## Clotilde Verwaerde From Continuo Methods to Harmony Treatises. Reorientation of the Educational Goals in France (1700–1850)

"Accompaniment: our predecessors thus named a theory based on various routines, a catalogue of chords pupils learned by heart in order to strike them on the keyboard while reading the composer's figured bass. In this sense, accompaniment meant more or less the same as harmony: it was the science of chords. At the time one talked about teaching or learning the accompaniment whereas nowadays one speaks of teaching or learning the harmony." CASTIL-BLAZE: DICTIONNAIRE DE MUSIQUE MODERNE<sup>I</sup>

In his organisation project of 1794 for the Institut National de Musique – which later became the Conservatoire – Bernard Sarrette divided the composition course into theory, practice and accompaniment: throughout the eighteenth century, thoroughbass was indeed considered an essential step to developing composition and improvisation skills. Important principles, such as the règle de l'octave introduced in France by François Campion<sup>2</sup> in 1716 and the basse fondamentale proposed by Jean-Philippe Rameau in 1722, were strongly connected to this practice. All this constituted a substantial inheritance which could not be left aside by nineteenth-century harmonists. The purpose of this paper is to study the evolution of harmony practices from the continuo methods of the eighteenth century to the harmony treatises and similar writings of the first half of the nineteenth century. The original titles of treatises will be observed since their formulations may reveal the author's intentions, interests and novelty of ideas. The figures used to indicate chords were often questioned and several new notation systems were proposed from 1730 onwards. Since none of them were ever implemented, little attention has been given to these proposals so far. A simple comparison of systems will bring out the functions of the figures and their evolution. Finally, this will lead to questions about the practice itself, the way students were supposed to use these manuals and apply their instructions, and the skills they were expected to develop.

- 1 "Accompagnement, s. m. Nos prédécesseurs donnaient ce nom à une théorie fondée en partie sur diverses routines, à une nomenclature des accords que l'élève apprenait de mémoire pour les plaquer sur le clavier en lisant la basse chiffrée de l'auteur. Accompagnement dans ce sens signifie à peu près la même chose qu'harmonie: c'était la science des accords. On disait par conséquent enseigner l'accompagnement, apprendre l'accompagnement, comme on dit à présent enseigner, apprendre l'harmonie." Castil-Blaze [François-Henri-Joseph Blaze]: Dictionnaire de musique moderne, Paris <sup>2</sup>1825, Vol. 1, pp. 9 f., English translation by the present writer.
- 2 François Campion: Traité d'accompagnement et de composition selon la règle des octaves de musique, Paris 1716.

**The French corpus: an overview** Since the knowledge of harmony could be applied in various ways, the corpus considered here consists of continuo or improvisation methods, harmony and composition treatises, and various essays about chords or figured bass. Sometimes texts served several purposes and thus fell under two or even more of these categories. Important evolutions can already be observed in the wording and terminology of the titles. Unsurprisingly the term most often used in eighteenth-century works is accompaniment, since harmony mostly consists in finding and playing the proper chords over a – figured or unfigured – bass line. Rameau was the first to use the term "harmony" in a title.<sup>3</sup> During the second half of the century "harmony" and "accompaniment" started to be combined: for instance the Traité d'harmonie et règles d'accompagnement by François-Henry Le Boeuf in 1766. But "harmony" gradually became the most important term and "accompaniment" was rarely mentioned alone in a title after 1800. Moreover the concept of accompaniment evolved to include not only continuo practice, but also the skills required by the new style, id est piano reduction ("accompagnement de la partition") and accompaniment of a melody (related to composition). Gradually accompaniment practice became totally subordinated to the teaching of harmony.

French sources about harmony vary in length, whereby the simplicity and/or concision of a method were sometimes used as commercial arguments. A distinction is often made in nineteenth-century writings between complete and elementary works. An author could publish a so-called "complete method/treatise" as well as a collection of "elementary principles" meant as an introduction or shorter version of the first work, or even an independent publication. Raymond-Hippolyte Colet's works represent a complete course in harmony consisting of a textbook (Panharmonie musicale, ou cours complet de composition, 1837), an exercise book presented as a "necessary complement" (Partimenti ou traité spécial de l'accompagnement pratique au piano ... complément nécessaire de la Panharmonie musicale, 1846), and an abridged version which serves as an introduction (Conseils à mes élèves, ou traité élémentaire servant d'introduction à la Panharmonie Musicale, 1847).

The French corpus reflects a growing will to synthesize harmonic knowledge. This was mostly achieved by means of categories and tables of chords and figures. Some authors prided themselves upon a cyclic organisation, choosing titles such as "harmonic circle" (Joseph Agricole Moulet, 1805/1821), "harmonic compass" (Zozime Boutroy, 1785; Henri-Montan Berton, 1819) or "harmonic sphere" (Pamphile-Léopold-François Aimon, 1827). However original or intriguing these titles may seem, the relevance and interest of such ideas are often questionable. With Rameau's Nouveau système de musique théorique of 1726, the concept of "system" appeared which seduced more and more harmonists. As

3 Jean-Philippe Rameau: Traité de l'harmonie réduite à ses principes naturels, Paris 1722.

early as 1810 Pierre-Joseph Joubert de la Salette devoted an entire essay to the discussion of these systems.<sup>4</sup>

Theory and practice were often combined in titles. The earliest example is Charles-Henri Blainville's Harmonie théorico-pratique of 1746. Jean-François Espic de Lirou aims to make the practice agree with the theory.<sup>5</sup> V. F. S. Rey's ideas seem even more ambitious with his Art de la musique théori-physico-pratique of 1804, while Alexis-Adélaïde-Gabriel Garaudé proposed a practical theory of the science of harmony three decades later.<sup>6</sup> Although science and practice grew more and more apart with the advent of musical analysis, many authors were bent on re-uniting them. This idea persisted in the nineteenth century and perhaps found a temporary solution in the creation of a class of "harmony and practical accompaniment" at the Conservatoire in 1823.

An implicit reading of the continuo figures Whether they are focused on the accompaniment practice or not, all writings about harmony describe the composition of each chord and usually indicate them with Arabic numerals and accidentals, a notation inherited from basso continuo. These continuo figures appeared with the seconda prattica and mostly consisted at first of fifth-, sixth-, and seventh-chords. The more complex and numerous the chords became, the more new figures were needed to indicate them. This notation system was very closely related to keyboard practice, without anticipating later harmonic developments, so that it was not conceptualized as a whole and was eventually conceived as lacking coherence. Different figures were simultaneously in use for the same chord, giving rise to quarrels, since some composers felt the urge to justify their choice or criticize others in that respect – typical examples of this are the Avertissements Jean-Marie Leclair and Louis Travenol added to their first books of violin sonatas respectively published in 1723 and 1739.<sup>7</sup> Several authors considered reforming this notation and replacing the old figures with new symbols: first Rameau in 1732,<sup>8</sup> then Antoine-Jacques Labbet<sup>9</sup> tried to improve Rameau's proposals, whereas

- 4 Pierre-Joseph Joubert de la Salette: Considérations sur les divers systèmes de la musique ancienne et moderne, Paris 1810.
- 5 Jean-François Espic de Lirou: Explication du système de l'harmonie pour abréger l'étude de la composition & accorder la pratique avec la théorie, London/Paris 1785.
- 6 Alexis de Garaudé: L'harmonie rendue facile, ou théorie pratique de cette science et d'accompagnement de la basse chiffrée et de la partition, Paris 1835.
- 7 Leclair felt bound to explain his way of figuring the "petite sixte" and wished rules were established for figuring the basses; however he changed his figures in his second book as it wasn't the common practice, an attitude Travenol criticized in his own Avertissement.
- 8 Jean-Philippe Rameau: Dissertation sur les différentes méthodes d'accompagnement pour le clavecin, ou pour l'orgue, Paris 1732.
- 9 Antoine-Jacques Labbet: Sentiment d'un harmoniphile sur différens ouvrages de musique, Amsterdam 1756.

N.L. Ledran,<sup>10</sup> Jean-Baptiste Mercadier de Belesta,<sup>11</sup> Espic de Lirou and Zozime Boutroy<sup>12</sup> devised their own systems. Although none of the previous attempts had led to any significant success, such trials were carried on well into the nineteenth century by Honoré François Langlé,<sup>13</sup> Alexandre Leymerie<sup>14</sup> and Raymond-Hippolyte Colet.<sup>15</sup> Some of these authors were lucid and foresaw that their ideas would meet with scepticism. The main obstacle, already identified by Rameau, was the fact that it would be unthinkable to re-engrave all music with new figures. For this reason he had thought of a way of publishing his figures on a separate sheet. A rare example of music engraved with new figures outside a theoretical treatise is a symphony published by Boutroy in 1787 using his own symbols.<sup>16</sup> The following musical example is the beginning of the bass part (the letters here do not represent tones but types of chords).



EXAMPLE 1 Symphonie by Zozime Boutroy, beginning of the bass part

Although accompaniment from a figured bass had already largely been abandoned in musical practice, Colet's system was reviewed in the following terms by Adrien de La Fage in the Revue et gazette musicale de Paris from July 15<sup>th</sup> 1838:

"The obsession for innovation drives Mr Colet to propose a new system for figuring chords in which the fundamental note is indicated below the bass note and a figure above gives the other chordal note, instead of indicating the most important note according to the bass note as it has been done until

- 10 N.L. Ledran: Sur les signes Do, Di, Ca, pour l'indication des accords en musique, Paris 1765.
- 11 Jean-Baptiste Mercadier de Belesta: Nouveau système de musique théorique et pratique, Paris 1776.
- 12 Zozime Boutroy: Planisphère ou boussole harmonique, Paris 1785.
- 13 Honoré François Marie Langlé: Nouvelle méthode pour chiffrer les accords, Paris 1801.
- 14 Alexandre Leymerie: L'harmonie en dix leçons, à l'usage des personnes qui veulent apprendre à faire un accompagnement de piano, de harpe, de trio, de quatuor etc. sans faire une étude approfondie de la science de la musique, Paris 1826.
- 15 Raymond-Hippolyte Colet: La panharmonie musicale, ou cours complet de composition théorique et pratique, Paris 1837.
- 16 Zozime Boutroy: Symphonie à deux violons, alto, basse, deux hautbois et deux cors, Paris 1787 (BnF, Music department, Vm7-1599, digitised and available on Gallica); the recension of Ledran's Sur les signes Do, Di, Ca in the Mercure de France of September 1769 entitled "Nouvelle méthode pour désigner les accords" (pp. 195–199) also mentions pieces composed by Ledran using his own signs (p. 198).

now. If one were to play using this system, one would have to think in three steps: read the note on the staff; from this note go back to the fundamental one; understand the figure written above according to the fundamental note. Moreover this author would indicate suspensions and resolutions by means of letters. One realises how all this would complicate a figured bass and render its reading awkward. We may set our mind at rest and definitely predict that Mr Colet's figuring method will soon be forgotten."<sup>17</sup>

As said earlier, the commonly-used continuo figures are given in Arabic numerals and accidentals. In some cases a number can be barred or preceded by a little cross. These numbers represent the main interval calculated from the bass note, the complementary one(s) being easily deduced by the performer. However, with the development of sixthand seventh-chords, some figures needed to indicate two intervals to differentiate these chords. So, from a very simple notation, the figures became more complicated and more difficult to read. The critics were unanimous as to the flaws of this system: too many different symbols were used in general, too many symbols were used to indicate a single chord, the inconsistency in the application of some symbols created confusion between chords or intervals of a very different nature (barred numbers were used for diminished as well as augmented intervals). Finally on the level of keyboard practice, the figures were not explicit enough as to the way the chords should be played (some tones could be omitted or repeated, thus varying the texture and strength of the chord). All the newlydesigned systems included a larger range of symbols than the simple Arabic numerals: the first seven letters of the alphabet – usually to indicate the tonality or the fundamental note of the chord – abbreviations such as aj for "ajoutée" (Rameau) or Di for "dissonance" (Ledran), or mathematical signs (Langlé). Colet's system implies that figures are placed above and under the bass note. Leymerie's is designed for amateurs and includes only basic chords. In attempting to clarify the existent figures, however, these proposals introduced other types of confusions. Boutroy used the letters to indicate types of chords instead of the fundamental bass. The following example shows Espic de Lirou's C-circle: here the number "3" is rotated in all possible directions, even upside down, sometimes

17 "La manie d'innover pousse M. Colet à proposer un nouveau système de chiffrage qui consiste à ne plus marquer comme on l'a fait justqu'à ce jour la note la plus importante de l'accord d'après celle de la basse, mais à marquer en-dessous la note fondamentale de l'accord, puis au-dessus le chiffre qui en indique le complément; en sorte que celui qui se servirait du système de chiffrage proposé devrait, pour l'exécution, faire une triple opération d'esprit: 1° la lecture de la note écrite; 2° le retour de cette note à la fondamentale de l'accord; 3° le sens du chiffre supérieur par rapport à sa fondamentale: en outre, notre auteur voudrait que l'on indiquât par des lettres les suspensions et les résolutions. On sent combien tout cela compliquerait une basse chiffrée, et en rendrait la lecture incommode. Tranquillisons-nous du reste; on peut à coup sûr prédire à M. Colet que sa méthode de chiffrage sera bientôt oubliée." Adrien de La Fage: A Rossini, in: Revue et gazette musicale de Paris 5 (1838), pp. 285–287, here pp. 286 f., English translation by the present writer.

Cercle d'ut avec les chiffres proposés. w TC fol 3 mis

EXAMPLE 2 Jean-François Espic de Lirou's C-circle

barred. All these "3" notations would undoubtedly have been a source of many engraving and reading mistakes.

However unsuccessful they were, these trials give us information about the criteria chosen to improve the figures. Were they created to bring out the fundamental harmony, the intervals used or the melodic movements of certain voices? Between theory and practice, horizontality and verticality, tradition and innovation, the notation figures stand at the crossroads. The system in use described above provided no information concerning the tonality of a musical passage or the fundamental note of a chord. Labbet and Ledran saw themselves as Rameau's disciples and were indeed much influenced by his system: their figures immediately reveal the tonality (by means of a letter), the nature of the chord and its fundamental note. Mercadier de Belesta's system is also close to these two, although his main goal is to indicate omissions by means of dots and strokes. By contrast, the approaches chosen by Espic de Lirou and Boutroy draw attention to the state of a chord (root position or inversion). They do not indicate the tonality; rather, the letters represent seven types of "primitive" chords, while the number indicates the interval between the bass note and the fundamental. In these two systems, figures are analysis tools as well as performance tools, as Boutroy explicitly states in his introduction. Langlé's system presents an important step in this evolution because it goes back to the traditional indication of intervals by means of Arabic numerals. His analytical approach implies distinctions between the various types of seventh-chords, which explain his use of mathematical symbols to differentiate them. In Example 3, the dot always indicates the position of the leading note. Given the precision of the information contained in the figures, the analytical purpose is clearly more important here than the quick understanding of figures for immediate performance: Langlé is not afraid of stacking four numbers to characterize a single chord, where other systems tend to limit their number to one or two. Colet's figures are already fully described in the excerpt above. Leymerie chooses to indicate the dominant seventh chord by a stroke above the numerals but his system is of little interest here since it otherwise includes only the triad and the diminished seventh chord.

One can perceive a certain continuity in the principles chosen to indicate chords, id est in the use of numbers corresponding to the intervals obtained from the bass note.

	0				
	6.	00		8	
	• 8	8	0		
Figures in use	7	6 \$	x6	x4	
Rameau	X	X	X	X	
Labbet	7 G	7 G	7 G	7 G	
Ledran	Do +	Do +	Do +	Do +	
Mercadier	G	G	G	G	
Espic de Lirou	1 7x	7x-	7x =	$7x \equiv$	
Boutroy	В	<b>B6</b>	<b>B4</b>	B2	
Langlé	.7	.6	4 .3	2.	
Colet	0 7	5	3		
	• <u>8</u>	8 3	8 5	7 7	
Leymerie	ī	3	5	7	

EXAMPLE 3 The dominant seventh-chord and its inversions in C major, with all the figures proposed

However, the goal is altered or, one might say, the priorities have been reconsidered: the identification of a chord, its nature, place in the scale and harmonic resolution or progression have become more important than its instantaneous realization on a keyboard. These theoretical systems adapted to the needs of the moment: because chords became more and more complex – with altered intervals, extensions and suspensions, et cetera – so did the figures. As François-Joseph Fétis stated in his Traité complet de la théorie et de la pratique de l'harmonie:

" [...] since the accompaniment of figured bass only applies to early music, the symbols that students write above a bass they are asked to harmonize, are just an exercise to show whether they have grasped in principle how this bass modulates with all its harmonic circumstances. From that moment on, simplicity is no longer required to combine the symbols, as it used to be when these symbols had to guide an accompanist. The only rule one must follow in this exercise, is to clearly indicate by the layout of the figures, the nature of the intervals and their movements."<sup>18</sup>

The figures reflect the evolution of the role played by the accompaniment in the practice of harmony. Eighteenth-century methods always aimed to develop harmonic skills that immediately found their application in accompaniment practice. Towards the end of the

18 François-Joseph Fétis: Traité complet de la théorie et de la pratique de l'harmonie, Paris 1844, p. 149.

century, figured bass gradually disappeared in favour of written-out piano parts and the notion of accompaniment was enlarged to include reductions of orchestral scores, a skill that became essential for accompanists of the following century. The figures were then mainly considered harmonic tools that could also, if necessary, indicate the chords to be performed. These changes, both in the repertoires and the accompaniment practice required an adaptation of the training offered by nineteenth-century methods.

**Harmonic practice revisited** Eighteenth-century methods rarely included more exercises than the traditional rule of the octave that the student was expected to practise in the three chord-positions for each tonality. It was of course easy to refer to the contemporary repertoire with basse continue for further exercise material. Financial and commercial aspects were also considered: more exercises meant additional pages to engrave, resulting in a higher price and thicker book that might discourage potential buyers. Jean-François Dandrieu's Principes de l'acompagnement du clavecin presents an exception in this respect: after a few pages of introductory explanations it consists entirely of exercises. Each chord is studied separately, first with complete figures indicating all the intervals, then with the usual figures and finally the same bass line without figures. The last exercise – the rule of the octave – is followed by a series of little airs. Michel Corrette goes further in his methods<sup>19</sup> by including some "leçons", and later six sonatas with written-out chords for the right hand, which serve both as examples and exercises. However, the majority of these works only offered a short training, and generally advocated lessons with a master since they were not designed for self-teaching.



EXAMPLE 4 Leçons chantantes, excerpt from Le Maître de Clavecin by Michel Corrette

Many nineteenth-century methods propose progressive exercises based on the Italian tradition of figured bass called partimenti. Several French harmonists included some examples composed by famous eighteenth-century Italian masters such as Fedele Fenaroli, Francesco Durante or Nicola Sala. Fenaroli's six books of partimenti were advertised for subscription in the Mercure de France in 1813<sup>20</sup> and form a well-structured training

- 19 Michel Corrette: Le Maître de Clavecin pour l'accompagnement, méthode théorique et pratique, Paris 1753; Prototipes contenant des leçons d'accompagnement, Paris 1754.
- 20 Annonces, in: Mercure de France. Journal littéraire et politique 55 (1813), pp. 46 f. A Parisian edition of Fenaroli's Partimenti was published by Imbimbo in 1814.

often taken as a model: the first book deals with the fundamental bass, scales in all tonalities and cadences; the second deals with the preparation and resolution of dissonances with progressive figured partimenti; the third is made of progressions containing both consonant and dissonant chords; the fourth consists of unfigured partimenti, so that the student has to find the proper chords him-/herself; the fifth book deals with some themes and canons; and finally the sixth requires realizations with fugues and imitations. Anyone who works through this whole course will develop skills beyond those expected of an accompanist in the eighteenth century. Although many eighteenth-century methods claimed to offer instructions for accompaniment as well as composition studies, they did not provide a training as complete as this. Much attention is paid to the quality of the harmonisation: the voices within the chords must sing; the performer must think in terms of harmony, but also melody, imitations and fugues. Garaudé wrote that "some pieces would be meaningless if accompanied by simple stricken chords as it is usually done in the Solfeges. The accompanist must determine which figurations, patterns, broken chords or arpeggios are the most suitable."<sup>21</sup> Besides general information provided about broken chords ("accords brisés"), specific instructions were sometimes given to encourage students to use certain types of figuration or play imitations of the bass line in the right hand, as in example 5 taken from Victor Dourlen's Traité d'accompagnement published in 1840.

Written-out realizations, or several examples of realization on a same bass line, could also be included, or reference was made to models of accompaniment that could be found, usually in the vocal repertoire. For instance, in L'Harmonie rendue facile, Garaudé refers to his Vocalises op. 42 and the ones inserted in his Méthode complète de chant. This type of accompaniment is called "figuré" (example 6).

During the eighteenth century, keyboard instruments were at the core of harmonic teaching, since an accompanist was expected to be able to read the figures (when there were any) and perform the chords at first sight. Some authors even based their instructions on keyboard technique and the disposition of the keys: on the title page of his Dissertation, Rameau announced a new method derived from the technique of the fingers.<sup>22</sup> Although he identifies the diminished seventh chord and its inversions, Corrette explains how to play it by modifying the first inversion of the dominant seventh chord in which the sixth is then replaced by a diminished seventh (turning B - D - F - G into

- 21 "Il y a des morceaux qui seraient insignifians, si on les accompagnait par de simples accords plaqués comme il est d'usage de le faire pour les solfèges. C'est à l'Accompagnateur à discerner qu'elle est la formule, le dessin, la batterie ou l'arpège qui leur est le plus convenable". Garaudé: L'Harmonie rendue facile, p. 68.
- 22 "avec le plan d'une nouvelle méthode établie sur une méchanique des doigts que fournit la succession fondamentale de l'Harmonie"; Rameau: Dissertation, see especially pp. 25–33.



Il faut faire les accords de la main gauche quand on a une imitation à faire de la main droite; ce cas-là arrive souvent en accompagnant la partition.







EXAMPLE 6 First bars of Vocalises 2 and 6 from Alexis de Garaudé's Méthode complète de chant ou théorie pratique de cet art op. 40, Paris [s.d.], pp. 155, 167

B - D - F - A flat).<sup>23</sup> Fingers routines were still developed during the nineteenth century by means of partimenti; however part of the training was also done on paper: in François-Louis Perne's Cours élémentaire d'harmonie, empty staves are available for the student to write the chords and a correct version is provided immediately below. This writing part of the training as a harmonist-accompanist can also be found in the Conservatoire classes. Students of "harmony and practical accompaniment" took the following examination: they had to harmonize a bass and a melody in four voices, play the piano from a figured bass (most likely a type of partimento) and read a score at first sight.

Old material fit to new purposes It would be quite superficial to attribute this more thorough organisation of the training to the professional elitism of the Conservatoire. It is true that the majority of the methods from the eighteenth century were written for amateurs, promising that they would grasp a basic knowledge of chords quickly and without effort, whereas treatises of the following century - most of them written by respected professors or distinguished musicians - were generally destined for students (-to-be) of the Conservatoire. However, the observations made in this paper lead to a twofold conclusion as regards the evolution of harmonic practice in France. Fétis wrote that "the accompaniment from a figured bass, considered as an exercise, helps us feel the harmony, [...] considered as a means of performance, it is used to accompany religious music and the works of all the ancient composers."<sup>24</sup> The priorities given to these functions were gradually reversed: during the eighteenth century, figured bass could be an exercise but it was especially used to perform a very large part of the repertoire; later it would first be considered as an exercise for apprentices and if necessary as a means to perform ancient music. Finally, the stylistic evolution and latest developments in the science of music created new requirements. What had been deemed sufficient during the previous century no longer satisfied harmonists and musicians in general. Despite all the efforts made by theorists, figures no longer indicated the chords in such a way that they could be performed at first sight without error or confusion. A merely harmonic accompaniment could not replace an orchestra; so henceforth the accompanist had to translate the whole score by playing as many of the orchestral figurations as possible. Accompaniment became a more demanding subject and didactic works needed to propose a complete teaching. Unless a student had access to a collection of ancient music, newly engraved music could hardly be of use for his or her harmonic training. With more skills to be developed and less materials to use as exercises, the methods had to be adapted to meet these needs. The decline of the accompaniment on a thoroughbass in all types of

23 Corrette: Le Maître de Clavecin, p. 46.

24 François-Joseph Fétis: Méthode élémentaire et abrégée d'harmonie et d'accompagnement, Paris 1824, p.8.

repertoires created a rupture and harmony treatises gradually adapted to new requirements and applications, by turning towards other training models such as the partimenti. Incidentally, the latter also helped maintaining the bonds with the eighteenth century from whence this tradition came. Inhalt

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## Musiktheorie im 19. Jahrhundert

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