Manhood." In *The Life of Mozart: Including His Correspondence*, edited by Edward Holmes. Cambridge Library Collection Music, 165-352. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Pauly, Reinhard, G. Music in the Classical Period. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1965.
- Petri, Johann Samuel. Anleitung Zur Practischen Musik, Vor Neuangebende Sänger Und Instrumentspieler. Lauban: J. C. Wirthgen 1767.
- Praetorius, Michael. Syntgma Musicum Ex Veterum & Recentorium Ecclesiasticorum Autorum Lextione. Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619.
- Pratl, Josef. Acta Forchtensteiniana: Die Musikdokumente Im Esterházy-Archiv Auf Burg Forchtenstein. n.p.: Hollitzer Verlag, 2009. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/j.ctvg8p23q.
- ——. "Zur Geschichte Der Esterházyschen Hofkapelle (1673-1877)." In *Acta Forchtensteiniana: Die Musikdokumente Im Esterházy-Archiv Auf Burg Forchtenstein*, 26-122. n.p.: Hollitzer Verlag, 2009.
- Prelleur, Peter. The Modern Musick Master. London: n.p., c1730.
- Pulver, Jeffrey. "Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg." *The Musical Times* 53, no. 832 (1912): 375-77. https://doi.org/10.2307/907328. http://www.jstor.org/stable/907328.
- Quantz, Johann Joachim. Versuch Einer Anweisung Die Flöte Traversiere Zu Spielen. Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voß, 1752.
- Quantz, Johann Joachim, and Edward R. Reilly. *On Playing the Flute*. 2nd ed. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2001.
- Rachor, David. "A Bassoon by Hirschstein: The Instrument and Its Possible Use in the Military." *The Galpin Society Journal* 64 (2011): 117-79.
- RichardTaruskin. *The Bach Sons as "Symphonists"*. New York, USA: 'Oxford University Press'. https://www.oxfordwesternmusic.com/Volume2/actrade-9780195384826-div1-10004.xml.
- Richelet, Pierre. *Dictionnaire de la Lange Française*. Geneva: Jean Herman Widerhold, 1680. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k509323.
- Ridgewell, Rupert. "Editing Mozart." In *Mozart in Context*, edited by Simon P. Keefe. *Composers in Context*, 289-96. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- ——. "Publishing." In *Mozart in Context*, edited by Simon P. Keefe. *Composers in Context*, 154-60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Robbins Landon, Howard Chandler *Haydn: Haydn at Eszterháza 1766-1790*. Vol. 2, London: Thames and Hudson, 1978.
- ——. The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn. London: Barrie Books Ltd, 1959.

- Rosen, Charles. The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven. London: Faber & Faber, 1978.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Dictionnaire De Musique*. Paris: Chez la veuve Duchesne, 1768. https://archive.org/details/dictionnairedem00rous/page/n599/mode/2up?view=theater.
- Sachs, Curt. "Music History; the Two Sides of the Coin." *Papers of the American Musicological Society* (1940): 137-42. http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.ecu.edu.au/stable/43873096.

- Scaramelli, Giuseppe. Saggio Sopra I Doveri D'un Primo Violino Direttore D'orchestra. Trieste, 1811.
- Scheibe, Johann Adolf. *Critischer Musikus*. Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1745. https://www.loc.gov/item/04009441.
- Seares, Margaret, and Johann Mattheson. *Johann Mattheson's Pièces de Clavecin and Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre: Mattheson's Universal Style in Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Serwer, Howard. "Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718-1795); Music Critic in a Galant Age." PhD diss., Yale University, 1969.
- Sheldon, David A. "The Galant Style Revisited and Re-Evaluated." *Acta musicologica* 47, no. Fasc. 2 (1975): 240-70.
- Speer, Daniel. Grund-Richtiger Kurtz-Leicht-und Nöthiger Jetz Wol-Vermehrter Unterricht der Musicalischen Kunst. Ulm: Georg Wilhelm Kühn, 1697.
- Spitzer, John, and Neal Zaslaw. *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650-1815.* Oxford, US: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2004. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ecu/detail.action?docID=422499.
- . The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650-1815. Oxford, United States: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2004. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ecu/detail.action?docID=422499.
- Stadler, Anton. Musik Plan. 1800.
- Stephens, Norris L. "Avison, Charles." *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 19 Aug. 2022. https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.ecu.edu.au/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000001598.
- Stockigt, Janice B. "The Court of Saxony-Dresden." In *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, edited by Barbara M. Reul, Janice B. Stockigt and Samantha Owens, 17-50: Boydell & Brewer, 2011.
- Tans'ur, William. The Elements of Musick Display'd. London: Stanley Crowder, 1772.
- Taruskin, Richard. "Instrumental Music Lifts Off." In *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 497-588. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- ——. "The Limits of Authenticity: A Contribution." In *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance*, 67-82. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- ——. "What Was Enlightenment?" In *The Oxford History of Western Music*, New York, USA: Oxford University Press, 2005. https://www-oxfordwesternmusic-com.ezproxy.ecu.edu.au/view/Volume2/actrade-9780195384826-div1-09004.xml?rskey=As0Rbm&result=1.
- Tromlitz, Johann Georg. *Ausführlicher und Gründlicher Unterricht die Flöte zu Spielen*. Leipzig: Adam Friedrich Böhme, 1791.
- Türk, Daniel Gottlob. Klavierschule 1789.
- Van Boer, Bertil H. "The Case of the Circumstantial Meeting: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Joseph Martin Kraus in Vienna." *Eighteenth-Century Music* (2004): 85-90.
- ------. Historical Dictionary of Music of the Classical Period. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2012.
- ------. *Music in the Classical World: Genre, Culture, and History*. New York: Routledge, 2019. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315145570.
- Van Cuyck, Pieter. A Procession of Swiss Guards. The British Museum.

- Waterhouse, William. Bassoon. Yehudi Menuhin Music Guides. London: Kahn & Averill, 2003.
- "Review: The Bassoon: Its History, Construction, Makers, Players, and Music Will Jansen." Review of The Bassoon: Its History, Construction, Makers, Players and Music. Part I, Plates I, Plates II, Will Jansen. *Early Music* 8, no. 1 (1980): 97-101. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3126652.
- Weber, Gottfried. "Besetzung." In *Allgemeine Encyclopedie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, edited by Ersch und Gruber. Leipzig, 1822.
- Webster, James. "On the Absence of Keyboard Continuo in Haydn's Symphonies." *Early Music* 18, no. 4 (1990): 599-608. http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.ecu.edu.au/stable/3127988.
- Zaslaw, Neal. *The Classical Era: From the 1740s to the End of the 18th Century.* Man & Music. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1989.
- ——. "Mozart's Paris Symphonies." *The Musical Times* 119, no. 1627 (1978): 753-57. https://doi.org/10.2307/959591. http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.ecu.edu.au/stable/959591.
- ——. Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- ——. "Toward the Revival of the Classical Orchestra." Paper presented at the Royal Music Association, 1976–1977.