From Musical Work to Model of Musical Structure:
The Chorale in American Music Theory
by

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents.

Acknowledgements

Thanks is in no way adequate for everything that my friends have given and continue to give me. I think particularly of Billy, Chris, Kate, Klara, Steve, Steve, Tim, and Vivian. Thank you also to my siblings for their support and encouragement.

Finally, I've dedicated this project to my parents, who have always stood by me despite my occasionally inscrutable choices—sometimes with bemusement, sometimes with concern, but always with a desire to understand and support.

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Abstract

This dissertation critically examines the chorale in American music theory. Part I examines the present day and Part II is historical. I first outline a theoretical polarity between musical works and music-theoretical objects, illustrating this through editorial decisions in musical scores of a four-part chorale harmonization by Johann Sebastian Bach (Chapter 2). I then present the results of a survey of American theorists and follow-up interviews. I show the field's wide use of chorales, particularly Bach's settings in early undergraduate instruction, and that theorists consider these pieces illustrative of fundamental harmony and voice-leading principles (Chapter 3). Chapter 4 undertakes a corpus study of undergraduate music theory textbooks, showing that four-part chorale harmonizations by Bach constitute a substantial proportion of musical examples, and that authors' idiosyncratic visual and aural presentation of these pieces, already examined in Chapter 2, casts them as music-theoretical objects. I also describe the conceptual haze linking these pieces with four-part vocal writing and the mediating role of "chorale style," at once a musical texture, a notation for illustrating harmony and voice-leading principles, and a target texture for reductions of musical works; through this resemblance, Bach's four-part chorale settings become images of musical structure.

In Part II, I examine the origins of these practices and beliefs surrounding Bach's chorale settings. Chapter 5 shows how not only the unusual notation in present-day practice in fact derives from the first edition, but also the approach of casting them as music-theoretical objects. I also show how Johann Philipp Kirnberger, despite his chorale-centric approach, his amenable

conception of musical structure, and his belief in Bach's settings as models of musical structure, declines Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's call to employ them as such in his own curriculum. Chapter 6 studies a similar absence in Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's otherwise chorale-intensive compositional instruction and a return by his teacher Carl Friedrich Zelter to conceiving of Bach's chorale settings as musical works grounded in a specific liturgical context. In Chapter 7, I trace Carl Ferdinand Becker's attempts to present these pieces as models for four-part conception against new information challenging this immediately following the Bach Revival, and I describe the chorale's institutionalization at the Leipzig Conservatory under Ernst Friedrich Richter—but again, absent Bach's settings. I then describe the chorale's naturalization in the United States through adaptations and translation of German music-theoretical writings and the efforts of Richter's students (Chapter 8). I reveal that the notion of treating Bach's chorale settings as musical models was available to Americans already in the 1850s, but unpursued; authors omitted them as just beyond the realm of harmony studies. Chapter 9 shows how Donald Tweedy's 1928 textbook, the earliest recorded music-theory curriculum based upon Bach's chorale settings, does not yet treat these pieces as music-theoretical objects. While for Heinrich Schenker, Bach's chorale settings are masterworks of free composition, his American disciples present them as repositories of ultimately universal harmonic practice and cement their place in the bridge from abstract music-theoretical principles to "real" music, a position that characterizes present-day American music theory. The relatively late assumption of this position contradicts theorists' perceptions that studying Bach's chorale settings as models is a long tradition; in fact, this is part of the field's mythology.

Chapter 1 Introduction

In his article, "Three Music-Theory Lessons," Alexander Rehding invites the reader into "a music-theory classroom in the Western world."

> We see a blackboard, ideally with five-line staves already printed on it. We also expect a piano in the room, and we would probably have some sheet music, perhaps with the quintessential music-theory teaching material: Bach chorale harmonizations.

The passage to which the book is open is also written on the blackboard, and the students first sing the melody and then "fill out the lower parts with correct harmony and voice-leading….Nothing could be more familiar than this set-up."[1] Rehding summarizes the lesson:

> The idea behind these exercises is that these short, compact pieces in four parts teach the foundations of harmony and counterpoint so as to prepare students both for more complex composition tasks and for analysing pieces of music along the same lines.

The status of Bach's chorale harmonizations here is remarkable; they are "the quintessential music-theory teaching material." Yet more remarkable still is Rehding's rationale for why they enjoy this status: their ability to instill the basic principles of harmony and counterpoint, the bedrock subjects of American music theory, and the learning of which equips students for both composition and further musical analysis.

Rehding is correct: these sentiments are widely shared across the field. Indeed, the chorale is ubiquitous in American music theory. Chorales appear throughout the field's

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[1] Alexander Rehding, "Three Music-Theory Lessons," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 141, no. 2 (2016): 252, https://doi.org/10.1080/02690403.2016.1216025.

productions—in journal articles, monographs, textbooks, lectures, and qualifying exams. Music theorists deploy them to illustrate a variety of phenomena, from chord construction to phrase structure. But the field's reliance on chorales is peculiar in almost every respect. While the genre was developed for vocal performance at Lutheran liturgical celebrations, for example, American music theory understands itself as secular, and the repertoire that preoccupies theorists is predominantly instrumental. While chorales exist in numerous textural manifestations and many composers wrote them, the overwhelming majority of the chorales that theorists call upon are four-part harmonizations by Johann Sebastian Bach. While music theorists use chorale harmonizations to illustrate the basics of tonal harmony—"the foundations of harmony and counterpoint," as Rehding put it—the tunes in question are in most cases modal. Finally, the tonal music that theorists deploy chorales to illustrate spans several centuries and many cultures.

Figure 1: Typical presentation in a critical edition of a chorale harmonization by J. S. Bach; in *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Band 15/2, 327.

Particularly striking is how music theorists present chorales visually in their publications. This may be seen by comparing versions of a chorale setting, one in a critical edition and the other in a music theory textbook. In the former, several notational aspects provide clues to aspects of the work's intended performance and function (Figure 1). Most prominent is the explicit identification of the work's genre: *Choral*, the German term for "chorale." This immediately marks the piece as German, Lutheran, and for singing. The number accompanying this indication also indicates that this piece is the eleventh movement of a larger work—Bach's cantata "O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort" (BWV 20), as would be obvious elsewhere in the volume. The piece's instrumentation is clarified further by indications on each of the five staves: the common four-part vocal combination of soprano, alto, tenor, and bass, plus a bevy of instruments doubling these and a continuo section filling out the ensemble. The presence of a text in the score not only indicates on what the singers are to sing, but it indicates the piece's German provenance and, in light of the text's meaning, its intended liturgical function. Beyond these indications, there are more subtle clues to the piece's intended instrumentation—for example, the texture's disposition on four staves, with one line per staff, a common configuration for vocal music, or the use of the traditional SATB clefs, which the editors append to the left of the that they provide to accommodate a modern audience, or slurring in the parts corresponding to syllables of the text.[2] In short, all indications point to the piece's intended performance by voice and instruments in a Lutheran liturgical service as part of a larger work.

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[2] In the first critical edition of this piece, the original SATB clefs are retained: see Johann Sebastian Bach, *Bach Gesellschaft Ausgabe*, vol. 2, ed. Moritz Hauptmann (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1852): 327.

Figure 2: Typical presentation of a chorale harmonization by J. S. Bach; in Burstein and Straus, *Concise Introduction*, 205.

The same piece presented in a music theory textbook, L. Poundie Burstein and Joseph N. Straus's *Concise Introduction to Tonal Harmony*, tells a rather different story (Figure 2). While the textbook's authors identify the piece with the genre "chorale," absent is any indication of the piece's belonging to a larger musical work. Instead, the chorale is identified simply with a number, implying that it is extracted from a collection of chorales, not a larger musical work. Moreover, the piece is disposed on two staves instead of four, with treble and bass clefs and two parts per staff, and there are no explicit indications of the instrumentation intended. These details, in conjunction with the absence of an in-score text, in fact suggest that performance at the keyboard is intended, as this is the most common instrumentation for a texture disposed on two staves. But the texture is also unidiomatic for the keyboard; with its four independent parts and relatively tight compass, the texture still retains vestiges of the piece's vocal origins. As for the piece's function, the absence of a text also forestalls clues to its religious nature and use in a Lutheran service, as well as the suggestion of its German provenance. The effect of these editorial decisions is a significant degree of ambiguity as to the piece's intended instrumentation and function. This provokes the question: why is the piece presented in this way in the textbook? These practices vis-à-vis the chorale are all the more remarkable in that textbook authors

generally respect the above aspects of the sources for their non-chorale examples; the chorale's treatment is unique.

While this notational configuration is noteworthy for its ambiguity with regard to conventions for particular instrumentations, it closely resembles another notational configuration that plays a critical role in American music theory. Burstein and Straus discuss this configuration in a chapter of their *Concise Introduction* entitled "Four-Part Harmony" (ch. 4). As they write, "tonal music often is discussed in relation to four-part harmony," whose conventions "are useful for understanding tonal music."[3] But four-part harmony is defined by a specific texture: evidently composed of chords, "each chord uses four notes, with the same basic rhythm in all four parts, as in a typical hymn."[4] Moreover, four-part harmony is typified by a particular notation—namely, "for vocal choir consisting of a soprano, alto, tenor, and bass," and the authors illustrate this notation with a four-part texture on two staves, using treble and bass clefs, respectively, and with two parts on each staff (Figure 3).[5] This notational configuration, in short, is precisely the idiosyncratic notation of the chorale discussed above. But there is another connection between these two that is more intriguing: authors call the notation used to represent principles of tonal music "chorale style."[6]

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[3] Ibid. In the first quotation, one should, I believe, read "discussed" here as "conceptualized." The authors' use of "discussed" here is in line with their desire for concision and, by extension, agnostic attitude with respect to more abstract topics and speculations.

[4] Burstein and Straus, *Concise Introduction*, 48.

[5] Ibid., 49. I here omit the authors' emphasis (bold) by which they indicate a term's importance, a practice that I will adopt henceforth.

[6] Terms for what I call "chorale style" vary, including terms like "chorale texture" or "chorale format," the latter of which Burstein and Straus use in this passage. I use "chorale style" because it is the most common.

Figure 3: Typical notation for illustrating basic principles of harmony and voice-leading; in Burstein and Straus, *Concise Introduction*, 83.

The plot thickens one degree further: while music theorists use "chorale style" to illustrate principles of tonal music, they also use it to represent musical works. Steven G. Laitz describes this process in a passage entitled "Texture and Register" in his textbook *The Complete Musician*. He writes,

> A short score is notated on two staves, with the women's voices (SA) in the treble and the men's voices (TB) in the bass. The soprano and tenor pitches always have upward stems; the alto and bass always have downward stems (Example 5.8B1). Another type of short score is created by reducing an instrumental work (e.g., a symphony) to its 'essence,' omitting pitch doublings and compacting the voices into a single register (approximately three octaves).[7]

To illustrate this, Laitz provides a passage from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony notated on two staves, with treble and bass clefs, and the texture reduced to four parts, with two of these parts on each staff (Figure 4).[8] The author's description of this process indicates that he not only considers the final state equivalent to the original work, but a refinement of sorts—its "essence,"

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[7] Laitz, *Complete Musician*, 174–76.

[8] To be sure, the second-lowest part—what Laitz calls the "tenor"—includes two lines for most of the passage, and the range of the parts exceeds the normal vocal range. Perhaps Laitz chose this passage precisely because of the challenge to "reduction" that it poses and considered these concessions ultimately immaterial.

as he writes. In short, "chorale style" as both a texture and a notation of this texture provides a truer version of the work than its original notation. And in case there were any doubt as to the connection between chorales and this representation of a piece's "essence," it should be noted that the author's example of "short score" (his Example 5.8B1) is a four-part chorale setting by J. S. Bach—one of the small body of works that Alexander Rehding called "the quintessential music-theory teaching material" (Figure 5).
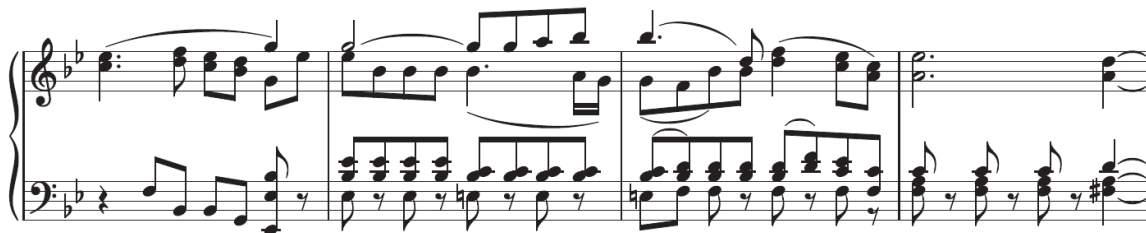
Figure 4: Example of "another type of short score" in Laitz, *Complete Musician* (175).

Figure 5: Example of "short score" in Laitz, *Complete Musician* (175).

Another of Rehding's locutions is intriguing: he writes that students will analyze musical works "along the same lines" as Bach's chorale harmonizations. He does not say what he means by this; but could he mean something like this chain of near-equivalents from the idiosyncratic notation of Bach's chorale discussed above through "chorale style" to a "reduction" of

Beethoven's Ninth Symphony to its "essence"? To what extent are the links in this chain in fact equivalent? Do music theorists consider Bach's chorale harmonizations as illustrative of basic principles of tonal music or "reductions" as chorales? Indeed, what is a chorale for music theorists?

Finally, there is the question of where textbook authors derive their practices for presenting chorales in this idiosyncratic manner. Is it possible that so many came to this presentation independently? More likely, of course, is that they derived this presentation from a common source—a possibility strengthened by some authors' identifying of chorales by a number, as mentioned above. Indeed, there is a strong candidate for such a source: Riemenschneider's 1941 edition, which is not only the most popular of those available, but also is often mentioned in music-theoretical literature as the primary source for these pieces.[9] So closely do some music theorists associate Bach's chorale settings with this edition, in fact, that some authors of scholarly articles even refer to these pieces' "Riemenschneider number," without even citing Bach as the settings' harmonist.[10] As it happens, Riemenschneider's presentation of these pieces closely resembles that found in the textbooks in this corpus (Figure 6): their textures are disposed on two staves, with two parts per staff, and omitting almost all information apart from pitch information only, yet identifying them by German incipit.

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[9] Johann Sebastian Bach, *371 Harmonized Chorales and 69 Chorale Melodies by Johann Sebastian Bach*, ed. Albert Riemenschneider (New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 1941). See, for example, Felix Salzer and Carl Schachter, *Counterpoint in Composition* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1969): 246, n.2.

[10] See de Clercq, "Model for Scale-Degree Reinterpretation," 192; see also Timothy Cutler, "On Voice Exchanges," *Journal of Music Theory* 53, no. 2 (2009): 191; Dora A. Hanninen, "A Theory of Recontextualization in Music: Analyzing Phenomenal Transformations of Repetition," *Music Theory Spectrum* 25, no. 1 (April 2003): 85–87, 93–94, https://doi.org/10.1525/mts.2003.25.1.59.

Figure 6: Typical presentation of a chorale harmonization by Albert Riemenschneider in his edition of J. S. Bach's chorale harmonizations (Bach, *371 Harmonized Chorales and 69 Chorale Melodies with Figured Bass*, 25).

While this connection opens up historical dimension to this investigation—why are authors evidently drawing their presentation of Bach's four-part chorale settings from a 1941 edition of these pieces?—this history enlarges itself immediately: as Riemenschneider writes in the edition's preface, the collection "has undergone only slight alteration" in the "over 150 years" since its first appearance.[11] In other words, this format for Bach's four-part chorale settings is evidently intimately connected to the history of these editions and can be traced back to the first such edition, the first volume of which was printed by Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel in 1765. This raises several questions: for how long have music theorists handled Bach's four-part chorale settings in these ways, and when did they acquire this prominent status in music theory? It is to the above questions that I attend in this dissertation.

1.1 Chapter Outline

This dissertation is composed of two broad parts: in the first, I establish the extent of the chorale's presence in present-day American music theory and some of its major themes; in the second, I describe how it came to occupy this position. Before addressing either of these,

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[11] Albert Riemenschneider, "General Preface," in *371 Harmonized Chorales and 69 Chorale Melodies with Figured Bass*, ed. Albert Riemenschneider (New York: G. Schirmer, 1941).

however, I outline in Chapter 2 the conceptual opposition that underlies this dissertation: namely, the ontological distinction between a musical work and a music-theoretical object. To illustrate this distinction, I compare two notated versions of Bach's setting of the chorale "Treuer Gott, ich muss dir klagen," one of which comes from his fair copy of the cantata "Höchsterwünschtes Freudenfest" (BWV 194), and the other from Edward Aldwell, Carl Schachter, and Allen Cadwallader's undergraduate music theory textbook *Harmony & Voice Leading*. While the former bears clear signs of its intended use in a liturgical context with specific instructions for its performance, the latter is constituted as an object for abstract contemplation and study. I also stress the role that notation—that is, editorial decisions—plays in constituting each pole of this distinction.

This distinction having been outlined, I set out in the next two chapters to establish the role of the chorale and details of its use in present-day American music theory: to what extent do music theorists employ chorales, and what kinds of chorales? For what activities do they use chorales, and in conjunction with what topics? What purposes do theorists believe that chorales are especially suited to serve? Are there external pressures that guide their deployment of chorales?

I first address these questions in Chapter 3 by presenting the results of a sociological study: a questionnaire with approximately 200 responses and follow-up interviews with 23 respondents that I conducted during the spring of 2018. In reporting the results of this survey, I examine several aspects of music-theory practice: instruction (both for non–music majors and for music majors), research, admissions requirements, and placement examinations. These empirical studies provide concrete evidence of the substantial role that the chorale plays in present-day American music theory. The first data I present is quantitative, and it shows that many theorists

use the chorale to some degree in their instruction, and many use it for teaching multiple topics—but above all, they use it in early-stage music theory to teach harmony and voice-leading. The chorales that theorists use are overwhelming J. S. Bach's four-part chorale settings, although theorists occasionally incorporate chorales by other composers. Finally, respondents report that their institutions include chorale harmonization in placement examinations for undergraduate and graduate programs and, to a lesser extent, in requirements for admission materials. I also present qualitative data—first of all, concerning theorists' reasons for using the chorale in instruction. In general, their main motivations relate more to chorales' musical qualities and to pedagogical expedience than to "external" factors like disciplinary tradition, the chorale's religious connotations, or institutional expectations. In the realm of personal research, practitioners mostly use the chorale incidentally, and—as in pedagogical contexts—as an exemplar of principles of tonal music. I also show how some respondents expressed reservations concerning or even opposition to the use of chorales; they considered their use evidence for undue preoccupations with topics like harmony and voice-leading, or chorales as too unlike other musical repertoire to be of valuable for study. Finally, respondents believe the chorale to be firmly rooted in American music theory and also representative of an older and persistent approach to music theory.

Owing to the chorale's prevalence in undergraduate music-theory instruction, in Chapter 4 I examine this instructional setting more closely through a corpus study of undergraduate textbooks. I show first that authors of these textbooks rely on chorales to a considerable degree. Among authors' musical examples, for example, chorales occur in unusually high numbers—but particularly J. S. Bach's four-part chorale settings, which constitute the highest-frequency composer–genre combination among musical examples. Authors also rely on chorales to a

considerable degree in the exercises that accompany their texts—and if not chorales per se, then at least on an SATB texture that closely resembles their preferred texture of chorales. With respect to where they appear, authors use chorales throughout their curriculums, but particularly in the transition from abstract music-theoretical principles to "real music." Finally, I elaborate on the connections from authors' distinctive presentations of chorales, with respect to how they both identify and notate them. I describe the relation between this presentation, what authors call "chorale style," and their images of "musical structure," suggesting that the close connection between these mutually reinforces their prominence, each boosting the other.

Having in the first part of this dissertation demonstrated the chorale's prevalence in present-day American music theory, in the second half I explore its history. In Chapter 5, I consider the first edition of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations, an edition created by several of his followers after his death in 1750 and published by Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel in two volumes (1765 and 1769). This edition's preface by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach reveals a conception of these pieces similar to that of present-day theorists: for contemplation—specifically, of patterns of harmonic and voice-leading structure. I also discuss the second edition of this collection, published by Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf in four volumes between 1784 and 1787. I show that by retaining key elements of the first edition and completing the volumes left unprinted in the first edition, this edition galvanizes the conception of Sebastian Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations established in the first edition—that is, as objects of music-theoretical contemplation. Finally, I discuss Johann Philipp Kirnberger's treatise *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*, which exhibits the author's commitment to a conception of musical structure as essentially four-part homophony. I show the connection of the chorale to this view—primarily through the procedures of elaboration and reduction also found in present-

day music theory textbooks—and the author's belief in Bach's four-part chorale settings as the best illustration of four-part writing, even though he himself does not present them in this way. In short, the main lines of practice and doctrine surrounding the chorale in present-day American music theory are already found in Bach's circle following his death.

While conceptions of Bach's chorale settings as objects of music-theoretical contemplation and repositories of music-theoretical doctrine appear in conjunction with their first publication, these conceptions were far from uniformly held. In Chapter 6, I explore the chorale in two sources connected to Karl Friedrich Zelter. Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy exercises completed under Zelter's tutelage around 1820 contain two key aspects of Kirnberger's chorale-intensive curriculum in *Die Kunst*: the belief that tonal music is fundamentally four-parted and the serviceability of the chorale for learning part-writing—even if Zelter did not draw his approach from Kirnberger. Curiously, in light of Zelter's admiration for Bach, there are no signs of Bach's chorale settings in these exercises. The two chorale settings by Bach that Zelter added to a manuscript edition of Bach's chorale settings created in 1762 by Zelter's teacher Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch, moreover, reveal a rift in attitudes toward these pieces: while for Fasch they are music-theoretical objects, abstracted from a broader context and disposed to highlight their harmony and voice-leading, for Zelter these pieces are clearly musical works belonging to a specific liturgical setting, complete with a specific intended performance.

Chapter 7 explores attitudes toward the chorale held by figures connected to the Leipzig Conservatorium, which Mendelssohn founded in 1843. In his harmony textbook commissioned by Mendelssohn for the Conservatorium, Ernst Friedrich Richter establishes a curriculum in which the chorale plays a central role, in the process refining and providing a conceptual vocabulary for doctrines found in Kirnberger's treatise—above all, the belief in music's four-part

nature and the connection of this belief to the chorale. Yet Bach's chorale harmonizations are nowhere to be found in Richter's harmony textbook—surprisingly, given both the privileged place of chorale-writing and his reverence for Bach. In his essays on and edition of Bach's four-part chorale settings printed between 1830 and 1843, Carl Ferdinand Becker, also a professor at the Conservatorium, urges their use primarily as models for composition; in fact, he derives his conception of the pieces from this proposal, despite the emergence of information about them contradicting his conception that he only partly succeeds in assimilating. Adolf Bernhard Marx, whom Becker cites for his view of Bach's chorale settings, explicitly opposes the use of these pieces as music-theoretical objects, however, insisting in his *Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition* on their integral connection to a larger musical context and providing a detailed analysis of several chorales in Bach's St. Matthew Passion to this end. In sum, the rift observed between viewing these pieces as music-theoretical objects, on one hand, and musical works, on the other, continues, and the only deployment of these pieces in music theory is as musical works.

In the next two chapters, I examine the transmission of the chorale in music theory from Germany to the United States. Chapter 8 explores several sources that exhibit this intercontinental transition. The first major treatise through which the chorale arrives in the United States is Marx's *Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, in which the chorale is a repository for German culture, and particularly for German music-theoretical principles. Several of Richter's students, however, seem most responsible for spreading chorale-based instruction. One of these, James Parker, offers a textbook based on Richter's teaching that not only is summarized by chorale-writing in four parts, but also provides the earliest example of a chorale setting by Bach in an American text—albeit buried among exercises. This setting, in conjunction

with an essay by John Sullivan Dwight's entitled "Bach's Chorals," show that the conception of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations as models for four-part composition was already available to Americans in the middle of the century, even if it was left unpursued, as confirmed by an edition of twelve of these pieces published by Oliver Ditson in collaboration with Dwight. Through three American sources around the end of the nineteenth century, finally, I show a slowly waxing interest in taking Bach's four-part chorale settings as part-writing models—yet without authors actually demonstrating this possibility: they evidently feel the pieces extend beyond the elementary harmony curriculum and instead belong in the realm of counterpoint. Therefore, still no author takes up Emanuel Bach's suggestion that these pieces be incorporated into a music-theoretical curriculum.

Chapter 9, finally, explores the chorale in twentieth-century American music theory. Bach's four-part chorale settings finally make their entry into music-theoretical practice in Donald Tweedy's *Manual of Harmony* (1928)—and this decisively: the author selects these pieces as models of four-part writing and fills his textbook with references to them. Tweedy's conception of these pieces, however, mixes elements of music-theoretical object and musical work. American Schenkerians, however, embrace a conception of these pieces as repositories of music-theoretical principles—in a clear departure from Schenker himself, I show, who considers them as examples of free composition. In particular, William Mitchell positions these pieces in the transition from abstract principles to real music, and Adele Katz deploys them as embodiments of Bach's harmonic practice, which in turn is the basis, she believes, of the harmonic practice of later composers. In his *Bach's Harmonic Progressions* (1942), Kent Gannett abstracts Bach's chorale settings to their limit, presenting their content as mere voice-leading and harmony patterns. Finally, I show how in Felix Salzer and Carl Schachter's

Counterpoint in Composition (1969), the authors integrate Mitchell's and Katz's approach to Bach's chorale settings, reinstating it from Schenker's original plans in the bridge between species counterpoint and free composition and casting them as models of musical structure—as they are in present-day music theory.

In brief, it is relatively recently that Bach's chorale settings came to occupy the position that they do in American music theory, and this occurred within the evolution of American music theory—after, not before, the transmission of chorale-based music theory from Germany to the United States. This is surprising, not only given these pieces' proliferation in present-day music theory, but also given that the conditions ripe for their widespread use have for a long time been in place in music theory, including in Germany: authors have used chorales in general to illustrate and practice harmony and voice-leading principles; authors very clearly admire Bach's music, including his chorale settings; and editors of collections of these pieces repeatedly state their value as models in their introductions to these collections, and even notationally dispose the pieces in a way highly suited for this use. The notion that the attitudes toward and uses of Bach's four-part chorale settings current in present-day American music theory partake in a long tradition is therefore in fact part of the field's mythology, an American invention.

1.2 The Terms "Chorale" and "Musical Structure"

Before reviewing literature pertaining to the topic of this dissertation, it will be helpful to clarify my use of two terms, "chorale" and "model of musical structure," given their centrality for this project. As emerges from the survey in Chapter 3, there are multiple senses of the term "chorale" current in the field's discourse, some of which are incompatible with each other. Indeed, several respondents even acknowledged confusion surrounding the term, both in writing

in the questionnaire and in the follow-up interview. To ensure clarity over the course of this

dissertation, it seems prudent to clarify how I will use the term in this dissertation.

My use of the term "chorale" largely follows what is widely considered the most

authoritative English-language encyclopedia on musical terminology, *The Grove Dictionary of*

Music and Musicians. According to *Grove*, a chorale is "the congregational hymn of the German

Protestant church service." The authors continue:

> In modern English usage, "chorale" can apply either to the hymn in its entirety (text and
> melody) or to the hymn tune alone. Moreover, following a German practice common in
> the 17th and 18th centuries, the term is often used to refer to simple harmonizations of
> the German hymn tune, as in "Bach chorales" or "four-part chorales."[12]

Several aspects of this definition warrant note. To begin with, a chorale is either a tune and a text

or simply a tune—that is, a single musical line understood to be for singing. The authors' use

here of the term "hymn" also imply that chorales are religious in intended function. Further along

in the definition, the authors reveal an assumption thus far latent: that the line in question is in

fact German in provenance. Yet almost as an addendum to the definition supplied thus far, the

authors also admit that the term can refer to a fuller realization of the line in question, and they

cite two possibilities: settings by Bach—presumably Johann Sebastian, since they are well

known, as the rest of this dissertation will make clear—and settings in four parts, which texture

will also show itself as significant in this dissertation. There are then two areas of ambiguity in

the *Grove* definition: whether the term "chorale" implies the presence of a text or not, and

whether it denotes a solo line or a harmonization of such a line.[13]

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[12] Robert Lewis Marshall and Robin Leaver, "Chorale," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/.

[13] These ambiguities are also found in the German *Choral* from which the English "chorale" derives, and perhaps also in the term *choralis* from which the German term is derived (Hartmut Möller, "Choral," in *MGG Online*,

For the purposes of this dissertation, when not citing an author or survey respondent, I will use the term "chorale" to refer to an individual musical line associated with at least one text intended for singing in a German Protestant religious celebration—the sense that most stands out in the *Grove* definition. To avoid confusion, I do not use the term alone in the other sense that *Grove* considers—that of a "simple harmonization." Indeed, when I use it in other senses, I will qualify it; for example, when referring to a setting of a chorale, I will use "chorale harmonization" or "chorale setting"—or, when appropriate, "chorale prelude." Likewise, I will for clarity's sake usually use the term "chorale tune" when referring to the individual musical line in the definition of "chorale" provided above.

As will become particularly clear in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, music theorists' use of the term "chorale" usually does not align with the *Grove* definition. While some use it the same way I do, most intend a texture fuller than an individual line, for example; they also permit pieces completely disconnected from the Lutheran tradition—including by non-German composers, or composed for non-religious purposes—to fall under the term; and they readily apply the term to musical configurations that are not works, per se, at all. In extreme cases, moreover, they understand "the chorale" to refer to Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations. My aim here is not to criticize theorists' use of the term; rather, I find it suggestive of the genre's history, the way theorists conceptualize the genre, and their uses of it—which is, of course, the subject of the present dissertation.

With regard to the phrase "model of musical structure," I will address this according to its parts "musical structure" and "model." The concept of "musical structure" plays an outsize role

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accessed May 30, 2018, https://www-mgg-online-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/). The second ambiguity in particular presumably reflects the performance practice of these tunes—i.e., that they were typically performed harmonized. It likely also reflects the fact that there typically was no set harmonization of these tunes: the tune itself was the only aspect that perdured (slight variations—particularly those evident across different regions—notwithstanding).

in American music theory; as Robert Fink writes of the concept, "to give it up would cut one loose from the very foundations of music theory as practiced today."[14] Given that the term is used in a variety of meanings—in reference to scale patterns, chord construction, and form, for example—it indicates American theorists' preoccupation with structuralist thinking.[15] But the most widespread use of the term in present-day music theory is one that few theorists have ventured to define—remarkably, given its central importance in the field; indeed many authors do not explicitly discuss term at all, and those who do often take the route of exemplification rather than explicit definition.[16] The basic conceit of this concept of "musical structure" is that musical works or textures can be understood as being undergirded by a framework consisting of pitches in harmonic and voice-leading relationships. Such a framework is usually considered a

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[14] Robert Fink, "Going Flat: Post-Hierarchical Music Theory and the Musical Surface," in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 102. See also the first definition of "[music] theory" in *Grove Music Online*: "an area of study that tends to focus on musical materials per se, in order to explain (and/or offer generalizations about) their various principles and processes. It investigates how these materials function (or, in a more speculative vein, how they might function), so that musical 'structure' can be better understood" (David Carson Berry and Sherman Van Solkema, "Theory," in *Grove Music Online* [Oxford University Press, 2001], https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/). The use of scare quotes here may indicate the concept's unstable—or at least unexamined—status; see also Ian Sewell's interpretation of scare quotes in a similar context—to "imply that other or less metaphorical descriptions are available, yet none really emerge" (Ian Sewell, "When All You Have Is a Hammer: Surface/Depth as Good Comparison," *Music Theory Spectrum* 43, no. 2 [September 2021]: 197, https://doi.org/10.1093/mts/mtab008) and Rose Rosengard Subotnik, "Toward a Deconstruction of Structural Listening: A Critique of Schoenberg, Adorno, and Stravinsky," in *Deconstructive Variations: Music and Reason in Western Society* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996): 148–76, as well as the issue of *The British Journal of Aesthetics* devoted to nine replies to Subotnick's article (*The British Journal of Aesthetics* 46, no. 4 [October 2006], https://doi.org/10.1093/aesthj/ayl028).

[15] The term is particularly heavily among American Schenkerians. Evidence that the concept reflects a distinctly American preoccupation comes from the fact that Schenker largely does not use the German cognate, *Struktur*; where Americans use the term, it is often in relation to Schenker's terms *Ursatz* and *Urlinie*. The translation of these terms with "structure" dates back to at least Katz's *Challenge to Musical Tradition* (1945), which I discuss in Chapter 9 below.

[16] While textbook authors are typically careful to define terms, "structure" is a notable exception. For example, in Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader's *Harmony & Voice Leading*, the term does not appear in their section entitled "Texture and Structure" apart from in its title (59). Miguel A. Roig-Francolí does not define "musical structure," per se, but he does define "structural chords": see Miguel A. Roig-Francolí, *Harmony in Context*, 2nd ed (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2011), 152. Stephen Laitz uses the term "structure" well in advance of his main discussion of the topic, entitled "Tonal Hierarchy in Music" (Steven G. Laitz, *The Complete Musician: An Integrated Approach to Theory, Analysis and Listening*, Fourth edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 144 ff). Nicholas Cook remarks that the metaphor of musical structure is "nowadays so familiar that we hardly recognize it as a metaphor at all": Nicholas Cook, *The Schenker Project: Culture, Race, and Music Theory in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 277.

version of the work's pitch material—that is, certain pitches may be identified as "structural" and certain as "ornamental" or "embellishment." As Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader write, "if we wish to understand the ways in which harmony and voice leading operate in actual compositions, we have to learn how to hear our way past the complex surface and into the underlying structure of the harmony, melody, and voice leading."[17] As an extension of this differentiation of pitch content, the framework in question may be discovered through "reduction," a process of removing the "embellishing" notes that leaves just the framework remaining. Authors consider resultant framework a more "real" version of the work, and in some cases even consider the framework as "generating" the work.[18] Finally, this framework is also often represented via musical notation, and specifically as derived from the performance score of a work via a process of reduction.

While this is the basic conceit of "musical structure," more specific details may be gleaned from various statements by authors of the textbooks examined in Chapter 4 below. The tenets wrapped up in this notion include the following:

1. (tonal) music has two dimensions, a "vertical" and a "horizontal"

2. music consists of discrete lines

    a) that are notionally vocal

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[17] Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*, 692. American Schenkerians are particularly fond of the notion of "musical structure"; Felix Salzer, for example, writes that "[the] distinction between structure and prolongation became the backbone of his [Heinrich Schenker's] whole approach" (Felix Salzer, *Structural Hearing: Tonal Coherence in Music* [New York: Dover, 1982], 13). Interestingly, the German cognate *Struktur* does not play the same role in Schenker's own work; for example, what Americans translate as "fundamental structure" is in his writings *Ursatz*. It would seem that the prominence of the term "structure" is just one more aspect of Schenker's "Americanization," and this from early on: Adele Katz's *Challenge to Musical Tradition*, for example, is littered with the term.

[18] For example, in reference to a piano piece by Brahms, Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader observe, "[t]he reduction shows that the piece begins with three real parts"; and that "[t]he reduction in Example 19-3 shows that the Mendelssohn excerpt [a *Song without Words*], too, has only three real voices": Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*, 99–100, 333, respectively. Steven Laitz observes in one place that "Mozart's surface embellishments have now been reduced to the generating four-voice structure": Laitz, *Complete Musician*, 253.

b) of which there are four, and

c) whose number remains constant

3. music is homophonic

4. music's range corresponds to that of an SATB choir

5. music's harmonic rhythm is basically uniform, and

6. versions of works corresponding to these tenets may be revealed through a process of "reduction"[19]

To be sure, this list is not exhaustive, but it suffices to illustrate the main lines of American theorists' notion of "musical structure."

The contingency, even tenuousness, of these tenets warrants consideration. I will demonstrate this with respect to the notion that musical structure has four discrete parts. Steven Laitz writes that "tonal music of the common-practice era was generally conceived in four voices, although not every piece of tonal music literally uses four voices at every possible moment. Rather, a four-voice framework underlies compositions that may have many more than four voices."[20] In fact, this tenet has a long and rich history; as Kirnberger writes, "since complete harmony is in four parts, the harmony in two- and three-part compositions must always be incomplete."[21] A clear illustration of this claim comes from Aldwell, Schachter, and

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[19] This last tenet stands out from the others in describing not the features of this conception, but instead how it relates to musical works—specifically, how "structure" may be discovered, as it were. I investigate this notion in a forthcoming study.

[20] Laitz, *Complete Musician*, 174. See also Thomas Benjamin, Robert Nelson, Michael M. Horvit, and Timothy Koozin, *Techniques and Materials of Music*, *From the Common Practice Period Through the Twentieth Century*, 7th ed. (Belmont, CA: Cengage Learning, Inc., 2015): 280, 284; Jane Piper Clendinning and Elizabeth West Marvin, *The Musician's Guide to Theory and Analysis*, 3rd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016): 166; and Roig-Francolí, *Harmony in Context*, 55.

[21] Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *The Art of Strict Musical Composition*, trans. David Beach and Jurgen Thym (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 159 ("Denn da die vollständige Harmonie vierstimmig ist, folglich in den zwey- und dreystimmigen Sachen immer etwas von der vollständigen Harmonie fehlen muß": Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*, 2 vols. [Berlin, Christian Friedrich Voß (vol. 1) and G. J. Decker und G. L. Hartung (vol. 2), 1771–79], 1:142). Jean-Phillipe Rameau similar writes that "nous venons de dire

Cadwallader's explanation of reduction with regard to an impromptu by Schubert: the authors remove notes from the admittedly homophonic texture of the original opening phrase until there is more or less one four-note chord per bar, with a few exceptions (Figures 7 and 8). This demonstration seeks to show that the reduction reveals the basic harmonies and voice-leading in play in the original.

9-1* Schubert, Impromptu, D. 935

Figure 7: Excerpt from Schubert, *Impromptu*, D.934; in Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*, 147.

Figure 8: "Reduction" of Schubert, *Impromptu*; in Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*, 693.

que l'Harmonie ne pouvoit s'enseigner qu'à quatre Parties...& qu'il étoit très-facile de les réduire à trois & à deux" (*Traité de l'harmonie* [Paris: Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard, 1722]: 140).

Yet there are common musical situations where this tenet is difficult to maintain. One is the ascending 5–6 sequence. In general, authors represent schemas like sequences in four parts, in alignment with the commonly held image of musical structure. A set of such schemas in Kostka, Payne, and Almén's textbook *Tonal Harmony* may be seen in Figure 9: all of the sequences in the set are in four parts, except for the ascending 5–6 sequence. Authors frequently acknowledge this exception; Burstein and Straus, for example, write that "this sequence most often appears in three-voice texture, rather than in four voices."[22] Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader similarly observe that "the [ascending] 5–6 series occurs most naturally in a texture of three voices, but with careful attention to doubling, four voices are also possible."[23] Moreover, some theorists have adhered to a three-part conception of musical structure; in his 1739 *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Johann Mattheson writes that "if one can deal with three voices properly, singably, and with full sonority, then all will go happily even with twenty-four voices."[24] Furthermore, Ludwig Holtmeier writes of Muffat's *Regulae Concentuum Partiturae* (1699) that "composition in four or more voices is consistently presented as an extension of three-voice composition."[25] Thus, even if the four-part view of musical structure dominates, this view is not universal.

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[22] Burstein and Straus, *Concise Introduction*, 311.

[23] Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*, 314.

[24] "Ein rechtes Trio ist also das grösseste Meister-Stück der Harmonie, und wenn man mit dreien Stimmen rein, singbar und vollstimmig verfahren kan, so wird es auch mit 24, dafern die Arbeit keine Scheu macht, glücklich angehen" Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1739), 344.

[25] Ludwig Holtmeier, "Heinichen, Rameau, and the Italian Thoroughbass Tradition Concepts of Tonality and Chord in the Rule of the Octave," *Journal of Music Theory* 51, no. 1 (2007): 10.

Figure 9: Summary of sequences; in Kostka, Payne, and Almén, *Tonal Harmony*, 107.

Where notions of "musical structure" intersect with the chorale is through the concept of "chorale style."[26] As authors define it, "chorale style" is both a musical texture and a specific notation of that texture; specifically, it is four-part, notionally vocal homophony disposed on two staves, with one in the treble clef and the other in the bass clef and stem direction distinguishing constituent lines. Authors use "chorale style" not only to illustrate principles of harmony and voice-leading, but as a target texture for "reductions"—which, again, seek to reveal the "structure" of a musical work. I will have much more to say about "chorale style" in Chapter 4 below.

Finally, the term "model." The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines this term as "a simplified or idealized description or conception of a particular system, situation, or process,

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[26] Sometimes the same concept arises by slightly different names—"chorale texture," "SATB texture," and so on. Given its pivotal role between the chorale and "musical structure," I discuss "chorale style" in depth in Chapter 4 below.

often in mathematical terms, that is put forward as a basis for theoretical or empirical

understanding, or for calculations, predictions, etc.; a conceptual or mental representation of

something."[27] This is basically the sense in which I use the term. A model of musical structure,

then, summarizes the basic components of musical structure, presents these elements in an ideal

form to promote its comprehension. I use as a synonym the phrase "image of musical structure,"

to capture its representational—and specifically visual—mode, which, as mentioned above, is

key for associating the chorale with musical structure; and I use another synonym "concept of

musical structure" to capture its mental or theoretical dimension. It should be noted that I am far

from the first to use the term "model" with respect to Bach's chorale settings; this very word—or

rather, its German equivalent *Muster*—is used by Emanuel Bach in his "Note to the Public"

published soon after the second volume of the first edition appeared.[28] And several other authors

whose work I discuss in this investigation use either the German or the English for the term.

Thus, in using this term for Bach's chorale settings, I am tapping into a long tradition.

1.3 Literature Review

Surprisingly, given the chorale's ubiquity and importance in American music theory, its

place in this domain has heretofore largely gone uninterrogated. To be sure, many music

theorists evidence awareness of the chorale's unique place in American music theory, even if

such acknowledgements often come by way of offhand remarks. Yet some also reflect on the

chorale's prominence more thoughtfully, particularly when they themselves use chorales and

discuss their decision to do so. A small number of authors have gone so far as to recognize the

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[27] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "model (n.), sense I.7," March 2024, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/2544117755.
[28] See Chapter 5 below.

historical dimension of the chorale's unique place—that this must be a result of historical forces—and to illuminate these historical forces. And some authors have also challenged and criticized the chorale's place in American music theory. Across the existing relevant literature, however, arises the need for a more fulsome investigation into the chorale's place in American music theory. In what follows, I discuss the existing literature relevant to this topic.

Music theorists regularly observe chorales' ubiquity in American music theory through offhand remarks. In a study of voice-leading and music-perception issues, for example, David Huron observes that music students today "typically learn a version of Baroque chorale-style practice" in their studies.[29] Authors often cite J. S. Bach's four-part chorale settings in this connection; in an examination of cadence in Classical music, William Caplin writes of "the powerful immersion of most theorists in the Bach chorales."[30] Authors most associate these pieces with instructional contexts, understanding this approach as long established: in his study of dissonance in Bach's music, Karl Braunschweig observes that Bach's chorale settings "have been a pedagogical foundation for generations of teachers and students."[31] None of these studies deals explicitly with Bach's—or any other composer's—chorale settings, and yet their authors see fit to mention these pieces in passing.

Some authors do engage the chorale's place in American music theory chorale in greater depth, however. This is particularly the case in the subfield of empirical corpus studies that employ Bach's chorale settings to an unusual degree: happily, several of these studies not only

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[29] David Brian Huron, *Voice Leading: The Science behind the Musical Art* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2017), 9.

[30] William E. Caplin, "The Classical Cadence: Conceptions and Misconceptions," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 57, no. 1 (April 1, 2004): 73, https://doi.org/10.1525/jams.2004.57.1.51. While Bach harmonized chorale tunes in a variety of musical textures, Caplin almost certainly means the four-part settings. I demonstrate the near-exclusive focus on the four-part settings in American music-theory pedagogy in Chapter 4 below.

[31] Karl. D Braunschweig, "Expanded Dissonance in the Music of J.S. Bach," *Theory and Practice: Newsletter-Journal of the Music Theory Society of New York State.* 28 (2003): 79.

acknowledge their reliance on Bach's chorale settings, but they also discuss their rationale for doing so. These studies examine a variety of topics that revolve around pitch organization, whether patterns in voice-leading,[32] chord construction,[33] harmonic syntax,[34] or metric position of harmonies,[35] to name a few. Authors also use the corpus of Bach's chorale harmonizations as a sort of test case for empirical studies, including of the creation music theory software designed to explore some of these same phenomena,[36] or even software to generate musical textures that resemble Bach's chorale settings.[37]

Authors offer several reasons for employing Bach's chorale settings in their studies.[38] One reason is these pieces' textural simplicity compared with that of many other genres; at least

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[32] Ian Quinn and Panayotis Mavromatis, "Voice-Leading Prototypes and Harmonic Function in Two Chorale Corpora," in *Mathematics and Computation in Music*, ed. Carlos Agon et al., vol. 6726, Lecture Notes in Computer Science (Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2011), 230–40, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-21590-2_18.

[33] Bret Aarden and Paul T. von Hippel, "Rules for Chord Doubling (and Spacing): Which Ones Do We Need?," *Music Theory Online* 10, no. 2 (2004), https://mtosmt-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/issues/mto.04.10.2/toc.10.2.html.

[34] Martin Rohrmeier and Ian Cross, "Statistical Properties of Harmony in Bach's Chorales," in *Proceedings of the 10th International Conference on Music Perception and Cognition*, ed. Ken'ichi Miyazaki et al. (Sapporo: ICMPC, 2008), 619–27; Christopher Wm White and Ian Quinn, "Chord Context and Harmonic Function in Tonal Music," *Music Theory Spectrum* 40, no. 2 (November 1, 2018): 314-335O, https://doi.org/10.1093/mts/mty021.

[35] Mitchell Ohriner, "Effects of Temporal Position on Harmonic Succession in the Bach Chorale Corpus," in *Mathematics and Computation in Music*, ed. Jason Yust, Jonathan Wild, and John Ashley Burgoyne, vol. 7937, Lecture Notes in Computer Science (Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2013), 167–76, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-39357-0_13.

[36] Kaan M. Biyikoglu, in *Abstracts of the 5th Triennial Conference of the European Society for the Cognitive Sciences of Music (ESCOM)*, ed. Reinhard Kopiez et al., Monography / Institute for Research in Music Education 6 (Hanover, Germany: Hanover Univ. of Music and Drama, 2003), 64; Darrell Conklin, "Representation and Discovery of Vertical Patterns in Music," in *Music and Artificial Intelligence*, ed. Christina Anagnostopoulou, Miguel Ferrand, and Alan Smaill, vol. 2445, Lecture Notes in Computer Science (Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2002), 32–42, https://doi.org/10.1007/3-540-45722-4_5; W. Bas de Haas, Frans Wiering, and Remco C. Veltkamp, "A Geometrical Distance Measure for Determining the Similarity of Musical Harmony," *International Journal of Multimedia Information Retrieval* 2, no. 3 (September 2013): 189–202, https://doi.org/10.1007/s13735-013-0036-6; Pedro Kröger, Alexandre Passos, and Marcos Sampaio, "Rameau: A System for Automatic Harmonic Analysis," in *Proceedings of the International Computer Music Conference (ICMC)* (Belfast, Ireland, 2008), 273–81; Ian Quinn, "Are Pitch-Class Profiles Really 'Key for Key'?," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Musiktheorie [Journal of the German-Speaking Society of Music Theory]* 7, no. 2 (2010): 151–63, https://doi.org/10.31751/513.

[37] Kemal Ebcioglu, "An Expert System for Harmonizing Four-Part Chorales," *Computer Music Journal* 12, no. 3 (1988): 43, https://doi.org/10.2307/3680335.

[38] Pedro Kröger et al. offer a more systematic list than most—although they conclude with the claim that "no single research has analyzed all Bach chorales," which is clearly false. The authors presumably had in mind a particular type of analysis that they do not state here. See also Rohrmeier and Cross, "Statistical Properties" (619) for a relatively thorough justification for employing Bach's chorale harmonizations.

for the purpose of determining harmonies, these pieces' relative homophony eliminates potential complexities of segmentation.[39] Another reason is these pieces' textural consistency: being four-parted, as a rule, they may be compared with one another easily.[40] A third reason is the size of the corpus—that is, large enough for some sense of statistical significance but not overwhelmingly large.[41] A fourth reason is canonicity: authors consider Bach's practice as not only authoritative, in some significant respect, but representative of a particular larger body. Yet the body in question is evidently not merely Bach's own practice, nor eighteenth-century German practice, but in fact tonal music writ large; as Martin Rohrmeier and Ian Cross write, "[this] corpus constitutes a milestone in the development of musical tonality and has been central for western music theory (and its teaching) until the present."[42] Similarly, Dmitri Tymoczko deploys Bach's chorale harmonizations as an example of "functionally tonal music" and "traditional tonal works."[43] This rationalization echoes what authors observed above, of course—that is, the perception of a tradition of theorists employing Bach's chorale harmonizations—and it helps explain why instructors might rely upon them in undergraduate instruction, if authors see them as somehow representative of tonal harmony. But it is also a remarkably broad repertoire that authors are calling on these pieces to represent, a set of works spanning centuries and crossing continents.

Despite the prominence of the chorale in American music theory instruction and acknowledgements of this prominence by some authors, no in-depth study has thematized this

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[39] See Trevor De Clercq, "A Model for Scale-Degree Reinterpretation: Melodic Structure, Modulation, and Cadence Choice in the Chorale Harmonizations of J. S. Bach," *Empirical Musicology Review* 10, no. 3 (May 12, 2015): 191, https://doi.org/10.18061/emr.v10i3.4334.

[40] Quinn, "Pitch-Class Profiles," 1.1.

[41] Rohrmeier and Cross, "Statistical Properties," 619.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Dmitri Tymoczko, *A Geometry of Music: Harmony and Counterpoint in the Extended Common Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 227, 229.

topic. Several full-field surveys of music-theory curriculums have passed over the chorale's

prominence without so much as a mention, in fact.[44] Given the outsize prominence of Bach's

chorale settings in the field and the significant claims and concepts attached to them, it is

surprising that these connections have so far gone uninterrogated. For example, there has been no

critical investigation of the concept of "chorale style," of the chorale's prominence—and

particularly that of Bach's four-part settings—and the conceptual proximity of these to notions of

"musical structure." To be sure, the chorale is somewhat anomalous in American music theory

instruction: what other musical genre do authors rely on to this extent—and particularly through

the contributions to that genre of a single composer? To be sure, full-field surveys are more

focused on general topics—activities like part-writing, analysis, sight-singing; or repertoires like

classical musical, post-tonal music, or popular music; or pedagogical approaches like lectures,

group work, or flipped classrooms—rather than on specific genres. If anything, the chorales'

omission in these studies underscores how unusual its prominence in American music theory is;

there exists no comparable phenomenon that would prime theorists for recognizing the chorale's

prominence in the field, let alone a framework according to which they could study it

systematically.[45]

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[44] See, for example, Elizabeth West Marvin, "The Core Curricula in Music Theory: Developments and Pedagogical Trends," *Journal of Music Theory Pedagogy* 26 (2012): 255–63"; Elizabeth West Marvin, "Music Theory Pedagogy Curricula in North America: Training the Next Generation," *Journal of Music Theory Pedagogy* 32 (2018); Barbara Murphy and Brendan McConville, "Music Theory Undergraduate Core Curriculum Survey: A 2017 Update," *Journal of Music Theory Pedagogy* 31 (2017): 177–227"; Richard B. Nelson, "The College Music Society Music Theory Undergraduate Core Curriculum Survey - 2000," *College Music Symposium* 42 (2002): 60–75"; Jennifer Snodgrass, "Why and How: Curriculum and Content," in *Teaching Music Theory: New Voices and Approaches* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 15–50"; Jennifer Snodgrass, "Current Status of Music Theory Teaching," *College Music Symposium* 56 (2016)" Jennifer Snodgrass, *Teaching Music Theory: New Voices and Approaches* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2020).

[45] Ludwig Holtmeier makes the intriguing suggestion that "the trio sonatas of Arcangelo Corelli became the unquestioned pedagogical models for this ideal voice leading. They embodied a compositional ideal valid from the seventeenth century to the mid-eighteenth century" (Holtmeier, "Heinichen, Rameau, and Italian Thoroughbass," 9); while the parallels between this thesis and the one that I prosecute in this dissertation are striking, no author, to my knowledge, has pursued it.

One full-length study of American music-theory instruction that does acknowledge the chorale's prominence is Michael Rogers's 1984 survey, reissued in 2004.[46] The author only mentions Bach's chorale harmonizations, and these arise in the chapter on harmony-centric curriculums. Rogers begins his section on tonality by observing that Bach's music "is often an ideal balance between the vertical and the horizontal," and he goes on to discuss the composer's chorale settings in particular, remarking on "a gradual revival of interest in Bach's four-voice chorales in some recent texts." These pieces, he writes, are valuable "for revealing a broad set of principles applicable to the whole tonal realm—and for many aspects beyond."[47] To be sure, Rogers admits that "any body of tonal pieces" could be used for this; but after suggesting a handful, he continues with Bach's chorale settings. It is surprising in a survey of this type that rather than thematizing the field's considerable reliance upon these pieces, he himself participates in this reliance, and even makes far-reaching claims about them.

Apart from those who assert the importance of the chorale, and specifically Bach's settings, to American music theory, there are also some who challenge this state of affairs, particularly with respect to instructional contexts. And to challenge this position is reasonable: any element that pervades a discipline to the extent that the chorale does music theory warrants careful consideration. This is particularly true given in early-level music-theory pedagogy— where the chorale is most ubiquitous—because this instruction is delivered not only to would-be music theorists, but to most, if not all, of those enrolled in post-secondary music studies, regardless of specialization; that is, whether one is studying historical musicology, jazz, music

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[46] Michael R. Rogers, *Teaching Approaches in Music Theory: An Overview of Pedagogical Philosophies* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984), 53. The author retains the word "recent" in this book's second edition, which was published 30 years after the first (Michael R. Rogers, *Teaching Approaches in Music Theory: An Overview of Pedagogical Philosophies* [Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004], 53).

[47] Rogers reiterates this point further below: "the study of Bach's chorales or other materials can transcend their narrow slot in history and illuminate a broader range of musical issues" (Rogers, *Teaching Approaches in Music Theory*, 55).

education, instrumental performance, music therapy, or even some non-music subject, one will likely learn music theory through the chorale at some stage.

One such challenge alleges a gap between textbooks and Bach's practices in his four-part chorale settings; while these pieces are "the gold standard in the study of four-part writing and harmony," according to Alexander Sanchez-Behar, "Bach's manner of writing chorales suggests, at times, a greater latitude toward counterpoint principles than is found in current textbooks."[48] The authors of a "manifesto" on music theory instruction, moreover, find that reliance on Bach's chorale settings do not—no longer?—adequately reflect the range of backgrounds and goals of present-day music student; while they acknowledge that "Bach-style, four-part writing has long been presumed the primary source for skills in tonal harmonic practice," they write with respect to the employment of Bach's chorale settings for instruction that "the effectiveness of this approach and the narrow horizons toward which it aims need to be carefully assessed from a contemporary, creative vantage point."[49]

Challenges to the chorale's prominence in American music theory were particularly on display at a session the 2019 annual meeting of the Society of Music Theory entitled "Corralling the Chorale: Moving Away from SATB Writing in the Undergraduate Music Theory Curriculum."[50] This session featured six talks on various aspects of the chorale's place in music-theoretical instruction, from the institutional pressures related to the field's focus on voice-leading to suggestions on how to decenter the chorale or replace chorale-style part-writing with

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[48] Sanchez-Behar, "Looking Forward, Looking Back: Reconsidering the Study of J. S. Bach's Chorales in the Undergraduate Curriculum," *Bach* 49, no. 2 (2018): 330, https://doi.org/10.22513/bach.49.2.0330.

[49] Ed Sarath et al., *Transforming Music Study from Its Foundations: A Manifesto for Progressive Change in the Undergraduate Preparation of Music Majors*, 2016, 36.

[50] Information on the session may be found at https://guide.societymusictheory.org/sessions/fri/evening/coralling-the-chorale. A video recording of the session itself may be viewed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-TGc7SO4jMI.

Neo-Riemannian voice-leading in a curriculum.[51] This well-attended session spurred several

discussions, including one in the Society's discussion forum, SMT-discuss, that invited

consideration of a possible session on the same topic at the 2020 Annual Meeting.[52] A colloquy

of essays based on the session was also published in the *Journal of Music Theory Pedagogy*.[53]

Apart from indicating the growing resistance among American music theorists of reliance on

chorales, these papers also illustrate the range of factors that contribute to maintaining the

chorale's special position in American music theory. Interestingly, the authors unwittingly

display another sign of the idiosyncrasies of the chorale's use in music theory: they most often

use the term "chorale" to refer to four-part vocal part-writing or voice-leading with no direct

connection to the German religious genre.

Yet in the face of increasing challenges to the chorale's privileged position in American

music theory, several authors have risen to its defense. In arguing for the value of teaching part-

writing, for example, Diane Follet asserts that "the Bach chorales are ideal teaching tools and

perfect models for four-part writing."[54] A more concerted case for the use of Bach's chorale

settings in undergraduate instruction comes from Derek Remeš, who outlines a method of part-

writing instruction that "has its roots in the most traditional of sources: J. S. Bach's chorales."[55]

While Poundie Burstein, like Follet, defends "those boring, arcane part-writing exercises," as he

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[51] This session also featured work that I present in Chapter 4 of the present investigation.

[52] This discussion may be viewed at https://discuss.societymusictheory.org/discussion/507/corralling-the-chorale-moving-away-from-satb. The mention of a possible session at the 2020 annual meeting may be found in Richard Cohn's contribution in this discussion. To my knowledge, these considerations have not yet materialized in any conference sessions or publications.

[53] See Chelsea Burns et al., "Corralling the Chorale." *Journal of Music Theory Pedagogy* 35 (2021): 3–79.

[54] Diane Follet, "Tales from the Classroom - Why Do We Part Write?," *Journal of Music Theory Pedagogy E-Journal 2013-2017* 1, no. 1 (2013): 9, digitalcollections.lipscomb.edu/jmtp_ejournal/vol1/iss1/1.

[55] Derek Remeš, "Chorales in J. S. Bach's Pedagogy: Recasting the First Year Undergraduate Music Theory Curriculum in Light of a New Source," *Journal of Music Theory Pedagogy* 31 (2017): 66. This work was spurred by a reappraisal of a manuscript that Robin Leaver believes may preserve a stage of Bach's instruction: see Robin A. Leaver, "Bach's Choral-Buch?," in *Bach and the Organ*, Bach Perspectives 10 (University of Illinois Press, 2017), 16–38, https://doi.org/10.5406/illinois/9780252040191.003.0002.

sardonically calls them, he also observes the aforementioned gap between such exercises and

Bach's four-part chorale settings: "part-writing exercises rarely come even close to exhibiting the

sophistication and complexity of Bach chorales," and instead more closely resemble hymns.[56] In

other words, challenges to aspects of chorale-based approaches have begun appearing within the

pro–voice-leading camp.

Beyond the consideration of the chorale in present-day American music theory, there

remains the question of how chorales' ubiquity—and specifically that of J. S. Bach's settings—

came about. In one study, Christoph Wolff documents the institutionalization of "the Bach

chorale" in nineteenth-century Germany; he calls this genre "an unquestionable concept" and "a

salient phenomenon as early as the eighteenth century," one enjoying a "quasi-timeless

validity."[57] He also summarizes the transformation that produced this genre:

> they [Bach's chorale settings] were 'rescued' into a practice having [a?] different
> function by the separation of the chorales from their original context in cantatas,
> Passions, and oratorios. As a matter of fact, the context of original practice became
> irrelevant. It was the exemplary representation of a technique of [part-]writing that
> became more significant.

Matthew Dirst also acknowledges the special status of Bach's chorale harmonizations in his

essay "Inventing the Bach chorale." Building on Wolff's contentions, Dirst writes of "the

revitalization of a genre, not by a composer actively trying to create something new, but instead

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[56] Poundie Burstein, "Those Boring, Arcane Part-Writing Exercises," *Gamut / Music Theory Society of the Mid-Atlantic* 9 (2020): 5.

[57] Christoph Wolff, "On the Recognition of Bach and 'the Bach Chorale': Eighteenth-Century Perspectives," in *Bach: Essays on His Life and Music* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1991), 386. This essay is an amalgam of two earlier essays: the first part was presented under the title "Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte Bachs im 18. Jahrhundert," and the second part was presented under the title "Bachs vierstimmige Choräle. Geschichtliche Perspektiven im 18. Jahrhundert," both in 1985: see Christoph Wolff, *Bach: Essays on His Life and Music* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1991), 435 ("Postscript"). Wolff also refers to "the early recognition of Bach's universal significance" (385) and his chorale settings' "quasi-timeless validity" (386). In these and other places in the essay, it is difficult to separate encomium from analysis.

by the posthumous elevation of his work to the status of 'unquestionable concept';" as Dirst summarizes, "posterity, in short, invented the Bach chorale."[58] Painting a rich picture of the context in which the earliest editions of these pieces were published, Dirst also accords special attention to their visual presentation, emphasizing their "contrast with virtually all previous chorale publications" and "their atypical format and unusual character." Drawing the same conclusion as Wolff and Christensen, Dirst writes that "neither the Birnstiel nor the later Breitkopf editions of the Bach chorales were intended to accompany singing…instead, these editions provided material for abstract study."[59]

Also warranting discussion here is the preface to the most authoritative critical edition of these pieces—that of the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* (NBA), since it identifies many of the aspects highlighted in the historical studies just mentioned. To be sure, given their unusual origins and nature, these pieces challenge the genre of the critical edition: while the harmonizations are of Bach's creation—even if the melodies are not—the editors of the first edition of these pieces reconstituted them. Further, Frieder Rempp, the NBA volume's editor, observes that attributions of harmonizations to Sebastian Bach are "not always unequivocal in detail" and perhaps can be assigned to his "workshop"; the NBA edition ultimately offers "a historical stratum of Bach's chorales, a stratum that can be considered typical for the reception of these settings in the second half of the eighteenth century."[60] Rempp, too, emphasizes the pieces' notational disposition, identifying three features that "characterize" them: 1) a reduction of the texture to two staves, 2)

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[58] Matthew Dirst, "Inventing the Bach Chorale," in *Engaging Bach: The Keyboard Legacy from Marpurg to Mendelssohn*, Musical Performance and Reception (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 37. The term "unquestionable concept" comes from Wolff's essay just mentioned.

[59] Dirst, "Inventing the Bach chorale," 47. In another article, Dirst writes of "the longstanding preference among Bach devotees for works that could be studied and savored on one's own and shared with like-minded enthusiasts": Matthew Dirst, "Early Posthumous Printed Editions," in *The Routledge Research Companion to Johann Sebastian Bach*, ed. Robin Leaver (New York: Routledge), 464, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315452814.

[60] Frieder Rempp, "Preface," in *Choräle und Geistliche Lieder Teil 2. Choräle der Sammlung C.P.E. Bach nach dem Druck von 1784-1787*, ed. Frieder Rempp, vol. 2.2, 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, n.d.), vii.

the omission of any texts, 3) and "instrumental" notation—that is, the notation does not reflect any text's declamation.[61] Furthermore, he reads into this notation to ascertain their function:

> Judging from their appearance, the chorales have been taken out of the context of their liturgical environment, and have correspondingly also been understood primarily as didactical works since the publication of the first edition in 1765 by Birnstiel, Berlin. They no longer serve, or only to a very limited extent, the spiritual edification in ecclesiastical or private environments. They are primarily considered models of four-part writing, and they were obviously collected as such by C. P. E. Bach and others.[62]

This is a succinct statement of these pieces' conception in the earliest editions, as well as their employment in present-day music theory, even if Rempp does not pursue these notions further.

These historical studies of Bach's four-part chorale settings offer a valuable point of departure for the present investigation: apart from acknowledging the unusual importance for music theory of Bach's chorale settings, they highlight significant aspects of their constitution, including the role of Bach's circle after his death in constituting these pieces, the importance of notation in this constitution, and their intended function as models of part-writing. Yet these studies assume—and in some cases explicitly state—that Bach's chorale settings went on to enjoy prominence in this guise indefinitely; moreover, their accounts drop off partway through the nineteenth century, thus omitting important parts of this history—including the transmission of this conception of Bach's chorale settings to the United States, to mention the most obvious. This attitude toward Bach's chorale settings may be how a scholar of R. Larry Todd's

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[61] Ibid., vi.
[62] Ibid.

distinction, for example, can erroneously read Bach's chorales—as well as Johann Philipp

Kirnberger's teachings—into Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's training.[63]

Considerations of the chorale in music theory are notably absent in many other historical

studies of topics connected to the chorale. Somewhat surprisingly, in light of the chorale's

ubiquity in and importance for present-day American music theory, several full-length studies of

the transmission of German music theory to the United States omit consideration of the chorale

outright.[64] Literature examining the American reception of German cultural products does touch

on the chorale, to varying degrees. Several studies document the reception of Sebastian Bach's

music in the United States report on Bach's chorale settings, including their first printing, early

opinions of their intended function, and efforts to adapt them to English texts.[65] In his survey of

over 230 mid–nineteenth-century American tune books and hymnals, David W. Music describes

a gradual increase in awareness of Bach's music, and particularly heavy reliance on his chorale

harmonizations.[66] The author also briefly reflects on Americans' attempts to reckon with these

pieces and their purpose—what their intended instrumentation is and how their notation came to

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[63] R. Larry Todd and Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Mendelssohn's Musical Education: A Study and Edition of his Exercises in Composition: Oxford Bodleian Ms. Margaret Deneke Mendelssohn C. 43*, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 9 (see also 2, 8, 26, as well as Todd's biography of R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 4, 38–39, 44).

[64] See Elam Douglas Bomberger, "The German Musical Training of American Students, 1850–1900" (University of Maryland College Park, 1991); Leonard Milton Phillips Jr., "The Leipzig Conservatory: 1843–1881" (Indiana University, 1979); and David M. Thompson, *A History of Harmonic Theory in the United States* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1980), and in particular Chapter 1, which discuss German theorists Ernst Friedrich Richter, Godfrey Weber, and Immanuel Faisst, and Chapter 2, which discusses Percy Goetschius, who studied in Stuttgart with Immanual Faisst.

[65] J. Bunker Clark, "The Beginnings of Bach in America," in *American Musical Life in Context and Practice to 1865*, ed. James R. Heintze, Essays in American Music, vol. 1 (New York: Garland, 1994), 340–41. Karl Kroeger, "Johann Sebastian Bach in Nineteenth-Century America," *Bach* 22, no. 1 (1991): 33–42; Barbara Owen, "Bach Comes to America," in *Bach Perspectives: VOL. 5: BACH IN AMERICA*, ed. Stephen A. Crist (University of Illinois Press, 2002), 4–6, https://doi.org/10.5406/j.ctvvng36.

[66] David W. Music, "Early Bach Publications in United States Tune Books and Hymnals," *Bach* 47, no. 2 (2016): 48.

bear.[67] In none of these articles, however, does the author examine how American music theorists relate to these pieces.

An aspect of the history of the transmission of German music theory to the United States that has received particular attention is that of Schenkerian theory, derived from the work of Viennese music theorist Heinrich Schenker. Several substantial studies exist, including William Rothstein's examination of Schenkerian theory's "Americanization,"[68] Robert Snarrenberg's documentation of rhetoric in the appropriation of Schenker's theories by his followers,[69] and David Carson Berry's three rich investigations—one on Hans Weisse, the earliest known proponent of Schenker's theories in the United States;[70] another on Adele Katz, a student of Weisse's;[71] and a third on the interaction of Schenker's "method" with calls for an "objective" music theory.[72] The chorale is almost completely absent from these studies; only Berry in his essay on Katz observes the author's heavy reliance on J. S. Bach's chorales when she outlines Schenker's view on tonality.[73] This absence is all the more striking given present-day Schenkerians' reliance on these pieces in their textbooks, including those of Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, Burstein and Straus, and Laitz, as seen above.

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[67] Ibid., 72–74.

[68] William Rothstein, "The Americanization of Heinrich Schenker," *In Theory Only* 19, no. 1 (1986): 5–17.

[69] Robert Snarrenberg, "Competing Myths: The American Abandonment of Schenker's Organicism," in *Theory, Analysis, and Meaning in Music*, ed. Anthony Pople (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 30.

[70] David Carson Berry, "Schenker's First 'Americanization': George Wedge, the Institute of Musical Art, and the 'Appreciation Racket,'" *Gamut / Music Theory Society of the Mid-Atlantic.* 4, no. 1 (2011): 143–230.

[71] David Carson Berry, "The Role of Adele T. Katz in the Early Expansion of the New York 'Schenker School,'" *Current Musicology*, September 29, 2002, No 74 (2002): 103–51. https://doi.org/10.7916/CM.V0I74.4907. See also Robert W. Wason, "From Harmonielehre to Harmony: Schenker's Theory of Harmony and its Americanization," in *Essays from the Fourth International Schenker Symposium*, ed. Allen Clayton Cadwallader, vol. 50, Studien und Materialien zur Musikwissenschaft (International Schenker Symposium, Hildesheim: Olms, 2008), 185 ff, for a discussion of the presentation of Schenker's *Harmonielehre* for the United States market.

[72] David Carson Berry, "Schenkerian Analysis and Anglo-American Music Criticism in the 1930s: A Quest for 'Objectivity' and a Path Toward Disciplinary Music Theory," *Theory and Practice* 41 (2016): 141–205. For a summary of the establishment of Schenkerian theory in the United States, see David Carson Berry, "Schenkerian Theory in the United States. A Review of its Establishment and a Survey of Current Research Topics," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Musiktheorie 2*, no. 2–3 (2005): 101–37. See also Cook, *Schenker Project*, 275–81.

[73] Berry, "The Role of Adele Katz," 130.

One other recent development warrants mention here. In a plenary address at the 2019

annual meeting of the Society for Music Theory, Philip Ewell argued that the field of music

theory is fundamentally racist.[74] Ewell's main contention was that the field exhibited a "white

racial frame." According to this notion, developed by Joe Feagin, race inheres in a discourse's

epistemology, and thus pervades that discourse.[75] Ewell argued the presence of a white racial

frame through its demographics and its award and publications history—but perhaps most

convincingly, through the theories of Heinrich Schenker, one of the field's most cherished

theorists. In this latter analysis, Ewell showed how Schenker's insistence on tonal hierarchy and

the subjugation of certain of a work's notes to others is a mirror image of his views on race,

which amount to white supremacism. Ewell followed this address first with a six-part series of

blog posts[76] and then an article, both of which elaborated the plenary address.[77] In the meantime,

the *Journal of Schenkerian Studies* solicited responses to Ewell's original address, the

publication of which issue in July, 2020 unleashed a host of strong reactions that—unusually for

the field—garnered attention from beyond the bounds of music scholarship.[78] While the field of

American music theory has taken steps to respond to Ewell's observations, it also continues to

grapple with them.

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[74] The plenary, entitled "Reframing Music Theory," was organized by Project Spectrum, an initiative devoted to increasing diversity in professional music research, and featured presentations by Philip Ewell, Yayoi Uno Everett, Joseph Straus, and Ellie M. Hisama. For more information, see https://projectspectrummusic.com/events/past-events/2019-participation/.

[75] Joe R. Feagin, *The White Racial Frame: Centuries of Racial Framing and Counter-Framing*. 3rd Ed., Routledge, 2020.

[76] Philip A. Ewell, *Music Theory's White Racial Frame: Confronting Racism and Sexism in American Music Theory* (blog), accessed 30 May 2018, https://musictheoryswhiteracialframe.wordpress.com/.

[77] See Philip A. Ewell, "Music Theory and the White Racial Frame," *Music Theory Online* 26, no. 2 (June 2020), https://doi.org/10.30535/mto.26.2.4.

[78] The issue of the *Journal of Schenkerian Studies* in question may be found at https://untpress.unt.edu/catalog/3867. Among the reactions to this issue should be highlighted a statement made by the Executive of the Society for Music Theory: see https://societymusictheory.org/announcement/executive-board-response-journal-schenkerian-studies-vol-12-2020-07.

Ewell's argument relates to the present investigation in that the chorale may offer another concrete example of music theory's white racial frame. On a superficial level, chorale settings by J. S. Bach—a white, western European man composing for a white Protestant setting—represent approximately one-ninth of all musical examples in undergraduate music theory textbooks. On a deeper level, theorists have largely understood these pieces, and the chorale in general, as embodiments of music-theoretical principles with universal validity. While it will not be possible to flesh out in the present investigation the racial aspect of the chorale's role in American music theory, I hope at least to bring to light the powerful role that the chorale plays in American music theory and how it came to occupy this role.

Across music theory literature, then, a lacuna comes into focus. The chorale clearly plays an important role in American music theory; it appears in a variety of contexts, and it serves a critical function in illustrating "musical structure." More intriguingly, this deployment of the chorale stretches back to the earliest editions of Bach's chorale settings. While some have acknowledged the chorale's important role, there exists no thorough-going study of this role, either in present-day American music theory or back through the genealogical lines of the discipline originating in Germany. Moreover, some misconceptions surrounding the chorale have grown up in the history of music theory—such as Kirnberger's supposed influence on later theorists and the ubiquity of chorales in the generation of music theorists who came after. Several key questions demand to be investigated: Just how widespread is the use of chorale in present-day American music theory? What is it used for, in what contexts, and for what reasons? And from where did the conception of the chorale as an image of musical structure derive, and how was it maintained? These are the questions that I address in the present dissertation.

Chapter 2 Conceptual Framework: Chorales as Musical Works vs. Music-Theoretical Objects

In this chapter, I lay out a conceptual framework for this dissertation. This framework consists of a polarity between chorales as musical works and chorales as a music-theoretical objects. I illustrate this polarity through a comparison of two notated versions of a chorale, J. S. Bach's setting of the sixth verse of the chorale "Treuer Gott, ich muß dir klagen," one the composer's fair copy and the other a musical example in an undergraduate music-theory textbook. Through this comparison, I show how the editorial decisions made in presenting the version in the textbook amount to the constitution of a music-theoretical object. The notion of chorales as music-theoretical objects underlies this entire dissertation: it is at the heart of the conception of the chorale that I identify in American music theory and whose history I trace in Chapters 5 to 9.

As mentioned, I use the fair copy score to represent a musical work and the musical example to discuss the notion of music-theoretical object. The suitability of these two artefacts for the function I call on them to serve differs. The first risks a common but clearly problematic conflation: that of musical works with musical scores.[1] I take this approach for two reasons. First, because the music-theoretical object I discuss is constituted through a visual artefact—

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[1] This conflation is evident in the use of "the music" to refer to a musical score, for example, and occurs in music-theoretical discourse in particular in discussions of musical examples. Roman Ingarden lucidly delineates these two concepts in Chapter 3 of his *The Work of Music' and the Problem of Its Identity*, ed. Jean G. Harrell, trans. Adam Czerniawski (University of California Press, 1986). I derive my understanding of the concept of musical work from Ingarden's book. Also to consult is Lydia Goehr's *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

specifically through a caption and musical notation—it is convenient to compare it to a like artefact, one similarly constituted through caption-like titles and musical notation. Second, there is a historical dimension: the musical example may be considered as a modification of the fair copy score, albeit it filtered through any number of intermediaries.[2] To be sure, Bach's fair copy is not the only musical score that would have served this purpose: a performance score or critical edition, as in the previous chapter, would have also served well. But—and this is the third reason—it has the benefit of inviting the reader into the circumstances of the work's conception and reminding the chorale's origins.

2.1 Chorale Harmonizations as Musical Works

In this section, I discuss a chorale harmonization by J. S. Bach in its status as a musical work. The aspects that I bring to light with this discussion should be familiar, if not banal, constituting features that one typically takes for granted with respect to musical works. I nevertheless bring these aspects to light here because of how music theorists modify or omit many of these aspects with respect to Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations. This section thus will serve as a basis of comparison for the following section, in which I bring to light these very modifications and omissions.

The chorale harmonization that I discuss here is Bach's setting of the sixth verse of the chorale "Treuer Gott, ich muß dir klagen" as it appears in his cantata "Höchsterwünschtes Freudenfest" (BWV 194). To explore the piece as a musical work, I examine Bach's full-score fair copy of the cantata and the soprano part of the cantata. The fair copy illustrates aspects of

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[2] I discuss several of these intermediaries in Chapters 5 through 8.

Bach's own conception of the work, as well as accounting for the entire ensemble used in the

work and featuring indications of the context for which the piece was composed; the soprano

part, moreover, interprets aspects of the first from the perspective of a performer in the

ensemble.[3] In the discussion that follows, I proceed from larger-scale issues, like the context

within which this piece was first performed, to more detailed issues, such as details of

instrumentation.

Before examining these two scores, it is worth considering their original function. Bach's

fair copy would have served a number of purposes, three of which I will highlight here.[4] First, it

represents a final layer of the work's composition, and the compilation of any earlier versions of

the work or parts thereof.[5] Second, it served as a basis from which Bach's copyist prepared

individual parts for the ensemble.[6] Third, while these respects reflect the score's role in Bach's

conception and composition of the work, Bach may have conducted the work from this score.[7]

With regard to the soprano part, the second score that I discuss, this served for rehearsal and

performance by either an individual singer or—more likely—a small group of singers on the

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[3] As Laurence Dreyfus writes with respect to Bach's cantata "Dazu ist erschienen der Gottes" (BWV 40), "the parts, much more than the autograph score, disclose details that help to reconstruct the original performance" (Laurence Dreyfus, *Bach's Continuo Group: Players and Practices in His Vocal Works*, Studies in the History of Music 3 [Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1987], 7).

[4] For more on Bach's compositional process and the extant written record's witness to this, see Robert Lewis Marshall, *The Compositional Process of J. S. Bach: A Study of the Autograph Scores of the Vocal Works*, Princeton Studies in Music, no. 4 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), particularly Chapter 1, "The General Nature of the Bach Autographs: Manuscript Types and Their Combination."

[5] In general, few materials witnessing earlier phases of Bach's compositional process are extant, as Robert Marshall observes (*Compositional Process*, vii). In the present case, Bach borrowed movements 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9 of this cantata from what Alfred Dürr calls "a secular congratulatory cantata" that the composer wrote while in Cöthen, of which only a few instrumental parts survive (Alfred Dürr, *The Cantatas of J.S. Bach: With Their Librettos in German-English Parallel Text*, trans. Richard Douglas Jones [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006], 719).

[6] Alfred Dürr describes the process of preparing parts for Bach's cantatas in Dürr, *Cantatas of J. S. Bach*, 48–50.

[7] There remain several areas of unclarity regarding Bach's role in the performance of his cantatas—whether he played an instrument during it and/or whether he conducted, among others. For a discussion of many of the issues surrounding this topic, see Dreyfus, *Bach's Continuo Group*, especially chapter 2, "The Organ and the Harpsichord." Dreyfus summarizing the situation thus: "it does not seem unreasonable to conclude that, at one time or another during his Leipzig career, Bach played all the possible roles in directing his ensemble—hand-waving conductor, principal violinist, and continuo harpsichordist" (ibid., 32).

same part.[8] As mentioned, this score was prepared by a copyist—in this case, Johann Andreas Kuhnau, one of Bach's students at the school of the Thomaskirche in Leipzig—from the work's fair copy.[9] In the process, moreover, Kuhnau rendered explicit Bach's fair copy—in this case, filling out the text for which Bach supplies only the incipit.
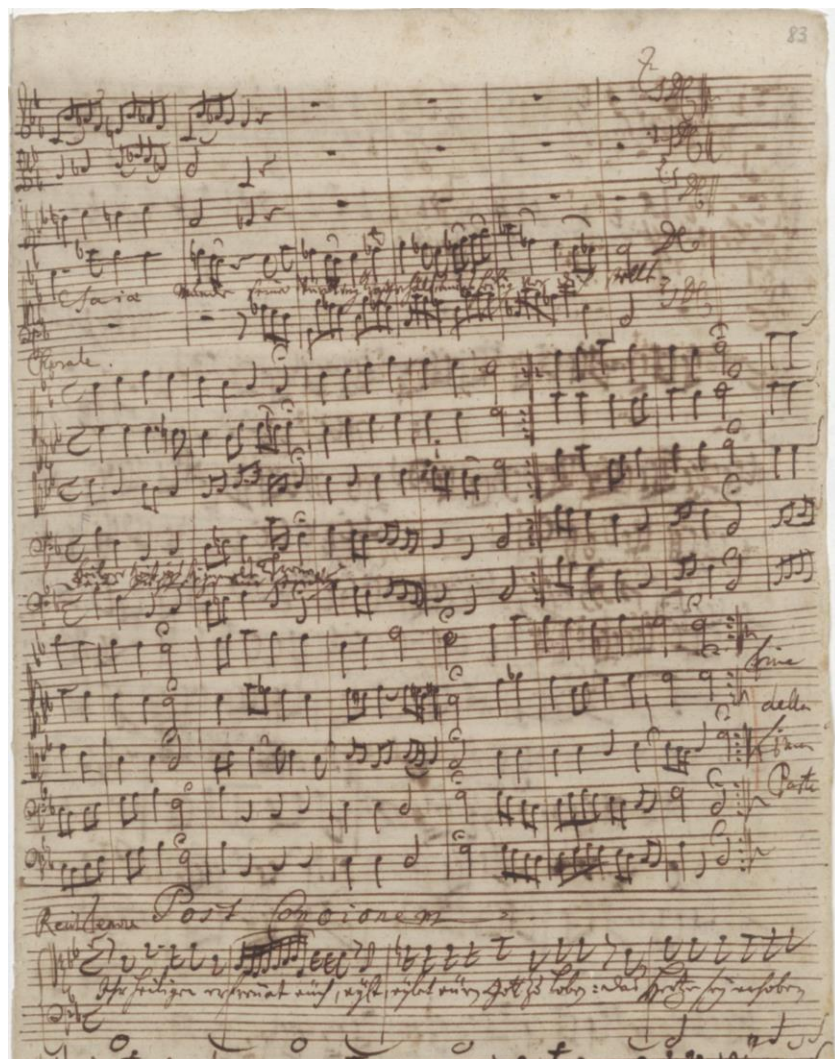
Figure 10: Fair copy of chorale harmonization "Heilger Geist ins Himmels Throne"; in J. S. Bach, cantata "Höchsterwünschtes Freudenfest" (BWV 194). D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 43, Faszikel 3 (source: Bach digital).

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[8] For a summary of the rehearsal and performance of Bach's cantatas, see Dürr, *Cantatas of J. S. Bach*, 50–52.
[9] Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM), "Höchsterwünschtes Freudenfest" (no. 467204800; accessed 30 May 2018), https://opac.rism.info.

It is immediately clear from examining the fair copy of the chorale harmonization in question that it is merely one movement in a multi-movement work: the movement is buried within the score, as the musical material preceding and following it in Figure 10 illustrates.[10] Also, Bach has labelled the movement "Chorale"; in the context of the larger work, where other movements are labelled with other genres—the previous movement "Aria", the following "Recit. Tenore"—this label makes clear that the chorale harmonization is but one genre of movement in a work that comprises a variety of such genres.[11] The chorale harmonization also evidently plays a significant role in the larger structure of this work, as the indication "end of the first part" ("Fine / della / Prima / Parte") following it indicates. Bach's fair copy bears numerous indications of the context in which the cantata participated. A note on the first page, for example, reads, "For the dedication of the organ in Störmthal." [12] Evidence of some connection to this liturgical service is also visible closer to the chorale harmonization of interest here: the note following this chorale setting, "After the sermon" ("Post Concionem"), indicates that the service's sermon intervened between this chorale harmonization and the movement that follows it. The broader context for which this work was prepared therefore goes beyond the mere aesthetic to the devotional, and this note specifies the precise occasion and location for which the work was created.

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[10] In identifying this as a fair copy, I follow the assessment of Frieder Rempp, who reports that this manuscript "predominantly exhibit the character of a fair copy" ("Sie [die Handschrift] zeigt überwiegend Reinschriftcharakter (Gebrauchsschrift)," even if movements 7 to 9 and 11 more exhibit characteristics of a composing score (Frieder Rempp, *Critical Commentary*, series 3. Motetten, Choräle, Lieder, vol. 2/2 Choräle und geistliche Lieder, Teil 2: Choräle der Sammlung C.P.E. Bach nach dem Druck von 1784–1787, *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1996), 100). For the distinctions *Reinschrift* and *Gebrauchsschrift* with respect to Bach's autographs, see Marshall, *Compositional Process*, 3–6.

[11] It is unclear to me why Bach spells the genre "Chorale" here, since the German term would be "Choral"—which indeed is how his copyist identifies the genre in the parts—and does not correspond to the term's orthography in another language. Both orthographies may be found in other of Bach's autographs.

[12] The note reads, "Beÿ Einweihung der Orgel in Störm Thal." This event took place on November 2, 1723. Peter Wollny speculates that the work may in fact have been first performed a few days earlier, on October 31, 1723: see Peter Wollny, "Neue Bach-Funde," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 83 (1997): 8–50.

An examination of the chorale harmonization's notational disposition reveals more details about the movement. Several features working together indicate that the instrumentation for this movement is a four-part SATB choir with basso continuo. To begin with, the movement is set on five staves, and the four upper staves, each of which contains a single musical line, bear clefs associated with a four-part choir consisting of soprano, alto, tenor, and bass parts. While in a printed edition, vocal parts would have a text on each staff, Bach contents himself here to simply include two incipits, "Heilger Geist ins Himmels Throne" ("Holy Spirit on the throne of heaven") and "Deine Hülfe zu mir sende" ("Send Your help to me"), and these only between the fourth and fifth staves. These incipits easily suffice to cue the copyist on what text need be added to the parts. The content of these incipits, given the invocation of the deity, also reinforces the liturgical and devotional nature of the movement, as well as lending a sense of their affect—an expression of confidence and unity.[13] As for the fifth and bottom-most staff, this staff is also notated in bass clef, and the musical material on it closely follows the part above it, departing only in subtle details.[14]

One detail that the chorale's notation hides is the doubling of the movement's vocal parts by the rest of the ensemble. The cantata's title page indicates that, beyond a "four-voice choir and organ," these instruments include three oboes, two violins, and a viola ("á 3 Hautb: 2 Violini, Viola è | 4 Voci. col Org"). While the full score offers no indication of these instruments' participation in the chorale, once again, stylistic conventions come to bear: in Bach's cantatas, most, if not all, of the available forces typically play the chorale too, as may be

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[13] These two stanzas are the sixth and seventh stanzas of the chorale "Treuer Gott, ich muss dir klagen" ("Faithful God, I must lament to you") by Johann Heermann, first published in 1630.

[14] To be sure, interpreting this notational disposition as a four-part SATB choir plus continuo does not occur in a vacuum: this interpretation is also guided by expectations, whether those pertaining to chorales in general—after all, Bach indicates the movement's genre at its start, and the fermatas every two or three measures are idiosyncratic to chorales—or of Lutheran cantatas, or of Bach's cantatas in particular. This interpretation satisfies not only the notational conventions mentioned, but also stylistic expectations.

discerned from the orchestral parts of cantatas. The composer's reason for not indicating their participation here—or in other of his autographs for cantatas—presumably owes partly to how habitual the practice was.[15] Kuhnau's copying of parts also confirms, moreover, the vocal conception of the parts in the full score: whereas he carries over the readings in the full score to the vocal score "verbatim," when copying the instrumental parts he makes slight alterations—above all, rebeaming and the addition of slurs. Such differences are already visible in the full score, to be sure, if one compares the vocal bass and the continuo lines: where there are four consecutive eighth notes in their shared line (bb. 3, 7, 11, and 12), for example, Bach beams them as two pairs in the former part—to reflect that these correspond to two of the text's syllables—but as a string of four eighth notes in the latter, since the continuo does not observe the text's syllables.[16]
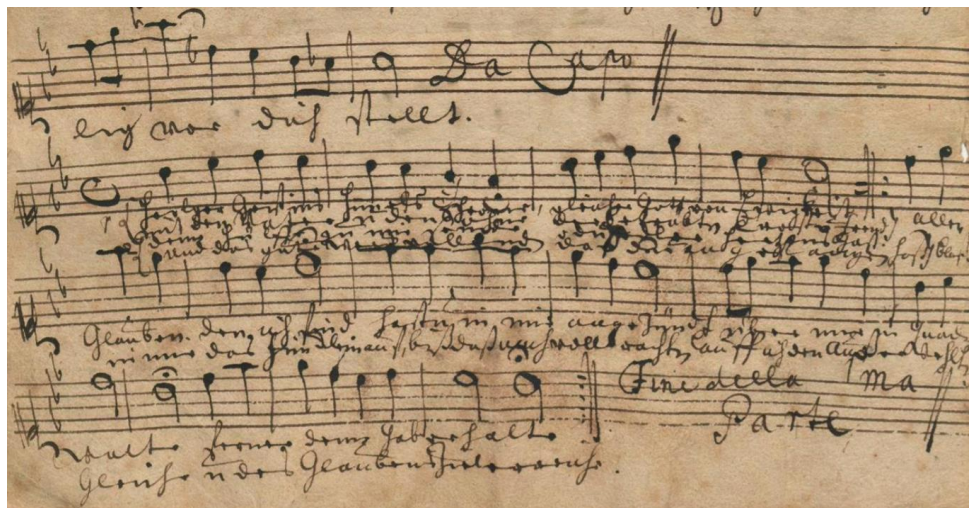
Figure 11: Soprano part from chorale harmonization, "Heilger Geist ins Himmels Throne," in cantata J. S. Bach, "Höchsterwünschtes Freudenfest" (BWV 194). D-B Mus.ms. Bach St 48, Faszikel 1 (source: Bach digital).

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[15] The situation here is slightly more complicated than usual, in that the third oboe part has a line in this movement largely independent from the tenor line, which it otherwise would double, "on grounds of compass—the instrument is pitched too high to double the tenor part" (Dürr, *Cantatas of Bach*, 720). This line is not found in the composing score, as Figure 10 shows. Where this line enters in the Oboe III part, Bach takes over from his copyist Kuhnau, which suggests that Bach composed this part relatively late in the process. Dreyfus reports on Bach's corner-cutting strategies for preparing parts under tight time constraints: see Dreyfus, *Bach's Continuo Group*, 8.

[16] See, for example, Figure 10, bb. 3, 7, 11, and 12.

Many of the indications found in the full score are also found in the soprano part (Figure 11). Kuhnau has labelled it "soprano" on the first page, and the chorale harmonization's participation in a larger musical work is obvious from the musical material that precedes and follows it, as well as the note "end of the first part" ("Fine della 1ma / Parte") that appears immediately following the movement. While Kuhnau does not indicate the movement's genre "chorale" in this particular part, this appears to be an oversight, since he includes this indication in other parts; but of course, the movement's being a chorale would have been obvious by other means, such as the fact of this part containing the chorale tune.

Heilger Geist ins Himmels Throne,	Holy Spirit on the throne of heaven,
Gleicher Gott von Ewigkeit	Equal God from eternity
Mit dem Vater und dem Sohne,	With the Father and the Son,
Der Betrübten Trost und Freud!	Comfort and joy of the sorrowful!
Allen Glauben, den ich find,	All the faith that I find
Hast du in mir angezündt,	You have kindled within me;
Über mir in Gnaden walte,	Rule over me in Grace,
Ferner deine Gab erhalte.	Further preserve Your gift.
Deine Hülfe zu mir sende,	Send Your help to me,
O du edler Herzensgast!	O You noble Guest of the heart!
Und das gute Werk vollende,	And complete the good work
Das du angefangen hast.	That You have begun.
Blas in mir das Fünklein auf,	Fan into flame in me that little spark
Bis daß nach vollbrachtem Lauf	Until after my course is finished
Ich den Auserwählten gleiche	I become like the chosen ones
Und des Glaubens Ziel erreiche.	And attain faith's goal.

Figure 12: Text from chorale harmonization, "Heilger Geist ins Himmels Throne," in cantata J. S. Bach, "Höchsterwünschtes Freudenfest" (BWV 194); translation modified from Dürr, *Cantatas of J. S. Bach*, 716–17.

While the soprano part of course features the same musical material as in the full score—imitating, moreover, its disposition with a soprano clef—it departs from the full score by including the entirety of the text to be sung. Whereas this text was not necessary to include in the

full score, as discussed, it is of course vital for the singer(s) using this score. As a consequence of Bach including two stanzas of this chorale instead of the more usual single stanza, the soprano part is unusually crammed—particularly in light of the generic convention of repeating the music of the first line to a different text (the *Stollen*); as a result, there are four lines of text in the part's first line.[17] Yet the copyist has nevertheless been careful with the underlay, still aligning the text's syllables with the corresponding notes, according to notational conventions. The presence of the entire text also reveals the message this movement conveys: in the first verse—the original chorale's sixth—the believer acknowledges his reliance on the Holy Spirit and asks for further protection and strength, and in the second verse—the original chorale's seventh—asks for sustenance to lead his life in faithfulness to its end (Figure 12). With its mixture of gratitude for God's faithfulness and entreaty for its continuance, as well as the implied request that it be applied to the organ being dedicated, this movement offers a fitting close to the cantata's first half. All of these features in the soprano part, then, both confirm and supplement the reading of the full score outlined above, reflecting the chorale harmonization's being embedded in a larger, sung musical work created for a specific liturgical celebration.

2.2 Chorale Harmonizations as Music-Theoretical Objects

In this section, I discuss Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations as musical examples in American music-theory textbooks. Textbooks afford a helpful view of American music theorists' handling of these pieces, as the number of musical examples of any kind in these books is large enough to observe patterns across them, and Bach's chorale harmonizations in particular occur in

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[17] Accordingly, the instrumental parts contain the note "2mahl" ("twice"), despite the presence of a repeat mark at the end of the setting.

substantial number. My aim here is to describe how these pieces come to be constituted as music-theoretical objects through authors' editorial decisions about their visual presentation as musical examples. My principal example is the chorale setting that I discussed in the previous section, Bach's setting of the sixth verse of "Treuer Gott, ich muß dir klagen" as in his cantata "Höchsterwünschtes Freudenfest" (BWV 194), but I will also briefly consider two other chorale harmonizations in order to illustrate some variations in textbook authors' practices.[18] This discussion falls into two parts, following the typical anatomy of musical examples: their captions and their notation. I begin with captions, since one of their functions is to introduce the musical example to the reader and contextualize the portion consisting of musical notation. I show that authors' handling of captions contributes to constituting Bach's chorale settings as music-theoretical objects largely through omitting information connected to the context within which they originated—but also, in some cases, by adopting as the source for pieces a collection of chorales rather than a larger musical work. The result of these practices is a severing of the piece represented in the musical example from the context within which it originated. I also show that authors use notation to this same end largely by disposing the piece's musical texture ambiguously with regard to conventions for instrumentation.

2.2.1 Captions

In this section, I discuss the captions of musical examples of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations as they appear in American music-theory textbooks. I begin with some general

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[18] The musical examples that I discuss in this section all derive from textbooks that American music theorists rely on most for teaching required undergraduate music-theory courses, as shown by a questionnaire I conducted in 2018. The questionnaire, which I discuss in Chapter 3, yielded ten textbooks, with the five most popular of these accounting for 94.6% of textbook usage.

considerations about captions' purpose and their typical elements, following which I discuss

some of the common ways in which authors handle captions for Bach's chorale settings. I show

here that authors' omission of any indication of the context within which these pieces originated

contributes to their constitution as music-theoretical objects. Where authors do include

information about a piece's origins, it is instead relative to a collection of chorale

harmonizations. But this decontextualization is also evident in authors' omission of cues to

settings' original liturgical function, as well as of information about an excerpt's position within

a chorale harmonization as a whole.

Broadly speaking, captions serve to introduce a musical example and to provide reference

information for it. As mentioned above, the notion of "example" is related to that of "sample,"

where an example is an excerpt from a larger whole for which it stands. In this sense, the

provision of reference information is simply due diligence, and a caption resembles a

bibliographical citation: if readers wish to look up the larger work from which an example was

extracted, the caption permits doing so without difficulty. But in introducing an example, a

caption also frames it in important ways. This framing is particularly important because a

musical example often omits important information about the musical work from it is extracted.

Most obviously, this omitted information includes the rest of the work, since such musical

examples overwhelmingly are excerpts from larger works and not entire works.[19] But other

relevant features of a work are also frequently omitted, such as its length or instrumentation, or

whether it contains multiple movements. Additionally, such musical examples are often

"reductions" of the larger work, whereby lines are adjusted—often by changes of register—or

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[19] Occasionally, authors will present a very short work for the very reason that they may thus present a work in its entirety; see, for example, Rose Rosengard Subotnik, "How Could Chopin's A-Major Prelude Be Deconstructed?," chap. 2 in *Deconstructive Variations: Music and Reason in Western Society* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), where the author discusses Chopin's 16-bar Prelude in A major.

omitted outright, as discussed in the previous chapter. In such cases, a caption may offer valuable information about an excerpt prior to its having been reduced.

Captions of musical examples typically consist of several elements: the composer's name, the title of the work from which the example is excerpted, the work's opus number (or other catalogue information), the location within a piece of the excerpt in question, and which movement the excerpt comes from, if applicable.[20] In most of American music-theory's printed productions, the provision of the information in the captions of musical examples is straightforward and routine: authors simply provide this information according to how it is presented on the performance score from which the excerpt was extracted.[21] But in the case of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations, authors' practices are variable, and the variations are revealing of authors' conception of these pieces. This is particularly true with respect to the second element I mention above, the title of the larger work, but there are also some suggestive aspects of the others. Of the elements named above, I will discuss the composer's name, the title of the work, and the identification of the excerpt's location within the piece in question.[22]

The identification of the composer of a musical example is typically a straightforward affair. Yet with respect to Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations, one detail of authors' practices bears noting: authors frequently abbreviate the composer's name to simply "Bach,"

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[20] Musical examples may also include information about the phenomenon that authors call upon the example to illustrate. I do not consider this element in the below discussion, as, unlikely the other elements, it does not come to bear upon the identification of the work. I do, however, consider the type of phenomena that authors call upon chorales to illustrate: see Chapter 4 below.

[21] American music theory's typical citational practices are breaking down as the field expands beyond the Western art music canon; for example, questions of authorship become complicated when the musical work cited is a cover of popular-music song: under the "composer" category, should an author list the tune's original composer or the group that covered it?

[22] I do not discuss the identification of catalogue number, as most authors of textbooks do not provide this information—although see n.26 below. I do not discuss the identification of movement number as most authors of textbooks do not identify the larger work from which a given chorale setting derives, and thus information about movement number would have no reference point.

omitting his given names (Figure 12).[23] This practice is noteworthy because there are, of course, multiple composers with the surname "Bach" in the canon of tonal music with which American music theorists are most preoccupied—above all, his three sons Wilhelm Friedemann, Carl Philipp Emmanuel, and Johann Christian. This omission is all the more conspicuous given that one of these, Carl Philipp Emmanuel, himself published chorale harmonizations, and it suggests that they take it for granted that Johann Sebastian is the author of a cited chorale harmonization—the first sign of a routine approach to presenting these pieces.[24]

Figure 13: Chorale harmonization by J. S. Bach as presented in Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*, 202.

The most variable element of captions of musical examples presenting Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations is the reference to the piece's title. Authors typically list one or more of

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[23] While by the time of writing this dissertation, there existed a fifth edition of Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader's textbook, it was not yet in print at the timing of compiling data for Chapter 4; for the sake of consistency, then, I limit myself to discussing the fourth edition.

[24] The entry for Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach in the *Grove Music Online* lists six entries in the list of his repertoire under the category "Chorales": Christoph Wolff and Ulrich Leisinger, "Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/. To be sure, authors also often omit Bach's given names in other musical works of his authorship. This fact presumably reflects his importance for American music theorists relative to other composers bearing this surname and is not on its own indicative of the special status of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations, even if it is clearly related to this status.

the following: a genre, a number, and an incipit.[25] The first combination I will consider is where

authors identify these pieces with a genre and a number (Figure 13). This practice is noteworthy

for several reasons. First, the authors' use of a number here suggests that the ultimate origin of

the piece from which the excerpt is taken is a collection of like pieces—and not, notably, the

larger work within which the chorale setting originated. In the case of Figure 13, this larger work

is a cantata, although other works from which Bach's chorale harmonizations are extracted

include his Passions and oratorios. By omitting reference to these larger works, then, authors

omit the numerous other contextual dimensions; taking the case of the chorale harmonization

discussed in the previous section, the relevant context includes the performing forces deployed,

the cantata's liturgical function, the specific occasion for which it was written, all of the musical

and thematic relations between this movement and others, and so on. The consequences of this

omission are therefore considerable: absent all of these contextual clues, the piece is at least

made ambiguous in all these respects, if not appearing as "absolute music"—which it originally

was anything but, as the previous section showed. But identifying this piece with a number is

noteworthy for another reason: there exist various collections of Bach's chorale settings, and

some of these collections number their constituent settings differently—and indeed some include

settings that others omit. For a number cited like this to have any meaning, then, authors would

need to name the collection that they have in mind. Nevertheless, the authors of the textbook

from which Figure 13 is taken never name a collection; as such, the caption of this example does

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[25] Occasionally, authors will identify chorale settings by their position in the Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis (BWV), the catalogue of Bach's works. This is the practice of Miguel A. Roig-Francolí, in his *Harmony in Context*, as well as authors of research articles. In many cases, the BWV number in question refers to a larger work, like a cantata, but in a large number of cases, it refers to the chorale setting in itself—above all, when the only extant version of the setting is found in the earliest editions of Bach's chorale settings (which I discuss in Chapter 5 below). The latter group of chorale settings constitute BWV 250–438.

not satisfy its bibliographical function, surprisingly.[26] Either the authors feel confident that readers will not need this information or—a confidence remarkable given that their audience is early-stage undergraduate students—or the authors are reflecting a routine evidently long established, or both.[27]

Figure 14: Chorale harmonization by J. S. Bach as presented in Clendinning and Marvin, *The Musician's Guide to Theory and Analysis*, 232.

Another way in which authors identify Bach's chorale harmonizations is by an incipit alone (Figure 14). This practice reflects a long-standing convention with chorales: naming an incipit conjures up the tune in question. The implementation of this practice for musical examples featuring Bach's chorale settings is curious: for this practice to be effective, readers would need to know in the first place that this was a chorale, and the example offers no explicit indication of this. Without this knowledge—that again, early-stage undergraduate students likely

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[26] The closest the authors come to citing their source for these pieces is when they in one place mention "Bach's 371 chorales" (Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*, 93), but the degree to which this narrows down the candidates would only be evident to readers familiar with the considerable extent of collections of these pieces.

[27] The authors do not explicitly name the level of student to which they target their textbook, but that this is an early stage may be surmised by the fact that the textbook begins with basic music-theoretical concepts like key, scale, and intervals.

will not have—it is unclear how precisely the text relates to the excerpt. If it were an incipit, one would expect to find words in the score as well, which are not there. In this light, the most logical conclusion that someone unfamiliar with the tradition would draw is that the text constitutes an inspiration for the work—perhaps in the manner of a tone poem, or as the work's thematic content, as a character piece. Thus, with this practice, too, authors apparently assume that readers will be familiar with the tradition in which the example participates, and therefore have no qualms about omitting critical information about the piece. It should also be noted here that the practice of identifying chorale settings via an incipit, like that of doing so with a number, omits any mention of the cantata within which the setting originated. Unlike identifying the setting via a number, however, it does not even situate the piece within a collection; the piece exists on its own, marooned from any context of a larger repertoire.

Before moving on from this practice, however, the relation between the text by which authors identify the harmonization in question and the text that Bach originally set warrants consideration. These texts are typically different. As mentioned above, chorales have throughout their history been identified by their incipits. Yet chorales may have numerous stanzas, and so the chances that the text that Bach sets with a given chorale harmonization is the first stanza— that is, the one from which the incipit derives—are comparatively low. Consequently, the text by which authors identify a given setting is in most cases not the text that Bach originally set. The chorale setting in Figure 14 exemplifies this: while the authors identify this setting with the text "Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh' darein," the text that Bach set with this harmonization is "Das wollst du, Gott, bewahren rein," the beginning of the chorale's sixth stanza.[28] This difference

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[28] The larger work for which Bach originally set this chorale tune is his cantata, "Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh' darein" (BWV 2). That the text by which the authors identify the setting in Figure 14 matches the cantata's title owes to the fact that it is a chorale cantata, which are also conventionally identified by the incipit of the chorale in question.

reflects a more basic dissonance in identifying settings by means of the chorale's conventional name: this practice suggests that the authors' interest is in the chorale qua chorale, or specifically in the tune. But this is obviously not the case: the authors are interested in the harmonization—as, for example, indicated by their attributing the piece to Bach, and the fact that their discussion of the piece revolves around not the melodic attributes of the tune but its harmonization. Their interest in the tune is only as a cantus firmus; for the purposes to which they put the tune, it could be any melody with similar musical features.

A final relevant aspect of authors' practice of identifying Bach's chorale harmonizations by means of an incipit is the fact that authors typically do not translate the incipit in question. This practice is noteworthy because, as I show in Chapter 4, authors typically translate texts in their other musical examples, whether texts in the piece's title or texts for singing provided in the score. By not translating the incipits by which they identify Bach's chorale harmonizations, authors forgo a potential cue to the liturgical origins of these pieces, since many of these incipits exhibit religious themes. Untranslated, these texts can have only limited meaning for the majority of undergraduate readers, who most likely will not understand German. In fact, they may not even recognize the language of these incipits as German. What these incipits would signal, then, is simply that the origins of these settings are foreign. In summary, forgoing the translation of the incipit likewise participates in the severing of chorale settings from the context within which they originated.

Figure 15: Chorale harmonization by J. S. Bach as presented in Burstein and Straus, *Concise Introduction to Tonal Music*, 255.

The final element of captions to mention here is the location in the larger piece of the excerpt presented.[29] While the examples discussed above all included this information in some respect, authors more commonly omit it (Figure 15). By omitting this information, authors withhold another detail that would contextualize the excerpts that they present and help readers locate excerpts in larger musical works. Another consequence of this practice is increased ambiguity: providing information about a given passage's location in the larger piece would help contextualize the excerpt and provide a sense of the larger work's scale. This ambiguity is particularly pronounced in the case of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations, since their relatively regular texture does not alone provide clues to this type of information, as pieces with a greater textural diversity would.[30]

In summary, then, while authors cite Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations in multiple ways, their practices exhibit some striking similarities. Most noteworthy is the complete severing

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[29] To be sure, this information can be offered elsewhere than in captions; in Figure 14, for example, the authors include this information among the notational elements. I discuss it in conjunction with captions because it relates more closely to the function of captions.

[30] With a sonata, for example, it is easier to guess an excerpt's formal location based on different aspects of its texture—for example, how tightly knit or loosely knit it is, to use William E. Caplin's theories of musical form (*Classical Form: A Theory of Formal Functions for the Instrumental Music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1998]).

of the examples from the larger works within which they originated, whether through omitting

mention of these larger works, identifying the excerpt according to a text other than the one Bach

originally set, or failing to translate the text they provide, where applicable. What indications

authors do include by way of introducing these pieces offer a partial context to replace the one

from which the chorale has been severed: where authors identify chorale settings by a number,

they imply the existence of a larger body of chorales—even if they provide no further

information about this collection—and where authors identify chorale settings by an incipit, they

participate in a traditional practice for chorales—even if this misleadingly implies interest in the

melody instead of the harmony, or when the incipit provide more often than not does not

correspond to Bach's original setting of the tune in question. With the latter practice, authors

seem to be tapping into a tradition rather than providing vital information about the piece. Taken

on their own, these practices seem to lend confusion about the pieces being presented. For this

reason, it is necessary to also examine their notation of these pieces—the task of the next section.

2.2.2 Notation

In this section, I discuss the general features of authors' notational presentation of Bach's

four-part chorale harmonizations. My discussion here largely revolves around the chorale

harmonization with which I began above: the first chorale harmonization in Bach's

"Höchsterwünschtes Freudenfest" cantata (BWV 194), which constitutes its sixth movement, and

particularly its presentation by Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader's textbook *Harmony &*

Voice Leading (Figure 13). I compare this score to both Bach's autograph full score (Figure 10)

and the soprano part within which this chorale setting is found (Figure 11). This discussion

proceeds from the most immediately evident details to subtler ones.

Before examining what is present, however, it is helpful to note several absent features, particularly those pertaining to the larger context within which the piece originated. One finds, for example, no indication of the piece's having originated in a larger musical work—and of course even less of the function that the cantata served or the occasion for which it was composed. There are also no explicit indications of the piece's intended instrumentation. In one sense, the absence of such indications is unsurprising: the authors deploy the excerpt to illustrate a particular point or phenomenon—in this case, a particular handling of a IV^6 chord—and presumably such features are not relevant to this phenomenon. Yet the ambiguity about such aspects that these omissions create is also reflected in the way in which the authors notate the excerpt, which differs significantly from Bach's fair copy score examined above.

The most striking difference between Bach's fair copy and the musical example is that while the former is disposed on five staves, the latter is disposed on two. There are several immediate consequences of this change. Besides the musical example being much more compact, its configuration also deemphasizes the trajectory of individual lines and instead emphasizes these lines' relation to one another, particularly in simultaneities. Even more strikingly, however, the texture has lost the implication that it is intended for vocal performance as suggested on the autograph through its disposition of one line per staff, SATB clefs, and text for singing; the disposition on two staves with no text instead resembles a keyboard score, with the upper staff corresponding to the right hand's material and the lower staff to the left hand's material.[31]

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[31] To be sure, a disposition on two staves with treble and bass clefs of music for vocal ensemble is not unheard of; one thinks, for example, of hymn books, which are admittedly a short step from chorales—but which would typically have the text to be sung, either within the musical notation or in its vicinity.

Closer inspection of the example's notation reveals several other departures from the earlier two scores. First, the texture has been reduced from five musical lines to four, with the omitted line being one of the two bass lines—presumably the continuo, to leave four vocal lines.[32] Another noteworthy detail of the texture's disposition is how carefully the constituent lines are delineated: there are two lines per staff, and the authors differentiate them by means of their stems, with upward-pointing stems indicating the upper voice of the two and downward-pointing stems indicating the lower. So carefully are the parts differentiated in this fashion, moreover, that this differentiation is maintained even when doing so requires the considerable use of leger lines, as in the upper line of the lower staff. A comparison of this segment in Bach's autograph, by contrast, illustrates how much better suited the tenor clef is in this regard: Bach needs to use only one leger line (Figure 11). Yet while the musical examples' disposition, with its two staves and treble and bass clefs, most reflects conventions for keyboard music, the texture itself does not satisfy this impression: only the largest human hand would be able to play the widest spans in the lower staff—like the perfect twelfth, for instance—which, according to notational conventions, the player should play with their left hand. To be sure, the higher notes in the lower staff's upper line could be played with the right hand; but the existing notational technology to indicate this—such as temporarily notating the line in the upper staff and indicating the shift with a line, or L-shaped signs bracketing the affected notes, or the words "*mano destra*" indicating use of the right hand—are not used. The authors' main goal instead seems to be the delineation of parts, and they seem unconcerned with performance

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[32] Because both lines are identical in the passage excerpted, it is impossible to know which line the authors preserve; yet as I show in Chapter 5, the presumption I make here—logically, I believe—does not necessarily hold true: the collection from which the authors draw this piece often incorporates the continuo line over the vocal bass where these lines differed.

considerations. Finally, such a homophonic texture is unusual in keyboard music, particularly where lines are so clearly differentiated visually.[33]

The last details of this example's notation to which I will call attention relate to the chorale's text and the fermatas. As noted above, the musical notation includes no text. Among all of the notation's details, this detail may undermine a vocal conception the most; for, in the absence of a text for singing, on what are performers supposed to sing the piece? There is no indication. With regard to fermatas, it is remarkable that despite omitting so much information in the original score, the authors yet retain fermatas. Interestingly, the practical value of fermatas was already a figment of the past in Bach's time, as their presence in chorales related to early printing practices, and their presence served no more than to mark the genre as a chorale.[34] That the authors of this musical example nevertheless retain these fermatas suggests that they are stylizing their example as a chorale—as with identifying settings via incipits, reproducing practices by routine rather than for their own inherent utility.

In summary, substantial changes have been made from Bach's autograph version of this chorale and the version presented as a musical example in an undergraduate textbook, and these do not clarify the ambiguities created by the caption by which the authors introduce the work. If anything, these changes introduce additional confusion: the musical texture is compacted onto two staves with treble and bass clefs from a four-line score with SATB clefs and the text for

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[33] To be sure, such homophonic textures do occur in keyboard music—but above all as a topic, and the effectiveness of this topic indeed depends on its being unusual. Interestingly, the chorale has so pervaded music theory culture that some authors have called the hymn "chorale" even when it occurs in Chopin's music: see Eileen M. Watabe, "Chorale Topic from Haydn to Brahms: Chorale in Secular Contexts of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," PhD diss. (University of Northern Colorado, 2015), 126–30; see also Jeffrey Kallberg, "The Rhetoric of Genre: Chopin's Nocturne in G Minor," *19th-Century Music* 11, no. 3 (1988): 253.

[34] See David Schildkret, "Toward a Correct Performance of Fermatas in Bach's Chorales," *Bach* 19, no. 1 (1988): 21–27. Schildkret concludes his considerations by observing that fermatas "represent nothing more than aids to the eye which facilitate matching the words to the notes, the eighteenth-century manifestation of a tradition that stretches back to the earliest printing of chorales," adding that Bach included fermatas in his chorale-based musical works "as a matter of course, even though they conveyed no specific musical information" (ibid., 24).

singing is removed, all of which is suggestive of keyboard music—but the texture is not idiomatic for the keyboard, and moreover the authors seem more concerned with delineating the parts visually and forgo indications of how it should be played on a keyboard. Neither does the caption with which authors identify the piece clarify the issue of instrumentation: the genre "chorale," where indicated, would suggest that the piece is vocal—but there is no text for singing; and where an incipit—albeit misleading, as discussed—is offered, it is unclear what this would correspond to. In short, the result does not fit neatly into an existing set of conventions. So what do these changes amount to?

The most productive way to consider the result is as a music-theoretical object. By "music-theoretical object," I mean something that has been selected for music-theoretical ends, particularly study and contemplation. In the case of Bach's chorale harmonizations, these objects are musical examples, and through editorial decisions reflected in the examples' caption and musical notation, they are optimized for contemplating harmony and voice-leading. They are optimized by omitting any reference to context for which the chorale setting was originally composed, which would distract from observing harmony and voice-leading, and by compacting the musical texture onto two staves from the four, each of which had a different clef. They are also optimized for visually following individual musical lines' trajectory by carefully distinguishing the two lines on a given staff via stem direction and maintaining them on their assigned staff assiduously, even when doing so requires leger lines. And they are optimized for contemplation in that the notation does not support a particular instrumentation; the notational disposition evades instrumentation conventions, and instead seems to seek visual clarity of harmony and voice-leading relationships. The relationships in question are the trajectories of the four individual lines on an individual basis, the interaction of the four lines, and specifically the

simultaneities that arise among them. In fact, this disposition matches in all essential respects the "chorale style" described in the previous chapter, which similarly is optimized for observing harmony and voice-leading relationships, has no regard for musical or extra-musical context, and is not intended for a specific instrumental rendering—and this is no accident.

2.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described two approaches to representing chorale settings by J. S. Bach, one that reflects its status as a musical work and the other the constituting of a music-theoretical object. This constituting is effected by a host of editorial decisions, such as omitting indications of broader musical and extra-musical context, identifying the chorale by reference to a larger but anonymous body of chorale settings, compacting the score onto two staves, removing a text for singing, and carefully delineating the musical lines. I have occasionally attributed the decisions to the authors from whose textbooks I draw evidence—and it is true that they, along with their editors, exercise agency in these aspects; but I have also indicated not only that their practices are representative of the field of American music theory, but also that these practices seem to reflect a tradition entrenched in the field. In the next two chapters, I will closely examine the field's attitudes, practices, and beliefs connected to chorales, and in the following four chapters, I explore the history of the handling of Bach's chorale settings along these lines.

Chapter 3 Survey: The Chorale in Present-Day American Music Theory

In this chapter, I offer an account of the chorale in present-day American music theory through the results of a survey that I conducted in 2018. This survey consisted of two parts: a questionnaire and follow-up interviews with selected participants. My goal was to investigate the extent to which practitioners of music theory use chorales: how many use them and how often, for what purposes and activities, and in conjunction with what topics.[1] I also investigate practitioners' motivations for using chorales, as well as what value, both music-theoretical and extra-music-theoretical, they perceive in chorales. A sociological approach to investigating these matters is helpful for several reasons. To begin with, it affords a picture of practitioners' everyday practices, to which an examination of printed texts—to take an example of music theory's most common site of inquiry—may not bear witness. This approach is particularly helpful given how hidden—if in plain sight—the chorale has remained to date; some of the most suggestive data concerning the chorale arise in practitioners' informal speech or in beliefs that they have only partially interrogated, and a large collection of these sentiments permits the identification of general patterns. Finally, this approach permits the development of a rich backdrop against which the remainder of this investigation—beginning with the examination of printed texts in the chapter that follows the present one—may be compared. Developing such a

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[1] I use the term "practitioner" in this chapter—as opposed, for example, to "music theorists"—to include those who may not self-identify as music theorists but who nevertheless practice music theory in some respect, such as composers, instrumentalists conscripted to teach music theory, and so on, my goal being to represent the field as broadly as was feasible. The invitation to participate in the questionnaire upon which this chapter is based was made specifically to "anyone who practices music theory—whether as an instructor, as a researcher, or in some other capacity," and clarified that "respondents need not be primarily a music theorist to participate." The IRB code for this survey is HUM00142264.

broad view of the subject is particularly important in order to properly assess the chorale's prevalence.

One result of my survey is evidence that the chorale indeed plays a significant role in American music theory.[2] This is certainly true in instruction: a large number of respondents use the chorale to some degree in their teaching, and many use it for multiple topics, particularly those relating to harmony and voice-leading. Practitioners use chorales with particular frequency in early-stage instruction, and specifically in the transition from abstract principles to actual repertoire. They also conceive of the chorale as exemplifying harmonic and voice-leading principles that can in turn be generalized to tonal music in general. The chorales that respondents prefer are overwhelmingly the harmonizations of J. S. Bach, although they do occasionally use chorales by other composers and of different types. Respondents report their main motivations for using chorales in instructional contexts as relating to their musical qualities more than "external" factors like disciplinary tradition or institutional pressures; however, respondents also report the inclusion of chorale harmonization in admission materials for undergraduate and graduate programs and, to a greater extent, in placement examinations. While practitioners use chorales most in instruction, some also incorporate them in their personal research. In this realm, practitioners mostly use chorales incidentally, and—as with instruction—as an exemplar of principles of tonal music. Not all respondents consider chorales suited to these music-theoretical activities, however. Some respondents consider the prominence of chorales as reflective of the field's exaggerated preoccupation with harmony or with an emphasis on tonal, common-practice repertoire. Others find chorales too unlike other musical repertoire to be of value for study, given

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[2] As I discuss in this chapter's conclusion, the data collected in this survey may well have become outdated in the short time since I obtained it. Since the extent to which it may be so is not wholly clear, I frequently use the present tense in this chapter in my statements about the field, but the reader should bear this caveat in mind.

that they play at most a minimal role in most musical cultures. Finally, respondents believe

chorales to be firmly rooted in American music theory and representative of an older and

persistent approach to music theory.

In presenting the results of this survey, I proceed through the survey data largely in the

order of topics as they appeared in the questionnaire (Appendix A).[3] The first major section deals

with chorales in music theory instruction, the second with chorales in research, and the third with

respondents' views on chorales' value in general.[4] To begin with, however, I briefly discuss the

survey's methodology, including how the data were collected and processed, as well as

respondents' demographics.

3.1 Methodology

I begin with methodological considerations. The present discussion addresses the

survey's overall design. Because the type of data often differed from one section of the survey to

the next, I discuss the methodology of each section later, in the discussion of the section in

question, with the exception of a topic of a discussion of coding and topic extraction here.

Best practices in sociological research dictate that investigators consider potential models

from prior research according to which new investigations may be shaped. In the present

investigation, this posed some difficulties, as few models for sociological research in music

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[3] Appendix A offers a visualization of the questionnaire. Because the questionnaire was online and dynamic, the version in Appendix A omits some of its features—for example, the fact that answering certain questions in the negative entails skipping entire sections (discussed in the methodology section)—and thus only imperfectly represents the questionnaire. There are also some irregularities in font sizes in the visualization of Appendix A, as well as a stray title ("Block 8") that did not appear in the electronic version.

[4] Certain portions of the questionnaire I discuss out of order: I postpone discussion of the data concerning textbooks to the next chapter, for example, and I discuss data concerning admissions materials and placement examinations in the section on motivations in the present chapter. For the sake of efficiency, I also incorporate certain responses in sections other than the one in which they arose. Owing to the open-ended nature of the interviews, data from these interviews does not appear in the sections constituting quantitative analysis.

theory exist. The few that do exist have emerged from music theory instruction and generally deal with topics relating to undergraduate music-theory curriculums.[5] While certainly the present investigation considers several aspects of instruction, its scope is not limited to instruction; it explores the gamut of respondents' music-theoretical activities—instruction, research, or other activities. Moreover, the present investigation also distinguishes itself in its focus on a single topic across these music-theoretical activities—namely, the chorale.

In what follows, I discuss first the questionnaire and then the interviews, since the interviews emerged from the questionnaire, both in the sense that all interviewees were first of all respondents and that the interviews further probed interviewees' answers in the questionnaire. I finish this section with a discussion of the coding and topic extraction performed below.

3.1.1 Questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of five parts. The first three were devoted to instruction and were divided into three different instructional contexts: Part I targeted courses required of all music majors, Part II electives for music majors, and Part III courses for non–music majors. My goals in adopting this division were, respectively, to capture early-stage instruction, more advanced undergraduate instruction, and instruction to non-specialists.[6] Part IV, by contrast, was devoted to "other music-theoretical activities," and Part V to the respondents' institutional

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[5] See, for example, Elizabeth West Marvin, "The Core Curricula in Music Theory: Developments and Pedagogical Trends," *Journal of Music Theory Pedagogy* 26 (2012): 255–63; Marvin, "Music Theory Pedagogy Curricula"; Murphy and McConville, "Undergraduate Core Curriculum"; Snodgrass, "Current Status." These examples suggest an increasing interest in sociological methods in music theory, as the earliest of these publications—the first listed—was published in 2012. See Murphy and McConville, "Undergraduate Core Curriculum," 178–80, for a discussion of other sociological studies comparable to it.

[6] As several respondents pointed out, this scheme did not cover all possible categories of instruction that a post-secondary music program might offer; the most obvious category of courses omitted here, for example, is courses required of some music majors. The decision to include only these three categories reflects an attempt to offer a representative cross-section of music instruction, not a comprehensive one.

affiliation, if any. The majority of the questionnaire's questions appeared under Parts I and II. In general, questions relating to instruction were more quantitative and systematic while those relating to research were more open-ended. In addition to the principal questions in each section, opportunities for additional comments—consisting of a prompt entitled "additional comments" and a blank field—were sprinkled liberally through the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was designed and executed on Qualtrics survey software.[7] Respondents needed not respond to every question. For certain questions, if a respondent entered a negative response, they would automatically skip several related questions that followed; for example, at the beginning of each of Parts I to III, respondents were asked whether they taught classes of the type to which each part corresponded, and a negative answer caused them to automatically skip that entire part. In addition, very few questions required a response in order to pass to the next question: respondents could skip every question but these.[8] As a consequence, even respondents who made it to the end of the survey could have left many questions unanswered. While this approach can reduce survey attrition and fatigue, it also mitigates meaningful comparisons between portions of the questionnaire. As a consequence, I largely omit such comparison below. More detailed aspects of question design are provided below, in the discussion of specific questions.

The questionnaire was distributed on March 12, 2018 and was available until March 28, 2018. It was distributed on the listservs of the major societies for music scholarship in the United States—the American Musicological Society (AMS), the Society for American Music (SAM),

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[7] Respondents were also given the option to complete the questionnaire in hard copy, although no respondent availed themselves of this option.

[8] The questions that required a response are the three at the head of Parts I to III, as just mentioned, plus the question as to whether the respondent was willing to participate in a follow-up interview.

the Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM), and the Society for Music Theory (SMT)[9]—as well as

a listserv for music theory pedagogy (Music Theory Pedagogy Interest Group of the SMT) and a

social-media group (the Society for Music Theory Graduate Students Facebook Group). The

questionnaire was introduced with a short message explaining its purpose. This message also

clarified that the questionnaire's audience was "anyone who practices music theory"—that is,

regardless of whether would-be respondents self-identify as music theorists. The intent was to

capture post-secondary music-theoretical activity in the broadest possible sense.

In total, the questionnaire yielded 213 responses. To render the returned data usable for

this survey's purposes, it was trimmed as follows. First, 32 responses were set aside for

originating from outside the United States, this investigation's area of interest. Also eliminated

were an additional 21 responses that had no answer to the question about the respondent's

country, since otherwise verifying their location was impossible.[10] I set the threshold for a usable

response at the completion of a single question within any one of the survey's five parts—that is,

not including the yes/no question that triggered or denied entry into each part—since these

contained meaningful information on the questionnaire's main topic. The imposition of this

threshold eliminated 17 more responses. Various other thresholds could have been applied—for

example, making it to the end of an entire part (135 responses) or of the entire questionnaire (109

responses); but given the relatively low number of responses overall, having a larger corpus with

some incomplete responses seemed preferable to a smaller corpus with more complete

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[9] The names of these listservs are, respectively, AMS-L, Sonneck mailing list, SEM-L, SMT-announce, Pedagogy mailing list. The Society for Music Theory Graduate Students may be found at https://www.facebook.com/groups/35730973014/.

[10] While Qualtrics also recorded respondents' IP address, I considered this information unreliable, given the widespread use of VPNs (virtual private networks). As it happens, all but three of these 21 responses that did not list a country of origin also failed to meet the threshold for complete responses that I imposed.

questionnaires.[11] Moreover, given that responding was mandatory for only a few questions, it seemed reasonable to assume that all responses provided indeed represented respondents' experiences accurately—that respondents did not, for example, answer a given question simply to move to the next. Finally, my omission of cross-sectional analysis also mitigated the need for complete responses. The application of these inclusion criteria left 143 responses.

Several questions concerned demographics. Apart from the question concerning respondents' primary country of music-theoretical activity, these appeared in Part V of the questionnaire ("Music Theory at your Primary Institution"). This information is relatively incomplete, for which there are three probable reasons. First, some respondents abandoned the questionnaire before this point.[12] Second, these questions were not required. Third, because all of the questions in this section pertained to respondents' home institution, those who entered a negative response to the first question in this section ("For your music-theoretical activities, are you affiliated with an institution?") skipped all of these questions. Nevertheless, enough respondents answered the questions to provide some meaningful demographic data, which follows.

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[11] Murphy and McConville make a similar decision in their survey: see their "Undergraduate Core Curriculum," 182.

[12] The goal in placing these questions late in the questionnaire was so that respondents' first energies were devoted to the questions most central to this investigation.
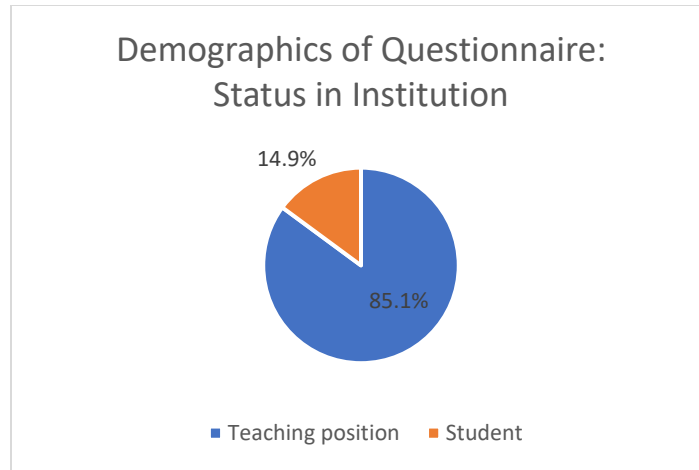
Figure 16: Demographics of respondents according to their status in their primary institution.

To begin with, the large majority of respondents to this question held a teaching position, as opposed to being students: 80 respondents (85.1%) reported holding a teaching position of some variety and 14 (14.9%) self-identified as students (see Figure 16).[13] Among non-student respondents, the distribution was relatively even among ranks: 22 respondents (27.5%) were full professors, 21 associate professors (26.2%), 24 assistant professors (30.0%), 12 adjunct professors (15.0%), and 1 a post-doctoral researcher (1.2%; see Figure 17). Among student respondents, the majority were PhD students, with an even split at six responses each between candidates and pre-candidates (see Figure 18).

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[13] These distinctions are not mutually exclusive, of course: for example, a respondent could both hold a teaching appointment and be enrolled in a degree program. The specification of "primary institution" was intended to capture for which institution a respondent in such a situation was responding. Also, to avoid the proliferation of categories, post-doctoral researchers were here included among instructors in the questionnaire, even though the fit is admittedly imperfect.
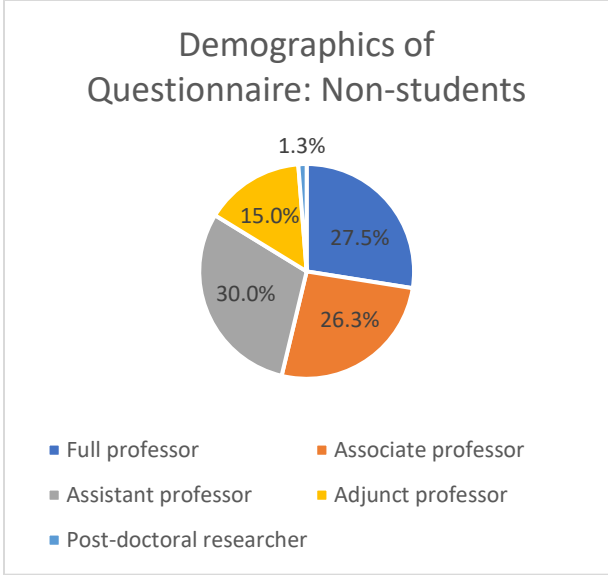
Figure 17: Breakdown of non-student respondents to questionnaire.
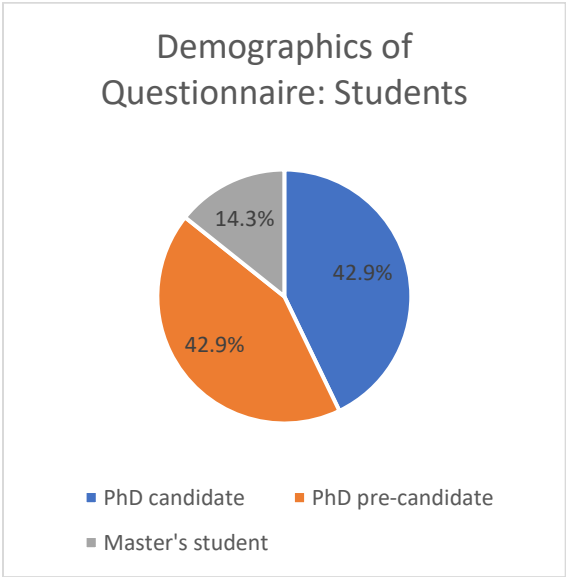
Figure 18: Breakdown of student respondents to questionnaire.

Demographic questions also sought to shed light on respondents' home institution. While the questionnaire included no question about the type of institution with which respondents were affiliated, some information along these lines could be derived through the websites of

institutions that respondents named in the question asking the name of their home institution. In total, 70 respondents (49.0%) answered this question. Figure 19 presents data on these institutions organized according to two categories: departments of music and schools of music or conservatories, the two types of institutions with which theorists are typically affiliated.[14] In total, 40 respondents' (58.8%) primary institution was a department of music and 28 respondents' (41.2%) institution a school of music or conservatory. Another question shed different light on respondents' institutions: the option "we don't have graduate programs" in the question in Part V asking about admissions materials at respondents' institutions. Of the 90 respondents who answered this question, 29 (32.2%) worked in undergraduate-only schools or departments. Of course, these data are not wholly representative: all graduate students will by definition have a graduate program at their primary institution. Thus, more helpful is to remove from this figure the 11 graduate students who answered this question; this done, the number of respondents with no graduate programs climbs to 33 (36.7%; see Figure 3.6).[15]

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[14] Where a given institution described itself on its website using both categories, it has been categorized here—admittedly somewhat arbitrarily—as a department of music.

[15] I omit among demographics discussed here data returned from the question in Part I on how many semesters of music theory respondents' institutions require of undergraduate music majors and the question in Part V on the number of full-time members on music theory faculty at the respondent's institution: as entries to the "additional comments" field accompanying both questions indicated, the different divisions of courses and academic years rendered comparison along these lines a prohibitively complicated endeavor.
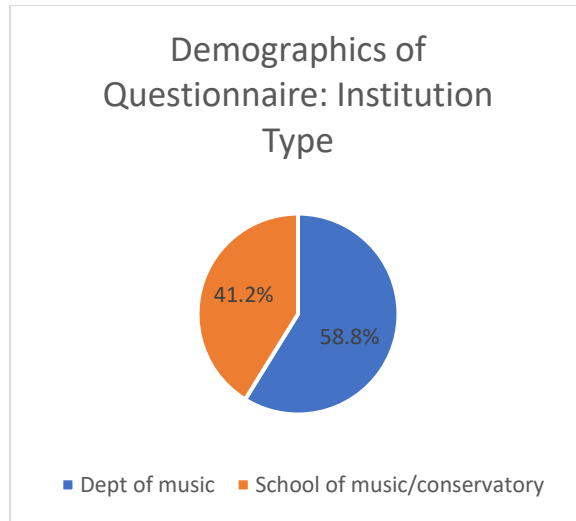
Figure 19: Breakdown of institution types among respondents to questionnaire.
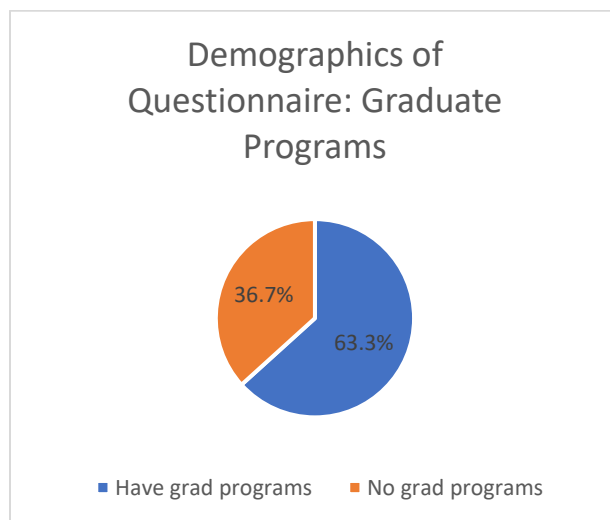
Figure 20: Breakdown of institutions with or without graduate programs among non-student respondents to questionnaire.

In general, these demographics correspond adequately to those of the membership of the Society of Music Theory, the largest body of music theorists: the Society's 2018 report showed 30.0% of respondents to be graduate students, 3.2% undergraduate students, 17.5% full professors, 16.3% associate professors, 15.8% assistant professors, and 13.7% either "limited

term, continuing," "limited term, 1-yr position," or "other."[16] The main difference between the demographics of my questionnaire and those of the Society's membership is that the former incorporates half as many students; all other proportions are similar. With that caveat, my questionnaire should fairly reflect the field of music theory.

3.1.2 Interviews

In addition to the questionnaire, I also conducted interviews with respondents who agreed to one. Respondents agreed to be interviewed through the final question in the questionnaire, which read, "Would you be willing to participate in an interview on the topic of the chorale in music theory?" In total, 36 respondents responded in the affirmative and supplied contact information, and 23 of these ultimately sat for an interview.[17] All 23 interviews were conducted by telephone or video call. Interviews typically lasted between 30 and 120 minutes and were exclusively one-on-one. The goal of these interviews was to extend the findings of the questionnaire—on one hand, by following up on interviewees' answers to the questionnaire, and on the other hand, by pursuing lines of inquiry more suited to an interview format.

Interviews, all of which I conducted myself, were less structured than the questionnaire, since the interview format both permitted this; nevertheless, they all had the same general structure.[18] I first asked respondents to summarize their use of the chorale in their music-

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[16] See Jenine Browne, "Annual Report on Membership Demographics" (The Society for Music Theory, 2018). The Society does not collect information on type of institution or whether respondents' institutions have graduate programs.

[17] All of those that agreed to participate had indicated the United States as the primary country of their music-theoretical activities and had completed an adequate portion of the questionnaire for their questionnaire responses to be deemed usable.

[18] In conducting these interviews, I followed the main points outlined in Auerbach and Silverstein, *Qualitative Data*, including their emphasis on respondents' answers rather than initiating questions, on close adherence to respondents' language, and on flexibility in adjusting to themes that arose.

theoretical activities and then offered them an opportunity to comment further on their questionnaire responses; after this, I asked them follow-up questions on noteworthy points from the conversation thus far. I also asked respondents about their perceptions of the chorale in music theory in general: how widespread its use is, whether its use is increasing or declining, and so on. Interviews focused above all, however, on particularities in interviewees' use of chorales, their motivations for using chorales, the value they saw in chorales, and their perceptions of the field with respect to chorales—matters that by necessity remained relatively unguided in the questionnaire but could be pursued in greater detail in an interview format.
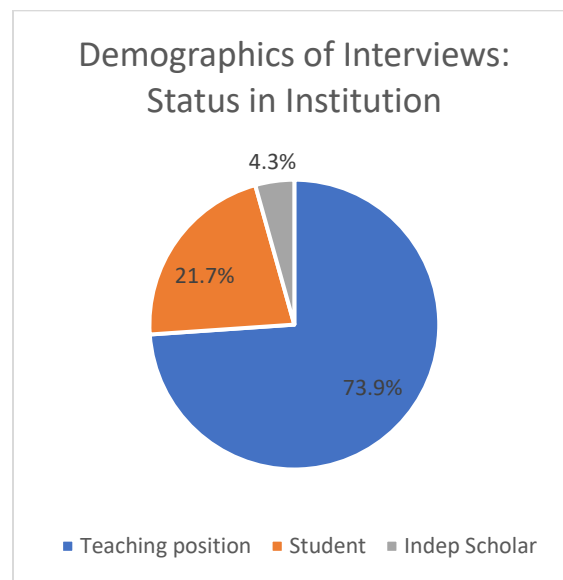
Figure 21: Demographics of interviewees according to their status in their primary institution.

The demographics of interviewees may be tabulated like those of the questionnaire above. The distribution between instructors and students was not dissimilar to the questionnaire, with 17 interviewees (73.9%) reporting holding a teaching position; five (21.7%) were students;

and a single interviewee was an independent scholar (4.3%; see Figure 21).[19] With regard to their primary institutions, interviewees were about evenly split between those working in departments and those at conservatories (Figure 22). Among interviewees self-identifying as instructors of some variety, 70.6% reported not having a graduate program at their institution (Figure 23). As with the questionnaire, then, these demographics suggest that interviewees should afford a fair representation of the field in the categories examined.
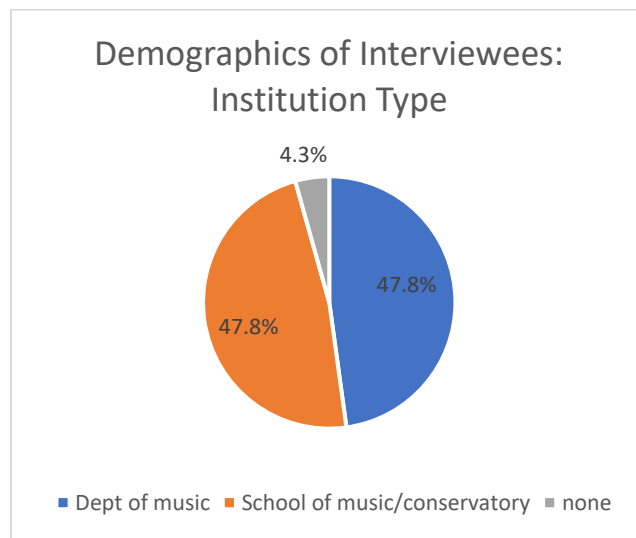
Figure 22: Breakdown of institution types among interviewees.

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[19] Finer-grained distinctions may be found in Figures 22 and 23.
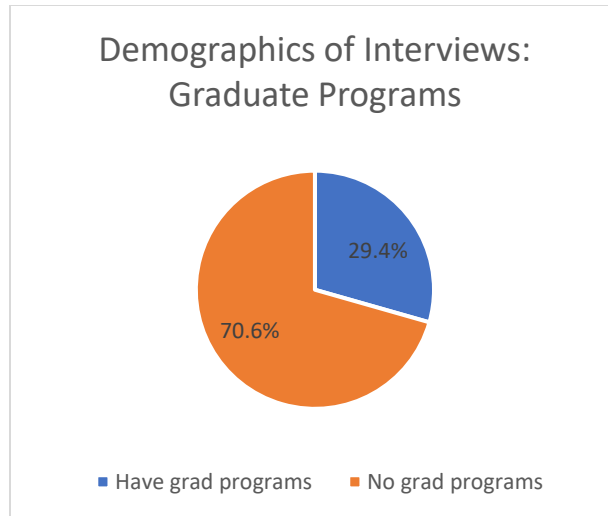
Figure 23: Breakdown of institutions with or without graduate programs among non-student interviewees.

Before moving on, it is worth addressing the possible charge of self-selection in the results of this survey. This possible charge is occasioned by the facts that both questionnaire and interviews were open to any interested party and that the invitation to take the questionnaire announced its topic; the latter factor makes it likely that the survey attracted respondents with a particular interest in the topic and that responses therefore skew to the extremes, whether enthusiasm or distaste for the use of chorales in music theory. But in fact, the discussion below reflects a range of opinions in questionnaire responses, including a healthy number of opinions between extremes. This suggests that the effects of self-selection were in fact minimal. More significantly, however, such a skew would not affect the main goal of this survey—namely, to capture the diversity of views on the chorale prevalent in the field. In this respect, the sample of the field here aligns more with a convenience sample, which is common in qualitative data analysis, than a probability sample, which is more common in quantitative data analysis.[20]

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[20] For more on these concepts, see Carl F. Auerbach and Louise B. Silverstein, *Qualitative Data: An Introduction to Coding and Analysis*, Qualitative Studies in Psychology (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 18–20.

Correspondingly, my aim is to identify recurring themes in their diversity rather than to represent the field proportionally. As a consequence of this approach, however, the extent to which the conclusions that I draw accurately represent the entire field must remain inconclusive.

3.1.3 Coding

In two sections below, I analyze respondents' entries using a technique adapted from the qualitative analytical approach known as "coding." With this approach, an analyst identifies recurring elements that emerge from a sample of statements and seeks to group them into themes and concepts.[21] With the data I analyzed, the sample size was relatively small, deriving from fewer than 100 entries, some of which were as short as a single term. I departed from conventional coding in not producing a codebook to clarify the codes identified. Because most codes constitute the same term that respondents entered, on one hand, and on the other hand, there exists a well-defined technical lexicon in the field, the interpretation of terms typical of qualitative analysis was in most cases unnecessary. This relatively hands-off approach had the benefit of preserving not only the specificity of terms, but also any ambiguities latent in them.

When extracting codes from respondents' entries, the following parameters were applied. To begin with, no limits were imposed on the number of codes that could be extracted from a given entry. Neither were terms weighted—for example, according a lesser weight when a given respondent entered multiple terms versus when a respondent entered only one. In the tallies of codes' occurrences, those that appeared only once were omitted as statistical noise. In addition, compound codes were not double-counted: for example, in a field soliciting musical qualities

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[21] For more on these concepts, see chapter 12 ("Drawing Meaning from the Data"), in Marilyn Lichtman, *Qualitative Research for the Social Sciences* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2017).

that made chorales beneficial to teach with, the code "simple texture" counts only as its own

code and is not counted under either "simplicity" or "texture," two other codes that arose. To be

clear, I do not discuss below all of the codes identified in this section, since their quantity would

render the exercise tedious; instead, I identify themes, and these themes will serve and serves as

a point of departure for a more fine-grained analysis of statements.[22]

3.2 The Chorale in Instruction

In this section, I discuss responses to Parts I and II of the questionnaire, which concern

the chorale in music theory instruction.[23] I begin with instruction because it seeks to convey a

field's most basic doctrines and practices, and the findings in this section should also provide a

illuminating basis of comparison for the other music-theoretical activities discussed in later

sections.[24] The present discussion will essentially follow the trajectory of the questionnaire (see

Appendix A).[25]

3.2.1 Practices of chorale use

I begin by exploring respondents' practices with respect to chorales in their instruction.

My goal here is to establish the extent to which respondents use chorales, the topics in

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[22] All of the topics extracted nevertheless appear in Example 10.

[23] Results from Part III figure little in this chapter, since its sole question concerned what textbook practitioners use for music theory courses for non-majors, and I reserve discussion of textbooks until the next chapter. I limited questions in Part III in this regard because my main interest concerns American music theory in its most holistic sense; courses for non–music majors are—at least, in theory—constrained by students' lack of musical experience and naturally do not constitute part of a richer musical curriculum, such as that designed for music majors. To be sure, examining how music theory presents itself to non–music majors would constitute an interesting investigation.

[24] As Thomas Kuhn writes in the domain of science, textbooks "aim to communicate the vocabulary and syntax of a contemporary scientific language" (Thomas S. Kuhn and Ian Hacking, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Fourth edition [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012], 136).

[25] I do not consider here responses to questions concerning the textbooks that respondents use, as this matter requires separate and detailed consideration—which I undertake in Chapter 4.

conjunction with which they use them, and which chorales in particular they use. I show that respondents use the chorale above all in courses required of all music majors, and particularly in the early stages thereof, although they also incorporate it in more-advanced elective courses. While respondents employ the chorale in conjunction with a remarkable variety of topics, they do so particularly in conjunction with harmony and, to a lesser extent, voice-leading. But the chorale does not monopolize the teaching of these topics; respondents usually supplement its use with other approaches. Finally, although respondents' responses reveal surprising flexibility in their understanding of the term "chorale" in the abstract, when it comes to musical examples, they rely above all on the chorale harmonizations of J. S. Bach.

The data in this section comes from a small series of questions that appeared in both Parts I and II. The first question asked respondents what topics they taught and suggested several: cadence, counterpoint, harmony, instrumentation, phrase structure/form, and rhythm (see Appendix A). Any topic that respondents indicated that they teach appeared on the next page of the questionnaire, where they were asked the extent to which they used chorales to teach each topic they had selected. For this purpose, they were provided a slider and a scale from 0 to 100 to indicate a percentage to represent "time using chorales when teaching the subject." Finally, another page appeared that featured three empty fields, each with a similar slider, whereby respondents could enter topics not listed in the above. None of these questions was required.

I provided in this section an operationalized definition of the term "chorale," for, as will become clear, many senses of the term are employed in music-theoretical discourse. This definition read as follows: "For present purposes, a chorale is 1) the melody of a hymn-like musical composition with Lutheran origins, 2) the four-part SATB harmonization of such a

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melody, or 3) a musical composition that resembles either of the above."[26] With this definition, I

endeavored to capture the main senses of the term current in the field's discourse and hopefully

bring a measure of order to respondents' responses. One drawback of such a pluralistic approach,

however, was that in some cases, it was difficult or impossible to know which sense respondents

have in mind. This difficulty is ultimately not fatal; my main interest in this survey is the culture

of American music theory, and in many cases, specification of what sense of the term

respondents have in mind is not critically important. Indeed, as I explore in Chapter 4, the

slippage between meaning of the terms reveals important aspects of American music-theoretical

culture.

In total, 120 respondents (83.9%) indicated that they taught undergraduate courses

required of all music majors, 59 (43.7%) that they taught elective courses, and 32 (25.0%) that

they taught courses for non-music-majors.[27]

3.2.1.1 Extent of chorale use and suggested topics

With respect to courses required of all music majors, 138 respondents (96.5%) indicated

that they use chorales for at least one of the topics provided—that is, cadence, counterpoint,

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[26] This definition is based on that provided in *Grove Music Online* that I discuss in the introduction, although it casts
the term at once more broadly and more specifically: more broadly in the third option I provide, which does not
appear in the *Grove* definition, but more specifically in the modification "four-part" in the second option I provide
(even though *Grove* provides this texture as an example). I based this adaptation upon observations of the term's use
in above all spoken discourse across the field, deeming that omitting particularly the third option would cause
respondents confusion by excluding a distinct and important use of the term current for American music theorists.
That this third option is current is confirmed over the course of this chapter. As Appendix A shows, I provided this
operationalized definition in both Parts I and II of the questionnaire. I did not provide it in Part III, as the only
question in that part pertained to the textbook(s) that respondents used and not the chorale in particular; and I did not
provide it in the following parts because the open-ended nature of these parts seemed less to require this degree of
specificity.
[27] The number of overall respondents to teach section also declines from section to section—from 143 to 135 to 128,
respectively—owing to attrition. I discuss inclusion criteria above, in the section on methodology.

harmony, instrumentation, phrase structure/form, and rhythm.[28] Not only did this many

respondents report incorporating chorales to some extent, but they did so with a broad variety of

topics: over 90% of respondents indicated using chorales to some extent in teaching each of the

suggested topics (Table 1, Col. B). This is not, however, to say that they used chorales 100% of

the time with these topics; on the contrary, for the none of the suggested categories did

respondents on average report using chorales more than 50% of the time. Respondents most

relied on chorales to teach harmony, for which they used chorales about half the time (49.4%);

for cadence and instrumentation, they used chorales approximately a third of the time, and for

the remaining topics around a fourth or a fifth of the time (Table 1, Col. C). To summarize, the

overwhelming majority of respondents used chorales to some extent in early-stage instruction,

and they did so for a variety of topics, and for harmony in particular.

	Col. A	Col. B	Col. C
Topic	Respondents who teach this topic	Respondents who use chorales to teach topic	Average chorale use
cadence	98	95 (96.9%)	35.0%
counterpoint	59	54 (91.5%)	25.8%
harmony	108	107 (99.1%)	49.4%
instrumentation	4	4 (100%)	35.0%
phrase structure/form	59	57 (96.6%)	22.7%
rhythm	24	22 (91.7%)	21.3%

Table 1: Proportion of respondents who use chorales to teach given topics: courses required of all music majors.

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[28] Responses to this question were rendered somewhat ambiguous by an aspect of the slider feature in Qualtrics's Survey software: by default, sliders are set at 0%, and so if respondents wished to enter a response of 0%, it appeared that they needed do nothing to indicate this—yet unless the respondent moves a slider, no slider response is registered. It is therefore impossible to be sure that by not entering a response, a respondent in fact intended a response of 0% or simply skipped this part of the question. While in Part I, only two respondents did not move the slider at all, in Part II, this becomes a more significant issue: see the following note.

The situation is somewhat different for elective courses. Of the 43 respondents who indicated that they teach one of the suggested topics in these classes, 19 (44.2%) reported not incorporating chorales to any extent, and only 24 (55.8%) respondents reported using the chorale to some extent in teaching elective courses (see Table 2, Col. B).[29] For no topic, moreover, did more than half of respondents report using chorales at all. Respondents also indicated using chorales for less time total with each topic; for each topic, this figure is between five and 15 percentage points lower that with respect to required courses (Table 2, Col. C). With respect to the specific topics for which respondents indicated greatest use of chorales, as with Part I, harmony outpaced the other topics by a factor of almost two, with an average of 39.2%, while the next-highest topics were again cadence and instrumentation, both at 20.0%. In general, then, fewer respondents used chorales for teaching elective courses, and those who used chorales did so to a lesser extent than with required courses; nevertheless, they still used them, to a not-insubstantial degree, and for a variety of topics.

| | Col. A | Col. B | Col. C |
Topic	Respondents	Respondents who use chorales to some extent	Average chorale use
cadence	20	8 (40.0%)	20.0%
counterpoint	26	10 (38.5%)	16.0%
harmony	26	12 (46.2%)	39.2%
instrumentation	22	4 (18.2%)	20.0%
phrase structure/form	34	10 (29.4%)	17.0%
rhythm	22	2 (9.1%)	15.0%

Table 2: Proportion of respondents who use chorales to teach given topics: elective courses.

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[29] See the previous note regarding ambiguities in the Qualtrics platform for this feature. In this case, not one of the 19 respondents here used the slider feature, and thus it is impossible to know whether they intended a response of 0% or merely skipped this aspect of the question.

3.2.1.2 Write-in topics

Respondents were also given the opportunity to indicate other topics that they used chorales to teach. Table 3 compiles these topics with respect to courses required of all music majors.[30] A clear favorite among these was voice-leading/part-writing, which 12 respondents entered. These respondents indicated they used chorales to teach the topic on average 64.2% of the time—the highest proportion registered for any topic so far.[31] Among the other topics that respondents supplied, a surprising proportion are closely related to harmony.[32] Reliance on chorales for the teaching of these topics, with the exception of harmonization, remains between 25% to 35%—similar to the average rate of use for the suggested topics. Several topics entered here also fall under what are in many American settings considered musicianship skills, activities also associated with early music theory training.[33] An outlier among these topics, however, is text-setting, the second most popular topic entered here, which respondents reported using chorales to teach 60.0% of the time. This topic stands out as being connected to "programmatic" elements.

Topic	Responses	Average chorale use
voice-leading/part-writing	12	64.2%
text-setting	6	60.0%
tonicization/modulation	5	25.0%

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[30] I have eliminated from this list as statistically insignificant any responses entered only once—although I discuss several of these further below.

[31] In hindsight, the category "voice-leading" should have been a suggested topic on the questionnaire. Given the similarities between the concepts of voice-leading and counterpoint—at least, under at least one current sense of the latter term—"voice-leading" was omitted on the grounds that "counterpoint" is a more inclusive concept, in an attempt to avoid the proliferation of categories. My conception of these terms has since changed—and clearly, a substantial proportion of respondents also understand these terms to be distinct.

[32] In order of popularity, these include "tonicization/modulation," "embellishing tones," "harmonic rhythm," "harmonization," and "non-harmonic tones."

[33] These include "solfège/sight-singing," "keyboard harmony," and "score-reading."

embellishing tones	4	25.0%
solfège/sight-singing	4	30.0%
keyboard harmony	3	50.0%
harmonic rhythm	2	35.0%
harmonization	2	95.0%
non-harmonic tones	2	35.0%
score-reading	2	65.0%
Total	**42**	

Table 3: Topics that respondents use chorales to teach (courses required of all music majors).

Finally, the variety of responses to both of these questions is striking; for example, responses omitted from Table 3 for only having been entered once include "twentieth-century harmony," "twelve-tone composition," and "jazz." To these might be added "neo-Riemannian transformations" from the answer to the same question in Part II. That these topics arose at all demonstrates the diversity of topics that respondents used chorales to teach.

3.2.2 Which chorales?

The final question in this section asked which chorales in particular respondents used in their teaching. Respondents were provided a blank field in which they could make as many entries as they wished. To tabulate these entries, any mention—whether a composer, a corpus, or a specific piece—was counted as a single entry, and no limit was imposed on the number of such entries within a given response. Among respondents teaching courses required for music majors emerged a preponderance of chorales by J. S. Bach: over half of respondents mentioned this composer (Table 4). Indeed, among composers named here, entries for Bach constituted a near

monopoly (92.6%).[34] The second most common response, "self," indicates the extent to which composing chorales is a current, living practice. In conjunction with this entry, the entry "student compositions" confirms this impression and also indicates the extent to which respondents consider the chorale primarily a teaching genre or an exercise; for example, one respondent entered, "ones I write myself for illustration of a particular harmonic idea." Finally, the third-most-popular entry, "hymns," suggests a connection—surprising, in light of the field's otherwise secular character—of religious traditions to music theory practice.

Composer/ Source	Entries	Percentage
(J. S.) Bach	50	55.6%
self	18	20.0%
hymns	11	12.2%
various[35]	3	3.3%
Luther	2	2.2%
student compositions	2	2.2%
Telemann	2	2.2%
textbook	2	2.2%
Total	**90**	100.0%

Table 4: Composers or sources of chorales that practitioners use for instruction: courses required of all music majors.

[34] With "composers named here," I exclude entries of "self." Where respondents entered simply "Bach"—that is, with no given name—I assumed that they intended Johann Sebastian: as I show in the following chapter, this presumption seems safe, given the predominance of this Bach's chorales in undergraduate music theory textbooks. But as mentioned above, at least one of Sebastian's sons—Carl Philipp Emmanuel—also composed chorales, and indeed one respondent entered C. P. E. Bach in this question. To be sure, even this entry could have intended the chorale harmonizations of J. S. Bach—at least, the vocal ones—given the questions of authorship surrounding these works and the strong association of C. P. E. Bach with their conception. The majority of respondents did not indicate which chorales by Bach they had in mind, whether his chorale harmonizations for voice, for example, or his so-called "figured-bass" chorales. I therefore also do not specify this here.

[35] This line only lists responses of "various" where the respondent did not list additional information; "various hymns," for example, would be counted under "hymns."

Composer/Source	Entries	Percentage
(J. S.) Bach	6	28.6%
self	6	28.6%
none	4	19.0%
hymns	1	4.8%
Mendelssohn	1	4.8%
Telemann	1	4.8%
various	1	4.8%
Eric Whitacre	1	4.8%
Total	**21**	100.0%

Table 5: Composers or sources of chorales that practitioners use for instruction: elective courses.

Even if respondents entered fewer responses to this question in the context of elective courses, these responses still reflected a significant use of chorales by J. S. Bach (Table 5).[36] In contrast to their answers concerning required courses, respondents here indicated using self-composed chorales at a rate equal to those by Bach. This considerable use of self-composed chorales may suggest that existing chorales decrease in their utility as courses become more advanced and diverse. The less frequent use of chorales in elective courses is also reflected in the entries of the four respondents who took the opportunity to indicate that they did not use chorales at all.

3.2.3 Meanings of "chorale"

Beyond what respondents' entries indicates about which chorales respondents employ in their instruction, these entries also shed helpful light upon respondents' very understanding of

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[36] Given the overall lower response rate here, I have again included in this table entries that arose only once.

the term "chorale." Several distinct understandings of the term emerged from respondents' entries.

A number of respondents understood the term largely in line with the definition in *Grove Music Online* discussed above, whether with respect to their constituting tunes, tunes with texts, or simple harmonizations of the same, all intended for singing in a Lutheran celebration. One respondent, referring to "these classic melodies," reported observed how chorales "are the basis of many compositions, from bach's [*sic*] Passions to Mendelssohn's Reformation Symphony." Other respondents listed settings of chorale tunes as found in collections currently in use in Lutheran worship, identifying them by incipit, according to the traditional Lutheran practice discussed in the previous chapter.

But several less orthodox other senses of the term also arose. Respondents entered repertoire as disparate as "the Goudimel setting of the Geneva psalter," "arranged Christmas carols," "Haydn motets," and "our school alma mater." One respondent even reported that "Sometimes I'll use a piece by a contemporary composer such as Eric Whitacre to demonstrate that not all choral pieces follow the rules of functional harmony."[37] At the very least, these entries suggested that music theory practitioners consider the term "chorale" to apply to a much broader range of repertoire than accepted outside of the field. It is difficult to account for what understanding of the term respondents have in mind here, given the range of works, composers, and purposes for the pieces they list. One feature that the pieces listed share is that they are sung, but beyond this, these pieces are remarkable for their diversity of composer and intended purpose.

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[37] The respondents' use of "choral" in this entry suggests a possible source of confusion: could some practitioners apply the term "chorale" so broadly because of its proximity to the adjective "choral"?

Another interesting feature of respondents' answer to this question is a taxonomical switch. A substantial number of respondents referred to hymns, both in this section (12.2% of entries for required courses, 4.8% for elective courses) and elsewhere in the questionnaire. Apart from the obvious similarities between these two genres—both are vocal and intended for liturgical ends, for example—they are closely connected taxonomically: as discussed above, chorales are for the wider musical world a type of hymn—yet respondents evidently consider hymns a type of chorale. This is a remarkable reversal: "hymn" on its own is a broad category; how much more broadly does "chorale" apply?

A particularly striking use of the term was as a version of an existing musical work; as one respondent wrote, "everything gets turned into a chorale. By which I mean (1) a more or less one-to-one correspondence between outer voices, (2) primarily consonances between outer voices, and (3) mostly stepwise melodic motion in both outer voices." This entry is particularly suggestive in that the respondent describes what they mean by "chorale"; they define the term texturally—as having outer voices in consonant, stepwise homophony, and presumably an undefined number of inner voices too. But how "things"—presumably musical pieces—are "turned into" a chorale is unclear; what seems clear is that the resultant texture is a version of the original piece—an intriguing notion. Moreover, why the result should be called a chorale is wholly unclear: why not an "interpretation" or "reduction" or other generic term, rather than a genre? And if "everything" is turned into a chorale, this is a further indication of the chorale's breadth, in music theory practitioners' conception: in some way, a chorale inheres in all compositions. This generic understanding of the term is also evident in entries reporting self-composed, "classroom" pieces; as one respondent described it, "I make up simple melodies / outer-voice counterpoint for students to transcribe and/or harmonize." In this description, the

respondent mentions no features that might situate the composition stylistically, apart from those pertaining to a basic texture. What, then, is a chorale, under this conception? I will explore these notions further below.

A final sense of "chorale" that bears noting is that indicating the chorale harmonizations of J. S. Bach. For example, one respondent—evidently uncertain how to interpret the term— wrote, "I do not use Bach chorales in upper-level undergraduate or graduate courses, if that's what you're asking." That respondents understood the term thus is remarkable, given that nowhere in the questionnaire was the composer mentioned, whether in this section or another, and that many composers wrote chorale harmonizations. As I show in Chapter 4, Bach's chorale harmonizations form an overwhelmingly high proportion of chorales as musical examples in textbooks, and so this association between the term and the contributions to the genre of a given composer is understandable. Yet the association is even more specific: four respondents cited the Riemenschneider edition of these pieces in particular.[38] In other words, a specific edition of the contributions to a genre by one composer has come to stand in for the entire genre.

Across these senses of the term "chorale," then, emerges a noteworthy variety. For one thing, respondents classify a surprising diversity of pieces under the term; as such, the term is broad. For another thing, the term is also highly specific, referring to a specific edition of a specific composer's chorale settings. And then another sense refers to a version of musical pieces. These senses are incompatible, yet they all exist within American music-theoretical discourse—although to be sure, one of the respondents quoted earlier expressed discomfort with the term. Indeed, this same respondent added to their comment, "What's needed, then, is a more expansive and rigorous account of what a chorale is or means. Is it a thing or a practice?"

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[38] See Bach, *371 Harmonized Chorales*, v–x. This edition contains both four-part and so-called "figured-bass" chorale settings.

There are several conclusions to draw from respondents' answers about the extent of their use of chorales. To begin with, chorale use seems most concentrated in earlier, required instruction, even if it is also present in more advanced electives. Second, while respondents' use of chorales centers upon pitch-based aspects, and particularly harmony, their use nevertheless extends across a variety of topics. Third, respondents rely substantially upon J. S. Bach's chorales—even if this, too, is no monopoly: authors' non-Bach answers to what chorales they use reflect surprisingly pluralistic, broad understandings of the term "chorale," to the point where they understand hymns as a subset of chorale. This broad understanding of the term—whose limits remain to be clarified—may in turn indicate how respondents use chorales so widely across their music-theory practices.

3.3 Motivations for Chorale Use

If the previous section revealed the extent of respondents' use of chorales in their instruction, the present section explores their motivations: why do practitioners use the chorale in the first place? Do their reasons for doing so relate more to musical or extra-musical factors? And what factors in particular?

The entries in this section respond to a single question on the questionnaire: "To what extent is your decision to include chorales in your pedagogy in general (whether for required courses, electives, or courses for non-music majors) dependent on the following factors?" (see Appendix A). Five factors were proposed on the questionnaire: institutional expectations, disciplinary tradition, musical qualities unique to the chorale, singability, and religious connotations. Respondents were asked to indicate the importance of each on a five-level scale ranging from "unimportant" to "very important," and they could select any level for each

factor—that is, there was no ranking component. In addition to these five factors, respondents were provided with two empty fields into which they could enter a factor of their own choosing. Additionally, for the third factor suggested, "musical qualities," respondents were provided a blank field in which they were asked to name specific musical qualities. Finally, as throughout this questionnaire, respondents had the opportunity to enter additional comments at the end of this question in an empty field at the bottom of the page.

Figure 24: Spectrum of proposed motivations for using chorales in music theory instruction.

The factors provided were selected as plausible motivations for using chorales, and their number was limited to five to keep the question manageable. But for present purposes, they may be conceived along a spectrum between two poles: one pole is concerned with musical or strictly music-theoretical motivations, the other with motivations having no inherent connection to music theorizing. (For a visual depiction of this scheme, see Table 6.) According to this scheme, I understand "musical qualities" at the former pole and "singability" close to it; I understand "disciplinary tradition," moreover, as roughly in the middle of the spectrum, as the content of such traditions in this case are presumably music-theoretical, yet disciplinary tradition per se is not music theorizing; and finally, I consider institutional expectations and religious connotations as having little or no inherent connection to music theorizing.[39] To be sure, the position of these

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[39] This scheme had no bearing on the order of these factors in the questionnaire.

factors on such a spectrum is flexible: for example, institutions certainly impose their expectations upon music-theory instructors with the specific musical needs of their student population in mind, and in this sense institutional pressures may fall closer to the musical side of the spectrum than I have placed it. Nevertheless, this scheme offers a serviceable general heuristic.

	Unimportant	Somewhat unimportant	Somewhat important	Important	Very important
Musical qualities	18	8	17	29	30
Singability	12	15	34	30	16
Disciplinary tradition	18	15	46	22	6
Institutional expectations	57	17	20	9	4
Religious connotations	95	5	2	1	3

Table 6: The importance of certain factors in respondents' decision to use chorales in their instruction.

In total, 115 respondents answered at least some portion of this question. I begin here by providing a general summary of responses, then discussing each of the five proposed factors in greater detail. I proceed from the non-musical end of the spectrum mentioned above to the musical end, dwelling particularly on the fifth factor, "musical qualities." Finally, I discuss the factors that respondents themselves suggested beyond the five provided them. For the most part, I rely on responses to the questionnaire; but where appropriate, I also incorporate data from both respondents' entries to the "additional comments" field at the bottom of this question, the follow-up interviews that I conducted, and other portions of the questionnaire—particularly the later

sections on the chorale's value—all of which permits deeper exploration of respondents' motivations for using chorales.
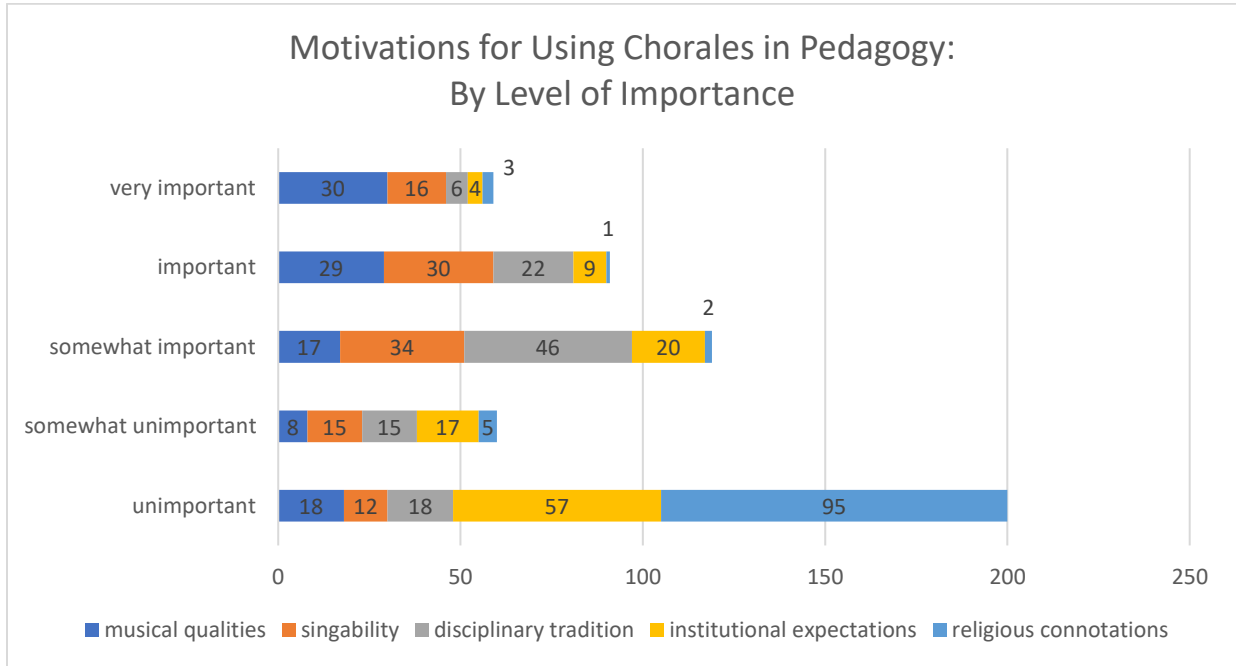
Figure 25: Comparison of respondents' ranking of the importance of certain factors in their decision to use chorales in their instruction, organized by level of importance.

I show in this section that respondents claim to use chorales in their instruction much more for musical and strictly music-theoretical factors than because of extra-musical or extra–music-theoretical pressures. The musical and music-theoretical factors that they cite largely concern harmony and voice-leading, moreover, and the focus on these two topics coincides with the suppression of non-pitch qualities. In their own suggestions of factors motivating their use of chorales, finally, respondents stress chorales' simplicity, their utility as a bridge to more complicated repertoire, and their capacity to illustrate foundational concepts.
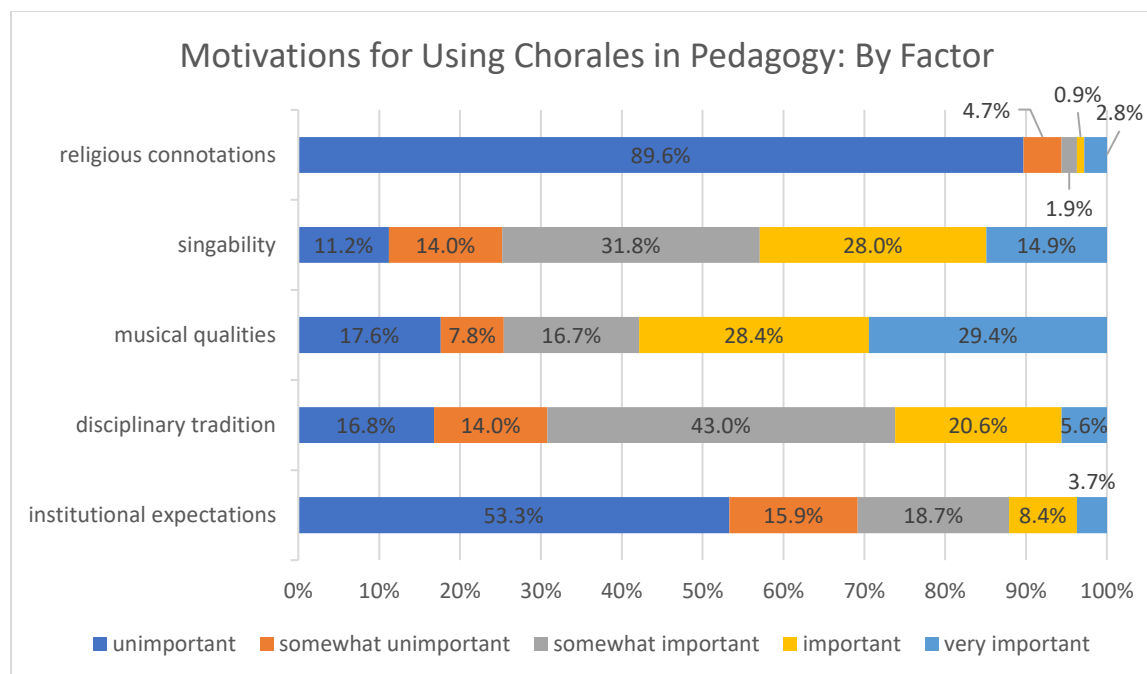
Figure 26: Respondents' ranking of the importance of certain factors in their decision to use chorales in their instruction, organized by factor.

3.3.1 General trends

In general, respondents reported employing chorales more for musical or music-theoretical considerations than for extra-musical ones. Figure 25 presents the results of this question in numerical form, Figure 26 in a stacked bar graph according to each level of importance, and Figure 27 similarly but by factor. Figure 26 reveals several general trends: the factor with the largest proportion of responses on the "important" end of the scale is "musical qualities." Respondents also considered "singability" important, while responses for "disciplinary tradition" are roughly balanced. By contrast, respondents felt ambivalent toward "institutional expectations," and they clearly felt least influenced by "religious connotations."[40]

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[40] It may also be significant that the preponderance of results across *all* factors fall closer to the "unimportant" side of the scale; given that the largest categories of responses in this scheme fall under "unimportant" for both

In what follows, I examine respondents' comments on the five factors beginning with the one that they judged least important.

3.3.1.1 Religious Connotations

The factor respondents ranked least important was "religious connotations," which I considered the least music-theoretical of those proposed. Entries variously reflected indifference, opposition, and embrace of these connotations. To begin with, almost 90% of respondents rated the chorale's religious connotations as "unimportant" (Figure 25). This attitude was facilitated, moreover, by the visual "sanitiz[ation]" of chorales of these connotations, as one interviewee put it, and as shown in the previous chapter. One respondent wrote, "since the chorales are presented without the texts and/or sung on solfege, the religious connotations are kept to a minimum." Some respondents could explore these connotations but did not, as one interviewee who, although teaching at a Roman Catholic university, preferred focusing on "the music itself."[41]

For some respondents, the chorale's religious connotations remain strong, despite its typical secularization when printed. One respondent wrote, "I avoid chorales, because I don't want to require students who are not Christian to study Christian liturgical works….I don't want students to think that Christian music has to be at the center of serious music theory studies."

"institutional expectations" and "religious connotations," however, this may simply reflect substantial consensus regarding these two factors rather than the five factors as a group not representing respondents' influences. Nevertheless, this skew highlights the need to examine write-in factors for any obvious factor that may not be represented here. Another possible explanation of this skew relates to this question's addressing only the decision to use chorales, not decisions to *not* use chorales: respondents could plausibly have used the "unimportant" level both for factors that they considered unimportant and for factors that would deter them from using the chorale.

[41] To be sure, most of respondents' reported institutions are secular, which may disincline practitioners to engage religious topics in their instruction. Of the 54 institutions that respondents entered by way of indicating their home institution, five (9.3%) identify on their websites some religious affiliation. Several respondents also indicated religious affiliations in their longer-form answers, as did interviewees.

Similarly, one interviewee reported not wanting to "alienate" students via chorales' religious connotations.

A slim minority of respondents—particularly those teaching at institutions with Protestant Christian affiliations—considered the chorale's religious connotations advantageous to their instruction. One interviewee appreciated the opportunity that incorporating chorales afforded to increase students' familiarity with "foundational tunes used in the worship of the church." Another interviewee even called singing chorales in class "a devotional exercise." Not all those who viewed the chorale's religious connotations favorably taught at religious institutions; an interviewee at a secular institution described it as "unfortunate" that chorales' religious connotations were often muted. The interviewee "would encourage" students to explore these connotations, they said, just as they would any musical work's social and religious context.

In short, music theory practitioners continue to perceive the chorale's religious origins, despite their visual secularization, even if they handle these religious connotations variously.

3.3.1.2 Institutional Expectations

Somewhat more important for respondents than the chorale's religious connotations were institutional expectations. One form of institutional pressures that respondents mentioned was what one interviewee termed "soft institutional expectations"—that is, veteran instructors' expectations upon a new member of an institution's teaching personnel to implement the curriculum already in place. Another interviewee reported unusually high satisfaction with their incorporation of chorales among the performance faculty at the conservatory in which they taught, as the faculty perceiving close connections between chorales and other classical works, training in the performance of which formed the institution's explicit goal.

Another way in which institutional expectations come to bear on teaching with chorales is that of admissions requirements and placement examinations. One interviewee observed, for example, that while faculty members held no illusion that undergraduate students would compose or otherwise use chorales in their musical lives, they nevertheless incorporated chorales in their instruction to prepare students for these exercises, since some students sought to enter graduate programs. One respondent also cited "preparation for standardized tests" among their motivations for using chorales. I will devote the following section to this topic.

3.3.1.3 Admissions Requirements and Placement Examinations

One particularly suggestive site for indicating the chorale's prevalence in post-secondary institutions is their presence in admissions requirements and placement examinations, for the content use for this evaluation thus stands for students' competency in a larger domain; as one interviewee wrote, chorales serve as a "marker of musicianship." As such, a separate section of the questionnaire asked respondents the extent to which chorales arises in both these evaluations—specifically, in required admissions materials, which assess students' abilities prior to admission to an institution, and in placement examinations, which assess students' abilities once admitted but before beginning their program (see Appendix A). Each question also inquired about both the undergraduate level and the graduate level. Among chorale-related activities, I focused on chorale harmonization in particular, as by informal observation, this seemed the most common use of chorales in these contexts. The number of responses to each question varied, as respondents indicating no affiliation with an institution would automatically skip the question, and those whose primary institution did not have graduate programs would automatically skip those portions of the questionnaire pertaining to graduate programs.
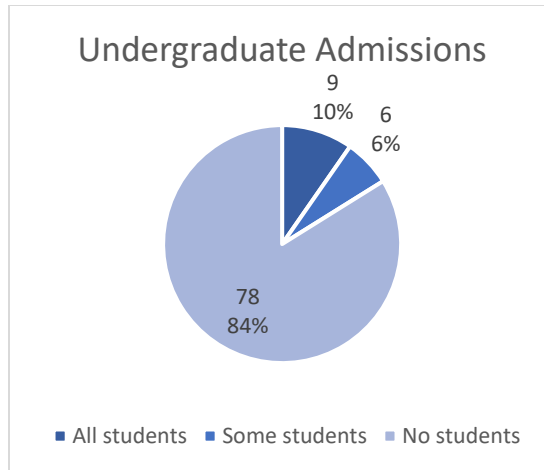
Figure 27: The chorale in admissions material for undergraduate students.
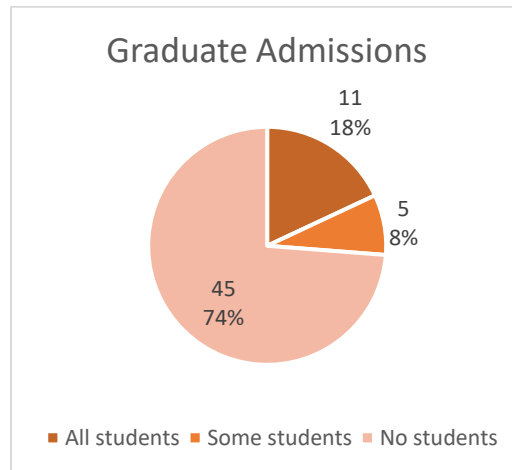
Figure 28: The chorale in admissions material for graduate students.

In general, only 9.7% of respondents reported that their institution required chorale harmonizations in admissions materials for undergraduate programs, and a yet smaller proportion (6.4%) for some students (see Figure 28). With respect to admissions materials for graduate programs, these proportions increase somewhat: approximately 18.0% of institutions require chorale harmonizations of all applicants and 8.2% of some students (Figure 29). With respect to placement examinations, by comparison, these numbers increase substantially: approximately

one third (34.1%) of respondents' institutions include chorale harmonization in these

examinations for all undergraduate students, and an additional 5.5% include chorale

harmonizations for some undergraduate students (see Figure 3.24). For graduate students, nearly

half (49.2%) require chorale harmonizations for all graduate students, with another 11.1%

requiring them for some graduate students (see Figure 3.25).
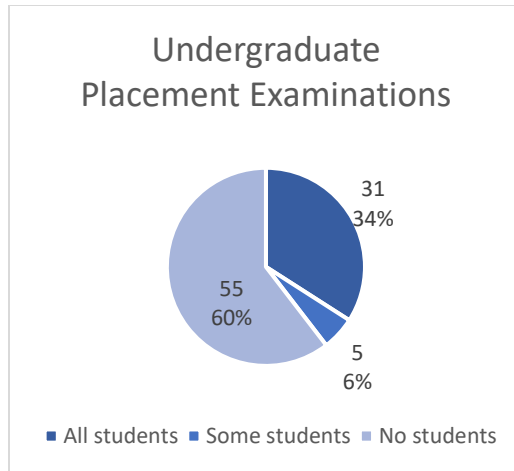
Figure 29: The chorale in placement examinations for undergraduate students.
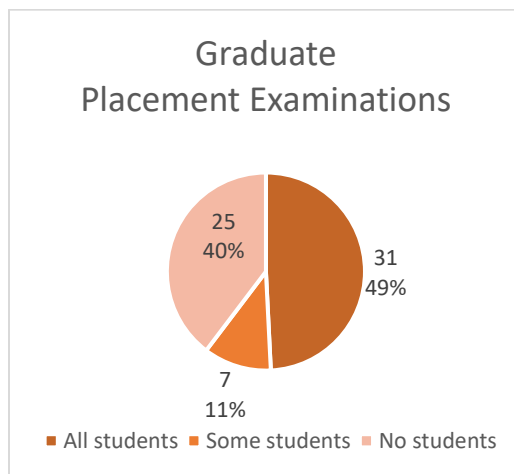
Figure 30: The chorale in placement examinations for graduate students.

In general, then, facility with chorale harmonization plays a relatively minor role in granting or denying admission into university programs, but it plays a more substantial role—particularly at the graduate level—in placing students already admitted to these programs. Given the significant role of chorale harmonization in at least some of these entrance requirements, it is surprising that respondents did not rate institutional expectations as a greater influence in their choice to include chorales in instruction.

3.3.1.4 Disciplinary Tradition

Respondents reflected the influence of disciplinary tradition on their choice to teach with chorales in two ways.[42] The first was through simple familiarity; one interviewee observed that using chorales represents "a point of comfort for people," since they have long played a role in the music theory curriculum. But another respondent cited ease of incorporation, writing that "the pedagogy surrounding them has been very well established and is therefore easy to adopt." Indeed, if one was trained in music theory with chorales, one has ready-to-hand both a general chorale-based approach and specific chorale-derived examples of musical phenomena. Even an interviewee who otherwise expressed significant reservations about using chorales reported teaching with chorales because of their own chorale-heavy training. But respondents also considered chorales as representative of the discipline of music theory. One interviewee who was unconvinced of chorales' music-theoretical value described using them to engage students with the discipline of music theory, and another considered teaching via chorales as a "professional obligation," given the durability of this tradition.

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[42] This discussion is limited to influences that respondents reported as relevant in the present. Other aspects related to disciplinary tradition, such as respondents' perceptions of how rooted the chorale is in music theory and the trajectory of its popularity, are discussed in a later section.

3.3.1.5 Singability

Respondents' second most important reason for incorporating chorales in their instruction was their singability.[43] As Figure 25 shows, almost 45% of respondents held this factor to be either important or very important. Respondents reported a range of aspects related to singability. For some, singing is simply part of their regular modus operandi; one respondent wrote that "we ask students to sing everything they learn," while another expressed their belief that singing helps to embody music and therefore understand it more deeply. For one interviewee, singing chorales helped unify their class, as their textural disposition—individual lines coming together to form a coherent whole—equally incorporated all individual contributions.[44] Another respondent wrote, "the chorale is designed to build community in performance, and it does so in the classroom."

Even if music theorists' typical visual presentation of chorales suggests a slip from an actual vocality into a notional vocality, as discussed in Chapter 2, these responses show that practitioners draw upon the chorale's vocal origins when integrating it into their instruction. Moreover, the chorale's singability is important not only for singing chorales in class, but also with regard to deeper commitments whose realization the chorale may facilitate.

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[43] While I did not intend this factor in the sense of notional vocality that I discuss in the previous chapter—this would fall under "musical qualities"—the possibility that respondents construed it in this sense cannot be excluded.
[44] One respondent reflected a similar view in their comments on the chorale's music-theoretical value: the chorale is "singable, which means that students can sing individual lines to get a sense of the voice leading while, at the same time, hearing the harmonies."

3.3.1.6 Musical Qualities

The final factor of the five provided on the questionnaire was "musical qualities unique to the chorale." To be sure, the term "musical quality" admits of some interpretational latitude; respondents were therefore provided a field in which they could indicate this. Most entries here were short, constituting a single term, but some respondents provided further specification. I analyze entries in two ways. First, I present the individual terms that respondents entered, along with terms extractable from the more involved answers, and patterns that arise within these. These data afford a broad view of what musical qualities respondents had in mind. Second, I discuss respondents' longer, more involved entries.

Quality	Count	Percentage
harmony	14	13.3%
counterpoint	9	8.6%
voice-leading	9	8.6%
SATB texture	7	6.7%
chord(s)	5	4.8%
inter-parameter relations	5	4.8%
demonstration	4	3.8%
embellishing tones	4	3.8%
homophony	4	3.8%
rich harmony	4	3.8%
simple rhythm	4	3.8%
concision	3	2.9%
harmonic progression	3	2.9%
melody	3	2.9%
regular harmonic rhythm	3	2.9%
simplicity	3	2.9%
texture	3	2.9%
analysis	2	1.9%
cadence	2	1.9%
clarity	2	1.9%
clear texture	2	1.9%
common practice	2	1.9%
compact	2	1.9%
fast harmonic rhythm	2	1.9%
rhythm	2	1.9%
simple texture	2	1.9%
Total	**105**	**100.0%**

Figure 31: Codes extracted from write-in responses on specific musical qualities of the chorale that motivate respondents' use of it in their instruction.

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"Harmon*"	%	Harmony	%	Combining Musical Lines	%	Texture	%	Texture	%	Rhythm	%
harmony	13.3	chords	4.8	counterpoint	8.6	SATB texture	6.7	SATB texture	6.7	simple rhythm	3.8
rich harmony	3.8	embellishing tones	3.8	voice-leading	8.6	homophony	3.8	homophony	3.8	regular harmonic rhythm	2.9
harmonic progression	2.9			SATB texture	6.7			texture	2.9	fast harmonic rhythm	1.9
regular harmonic rhythm	2.9							clear texture	1.9	rhythm	1.9
fast harmonic rhythm	1.9							simple texture	3.8		
Totals	**24.8**		**8.6**		**23.9**		**10.5**		**17.2**		**10.5**

Figure 32: Codes extracted from write-in responses on specific musical qualities of the chorale that motivate respondents' use of it in their instruction.

The largest group of qualities that respondents named as motivating incorporation of chorales into their instruction related to harmony (Figures 32 and 33). Those that included the term "harmony" or its derivatives constitute 24.8% of codes identified. Several other codes that do not use the term explicitly could also be added under the category of harmony, which would raise the percentage by 8.6%.[45] Entries that involve the combination of musical lines [i.e. counterpoint] also feature prominently, comprising at least 23.9%. These two categories together, then—harmony and the combining of musical lines—account for a majority (57.3%) of codes. The prominence of these two categories is also conspicuous given the low representation of topics constituting other parameters; in fact, beyond those attaching to the concepts of "texture" (17.2%) and "rhythm" (10.5%), no other parameters arise. But respondents' qualifications of "texture" and "rhythm" are also suggestive: to "texture," "clear" and "simple," and to "rhythm," "simple" and "regular." The only topic constituting the term "harmony"

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[45] Arguably, "cadence" (1.9%) could also be considered a harmonic phenomenon, although it could equally be considered one of line or phrase structure/form or even line. Given the term's ambiguity with respect to classification, I here forgo classifying it altogether.

modified, by contrast, was "rich harmony."[46] Thus, whereas with texture and rhythm respondents stress their simplicity, with harmony respondents emphasize richness. Overall, then, respondents find the chorale useful for instruction above all with respect to harmony and the combination of musical lines, but only two other parameters—texture and rhythm—and this with regard to their simplification.

Respondents' more detailed entries reinforce the emphasis on harmony and musical lines and the suppression of other parameters just observed. One respondent reported using chorales because with them there are "no complicated rhythmic displacement or embellishments clouding harmonic structures." Another wrote that "it is a good way to teach harmony, when students do not have to vex too much about rhythm." With regard to musical line, moreover, one respondent cited as influential the "clarity of music theoretical concepts" in chorales, listing "notion of voices" and "voice leading, etc." But respondents were also interested in how these two parameters relate; one respondent, for example, mentioned "complex harmonies, but with four continuous parts," and another "1-1 counterpoint as [a] framework for harmony."

Respondents also emphasized the concision of chorales in conjunction with the concepts that they sought to illustrate. Some respondents emphasized harmony; as one stated, "chorales offer concise demonstrations of harmonic ideas." But other respondents emphasized the variety of topics that chorales can efficiently illustrate. One respondent noted chorales' "utility for multiple topics at the same time (cadence, harmonic progression, singability)," while another described chorales as an "inexhaustible repertoire of melody, voice leading, harmony, phrase, and form all in miniature." For one respondent, chorales' compactness owed to their homophonic texture: "because of their verticality, chorales are really easy for Roman numeral analysis for

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[46] I exclude here "regular harmonic rhythm" and "fast harmonic rhythm," as these both seem at base rhythmic phenomena, which the fact that "harmonic" qualifies "rhythm" here also suggests.

those just learning"; another agreed that with chorales it is "easy to analyze harmonies due to format." This quality also had pragmatic benefits; as another respondent wrote, "density of chords = less photocopying." Thus, respondents are motivated to use the chorale for its capacity to illustrate a range of musical phenomena—above all harmonic ones, but also those relating to musical lines—efficiently and clearly.

Finally, one particularly intriguing aspect that multiple respondents evoked, even if vaguely here, is how chorales model "harmonic structures," as a respondent cited above articulated it. One respondent, for example, described the chorale as "representative of four-part harmony." While this respondent here does not elaborate, they evidently intend by "four-part harmony" a conception of harmonic organization, and one that they believe the chorale exemplifies well. Another respondent expressed a similar opinion: the chorale's "harmonic technique is generalizable to other genres." A third respondent specified the domain of this generalizability, referring to the chorale's "ability to model harmony/counterpoint interaction in common practice music." In short, respondents here suggest that the chorale is particularly suited to illustrate musical principles that extend across tonal music, and these principles may be summarized as a specific conception of musical structure that may be summarized as "four-part harmony." These are the first indications in survey responses of a notion central to this dissertation.

The musical qualities for which respondents find the chorale so attractive for instruction, then, substantially emphasize harmony and the combination of musical lines, and other qualities are suppressed by way of bringing harmony and musical line into prominence. Respondents also emphasize chorales' capacity to illustrate a variety of phenomena efficiently, as well as to model harmonic concepts that can in turn be generalized to other domains.

3.3.1.7 Other factors

Respondents also could enter factors motivating their use of chorales beyond the five provided in the questionnaire (Appendix A).[47] In total, 20 respondents made entries here. With these entries, I also consider here entries in the "additional comments" section of this question.

In general, the motivations that respondents added to the five provided reinforce responses to the five provided. To begin with, respondents highlighted the chorale's ease of use. With regard to students, one respondent pointed to the comprehensibility of musical lines, observing that "the voice leading is easily learned," while another highlighted chorales' value for harmonic analysis, commenting that, "because of their verticality, chorales are really easy for Roman numeral analysis for those just learning." Another respondent reflected on chorales' presentation, observing that the chorale's "musical qualities [are] not unique but [are] clearly presented and accessible." Other respondents focused on chorales' ease of use for instructors. One emphasized the act of writing chorales, citing "ease of composing—for illustrating expectations for students' compositions." Another named "ease of performance for illustration"; while this respondent did not name an instrument, another referred to the keyboard when describing chorales' "playability."[48] Respondents incorporate chorales into their teaching, then, because they are easy to digest and easy to perform.

Respondents also once again cited chorales' capacity for generalization to other music. One respondent listed as a motivation that "our graduates should know how to tell good part

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[47] While as with the other factors, respondents could also rank the importance of the factors they identified, I do not dwell upon this aspect here, as all responses but two (and only one of which was relevant) fell under the levels "very important" or "important."

[48] The first respondent likely did not intend the voice, since "singability" was among the five provided factors.

writing from bad when they evaluate music for performance and arrange their own," implying that work with chorales would aid precisely such evaluation. Another respondent described the transfer of principles from chorales: "students can readily take concepts learned in an SATB chorale setting and apply them to a string quartet, for example." One respondent echoed this and mentioned specific chorales, citing "the extent to which idioms exemplified in Bach's chorale harmonizations materialize in a wide variety of styes [*sic*] from Haydn to Chopin." These perspectives add another aspect of chorales' efficiency: not only do they make concise illustrations, but the concepts illustrated apply to a broad range of repertoire.

In summary, the question of practitioners' motivations for using chorales is an important one for this investigation: given that respondents use chorales to a considerable extent, why do they? This portion of the questionnaire demonstrates that external pressures—those exerted by respondents' institutions, by the discipline as a whole, or by the chorale's religious connotations—play a relatively minor role, with the exception of placement examinations and possibly admissions materials. Instead, respondents' decision to use chorales revolves around the chorale's musical qualities, and particularly those relating to harmony and musical line. These results resonate in some ways with theorists' practices for presenting chorale harmonizations visually, as was discussed in the previous chapter. On one hand, theorists strip out external, contextual factors that might be included with these pieces; on the other, they reconfigure these pieces to include only strictly music-theoretical information—and particularly, information relating to harmony and the interactions of musical lines. Respondents connect this mode of presentation with finding the chorale clear and concise for demonstrating musical concepts, particularly if the concepts in question pertain to harmony and musical lines. This presentation also may aid in the generalization to other repertoires that several respondents reported. In light

of its efficiency, clarity, and generalizability, then, it is unsurprising that respondents overall find

the chorale a valuable tool for teaching music-theoretical principles and realizing their

instructional goals.

3.4 Research

To this point, I have been examining the use of chorales in instructional activities. The

present section, by contrast, explores the use of chorales in research. As such, this section

occasions a comparison of the two domains: are chorales as prevalent in research as in

instruction? If so, how do motivations for using them in research compare with using them in

instruction? As instruction and research are the main domains of professional music-theoretical

activity, this section fills out the picture of chorales in American music theory drawn thus far.

The question in the questionnaire concerning research read as follows: "In what

context(s), or for what purposes, do you use chorales in your PERSONAL RESEARCH, if at all?

(Please list all.)" Respondents entered responses in a blank field (see Appendix A). While the

format within which respondents were asked to respond was open-ended, the specification

"contexts and purposes" attempted to provide some guidelines, however loose, and the final

parenthesis invited exhaustivity. This question garnered 59 responses, to whose consideration

here I add comments from interviews.

I first assess the extent to which respondents report using the chorale at all in their

research. I then engage in a brief analysis of codes extracted from responses. Following this, I

discuss respondents' entries more holistically, exploring a range of research activities in which

respondents report using the chorale. Several clear patterns emerged here. While many

respondents reported using chorales in their research, this number is markedly lower than that in

instruction. Respondents focus in their research on a yet slimmer set of parameters than in their teaching, but they give greater attention to the context out of which chorales emerged. Respondents also employ chorales for a range of activities but focus particularly on analysis. As they did with instructional contexts, respondents consider chorales helpful in their research for illustrating music-theoretical phenomena and generalizing these phenomena to other repertoires. Finally, while certain respondents research the chorale for its own sake, most respondents use the chorale as simply a particularly well-suited representative of tonal music—particularly in corpus studies of tonal harmonic practice.
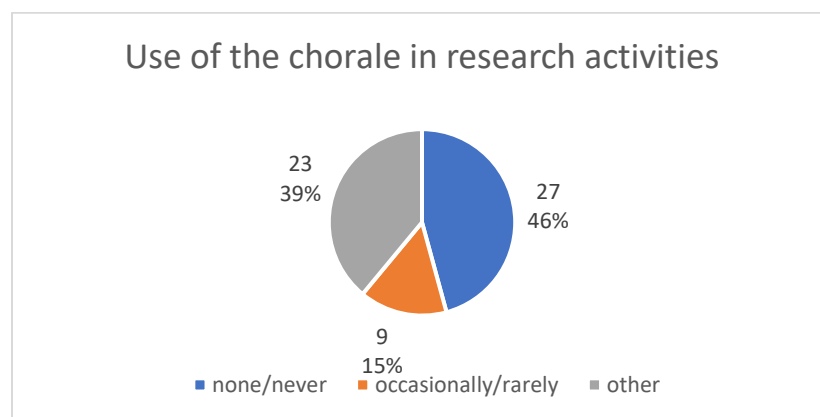
Figure 33: Frequency of use of the chorale in research activities.

Three categories of chorale use in research emerged from responses: respondents who do not use the chorale at all, those who use the chorale rarely or occasionally, and those who use the chorale to a meaningful extent. As Figure 34 shows, 27 respondents—almost half (45.8%)—reported not using chorales at all in their research .[49] Another nine used chorales rarely or occasionally in their research, leaving 23 respondents (39.0%) who deal meaningfully with

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[49] This number may be unrepresentative of the music theory community, given that 54 respondents skipped this question and yet answered later questions—almost as many as those who answered the question. While it is possible that these 54 respondents skipped this question for other reasons—unwillingness to respond, user error, etc.—the most plausible reason seems to be lack of chorale-related research activities to report.

chorales in their personal research.[50] While certainly substantial, this proportion is dwarfed by comparison with instruction, wherein, as shown above, at least 98.3% of respondents who teach indicated that they use chorales.

Quality	Count	Percentage
harmony	6	9.4%
voice-leading	5	7.8%
Bach	4	6.3%
composition	4	6.3%
analysis	3	4.7%
corpus study	3	4.7%
counterpoint	3	4.7%
German music	3	4.7%
history	3	4.7%
hymns	3	4.7%
SATB texture	3	4.7%
computation	2	3.1%
exemplification	2	3.1%
harmonizations	2	3.1%
keyboard	2	3.1%
mode	2	3.1%
history of music theory	2	3.1%
pedagogy	2	3.1%
performance	2	3.1%
personal routine	2	3.1%
popular music	2	3.1%
style comparison	2	3.1%
tonality	2	3.1%
Total	**64**	**100.0%**

Figure 34: Codes extracted from respondents' entries on their use of chorales in their personal research.

Figure 35 presents the codes extracted from entries in this section, and Figure 36 presents themes among these codes. As in the section above on instruction, topics pertaining to harmony (18.7%) and musical line (17.2%) are represented here strongly. By comparison, other music-

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[50] Answers were classified according to these categories based on either respondents' use of precisely these terms or a "closest fit" approach. An example of the latter under "occasionally" is the response, "Not much - I do use them to practice/warmup [*sic*] on the piano." An example of the latter under "rarely" is the response, "almost not at all." Responses categorized as "rarely or occasionally" in which were named a specific use for chorales were also included in the below discussion—but not in the category of "other" in Figure 33.

theoretical concepts play a minimal role.[51] Among the many music-theoretical activities that

arise are several pertaining to analysis (14.0%). Non-analysis activities constitute 15.6% of

codes. J. S. Bach (6.3%) is the only composer mentioned, but several specific musical styles or

style in general also arise with some frequency (15.6%), as do historical topics (7.8%). In

comparison to the topics that emerge with instruction, then, respondents are interested in a yet

slimmer range of strictly musical or music-theoretical topics, with an almost exclusive focus on

harmony and musical line, yet they use chorales in a broader range of activities, among which

analysis figures prominently. Respondents also mention matters of extra-musical context here

more frequently, whether musical style or historical culture.

Harmony	%	Musical Line	%	Analysis	%	Non-analysis Activities	%	Musical Style(s)	%	Historical Topics	%
harmony	9.4	voice-leading	7.8	analysis	4.7	composition	6.3	German music	4.7	history	4.7
harmoniz-ations	3.1	counterpoint	4.7	computation	3.1	exemplifi-cation	3.1	hymns	4.7	music theory history	3.1
mode	3.1	SATB texture	4.7	corpus study	3.1	performance	3.1	popular music	3.1		
tonality	3.1			style comparison	3.1	personal routine	3.1	style comparison	3.1		
Totals	18.7		17.2		14.0		15.6		15.6		7.8

Figure 35: Themes extracted from respondents' entries on their use of chorales in their personal research.

A deeper examination of respondents' entries here sheds light on their activities and

attitudes with respect to the chorale in research. I proceed with the following analysis from

responses in which the chorale is least central to the research in question to the most central.

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[51] The only other such topic is "SATB texture" (4.7%).

To begin with, some respondents reported using chorales in ways that resemble a fitness regimen or spiritual discipline. For some, this involved analyzing chorales; one respondent reported, "I regularly analyze chorales, to keep my analytic skills sharp," and in their interview, they described a New Year's resolution they made to enact a "morning routine" in which they played chorale harmonizations by Bach. But for others, such a regimen constituted "keyboard skills [and] sightsinging practice" and "practice/warmup on the piano," as two respondents (respectively) described their practices. That respondents count these activities as research may require a somewhat broad definition of the term; they seem to have in mind general music-theoretical skills—not, for example, advancing specific projects.[52] But these practices are still significant for the matter at hand. For one thing, simply the regularity and frequency of these respondents' working with chorales indicate these pieces' significant role in their music-theoretical activities. For another, the skills that respondents report are often considered foundational to music-theoretical facility—traditionally, "musicianship skills"; respondents' employment of chorales for honing these skills may reflect another association between chorales and music-theoretical basics beyond those mentioned above with respect to instruction.

Other respondents reported using chorales in ways more aligned with conventional understandings of research. In some of these contexts, the role of chorales was somewhat incidental, like with the respondent who reported publishing an article with "comparative analysis of two harmonizations of a chorale." Similarly, an interviewee reported having included some chorales in their dissertation, which dealt with harmony and voice-leading but otherwise had little to do with chorales. The incidental role of chorales in such studies indicates respondents' view of chorales as representative of principles pertaining to a wider repertoire.

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[52] The questionnaire design may have encouraged this perception, as pedagogy and research were the only two categories of music-theoretical activities named there.

For other respondents, chorales arose in their research on musical culture—for example, the history of Lutheran hymns, as one respondent reported. Another respondent researched "the Anglophone repertoire (19th century)," which exhibits "intersect[ion]s with Germanophone hymnody." Similarly, another respondent described researching chorales by way of "locating source material for other [chorale-based] compositions." For some respondents, chorales served as case studies for broader German musical practice—as one who studied chorales to explore "harmony, counterpoint, and composition in early modern Germany," and another who used the chorale to research "the history of music theory and German music in the early/modern era."

One subfield of music theory research arose several times in this question: corpus studies, and particularly computational music analysis. As one respondent wrote, "I use the 371 Bach Chorales as baseline of tonal gestures in some computational reserach [*sic*]." Another reported, "I've done a corpus study of the MIDI-format hymns at hymntime.com to discover voice-leading procedures that can be taught to undergraduates"—evidently understanding hymns as a type of chorale, as discussed above. While the first of the above sought to establish standards of "tonal gestures" and the second generalized "voice-leading procedures," a third cited using chorales a "a test case for corpus analysis of harmony" writ large. In all three cases, then, respondents used the corpus of chorales in question—by whatever definition—to stand for tonal harmony, echoing comments seen above: respondents hold features of chorales as generalizable across tonal harmony. A fourth respondent expressed unease with generalizing so broadly from chorales: while they engaged in "computational analysis of chorale corpora," they admitted that "I don't use these too much because I don't think they're representative of a broader style." Using chorales for such corpus study, particularly computationally, requires at least three conditions:

first, a sufficiently large corpus of chorales for such research; second, chorale corpora in a computable form; and third, the belief that chorales are appropriate for such study.[53]

Other respondents were explicit about believing that chorales are well-suited to conveying basic music-theoretical concepts and principles. Two respondents answered this question by simply listing music-theoretical topics. One list is extensive: "Harmony, voice leading, form, text setting, mode, counterpoint, Schenkerian analysis, melodic-functional analysis, studies in the evolutionary origins and purposes of music, liturgical studies, practical performance, composition, improvisation, music history, history of music theory, pedagogy." The sheer expansiveness of this list clearly illustrates the respondent's confidence in the chorale's versatility and utility. Another respondent asserted the value of the chorale to composing original music; while observing that the chorale "is not tonal [in] the traditional sense nor is the voice leading traditional," they conceded that "most composers make use of [its] voice leading in some way." Another respondent, evidently understanding "chorale" very broadly, stressed harmonic aspects: "I've been examining the Vidal basses and Boulanger's approach to four-part harmony and how it relates to the Italian partimenti [*sic*] tradition." These respondents, too, consider the chorale suited to illustrate a remarkable range of topics, but particularly those connected to harmony and musical line.

The range of repertoire that respondents believed the chorale to shed light on was similarly broad. One respondent reported "look[ing] at chorale settings in the context of popular music"; another "found chorales useful…regarding voice leading in Cuban timba piano tumbaos and jazz big band arrangements." The chorale's utility even extended beyond tonal music: one

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[53] One corpus of Bach's chorale harmonizations commonly used in these studies is that available through Michael Cuthbert's music21 software: see the "music21.corpus.chorales" package in Michael Cuthbert, "Music21: A Toolkit for Computer-Aided Musicology," Python, n.d., https://web.mit.edu/music21/. To be sure, this is only one of a number of corpora available with Music21.

respondent acknowledged that chorales "have influenced my thinking about music in countless ways, though my research and compositions are non-tonal." Even without further information on how they used chorales in these contexts, it is clear that they consider chorales' applicability to extend beyond classical music to popular music, beyond tonal music to post-tonal music, and to both analysis and composition.

Finally, some responses reflected research in which the chorale constitutes the main subject of investigation—as one respondent who "research[ed] chorale harmonizations for their own sake." The respondent cited above who described the "morning routine" of playing chorales, moreover, also mentioned plans for "a long range project to analyze each one [of Bach's chorale harmonizations] and give commentary."

A main question in this section is how respondents' use of the chorale in their research compares with that in their teaching. While on the whole, fewer respondents use the chorale in their research than in teaching, some of their habits in the latter also arise in the former: relatively widespread use of the chorale in general, an emphasis on harmony and line, and use in a range of activities. Among these activities, respondents seem particularly inclined toward analysis. Also pronounced is respondents' belief that chorales represent music-theoretical phenomena—again, particularly those relating to harmony and musical line. If anything, the breadth of topics to which respondents believe these phenomena apply seems greater in respondents' research than in their instruction. Finally, respondents' use the chorale to examine a variety of music-theoretical topics, as an entry point into specific historical topics, and even for its own sake all reinforce its place within American music theory.

3.5 The Chorale's Value

The next section of the questionnaire explored respondents' opinions on the chorale's value, both music-theoretical and non-music-theoretical. This section augments the discussion of respondents' motivations for using chorales in multiple ways. First of all, it extends beyond instruction to include all music-theoretical activities. Its format is also more flexible: this section's questions were wholly free-form, so respondents could address any topic they wished. Finally, this section elicited challenges to the chorale's presumed value.

This section's division between the chorale's music-theoretical value and its non-music-theoretical value is admittedly somewhat artificial, as the side on which some answers should fall was debatable. As in previous sections, I begin by discussing individual codes extractable and then delve more deeply into respondents' entire entries. I also incorporate comments that arose in interviews, as well as some responses from earlier sections.

This section largely corroborates observations made above. Respondents overwhelmingly connect the chorale's value to the musical parameters of harmony and musical line, as well as to its capacity for representing phenomena relating to these two, particularly in the context of early-level instruction. Part of this capacity owes to the chorale's simplicity, which is often achieved by the suppression of other parameters. Respondents consider these phenomena as in turn generalizable to other repertoire of a wide range of styles, genres, and instrumentations. But respondents also find the chorale valuable for other reasons, whether because of their fine quality or because they offer a point of entry to other musical and historical contexts. Not all respondents exhibit enthusiasm for the chorale, however. While some negative responses affirm qualities of the chorale that positive responses also highlight, they also reflect the belief that the

chorale is unrepresentative of the topics that practitioners wish to teach, and that use of the

chorale to illustrate certain phenomena reflects an inappropriate focus on harmony.

3.5.1 Music-theoretical value

The question dealing with the chorale's music-theoretical value read as follows: "In your

opinion, what MUSIC-THEORETICAL value does the chorale have (whether for pedagogy,

research, or other activities)?" This question garnered 86 responses of varying lengths and levels

of detail. To analyze these responses, I employed the coding approach of earlier sections with

two modifications. First, I separated out the 14 negative statements to avoid the problem of

conflicting valences for a given term.[54] Second, I permitted the same code to arise twice in the

same response if it was used to make different points, since responses were frequently more

involved than in previous sections.[55] This approach yielded 404 individual and 66 unique codes

(see Figure 37).

Extracted codes fell into three themes: musical parameters, terms relating to musical or

music-theoretical activities, and general qualities or principles. Codes in the first group are

musical aspects that respondents valued in chorales, those in the second the contexts in which

they use chorales, and those in the third respondents' justifications for using chorales in these

activities. While codes in the first category group together relatively clearly, those in the second

and third do not. As such, I limit discussion of codes to the first category and discuss codes

relating to the other two categories when I consider respondents' statements.

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[54] Here, "negative" meant any degree of negativity, even if simply a qualification of a positive statement.
[55] While responses yielded an average of 5.5 codes (median: 5), the largest number of codes in a given entry is 18.

No.	Code	Count	Percent
1	harmony	37	8.7%
2	instruction	37	8.7%
3	voice-leading	26	6.1%
4	rudimentary	15	3.5%
5	demonstration	14	3.3%
6	J. S. Bach	13	3.1%
7	counterpoint	11	2.6%
8	singability	11	2.6%
9	generalizability	10	2.4%
10	exemplar	9	2.1%
11	SATB texture	9	2.1%
12	analysis	8	1.9%
13	composition	7	1.6%
14	comprehensibility	7	1.6%
15	concepts	7	1.6%
16	harm. progression	7	1.6%
17	simple texture	7	1.6%
18	tonality	7	1.6%
19	tradition	7	1.6%
20	brevity/concision	6	1.4%
21	embellishing tones	6	1.4%
22	melody	6	1.4%
23	style	6	1.4%
24	cadence	5	1.2%
25	chords	5	1.2%
26	common-practice	5	1.2%
27	history	5	1.2%
28	homophony	5	1.2%
29	modulation	5	1.2%
30	principles	5	1.2%
31	framework	4	0.9%
32	harmonization	4	0.9%
33	inter-parameter relations	4	0.9%
34	keyboard	4	0.9%
35	phrase/form	4	0.9%
36	religion	4	0.9%
37	beauty	3	0.7%
38	combination	3	0.7%
39	compact	3	0.7%
40	constraints	3	0.7%
41	legibility	3	0.7%
42	modality	3	0.7%
43	non-harm tones	3	0.7%
44	research	3	0.7%
45	simplicity	3	0.7%
46	skill	3	0.7%
47	source material	3	0.7%
48	texture	3	0.7%
49	chromaticism	2	0.5%
50	clear harmony	2	0.5%
51	clear texture	2	0.5%
52	fast harm. rhythm	2	0.5%
53	fundamental/ foundation	2	0.5%
54	harmonic function	2	0.5%
55	harmonic rhythm	2	0.5%
56	idioms	2	0.5%
57	inspiration	2	0.5%
58	musicianship	2	0.5%
59	part-writing	2	0.5%
60	range	2	0.5%
61	rhythm	2	0.5%
62	rich harmony	2	0.5%
63	score-reading	2	0.5%
64	simple rhythm	2	0.5%
65	text-setting	2	0.5%
66	voicing	2	0.5%
	Total	**404**	**100%**

Figure 36: Codes extracted from respondents' entries concerning the chorale's music-theoretical value.

Just under half of the topics (47.2%) that emerged from respondents' entries were musical parameters. Given the similarity between the concepts of musical parameters and musical qualities—that is, the term earlier in the questionnaire where respondents were asked their motivations for using the chorale in instruction—it is unsurprising that answers from these

two questions were similar.[56] As in previous sections, matters pertaining to harmony arose most frequently: fully 14.4% of codes contain the term "harmony" or its derivatives (Table 7 and Figure 38), while another 5.2% are codes connected to harmony conceptually, without using the term "harmony."[57] Together, these constitute one-fifth (19.6%) of all codes. Codes pertaining to musical line also formed a large group: around one-seventh (13.6%) of all codes. Together, then, codes bearing some connection to harmony or musical line constitute one-third (33.2%) of all codes. A third group also emerged with some prominence: codes pertaining to musical texture. Under a tighter conception of the term, 6.1% of topics fell into this category, while expanding this conception slightly would admit another 5.6%,[58] together totaling one-tenth (9.9%) of all codes. But these categories—harmony, musical line, and musical texture—largely exhaust the musical parameters that arose in this question: the next-most-common group of parameters pertains to rhythm, which, at 1.5%, figures relatively little overall. Apart from the only barely represented "phrase/form" (0.9%),[59] no more musical parameters were given/listed/mentioned. In summary, then, respondents who consider the chorale of music-theoretical value connect it most to harmony and musical line and somewhat to musical texture.

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[56] I depict these trends in Figure 3.30 via a bar graph—rather than, for example, a graph that divides up 100% of codes, such as a pie graph—because in some cases, I double-count codes, and so the total percentage of codes represented over all categories exceeds 100%. Among codes, I separate "literal connection" from "conceptual connection" to distinguish between codes closely connected to a given category and those connected but less closely; for example, under "harmony," the first group comprises codes that employ the term "harmony," while the second group comprises codes clearly related to harmony but that do not use the term. Several of the codes—such as "lines"—have no results for one of these two groups. How this distinction plays out in a given category should be clear from my explanations. The numbers beside categories named on the Y axis in Example 12b identify the place of these categories in the list in Example 12a, where applicable.

[57] I include "modality" here by way of harmony in a general sense—that is, a scheme that describes how pitches as such relate to one another.

[58] Including "counterpoint" here is double counting it (see n.56 above). Music theorists use the term in different senses, most of which would apply to both categories here.

[59] One topic that seems closest to this group but nevertheless is not a musical parameter is "cadence" (1.2%); on this term, see n.45 above.

"Harmon*"	%	Harmony	%	Musical Line	%	Musical Texture (tight)	%	Musical Texture (loose)	%	Rhythm	%
harmony	8.7	tonality	1.6	voice-leading	6.1	SATB texture	2.1	counterpoint	2.6	fast harmonic rhythm	0.5
harmonic progression	1.6	chords	1.2	counterpoint	2.6	simple texture	1.6	range	2.5	harmonic rhythm	0.5
harmoniz-ation	0.9	modulation	1.2	SATB texture	2.1	homophony	1.2	voicing	0.5	simple rhythm	0.5
non-harmonic tones	0.7	modality	0.7	embellishing tones	1.4	texture	0.7				
clear harmony	0.5	chromaticism	0.5	melody	1.4	clear texture	0.5				
fast harmonic rhythm	0.5										
harmonic function	0.5										
harmonic rhythm	0.5										
rich harmony	0.5										
Totals	**14.4**		**5.2**		**13.6**		**6.1**		**5.6**		**1.5**

Table 7: Themes arising among codes extracted from the question on the chorale's music-theoretical value.
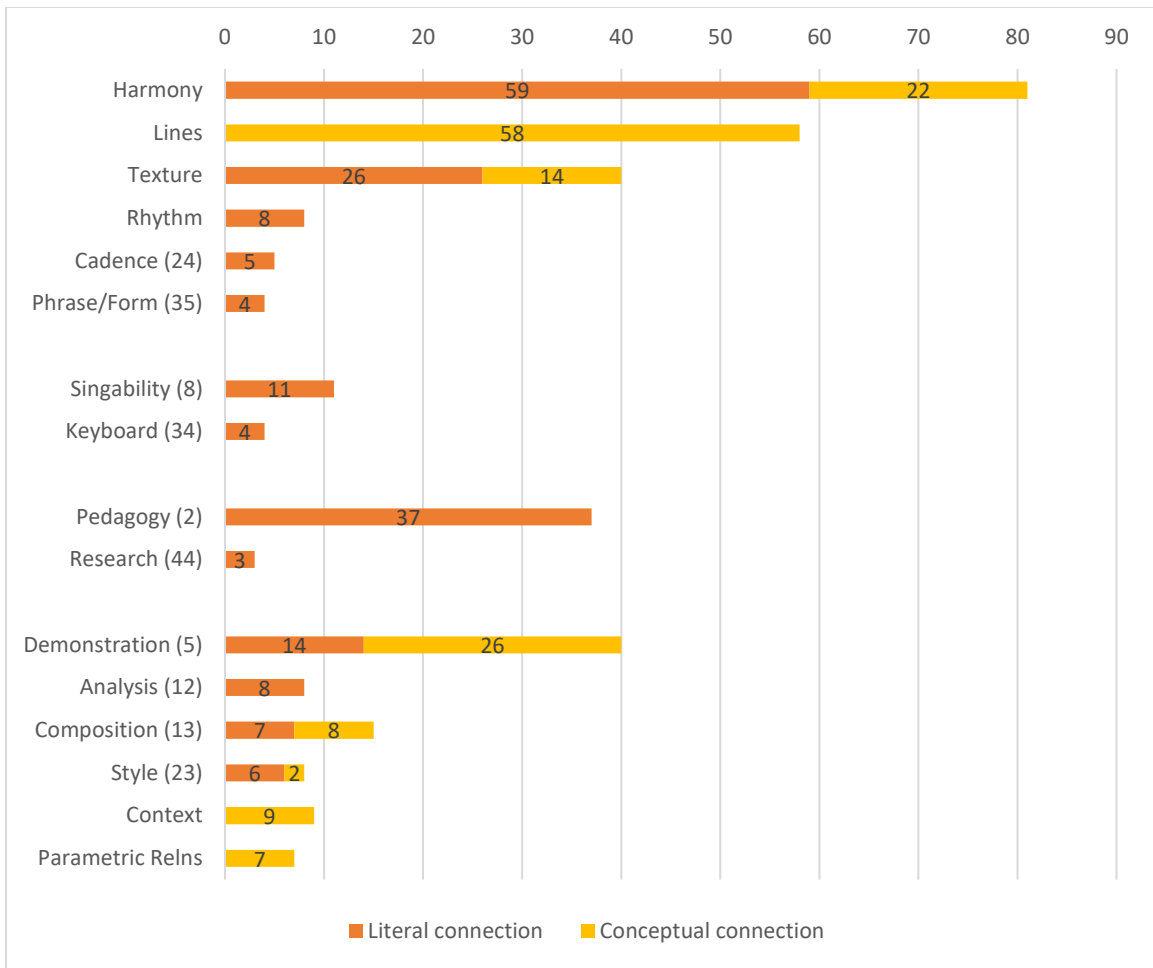
Figure 37: Themes arising in question on music-theoretical value. (Values on chart indicate number of codes.)

3.5.1.1 Positive responses

The most frequently occurring activity was "instruction" (8.7%); indeed, with "harmony" (8.7%) this code occurred most frequently among all codes in this section. If the broad division of music-theoretical activities that this survey employed between instruction and research is applied here, the low incidence here of the code "research" (0.7%) suggests that respondents considered the chorale's value to lie mostly in instructional uses.[60] This further reinforces the

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[60] As noted in the section on research, it is unnecessary and likely misleading to conceive of instruction and research as mutually exclusive. I use the distinction here with the same caveats mentioned in that section.

association between chorales and instruction shown earlier in this chapter, particularly the high prevalence of its use there.

Respondents named several qualities that might suit chorales to instruction, particularly at early levels. On a pragmatic level, they cited chorales' availability, a characteristic expedient for activities such as "analysis" (1.9%), as chorales' abundance affords students ample opportunity for practice. But it is also helpful in the context of "harmonization" (0.9%) of chorales, if one wished to compare different harmonizations; according to one respondent, chorales offer "harmony that is rich and imaginative, especially evident in chorales that have multiple harmonizations for the same melody." Another respondent, who taught at a Christian institution, referred to a "built-in familiarity" with chorales and chorale-like hymns among students, which made it unnecessary to teach students new pieces. As another put it, "this music is still very much in our living tradition."

One theme that emerged with some frequency is chorales' "simplicity" (0.7%) and "clarity."[61] While these two qualities on their own do not appear high on the list of codes, both terms do arise as adjectives modifying other qualities or parameters—"simple texture" (1.6%) and "simple rhythm" (0.5%), on one hand, and "clear harmony," (0.5%) and "clear texture" (0.5%), on the other hand. As above, the simplification that respondents observe here is that of rhythm and figuration, and the result clarity with respect to harmony. As one respondent wrote, "chorales often make good examples because of the simplicity of the texture (the harmonic structure is readily apparent; you don't have to prune away a lot of figuration)."[62] Another respondent observed, "their [chorales'] rhythmic and textural clarity is perfect for introducing

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[61] Responses for "clarity" were below the inclusion threshold.
[62] Another respondent expressed this more concisely in the "motivations" section: "no complicated rhythmic displacement or embellishments clouding harmonic structures."

students to harmonic function," while a third respondent remarked how "it's nice to have a clear texture so they [students] can focus on identifying the harmonies." But respondents also valued chorales in connection with the concept of musical line, as one respondent's entry illustrates: the chorale "provides a useful 'sandbox' for students to explore harmony & voice-leading without having to worry too much about other musical parameters." Indeed, the code "counterpoint" constituted 2.6% of codes that arose, the seventh-highest incidence.

As in the section above exploring chorales' qualities that motivate their use, respondents also highlighted here chorales' "concision" or "brevity" (1.4%). As one interviewee observed, chorales "illustrate in a very condensed way basic contrapuntal, melodic, and harmonic procedures typical of common practice music"; for another, chorales are "inexhaustible repertoire of melody, voice leading, harmony, phrase, and form all in miniature." In other words, the chorale is distinguished for the density or saturation of the phenomena it illustrates. While partly this feature may be a testament to compositional refinement, respondents also named practical benefits; for one respondent, "one of the best things about using a chorale is that you can use a single phrase to teach or assess multiple analytical skills." Indeed, this dense texture may make for a more inclusive classroom. As one interviewee reported, some students—such as guitarists—see in chorales only series of chords, some—such as singers—only lines, but with chorales, neither is disappointed; in short, "there's something for everyone." Relatedly, respondents found chorales helpful for studying the interaction of musical parameters (0.9%); as one respondent wrote, chorales "are excellent vehicles for teaching about the relation between harmony, counterpoint, and dissonance treatment." The chorale, observed another, is "a convenient means of demonstrating to students how various music-theoretical principles (harmony, voice-leading, embellishing tones, etc.) become entangled together." Yet even despite

this richness, chorales retain their simplicity: with chorales, wrote another respondent, "harmonic rhythm, voice leading, and harmonic function are all present in a simple context."

Chorales' simplicity and clarity render them easy to use for a range of music-theoretical activities, according to respondents. Some emphasized chorales' comprehensibility (1.6%); as one wrote, "they are relatively easy to comprehend." Other respondents pointed to the chorale's visual legibility (0.7%): reinforcing observations above of the chorale's simple "format," one referred to the "illustration of harmonic concepts in a relatively easy-to-read manner." Another was more specific: "it [the chorale] is harmonically as complex as much orchestral music, but students can grasp it easily because it appears on just two staves. It is therefore an ideal pedagogical tool for teaching harmony and voice leading." While one respondent cited "ease of composing", other respondents cited how easy the chorale is to perform—its "ease of performance for illustration," as one respondent observed. Corroborating the discussion above of chorale's singability (2.6%), several respondents cited this factor as well: "they are (generally) easy to sing," reported one, and another observed that "they're easily singable, so chorales can be used for more interactive and embodied exercises." But respondents also mentioned other performance mediums; another respondent observed that "they're easy to realize at the piano (the quintessential music-theoretical instrument of the classroom)."[63] In summary, the chorale's simplicity and clarity facilitate a variety of basic music-theory tasks, including performance, comprehension—particularly visual—and illustration, again corroborating results in the section on motivations.

One point in the above warrants highlighting: a respondent's associating the chorale with a particular notational configuration—namely, its disposition on two staves. As was discussed in

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[63] The topic "keyboard" constituted 0.9% of codes in this section.

Chapter 2 and will be discussed in Chapter 4, this presentation is in fact particular to music

theory's deployment of the chorale, and indeed plays an important role in reframing the chorale

ontologically. That the respondent attaches this configuration to chorales suggests that the visual

presentation in question is not incidental to the chorale, but rather integral to its conception.

Indeed, this configuration is for the respondent one of the factors that renders the chorale so

suitable for instruction.

Respondents also reported using chorales as a transition between topics—a "bridge" or

"stepping stone," as two respondents put it. According to one respondent, "I use chorales only as

an introduction to the concept and immediately move on to more complicated textures"; for

another, "hymns and chorales form a useful stage between strict counterpoint and free writing."

Another respondent offered further detail: "the study of harmony in chorale textures is normally

followed with more complex textures found in literature for piano or any other

instrumental/vocal combinations." In other words, chorales are effective in this transition

because their textures—of unspecified instrumentation—are simpler than those found in other

musical literature. Indeed, chorales "quickly allow students to digest and deploy harmonies

before we let them loose on more confusing and difficult to digest textures and instrumental

deployments," as another respondent opined. While many respondents located the common

denominator between chorales and other repertoire in the realm of harmony, another held that the

chorale is "good as a starting point for teaching how to listen for outer-voice counterpoint in

larger pieces."

On the face of things, respondents are here describing the chorale's position in the early

undergraduate curriculum, as well as providing explanations for how it is suited to this position:

its simplicity, its ability to model both important features of both harmony and counterpoint, and

so on—all themes familiar from earlier in this survey. But hidden below the surface is a critical ontological shift: that from an abstract realm to the realm of real music. That is, somewhere in this curricular trajectory, the subject went from the theoretical to the actual, and the chorale is precisely the site of this transition. On which side does the chorale fall? And what other factors suit it to effecting this transition? These are in fact major themes in the remainder of the present dissertation and will be taken up in earnest beginning in Chapter 4.

As with regard to their motivations for using chorales, respondents also cited the chorale's "generalizability" (2.4%) as an aspect of its music-theoretical value. As one respondent wrote, "I use chorales to show idiomatic patterns that students are later able to identify in other music with more complex embellishments and rhythms." Another believed that the chorale teaches "skills that tranfer [*sic*] beyond any one genre or time period." Respondents here, too, highlighted harmony and voice-leading as generalizable parameters: one respondent observed that the chorale's "harmonic technique is generalizable to other genres," and another referred to chorales as "embellished skeletons of voice leading." As earlier, the extent of generalizability that respondents ascribed to the chorale is considerable: one identified the range of application as "common practice music," another a "microcosm…for Common Practice tonality," and a third "free composition" in general.

In light of the chorale's alleged simplicity and clarity, on one hand, and its comprehensibility and generalizability, on the other, it is unsurprising that respondents highlighted its value as an "exemplar" or model (2.1%). As one respondent stated, "they [chorales] are the exemplar of four-part diatonic harmony and voice-leading." Another respondent wrote, "chorales have pedagogical value as models for voice-leading, harmonic progressions, and cadence types." Some respondents cited chorales' value for imitating

compositionally; as one wrote, the chorale "models a harmonic language that students can emulate in their own arrangements/composition." The range of phenomena that respondents find chorales valuable in illustrating is also considerable; apart from harmony and line, respondents mentioned "chromaticism and modulation," "key concepts in the traditional music-theoretical curriculum (cadence, modulation, particular harmonies, hemiola, etc.)," "functional harmony and…basic contrapuntal methods in four-part texture," "principles at work in free composition," "the voice leading of other compositional styles," "voice leading procedures that are the norm," "cadences, modulations, the use of non-chord tones, voice leading and counterpoint," and "embellishing tones, harmonic progression/analysis, cadence, phrase/form." While many of these phenomena revolve around the parameters of harmony and musical line, they also extend further, to topics like cadence and hemiola.

With regard to repertoire, respondents mentioned Bach's chorale harmonizations in particular in conjunction with chorales' value, also applying many of the themes that arose with regard to chorales in general to Bach's chorale harmonizations in particular. For example, one respondent called these pieces "maximally dense" with respect to voice-leading, where another wrote that "the Bach chorales are the consummate examples of what can be accomplished with very restricted textural means." One interviewee commented, "you couldn't find a better model for voice-leading than Bach's chorales," while another considered these pieces "as representative of [the] common-practice era as you can get." Respondents even considered Bach's chorale harmonizations generalizable to a wide range of other repertoire; one wrote that "idioms exemplified in Bach chorale harmonizations materialize in all sorts of music," naming the works of "Haydn, Mozart, Chopin, and Schubert." Other respondents echoed these themes; one interviewee called them "tonal music par excellence," while a respondent dubbed them "the

pinnacle of four voice harmony." But a new theme that emerged is the attribution to these pieces of instructional powers. One respondent wrote more obliquely that "just about anything you can find in a harmony textbook, you can find in a Bach chorale," but another, describing the view of other theorists, called this corpus "a bible of harmony" and "a harmony guidebook."

Finally, some respondents' descriptions reflected a conception of chorales not as a musical genre, per se, but abstract musical configurations. One respondent, for example, equating the chorale with "four-part writing," described it as "a kind of norm for freer textures," and another described it as "a simplified version for more complex texture[s?]." At least two ideas here are striking: first, that a given genre should somehow stand for a broad range of textures—echoing the notions of "generalizability" and "exemplars" mentioned earlier—and second, that a chorale can somehow relate to a more complicated version—whether of itself or some other piece is unclear. Another respondent, however, suggested one interpretation by asserting that "casually speaking, one might say that some Chopin pieces are something like Bach chorales with lots of diminution." There is clearly much to unpack here: not only are some of Chopin's works like chorales, but they are like Bach's chorale settings in particular. How can this be? What conception of Bach's chorales, on one hand, and works by Chopin, on the other, must the respondent hold for such a statement to have any sense? A partial explanation comes from one interviewee's description of chorales as "*Urmusik*"—that is, chorales offer a fundamental, originary version of music; but again, why a practitioner of music theory should hold such a belief, and how they came to do so, warrants significant investigation—the job of the remainder of this dissertation.

In summary, respondents evoked a variety of themes in regard to the chorale's music-theoretical value. They found the chorale valuable in music-theoretical ways for its ease in

accomplishing a variety of tasks owing in large part to its simplicity and clarity, which is a consequence of suppression along most parameters and the foregrounding of harmony and line their interactions. In this regard, the chorale serves as a helpful bridge from abstract concepts to real, more complex musical repertoire, in respondents' view, whereby many of the principles and concepts that the chorale exemplifies so well may be generalized to this repertoire. Indeed, respondents go so far as to describe chorales as exemplars of phenomena, and even conceive them as versions of existing repertoire. Yet the chorale is also valuable for more pragmatic reasons, whether its conciseness or its ready availability.

3.5.1.2 Negative Responses

Not all respondents considered the chorale music-theoretically valuable: of the 86 responses to the question concerning the chorale's music-theoretical value, 15 (17.4%) included some element of negativity, and most were entirely negative.[64]

In some ways, negative responses affirmed beliefs that emerged from positive responses; in particular, some respondents cited here considered the chorale useful for early-stage instruction and particularly with regard to harmony and musical line, and they agreed that the chorale is a rich musical genre. Yet respondents also differed in how they viewed these aspects: some find music theorists' attention to harmony and musical line as leading to the neglect of other important musical parameters; others find chorales too complicated for novices or consider the rule-bound approach to their use them unmusical. Several respondents also challenged the chorale's generalizability, and particularly with regard to Bach's chorale harmonizations.

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[64] For the classification of responses as negative, see above, sec. 2.6.1.

To begin with, some negative responses nevertheless affirmed the chorale's value for basic music theory instruction. As one respondent wrote, "I use chorales only as an introduction to the concept and immediately move on to more complicated textures"; another affirmed, "chorales are frankly too limited to be of much use in teaching upper-level topics dealing with harmony, form, etc." Yet even in acknowledging the chorale's limitedness, respondents conceded the chorale's value for studying harmony and line. One respondent observed that the chorale "has great value if one is doing research on chorales, some practical value for basic contrapuntal instruction, but very little beyond that." Another expanded this list slightly, stating that "outside of harmony and voice leading, and the particulars of four-part homophonic vocal composition, chorales have limited value in teaching music theory." In short, respondents did not challenge the chorale's value for these topics, but rather the relative importance of the topics themselves. One interviewee, for example, complained that music theorists are "locked up" in harmony and overlook other equally important parameters like melody, while other respondents added rhythm and form to this list of frequently overlooked parameters. While chorales may provide a useful link to the tradition of "common-practice" music, one respondent wrote, this tradition is "over-valued" in music theory.

Other respondents also wondered whether theorists relied on chorales for other, unstated—and perhaps less music-theoretical—reasons. For example, one interviewee speculated that practitioners rely on chorales simply because with chorales, harmonies were "lined up" on the musical score, helping students identify harmonies and voice-leading relationships. Yet they objected to this feature, as it does not encourage students to think about the musical forces involved—such as expressivity, bringing out lines, breathing, crescendo and decrescendo, and what the music is "telling you," all of which are important in lived musical experience. Another

interviewee similarly suggested that music theorists rely on Bach's chorale harmonizations because they offer "microscopic chord-progressions"—that is, manageable, discrete harmonic configurations. The interviewee compared music theorists to biology instructors teaching the same content year after year, not on the basis of importance but because it is "straightforward." "I wish we didn't rely so heavily on chorales," wrote one respondent. "They're a sample of convenience."

But several respondents challenged the notion that the chorale is well suited to basic instruction; as one wrote, the chorale has "little value other than ease." Indeed, several respondents also found the chorale overly complicated. One interviewee observed that four-part writing is "too difficult" for students and just "leads to lots of errors." Another interviewee believed that students find chorales "fundamentally overwhelming," because their texture is complicated and the harmonic rhythm too great. While such richness may be impressive to those who plan course content, the interviewee observed, students typically do not have the music-theoretical knowledge or experience to assimilate it. Despite these reservations, this same interviewee still used chorales, owing to students' need for competency in chorale-writing for graduate placement examinations, and resorted to "salesman tricks" to make the topic palatable for their students. Another interviewee summarized the chorale's inclusion in the curriculum as "think like an expert to become an expert": in other words, by studying high-level musical works, students would in time learn the principles necessary to create such works. While it seems inconsistent that some respondents find chorales too simple and others too complicated, the great breadth within the term "chorale" that respondents perceived should be recalled; the former may have in mind *Grove*'s "simple harmonizations," for example, and the latter Bach's more complicated settings—or even post-tonal works, as shown above.

Another recurring criticism of using chorales in instruction was an inordinate emphasis on rules. One interviewee, for example, observed that their students approached work with chorales like a puzzle rather than a musical exercise and thus missed their goal—that is, enhancing musical experiences. This focus on rules, they found, also made work with chorales too time-consuming relative to benefits returned; instructors must spend precious classroom time "hung up on voice leading minutiae," as another respondent put it. Another interviewee agreed, observing that work with the chorale "doesn't relate to musical experiences." Yet this emphasis on rules may be precisely why chorales enjoy a place in the curriculum, according to another interviewee, who speculated that chorales' popularity, particularly among non-theorists, stems from the "comfy, rule-based environment" that they provide—even if this does not benefit students.

Some respondents challenged a notion that other respondents had advanced: that chorales can form a helpful bridge from abstract concepts to actual musical repertoire. Apart from the distraction from lived musical experience they may pose, as just mentioned, several respondents found the step from the chorale's texture to a more ornamented one too large. As one respondent wrote, there is "quite a considerable gap" between the type of figuration found in chorales, which they described as unlike that in "even the simplest classical-style pieces." Another respondent agreed, writing that chorales "stop being useful when you want students to move beyond writing in simple chordal textures and learn to how figuration works."

Some respondents also resisted the notion of the chorale's generalizability alleged by respondents in previous sections. One interviewee, while conceding that chorales may be helpful to understand classical music, ultimately believed them to be unnecessary for this goal. For non-classical music, however, "you definitely don't need them"; in popular music, moreover, the

harmonic writing one undertakes with chorales is "not really a craft." Respondents particularly stressed how unrepresentative the chorale is of other music. One respondent wrote that while the chorale aptly illustrates "basic contrapuntal, melodic, and harmonic procedures typical of common practice music," "no music acts like a chorale in terms of harmonic rhythm." Another respondent commented that "the chorale is often treated as a model for tonal harmony, because of its textural simplicity, but it is in many ways unusual (in harmony and phrase rhythm), so it is not a good representative of tonal practice generally, and skews our perspective on it"; for this reason, they believed, chorales provide "a distorted view of harmony and voice leading"—that is, the very parameters that other respondents believe that chorales illustrate so well. Being so unrepresentative, concluded one interviewee, chorales are "tremendous impediment to an understanding of what music is all about." Another respondent criticized the "excessive prestige" that American music theory accords the chorale, while an interviewee even characterized theorists as believing the chorale the "God-given, pre-ordained way that music was written."

Several respondents leveled criticisms in particular at theorists' heavy reliance upon Bach's chorale harmonizations, registering a variety of objections. One found these pieces "way too sophisticated" for theorists' usual ends, particularly early-stage instruction. An interviewee found the presentation of these pieces typical in music theory textbooks as especially problematic; particularly when authors excerpt a short passage, these pieces are presented "so out of context," an "amputation." The interviewee confessed suspicion that authors omitted broader portions to shield impressionable students from rule-breaking in them. The most common charge levelled against Bach's chorale harmonizations, however, was how unrepresentative they are of music-theoretical phenomena. For one interviewee, the version of tonality in these pieces is not that of the undergraduate curriculum; for example, several chorale tunes are Phrygian, yet Bach's

setting is tonal, producing a strange concatenation. Another interviewee agreed, but admitted that when teaching, they seek "the most tonal chorales I can find as examples for how to write four-part counterpoint," since these correspond to the established curriculum. One respondent also complained about corpus study of Bach's chorale settings; while such study is "tempting," given the cleanly delineated corpus, treatments of these pieces as "typical of the repertoire as a whole and across the centuries" nevertheless "seriously misunderstood the repertoire." "From a hymnological perspective," they observed, this is "a pretty baffling proposition." Another respondent observed that "students tend to gain very little [*sic*] musical insights that impact their musicality, musical skills, or the way they deal with other repertoires."

Other respondents believed Bach's chorale settings as unrepresentative of even more circumscribed domains. One interviewee characterized deploying Bach's chorale harmonizations to exemplify Baroque harmonic practice as "ironic," given the composer's egregious transgressions of tonal conventions. For another interviewee, Bach—whom they called "a freak"—"didn't write Baroque music; he wrote this Bach shit"; that is, these pieces represent only the composer's own style. Another respondent even observed, "I don't think that Bach's chorales are representative even of Bach's output." The inordinate number of Bach's chorales in music theory textbooks, suggested an interviewee, also misrepresents Bach's compositional activities, lending the impression that "all that Bach ever did was harmonizing chorales."

As one respondent wrote, "why do we revere and spend so much time on Bach chorales when there's so much other music to teach people?" Another asked, "are Bach chorales more important than a Chopin mazurka?" Respondents made similar observations with regard to chorales in general. One interviewee observed, "I can't remember the last time I went to a concert and there was a chorale on the program." If what one derives from chorales is not

generalizable, as another respondent summarized, "chorales teach people about chorales and almost nothing else." As another summarized, "chorales are really only useful for teaching how to write chorales." On this logic, as another respondent wrote, focusing on chorales is, "for the most part, a waste of time when there is so much more to be learned."

Respondents' criticisms here shed interesting light on the chorale's role in music theory. On one hand, their objections to its dominance inadvertently confirm the status of these pieces in the field, as shown above: respondents in both camps affirm the chorale's aptness for early-stage instruction, particularly for teaching harmony and musical line, the chorale's richness, its ease of use, and the prevalence of Bach's chorale harmonizations in particular. Yet even while affirming these themes, respondents with negative attitudes toward the chorale's value also questioned the field's attachment to some of these aspects: is the field's attention to harmony and musical line undue? Even if the chorale is rich, is it representative of the phenomena one wishes to illustrate? Are clear and simple pieces for this reason misleading with respect to broader instructional goals? One aspect on which respondents disagreed in particular is the chorale's generalizability; while some held the chorale to be a superior, even ideal, exemplar of some music-theoretical phenomena, many hold it as unrepresentative, whether of tonal repertoire or, in the case of Bach's chorale harmonizations, of Baroque music generally, and even of Bach's own harmonic practices. How can respondents hold such disparate views? And the question of these pieces' generalizability is critical: if chorales do not represent the phenomena that practitioners seek to illustrate, the chorale's value is significantly diminished; studying chorales means learning this genre alone, which plays but little of a role in contemporary musical life. That so many respondents registered negative views demonstrates that belief in its value is far from unanimous, and that even some of the goals that the chorale may achieve are not goals worth preserving.

3.5.2 Non-Music-Theoretical Value

Respondents also were invited to reflect on the chorale's non-music-theoretical value. The question for this section was similar to that in the previous: "In your opinion, does using chorales in music theory have any NON-music-theoretical value? If so, what?" As with the question regarding music-theoretical value, respondents were provided an empty field in which to enter their responses.

This question yielded 56 responses. Because of the lower number of responses, combined with how disparate responses are, I here forgo discussing individual topics and instead immediately discuss respondents' entire responses. Unlike in the discussion on the chorale's music-theoretical value, I have not separated out negative responses here. Respondents displayed little negativity toward the chorale's non-music-theoretical value: of the question's 56 responses, only three respondents dismissed out of hand the possibility of non-music-theoretical value—unfortunately without justifying their response. To be sure, some respondents who did not regard the chorale as valuable for non–music theoretical reasons likely skipped the question, as nearly double the number of respondents—111—answered the question that followed. I have nevertheless incorporated below the few negative responses entered.

To begin with, a number of respondents mentioned the chorale's aesthetic value; as one respondent observed simply, "they're beautiful." Some respondents emphasized chorales' composition—"they're each a miniature masterpiece"—while others emphasized the user's pleasure: as one wrote, chorales are a "pleasure to sing" and "pleasant to listen to!" These aspects reflect engagement with the chorale as a musical work of art. But several respondents also identified benefits of the chorale's aesthetic value. For some, this aesthetic value enhanced

the learning experience in the music-theory classroom; Bach's chorale harmonizations in particular "provide a fine musical experience during what could otherwise be a drill," according to one interviewee. For another respondent, this beauty may motivate students: "the music is beautiful to hear and to perform so is therefore inspiring to students." Indeed, for other respondents, chorales' quality justified their study; as one commented, "they are beautiful pieces that deserve to be sung and analyzed."

Respondents also cited the access that chorales provide to knowledge in other domains. One such domain is the history of musical works. For some respondents, this value derives from the chorale's significance at an earlier time; as one respondent wrote, "it's an important historical genre." Some respondents specifically emphasized the chorale's value in providing "a connection with older musical traditions," as one respondent articulated it, two of which that respondents cited being "the Baroque era" and "aspects of Renaissance-Baroque music." A third is religious music; for one respondent, the chorale repertoire is "an immensely important touchstone for anybody working with Western church music." Another cited the chorale's connection to the "old Protestant religious chorale tradition," even if they admitted that this tradition is "not exactly the most pertinent genre to today's musician." The chorale can also illuminate specific composers; one respondent mentioned chorales' importance to the Lutheran church music of "Bach and his contemporaries." Respondents also cited the chorale's role in the "history of group singing or religious participation," as one put it; for another, the chorale "connects our discipline with a long legacy of music intended for performance by the public."

For other respondents, chorales offer a point of access to other compositions, particularly as "preexisting material as a starting point for new works," as one respondent described it. As another respondent observed, "chorale melodies provide a contrapuntal foundation for a variety

of genres such as chorale preludes or Lutheran (Bach) cantatas." The importance of this role is substantial if, as another respondent put it, the chorale is "a foundation and fountain of inspiration for all composers thereafter."

Other respondents cited the chorale's importance in connecting to historical compositional approaches; as one wrote, "the chorale provides a clear link to teaching and composition methods of the past." The historical extent of this study should be extensive, according to another, given chorales' "use in composition instruction throughout the centuries." As elsewhere, respondents particularly emphasized harmony and musical line: for one respondent, the chorale offers "a way of connecting historically with origins and development of voice leading and chord choices"; for another, tracing the chorale's development is helpful to teach the development of "harmony, melody, and counterpoint and other specific styles." Indeed, if chorale use is this extensive, studying it could illuminate "regional differences in compositional style (North German vs. elsewhere)," as one respondent speculated. Another respondent identified in particular "counterpoint, and chord progression specific to Bach's context," but an interviewee equally named Fanny Mendelssohn, Robert Schumann, and Brahms—all of whom, they observed, considered Bach's work especially important.[65]

But for some respondents, the chorale is valuable as a cue to "the broader cultural…significance of the genre," as one respondent put it—that is, a significance extending beyond the realm of music. Respondents named most here the realm of religion, whether the history of the Christian church, the liturgical calendar, the theology that chorales express, or the history of church music. As one respondent reported, "when appropriate, we also discuss the theology of the texts and the history and liturgical use of the hymns," and one respondent

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[65] Given that the concepts named here are relatively mainstream American music-theory topics, it is surprising that respondents consider their study historically as non-music-theoretical.

reported that studying chorales helped "support them [i.e., students] in their Christian faith." Yet some respondents, even while identifying the potential value that religious connections afforded, withheld themselves from taking advantage of these connections. For example, one respondent cited the chorale's connection to "religious practices" and another "the connections between religion and music and text," but both hastened to add that they forgo these aspects.

Respondents also mentioned the chorale's personal or interpersonal benefits. Several respondents cited the chorale's building of "social cohesion" among students. "Chorales allow for (relatively easy) group singing," one respondent observed; indeed, chorales help with "getting a timid class to sing together," another respondent wrote. Similarly, one respondent reported that when they were a "shy undergrad," singing chorales in class helped "feel communal with my peers." As for the reasons for this cohesion, a respondent mentioned the chorale's liturgical origins: "the chorale is designed to build community in performance, and it does so in the classroom." Another mapped harmony and musical line onto a classroom's social dynamics: singing chorales "builds community…AND self-reliance," they asserted, and as such, the chorale is "a powerful metaphor for the ideal society."

Before concluding this section, respondents' high praise and enthusiastic affection heaped on the chorale, particularly in this section but also throughout the survey, warrants mention. Respondents described chorales with various superlatives: "important," "wonderful," "indispensable," "huge," "consummate," "pinnacle," and "ideal." One respondent went so far as to observe that "there is no topic in tonal theory that they [i.e., chorales] do not affect,"[66] while another, evidently overwhelmed by the task of describing the chorale's music-theoretical value,

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[66] The similarity of this statement to a famous series of observations on music by Isidore in his *Etymologies* cannot pass unremarked: for example, "without music, no other discipline can be perfected, for nothing is without music" (Isidore, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen A. Barney [Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006], 95).

entering the response, "too many to list." In one sense, this level of enthusiasm—and particularly some of the reasons for which respondents gave for this enthusiasm—is understandable, if the chorale is laudable in as many respects as respondents named. But this sort of language is also unusual in music-theoretical discourse, and for this reason constitutes additional evidence for the chorale's unusual status in American music theory.

Respondents' answers regarding the chorale's non-music-theoretical value yielded a remarkable variety of responses, ranging from their value as works of art to entry points to certain domains of knowledge to means of personal or interpersonal growth. Furthermore, the themes that arose here confirm the influence of several of the factors examined in the section on motivations for using the chorale, such as the chorale's singability and religious connotations. But the variety of themes that arose here also demonstrates that there exist for respondents a multitude of reasons to incorporate chorales apart from their strictly music-theoretical efficacy. It is curious, however, that many of the aspects that respondents cited here draw on aspects of the chorale's origins that their visual presentation quash, as shown in Chapter 2—particularly their intended purpose for religious celebration, their sung performance, and their German origins. That respondents nevertheless cited these aspects suggests that these aspects do not lie deeply below the surface.

3.6 Perceptions of the Chorale in Music Theory

In this chapter's final section, I discuss respondents' general perceptions of the chorale's role in music theory—which is of course the present chapter's principal preoccupation. While there was no question to this effect on the questionnaire, I did ask interviewees their thoughts on this matter; moreover, respondents also volunteered information along these lines throughout the

survey. In reflecting on the field of music theory, this section further illuminates the role of disciplinary tradition in motivating chorale use, but it also permits consideration of how respondents viewed other theorists' perceptions of the chorale's value.

This section reveals a broad consensus in the chorale's rootedness in American music theory. Nevertheless, respondents also perceive the chorale's use in music theory to be declining; they associate the chorale with older approaches to music theory and suggest several factors contributing to this decline, including practitioners' changing music-theoretical interests, greater diversity among students and their educational needs, and changing practices in the broader musical world. Nevertheless, respondents believe that the chorale will not disappear from music theory either immediately or completely; chorale use enjoys too great a momentum and serves too many purposes effectively.

Respondents were nearly unanimous in their belief that the chorale is entrenched in music theory, and particularly in instruction. As one interviewee observed, "it's still understood that as an undergrad, you will have chorale harmonization" in your required music theory instruction. Another interviewee described chorales as "a bulwark of part-writing instruction." Indeed, one interviewee even observed that "there's a pretty sizable population of the field [of music theory] that perhaps thinks that music theory should be taught by [means of] Bach chorales." For one respondent, reliance on the chorale is so entrenched that this fact alone motivates its use: "the pedagogy surrounding them [i.e., chorales] has been very well established and is therefore easy to adopt." Similarly, another interviewee speculated that music theory instructors "teach the way they remember learning," thus perpetuating the tradition. Not all respondents held the chorale as thus entrenched, however; one interviewee speculated that "chorale usage by music theorists is

perhaps a straw man whipping boy," and that use of the chorale is neither as pervasive nor as extensive as in earlier times or to the degree that many practitioners believe.

At the same time, respondents also believe that the chorale's use is declining. As evidence for this perception, some respondents cited their own training. One interviewee observed that at the beginning of their career, Bach's chorale harmonizations were "*the* textbook for music theory," and everyone "had their Riemenschneider."[67] One respondent similarly reported that "I learned theory through chorales," but admitted that they "have found them largely unnecessary in my own pedagogy"; this is one reason that at their institution, "we've recently deemphasized 4-voice part writing." A number of respondents associated chorale-based music theory with an older generation of theorists—as "antiquated," in the words of one respondent. According to an interviewee, "many traditional teachers…gather around the piano and hold forth about the chorale." For this interviewee, the chorale is much less important for younger theorists, and music theory will in fifteen years look very different with respect to it. Another interviewee—a graduate student—described their colleague's belief that "the entire [undergraduate music theory] curriculum should be taught with Bach chorales" as "a very old-fashioned way of teaching." One respondent even placed the peak of chorale use almost eighty years earlier: "hasn't reliance on chorales faded along with the use of Piston's harmony book?"[68]

Respondents' reasons why they thought chorale use in music theory was declining were various. Several cited changes in the undergraduate music theory curriculum across the field; as one interviewee noted, changes like increased focus on non-classical repertoires have put the

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[67] That is, the widely used edition of J. S. Bach's chorale harmonizations edited by Albert Riemenschneider (Bach, *371 Harmonized Chorales*).

[68] Walter Piston's textbook *Harmony* was first published in 1941. The association of Piston with the chorale, one that surface in several publications, is an interesting one, given that Piston eschewed use of the chorale in music theory instruction. This association warrants further investigation.

chorale "more in the background." The interviewee cited "ideological" reasons for this, including

a consensus that the "old-fashioned German canon" has received its share of attention in this

curriculum. Another interviewee observed that "it used to be unthinkable that students wouldn't

learn SATB [part-writing]," but now this is acceptable. They also pointed to the 2014

"manifesto" produced by a task force commissioned by the College Music Society as having

provoked an important and influential conversation in this regard.[69]

Other respondents believed that music theorists' changing interests were contributing to

decline chorale use. Several interviewees cited changing research focuses, including increased

attention to popular, film, and video-game music. One interviewee also predicted declining

interest in chorales in light of diminishing interest in musical parameters like harmony and

musical line, paired with increased interest in timbre and texture, while another interviewee cited

the incursion of new schools of music-theoretical thinking such as the partimento tradition, neo-

Riemannian theory, and semiotics. Student pressure may account for diminished use of chorales,

according to another interviewee, who also mentioned students' increasingly broad musical

interests and goals, as well as the fact that when students enter post-secondary institutions, they

increasingly have fewer of the competencies necessary for chorale study. Consequently, this

interviewee observed, instructors must be more creative with their offerings than what a

traditional, chorale-based curriculum offers. Several interviewees also pointed to changes in

musical culture outside of the academy—what one called a "huge shift" in church singing away

from four-part congregational singing and toward popular music. Several respondents cited an

exception to this decline in chorale use, however: corpus or statistical studies of music. One

interviewee, for example, observed that the only research incorporating chorales that they had

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[69] Sarath et al., "Transforming Music Study."

seen at the annual meeting of the Society for Music Theory—the field's main North American professional association—for the last approximately ten years was with computer-assisted corpus study.

Despite this decline in attention to the chorale, some respondents believed that the chorale is unlikely to lose its prominent place in American music theory quickly. As one respondent wrote, "the pedagogical tradition of teaching harmony through chorale…is a heavy locomotive that is not easily stopped." Another respondent cited the influence of textbooks: "without changing the focus of many music theory textbooks, we have little hope of moving away from chorales as a pedagogical tool."

In summary, then, for all that respondents believe the chorale to hold a firm place in American music theory, they also believe its use to be generally declining. Respondents associate the chorale with music theory of an earlier generation; as such, they perceive recent changes among practitioners, students, and the broader musical culture as challenging the chorale's place. Nevertheless, respondents also believe any future such changes to be gradual.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter shows that the chorale plays a significant role in present-day American music theory. A substantial proportion of respondents use the chorale, particularly in music-theoretical instruction but also in research, and they do so for a variety of purposes, ranging from illustrating basic concepts to compositional practice to corpus analysis. Among the activities for which they use the chorale emerges a strong emphasis on harmony and musical line, and generally the suppression or outright ignoring of other parameters. Respondents' stated reasons for using the chorale mostly center upon the chorale's musical qualities, for which they

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especially cite its simplicity and capacity for generalization to a wide range of repertoire. But they also cite non-musical aspects, whether chorales' beauty, their capacity for classroom cohesion, and even religious dimension. Among the chorales that respondents use, J. S. Bach's chorale harmonizations are prominent, both in the frequency of their use and in the remarkable claims respondents make about them. Respondents' understanding of the term "chorale" is surprisingly broad, encompassing a variety of repertoires and including even hymns. Not all respondents hold to the chorale's value, however; some challenge the value of the topics associated with chorales, while others challenge even the chorale's efficacy to teach these topics.

The chorale's prominence in American music theory, coupled with some peculiarities of its use—confusion surrounding the term, respondents' claims about its value and its broad applicability, the fixation upon Bach's chorale harmonizations, and the stripping of contextual cues in their visual presentation—suggests the value of further investigation into the topic. This is particularly true if, as respondents suggest, the field's attitudes and practices with respect to the chorale are changing. In fact, the moment for such investigation may be ideal, as such changes bring established practices into relief, even while these practices retain their familiarity to practitioners. Moreover, if the chorale embeds the music-theoretical practices and beliefs of prior generations, it may illuminate changes to the field. Given the chorale's prominence in early music-theory instruction, it is logical to explore the topic in this domain. This is the goal of the next chapter.

Chapter 4 A Corpus Study of Undergraduate Music Theory Textbooks

In this chapter, I continue my exploration of the chorale in present-day American music theory through a corpus study of undergraduate textbooks. I seek to augment the account of American music theorists' use of chorales in the previous chapter, which presented the results of a survey of practitioners of music theory across the United States. Whereas the previous chapter was sociological in orientation, the present chapter is philological; I examine textbooks rather than survey responses. But I also I explore a context in which the previous chapter showed theorists' use of chorales to be especially concentrated: undergraduate instruction.

I proceed here in several sections. After first describing the corpus of textbooks in question, I examine the chorales that these textbooks introduce as musical examples—the frequency of their occurrence, how this frequency compares to that of non-chorale repertoire, and which chorales in particular are presented. Next, I discuss where chorales appear in these textbooks and the topics in conjunction with which authors invoke them. Third, I discuss how authors present chorales, both visually (as printed examples) and aurally (in accompanying recordings), identifying patterns that occur in these respects. Fourth, I discuss authors' stated motivations for using the chorale; why do they find it suitable for the purposes to which they put it? And finally, I explore the concept of "chorale style" in these textbooks, and how this concept unifies authors' reliance on a highly specific type of chorale with their visual presentation of these pieces and the conception of musical structure that they assume.

My findings in this chapter corroborate those of the previous chapter. I show here that authors of undergraduate music-theory textbooks rely on chorales to a considerable degree; they present chorales in high numbers in conjunction with a significant variety of topics across their textbooks. Overwhelmingly, the chorales they cite are Johann Sebastian Bach's four-part settings, making these perhaps the most-represented composer–genre combination in these textbooks. The privileged role that Bach's chorale settings enjoy is reinforced by authors' distinctive visual presentation of these pieces: by omitting texts for singing and any indications of their instrumentation, whether explicit or implicit, authors depart from their usual practices with non-chorale repertoire—and this with a remarkable consistency. I also show how authors' stated motivations for employing chorales run the gamut from appeals to their fine design to invocations of norms of musical compositions. But one motivation that authors do not explicitly state is the similarity of their preferred chorales to a conception of musical structure to which they adhere. The importance that authors attach to this conception is evident in its prevalence in textbooks, and its connection to the chorale is evident not only in authors' term for it—"chorale style"—but also in the near-identity of its musical notation and that of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations.

4.1 Corpus overview

To begin, I will describe the corpus of textbooks that I study in this chapter; I describe on what basis it was established, observe some patterns concerning its composition, and reflect upon the medium of the undergraduate textbook in general.

My chosen corpus is derived from the questionnaire that formed the basis of the previous chapter—specifically, from the question pertaining to textbooks for music majors (see Appendix

A). This question read, "What textbook(s) do you use for music-theory courses REQUIRED of all music majors? (Please indicate the extent to which you use each with a percentage. Check only those that apply. Total percentage should add to 100%.)." Provided in a multiple-choice format were six music theory textbooks, as well as the options "No textbook" and "In-house textbook" and two blank fields in which respondents could also enter textbooks not in the provided list. Respondents could select multiple textbooks, and sliders at increments of ten percent were also provided to allow respondents to indicate the extent to which they relied on a given textbook.[1] Finally, respondents were also provided a blank field at the end of the question into which they could enter comments.

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[1] I have omitted information from sliders here, since in multiple cases, respondents did not employ this feature, thus rendering the aggregate of information incomplete.

Textbook	Resp.	%
Clendinning and Marvin, *The Musician's Guide to Theory and Analysis*, 3rd Ed. (2016)	29	14.7%
Burstein and Straus, *Concise Introduction to Tonal Harmony*, 1st Ed. (2016)	25	12.7%
Kostka, Payne, and Almén, *Tonal Harmony, with an Introduction to Twentieth-Century Music*, 7th Ed. (2013)	22	11.2%
Laitz, *The Complete Musician: An Integrated Approach to Theory, Analysis, and Listening*, 4th Ed. (2016)	20	10.2%
Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*, 4th Ed. (2011)	19	9.6%
Roig-Francolí, *Harmony in Context*, 2nd Ed. (2011)	3	1.5%
Shaffer, Hughes, and Moseley, *Open Music Theory* (2014)	3	1.5%
Turek and McCarthy, *Theory for Today's Musician*, 2nd Ed. (2014)	3	1.5%
Benjamin, Horvit, Koozin, and Nelson, *Techniques and Materials of Music: From the Common Practice Period Through the Twentieth Century*, 7th Ed. (2008)	2	1.0%
Snodgrass, *Contemporary Musicianship: Analysis and the Artist* (2016)	2	1.0%
Subtotal	**128**	65.0%
Other*	10	5.1%
No textbook	40	20.3%
In-house textbook (incl. 9 from "other")	19	9.6%
Subtotal	**69**	35.0%
Total	**197**	100.0%

Table 8: Responses in a 2018 survey to a question on textbooks used for music theory courses required of music majors.

Answers to this question are summarized in Tables 8 and 9, which present both the number of responses for each given textbook and the percentage of total responses that a given textbook's responses constitutes. The top and largest portion of Table 8 presents the corpus that I will principally investigate in this chapter, while the bottom presents those entries that were omitted from the corpus. The selection criteria imposed on these results as follows: textbooks had to be intended for undergraduate music-theory instruction, devoted at least partly to tonal

music, and selected by more than one respondent.[2] Table 9 presents the result of imposing these

selection criteria, with percentages now relative only to the now-formed corpus. Within these

results, two distinct groups are discernible: half of the textbooks account for nearly 90% of

responses. Accordingly, in what follows I will concentrate on these five textbooks. Also

noteworthy is that within the corpus, four textbooks are explicitly devoted to harmony, including

three of the top five; that so many of these textbooks should be devoted to harmony is probably

no surprise, given the field's particular attention to the topic.[3] Four of the remaining textbooks,

by contrast, refer to either a "comprehensive" approach or basic musicianship.[4] Finally, all of the

textbooks are of a relatively recent date: the oldest sources were both published in 2011. Indeed,

two of these textbooks—one in the top five and the other in the bottom five—are first editions;

as such, they should fairly represent the current state of the field at the moment of their

publication.[5]

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[2] Among those results excluded from the corpus are the following: any textbook for which no more than one respondent indicated that they used it, a threshold intended to eliminate statistical noise; responses of "no textbook"; and responses reflecting various iterations of "in-house materials." Furthermore, responses classified under "other" include textbooks devoted to specific musical periods or specific musical genres and textbooks devoted specifically to aural skills.

[3] Many music theorists have observed this. For two recent such observations, particularly with reference to pedagogy, see Richard Cohn's discussion of "the acute tonality/meter asymmetry" in pedagogy (Richard Cohn, "Why We Don't Teach Meter, and Why We Should," *Journal of Music Theory Pedagogy* 29 [2015]: 5–18) and Anna Gawboy's discussion of the music theory curriculum as a whole (Anna Gawboy, "The Art of Listening" [keynote address, Pedagogy into Practice: Teaching Music Theory in the Twenty-First Century at the School of Music at Lee University, Cleveland, TN, June 1–3, 2017]). I thank Professor Gawboy for sharing a copy of this address with me.

[4] On this "comprehensive musicianship" approach, see Rogers, *Teaching Approaches*, 19–25.

[5] For some of these textbooks, newer editions are at present available; the editions represented here were the most current available at the time of the survey mentioned above was conducted.

Textbook	Resp.	%
Clendinning and Marvin, *The Musician's Guide to Theory and Analysis*, 3rd Ed. (2016)	29	22.7%
Burstein and Straus, *Concise Introduction to Tonal Harmony*, 1st Ed. (2016)	25	19.5%
Kostka, Payne, and Almén, *Tonal Harmony, with an Introduction to Twentieth-Century Music*, 7th Ed. (2013)	22	17.2%
Laitz, *The Complete Musician: An Integrated Approach to Theory, Analysis, and Listening*, 4th Ed. (2016)	20	15.6%
Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*, 4th Ed. (2011)	19	14.8%
Roig-Francolí, *Harmony in Context*, 2nd Ed. (2011)	3	2.3%
Shaffer, Hughes, and Moseley, *Open Music Theory* (2014)	3	2.3%
Turek and McCarthy, *Theory for Today's Musician*, 2nd Ed. (2014)	3	2.3%
Benjamin, Horvit, Koozin, and Nelson, *Techniques and Materials of Music: From the Common Practice Period Through the Twentieth Century*, 7th Ed. (2015)	2	1.6%
Snodgrass, *Contemporary Musicianship: Analysis and the Artist*, 1st Ed. (2015)	2	1.6%
Total	**128**	

Table 9: The textbooks composing the corpus of this study.

In considering this corpus, it is worth reflecting upon the medium under investigation here—undergraduate textbooks—and how this medium relates to the larger field. For one thing, textbooks reflect how the larger field thinks about its subject matter; as Gregory A. Myers observes, textbooks are "repositories of what we hold to be true. We tend to think that a statement is in a textbook because it is a fact."[6] Textbooks convey what members of a given field consider its most basic conceptions. But they also indicate what a field believes that students require as a prerequisite for further work in the discipline; as Thomas Kuhn writes, textbooks "aim to communicate the vocabulary and syntax of a contemporary scientific language."[7] Yet the

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[6] Gregory A. Myers, "Textbooks and the Sociology of Scientific Knowledge," *English for Specific Purposes* 11, no. 1 (January 1992): 3, https://doi.org/10.1016/0889-4906(92)90003-S. It should be noted that both Myers and Kuhn (see following note) have in mind scientific fields; there seems no obvious reason, however, why their observations cited here should not apply to music theory.

[7] Kuhn, *Scientific Revolutions*, 136; see in particular Section XI, "The Invisibility of Revolutions," where textbooks, along with "the popularizations and the philosophical works modeled on them" (136), serve as the author's principal authority in showing why scientific revolutions are difficult to detect.

range of activities that music-theory instruction is supposed to inform is considerable, since music theory courses are required not only in music theory programs, but also other music programs, including musical performance, music education, music therapy, performing arts technology, and musicology.[8] As such, the "facts" that music theory textbooks relate, to quote Myers, are for students in American institutions not simply music-theoretical facts, but *musical* facts. If instructors are successful, moreover, textbooks also reveal what basic conceptions students of all music disciplines take into their various musical activities, how students conceive of their musical worlds. In summary, while textbooks shed light on early-level music-theory instruction, they also shed light on the field's basic theoretical commitments and those of a wide range of musical practitioners.

4.2 Frequency and types of chorales as musical examples

The first type of information I consider is the frequency and types of chorales that authors present as musical examples. I consider several categories: the incidence of chorales among all musical examples, the musical textures of the chorales that authors cite, and which composers' chorales authors prefer. I also compare these findings to the entire body of musical examples in this corpus, and particularly to other composer–genre combinations. Finally, I explore the locations in this corpus where chorales arise—in what sections of the textbooks and in conjunction with what topics.

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[8] As Patrick McCreless observes, "it is the formidable task of music theory to teach fundamental and traditional musical skills such as harmony, sightsinging and ear training, and counterpoint"; indeed, music theory's "pedagogical obligation…distinguishes it sharply from its sister disciplines, musicology and ethnomusicology" (McCreless, "Rethinking Contemporary Music Theory," 14; see also 18–19).

| | Col. A | Col. B | Col. C |
Textbook	No. exx.	No. chorales	% chorales
Clendinning and Marvin	401*	30	7.5 %
Burstein and Straus	323	46	14.2 %
Kostka, Payne, and Almén	222*	19	8.6 %
Laitz	341*	7	2.1 %
Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader	477	70	14.7 %
Roig-Francolí	297	34	11.4 %
Shaffer, Hughes, and Moseley	95	0	0.0 %
Turek and McCarthy	296*	24	8.1 %
Benjamin, Horvit, Koozin, and Nelson	35*	3	8.6 %
Snodgrass	72	0	0.0 %
Totals	**2,559**	**233**	**9.1 %**

* = examples from chapters on atonal music omitted from consideration

Table 10: Chorales as a proportion of musical examples in textbooks.

I will begin by considering the incidence of chorales among musical examples in this corpus (Table 10).[9] In choosing what works should be included under the rubric "chorale," I count as a chorale simply any example to which authors apply the term.[10] In general, this

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[9] The description "all examples" demands clarification. First, for uniformity's sake, I do not include any musical examples that arose in chapters dealing with atonal music, since not all textbooks treat this topic. (Any textbook that had chapters on atonal music whose examples I omitted are marked in Figure 4.3 with an asterisk.) Similarly, I do not include any musical examples that arise in anthologies or exercises, since not all authors provide accompanying anthologies, and they all handle exercises differently; I nevertheless do address the second of these below. (One exception to this are Benjamin et al.'s examples: since the main text of this textbook features no musical examples whatsoever, I draw from the source connected to it that does include examples—namely, the online "study guide" intended to accompany the main text [http://tmmtheory.com/].) Finally, I do not include any musical examples that were subject to modification of any kind, including operations such as "structural" or "harmonic" reduction or recomposition, with the exception of reductions in the sense of renotating the contents of a given musical score on a smaller number of staves. For a brief discussion of such "reductions" as they relate to musical examples, see Chapter 1.

[10] There are two exceptions to this. First, I also include here examples of four-part chorale harmonizations by Bach that, according to their practice for identifying these pieces, authors do not identify as chorales, even while in their discussions of these pieces they refer to them by the term "chorale." This is true for Clendinning and Marvin, *Musician's Guide*; Laitz, *Complete Musician*; and Ralph Turek and Daniel William McCarthy, *Theory for Today's Musician*, Second edition (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2014). Second, I also include examples that clearly belong to the chorale tradition, but that authors have for one reason or another not identified as such—such as Bach's so-called "figured-bass" chorale settings, or traditional chorale melodies (see, for example, Stefan M. Kostka, Dorothy Payne, and Byron Almén, *Tonal Harmony: With an Introduction to Twentieth-Century Music*, 7th ed [New York: McGraw-Hill, 2013], 68 [Examples 5.3 and 5.4]: the authors call these chorale melodies "hymn tunes," withholding the further specification "chorale [tune]" presumably because they have not yet introduced the genre of chorale.

approach yields little that might provoke controversy; few examples stray from the definition of

"chorale" in *Grove Music Online*, for example, as discussed in Chapter 1.[11] As Table 10

demonstrates, the incidence of chorales in the members of this corpus is variable: on one

extreme, two textbooks have no chorales at all, and on the other extreme, chorales constitute over

10% of all musical examples in three textbooks. As such, the standard deviation of chorales as

musical examples among these textbooks is relatively high (5.37). This said, the two textbooks

with no chorales are in the five least-selected textbooks, and the three textbooks with a more-

than-10% representation are in the five most-selected. In general, then, the most popular

textbooks have relatively high proportions of chorales. The overall incidence of chorales among

musical examples in this corpus, finally, is 9.1%; in other words, approximately one musical

example in 11 is a chorale. Among the top five textbooks in popularity, this number is 9.8%, or

approximately one in 10.

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[11] One possible exception to this are two works that Burstein and Straus cite as drawn from *The Chorale Book for England* (Burstein and Straus, *Concise Introduction*, 48 and 61 [Examples 4.1 and 5.3]). While in the preface to the 1863 edition of this collection (Burstein and Straus do not cite an edition), the editors claim that it "contains hymns and tunes chiefly of German origin" (Otto Goldschmidt and William Sterndale Bennett, "Editor's Preface," in *The Chorale Book for England* [London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1863], viii), whether these tunes originate in the Lutheran tradition is unknown to me. Out of consistency, however, I count these works as chorales here.

Textbook	Col. A No. chorales	Col. B Tune only	Col. C FB chorales	Col. D Non-JSB
Clendinning and Marvin	30	-	-	-
Burstein and Straus	46	1	1	3
Kostka, Payne, and Almén	19	2	-	2
Laitz	7	-	-	1
Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader	70	1	2	2
Roig-Francolí	34	-	-	1
Shaffer, Hughes, and Moseley	0	-	-	-
Turek and McCarthy	24	-	-	-
Benjamin, Horvit, Koozin, and Nelson	3	-	-	-
Snodgrass	0	-	-	-
Totals	**233**	**4**	**3**	**9**

Table 11: Characteristics of chorales used as musical examples in textbooks.

The textural characteristics of the chorales that authors present as musical examples exhibit several patterns. Table 11 presents data relating to three aspects.[12] To begin with, these chorales are preponderantly chorale harmonizations—not, for example, chorale tunes, the primary definition of the term in *Grove Music Online*. In fact, only four chorales in this corpus consist of tunes only (Table 11, Col. B).[13] Not only are the chorales in this corpus almost all harmonizations, moreover, but these harmonizations are also in almost all cases in four parts; the exceptions are the four tunes just mentioned and the three so-called "figured bass" chorales (Table 11, Col. C).[14] Moreover, the overwhelming majority of these chorales are harmonizations

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[12] Henceforth in this chapter, where specific data on chorales is concerned, I omit results from Shaffer et al., *Open Music Theory* and Snodgrass, *Contemporary Musicianship*, since they present no chorales.

[13] See Burstein and Straus, *Concise Introduction*, 238 (Example 25.1); Kostka, Payne, and Almén, *Tonal Harmony*, 68 (Examples 5.3 and 5.4); and Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*, 131 (Example 8-1a). I include the last of these among chorale tunes—despite the fact that the example is a four-part texture—because the harmonization is composed by the authors (see ibid., 132), and the example's caption reinforces this by identifying it as "chorale melody." On the two examples in Kostka, Payne, and Almén's textbook, see n.10 above.

[14] Two of these are found in Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*, 261 and 354 (15-13 and 20-13a, respectively) and the third appears in Burstein and Straus, *Concise Introduction*, 125 (11.19). I have

by J. S. Bach: 224 of 233, or 96.1% (Table 11, Col. D).[15] Finally, almost all of Bach's settings represented here are four-part: there are only three so-called "figured bass" settings in this corpus, of which two are by Bach. In summary, then, authors rely in their musical examples of chorales mainly upon a very specific instantiation of the term: 222 of the 233 examples, or 95.3%, are four-part homophonic harmonizations composed by J. S. Bach.

Textbook	No. of Chorales	No. of Piano Son.
Clendinning and Marvin	30	67
Burstein and Straus	46	51
Kostka, Payne, and Almén	19	35
Laitz	7	56
Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader	70	65
Roig-Francolí	34	35
Shaffer, Hughes, and Moseley	0	21
Turek and McCarthy	24	29
Benjamin, Horvit, Koozin, and Nelson	3	7
Snodgrass	0	1
Total	**233**	**367**

Table 12: Comparison of incidence of chorales to incidence of piano sonatas among musical examples.

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omitted from consideration here one such chorale setting because it does not conform to the inclusion criteria outlined above: the authors add "inner voices" to the setting (see Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*, 268 [Example 16-3]).

[15] The chorales not harmonized by J. S. Bach are as follows: Burstein and Straus (*Concise Introduction*) include two chorales—evidently translated textually, if not also musically, from German sources (they cite *Chorale Book for England*, iii–xv)—taken from an English hymnal (4.1 [48] and 5.3 [61]; on these, see n.11 above) and one chorale melody alone (25.1 [238]); Kostka, Payne, and Almén include one anonymous chorale tune and another tune that they attribute to Crüger (*Tonal Harmony*, 68 [Examples 5.3 and 5.4, respectively]); Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader include one anonymous chorale and a figured-bass chorale that they attribute to Freylinghausen (*Harmony & Voice Leading*, 131 [Example 8.1a] and 261 [Example 15.13], respectively); and finally, Roig-Francolí includes a chorale that he attributes to Schein (*Harmony in Context*, 339 [Example 14.11b]).

Relying on such a specific repertoire is unusual, and comparing authors' reliance on chorales to the larger body of musical examples that they provide highlights this. While several such comparisons could be made here, I will explore genre and composer.[16] The proportion of solo piano sonatas in this corpus is illustrative in regard to genre: not only do pieces bearing the term "piano sonata" appear most frequently of all genres among musical examples in this corpus, but these pieces also represent a relatively delineable body. In four textbooks, the number of chorales approaches that of piano sonatas (Table 12); in one of these, moreover—Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader's textbook—the number of chorales even exceeds the number of piano sonatas. That the number of chorales in these textbooks can even compare to those of piano sonatas is remarkable for several reasons. First, the piano sonatas represented here were written by various composers—typically Beethoven, Mozart, and Haydn—whereas the chorales were written overwhelmingly from a single composer. Second, there exists a much wider variety among piano sonatas—of affect, texture, range, and so on—than among the chorales in this corpus: differences between sonata-allegro movements by these composers—or even by a single composer—are great enough, but those between a sonata-allegro movement and a slow movement, or a rondo, are greater still, yet all typically receive the label "piano sonata." The chorales in this corpus, by contrast, almost all exhibit a highly constrained texture: four-part homophony. Third, chorales are—at least in the origins of the genre—religious, vocal works, whereas piano sonatas largely fall squarely under the category of "absolute" music, with which

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[16] Determining genres is of course a fraught undertaking, and one that I do not engage here. In the following discussion, where I refer to Bach's chorale settings as a composer–genre combination, I limit this to his four-part settings—partly to demonstrate how specific the texture that authors so rely on is, partly for points that I make further below. To be sure, even if the two "figured bass" settings of his that also arise in the corpus were included, the results would change but little.

American music theorists are so often preoccupied. Thus, it is remarkable that the number of

chorales in this corpus could even compare to that of solo piano sonatas.

Textbook	Highest Incidence		Second-highest Incidence	
	Composer/Genre	**No.**	**Composer/Genre**	**No.**
Clend/Marv	Mozart, pno. son.	40	**J.S.B., chorale-harms**	**30**
Burst/Straus	**J.S.B., chorale-harms**	**43**	Mozart, pno. son.	20
Kostka et al.	**J.S.B., chorale-harms**	**17**	Mozart, pno. son.	16
Laitz	Beethoven, pno. son.	23	Mozart, pno. son.	21
Aldwell et al.	**J.S.B., chorale-harms**	**63**	Mozart, pno. son.	25
Roig-Franc.	**J.S.B., chorale-harms**	**33**	Mozart, pno. son.	20
Shaffer	Mozart, pno. son.	11	Beethoven, pno. son.	6
Turek/McCar	**J.S.B., chorale-harms**	**24**	Beethoven, pno. son.	22
Benj. et al.	Beethoven, pno. son.	5	[see note * below]	3
Snodgrass†	Mercury, pop songs	10	[see note ** below]	3

* The second-place position in Benjamin et al. is a four-way tie between chorale settings by J. S. Bach, keyboard pieces by J. S. Bach, orchestral pieces by Mozart, and vocal pieces by Mozart, all of which had three representatives.
† Determining composer–genre combinations in Snodgrass, *Contemporary Musicianship* is difficult, given the challenges in popular music of both authorship (Snodgrass credits performing artists principally and composers secondarily—including with classical music—and moreover, many performances involve modifications to the original composition) and of determining genre. Here, I count pieces where either the performing artist or the composer is the same person. Moreover, I refrain—admittedly problematically—from determining genre by labelling any vocal music from a popular style as "popular song."
** The second-place position in Snodgrass, *Contemporary Musicianship* is a four-way tie between popular songs by Jackson and Ritchie, popular songs by Adele, anonymous folk songs, popular songs by Porter and Fitzgerald, and popular songs by Joel, all of which had three representatives.

Table 13: Highest and second-highest incidence of composer–genre combinations among musical examples.

To explore this unusual proportion of chorales further, the chorales in this corpus are also

almost all four-part settings by a single composer, as mentioned above: J. S. Bach. To properly

evaluate how unusual it is for a given genre to be so represented by a single composer, the

proportion of Bach's chorale settings in these textbooks should be compared with other

composer–genre combinations. Table 13 presents the composer–genre combinations of highest

and second-highest incidence in this corpus: in half of the textbooks, chorale harmonizations by

J. S. Bach exceed all other composer–genre combinations. Moreover, three of these four

textbooks are in the five most popular textbooks; among the remaining five textbooks, by

contrast, two have no chorales at all, and a third has very few examples overall. Thus, reliance on

Bach's chorale harmonizations is a feature of the most popular textbooks in this corpus.

Moreover, 8.7% of musical examples in this corpus of textbooks, or approximately 1 in 11, is a

four-part chorale setting by Bach (222 of 2,559), perhaps the highest incidence of any composer–

genre combination.

If authors rely on such a slim repertoire for so many of their musical examples, the

possibility of *loci classici* warrants examination: do authors rely on only a small subset of Bach's

chorale settings? Appendix B tabulates the number of times any chorale in this corpus is cited as

a musical example.[17] In general, authors' reliance on chorales is dispersed relatively evenly

among those chorales cited: in total, authors' 233 citations of chorales are spread across 141

different pieces, an average of fewer than two citations per piece cited. Moreover, authors cite no

chorale more than seven times, and if those that Clendinning and Marvin cite in line with their

"spiral-learning approach"—a scheme that relies on repeating a small number of works—are set

aside, only one chorale attains this number of citations.[18] Finally, only three chorales are cited in

more than three different textbooks.[19] Overall, then, authors' interest in these works does not

appear to be concentrated on a few *loci classici*; instead, their interest in chorales appears to lie

in features shared by all members of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations.

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[17] The numbering of chorale harmonizations in this example follows that of Riemenschneider's edition of Bach's chorale settings, since, as discussed below, this is the only edition that authors cite.

[18] This chorale setting is cited in four of these textbooks either as "Chorale no. 117" or "Nun ruhen alle Wälder." For Clendinning and Marvin's "spiral-learning approach," see their *Musician's Guide*, xxi. The chorales in question are no. 179, "Wachet auf" and no. 1, "Aus meines Herzens Grunde."

[19] These chorales are no. 80, "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" (cited six times in five textbooks); no. 102, "Ermuntre dich, mein schwacher Geist (cited five times in four textbooks); and no. 117, "Nun ruhen alle Wälder" (cited seven times in four textbook).

In summary, the authors of the textbooks in this corpus use chorales as musical examples to a significant extent. More remarkable, however, is authors' reliance upon a particular texture of chorale harmonizations—that is, four-part homophony—and their reliance upon settings by a particular composer, J. S. Bach.[20] Indeed, as a composer–genre combination, four-part chorale settings by Bach occur in this corpus more frequently than likely any other. While authors' significant reliance on these pieces characterizes the most popular of these textbooks, those devoted specifically to harmony rely on them more than "comprehensive musicianship" textbooks.

4.3 Topics that Authors Illustrate with Chorales

Having established some details about the chorales that authors use in this corpus, I will now explore the topics in conjunction with which authors deploy them. I also explore here several aspects of the location of chorales' appearance in these textbooks: the range of their appearance, the number of chapters within these spans that feature at least one chorale, and how these spans relate to the larger divisions of topics in these textbooks.

I begin by examining the distribution of chorales through textbooks.[21] Appendix C presents several types of information on this matter for each textbook in the corpus. Along the X axis are the chapters of each textbook by number, and at the top of each graph are the larger groupings into which chapters fit, as grouped and named by authors themselves. In the graph,

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[20] Other textures possible under the heading "chorale setting" include "figured bass" chorales and what are frequently referred to as "chorale preludes," even though they need not serve a preluding function. It should be noted as well that the earliest chorale settings were in five parts.

[21] I omit here the two textbooks that feature no chorales—namely Shaffer, Hughes, and Moseley, *Open Music Theory*, and Jennifer Snodgrass, *Contemporary Musicianship: Analysis and the Artist*, Second edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020). I also restrict this examination largely to the explanatory prose of textbooks, and I leave aside those portions of textbooks dealing with atonal music, as above.

blue bars indicate the number of chorales presented as musical examples in a given chapter, and

orange bars indicate the number of all musical examples in a given chapter. These graphs thus

illustrate several aspects of chorales' distribution: their concentration in textbooks, their

saturation within the spans within which they appear, and the proportion of chorales among all

musical examples in a given chapter, among others.

Textbook	Total chapters	Span of chh. w/chorales	Perc- entage	Saturation of span w/chorales	Perc- entage
Clendinning and Marvin	33	16	48.4%	10	62.5%
Burstein and Straus	39	26	67.7%	18	69.2%
Kostka, Payne, and Almén	25	21	84.0%	13	61.9%
Laitz	30	10	33.3%	6	60.0%
Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader	33	23	69.7%	19	82.6%
Roig-Francolí	36	25	69.4%	13	52.0%
Turek and McCarthy	27	8	29.6%	7	87.5%
Benjamin et al.	10	3	33.3%	2	33.3%
Harmony textbooks	**133**	**95**	**71.4%**	**63**	**66.3%**
Musicianship textbooks	**100**	**37**	**37.0%**	**25**	**67.6%**
Totals	**233**	**132**	**56.7%**	**88**	**66.7%**

Table 14: Span of chorales' distribution and saturation of spans with chorales (by chapter).

To begin with, chorales are widely distributed in the textbooks explicitly devoted to

harmony: in all four of these textbooks, the span between the appearance of the first chorale and

that of the last is at least two-thirds of a given textbook's chapters (Table 14). The spread of

chorales within these spans is also relatively even: in all of these spans, two-thirds (66.3%) of

chapters have at least one chorale in them—what I call the "saturation" of these spans with

chorales. The four textbooks of the "comprehensive musicianship" approach, by contrast, all

feature smaller spans and a lower saturation of chorales: only in Clendinning and Marvin's

textbook does the span between the first chorale and the last exceed half of the total number of

chapters, and the spans are closer to one-third of the sum of the chapters in the others.

Interestingly, the saturation of chorales within these spans is almost identical to that of the

harmony textbooks: 67.6% of these chapters have at least one chorale in them. These data

suggest, then, that authors of textbooks devoted to harmony consider chorales to be relevant to a

wide range of topics within this larger topic, while authors of "comprehensive musicianship"

textbooks consider chorales less broadly useful.

Textbook	Funda-mentals	Diatonic Harm.	Chromati-cism	Total
Clendinning and Marvin	**1** (3.3%)	**28** (93.3%)	**1** (3.3%)	30
Burstein and Straus	**10** (21.7%)	**31** (67.4%)	**5** (10.9%)	46
Kostka, Payne, and Almén	**1** (5.3%)	**15** (78.9%)	**3** (15.8%)	19
Laitz	**4** (57.1%)	**3** (42.9%)	-	7
Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader	**9** (12.9%)	**48** (68.6%)	**13** (18.6%)	70
Roig-Francolí	**1** (2.9%)	**24** (70.6%)	**9** (26.5%)	34
Turek and McCarthy	-	**17** (70.8%)	**7** (29.2%)	24
Benjamin et al.	-	**1** (33.3%)	**2** (66.7%)	3
Totals	**26** (11.2%)	**167** (71.7%)	**40** (17.1%)	233

Table 15: Distribution of chorales as musical examples across main divisions in textbooks.

While the different organization of each textbook renders associating chorale use with

specific topics difficult, the textbooks under consideration here do share one high-level scheme

in common: a tripartite progression from "fundamentals" to diatonic harmony to chromatic

harmony. A comparison of chorale use relative to these broad sections reveals some patterns

(Table 15). At least one chorale appears in all "fundamentals" sections, except in the two least-popular textbooks; indeed, in three textbooks, authors incorporate chorales in the first chapter that offers any examples at all. The majority of chorales, however, are concentrated in the second broad section—that is, that of diatonic harmony: except in the two cases with the lowest number of chorales (Laitz and Benjamin et al.), authors incorporate at least two-thirds of their chorales in this portion of their textbooks. With regard to the third broad topic, chromaticism, textbooks are less consistent: one textbook has no chorales in this section (Laitz), another two-thirds of all those it incorporates (Benjamin et al.), and the rest ranging from 3.3% to 29.5% of all chorales incorporated. A perusal of the graphs in Appendix C sheds additional light on this aspect: authors only ever use chorales up to about halfway through their sections on chromaticism—that is, chorales' utility evidently runs out as harmony gets more chromatic.

4.4 Exercises Employing Chorales

One other potential use of chorales in textbooks worth examining is in exercises.[22] Authors typically employ chorales in exercises in two different ways: for analysis and for compositional exercises. By "analysis," I mean the study of a given piece of music—for example, by interpreting a passage by means of Roman numerals (Figure 38). By "compositional exercises," I mean adding to a given musical texture (such as through harmonizing a melody; see Figure 39) or supplying a musical texture from some basic parameters (such as a harmonic progression). As Figure 4.11 shows, the large majority of authors employ chorales for both of these types of exercises. Moreover, the texture of the majority of these exercises—in the case of

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[22] Other potential uses include in recordings and anthologies. While I examine recordings below, I do not examine anthologies, since they seem to function similarly to musical examples interspersed in textbooks, if usually on a larger scale and without the interaction of the example and the surrounding text.

compositional exercises, the ultimate texture—corresponds to the most popular instantiation of chorale seen above with respect to chorales used in examples: these are four-part, basically homophonic harmonizations of a chorale tune. Interestingly, authors seem also interested in this texture beyond in exercises that explicitly involve chorales: some incorporate this texture in many of their non-chorale exercises as well, for example (Table 16).

Figure 38: Example of an analysis exercise that employs a chorale (Clendinning and Marvin, *Musician's Guide*, 325).
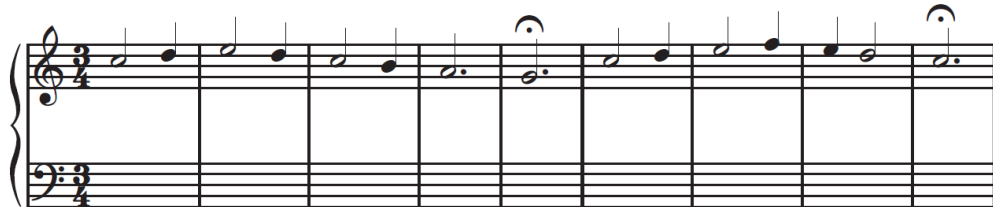
Figure 39: Example of a compositional exercise that employs a chorale (Kostka, Payne, and Almén, *Tonal Harmony*, 300).[23]

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[23] This chorale tune is commonly known "Freu' dich sehr," although it originated with the Genevan psalter.

	Exercises	
Textbook	Analysis	Composition
Clendinning and Marvin	Y	Y
Burstein and Straus	Y	N, but SATB
Kostka, Payne, and Almén	Y	Y
Laitz	Y	N
Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader	Y	Y
Roig-Francolí	Y	Y
Turek and McCarthy	Y	Y
Benjamin et al.	N, but SATB	N, but SATB
Snodgrass	Y	Y

Table 16: The incorporation of chorales in analysis and composition exercises across textbooks.

This brief consideration of the distribution of chorales in this corpus of textbooks largely corroborates the findings of the previous chapter: chorales are rather widely distributed across textbooks in general. Authors associate them with diatonic harmony in particular, but their utility generally wanes as textbooks progress through more-advanced topics. It is in textbooks explicitly devoted to harmony that chorales appear most frequently and most widely; chorales' frequency and the breadth of their occurrence is markedly lower in textbooks of the "comprehensive musicianship." Finally, authors also incorporate chorales in their exercises, whether those oriented toward analysis or those oriented toward composition. In both types of exercises, finally, authors prefer a four-part, largely homophonic texture—the same texture of chorales that they most frequently present as musical examples. While I will consider themes that this section raises further below, I will first consider issues relating to authors' typical visual and aural presentation of chorales.

4.5 Visual Presentation of Chorales

In this section, I return to authors' presentation of chorales in their textbooks. In Chapter 2, I showed how a particular presentation of four-part chorale harmonizations by J. S. Bach in undergraduate music-theory textbooks reflects a conception of these pieces as music-theoretical objects divorced from the musical context within which they originated. I begin here by considering how representative the practices that I discussed in Chapter 2 are of this corpus in general. I then also compare these practices with authors' visual presentation of non-chorale repertoire. Finally, in addition to authors' visual presentation of these pieces, I consider their aural presentation—that is, in the recordings that accompany textbooks. It should be noted that from this point on, I deal not with chorales in general, but rather with Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations—as I did in Chapter 2—given their high rate of incidence in this corpus.

I will begin by restating my findings from Chapter 2. With respect to captions, authors identify Bach's four-part chorale settings either by number (with the collection of reference unnamed) or by a short segment of untranslated German text; in neither case, moreover, do authors refer in captions to the musical context within which a given piece originated. With respect to musical notation, authors notate these pieces on two staves, employing the treble and bass clefs; they also dispose the constituent musical lines two per staff and differentiate each of the two pairs of lines by stem direction. They include no text for singing, and they provide no other explicit indications of the pieces' instrumentation. The result of the authors' visual presentation of these pieces is the constitution of a music-theoretical object, I argued, one independent from its original musical context and abstracted from actual musical performance; these excerpts are instead presented as objects for study and reflection.

	Col. A	Col. B	Col. C
Textbook	Number	Text	Other
Clendinning and Marvin	N	Y	N
Burstein and Straus	Y	N	N
Laitz	N	Y	var.
Kostka, Payne, and Almén	N	Y	N
Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader	Y	N	N
Roig-Francolí	Y	Y	BWV
Turek and McCarthy	N	Y	N
Benjamin et al.	N	Y	N
Snodgrass	N	Y	N

Table 17: Identifying information authors provide in captions of musical examples of chorales.

The first aspect to explore here is how pervasive the practices just mentioned are in this chapter's corpus of textbooks. Table 17 provides information concerning authors' practices for identifying chorale settings as musical examples in captions.[24] Of the nine textbooks that incorporate chorales, three identify chorale settings by means of a number (Col. A)—that is, by reference to a setting's position in a (generally unspecified) collection—and seven identify chorale settings by means of an untranslated German text (Col. B). Only one author's normal practice departs significantly from these two practices: Roig-Francolí also provides BWV numbers (Col. C). Figure 4.13 provides information concerning authors' notation of chorale settings as musical examples. In almost all cases, authors notate chorale settings on two staves and dispose the four constituent parts two per staff, with parts sharing a staff differentiated by stem direction (Figure 4.13, Col. A). Similarly, almost all omit a text (Figure 4.13, Col. B). In

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[24] The term "variable" (or its abbreviation "var.") in this and other tables in this chapter indicates that a given author's (or group of authors') practices do not admit of convenient generalization; but entering into further detail on these is beyond the scope of this investigation.

short, then, the practices of visual presentation observed in Chapter 2 are characteristic of this corpus.

	Col. A	Col. B	Col. C	Col. D
	Chorales		Other Rep.	
Textbook	Staves	Text	Text	Transl
Clendinning and Marvin	2	N	Y	Y
Burstein and Straus	2	N	Y	Y
Kostka, Payne, and Almén	2	N	Y	N
Laitz	var.	var.	Y	N(e)
Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader	2	N	Y	Y
Roig-Francolí	2	N	Y	N
Turek and McCarthy	2	N	Y	N
Benjamin et al.	2	N	Y	Y
Snodgrass*	2	var.	Y	Y

* The entries for Snodgrass in this table reflect the chorales that she provides as exercises, since she offers no chorales as musical examples.

Table 18: Aspects of chorales' musical notation in textbooks.

A comparison of these practices with those for non-chorale repertoire shows that authors handle chorale settings differently from other repertoire (Table 18, Cols. C and D). Three examples will suffice to illustrate this point. Figure 40 presents an example taken from a Lied by Franz Schubert in Burstein and Straus's *Concise Introduction to Tonal Harmony*. While in the caption of their musical example, the authors do not cite the larger musical work within which the piece is extracted, *Die schöne Müllerin* (D. 795, Op. 25), they do translate the incipit by which they identify the piece, "Der Neugierige (The Curious One)"; furthermore, they also provide a text for singing as part of the example's musical notation, as well as a translation of this text below the score.[25] In Figure 41, Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader cite a recitative J.

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[25] Authors will even present text with four-part hymns: see, for example, Kostka, Payne, and Almén, *Tonal Harmony*, 149; or Laitz, *Complete Musician*, 54.

S. Bach's Cantata *Gleich wie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt* (BWV 18) in their

Harmony & Voice Leading. Like Burstein and Straus previously, Aldwell, Schachter, and

Cadwallader provide both a text for singing in the excerpt from the score and a translation of this

text below the example; moreover, they cite the cantata within which the recitative originated—

albeit by a genre and number ("Cantata 18"), not by the cantata's opening text, as is customary.

The provision of texts in these two examples demonstrates authors' attention to the fact that

these pieces are sung—thus, their instrumentation, in a broad sense. The language of these texts

also indicates these pieces' Germanic origins, moreover, and authors' provision of translations

reinforces not only the texts' importance to the examples, but also the importance of the texts'

semantic dimension; this indicates the authors' belief that the words sung are significant to the

example. Furthermore, Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader's identification of the larger

musical work in the second example tacitly acknowledges the importance of the excerpt's

broader musical context. This particular piece is instructive in that the work in question here, a

sacred cantata, is one of the genres within which many of Bach's four-part chorale settings

elsewhere in these textbooks originated; that is, Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader evidently

cite cantatas from which an excerpt is taken when the example is a recitative, but not when it is a

chorale.[26] Figure 42, finally, is an example excerpted from a four-part homophonic choral work

that is not a chorale; apart from providing a text for singing in the score, the authors also dispose

the musical texture on four separate staves—one staff per part—and even label these staves, thus

employing conventions that align with four-part SATB ensemble that they do not employ for

chorale settings.

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[26] The chorale in the cantata cited in this musical example, "Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt,"
also appears in the edition that most American authors use as no. 100, "Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderben." (A
transposed version also appears under the same incipit as no. 126.)

29.5 Schubert, "Der Neugierige" (The Curious One) ➡

Bäch - lein meiner Lie - be, wie bist du heut so stumm!

B: I
(above pedal point: I V⁷ I) i i⁶ V (V V⁶₅/V V)

Borrowed chords in B major: i and i⁶ instead of I and I⁶, with D♮ (minor form of $\hat{3}$) instead of D♯.

Translation: My dear brook, why are you so silent today?

Figure 40: Musical example of a Lied by Franz Schubert; in Burstein and Straus, *Concise Introduction*, 394.

25-13 *Bach, Cantata 18, recitative*

(a)

al - so soll das Wort, so aus mei – nem Mun - de ge - het auch sein,

5 6 ⁶₄₂♮

translation: Thus also should be the word that goes forth from my mouth.

Figure 41: Musical example of a non-chorale movement from a cantata by J. S. Bach; from Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*, 457.

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EXAMPLE 2.4: Victoria, "O magnum mysterium," mm. 21–25

Translation: And animals saw the newborn Lord.

Figure 42: Musical example of a four-part choral piece; from Clendinning and Marvin, *Musician's Guide*, 29.

These three examples show that authors' practices of presenting Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations in the manner outlined in Chapter 2 are the result of deliberate editorial decisions, even if perhaps inherited through tradition: these practices depart from the same authors' practices with respect to non-chorale repertoire. Even if these latter practices admit some variation, authors' consistency with respect to Bach's chorale settings is remarkable: authors have evidently settled on a particular handling of these pieces.

4.6 Aural Presentation of Chorales

I turn now to authors' aural presentation of Bach's four-part chorale settings. All but one of the textbooks in the corpus under examination are accompanied by recordings of at least some musical examples.[27] Table 19 summarizes authors' practices with respect to these recordings and

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[27] While the latest edition of Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader's textbook (5th edition, 2019) does include accompanying recordings, the 4th edition—the one examined in this investigation—does not.

compares these practices to those applied to works that are not chorales. In doing so, the table

tabulates two aspects of the recordings in question: whether these recordings observe works'

original instrumentation and whether they present works' text, where relevant.[28]

Textbook	Chorales	Non-chorale repertoire
Clendinning and Marvin	pno, org.	variable
Burstein and Straus	pno.	variable
Kostka, Payne, and Almén	org.	original
Laitz	variable	variable
Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader	-	-
Roig-Francolí	pno.	variable
Turek and McCarthy	pno.	original
Benjamin et al.	var. (no voice)	original
Snodgrass*	vocal quart.	original

* The entries for Snodgrass in this table reflect the chorales that she provides as exercises, since she offers no chorales as musical examples.[29]

Table 19: Authors' handling of instrumentation in recordings of chorales and other repertoire.

As this table shows, authors present chorales in a variety of ways with respect to

instrumentation. Particularly frequent are renderings on keyboard instruments—above all, the

piano, which four textbooks use predominantly, but also the organ, which two textbooks use. The

performances of chorales in the recordings that accompany two textbooks—those by Benjamin,

Horvit, Koozin, and Nelson, on one hand, and Laitz, on the other—are variable with respect to

instrumentation. Benjamin et al. have their sole recording of a chorale performed with winds,

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[28] One reason for presenting these categories separately is that authors occasionally observe one and not the other; for example, in his recordings of some rock songs, Roig-Francolí offers original instrumentations (if apparently in midi) without texts (e.g., *Harmony in Context*, 109 [Example 1.4b], Lennon and McCartney's "All My Loving," which the author has performed on a midi version of an instrumental rock ensemble).

[29] Incidentally, the harmonization of "Nun ruhen alle Wälder" in the recording that Snodgrass offers to accompany her exercise on this same chorale (*Contemporary Musicianship*, 203) is different than that in the textbook: the textbook version is no. 117 in Riemenschneider (*371 Harmonized Chorales*), while the recording is no. 289.

while Laitz's recordings of chorale settings employ a variety of instrumentations, including piano, brass quartet, and a vocal quartet singing a German text.[30] Only in one textbook's recordings—Snodgrass's—are chorales performed consistently by voices/singers. Astonishingly, for one chorale, one author, Laitz, even has a setting performed by vocal ensemble, but on the syllable "doo" rather than on a text.[31] The variability in instrumentation across this corpus is remarkable in that it suggests that authors regard chorales' instrumentation as entirely incidental to these pieces. In the case of chorales, having settings performed with an instrument other than the voice is particularly significant given their vocal origins, since the text to which chorales would be sung would also convey something about the context for which they were composed— that is, German liturgical celebrations. Instead, chorales are here abstractions, separated from their context even to the extent of the ensemble intended to perform them.

Like authors' visual presentation of chorales, authors' aural presentation of chorales departs in general from their practices with regard to non-chorale repertoire. As Table 19 shows, half of the textbooks in this corpus present non-chorale repertoire according to pieces' original instrumentation. While the other half of textbooks are variable with respect to whether they reproduce the original instrumentation of pieces, doing so is the rule, and choosing a different instrumentation—such as substituting a "piano reduction," or presenting a piece's accompaniment without its principal line, for example—the exception. Moreover, where authors employ such a reduction or portion of a texture, they typically indicate this fact. As with authors' visual presentation of musical examples, authors treat chorales more consistently than they do non-chorale repertoire: five of the seven textbooks that offer recordings, for example, present

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[30] The chorale in question in Benjamin et al. is their Example 8.4. The chorales in question in Laitz are Example 3.26 (piano), Example 9.4B (brass quartet), and Example 2.4A (vocal quartet); these are discussed in Laitz, *Complete Musician*, 131, 266, and 84, respectively.
[31] See Laitz, *Complete Musician*, 21–22 [Example 1A.22C].

chorales consistently in non-vocal renderings. This consistency again suggests that authors'

handling of these pieces—a decidedly non-vocal handling—is a settled affair.

In summary, the textbooks in this corpus reflect authors' practices for visually presenting

Bach's four-part chorale settings as musical examples identified in Chapter 2; the conception of

the chorale that these practices constitute—a music-theoretical object of abstract reflection—thus

obtain across the corpus. In presenting chorales in these ways, however, authors' depart from

their practices with respect to non-chorale repertoire; that is, the chorale evidently holds a special

status in the musical repertoires included in these textbooks. Finally, authors' practices with

respect to the aural presentation of chorales—that is, in the recordings that accompany these

textbooks—also reinforce the conception of the chorale as an abstract music-theoretical object.

By way of casting authors' remarkable handling of Bach's four-part chorale settings in

further relief, it is instructive to consider the entry for the term "chorale" in *The Grove*

Dictionary of Music and Musicians discussed in Chapter 1. By way of summary, the definition in

Grove describes chorales as a single musical line understood to be for singing—although

possibly also a simple harmonization of such a tune—possibly connected to a text, religious in

intended function, and German in provenance.[32] The chorales that authors present in these

textbooks, however, do not correspond closely to this definition. Almost all the chorales that

authors present are four-part settings, not tunes alone; moreover, authors' interest is in chorale

settings, not tunes, even though it is the latter that defines a chorale. The broader contextual

elements mentioned in the *Grove* entry are also absent in textbooks: elements that refer to

chorales' original religious function and German provenance are absent, for example, unless

authors identify chorales by means of a text and the reader can understand German. In short, the

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[32] Marshall and Leaver, "Chorale."

practices of American music theorists vis-à-vis the chorale depart substantially from those of the musical world beyond music theory. These practices are not incidental, moreover: authors are remarkably consistent within their textbooks, and there are strong similarities from one textbook to another. This suggests the formation of a culture specific to American music theory that surrounds these pieces. This being the case, it will be helpful to explore authors' own statements on these practices—the business of the next section.

4.7 "Chorale Style"

In the first half of this chapter, I explored several aspects of authors use of chorales in this corpus of undergraduate textbooks: the proportion of musical examples that are chorales, which chorales authors present, where exactly they occur, and how authors present them. In the second half of this chapter, I explore the concept of "chorale style." This concept denotes not only a highly specific musical texture—four-part notionally vocal homophony—but also a specific notation thereof, and it is found throughout the textbooks under investigation here. Intriguingly, this notation corresponds almost exactly to the idiosyncratic notation of Bach's four-part chorale settings discussed above; yet this is the only way that "chorale style" relates to chorales. Beyond to illustrate principles of harmony and voice-leading, authors use chorale style as the target texture for reductions. Through this, and through a reverse operation of elaboration, it becomes clear that chorale style is in fact an image of musical structure. The discussion that follows centers on two textbooks—Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader's *Harmony & Voice Leading* and Clendinning and Marvin's *Musician's Guide Theory and Analysis*—although I also incorporate aspects of other of the most popular textbooks in the present corpus.

4.7.1 Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*

I begin with Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader's discussion of "four-part writing," whose greatest alleged value lies in its capacity to represent supposedly universal principles of harmony and voice-leading. The operative ingredient here is a four-part "framework" that authors claim underlies all tonal works, whether they have more or fewer parts. This framework may be discovered by the operation of "reduction," which reveals the essence of musical pieces. This framework's notational expression, however, is what authors call "chorale style," both the texture and notation of four-part writing. While what this collocution expresses has no inherent connection to chorales, the notation it defines does correspond to the same idiosyncratic notation of Bach's four-part chorale settings. Moreover, the authors consider these pieces the musical instantiations of four-part writing par excellence. What emerges, then, is a tight constellation of concepts, practices, and musical repertoire surrounding the chorale, with each presumably reinforcing the others' prominence in the field.

Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader's introduce what they call "four-part writing" at the beginning of their chapter entitled "Procedures of Four-Part Writing," in a section is entitled "Four-Part Vocal Texture."[33] Study of this texture, the authors write, represents the "next step" in the "study of harmony and voice leading"—the study that, after all, constitutes the textbook's main topic. Four-part vocal writing offers an occasion to explore "how chords and lines interact—chord with chord, line with line, and line with chord," they write. "In this respect[,] four-part vocal writing—the traditional medium for harmony exercises—has many advantages":

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[33] All citations in this paragraph are found in Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*, 93. Positing a vocal manifestation of four-part writing would, given conventions in American music theory, imply the existence of an instrumental manifestation; interestingly, the authors offer no section on four-part instrumental writing in this chapter—or indeed anywhere in the textbook—even if they do on several occasions refer to "instrumental style" or "instrumental texture," and they do seem to conceive of "keyboard style" as an "instrumental style" (ibid., 97).

the limitations of the voice make it simpler than instrumental music, and since this texture

employs "the natural combination of high and low men's voices plus high and low women's or

children's voices," it lends itself to complete chords.[34] This texture also allegedly corresponds to

musical norms: "since the sixteenth century the four-part texture has come to represent the norm,

especially in vocal music." The author's account of "four-part writing" is so far relatively

innocuous: it is presumably an activity or practice—as implied by the noun "writing"—and it

refers to a medium, exercises in which one may learn about harmony. What makes it conducive

to learning about harmony? It is relatively simple, they write; it is "natural," with reference to a

standard choral disposition; and composers have been writing in this texture for several

centuries, to the point that it is now normative.

The authors' account becomes more interesting in what follows. Beginning a new

paragraph, they name an additional advantage to studying four-part writing: "its applicability to

music of greater complexity." As the authors explain, "much instrumental music—though often

more elaborate on the surface—is based on a framework of four voices." While the authors do

not expand upon this claim, several points may be extracted from this statement. First, their

positing of a "framework" evidently explains what it means that four-part writing is "applicable"

to more-complex music. When they write that pieces are "based on a framework of four voices,"

the verb "based on" implies beginning with, and possibly supported by, and "framework"

implies something simple and structural, upon which additional details may be elaborated. The

framework in question here is composed of four voices—which of course corresponds to four-

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[34] Similarly, Kostka, Payne, and Almén, moreover, write that "traditional four-part chorale settings are used to introduce many concepts" (Kostka, Payne, and Almén, *Tonal Harmony*, vii [see also their observation that "because so much attention has been paid to four-part textures by authors of harmony texts, a terminology concerning the voicing of chords in four-part textures has been developed": ibid., 70]), and Burstein and Straus observe that "four-part harmony is useful as a model for harmonic practices found in settings that are more elaborate as well, and forms the basis of most traditional exercises in tonal harmony" (see Burstein and Straus, *Concise Introduction*, 82).

part writing. In other words, studying four-part writing teaches us about these "frameworks"—and because more-complex musical pieces are "based on" these frameworks, one is simultaneously learning about the pieces. The reach of "four-part writing" may be considerable, then, depending on the range of its application, which the authors do not specify. But possibly more suggestive is the notion of the pieces in question being "based on" a four-part framework; what is this relation? To be sure, there are other basic questions in connection with this doctrine. Why should musical works be four-parted on some fundamental level? Why should its structure be parted at all? Why should it have a structure at all? What is the relation between the work and its structure, and how can one identify or extract its structure?

The authors explain no further. Instead, they begin discussing a chorale setting by Bach. Given the description of a "framework" immediately preceding, one would expect the authors to demonstrate how this framework relates to the chorale setting—a piece of music, after all. They do not. Instead, they use the piece to illustrate harmonic phenomena; the chorale setting, they write, "illustrates certain principles of chord construction." In other words, the authors are using the piece as an example of four-part writing. As they write,

> Bach's 371 chorales are universally acknowledged to be among the masterpieces of four-part choral writing. Although they are in many ways complicated little pieces, their complexities are not those of rhythm, texture, and register, all of which remain relatively simple. For this reason, the chorales have served as models for generations of music students, from Bach's day to yours.[35]

To be sure, this strategy is not wholly a bolt from the blue: the musical example to which they refer in fact forms a sort of epigraph to the chapter, appearing between the chapter title,

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[35] Turek and McCarthy echo similar sentiments when they observe that "in their harmonic imagination and in their balance of melodic and harmonic forces, Bach's harmonizations surpass those of his contemporaries": Turek and McCarthy, *Today's Musician*, 194; see also 218–19, 310.

"Procedures of Four-Part Writing," and its first body text. Yet the closeness of this connection is still striking.

The authors go on to name the piece's four constituent parts—soprano, alto, tenor, and bass—and then describe its notation: on two staves, with two parts per staff and stem direction distinguishing each pair. With this, the authors launch into a series of short sections that provide guidelines on various aspects of four-part vocal writing: vocal range, doubling, complete and incomplete chords, spacing, and open and close position.

Figure 43: Illustration of "reduction" in Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*, 101.

Most striking in this discussion of four-part writing is the notion of a "framework" upon which relatively complex musical pieces are based. What the authors mean by this concept becomes clearer when they begin altering the notation of pieces to create simpler versions of them, a process that they call "reduction." An elementary version of this process is visible in

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their reduction of Beethoven's "Waldstein" Piano Sonata (Op. 53). Beginning from a homophonic texture with five or six notes per chord, the authors eliminate "doublings" and "chord fillers" to produce a four-part simplification of the piece (Figure 43). This simplification, they write, "demonstrates the [piece's] basic voice leading."[36] Indeed, they apply this procedure throughout their textbook, even devoting an appendix to it. Does the result of this procedure constitute the discovery of the "framework of four voices" on which "much instrumental music—though often more elaborate on the surface—is based" that they referred to earlier? It would seem so: the result is in four parts, and, as illustrated by the simplification process that reveals it, could be said to "underly" the piece. As for the notion of the piece being "based on" this framework, they do not explain what they mean with this phrase; but their rhetoric surrounding reductions elsewhere may correspond to this. Slightly earlier in the chapter, they call the texture resulting from this reduction process "real,"[37] and their description of reduction found in their appendix devoted to the subject also aligns with this notion: "if we wish to understand the ways in which harmony and voice leading operate in actual compositions, we have to learn how to hear our way past the complex surface and into the underlying structure of the harmony, melody, and voice leading."[38] Remarkable in the authors' description is that the reduction is somehow a truer version of the piece—or more "real," to use their term.[39]

Other authors agree with Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader on reduction, and in some cases go further. Steven Laitz introduces the concept of reduction in a section titled "introduction

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[36] Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*, 101.
[37] With respect to an Intermezzo by Brahms, the authors write that "the reduction shows that the piece begins with three real parts": ibid., 99–100; see also 333. Much of the authors' analysis involves this surface–interpretation dichotomy and identifying what is "really" occurring. On this dichotomy, see Fink, "Going Flat."
[38] Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*, 692.
[39] The authors appear to be equivocating: in several other spots, they refer to "real music" in reference to something akin to what they would here call "musical surface"—apparently to differentiate from exercises (see ibid., 47, 50, 59).

to voice leading" in the fifth chapter of his undergraduate textbook *The Complete Musician*. In a passage introducing what he calls "an underlying harmonic foundation," he writes that

> When we strip away the surface of compositions written in various styles throughout the common-practice period, a small core of tonal principles occurs over and over. These principles are not limited to so-called "serious" or "art" music but extend to popular and commercial music heard today.

One finds here resonances with Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader's procedure of removing notes—"stripp[ing] away the surface of compositions"—and the idea that this reveals tonal principles applicable to a variety of music. In what follows, moreover, Laitz offers more details on reduction:

> Tonal music of the common-practice era was generally conceived in four voices, although not every piece of tonal music literally uses four voices at every possible moment. Rather, a four-voice framework underlies compositions that may have many more than four voices, such as works for large forces, including the symphony and the concerto, or those that have fewer than four voices, such as solos, duets, and trios in which the framework is implicit.[40]

The author's description of "a four-voice framework [that] underlies compositions" echoes Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader almost verbatim. But Laitz goes further than the trio. This framework is part of musical pieces' conception; it is how the composer understood and even possibly designed the piece. Moreover, this framework subsists not only when the musical surface is more complex, but also when it is less complex—such as when a piece has fewer than three parts. And this four-part framework applies to all tonal music of the common-practice era. Elsewhere, he refers to this framework as "generating" the piece, and in another section as a

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[40] Laitz, *Complete Musician*, 174.

piece's "essence," and in another place he describes certain pitches and harmonies as "more important" than others and describes the relationship as one of dependence. [41]

It is worth reviewing the ground covered so far here. This discussion began with the concept of four-part writing, a set of practices expeditious for learning tonal harmony and voice-leading and centered on a texture constituted by four parts. While there are several reasons why four-part writing is expeditious to this end, one is that it embodies something crucial about tonal music—that underlying tonal music is a four-part texture that serves as a framework for the musical surface, in that the surface may be understood as an elaboration of the texture. As such, with complex musical textures, such frameworks may be revealed by removing notes. With simpler textures, however, revealing these frameworks will involve adding notes. In all cases, these frameworks offer an interpretation of a musical surface, revealing something essential about them. As such, these four-part frameworks amount to a model of musical structure for tonal music. They offer an explanation of how tonal music works, or in what it consists—indeed, something more "real" than the musical surface.

But what does this notion of a four-part framework or model of musical structure have to do with the chorale? Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader already signal such a connection with the epigraph to their chapter on four-part writing—a four-part chorale setting by Bach, as noted above—and from their use of this chorale setting as the principal illustration of this four-part writing. But there is another important connection: the concept of "chorale style." That "chorale style" is relevant to the present discussion is clear in that Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader bring it up partway through their chapter on four-part writing, in an introduction to the concepts of chord spacing, and specifically the notions of "open position" and "close position." Yet they

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[41] Ibid., 253, 176, 188.

do not define the term; they merely use it to label a musical illustration without explanation, even though they use the term "keyboard style"—apparently its correlate—immediately following. Given Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader's lack of explicit discussion of "chorale style," I will turn to Laitz's account of the concept to explain it.

Before exploring Laitz's definition, however, it is worth considering what the term suggests on its own terms. On its face, it evidently means "in the manner of a chorale"—but in what respect? If the *Grove* definition is an indication, this could mean liturgically, or in close connection with a text, or monophonically, or any other aspect of this definition; the term itself offers no information about what respect is intended, and thus a definition is necessary. Moreover, this definition will be suggestive for what music theorists value in chorales, or what even they perceive them to be, since, as the *Grove* definition showed, the term could be instantiated in several possible ways.

Laitz's definition of "chorale style" is found in his textbook's glossary.[42] According to this definition, "chorale style" is "a four-voice texture in which two notes (voices) are written in the treble clef and two notes (voices) are written in the bass clef and are played with the left hand."[43] To answer the questions posted just above, then, "chorale style" is in fact a texture with a specific notation associated with it: the texture is four-part and the notation has two staves, with the upper treble and the lower bass, and the four parts are disposed with two on the upper staff, the other two on the lower. The author also slips in instructions for sounding this texture: it

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[42] The other definition found among the five most popular textbooks is in the glossary of Burstein and Straus's *Concise Introduction*, under the entry "SATB (chorale) format": "Notation of four-part harmony in which soprano and alto are written on the treble staff, tenor and bass on the bass staff" (558).
[43] Laitz, *Complete Musician*, G-3.

is apparently played with the hands—presumably at the keyboard, given the notation, although he does not say this.[44]

It is remarkable that these are the features that music theorists consider valuable about or essential to chorales. First of all, the categories that arise in this definition indicate music theorists' preoccupations in general: musical texture, notation, and the instrumentation of performance—nothing to do with a chorale's function, or cultural origins, for example. But why should "chorale style" be restricted to a specific texture, when the *Grove* definition offers multiple, with monophony being the principal one? Moreover, why should a specific notation figure among the chorale's essential features, as "chorale style" implies? For what other genre is there a specific notation prescribed to this degree? Finally, how is it that "chorale style" is to be played at a keyboard, when, according to the *Grove* definition, a chorale is a hymn with a text closely associated, and thus sung? The meaning of "chorale style" suggests that there is an understanding of the term "chorale" in play here particular to music theory.

What is more striking is the connection of "chorale style" to reductions of musical pieces, as discussed above. Laitz draws this connection explicitly. He introduces the concept of "chorale style" in a section entitled, "Notating Four-Part Textures." And indeed, the way that authors typically employ "chorale style" is as a notation of what Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader call "four-part writing"—that is, to represent basic principles of harmony and voice-leading. But the section in which Laitz introduces the collocution immediately follows the passage quoted earlier, where he writes about the "four-voice framework" that underlies all tonal compositions.

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[44] Two aspects of "chorale style" that Laitz does not mention here are its vocality and its homophony. (While Laitz does use the term "voice" several times in his definition, it is not clear that he means it in the specific sense referring to the [human] voice or in the general sense as a synonym to [musical] line or part. Since he refers to playing "chorale style" textures with the hands, it is likely that he intends the second sense.) I discuss these aspects below in connection with Clendinning and Marvin's treatment of the term. This lack of definitional rigor surrounding the chorale and "chorale style" is common in textbooks.

On the heels of this discussion, he introduces the concepts of "open score" and "short score" for notating four-part textures; with the first, each part has its own staff and the SATB clefs specific to each of these four voice parts, and with the second, the four parts are instead disposed on two staves, with treble and bass clefs, respectively, and two parts per staff—by now a familiar notation. But Laitz adds another version of "short score," however, one "created by reducing an instrumental work (e.g., a symphony) to its 'essence,' omitting pitch doublings and compacting the voices into a single register (approximately three octaves)."[45] While the reduction that Laitz offers here is rather elementary—the result resembles a version for piano more than a deep interpretation of the work's structure—this entire discussion takes place in the shadow of the "four-part framework" immediately prior. Moreover, Laitz's language is like that of Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader: the reduction somehow reveals the piece's "essence." In any event, both open score and short score—both versions thereof—constitute "chorale style."[46] In short, "chorale style" defines the result of reductions, whether with respect to texture, notation, or instrumentation; it is the filter through which reductions are passed, the format within which they take shape.

One element remains to discuss in this small constellation: Bach's four-part harmonizations. There are two reasons to think there may be a connection: for one thing, the majority of examples labelled "chorale" in the undergraduate textbooks surveyed here are one of these; for another, the notation of these pieces is idiosyncratic, flying through the horns of two sets of instrumental conventions, and yet this notation is also strikingly similar to that of "chorale

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[45] Ibid., 174.
[46] Ibid., 176. This taxonomy is clearly problematic in light of his glossary definition of "chorale style" discussed above, which corresponds only to the "short score" notation. Including his "open score" under the definition of "chorale style" must therefore be an error, in light of both this contradiction and the fact that all other authors use "chorale style" along the lines of this definition as well.

style." Is this coincidental? It could hardly be, particularly given how peculiar it is that the term "chorale" should find its way into the concept that "chorale style" represents. It would be tempting to take these striking connections one step further—for example, to claim that Bach's chorale harmonizations are models of musical structure. No author in the textbooks surveyed here does this—although one textbook in the ancestry of Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader's textbook does, as I discuss in Chapter 8, and indeed the editors of the first editions of Bach's chorale settings do too. Or one could conclude that the reduction of a musical piece somehow is a chorale—a small step from claiming that such reductions are in "chorale style." While again, no author in this group makes such a claim, Johann Philipp Kirnberger—one of those involved with the earliest editions of Bach's chorale four-part settings—does, as I discuss in Chapter 5.

4.7.2 *Clendinning and Marvin,* The Musician's Guide to Theory and Analysis

To finish this chapter, I turn to Clendinning and Marvin's undergraduate textbook *The Musician's Guide to Theory and Analysis*. The authors' discussion of the chorale is relevant here in light of the authors' grounding of "chorale style" in inevitable music-historical forces; in short, "chorale style" is for the authors a later, texturally richer version of species counterpoint, at least in the sense of embodying music-theoretical principles. But whereas species counterpoint serves to illustrate principles for pre-tonal music, "chorale style" illustrates principles of tonal music. In the process of his argument, the authors further bolster the importance of "chorale style" as expressive of principles universally applicable to tonal music.

The importance of the concept of "chorale style" in Clendinning and Marvin's textbook is immediately clear from the title of Chapter 11, "From Species to Chorale Style: Soprano and

Bass Lines."[47] This is an important chapter in the textbook's overall topical trajectory, as it is the first chapter of Part II: where Part I explores "Elements of Music," Part II deals with "Diatonic Harmony and Tonicization." As such, this chapter represents the crossing of a significant threshold. In one sense, this is the threshold distinguishing the ingredients of harmony (among other such "elements") to harmony itself—that is, the combination and integration of these ingredients; as the authors write, "in the Baroque and subsequent eras, the intervallic connections of species counterpoint were combined with an emerging sense of harmony and functional tonality to create tonal counterpoint."[48] In another sense, this is the threshold distinguishing the realm of abstract exercises from that of actual music. The authors acknowledge this boundary as well: "although the principles of species counterpoint"—the culmination of Part I—"underlie much of tonal music, very few pieces are written exclusively in strict style."[49]

But what exactly is "chorale style" for Clendinning and Marvin? Like Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, the authors do not define the term. Indeed, they do not even offer an entry in the substantial glossary that they provide as an appendix to their text—surprisingly, given its importance in the textbook. The term does appear in their entry for "SATB," however, which in itself sheds light on the concept. The entry for SATB reads, "an abbreviation for the four main voice ranges: soprano, alto, tenor, and bass. Also indicates a particular musical style or texture: chorale style."[50] It is surprising that the authors consider "chorale style" a synonym of

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[47] Clendinning and Marvin, *Musician's Guide*, 208.
[48] Ibid., 209.
[49] Ibid., 209 (the authors' term "strict style" here seems to be a synonym for species counterpoint—one of several "styles" to which they refer). In the chapter's "overview," the authors write that the bass line of "Baroque-era music and after…implies tonal harmonic progressions" (ibid., 208); and when they describe Chapter 11 earlier in the textbook, they write that this chapter will "consider the connections between species counterpoint and music literature more fully" (ibid., 166).
[50] Ibid., A63. It is curious that the authors use the acronym "SATB" on its own, since the acronym is typically used to modify a noun—as in the "SATB style" that they use elsewhere. Indeed, they seem alone in using "SATB" alone as a synonym for "chorale style."

"SATB": the latter is a texture, whereas "chorale style" is not merely a texture, but also an approach to notation and a medium within which to present music-theoretical principles—but their employment of "chorale style" confirms that they nevertheless conceive of the term in these ways. But the authors' appending "chorale style" onto their entry for SATB reveals another important aspect of the term that Laitz does not acknowledge explicitly: its vocality, since SATB clearly refers to vocal parts. That authors understand "chorale style" as exhibiting a vocal dimension is clear from textual cues—such as Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader's interpreting of their term "four-part writing" throughout as essentially vocal. Yet Laitz's reference to "chorale style" being played at the keyboard also introduces confusion about this vocality: if they "chorale style" textures are vocal, should they not be sung? At the same time, there are no notational cues—such as a text or any other declamation instructions—that suggest that the texture is to be sung. Do authors have different understandings of "chorale style," or is there some way to reconcile this?

There is indeed a way of reconciling this: if chorale style is not essentially a sounded phenomenon but rather primarily located in the mind, fundamentally an object of contemplation. It is true that chorale style is vocal in some way; as seen above, Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader write that "four-part vocal writing…has many advantages," and they cite vocal music's simplicity, the "natural combination" formed by voices, and so on. Indeed, this vocality is likely a justification for the term "chorale style," given how historically, chorales are fundamentally vocal. But Aldwell et al. never discuss the sounding of chorale style. Where Laitz does refer to an instrument in his definition, he mentions hands playing it, not the voice singing it. Laitz does not thematize this aspect of chorale style, however; he assumes what must be a piano is present, ready-to-hand for the theorist—in the same way that Alexander Rehding, when

he describes "a music-theory classroom in the Western world" in the passage that opened

Chapter 1 above, writes that "we also expect a piano in the room."[51] The point, then, is that the

sounding of chorale style is not important. What authors that describe it do stress is its notation,

its capacity for laying out certain musical relationships visually so that they may be studied and

contemplated. In this context, while chorale style is basically vocal, it is not so with respect to its

sounding; it is only vocal with respect to its conception—that is, notionally. This vocality is

primarily relevant in how it exerts constraints on chorale style textures, limiting range, rhythm,

and other complexities.[52]

Clendinning and Marvin also connect "chorale style" to species counterpoint in a way

that reveals how they conceive of the former: "chorale style" supplants species counterpoint in

multiple respects. Partly, this supplanting is a matter of historical musical styles: the authors refer

to the replacement in the Baroque era of "strict style" with "eighteenth-century style," listing a

number of qualities like durations, permissible intervals, note repetition, the differentiation of

lines, and so on. But these "styles" also correspond to types of counterpoint: "strict style" is

evidently a synonym for species counterpoint, and "eighteenth-century style" corresponds in the

same way to what the authors call "eighteenth-century note-to-note counterpoint." These styles

also share essential features; as the authors write, "the basic principles of counterpoint, including

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[51] Rehding, "Three Music-Theory Lessons," 252. Rehding reflects the invisibility of the piano in the way Laitz refers to it here when, later in the same article, he writes that "all too often the instruments that music theory handles are overlooked; they seem somehow 'neutral.' This is especially true for the piano" (ibid., 261). See also Rehding, "Instruments of Music Theory," *Music Theory Online* 22, no. 4 (http://mtosmt.org/issues/mto.16.22.4/mto.16.22.4.rehding.html).

[52] Another indication that the particulars of instrumental performance are immaterial arises when Laitz refers to "keyboard style"—the correlate to "chorale style," but notionally oriented to the keyboard—he still refers to the texture via SATB voice parts: see Laitz, *Complete Musician*, 176. It seems unlikely that this texture is notionally vocal in the same way that "chorale style" is—that it is instead notionally for keyboard—since the strictures this vocality places on a texture is a feature of chorale style that distinguishes it from keyboard style. This instead speaks either to the predominance of vocal thinking—as with "four-part *vocal* writing" nearly monopolizing Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader's discussion of "four-part writing"—or to the convenience of using a SATB conception coupled with a lack of a viable, non-vocal alternative.

the balance between linear and harmonic motion, are the same in both styles."[53] Indeed, the authors align strict style and chorale style in a single continuum, whereby the former is merely a waypoint to the latter, and provide historical grounding for their taking this approach: in the Baroque period, they write, "beginners would learn counterpoint in steps—by the species method—beginning with the simplest style in two parts and adding complexity until they were writing in four or more parts," adding that "we will do the same."

The authors also reflect the conception of "chorale style" as a framework underlying a musical surface. Interestingly, they do this not only through the operation of "reduction" explored above, but also through a reverse operation: they explain that "to compose music, you might begin with a simple framework and add figuration; to analyze music, you can use your knowledge of counterpoint to discover this underlying framework and see how it is embellished."[54] Indeed, they even demonstrate later in the textbook a process of elaboration of a keyboard accompaniment departing from a four-part "SATB" texture.[55] The authors also confirm their alignment with other authors on the notion of chorale style as a "framework" when they write that "though a detailed consideration of note-to-note connections may seem abstract or removed from the context of music literature, the principles involved are actually the basis of all tonal composition." In short, chorale style, a type—or even telos—of counterpoint, is the very foundation of tonal music.

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[53] Clendinning and Marvin, *Musician's Guide*, 209.
[54] To be sure, Clendinning and Marvin's commitment to this framework being composed of four parts is less clear here—as it is in their chapter on "chorale style"; but their synonymizing "chorale style" with SATB in their glossary reinforces the notion
[55] Ibid., 249–50. Laitz demonstrates this conception vividly in two different ways, one of which, entitled "Building a Piece," leads to the opening of "Spring" from Vivaldi's *The Four Seasons*: see Laitz, *Complete Musician*, 191.

Figure 44: Homophony in illustrations of harmony and voice-leading principles in Kostka, Payne, and Almén, *Tonal Harmony*, 121.

One aspect of "chorale style" that none of the authors explored here states explicitly, but is nevertheless an essential element, is its homophony. That chorale style is homophonic is manifestly clear from authors' many illustrations of harmony and voice-leading principles; - while there are often "smaller" notes in between simultaneities, these illustrations are basically homophonic (Figure 44). And this is logical: the main use of "chorale style" is the illustration of harmony and voice-leading, and harmony is typically conceived in simultaneities. It is peculiar that authors do not explicitly mention this aspect of chorale style; likely they take this aspect for granted, as obvious—and, as mentioned elsewhere, authors are less than wholly rigorous in their discussions of chorale style. With the addition of this aspect, the definition of chorale style is complete. Chorale style is a texture—four-part notionally vocal homophony—with a specific notational disposition, namely on two staves, with the upper two parts confined to the upper staff and notated in the treble clef and the lower two parts confined to the lower staff and notated in the bass clef, and the upper part on each staff distinguished by upward-facing stems and the lower part on each staff with downward-facing stems; and this texture, while its most basic use is the illustration of harmony and voice-leading principles, is often a target texture for reductions of musical works, as well as ultimately an image of musical structure.

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Textbook	Terms used
Clendinning and Marvin	chorale style, chorale textures, eighteenth-century style, SATB, SATB style
Burstein and Straus	(chorale format), SATB format
Kostka, Payne, and Almén	chorale style
Laitz	chorale style, chorale texture, homophonic texture
Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader	chorale style
Roig-Francolí	chorale-style harmonizations, chorale texture
Shaffer, Hughes, and Moseley	-
Turek and McCarthy	-
Benjamin et al.	chordal texture?, choral [*sic*] voicing, four-voice texture
Snodgrass	four-part writing, SATB voicing, SATB writing

Table 20: Authors' various terms for "chorale style."

Before closing this section, the small proliferation of terms for "chorale style" in Clendinning and Marvin's textbook bears discussion, since it reveals both important dimensions of the concept and its fragility. They use several terms interchangeably with "chorale style": "SATB" and "eighteenth-century style," as seen above, but also "chorale textures," "SATB style," and "four-part harmony." (The use of terms for "chorale style" by authors in this study's corpus can be found in Table 20.) For one thing, these synonyms all suggest key dimensions of the concept, whether that it is among other things a texture, or its connection to eighteenth-century musical repertoire—particularly Bach's four-part chorale settings—or its connection to four-part textures and specifically SATB textures, or its representation of harmony. For another thing, this proliferation of terms also suggests chorale style's instability as a concept. Authors do not handle the term with clarity and transparency, despite its centrality in their textbooks, but usually do not define it—and even when they do, omit significant aspects, as Laitz above—or

exhibit elisions between terms, as Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader move from "four-part writing" to "four-part vocal writing" to "chorale style." The proliferation of terms for "chorale style" is a way of bringing out important aspects of it while managing its instability.

In summary, then, Clendinning and Marvin's notion of "chorale style" in fact aligns rather closely to that of Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader's. Moreover, even if Clendinning and Marvin do not define the term and indeed seldom use it, their account fills in important aspects of the term. For one thing, it clarifies that "chorale style's" vocality, while central to the concept, is notional and does imply the need for a vocal performance, and that "chorale style" is instead intended for study and contemplation. For another thing, the authors' situating of chorale style as a completion of counterpoint fills in its status of an image of musical structure: strict counterpoint offers an only partial account of musical pieces, and chorale style completes the account. Finally, the proliferation of terms for chorale style in Clendinning and Marvin's textbook shows at once important dimensions of the concept and its instability.

4.8 Editions of Bach's Four-Part Chorale Settings

One final issue demands discussion here: the notational similarity between Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations and "chorale style," and the former's enormous representation in the corpus under investigation here. In short, both are notated similarly, to the point where they are occasionally indistinguishable—particularly when the excerpts of chorale settings presented are short (Figure 45). This similarity is striking for a few reasons. One reason is the ubiquity of both: authors use both throughout their textbooks, even if Bach's chorale settings are more constrained in their range than "chorale style." Both are also used to similar ends: authors use "chorale style" to represent principles of harmony and voice-leading, and while in Chapter 3, respondents

reported using Bach's chorale settings for a variety of topics, principal among them are harmony and voice-leading. Perhaps a more striking reason is the visual and specifically notational similarity of both, particularly given that on one hand, chorale style's notation is an essential feature, and on the other, Bach's chorale settings are notated idiosyncratically—and through editorial decisions not taken with other repertoire, including other repertoire labelled "chorale." Finally, there is the use of the term "chorale" in chorale style, where none of its characteristics connect essentially to the chorale.

Figure 45: Comparison of an illustration of harmonic principles (10.9) with an excerpt from a chorale setting by J. S. Bach (10.12) to demonstrate visual similarity; in Burstein and Straus, *Concise Introduction*, 168–69.

This similarity must be more than coincidental. But what does it mean? For one thing, the prominence and importance of the one in American music theory must reinforce that of the other. To wit, in resembling a common representation of principles of harmony and voice-leading— *viz.*, chorale style—Bach's chorale settings may take on an air of Musical Truth that the latter has, and some of its authority for resembling deep musical truths rubs off on it; and in the other direction, "chorale style" may in its resemblance to Bach's chorale settings acquire some of its aesthetic authority as canonical examples of expert musical craftsmanship. In this tight circle of mutual reinforcement, a heightened status of one in turn heightens the status of the other, and they become more deeply ensconced in American music-theoretical culture. It is no obstacle that

this mutual reinforcement is based on likeness rather than closely reasoned argument; indeed, it may be facilitated by authors' vagueness about the terms, since they make no effort to forestall the forming of this impression.

4.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described the prevalence of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations as musical examples in American undergraduate music-theory textbooks. Authors cite these pieces particularly in earlier portions of these textbooks, in the gap from the elements of harmony to musical works, and they use them to illustrate harmony and voice-leading principles. I have also shown authors' idiosyncratic presentation of these pieces, both in musical notation and in the recordings accompanying textbooks, and how the editorial decisions behind this presentation are unlike those taken with other repertoire. I have also described the concept of "chorale style," a musical texture complete with a specific notation that authors use not only to illustrate harmony and voice-leading principles, but also as a target texture for reductions of musical pieces and thus as an image of musical structure. That this notation so closely resembles the idiosyncratic notation of Bach's chorale harmonizations, and that there is no obvious reason that chorale style should refer to the chorale, suggests the existence of a tradition in which these two are closely related. This suggestion is particularly reinforced by the fact that authors seem to draw their notation of Bach's chorale settings from a collection of these pieces that itself draws this notation from the earliest editions of these pieces. It is with these editions that I begin the historical portion of this investigation in the following chapter.

Chapter 5 Bach's Circle Post-1750: The Earliest Editions and Kirnberger's *Die Kunst*

In the first half of this dissertation, I showed that the chorale enjoys a privileged position in present-day American music theory. Among chorales, moreover, Bach's four-part chorale settings are particularly prominent. The form in which authors present these pieces, however, is idiosyncratic: the pieces are stripped of almost all vestiges of their original context and instead presented as abstractions for study. This stands in contrast with how authors present other repertoire in textbooks, whereby they usually preserve instrumentation indications, a text for singing, and indications of an excerpt's larger musical context. Also prominent in these textbooks, however, is the concept of "chorale style"—at once a four-part texture, a way of notating this texture, and an image of the structure of tonal music. Yet "chorale style" uncannily resembles that of Bach's chorale settings with regard to notation. Moreover, authors of undergraduate music-theory textbooks deploy Bach's chorale settings as authoritative for the very phenomena that "chorale style" is intended to convey. In a sense, then, Bach's chorale settings themselves serve as images of musical structure—just as survey respondents in Chapter 3 described these pieces.

In the second half of this dissertation, I explore the history of these practices. I begin with the earliest edition of Bach's four-part chorale settings: that printed by Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel in two volumes, the first of which appeared in 1765. I begin by discussing Emmanuel Bach's preface to this edition, showing that the impression that these pieces are disposed for contemplation is intentional: Emanuel Bach states this explicitly. Yet a closer examination of the

musical text, which is disposed notationally in essentially the same way as present-day

textbooks, reveals that settings have been modified to make them conform to a four-part,

notionally vocal paradigm. I also discuss the second edition of Bach's four-part chorale settings,

which Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf published in four volumes between 1784 and 1787. I

show that by retaining key elements of both the preface and the musical text in Birnstiel's

edition, and by completing the volumes left unfinished in that edition in the same manner, the

Breitkopf edition solidifies the conception of Sebastian Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations

established in the Birnstiel edition. A brief foray into perspectives of the edition's

contemporaries confirm this conception of the pieces in these two editions. Thirdly, I discuss the

chorale in Johann Philipp Kirnberger's *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*. Kirnberger,

who was involved in the preparation of Bach's chorale settings for publication, not only holds

the view that tonal harmony is essentially four-parted but also connects the chorale to this view.

While this connection is primarily manifest through the procedures of elaboration and reduction

also found in present-day music theory textbooks, it is also manifest through Kirnberger's

suggestion that Bach's four-part chorale settings offer the best illustration of four-part writing—

even though Kirnberger himself does not apply them this way. In short, the main lines of practice

and doctrine surrounding the chorale in present-day music theory are already found in Bach's

circle following his death.

5.1 *Bachs vierstimmige Choralegesänge* (Birnstiel 1765/69)

I begin by examining the first printed edition of J. S. Bach's four-part chorale settings,

the first volume of which was published in Berlin by Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel in 1765 and the

second—and final, for this edition—in 1769.[1] I examine the first volume here, focusing

principally on two aspects: the preface and the settings' composition on the page. The edition's

preface reveals that its author, Emanuel Bach, envisaged the edition's users to engage with it not

through sounding principally but through study and contemplation; the pieces' greatest value lay

in their ability to model principles of harmony and voice-leading. Birnstiel 1765's musical text,

moreover, reinforces this view: through the omission of instrumental interludes and obbligatos,

the collection leaves a basic pattern of four largely homophonic lines. Yet the edition's editors do

not incorporate only instrumental parts; they also incorporate the instrumental version of certain

lines, some of which extend beyond normal vocal capacity. The result is four-part homophony

that, while mostly vocal, is ultimately only notionally so. As such, I argue, Bach's four-part

chorale settings are in this edition music-theoretical objects.

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[1] Johann Sebastian Bach, *Johann Sebastian Bachs vierstimmige Choralgesänge*, ed. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, 2 vols. (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1765 and 1769). For convenience, I henceforth refer to the edition by abbreviations: "Birnstiel 1765" for the first volume, "Birnstiel 1769" for the second, and "Birnstiel 1765/69" for the edition as a whole. On the circumstances surrounding the collection and publication of these editions, see the section entitled "On the Four-Part Chorales" in the *The New Bach Reader*, particularly Kirnberger's letters (see Hans T. David, Arthur Mendel, and Christoph Wolff [eds.], *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents* [New York: W.W. Norton, 1998], 381–83 [hereafter *NBR*]). A recent summary of these events may also be found in Jerold, "Kirnberger and the Bach Chorales." See also Schering, "Kirnberger als Herausgeber," which Jerold calls "the principal source for the events" surrounding the publication of Bach's four-part chorale settings, given that "most of the documentation was destroyed by war": Jerold, "Kirnberger and the Bach Chorales," 34.

Johann Sebastian Bachs

vierstimmige

Choralgesänge

gesammlet von

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach.

Erster Theil.

Berlin und Leipzig,

gedruckt und zu finden bey Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, Königl. privil. Buchdrucker, 1765.
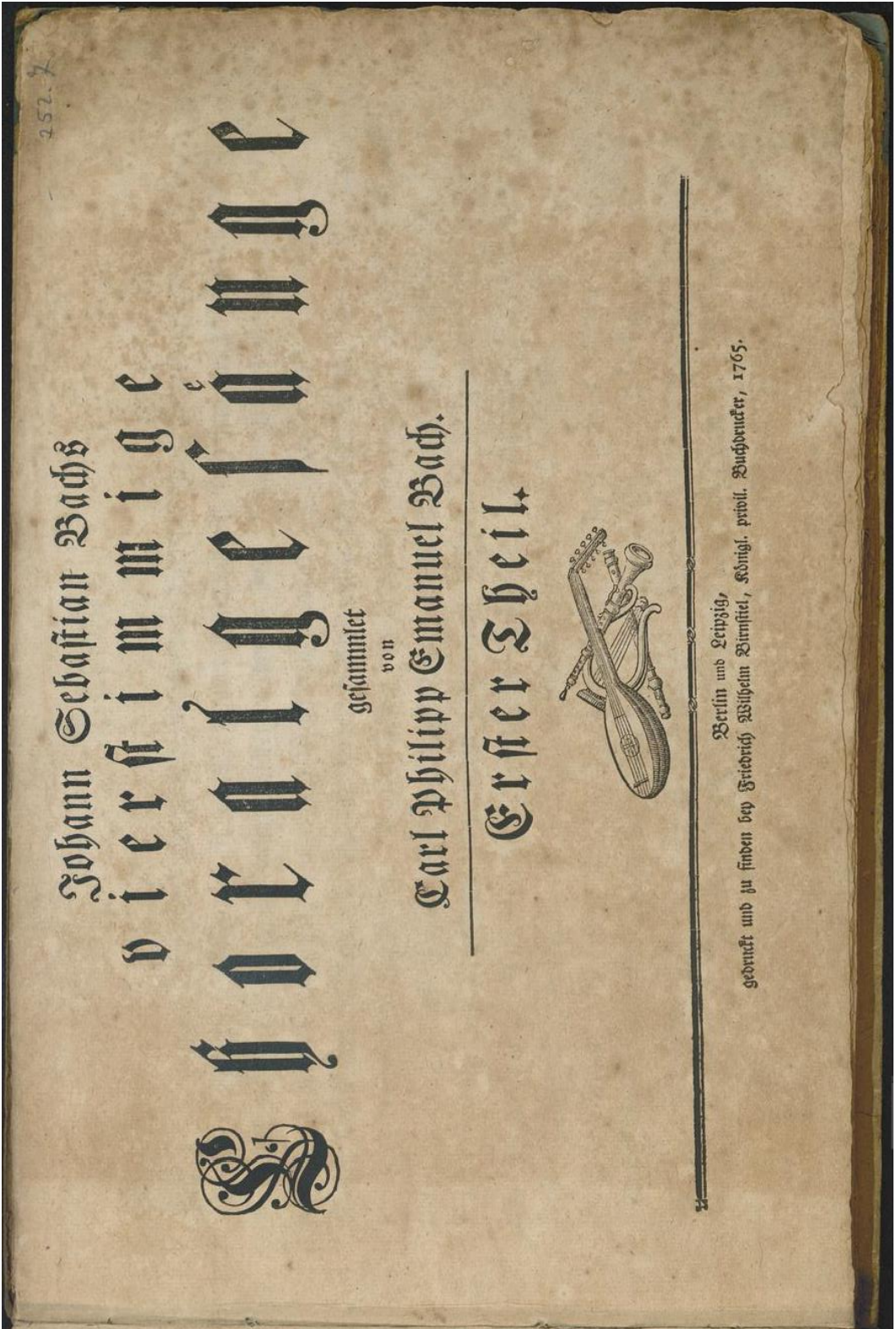
Figure 46: Title page of Bach, *Bachs vierstimmige Choralegesänge* (Birnstiel 1765).

Figure 47: A representative page of chorale settings in Bach, *Bachs vierstimmige Choralegesänge*, 48.

5.1.1 General Description

The first volume of Birnstiel's edition of Bach's chorale settings consists of four main components: in order of appearance, a title page, a preface, 100 chorale harmonizations, and a list of *errata*.[2] There is no table of contents nor any dedication. The title page is relatively unadorned, containing only basic information about the edition as well as a simple graphic (see Figure 46).[3] The volume's title reads, "Johann Sebastian Bach's Four-part Chorales, collected by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. First Part."[4] Below the title appears an image consisting of several musical instruments, below which publication information also appears: "Berlin and Leipzig, printed by and available from Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, printer with royal privilege, 1765."[5]

The volume's preface immediately follows the title page. It occupies two pages and is signed "C. P. E. Bach." Emanuel Bach begins by describing how he took over editing responsibilities for the volume only after several gatherings were already printed, and how he therefore disavows responsibility for the several errors that those gatherings contain.[6] He also briefly describes a number of notational decisions, as well as some possibilities for performing

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[2] This description does not seek comprehensiveness, as critical editions do; rather, my interest is in the editorial decisions made in the production of this volume and their consequences. The most authoritative critical edition of this work is in the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*: Series 3, Volume 2/2, Part 2 (Choräle und geistliche Lieder, Teil 2: Choräle der Sammlung C.P.E. Bach nach dem Druck von 1784–1787, edited by Frieder Rempp).

[3] The reproductions of Birnstiel 1765 in Figure 46 and elsewhere are taken from a copy housed at the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn and accessible in digitized form through this institution's website (https://digitale-sammlungen.ulb.uni-bonn.de/urn/urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-196341).

[4] The original German reads, "Johann Sebastian Bachs / vierstimmige / Choralgesänge / gesammlet / von / Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. / Erster Theil." (All translations in this chapter are my own, unless otherwise specified.) The title page of the edition's second volume does not name its editor, Johann Friedrich Agricola (see Rempp, *Critical Commentary*, 17; Agricola's involvement is attested by Kirnberger: see *NBR*, 382). This may reflect Agricola's general preference to remain anonymous; as Beverly Jerold observes, "a large portion of his [i.e., Agricola's] writing has been shown to be unsigned" (Jerold, "Kirnberger and Authorship," 696; see also Jerold, "Kirnberger versus Marpurg," 100).

[5] The original German reads, "Berlin und Leipzig / gedruckt und zu finden bey Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, Königl[icher] privil[igierter] Buchdrucker, 1765."

[6] This preface is presented in full in Walter Neumann (ed.) *Bach-Dokumente: Supplement zu Johann Sebastian Bach neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, vol. 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 179–81 (hereafter *BD*). It appears in English translation in *NBR*, 279–80.

the chorale harmonizations that follow. Finally, he praises the pieces as "masterworks," musing on their value both for study by connoisseurs and students of composition.

Hereafter follow the chorale settings. There is little explicit information to introduce the settings; each features a number corresponding to its ordinal position in the edition, as well as a brief German text (see Figure 47). There is no mention of the melody's composer or of the author of the chorale's putative text. In fact, the only other textual information on the page, apart from page numbers, is a footer in the lower margin that reads, "Bach's chorales, Part I."[7] As far as musical notation is concerned, the settings appear on two staves, with the upper staff in soprano clef and the lower in bass clef. Settings consist of four individual musical lines that are differentiated partly by means of stems—although these are not wholly consistent: stems will often be flipped to keep them out of the space above and below staves. Moreover, while the lowest such line never ascends to the upper staff and highest never descends to lower staff, the middle lines freely skip between staves. Because of this, there may be three lines on a given staff, which creates some densely packed passages. To aid in following a given line's trajectory when it skips between staves, guiding lines have occasionally been inserted to trace this trajectory. Apart from this information, the score is relatively spare: there are no expressive or dynamic indications and no articulation markings. The only exception to this is fermatas, which appear at regular spans both above and below the score.

Settings on average occupy two systems, and there is therefore often enough space for two settings per page, with a portion of the end of each system often left empty. Most settings begin on a new system, although occasionally one begins mid-system. No setting extends over multiple pages, whether within an opening or over a folio. No obvious rubric governing the

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[7] The original German reads, "Bachs Choralgesänge I. Theil."

ordering of the 100 settings suggests itself: they are not presented alphabetically by incipit, according to the liturgical season, by key, by musical features, by complexity, or any other obvious scheme. Given how settings never exceed the bounds of a given page, it seems likely that the lengths of individual settings played a role in their ordering.

The final item in the volume is a list of errors. These occupy a page and a half, with all but nine entries referring to settings in the volume's first half. Some of the corrections offered incorporate a musical score, but most are described via text alone.[8]

5.1.2 Analysis: Title page and preface

This analysis of Birnstiel 1765 follows the order of appearance of the volume's elements: I discuss first the title page, then the preface, and finally, in a separate section, the musical text. The volume's title page introduces the pieces as *Choralgesänge*—that is, "chorale songs" (see Figure 46). While a strict interpretation of the term implies singing with respect to both parts of this compound term, "chorale" and "song," the term could also be used in eighteenth-century Germany in ways that do not necessarily denote singing—as simply melody, for example.[9] The term *vierstimmig* ("four-voice"), which modifies *Choralgesänge* in the title, functions similarly: while a literal definition of "voice" here would refer to the human voice, the term could equally be used in a general way to mean "musical line"—just as in present-day American music theory.

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[8] There appear to be at least two different versions of this list of errors: one has a column that the other does not. (An example of the first is housed at the Juilliard Manuscript Collection (Juilliard School. Lila Acheson Wallace Library), call number 2 B122ch AA Birns; an example of the second is housed at the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn (urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-196341). Both are viewable on their respective institution's websites in digitized form.) What accounts for the discrepancy is unknown to me; perhaps these correspond to Leipzig and Berlin (or vice versa) printings of the edition.

[9] Kirnberger seems to use the term to mean "melody" in a passage of his *Kunst des reinen Satzes*: "so gleicht der schlechte, plane Gesang, den man den Choralgesang nennt…" (1:189). While Beach and Thym translate *schlechte, plane Gesang* here as "simple plain melody," Kirnberger could arguably have in mind here plainchant, which would accord with the origins of the term "chorale." For a discussion of these origins, see Marshall and Leaver, "Chorale."

There are no other elements of the title page that might shed light on the question of instrumentation, however—certainly no explicit indication of the instrument or vocal ensemble for which the edition was intended.[10] Nor is there any indication of the pieces' function—for example, for use in a liturgical setting, as one might expect with chorale settings. In short, while the volume's title page has features suggestive of a vocal, liturgical conception of its contents, these suggestions ultimately remain somewhat undetermined.

Emanuel's preface to Birnstiel 1765 begins somewhat unusually.[11] Foregoing the usual tones commonplace in prefaces, such as triumphant accomplishment or self-abasing humility, he opens by disclaiming the errors that he observes had slipped into the first few gatherings, which included several "spurious" (*fremden*) settings—and in so doing, tacitly shifts responsibility to both the editor of the first few gatherings, Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, and the edition's printer, Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel. He then moves on to some practical matters, beginning with the settings' notation:

> The rest of the chorales…were all written by my late father, and originally set out on four staves for four singers. They have been presented on two staves to accommodate lovers [*Liebhabern*] of the organ and the clavier, since they are easier to read in that form. If it is desired to sing them in four voices, and some of them should go beyond the range of certain throats, they can be transposed. In those places where the bass goes so low, in relation to the other voices, that it cannot be played without pedals, one plays the higher octave, and one takes the octave below when the bass crosses above the tenor.[12]

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[10] The question of whether the image of instruments above the information about the volume's printing has any bearing on the volume's intended instrumentation is unclear to me; since Birnstiel's printing activities were not limited to musical works, it is likely that he simply used it to adorn some of his music publications—like his *Musikalisches Allerley von verschiedenen Tonkünstlern* (first collection published in 1761), which, as the title suggests, contains a panoply of musical works, including both vocal and instrumental.

[11] Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, "Vorrede," in *Johann Sebastian Bachs vierstimmige Choralgesänge*, ed. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1765), n.p. The preface to Birnstiel 1765 may be found translated and in its entirety in *NBR*, 379–80.

[12] *NBR* 379.

There are several significant matters to note in this passage. First of all, Emanuel's juxtaposition of his father's approach to the features of this edition amounts to a clear delineation: he signals that this edition's contents are newly conceived. Moreover, what makes this conception new is the settings' notational presentation—on two staves rather than his father's original four—and their intended instrumentation. On the question of instrumentation, Emanuel is clear about his father's intended instrumentation—"for four singers"—and expression of this instrumentation through notation. He is less clear about the intended instrumentation of this edition; the decision to dispose the settings on two staves rather than four was intended "to accommodate" keyboard players—but he also includes a suggestion for those who may wish to sing them.[13] In short, he refrains from committing to a specific instrumentation. Still less does he say about these pieces' intended function; are they to be used in a liturgical setting, or for private devotion, or something else? Emanuel's lack of specification on these issues mirrors that on the title page.

Moving on from these practical considerations, Emanuel addresses the question of why the edition was created in the first place—and with this discussion, his tone becomes lofty.[14] He writes,

> I also hope to contribute much of profit and of pleasure through this collection, without having to quote anything in praise of the harmony of these songs. The late author is not in need of my recommendation. One was accustomed to see nothing but masterpieces come from him. Nor can the term be withheld from this volume by connoisseurs of composition [*Setzkunst*] when they contemplate with appropriate attention the quite special arrangement [*Einrichtung*] of the harmony and the natural flow of the inner voices and the bass, which are what above all distinguish these chorales. How useful such contemplation may be to those who are anxious to learn the art of composition! And who

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[13] I use the term "keyboard" here for what Emanuel calls "organ and clavier" (*Orgel und…Clavier*) since his instructions assume the keyboard instrument in question does not have pedals.

[14] The editors of *NBR* mark this change with a paragraph break not found in the original (379).

nowadays denies the advantage of that instruction in composition by which the beginning

is made with chorales instead of stiff and pedantic counterpoint?[15]

Emanuel's principal interest here is the settings' harmony: this is the first quality that he

mentions, and indeed he considers it so exemplary as to be beyond comment. He also identifies

harmony as characteristic of his father's oeuvre in general, and possibly what made his

masterpieces so; and this harmony, along with the settings' voice-leading—the "natural flow of

the inner voices and the bass"—are what distinguish these chorales.

Particularly noteworthy here is how these pieces are to be best enjoyed. First of all,

recognition of their finest qualities belongs to connoisseurs of composition, and those who learn

the most from them are students in composition. But it is the way they will engage with the

pieces that is striking: "when they contemplate with appropriate attention." As chorales, one

would expect them to be sung, or at least possibly played—say, at the keyboard, to take the two

types of sonic rendering that Emanuel Bach mentions earlier in the preface. But he mentions

"contemplation" twice, once with respect to connoisseurs and the other with respect to amateurs.

It is worth exploring what occurs with the contemplation implied here. The primary

engagement is with the musical score, not sounded tones, or even the instrument on which one

might make these tones. The experience begins through the eyes and their interaction with the

musical score and takes place in the mind. Moreover, the piece is not subject to time, nor the

pitches to decay; one may slow down or pause the piece at any moment. One is also

unencumbered by instrumental or related limitations, whether those of range, breath, bowing,

number or outlay of simultaneous notes, or anything else of this sort. One is in complete control

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[15] *NBR*, 379. Here and in the portion of the preface cited below, I have modified David and Mendel's translation of "the art of writing" for *Setzkunst* to "composition," since strictly speaking, *Setzkunst* does not denote writing per se.

of the piece's performance and can highlight or focus on whatever one wishes; and the piece

becomes an abstraction, an object of theoretical scrutiny.

Finally, it is worth considering the activity for which such contemplation is useful:

composition. By "composition," Emanuel Bach seems to have in mind principally harmony and

voice-leading, since these are the two aspects of the settings he mentions. Bach's comparison of

composition to counterpoint—by which he almost certainly means the species counterpoint

taught by Johann Joseph Fux—is also suggestive for the instructional value he perceives in

setting chorale tunes.[16] By contrast with composition, he calls counterpoint "stiff and pedantic";

setting chorale tunes, then, evidently involves more creativity and freedom, and is less like an

exercise and more like real music. But setting chorale tunes also differs from species

counterpoint in several other ways. For one thing, Fuxian counterpoint begins with two parts,

then moves to three, and so on, whereas the settings in this volume are all in four parts. For

another thing, Fuxian counterpoint is modal, whereas these settings are basically tonal—even if

the tunes on which they are based are in many cases modal.[17] Thirdly, Fuxian counterpoint

progresses through diminutions and dissonance of greater fragmentation, whereas the chorale

settings in this collection are largely homophonic, with a focus on consonance and the

progression of harmonies.

A "Note to the public" that Emanuel Bach published in the Hamburg press shortly after

the second volume of the Birnstiel edition appeared reinforces his preface to the first volume.

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[16] Thomas Hochradner and Harry White call *Gradus ad Parnassum* "the most influential composition treatise in European music from the 18th century onwards" (Thomas Hochradner and Harry White, "Fux, Johann Joseph," in *Grove Music Online* [Oxford University Press, 2001], https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/). One sign of the treatise's popularity is its translation from the original Latin into German 1742 by Lorenz Christoph Mizler: Johann Joseph Fux, *Gradus ad Parnassum, oder, Anführung zur regelmässigen musicalischen Composition*, trans. Lorenz Christoph Mizler von Kolof (Leipzig: Im Mizlerischen Bucherverlag, 1742).

[17] On modality in Bach's chorale settings, see Lori Burns, *Bach's Modal Chorales* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1995).

Emanuel published this notice after Birnstiel had forgone Emanuel's expensive editing services and instead engaged Johann Friedrich Agricola, another member of Sebastian Bach's circle.[18] Most of this notice consists of Emanuel complaining about Birnstiel's impudence and insulting his musicality; but at the end, he also mentions his regret for—owing to Birnstiel's alleged errors—a missed opportunity, and in the process clarifies what he considers the collection's potential value. He writes,

> I beg all friends of my late father to place every obstacle in the way of the advertising of these works…the more so since this collection can now do incomparably more harm, whereas it could have been, according to my original intention, a practical textbook of the most excellent models [*Muster*], which could be of uncommon benefit to students of composition. But—how rich we are nowadays in textbooks that lack correct principles and models.[19]

Emanuel Bach is even clearer in this notice about his intentions with the Birnstiel edition. He again mentions the edition's potential benefit to "students of composition"; but he also characterizes these pieces as "models" and the collection itself as a "textbook." Models of what? Presumably composition, and specifically harmony and voice-leading principles, if his preface to the first volume is an indication. Emanuel's term "model" is also conspicuous in the absence of any acknowledgement that the pieces could be played or sung; once again, these pieces are intended for study and contemplation—music-theoretical objects.

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[18] For Kirnberger's account of these events, see *NBR*, 381–83.

[19] *NBR*, 379 modified ("alle Freunde meines seligen Vatters bitte ich besonders, die Bekanntmachung dieser ihm nach seinem Tode zur Schande gereichenden verstümmelten Arbeiten auf alle mögliche Art zu hindern, um so viel mehr, da diese Sammlung nunmehro ungleich mehr Schaden als Nutzen stiften muß, anstatt daß sie nach meiner ersten Absicht, als sein praktisches Lehrbuch von den vortrefflichsten Mustern, denen Studirenden in der Setzkunst von ungemeinem Nutzen hätte seyn können"; *BD* 753). Strangely, the editors of *NBR* without comment omit the line that I have here translated "according to my original intention" and leave uncorrected a mistranslation in the original edition.

In the preface to the first volume of the Birnstiel edition, Emanuel Bach had suggested that the pieces in the collection were newly conceived. This new conception has come into focus: whereas his father had written these pieces for singing by a choir in public worship, the pieces are presented in this edition as models for musical composition to be engaged with through contemplation, through activity of the mind. Now that the purpose behind the first edition of Sebastian Bach's four-part chorale settings, and that these pieces in fact are intended as music-theoretical objects, has been established, it is necessary to examine the musical text: how does these pieces' disposition reflect their purpose? This is the business of the next section.

5.1.3 Analysis, Birnstiel 1765: Musical Text

In this section, I analyze the musical text of Birnstiel 1765. I first show that the presentation of settings in this edition resembles that in present-day American music theory textbooks: the pieces are presented on two staves and without text for singing. The handful of differences between their first printing here and their present-day manifestation are incidental; in their first printing, these pieces are already at this early moment music-theoretical objects. But the larger amount of material that this edition offers compared with the textbooks surveyed in Chapter 4, provides opportunity to further explore these pieces' relation to their original versions. I show here that settings originally with instrumental interludes and obbligato parts had these features trimmed when included in this edition, and thus the basic material on which these pieces are based is vocal parts, and specifically notionally vocal four-part homophony. Yet in some cases where a vocal part and its instrumental double diverge, often it is the instrumental part that is preserved, not the vocal part. Thus, from a standpoint of source material too, these pieces are a combination of vocal and instrumental readings. Finally, the spans between lines in

some settings exceed that of the normal human hand, providing further evidence that the result of this combination of source material is not primarily intended to be played at the keyboard; these pieces instead are best suited for study and contemplation. All of this reinforces that these pieces are in this edition newly conceived according to a pattern of four-part notionally vocal homophony. I proceed in this section beginning with the aspects discussed in Chapter 2 above— that is, with how these pieces are identified and with their musical notation at the bar level—then examine broader issues on the page level, and then consider musical readings.

Before embarking on this analysis, it is worth briefly considering Birnstiel 1765 in light of existing genres of chorale books. In eighteenth-century Germany, chorale books can usually be classified under one of two main types, according to their function. A *Gesangbuch* was intended for use by the congregation for singing; as such, *Gesangbücher* typically featured only single musical line—the tune itself—if any musical notation at all, since the most important thing to convey was the text (Figure 48). A *Choralbuch*, by contrast, was intended for use accompanying congregational singing at the keyboard. As such, a text for singing was less important for a *Choralbuch* and in fact could be omitted outright: the essential matter was the musical information: *Choralbücher* typically offered not only the chorale tune, but also a bass line and accompanying figures to indicate the harmonies that the accompanist was to supply *ad libitum* between the given parts (Figure 49).

wancken, und wo es soll geschehn, daß mein Verstand solt weichen, will ich doch mit dem Zeichen des Lammes hin zu Grabe gehn.

5. Dich, JEsum, will ich haben; du, JEsu, solt mich laben, mein Augen, Hertz und Mund, die kan nur JEsus füllen, und meinen Schmertzen stillen in meiner letzten Todes-Stund.

6. Ich freu mich, GOtt zu sehen, und dort vor ihm zu stehen; o angenehmer Tod, wie wirst du mich erquicken, indem du mich wirst schicken hinauf zu meinem lieben GOtt.

7. In was für tausend Freuden end't sich sodann mein Leiden, wenn ich werd um dich seyn; ach JEsu! Freund der Seelen! laß mich nicht lange quälen, komm bald, und hol mich zu dir ein.

D. Joh. Georg. Schottel.

Mel. Wenn mein Stündlein.

757. Ach! wie elend ist unser Zeit, allhier auf dieser Erden, gar bald der Mensch darnieder leit, wir müssen alle sterben: Allhier in diesem Jammerthal ist Müh und Arbeit überall, auch wenns uns wohl gelinget.

2. Ach! Adams Fall und Missethat solch's alles auf uns erben: O GOtt, gib du uns guten Rath, daß wirs er-

kennen lernen, daß wir so blind und sicher seyn mitten in Trübsal und in Pein, das ist ja zu erbarmen.

3. HErr GOtt, du unser Zuflucht bist, dein Hülffe thu uns senden: Denn du der Deinen nicht vergißt, die sich zu dir nur wenden. Mit deinem Geiste steh uns bey, ein selges Stündlein uns verleih, durch JEsum Christum, Amen.

M. Johann Gigas.

Bey Theurung und Hungers-Noth.

In bekannter Melodie.

758. Warum betrübst du du dich, mein Hertz, bekümmerst dich und trägest Schmertz, nur um das zeitlich Guth? Vertrau du deinem HErrn und GOtt, der alle Ding erschaffen hat.

2. Er kan und will dich lassen nicht, Er weiß gar wohl, was dir gebricht, Himmel und Erd ist sein, mein Vater und mein HErre GOtt, der mir beysteht in aller Noth.

3. Weil du mein GOtt und Vater bist, dein Kind wirst du verlassen nicht, du väterliches Hertz, ich bin ein armer Erden-Kloß, auf Erden weiß ich keinen Trost.

4. Der Reich' verläßt sich auf sein Guth, ich aber will vertrau'n mein'm GOtt, ob ich

Figure 48: Sample of a Gesangbuch: Johann Georg Weber, *Neu eingerichtetes Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach- und Jenaisches Gesang-Buch* (Weimar: Hoffmann, 1755).

Figure 49: Sample of a Choralbuch: Georg Philipp Telemann, *Fast allgemeines Evangelisch-Musicalisches Lieder-Buch* (Hamburg: Philipp Ludwig Stromer, 1730).

A cursory examination of Birnstiel 1765 reveals that it is neither a *Gesangbuch* nor a *Choralbuch*: the text for singing so critical to a *Gesangbuch* is absent, but each setting has all the parts written out in full, thereby obviating figures, and the resultant textures are unusual, to say the least, for keyboard music. The more polyphonic character of some of the lines in Birnstiel 1765 prompts consideration of a third, rarer genre of chorale book: one with more-elaborate settings intended for more advanced singers. Yet in this genre, notation was issued in separately bound part books, which would save on printing materials and permit singers to focus on their own parts. Birnstiel 1765 clearly does not belong to this genre either, given that all four parts are

found in a single volume. In short, then, Birnstiel 1765 evades classification according to existing eighteenth-century genres of chorale books.

The format of the settings in Birnstiel 1765 resembles in significant ways the format adopted in present-day American textbooks.[20] With regard to how the pieces are identified, each has a number—corresponding to its position in the edition—and a short German text (Figure 47). There is no sign of the broader musical context from which the settings are extracted, whether the name of a larger work or any identification of liturgical themes. Moreover, the text by which these settings are identified frequently does not correspond to the text in Sebastian Bach's original version—understandably, since Bach often set a verse other than the first, whose first line, in turn, is conventionally used to identify settings; indeed, the choice of some of these identifying texts amounts to "arbitrariness," according to Gerd Wachowski.[21] The notation of settings in Birnstiel 1765 also resembles that in present-day American textbooks. Most obviously, these settings are disposed on two staves, a departure from Sebastian's vocal conception of this texture—"on four staves for four singers," as Emanuel writes in the edition's preface.[22] Birnstiel 1765 differs from present-day textbooks in employing a soprano clef for the upper staff rather than a treble clef; but in eighteenth-century Germany, this configuration was equally associated with keyboard music.[23] This edition also omits any text for singing in the

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[20] To illustrate Birnstiel 1765's notation, I have reproduced an entire page in Figure 47.

[21] "…offenbar große Willkür bei der Wahl der Choralüberschriften herrschte und ein die praktische Verwendung erleichterndes Inhaltverzeichnis völlig fehlt" (Gerd Wachowski, "Die vierstimmigen Choräle Johann Sebastian Bachs. Unterzuchungen zu den Druckausgaben von 1765 bis 1932 und zur Frage der Authentizität," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 69 [1983]: 55).

[22] It should be noted that Birnstiel 1765 was not the first publication in which Bach's chorale settings appeared in this way: Marpurg presents a setting so disposed in a supplement of musical figures in the third part (1758) of his *Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und Composition* (Tafel VIII, fig. 5). It is in part for this reason that Dirst believes the decision to present them in this format was "likely made jointly by Marpurg and Birnstiel" (Dirst, "Inventing the Bach Chorale," 46).

[23] Peggy Daub records Emanual Bach's handling of clef choices with respect to his six collections of *Sonaten für Kenner und Liebhaber*, each volume for which he requested approximately half of all copies in each configuration: see Peggy Daub, "The Publications Process and Audience for C. P. E. Bach's 'Sonaten für Kenner und Liebhaber,'" *Bach Perspectives* 2 (1996): 77.

score, as well as any slurs[24] (Figures 50 and 51) or beaming[25] (Figures 52–54) that might relate to a text—indeed, almost everything apart from the texture's four parts.[26] But if the two-staff configuration resembles conventions for keyboard music, the textures remain unidiomatic—and in some cases downright unplayable—at the keyboard (Figures 55 and 56). That the combination of austerity and ill fit any instrumentation prompt the conclusion that, just as in present-day American textbooks, the settings in Birnstiel 1765 are music-theoretical abstractions.
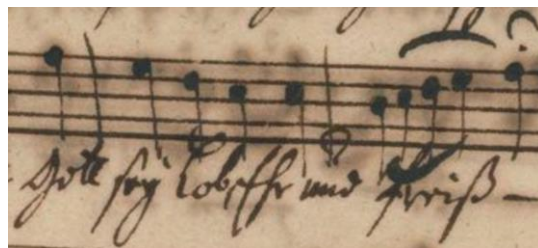
Figure 50: Bach, chorale "Heut schleußt er wieder auf die Tür," bb. 7–8, soprano part (from partitur score); from Bach, cantata "Süßer Trost, mein Jesus kömmt" (BWV 151). D-B Mus.ms. Bach St 89 (source: Bach-digital; manuscript in J. S. Bach's hand).

[24] Concerning the omission of slurs, there is one exception to this practice in this volume: in no. 62, "Herzliebster Jesu was hast du verbrochen," there appears a slur in b. 3 in the uppermost part—and only this part, even though all parts sustain the syllable in question ("Maasse") over two quarter notes. (The setting is taken from the third movement of Bach's *St. John Passion*, BWV 245.) Interestingly, another setting of this chorale that appears later in this volume—no. 85, "Herzliebster Jesu was hast du verbrochen"—omits this slur, even though in the setting with which this originated (the third movement of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, BWV 244), this moment similarly features a syllable ("verbrochen") sustained over both quarter notes. The absence of text-related slurring is particularly evident in Birnstiel 1765 in light of the frequent occurrence of the cadential formula whereby the soprano sustains a half note while the remaining lines move in quarter notes. Occasional examples of slurring occur in other portions of the volume; see, for example, no. 22, "Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt," b. 5.
[25] In fact, there are no unbeamed eighth or sixteenth notes in Birnstiel 1765; this edition throughout follows beaming conventions as if the texture were intended for instruments. To be sure, very few chorale tunes—at least as Sebastian Bach notated them—feature eighth notes set to separate syllables, and because Bach's settings are largely homophonic with the syllabic rhythm corresponding to the quarter note, there are not many situations when a part will sing eighth notes to individual syllables.
[26] I pass over here the fermatas in the edition as potentially indicative of a vocal conception. The role of fermatas in Bach's chorale harmonizations is not straightforward. Even in the original versions of these harmonizations, they evidently served no function but rather constitute a holdover from an earlier practice of notating chorales: see Schildkret, "Fermatas in Bach's Chorales." Absent any other relevant information—such as an accompanying text—these fermatas at best demarcate phrase-structural units.

Figure 51: Bach, chorale setting no. 59, "Lobt Gott ihr Christen allzugleich," b. 8; in Birnstiel 1765.
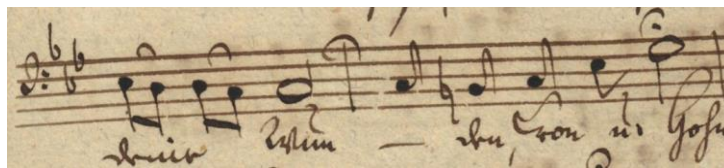
Figure 52: Bach, chorale setting "Jesu, deine Passion," bb. 5–6, bass part (individual); from cantata "Sehet, wir gehn hinauf gen Jerusalem" (BWV 159). D-B Mus.ms. Bach St 633 (source: Bach-digital; manuscript in Christian Friedrich Penzel's hand).
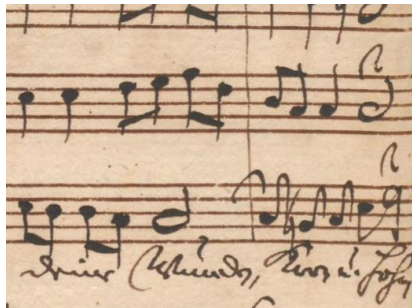
Figure 53: Bach, chorale setting "Jesu, deine Passion," bb. 5–6, bass part (in partitur score); from cantata "Sehet, wir gehn hinauf gen Jerusalem" (BWV 159; clefs are tenor and bass, top to bottom). D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 1048 (source: Bach-digital; in Christian Friedrich Penzel's hand).

Figure 54: Bach, chorale setting no. 63, "Jesu Leiden Pein und Tod," bb. 5–6, in Birnstiel 1765.

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Figure 55: Bach, chorale setting no. 58, "Christum wir sollen loben schon," b. 4, in Birnstiel 1765.

Figure 56: Bach, chorale setting no. 52, "Ach wie nichtig, ach wie flüchtig," bb. 5–6, in Birnstiel 1765 (clefs are soprano clef and bass clef).

But as a collection and not simply a textbook offering excerpts of chorale settings, Birnstiel 1765's musical text offers a great deal more information. To begin with, other editorial features of Birnstiel 1765's musical text also exhibit uncertainty with respect to instrumentation. To begin with, there are no explicit indications outside of the musical notation that might indicate what instrumentation the editors have in mind, nor do the editors supply a text for singing anywhere on the page. Another feature noteworthy by way of absence concerns the ordering of pieces. There are several possible schemes according to which settings in eighteenth-century chorale books were commonly ordered, including by liturgical season or alphabetical order of settings' incipit. Birnstiel 1765 exhibits neither of these, nor indeed any other obvious scheme that would suggest its function. Indeed, Kirnberger wrote to Breitkopf about their

ordering: "Because the chorales must all be published, it is now up to you to arrange them however it suits you."[27] If there is a scheme governing the order of settings, however, it may be the avoidance of settings crossing pages: as mentioned above, no setting crosses over a leaf— that is, requiring a page turn—or even an opening. This being a criterion for the ordering of settings would suggest the importance of the visual presentation of these pieces, and specifically a desire to facilitating the viewing of entire settings at once.[28]

The greater sample size that Birnstiel 1765 represents compared with the textbooks examined in Chapter 4 also permits a deeper comparison of settings with Sebastian Bach's original version of these pieces. To begin with, several aspects of the settings in Birnstiel 1765 clearly draw upon the original vocal features of these pieces. Most obviously, the settings' musical material typically comes from the vocal parts of Sebastian's original settings. By way of reminder, one can speak of Sebastian Bach selecting between readings because with his four-part chorale settings, he has most or all available instrumental forces performing one of the four vocal parts. Occasionally, vocal parts and their instrumental doubling deviate, however; such deviations range from a brief ornament to entire phrases, or even obbligato parts. The readings in Birnstiel 1765 typically pass over the instrumental line in such cases, however, and instead follow the vocal line.

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[27] "Weil die Choräle sämtlich herauskommen müssen, so ist es nun Ihre Sache, dieselben zu *rangiren* wie Sie es für gut finden" (*BD* III:319).
[28] Wachowski, "Die vierstimmige Choräle," 55.

Figure 57: J. S. Bach, chorale setting "Dein ist allein die Ehre," from Cantata "Jesu, nun sey gepreiset" (BWV 41), bb. 1–6. D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 874 (source: Bach-digital; in Bach's hand).

Figure 58: J. S. Bach, chorale setting no. 11, "Jesu, nun sey gepreiset," bb. 1–6, in Birnstiel 1765.
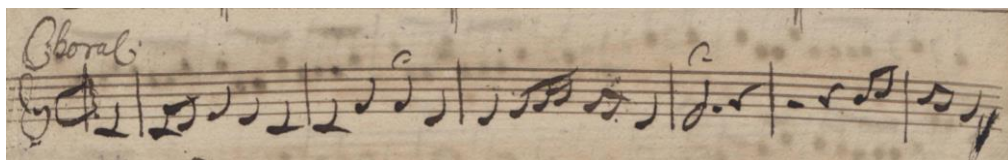
Figure 59: J. S. Bach, chorale setting "Dein ist allein die Ehre," from Cantata "Jesu, nun sey gepreiset" (BWV 41), bb. 1–6, Oboe III part (D-LEb Thomana 41, Faszikel 1; Depositum im Bach-Archiv, Bach-digital; in Bach's hand).

Another situation that illustrates a preference for vocal parts is when Sebastian's original setting features an instrumental interlude between phrases of the choir's text; where this occurs, Birnstiel 1765 omits the interludes outright. A good example of both of these situations arises with no. 11 in Birnstiel 1765, "Jesu, nun sey gepreiset," which originates with Sebastian's cantata of the same title BWV 41.[29] The choir opens the chorale—the cantata's final movement—by intoning the phrase, "Dein ist allein die Ehre," and before the next phrase "Geduld im Kreuz uns lehre" begins, a trumpet trio with timpani intervenes with a brief fanfare (Figure 57). Birnstiel 1765, however, omits the trumpet and timpani interlude outright, incorporating only the vocal phrases (Figure 58). But Birnstiel 1765 also omits another part found in Bach's original version of this chorale: while the Oboe III begins by doubling the tenor line, it deviates after the first phrase, when the tenor part exceeds its range, and charts its own course for the rest of the movement—an obbligato part (Figure 59).[30] The version of the chorale in Birnstiel 1765 omits the Oboe III part too. Birnstiel 1765's omission of instrumental interludes and obbligato parts has at least two effects. First, it ensures a consistent texture across the collection, as including either interludes or obbligato lines would break with the largely homophonic, four-part texture that characterizes the collection—not to mention that the title page itself promises four-part settings. The second effect is that of simplifying the collection's textures, since Bach occasionally takes advantage of instruments' greater agility and range. In short, these practices homogenize the collection by imposing four-part homophony throughout.[31]

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[29] A similar situation on both counts obtains in chorale setting no. 82, "O großer Gott von Macht," in comparison to the original version from Bach's cantata "Schauet doch und sehet, ob irgend ein Schmerz sei" (BWV 46).

[30] Bach's autograph full score of this movement also omits the Oboe III part—presumably because he considered it as one of the other doubling parts, and the deviations—albeit considerable—simply adjustments for considerations of range.

[31] Birnstiel 1765/69 does, in fact, contain a five-part setting: see no. 154, "Welt ade ich bin dein müde." The inclusion of this setting, whose antiphonal texture—not to mention change of meter—is unusual for the collection, more attests to the collection's general lack of rigor; apart from this being the only five-part setting in this edition, it

Yet Birnstiel 1765 does not exclusively privilege the vocal features of Sebastian's version of chorale settings. The most obvious example of this is the omission of a text for singing, as mentioned above, as well as of slurs and flags. But another such realm is in the bass lines: in the large majority of cases, where the continuo bass line diverges from the vocal bass line, Birnstiel 1765 follows the former. Divergences between the vocal bass and the continuo line are typically those of octave displacements and are understandable, from a harmonic standpoint: given the limited compass of the human voice coupled with the movement with which Sebastian imbues the lines of these pieces, the vocal bass line often ascends above the tenor line, whereby it abnegates its important role in defining harmonies. Given its greater lower range, the continuo bass line, by contrast, can more easily remain below the tenor line.

Figure 60: Bach, chorale setting "Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig," bb. 7–8, vocal bass and continuo bass parts, from cantata "Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig" (BWV 26; clefs are both bass). D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 47, Faszikel 1 (source: Bach-digital; Bach's hand).

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is also clear from Birnstiel 1765's title page and Emanuel's preface that a four-part texture is the norm. Another exceptional setting is no. 134, "Kyrie Gott Vater etc.," which consists of the three traditional parts of the Christian liturgical "Kyrie," complete with labels according to these sections (compare no. 197, "Christ ist erstanden," in Breitkopf 1784–87). Wachowski considers this as an example of a text for singing ("Die vierstimmige Choräle," 55), but the position of these texts relative to the score suggest they are instead identifiers; compare no. 304, "Wie schön leuchtete der Morgenstern," in Breitkopf 1784–87, which features a text in a more conventional place when intended for singing. I discuss several other exceptions to such norms in my discussion of Breitkopf 1784–87 below.

Figure 61: Bach, chorale setting no. 52, "Ach wie nichtig, ach wie flüchtig," bb. 5–6, in Birnstiel 1765 (clefs are soprano and bass).

This is not the only reason behind Birnstiel 1765's adoption of the continuo line over the vocal bass line, however. Figures 60 and 61 provide the continuo bass and vocal bass parts of a chorale harmonization in the original full score of a cantata (Figure 60), comparing these to the Birnstiel edition (Figure 61). In this case, the vocal bass line that Birnstiel 1765 passes over for the continuo line is still below the tenor.[32] This suggests that it is not only for purely harmonic reasons that Birnstiel 1765 prefers the continuo bass over the vocal bass. The other situation in which Birnstiel 1765 breaks from its reliance on settings' original vocal lines arises when a given vocal line has the same note multiple times successively over different syllables. Figure 62 compares the alto and the violin II parts, respectively, of a line of the chorale movement in Bach's Cantata "Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ" (BWV 177). In the violin II part, the two F4s are tied together, whereas in the alto part, these notes are separated. The reason for this difference is presumably that the alto has different individual syllables for its repeated notes (*kannst* and *ma-* of the line "Du kannst maßen"), whereas the violin II is unconcerned with declaiming the text. As Figure 63 shows, Birnstiel 1765 adopts the violin II line, not the alto line.

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[32] An extreme case of this practice is chorale setting no. 47, "Liebster Gott wenn werd ich sterben," whose continuo bass is different not only by way of octave displacement, but also notes and rhythms. This piece's texture is unusually polyphonic relative to others in the edition, however.
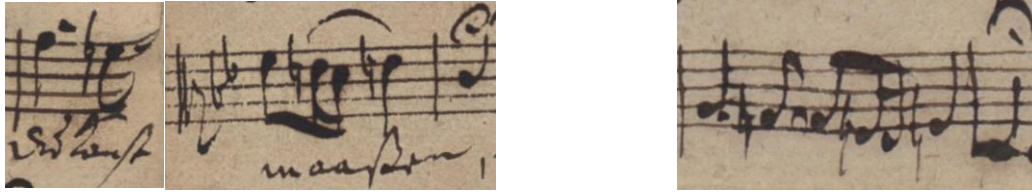
Figure 62: Comparison of alto and violin II parts (respectively) of Bach, chorale setting "Ich lieg im Streit und widerstreb," bb. 9–10; from cantata "Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ" (BWV 177). D-LEb Thomana 177 (source: Bach-digital). The alto part is in alto clef and in the hand of Johann Gottlob Haupt; the violin II part is in treble clef and in Bach's hand. Both parts are in the key of G minor).

Figure 63: Bach, chorale setting no. 69, "Ich ruf zu dir Herr Jesu Christ," bb. 9–10, in Birnstiel 1765 (clefs are soprano and bass, top to bottom, and setting has evidently been transposed from the original key of G minor to E minor).

The effects of this concatenation of musical material in Birnstiel 1765's settings are several. Basing the settings on Bach's original four vocal parts—and eliminating instrumental material like interludes and obbligato lines, where applicable—homogenizes the texture into four-part homophony. While the four vocal parts form the basis of these settings, Birnstiel 1765's deviation from these vocal parts undermines the texture's vocality: these parts in some cases cannot be sung and could not even if a text were provided to do so. But these departures also produce greater musical variety: they extend the overall range of these pieces, and the sustaining of a given voice through repeated notes heads away from the homophony typical of

the collection and in the direction of polyphony. Yet since the changes are subtle, and most of

the vocal affect preserved, the result is a sort of notional vocality.[33]
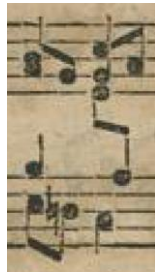
Figure 64: The avoidance of ledger lines in Birnstiel 1765. Settings are no. 67, "Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam," bb. 1–2; no. 84, "Freu dich sehr o meine Seele," bb. 1–2; and no. 59, "Lobt Gott ihr Christen allzugleich," bb. 6–7.

Finally, there are also features in Birnstiel 1765 that support the conclusion reached

above with respect to Emanuel's preface—namely, that these pieces are oriented toward study

and contemplation. This orientation is evident through the pieces' disposition for reading, for

consumption primarily through the eyes. Aspects of this were mentioned already: the compacting

of notation onto two staves rather than four, each with a different clef, which considerably

simplifies the decoding process and brings the visual elements in much closer relation on the

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[33] To be sure, Emanuel Bach anticipates some of the problems this mixed orientation poses when in his preface to Birnstiel 1765, he offers suggestions for if "some of them should go beyond the range of certain throats"—namely, that "they can be transposed." In the case presented, of course, transposing high enough to bring the bass into range would nudge the soprano out of range; moreover, his provision for where the bass goes out of range actually pertains to keyboard instruments, not singing.

page. There is also the fact of settings always being on a single page, so that a person engaging

with a setting will always see the whole at once. But two other details not yet mentioned also

support this an orientation toward study. One relates to the wandering of the two middle lines

between the staves. A possible motivation behind this practice—and certainly an effect—is to

limit the use of leger lines, which of course clutter up a score and add to the decoding burden

(Figure 64). A second such detail are the lines added to indicate the trajectory of individual parts

when they cross from upper staff to lower or vice versa (Figure 65); as Emanuel writes in the

edition's preface, "to accommodate those whose sight is weak, and to whom certain settings

might appear incorrect, the progression of the voices has been indicated where necessary by

single and double oblique lines."[34] These editorial features facilitate the studying and

contemplation by rendering engagement through the eyes—the main vehicle of this

engagement—as smooth as possible.[35] In the process, moreover, the notation, which originally

stood as instructions for the sounding of a musical work, in Birnstiel 1765, where such sounding

is superfluous, becomes the object—a music-theoretical object, and one that offers a visual

representation of harmony and voice-leading principles.

Figure 65: The use of lines to indicate a part changing staves in Birnstiel 1765. Settings are no. 55, "Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist," b. 5 and no. 87, "Helft mir Gottes Güte preisen," bb. 5–6.

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[34] *NBR* 379.

[35] As noted above, visual engagement is by no means the only way music-theoretical study and contemplation may take place; but it does seem to be the one to which this edition is most suited.

Birnstiel 1765's handling of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations closely resembles their handling in present-day American music theory. The most striking similarity is these pieces' unusual notation, which varies only incidentally between Birnstiel 1765 and present-day American textbooks. Whereas this notation suggests a conception of Bach's chorale settings as music-theoretical objects, Emanuel Bach's preface to Birnstiel 1765 confirms this suggestion; the pieces are less for sounding than for contemplation and are models of composition.

5.2 *Bachs vierstimmige Choralegesänge* (Breitkopf 1784–87)

The second edition that helped establish Bach's four-part chorale settings as music-theoretical objects is an edition published in four volumes by Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf between 1784 and 1787.[36] I begin here with a general description of the edition and then compare it to its predecessor, highlighting key similarities and differences. I show that by preserving almost all of the settings in Birnstiel 1765/69's two volumes, the earlier edition's idiosyncratic notational features, and the essential aspects of Emanuel Bach's preface, Breitkopf 1784–87 affirms the conception that these factors convey—that is, that Bach's four-part chorale settings are here music-theoretical objects for study and contemplation. Moreover, the Breitkopf edition also completes Birnstiel, in particular by adding the two additional volumes that Emanuel

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[36] Johann Sebastian Bach, *Johann Sebastian Bachs vierstimmige Choralgesänge*, ed. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Johann Philipp Kirnberger, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, 1784). In identifying Emanuel Bach and Kirnberger as editors, I follow the entry in Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM) (no. 990003402; accessed 30 May 2018), https://opac.rism.info. While most commentators consider Breitkopf 1784–87 a separate edition from Birnstiel 1765/69, not all do (see, for example, Riemenschneider, "General Preface," viii–ix), presumably given how closely the former follows the latter. Rempp bases his critical edition in *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* "as closely as possible" on Breitkopf 1784–87, although cautions that it should be considered not an "urtext," but "one historical layer of Bach's chorales" (Rempp, "Preface," vi–vii). As with Birnstiel 1765/69, I refer to this edition by abbreviations for convenience: "Breitkopf 1784–87" for the whole edition and "Breitkopf 1784" for the first volume, "Breitkopf 1785" for the second, and so on—since the volume were published at a rate of one per year.

had earlier promised and by several minor refinements that enhance the edition's legibility for study. These refinements include removing the settings identified in the Birnstiel 1765/69 preface as not by Sebastian Bach, restricting lines' crossing of staves, and reducing the amount of empty staves.

On the broadest level, Breitkopf 1784–87 doubles Birnstiel 1765/69's number of volumes from two to four. The first two volumes of Breitkopf 1784–87, as mentioned, reproduce the earlier edition, but the third and fourth volumes contain settings not previously printed. The two additional volumes brings the total number of printed settings to 371.[37] The editors must have considered the collection complete at this point: the first volume's preface repeats the promise of additional volumes found already in Birnstiel 1765/69—and this time, fulfills that promise.[38] Moreover, a table of contents is appended to the end of the fourth volume, suggesting completion.[39] But Breitkopf 1784–87 not only completes the collection, it also cleans it up: the editors omit the four spurious harmonizations mistakenly included in Birnstiel 1765, as mentioned in the previous section.[40] Since in all remaining respects, the second through fourth volumes follow the pattern that the first establishes with respect to identifying and notating the settings, I will focus on the first volume for the remainder of this discussion.

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[37] Emanuel promised the preface to Birnstiel 1765 only two additional volumes in this edition, "and together they will contain over 300 songs" (*NBR* 380). Kirnberger lists their number in a 1777 letter as "over 400" (ibd., 381).
[38] Birnstiel 1765/69 in fact promised only two additional volumes: see *BD* III, 181 (ibid., 280).
[39] The table of contents identifies settings by incipit and their numeric position in the entire collection—that is, not by page number or by volume. Because several settings are identified by the same incipit, entries to the index may have up to six numbers attached to them.
[40] See the prefaces of both Birnstiel 1765 and Breitkopf 1784 (ibid., 379–80, 384).

Figure 66: Title page of J. S. Bach, *Johann Sebastian Bachs vierstimmige Choralegesänge* (hereafter "Breitkopf 1784").[41]

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[41] All reproductions of Breitkopf 1784 here are taken from a copy housed at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in München (4 Mus.pr. 86.1878-1) and accessible in digitized form through the Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek (https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb11137805).

The first volume consists of three main parts: a title page, a preface, and 96 chorale harmonizations.[42] The title page is similar to that of Birnstiel 1765/69, albeit featuring a different graphic, but differs from the earlier edition in omitting Emanuel Bach's name and the reference to his role as the harmonizations' collector; the title page simply reads, "Johann Sebastian Bach's Four-part Chorales" (see Figure 66).[43] This change results in a greater emphasis on Sebastian's authorship of the pieces and abstracts the collection from its editors' interventions.[44] Following the title page is the edition's preface. This preface mostly reproduces that of the earlier edition, with the exception of the opening: in place of Emanuel's complaints of the errors in Birnstiel 1765/69, the Breitkopf 1784–87 preface reports on the corresponding rectifications brought to the latter edition.[45]

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[42] At least one printing run contained a list of subscribers, an exemplar of which is housed at the Universität der Künste Berlin (Systemnr.: 990004661470602884; on this topic, see a 1779 letter from Kirnberger in *BD* III:319). This list seems not, however, to have been included in most printings of the work.

[43] This is curious, given Emanuel's insistence in a letter he wrote to Kirnberger in 1769 about a second edition of the pieces that "on all three parts to come, as well as on the First Part, my name must appear, and I will take the responsibility for everything" (*NBR* 380–81).

[44] To be sure, the second volume of the Birnstiel edition also omitted mention of either a collector or an editor. This omission may relate to the conflicts between Bach and Birnstiel over the former's fees for editing the volume (see *NBR* 380–82).

[45] For a translation of the new section, see ibid., 384. In fact, one word in the very last line of the preface is also changed: instead of promising two (*zween*) additional volumes, Emanuel promises three (*drey*; this change is not mentioned in *NBR*).

Figure 67: A representative page of chorale settings in Breitkopf 1784.

Breitkopf 1784–87 also differs from Birnstiel 1765/69 with respect to page layout: instead of the latter's oblong format, Breitkopf 1784–87 is printed in an upright format.[46] (Figure 67 reproduces a full page of Breitkopf 1784–87, including one of the settings visible in the full-page reproduction of Birnstiel 1765/69 presented in Figure 47.) The later edition's format is evidently less efficient than that of the earlier one: even though the first volume of Breitkopf 1784–87 contained four fewer pieces than that of the Birnstiel edition—owing to the removal of the four spurious harmonizations—it is four pages longer (50 for the Birnstiel and 54 for the Breitkopf). The greater length of Breitkopf 1784–87 is also surprising given some compromises made in this edition: on one hand, Breitkopf takes more liberties with breaking up bars at system breaks than does Birnstiel, and on the other, Breitkopf also allows settings to cross pages—but always across openings and not over page turns.[47] Some of Breitkopf 1784–87's greater length may be explained, however, by the fact that its harmonizations always begin on a new line, whereas those in the Birnstiel edition sometimes begin in the middle of a system.

Breitkopf 1784–87 evidently attempts to preserve the ordering of the chorale harmonizations found in Birnstiel 1765/69, although certain harmonizations change position slightly. The main motivation governing the revised ordering, apart from preserving most of the early ordering, appears to be the efficient use of page space: given the reduced space on the pages of the Breitkopf edition, and given its practice of beginning settings on a new line, the order in Birnstiel 1765/69 cannot be maintained without either crossing a page break or leaving

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[46] My attempts to identify any significance in this difference have yielded only unsatisfactory results; while according Rudolph Rasch, after 1700, "orchestral and vocal parts tended to be printed in an upright format, keyboard music, on the other hand, was often printed in landscape format which made it suitable for placing on the elegant stands of keyboard instruments" (Rudolf Rasch, *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900: Concepts and Issues Bibliography*, vol. 1, The Circulation of Music [Berlin: BWV Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005], 144–45), an examination of Emanuel Bach's works for keyboard and voice printed by Breitkopf reveals no consistent association between either instrumentation and oblong or upright format.

[47] This is true for nos. 80 and 83.

large stretches of staves blank.[48] That the editors saw fit to shuffle settings around based simply on efficient page use reinforces the impression in Birnstiel 1765/69 that there is no deep scheme underlying the ordering of settings in these editions. Apart from the effects of the change from oblong to upright format, the disposition of the pages is similar between the two editions; the only exception is Breitkopf's addition of "Seb." to the page's footer, from "Bach's chorale-songs" (*Bachs Choralgesänge*) in the Birnstiel edition to "Seb[astian] Bach's chorale-songs" (*Seb. Bachs Choralgesänge*) in Breitkopf 1784–87—another apparent attempt to stress Sebastian's authorship.

The musical text of Breitkopf 1784–87 is quite similar in visual presentation to that in Birnstiel 1765/69 (Figure 67). Settings are still introduced with a number and incipit, and the incipits are the same (excepting minor orthographic changes). The musical texture is still disposed on two staves invariably using soprano and bass clefs, and no information not pertaining to pitch, its organization into simultaneities and lines, and duration is presented, apart from fermatas. The readings are the same, with the exception of minor corrections, such as those that Emanuel identified in Birnstiel 1765/69's *errata* list.[49]

But there are also several differences with respect to the musical text's format in Breitkopf 1784–87. For one thing, the upper two lines remain on the upper staff and the lower two lines on the lower, with only occasional exceptions, whereas the middle lines freely passed between the staves in Birnstiel 1765/69. (Figure 67 illustrates all of the features mentioned in this paragraph.) There are several corollaries to this. First, more leger lines are necessary to notate the inner two voices. Second, stemming is more consistent: whereas stemming in Birnstiel 1765/69

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[48] See Friedrich Smend, "Zu den ältesten Sammlungen der vierstimmigen Choräle J. S. Bachs," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 52 (1966): 13.

[49] Smend discusses changes along these lines in "Zu den ältesten Sammlungen," 13–15.

often prioritized avoiding collisions between lines and therefore could be inconsistent for a given voice, in Breitkopf 1784–87, stems on the tenor line almost always point up and those on the alto line almost always down.[50] Finally, the differentiation of parts through both stemming and their horizontal positioning is generally more careful, such that even in the few situations in Breitkopf 1784–87 where there are three lines on one staff, it is clear which line is which.

The primary effect of the different disposition of the musical text in Breitkopf 1784–87 is to render the trajectory of individual lines visually clearer—and with this, their relationships to one another: the middle parts' adherence to their "home" staff first of all means that there is never confusion about which part is which, but also means that "collisions" of parts are less frequent, and therefore that stemming (and, with regard to tenor and bass, the distance between the parts) will clarify any remaining ambiguity along these lines. These changes refine Birnstiel 1765/69's disposition for contemplation and study: if the focus of that edition's musical text was simultaneities and the conduct of lines, Breitkopf 1784–87 further facilitates the viewing of these phenomena. Neither do these changes favor the possible instrumentations considered above. All of the other factors mitigating a vocal conception are still in effect here, whether the lack of text for singing—or of vestiges of a text reflected in slurring or flagging—or the fact of combining all lines in a single score.[51] If anything, the factors mitigating a keyboard a keyboard orientation are increased, since the Breitkopf edition contravenes even more the convention for keyboard music of the upper staff's contents corresponding to what the right hand should play and the lower

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[50] Stems on the lowest line, by contrast, sometimes point upward—but given that this line often sits at a good distance below the line above it, there is usually ample space for an upward-pointing stem, and no possibility of confusing it with the tenor.

[51] There are in fact a number of settings that feature slurs; this "otherwise unusual use of legato slurs," as Frieder Rempp describes it, begins with no. 248, "Jesu nun sey gepreiset" (Rempp, "Preface," vi). Rempp goes on to observe that these settings correspond to the collection compiled by Johann Ludwig Dietel, a pupil of Bach's, around 1735. These settings—of which there are 73 in Breitkopf 1784–87—also occasionally exhibit other unusual features, such as trills, flagged notes, and double-line repeat indications above the score.

staff's contents to what the left hand should play. Instead, the changes in Breitkopf 1784–87

seem aimed at enhanced perspicuity—and particularly, at improving the legibility of the few

elements presented, those relating to harmony and voice-leading, and relationships between

them. This change is therefore a refinement of Emanuel's intention stated in Birnstiel 1765/69's

preface, and its repetition in Breitkopf 1784–87, that the collection benefit those studying and

contemplating it. The object of this contemplation, moreover, is harmony and voice-leading—the

trajectories of individual lines, the relation of individual lines' trajectories to one another, and the

simultaneities that these trajectories produce.

5.3 Contemporary assessments of Birnstiel 1765 and Breitkopf 1784–87

Before leaving the early print editions of Bach's four-part chorale settings, I will briefly

discuss assessments of these pieces from contemporary musicians and authors. Sources from

these editions' milieu echo some of the themes in Emmanuel Bach's preface to both editions.

These include observations of ambiguity surrounding their intended instrumentation, the belief

that the chorale settings are models of composition—and specifically of harmony and voice-

leading principles—and the attitude that they are best suited for study.

To begin with, contemporaries do not agree on the instrumentation most suitable for

Bach's four-part chorales; some privilege the pieces' vocal origins, while others believe them

more suited to the keyboard, and particularly to the organ. In an article in the *Allgemeine*

deutsche Bibliothek that builds upon Emmanuel's preface to Birnstiel 1765, for example,

Sebastian Bach's student Johann Friedrich Agricola writes that "these chorales could be useful

particularly to aspiring organists in the early stages of practicing the almost lost art of playing the

pedal *obbligato*, among other uses."[52] Similarly, in a 1770 catalogue, Johann Gottlob Immanuel

Breitkopf lists Birnstiel 1765 and 1769 under the section "Works for organ," a section of the

larger category of "[works for] the organ and the harpsichord."[53] Kirnberger also conveys this

understanding in a 1777 letter concerning the collection, where he mentions the possibility of

organists playing these pieces in church "or home church services."[54] The Hamburg music dealer

Johann Christoph Westphal includes the pieces in multiple issues of his catalogues of musical

items, with Birnstiel 1765/69 wandering to a certain degree over time. In his 1781 list, he

classifies the edition under "keyboard pieces." In his 1782 list, however, the pieces fall under

both this category and "arias and pieces for voice." By 1785, finally, they rejoin the "keyboard

pieces."[55] Even later in the century, the historian and Bach biographer Johann Nikolaus Forkel

still classifies Birnstiel 1765/69 in his "List of musical works, both theoretical and practical"

under "Lieder," or "songs."[56] In short, then, opinion among contemporaries as to the

instrumentation intended by these editions is not settled.

Some contemporary sources even deny these pieces' suitability for any kind of actual

performance. Johann Christoph Kühnau expresses doubt in their suitability for any practical

use—whether singing, liturgical celebration, and sounding at the keyboard—in the preface to his

Vierstimmige alte und neue Choralgesänge (1786): "but how many of those who serve the

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[52] "Wir glauben daß diese Chorale ausser andern Verdiensten, sonderlich angehenden Orgelspielern, nüzlich seyn Können, um sich anfänglich in der fast verlohren gehen wollenden Kunst, das Pedal obligat zu spielen, zu üben. Sie müssen die Oberstimme auf dem einen Claviere, die zwey mittelsten auf dem andern, und den Paß auf dem Pedale spielen. Eine solche Uebung wird sehr zu ihrem weitern Fortgange dienen" (*BD* 733).

[53] The titles in German are "3. Stücke für die Orgel" and "VIII. Die Orgel und das Clavicimbel"; see *BD* 152.

[54] "…erstl[ich] um der Kirche willen für Organisten, oder häuslichen Gottesdienst" (*BD* 319; see also *BD* 361).

[55] The titles in German are "Clavier-Sachen," "Arien und Sing-Sachen," and "Clavier-Sachen," respectively; see *BD* 269, 270. Interestingly, in the 1782 catalogue, Westphal list them under Sebastian Bach's name when under "Clavier-Sachen" and under Emanuel's name (while still mentioning Sebastian in the title portion) when under "Arien und Sing-Sachen": see Westphal, *Verzeichnis derer Musicalien* 110. (The editors of *BD* transcribe this entry and the following as under Sebastian Bach's name—perhaps interpreting Westphal's classification as an error.) See also a catalogue by Rupert Helm, which classifies this under *Klaviersachen* (*BD* 431).

[56] The title in German is "Verzeichniß der musikalischen Werke, sowohl theoretischen als practischen Inhalts": *BD* 188.

church by singing or playing, or [of those who] wish to play on the piano or keyboard for their pleasure, [possess an] ability so great that they could make fitting use of them [for these purposes]?"[57] Instead, Kühnau considers these pieces "compositional models" (*Muster der Composition*). The German theologian Friedrich Germanus Lüdke makes a similar argument in an article in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*: citing Bach's "stiff and rather hard treatment" of the chorale tunes, as well as musical transgressions like setting some tunes too high and not respecting the tunes' characters, Lüdke writes that "we would, however, recommend these chorales only for study and admiration, and in no way for accompanying the congregation, and still less for the choir to sing or to play from towers and the like, for without question, they do not have the best effect in the above-mentioned situations."[58] The author concludes that while "people will therefore always study Bach's chorales…they will only make specific use of them very seldom and at the right time, [and] for the harmonic knowledge they transmit."[59] Thus, contemporaries of this collection clearly recognized its peculiar nature—and in fact their value for the study of principles of harmony—even if this recognition is couched in some disappointment at their unsuitability for the functions that chorale books typically fulfilled.

One remarkable aspect of these contemporary assessments is the repetition of certain themes that appeared in Emmanuel's preface to them. For example, several writers mention studying these editions, as just seen in the two authors just discussed. The author of a 1793

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[57] "…aber wie viele finden sich unter denen, die der Kirche im Singen und Spielen dienen, oder als Liebhaber zu ihrem Vergnügen auf dem Flügel oder Klavier ein Lied spielen wollen, deren Fähigkeit sich so weit erstrecket, daß sie den gehörigen Gebrauch davon machen könnten ?" (*BD* 405).

[58] "Indeß würden wir doch diese Choralgesänge nur zum Studiren und Bewundern, aber keinesweges zur Begleitung der Gemeine, eben so wenig zum Singen der Chöre oder zum Abblasen auf Thürmen und dergl. empfehlen, denn ganz gewiß thun sie in den genannten Fällen nicht die beste Wirkung. Viele Melodien sind durch Bachs etwas steife und zuweilen ziemlich harte Behandlung so verdunkelt worden, daß man sie nur mit Mühe bemerken wird" (*BD* 511).

[59] "Man studire daher immer Seb. Bachs Choräle; nur mache man äußerst selten und zu rechter Zeit von den dadurch erworbenen harmonischen Kenntnissen einen zweckmäßigen Gebrauch" (*BD* 512).

article in the *Tübingischen gelehrten Anzeigen* similarly refers to the study of these "masterpieces," writing that "only the connoisseur of strict composition studies [them] with inexhaustible pleasure."[60] Also notable in this article is the precise elements of Bach's settings that the author cites and how they are described: the middle lines being like melodies in themselves, yet also working together to create a satisfying whole.[61] In an article in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, moreover, Johann Abraham Peter Schulz writes that for those eager to learn true and foundational composition, Breitkopf 1784–87 "will be and remain a reliable handbook of practical harmony out of which [students] will draw ever new benefits the more they study it."[62] In using the term "handbook," Schulz evokes the notion in Emanuel Bach's of "a practical textbook of the most excellent models." Indeed, in the same article about Birnstiel 1765 cited above, Agricola writes that "it is uncontroversial that the departed Bach's harmony became like nature, so to speak; and which good and harmonically logical guides are not found among these chorales?"[63]

In summary, then, the reading of Birnstiel 1765/69 and Breitkopf 1784–87 that I presented above is supported by the editions' contemporaries. These writers exhibit some uncertainty as to its nature; they recognize its non-conformity to chorale book conventions—that it is unsuitable for liturgical use or even singing in general, but much more suited for study.

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[60] "…das die Choräle eines Seb. Bachs und Grauns zu jenen grossen Meisterstüken macht, die selbst der Kenner des reinen Satzes mit unausschöpflichem Vergnügen studirt" (*BD* 528–29). The author refers to the settings of both Bach and Graun (presumably Carl Heinrich).

[61] "Fast jede Mittelstimme hat darinn ihren eigenen dem Charakter der Hauptmelodie angemessenen Gesang, der in der Zusammenstimmung, ohne die Geseze der Einfachheit zu überschreiten, ein schönes Ganzes bildet" (*BD* 529). The author also refers to "der richtigen Accentuation und Declamation des untergelegten Textes"—confusing with respect to Bach's settings; either this comment refers exclusively to Graun's settings or the author imagines the texts to which Bach's settings correspond, since the latter of course has no underlaid text.

[62] "Für jeden Lehrbegierigen der wahren und gründlichen Setzkunst…wird dieses Choralbuch ein beständiges Handbuch der praktischen Harmonie seyn und bleiben, aus dem er, je mehr er darin studirt, immer neue Vortheile schöpfen wird" (*BD* 416–17).

[63] "Es ist unstreitig, daß die Harmonie dem seligen Bach gleichsam zur Natur geworden war : und welche artige und harmonisch-sinnreiche Führungen derselben finden sich nicht auch in diesen Chorälen" (*BD* 188).

Indeed, it is in study—and specifically of principles harmony and voice-leading—that these pieces' greatest value lies; and contemporaries even repeat Emanuel Bach's comparison of the collection to a textbook or collection of models.

5.4 Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes*

Kirnberger's *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik* (1771–79) complements the two editions of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations that I discussed earlier in this chapter, Birnstiel 1765/69 and Breitkopf 1784–87, in several ways. To begin with, *Die Kunst* appeared in print around the same time as these two editions—in fact, directly between their respective publications.[64] But the treatise also emerged from a similar musical and intellectual milieu: as an admirer of Bach and—according to Marpurg—a student of his, Kirnberger was part of his circle of students and admirers.[65] In addition, Kirnberger was involved in the efforts to publish Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations, and perhaps also their editing.[66] Finally, Kirnberger's *Die Kunst* constitutes a different type of evidence from a musical edition—namely, an explicitly music-theoretical source.

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[64] In the few lines that Emanuel Bach adds to the Breitkopf preface in modification of the Birnstiel preface, he reports that he had given the collection of chorale harmonizations to Kirnberger "already in 1771"; thus, Kirnberger may have had the manuscript collection even before *Die Kunst* had gone to press (Bach, "Vorrede," in Bach, *Vierstimmige Choralgesänge*, n.p.). Emanuel Bach's wording is "bereits im Jahre 1771." The editors of *NBR* translate this "as early as the year 1771," which introduces some uncertainty not in the original German.

[65] The extent to which Kirnberger studied with Bach is disputed: while most scholars have assumed that these studies were substantial, others have questioned this. As Beverly Jerold writes, "the claim about going to Leipzig in 1739 to study with Johann Sebastian Bach cannot be substantiated until the time of two records from January and March 1741" (Jerold, "Kirnberger and Authorship," 689). Elsewhere, Jerold goes so far as to conclude that "Kirnberger's study with Bach consisted of a few months in 1741" (Jerold, "Kirnberger versus Marpurg," 100).

[66] See excerpts from Kirnberger's correspondence related to both editions in *NBR* 381–83. See also Schering, "Kirnberger als Herausgeber," and Jerold, "Kirnberger and the Bach Chorales." Kirnberger also edited a collection of four-part settings of liturgical tunes by Hans Leo Hassler and a collection of vocal works excerpted from operas by Carlo Enrico Graun; see Hassler, *Psalmen und Christliche Gesänge*, and Graun, *Duetti, terzetti, etc.* The first of these is particularly interesting: unlike the editions of Bach's chorale settings, Kirnberger presented these pieces in *partitur* and included texts for singing.

I show in this section Kirnberger articulates and works out in *Die Kunst* the same conception of musical structure that Birnstiel 1765 presents in the form of notated music—that is, the tonal music is on some basic level four-part, SATB homophony. While Kirnberger states this belief explicitly, he also embeds it in the curriculum that he outlines and in his illustrations of harmony and voice-leading principles. He also illustrates this belief through two procedures. The first is a generative procedure, according to which Kirnberger begins with four-part chorale settings that he elaborates into increasingly ornamented musical textures. The second is reductive, by contrast, and it reverses the first procedure. The results in the latter procedure, although two-part (with figures), he calls *Choral*. Common to these procedures is the presence of a framework—usually four-part, and explicitly connected to the chorale—that underlies musical textures. While Kirnberger lauds Bach's four-part chorale settings as exemplars of his image of musical structure, he nevertheless does not integrate them into his curriculum, nor even uses them to illustrate principles of harmony and voice-leading.

5.4.1 Four-Part Writing

Kirnberger sets himself two tasks in *Die Kunst*: first, "to discover the true principles upon which the rules of harmony are based," and second "to listen to and study most attentively the words of the greatest harmonists, who are generally considered the foremost masters of the art."[67] Kirnberger projects two volumes for *Die Kunst*, the first devoted to *Reinigkeit* and the second to beauty, expression, and melody.[68] Surprisingly, given its prominence in the treatise's

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[67] Kirnberger, *Strict Musical Composition*, 7 ("So habe ich mir äußerst angelegen seyn lassen auf der einen Seite die wahren Grundsätze zu entdecken, auf welche die Regeln der Harmonie gegründet sind, auf der andern Seite die Werke der grösten Harmonisten, die durchgehends für die ersten Meister der Kunst gehalten werden, mit der grösten Aufmerksamkeit anzuhören und zu studiren" [Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, n.p. ("Vorrede")]).

[68] In fact, the second volume was published in three parts—in 1776, 1777, and 1779.

title, Kirnberger does not define *Reinigkeit*.[69] It is therefore helpful to turn to two of his

contemporaries. One is Johann Georg Sulzer and his *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Kunst*, a

contemporary encyclopedia in whose creation Kirnberger was involved;[70] in his entry for

Harmonie, Sulzer writes that "one says of a musical work that it is 'good' or 'pure' [*gut oder*

rein] when the rules of composition [*Zusammensetzung*] and the progression of chords in it are

properly observed."[71] Sulzer here uses *rein* as a synonym for "good," but specifies that this

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[69] On one hand, this omission may reflect the vagueness of the concept among eighteenth-century music theorists; I know of no clear definition of the term in the sense Kirnberger uses it here—remarkably, given its prominence in both *Kunst des reinen Satzes* and its use by other authors, such as Wilhelm Friedrich Marpurg, Emanuel Bach, Johann Nikolaus Forkel, and Johann Christoph Kühnau. (See also a book by Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut entitled *Ueber Reinheit der Tonkunst* that arises briefly in the following chapter.) On the other hand, this omission may reflect Kirnberger's difficulty with expressing his thoughts in writing: Johann Friedrich Reichardt, in discussing Kirnberger's work with Sulzer, writes that the former was "not in the slightest position to explain anything with clarity and precision, much less write it down. His comprehensive knowledge was disorganized in his own head" (Johann Friedrich Reichardt, "J. A. P. Schulz," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3 [1801]: 597–98; translation from Jerold, "Kirnberger and Authorship," 691). It instead fell to his students to help Kirnberger express himself; Kirnberger himself describes how, in writing the first part of *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, he would write his thoughts on half a piece of paper, and Sulzer would cut each out and assemble them in a logical order (Heinrich Bellerman, "Nachtrag zu Kirnberger's Briefen," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 7, no. 29 [1872]: 458). For more on Kirnberger's writing activity, see Jerold, "Kirnberger and Authorship."

[70] The extent of Kirnberger's involvement with this work is not wholly clear. Howard Serwer's view is that "Sulzer relied on Johann Philipp Kirnberger and J.A.P. Schulz for the articles on music" (Howard Serwer, "Sulzer, Johann Georg," *Grove Music Online*, https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/grovemusic/display/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001, accessed 30 May 2018). In a more recent consideration of this question, Beverly Jerold makes a compelling case for Agricola's involvement in the entries on musical topics in the *Allgemeine Theorie* ("Kirnberger and Authorship," 695–700). On the question of the music articles' authorship, Thomas Christensen concludes, "it is not possible to disentangle with certainty the respective contributions of Sulzer and Kirnberger or Schulz in the music articles" (Baker and Christensen, *Aesthetics and Musical Composition*, 14, n.22). Jerold singles out in particular the entry for "*Harmonie*," observing that its problems were even noticed by contemporaries: as Jerold reports, "according to Forkel (1788), the author of Sulzer's article 'Harmonie' 'twists and turns so strangely, now holding it as dispensable, now as useful,' that the article must be considered one of the weakest of the collection" (Jerold, "Kirnberger and Authorship," 698). All of Jerold's—and Forkel's—criticisms, however, seem levelled at the third sense of the term presented, one not relevant to the present discussion. If Christensen is correct that most technical aspects of music were likely written by Kirnberger, it seems likely that he was the author of the portion that I discuss here. Nevertheless, for convenience—and on the presumption that at the very least, Sulzer approved the entry—I will refer to the entry's author as Sulzer.

[71] Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, I:512 ("Man sagt von einem Tonstük, es sey in der Harmonie gut oder rein, wenn die Regeln von der Zusammensetzung und Folge der Accorde darin gut beobachtet sind"). (While Nancy Kovaleff Baker offers a translation of portions of the entry for *Harmonie* [Baker and Christensen, *Aesthetics and Musical Composition*, 97–100], she omits the excerpt in question.) A line immediately preceding the portion of the entry just quoted—a reference to considering a composition as "eine Folge von Accorden"—closely resembles a line in Kirnberger's *Kunst des reinen Satzes* ("Dieser Contrapunkt ist demnach als eine Folge von vollständigen Accorden anzusehen": Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, 1:141; I discuss this line further below); but since Sulzer evidently assisted Kirnberger with *Die Kunst*, this resemblance alone does not weigh in favor of the authorship of one or the other author. The entry for *rein* in the *Allgemeine Theorie* refers only to tuning (Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, II:522).

goodness—or perhaps better correctness—pertains to a work's harmonic construction.[72]

Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, another contemporary—and even interlocutor—of Kirnberger's,

conveys a similar view: "the purity [*Reinigkeit*] of a musical texture [*Satz*] depends upon the

correct use of the intervals—that is, upon correct harmonic connections and progressions; these

two components must not be separated."[73] To return to the first volume of *Die Kunst*, then, this

volume deals with harmonic correctness, while the second volume deals with expression. While

chorales surface at various points in both volumes of *Die Kunst*, their role in the first volume—

which includes their connection to the concept of *Reinigkeit*—is particularly germane to the

present investigation, as I will show.

Volume I of *Die Kunst* proceeds from basic music-theoretical concepts like scales,

tuning, intervals, and chords through to counterpoint—first simple, then florid. The privileged

position of four-part writing in *Die Kunst* is already evident at its first appearance: in

Kirnberger's introduction to the concept of counterpoint. He begins this passage by discussing

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Interestingly, Sulzer also offers an entry for *Reinlichkeit*—obviously a nominalization of *rein*, but not one that Kirnberger uses in *Die Kunst*, just as the entry also uses the adjectival form *reinlich* similarly foreign in *Die Kunst* (ibid., 2:523–24). This latter entry dwells on arts other than music—architecture and visual arts, in particular—and emphasizes completeness with respect to details ("Vollkommenheit in Kleinigkeiten": ibid., 2:523). The differences between the conceptions and terminology in these entries reinforces the general consensus that Kirnberger's involvement with the *Allgemeine Theorie* dried up in the second volume; see Jerold, "Kirnberger and Authorship," 690.

[72] Indeed, in the second volume of *Die Kunst*, Kirnberger uses *Richtigkeit* ("correctness") as a synonym for *Reinigkeit*: Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, 2(1):3. In their translation of *Die Kunst*, David Beach and Jurgen Thym usually translate *rein* as "strict"—a departure for Beach from his dissertation, in which he translates *Reinigkeit* as "purity" (David Williams Beach, "The Harmonic Theories of Johann Philipp Kirnberger; Their Origins and Influences" [PhD diss., Duke University, 1974], 14, https://www.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/302764981).

[73] Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und Composition* (Berlin: Johann Jacob Schütze, 1755; "Die Reinigkeit eines musikalisches Satzes hänget von dem richtigen Gebrauch, das ist, von dem richtigen harmonischen Verbindung und Fortschreitung der Intervallen ab, zwey Stücke, die ungetrennt beysammen seyn müssen"). On the nominalization of *rein*, see the previous note.

"simple plain counterpoint," which amounts to what American music theorists today call homophony or note-against-note counterpoint.[74] As he writes,

> Simple plain counterpoint can be for two, three, four, or more voices. It is best to begin with four voices, because it is not possible to write for two or three voices perfectly until one can do so for four voices. Since complete harmony is in four parts, the harmony in two- and three-part compositions must always be incomplete. Therefore it is impossible to judge with certainty what must be omitted from the harmony in the various situations that arise until one has a thorough knowledge of four-part composition.[75]

Because of the importance of four-part writing in North American music theory, it is easy for North American music theorists to miss the radical character of Kirnberger's approach here. This approach departs substantially from centuries of compositional pedagogy in Western Europe: conventionally, counterpoint studies begin with two parts, and then additional parts are added.[76] And this approach is logical: one begins with the smallest number of elements and gradually adds complexity. Even Marpurg, who also privileges four-part textures in his own way and who whose work influenced Kirnberger, begins the study of counterpoint with two-part writing.[77]

Kirnberger's approach of beginning with four-part harmony is based on a specific belief, however: that "complete harmony is in four parts." But what does this statement mean? A

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[74] Kirnberger also calls this type of counterpoint "strict" and "equal": see Kirnberger, *Strict Composition*, 158. While he states that this chapter deals with "simple" counterpoint, it is in fact this chapter and the next, since he classifies both "plain" and "florid" counterpoint under "simple" counterpoint, the alternative to simple counterpoint being double counterpoint (ibid.).

[75] Ibid., 159 ("Der einfache schlechte Contrapunkt kann zwey- drey- vier- oder mehrstimmig seyn. Man thut am besten, daß man bey dem vierstimmigen anfängt, weil es nicht wol möglich ist, zwey- oder dreystimmig vollkommen zu setzen, bis man es in vier Stimmen kann. Denn da die vollständige Harmonie vierstimmig ist, folglich in den zwey- und dreystimmigen Sachen immer etwas von der vollständigen Harmonie fehlen muß, so kann man nicht eher mit Zuverläßigkeit beurtheilen, was in den verschiedentlich vorkommenden Fällen von der Harmonie wegzulassen sey, bis man eine vollkommene Kenntniß des vierstimmigen Satzes hat": Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, I:142).

[76] See, for example, Fux, *Gradus ad Parnassum*.

[77] For Marpurg's privileging of four-part writing, see his *Generalbasse und Composition*, I:23: "So können doch alle nur mögliche Harmonien im Grund nicht mehr als vierstimmig seyn." For Marpurg's beginning counterpoint in two parts, see ibid., III:223.

reasonable interpretation of "complete" harmony is when every harmony includes all members of a given harmony—all chord factors, that is. But of course, tonal harmony is based in large part on triads, which only have three unique chord factors—even if another important category of chords, seventh chords, does have four factors. Why not simply state that complete harmony is when every chord has all of its factors represented? Kirnberger has this option but does not take it. While it is possible that this is an aesthetic preference, this would be out of line with the "correctness" that constitutes the subject of Volume I; instead, there seems to be something special about four-part textures for Kirnberger.

Kirnberger's own path through the number of parts of counterpoint sheds light on this question. When he himself teaches counterpoint, he not only begins with four-part writing, as he had prescribed, but he then discusses three-part writing and then two-part writing, after which he moves to five-part writing, six-part writing, and so on. In other words, he first subtracts one part at a time from a four-part texture until he can go no further, then adds one part at a time from the same texture.[78] This approach suggests that he considers textures with fewer than four parts as a four-part texture missing a part—which is what he seems to have in mind when he refers to "what must be omitted from the harmony." Presumably then also, he would consider textures with more than four parts as having parts added. This approach suggests that with respect to its harmony, any texture may be thought of with respect to a four-part version of itself, and that the four-part version offers the most complete account of its harmony.[79] I return to this idea of a version of a texture underlying it—and in a sense interpreting it—below, in conjunction with Kirnberger's operation of reduction.

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[78] Kirnberger does, in fact, discuss one-part writing, but only as an aside in his discussion of two-part writing: see Kirnberger, *Strict Composition*, 189. He does not explain why he does not consider it further.

[79] Why a texture must have a fixed number of parts is a question that Kirnberger does not consider; this presumably relates to the rigor implied by the "correctness" that constitutes this volume's main preoccupation.

It is not just Kirnberger's conception of harmony that is surprising, but also his conception of counterpoint—which is, after all, the focus of the passage in question. He follows his statement about complete harmony being in four parts with the following observations:

> Consequently, this counterpoint [i.e., simple, plain counterpoint] should be viewed as a succession of complete chords. If the writing is to be correct and strict [*rein*]: (1) the chords must follow one another coherently according to the rules of harmony; (2) each voice must have a flowing melody and a strict progression; and (3) several of the voices together must sound strict [*rein*] and have nothing disagreeable in their progression.[80]

There are several noteworthy aspects of this passage. First is Kirnberger's injunction to consider counterpoint as a succession of complete chords. This, too, represents a departure from the Western European conventions for counterpoint, and in two ways. One is in emphasis: counterpoint conventionally emphasizes the trajectory of individual parts and how these trajectories relate to one another. By contrast, Kirnberger is instead interested in the simultaneities produced by the parts in question. But more than this, in counterpoint, constituent parts are often misaligned, and the interest is in their interchange. Here, however, Kirnberger describes counterpoint as homophony—four-part homophony, it would seem. Kirnberger further subverts conventional notions of counterpoint with his first condition for such a succession to be "correct and strict": that the succession of the chords so formed follow "the rules of harmony." Here, too, Kirnberger is less interested in the trajectory of individual parts and more in the simultaneities that they form. To be sure, Kirnberger is not uninterested in individual parts; his second such condition deals precisely with this aspect. But he returns to the combination of parts

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[80] Ibid., 159 ("Dieser Contrapunkt ist demnach als eine Folge von vollständigen Accorden anzusehen. Soll der Satz richtig und rein seyn, so müssen 1. die Accorde in einem gute Zussammenhang, nach den Regeln der Harmonie auf einander folgen; 2. Muß jede Stimme für sich einen fliessenden Gesang und eine reine Fortschreitung haben; 3. auch mehrere Stimmen zusammen rein klingen, und in der Fortschreitung nichts unangenehmes haben": Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, 1:142). I have modified Beach and Thym's translation of *ansehen* here to "viewed"—partly because this translation is more literal, partly out of consistency with my translation of Sulzer above.

in the third and final condition. In sum, Kirnberger's conception of harmony seems to have

overtaken his conception of counterpoint.
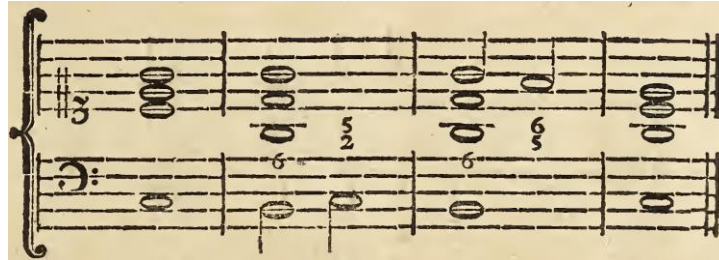
Figure 68: Musical texture used for illustrating harmony and voice-leading principles in Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*, vol. 1, 57 (see also Kirnberger, *Strict Composition*, 77).

Kirnberger's commitment to a four-part conception of harmony is evident in the abstract

musical configurations that he uses to illustrate harmony and voice-leading principles throughout

Die Kunst: his preferred texture for such illustrations is the very four-part homophony that he

described above. Figure 68 provides an example of such an illustration.[81] To be sure, most of

these illustrations are also in "keyboard style"—that is, with three lines in the upper staff and one

lines in the lower—and writing for keyboard can be looser with respect to the integrity and

number of lines than is, for example, writing for voices; but Kirnberger handles the parts

rigorously even in such "keyboard style" illustrations. Indeed, he often uses precisely this texture

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[81] Since my main interest is in Kirnberger's presentation of these examples, the excerpts I present among illustrations come from the original treatise—rather than, for example, the translation by Beach and Thym (see Kirnberger, *Strict Composition*). For ease of reference, however, I also cite the translation in these examples. The edition of *Die Kunst* from which I draw these examples is one printed in 1774, which, according to David W. Beach, is merely a reprint of the 1771 edition "with a new title page," as well as by a new publisher (see Beach, "Introduction," xviii, in Kirnberger, *Strict Composition*).

to make points about voice-leading—as with the illustration for which he cites the first chorale that appears in the treatise (Figure 5.28).[82]
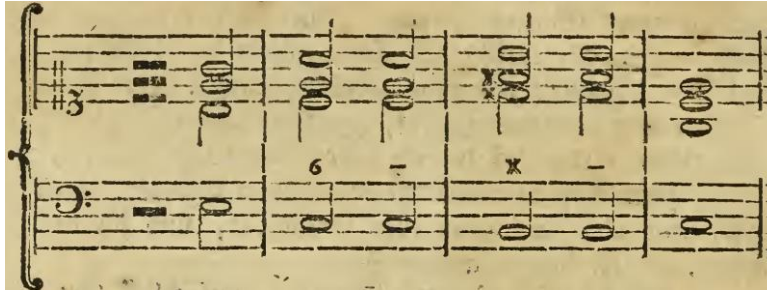
Figure 69: Chorale setting (anonymous) in which Kirnberger criticizes voice-leading decisions: Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, Book 1, 158 (see also Kirnberger, *Strict Composition*, 173).

But what does Kirnberger's notion of "complete harmony" have to do with the chorale, and with Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations in particular? I will answer these questions in the following sections.

5.4.2 Chorales, Embellishment, and Reduction

After he has finished discussing four-part writing, Kirnberger turns to chorales to illustrate what he calls "models of strict and good four-part writing."[83] These chorale settings feature a "migrating cantus firmus" technique: the first setting has the chorale tune in the uppermost part (Figure 70), the second in the second-highest part (Figure 71), the third in the

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[82] While Kirnberger cites this chorale setting as "Von Gott will ich nicht lassen," he does not cite his source for it or its harmonizer. His term for the piece is *Lied*, which Beach and Thym translate as "chorale." Arguably, his omission of such contextualizing information constitutes a degree of abstraction even more advanced than that found in the two editions discussed above.

[83] Kirnberger, *Strict Composition*, 175 ("Muster des reinen und guten vierstimmigen Gesanges": Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, 1:161).

second-lowest, and the fourth in the lowest.[84] In line with the author's description of simple plain

counterpoint, each harmonization is homophonic, and, as Kirnberger later observes, their

harmony is "entirely consonant"—that is, with only triads and seventh chords.[85] It is striking that

Kirnberger so closely connects four-part writing and chorale settings; indeed, these settings are

the only examples of four-part writing that he offers, and he makes no special comment about

this fact—as if he considered this demonstration routine. Moreover, the only extensive examples

he uses to illustrate the other textures he discusses—that is, three-, two-, five- and six-part

textures—are also settings of chorale tunes.[86]
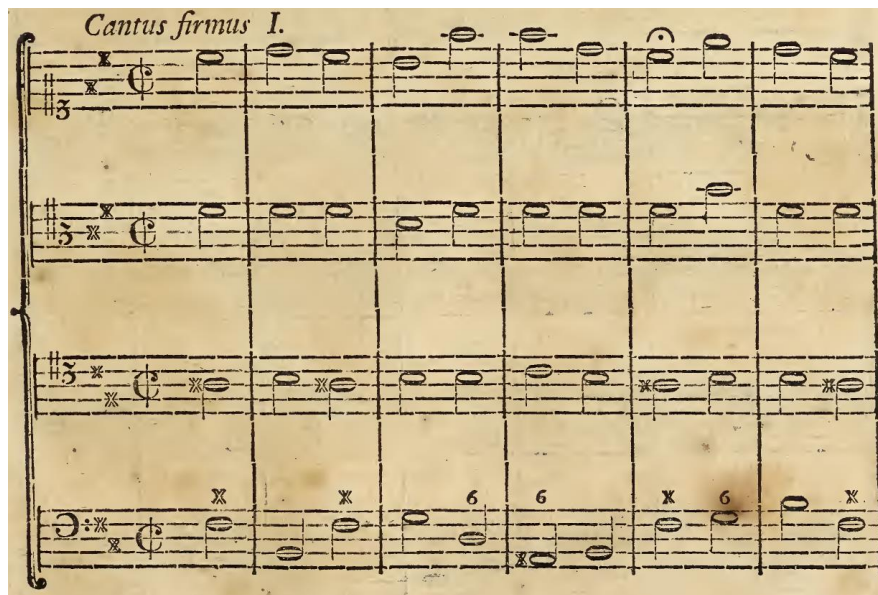
Figure 70: Model chorale setting with cantus firmus in uppermost part; in Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, Book 1, 161 (see also Kirnberger, *Strict Composition*, 176).

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[84] This procedure is presumably what Kirnberger has in mind when he later describes as "useful" that "the future composer of arias…frequently exchange the principal melody in his diligent practice of chorale writing and use it now in one voice, now in another, for skill in writing melodic parts depends on this" (*Strict Composition*, 234). I have provided in Figures 5.29 and 5.30 the first two of these chorale harmonizations. It should be noted that the first three employ the same chorale tune, but the fourth—with the chorale tune in the lowest part—employs a different chorale tune.

[85] Ibid., 231. In fact, the first three only feature triads; seventh chords enter in the fourth.

[86] To be sure, Kirnberger provides no substantial notated example to illustrate two-part writing, and the example that he uses to illustrate three-part writing (185–86) is not strictly homophonic like all of the other notated examples in this chapter.

Figure 71: Model chorale setting with cantus firmus in second-highest part; in Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, Book 1, 163 (see also Kirnberger, *Strict Composition*, 178).

A more intriguing connection between chorale settings and Kirnberger's general conception of musical structure arises in two procedures that he discusses. The first, a procedure of embellishment, appears in the next chapter, on "Embellished or Florid Simple Counterpoint" (*Von dem verziehrten oder bunten einfachen Contrapunkt*). Early in this chapter, the author presents several types of "florid simple" counterpoint, including "arpeggiation," "passing motion," and "syncopation." As in the previous chapter, moreover, he provides his reader "with strict and good examples of florid counterpoint," and again like the examples in the previous chapter, these examples are four-part settings of chorale tunes.[87] Since the settings that Kirnberger provides trace a steady increase in their level of embellishment, I will describe them briefly.

The first chorale harmonization that Kirnberger presents in the chapter on florid simple counterpoint is "not really in florid counterpoint," he acknowledges, even if it exhibits a greater

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[87] Ibid., 231.

degree of harmonic variety than the examples in the previous chapter.[88] Indeed, other than its

greater harmonic complexity, there is little to distinguish this first setting from the previous

chapter's settings.[89] But the settings that follow are more florid. In the second and third, the

chorale tune—marked "Cantus firmus"—appears in the highest voice, but Kirnberger adds

diminution in step-wise quarter notes in all four parts (Figure 72). In the third setting, moreover,

he connects half notes with step-wise eighth-note figures (Figure 73). The diminutions in the

fourth setting also consist of eighth notes, but now incorporating leaps and more changes of

direction (Figure 74); moreover, the chorale tune has moved to the second-highest line. The fifth

chorale harmonization incorporates similar diminution but moves the chorale tune to the third-

highest line (Figure 75). The remaining four chorale harmonizations incorporate increasing

complexities, including temporarily departing from the four-part norm so far established—one

harmonization is in two parts and another in three—and introducing ever greater rhythmic

variety.

Figure 72: Model chorale setting with rising quarter notes; in Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, Book 1, 228 (see also Kirnberger, *Strict Composition*, 239).

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[88] Ibid., 231.

[89] Kirnberger may have been motivated to include this harmonization because it was composed by his benefactress, Princess Amalia, as he takes pains to emphasize (Ibid., 231)
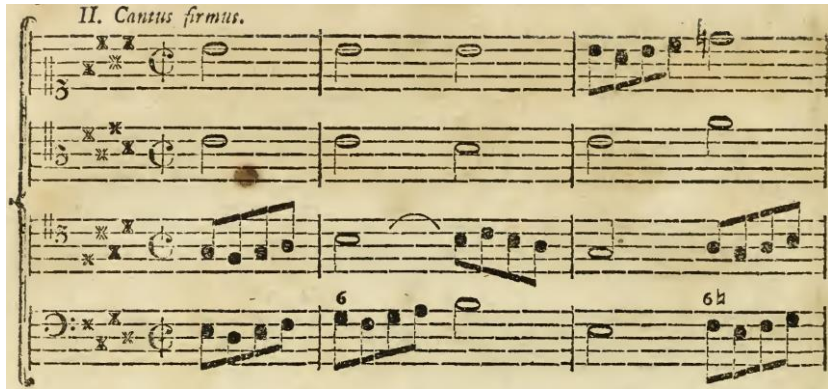
Figure 73: Model chorale setting with step-wise eighth notes; in Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, Book 1, 230 (see also Kirnberger, *Strict Composition*, 241).

Figure 74: Model chorale setting with leaps and changes of direction; in Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, Book 1, 232 (see also Kirnberger, *Strict Composition*, 244).
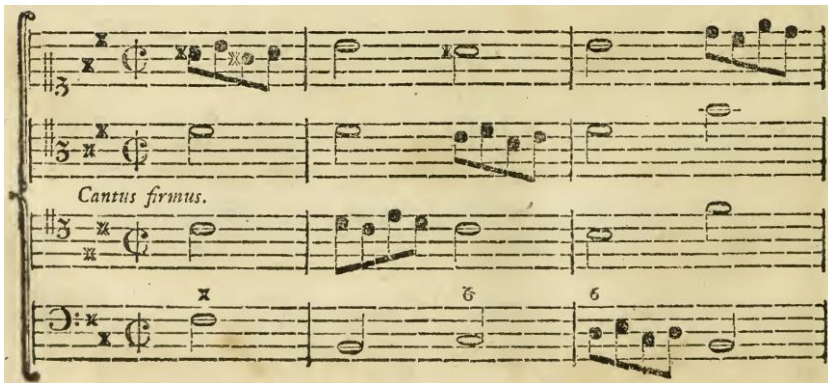
Figure 75: Model chorale setting with cantus firmus in the third-highest line in Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, Book 1, 234 (see also Kirnberger, *Strict Composition*, 248).

The impression that Kirnberger creates over the course of these chorale settings is one of gradually embellishing a basic four-part musical abstraction into a proper musical work. He begins with a musical texture that embodies a basic frame for a work, as it were, and in stages, systematically, adds complexity to this texture to the point where the beginning structure recedes behind the varied surface of the work. This recession is even reflected in the gradual disappearance of the fermatas that delineated the phrases of the chorale tune's original form, as well as in the way embellishments gradually become less vocal and more suited to the agility and range of instruments.[90] And the variety of motives and textures that the author employs suggests that many more—presumably an endless number of—embellishment patterns not demonstrated here are possible.

Kirnberger also describes another procedure that complements these embellishments and indeed follows closely upon them—what amounts to a reduction like those discussed above. Before examining the procedure, however, it is worth noting the context in which the procedure arises. After discussing his examples of florid counterpoint, Kirnberger observes,

> For the benefit of the beginner of composition we cannot let it go unmentioned here that a most diligent training in chorales is a highly useful and even indispensable matter, and that those who consider such exercises as superfluous or even pedantic are caught in a very detrimental bias. Such exercises are the true foundation not only of strict composition but also for good and proper expression in vocal composition.[91]

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[90] While Kirnberger's chorale harmonizations in the chapter on simple counterpoint all retain fermatas, the last fermata in the chapter on florid counterpoint appears in the first half of the second chorale harmonization (Ibid., 239).

[91] Ibid., 233 ("Zum wahren Besten der Anfänger in dem Satz können wir hier nicht unerinnert lassen, daß eine sehr fleißige Uebung in Chorälen, eine höchst nützliche und so gar unentbehrliche Sache sey, und daß diejenigen, welche dergleichen Arbeiten für überflüßig, oder gar pedantisch halten, in einem sehr schädlichen Vorurtheil stehen. Solche Uebungen sind der wahre Grund, nicht nur zum reinen Satz, sondern auch zu dem guten und richtigen Ausdruck in Singesachen": Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, 223). Intervening between the author's discussion of his settings of florid counterpoint and this paragraph is a brief discussion of some settings by J. S. Bach. Kirnberger evidently

In this passage, Kirnberger seems to be reflecting on his rather heavy reliance on chorales to this point and defending it against an unnamed detractor of this approach. The parallels between this passage and Emanuel Bach's preface to Birnstiel 1765 are striking. For one thing, both authors contend for the value of chorale-based exercises in composition instruction—although Kirnberger goes farther by characterizing them as "indispensable." Kirnberger also identifies the breadth of their utility: not merely for strict composition, but also for expression—that is, the primary topics of Volumes I and II of *Die Kunst*, respectively, and possibly a merism.[92] But Kirnberger's description here of such exercises as the "true foundation" (*der wahre Grund*) of strict composition and expression in vocal composition is also intriguing. While he likely intended at least a "foundation" in the sense of pedagogical expediency, he may also have had in mind the embellishment demonstration just discussed. Under such a reading, this statement would serve as a summary of the entire embellishment procedure that he just outlined, confirming the impression that underlying a musical texture is a sort of frame, and that this frame consists on its most basic level of consonant, homophonic harmonies, and that the route from this frame to the actual texture involves "filling in" the frame, as it were, with dissonances and "small notes" that break from the homophony.

The passage that follows lends considerable support reading Kirnberger's "true foundation" as an underlying frame: he continues,

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includes these settings by way of comparison with those by Princess Amalia's—since, as the author points out, the chorale tune that the princess uses "has been set in three ways" by both Bach and Graun (Kirnberger, *Strict Musical Composition*, 231); but the settings hew closer to Kirnberger's notion of simple counterpoint than florid. Moreover, the other points he raises in the discussion—the mode they express and "how different basses can be written to one melody"—seem out of place here. Kirnberger later takes up precisely these topics in the treatise's second volume, albeit much more extensively: see Ibid., 299–313 and 319–35.

[92] See the preface of Volume I: "In another work, which can be considered as the second part of this one, I intend to discuss what is required for a beautiful, pleasing, and forcefully expressive melody" (Ibid., 8). See also his preface to Volume II, Book 1: "Now [in the second volume] I come to the special features of song or melody that give it its character and expression" (Ibid., 282).

Every aria is basically nothing more than a chorale composed according to the most correct declamation, in which each syllable of the text has only one note, which is more or less embellished according to the demands of expression. The true basis of beauty in an aria always depends on the simple melody that is left when all its decorative notes are eliminated. If this simple melody is incorrect in terms of declamation, progression, or harmony, mistakes cannot be completely hidden by embellishment.

Whoever wants to take pains to strip the most beautiful arias of all embellishments will see that the remaining notes always have the shape of a well-composed and correctly declaimed chorale.[93]

Multiple parts of this passage shed light on Kirnberger's notion of "true foundation"—and with it, the image of musical structure taking shape here. First to note is his statement of identity: every aria "*is basically nothing more than* a chorale." In other words, a chorale extracted from an aria somehow *is* the aria—indeed, is a more essential, because simpler, version of it. Other language that Kirnberger uses reinforces this view: the aria is an "embellished" version of a chorale, and the chorale is the "the true basis" of the aria's beauty. To find the chorale within an area, moreover, one must remove the embellishing notes. The author's language of embellishment here, as well as his juxtaposition of this discussion with that of embellishing musical works from chorales, implies that these are opposite operations reflecting the same phenomenon—namely, the existence of a sort of framework that underlies musical textures.

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[93] Ibid., 233–34 ("Jede Arie ist im Grunde nichts anders, als ein nach der richtigsten Declamation gesetzter Choral, da jede Sylbe des Textes nur eine Note hat, welche nach Erfordernis des Ausdrucks mehr oder weniger verziehrt wird. Der wahre Grund der Schönheit einer Arie liegt immer in dem einfachen Gesang, der da steht, wenn alle zur Ausziehrung gehörige Töne davon weggenommen sind. Ist dieser unrichtig in Ansehung der Declamation, der Fortschreitung, oder der Harmonie, so können die Fehler durch keine Verziehrung völlig bedeckt werden. / Wer sich die Mühe geben will die schönsten Arien von allen Ausziehrungen zu entblößen, der wird sehen, daß denn allemal die übrig gebliebenen Töne die Gestalt eines wohlgesetzten und richtig declamirten Chorals haben": Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, 223–24).

Finally, the aria "depends on" the framework for its beauty, in that if the chorale is corrupt, the aria, too, is by implication corrupt.

Figure 76: A "reduction" of Handel, "Benche mi sprezzi," from Tamerlano in Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, Book 1, 224 (see also Kirnberger, *Strict Composition*, 235).

To demonstrate what he means by a chorale undergirding arias, Kirnberger takes up two examples, one by Georg Frideric Handel and the other by Karl Heinrich Graun.[94] He presents only two phrases of each aria, and this only with an upper line, a lower line, and figures. With the first—from Handel's opera *Tamerlano*—he offers a simplification of the melody one line below, replacing the various durations ranging from sixteenth notes to half notes in the original line with quarter notes and half notes (Figure 76). The resultant line is almost completely stepwise and forms almost all consonances with the bass—evidently having "the shape of a well-composed and correctly declaimed chorale"—and it follows the general contour of the original aria. With the Graun aria, moreover, Kirnberger similarly offers a simplification of the upper line a line below—but this time twice: the first reduction simplifies the original eighth notes into

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[94] In Beach and Thym's translation of the work, the Handel aria is mistakenly labeled as by Graun: compare Kirnberger, *Strict Composition*, 235 with Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, 1:224.

quarter notes and a half note, and the second produces exclusively half notes (Figure 77). The results of this reduction, too, is a mostly stepwise line in the first stage, and a line of small leaps in the second stage. In conjunction with the bass line, however, with which the upper line forms homophony, the overall texture resembles the examples of simple counterpoint that Kirnberger had provided in the previous chapter.[95] This procedure therefore illustrates several important things, then. First, it shows the relationship between a given musical texture and that work's underlying framework—namely, that the framework is found in the texture's consonance notes. It also shows the general characteristics of such a framework: consonances in homophony. Third, it shows how to discover the latter within the former, which is through the removal of "embellishing" notes.[96]

Figure 77: A "reduction" of Graun, "Per piu sublime," from Silla, in Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, Book 1, 225 (see also Kirnberger, *Strict Composition*, 235).

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[95] Kirnberger is in fact less than completely transparent in these reductions. The first critical edition of this piece, in any event, shows a bass line with much more rhythmic diversity and in fact imitation (*Händels Werke*, 69:39). The bass line that Kirnberger provides, however, proceeds stoically in even quarter notes. In combination with the reduction, then, the result is even homophony—or equal counterpoint, to use his term—between upper and lower lines, and as such, a texture that more resembles his model of musical structure. Similarly, but less egregiously, Kirnberger makes two small adjustments to the upper line in the Graun example.

[96] There are several other reductions in Kirnberger's writings: a reduction of a fugue of his own composing appended to the end of vol. 1 of *Kunst des reinen Satzes* (*Strict Composition*, 266–75), and reductions of two fugues that appear in a publication attributed to Kirnberger but evidently written by his student Johann Georg Schulz entitled *Die wahren Grundsätze zum Gebrauch der Harmonie* (for an English translation, see Kirnberger, "True Principles"). I do not consider them here because in the first case, the reduction seeks specifically to identify a "fundamental bass," and the resultant reduction is not continuous; and in the second case, the reductions most likely cannot be attributed to Kirnberger, even if he thought highly enough of the work to have it attributed to himself.

It is striking that for Kirnberger, the underlying framework revealed is not merely chorale-like, or consonant homophony, or a simplification: he explicitly calls it a "chorale." These frameworks are of course not chorales by any strict definition of the term, even if from a musical standpoint, they resemble simple harmonizations of the many tunes in the Lutheran liturgical repertoire: that is, the frameworks' melodies move in steady stepwise quarters interrupted only by half notes at ends of phrases, and their harmonizations are similarly simple and move at basically the same rate as the tune's "syllables." Thus, by calling the result of this procedure "chorale," Kirnberger has abstracted the term conceptually from the Lutheran tradition in much the same way that Birnstiel 1765 abstracts the chorale notationally.

These reductions raise an important aspect of the chorale's role in *Die Kunst*: it straddles the ontological realms of musical works, on one hand, and theoretical representations of musical compositions. The former is of course where the chorale began—as simply a musical genre like any other. The latter, however, is what the chorale has since taken on, as it has been applied to music-theoretical ends—to where here, it stands for something deeper than musical composition, something in the realm of musical structure. Apart from this being a surprising breadth, it is also confusing: for example, a chorale (understood in the first sense) could in theory be represented on a deeper level by another chorale (understood in the second sense). The editions of Bach's chorale settings examined so far inhabit a no-man's-land between these two senses, however. On one hand, they are marked as chorales in the first sense, with the reference to their composer, the identifying of settings by short text, and of course the use of known Lutheran chorale tunes. On the other hand, the confusion about their intended instrumentation and the absence of any text for

singing—or of much else beyond four homophonic musical lines disposed on two staves—makes them easy to understand as falling in the second realm.

5.4.3 *Chorale settings by Bach in* Die Kunst

One item remains to be examined in *Die Kunst*: the connection between the chorale in general and Sebastian Bach's four-part chorale settings in particular. Kirnberger himself explicitly makes this connection on several occasions. The first is in the discussion of four-part writing already examined above; after his prescription that in this texture, "each voice must have its individual and flowing line," he observes that

> In the entire science of composition there is perhaps nothing more difficult than for each of the four voices to have its own flowing line as well as for a single character to be retained in them all, so that a single perfect totality results from their union. In this respect the late Capellmeister Bach of Leipzig has perhaps surpassed all composers of the world. For that reason his chorales as well as his larger works are to be recommended most highly to all composers as the best models for diligent study.[97]

Kirnberger here accords the pieces the role one would expect him to, given his enthusiasm for Bach's music, the importance to his theories of four-part harmony, or his close involvement in the publication of these pieces. While he speaks highly of several composers in *Die Kunst*, he reserves his highest praise for this moment. But several aspects of this passage align with Emanuel Bach's attitude toward the pieces as expressed in his preface to Birnstiel 1765, whether

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[97] Kirnberger, *Strict Musical Composition*, 171–72. "…deswegen sowol seine Choräle, als seine grössern Sachen allen Componisten, als die besten Muster zum fleißigen Studio, höchstens zu empfehlen sind" (Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, I:157). While Kirnberger could conceivably here intend the composer's figured-bass chorales, it seems unlikely, given his footnote to this statement (see below) and, with it, the fact he never published an edition of them. Moreover, they were simply less well-known—certainly until Carl Ferdinand Becker began bringing them back to light in the 1830s.

the valorization of both their harmony and their "flowing" (*fliessend*) lines or conceiving of them as "models for diligent study."[98] In combination with Kirnberger's attitude toward the value of chorales for learning composition, as discussed above, Kirnberger's attitude toward Sebastian Bach's chorale settings strikingly resembles that of Emanuel Bach.

Yet despite considering Sebastian Bach's chorale settings models for harmony and voice-leading, Kirnberger never deploys them this way in *Die Kunst*. This is surprising, since they are the supreme models of tonal harmony and voice-leading—the very subjects of Volume I of *Die Kunst*—and he emphasizes in the preface the importance of "studying the works of the greatest harmonists," and he even cites these chorale harmonizations in other contexts, albeit in "figured bass" format.[99] Why would he not present these pieces as models of harmony and voice-leading? Unfortunately, Kirnberger gives no indication of why this might be the case. This fact might on its own be a mere oddity, if Kirnberger were the only author who conspicuously passes over these pieces; but as the present investigation unfolds, this pattern will recur: author after author seems primed to present the pieces as models for harmony and voice-leading—and multiple, like Kirnberger, even cite their value for this purposes—but ultimately does not deploy them in this manner. In fact, in the lineage of music theorists conveying a chorale-centric curriculum that leads to American music theory, it will take until the 1920s for an author to do so.

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[98] Kirnberger earlier in the section on four-part writing wrote that "for the sake of good diversity of harmony one can never recommend enough to young composers that they study the multi-part works of Handel, Bach, and Graun with persistent diligence" (Kirnberger, *Strict Composition*, 164; "Wegen der guten Abwechslung der Harmonie kann man jungen Tonsetzern nie genug empfehlen, daß sie die vielstimmigen Sachen eines Händels, Bachs, und Grauns, mit anhaltendem Fleisse studiren" [Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, 148]). I have modified Beach and Thym's translation here: what I have translated as "multi-part," they translate "four-part"—presumably misreading *vielstimmig* as *vierstimmig*.

[99] See Kirnberger, *Strict Composition*, 231–33. Kirnberger in fact presents two of Bach's chorale settings in a full four-voice rendering in the second volume, Part I, when describing modal harmonizations (ibid., 332–35).

5.5 Conclusion

I have explored in this chapter the milieu of the first edition of Sebastian Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations through this edition, assessments of its contemporaries, and the theories of Johann Philipp Kirnberger. I have shown how in the preface to the first edition, Emanuel Bach is clearly reconceiving the edition's contents in substantial part as music-theoretical objects for study and contemplation of the principles of composition—specifically, harmony and voice-leading. With regard to the edition's musical text, the stripping of original interludes and obbligato parts, as well as the occasional integration of instrumental parts, help fashion the pieces into a homogenous pattern of four-part, notionally vocal homophony disposed above all for study, an assessment shared by the edition's contemporaries. In introducing a small number of refinements but otherwise preserving the patterns and content of the first edition, moreover, the second edition—printed by Breitkopf—solidifies the conception of these pieces set in the Birnstiel edition. In his contemporary treatise *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes*, Kirnberger asserts that tonal music is four-part homophony, on some fundamental level, and musical textures of other numbers of parts can be considered four-part textures with added or missing parts, as appropriate. The chorale also inhabits this underlying realm for Kirnberger, as he demonstrates through his elaboration of musical textures through the embellishment of simple chorale settings and his simplification of musical textures into what he terms "chorales." Kirnberger also holds Sebastian Bach's four-part chorale settings as the pinnacle of four-part writing and, like Emanuel Bach and his contemporaries, as models for composition that warrant careful study, even if he strangely does not deploy them to this end in his own work.

Chapter 6 Carl Friedrich Zelter: Diverging Conceptions of the Chorale

In the previous chapter, I described the emergence of a specifically music-theoretical conception of the chorale, particularly as attested in the earliest editions of Johann Sebastian Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations, Birnstiel 1765/69 and Breitkopf 1784–87, and in Johann Philipp Kirnberger's treatise *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes* (1771–79). In the two editions, Emanuel Bach introduces Bach's chorale settings as suited above all for contemplation and study of composition—and particularly harmony and voice-leading—and these pieces' idiosyncratic notation, which Emanuel also highlights in his preface, is well suited to this orientation. In *Die Kunst*, furthermore, Kirnberger describes his belief that all music is on some fundamental level essentially four-part homophony, even if a given musical texture is not strictly in four parts. Kirnberger goes further, however, revealing this underlying structure through two operations: with one, he elaborates a four-part chorale setting into a more complex musical texture, and with the other, he strips away embellishments from an aria to produce a consonant homophonic structure that he calls "chorale." Across these eighteenth-century sources, the chorale— manifested as a homophonic, notionally vocal, usually four-part harmonization of a chorale tune—emerges as a repository of music-theoretical doctrines, an abstract music-theoretical object, and a model for musical structure in general.

In the present chapter, I explore another phase in the development of these themes: the chorale in a pocket of German music theory and composition training leading up to the training of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. I examine two main sources. The first is a set of exercises that

Mendelssohn completed under the tutelage of Karl Friedrich Zelter between 1819 and 1821 in which the young man realizes a bass line and figures in four-part homophony and harmonizes chorales, among others. The notebooks containing these exercises record a context not yet explored above: on-the-ground compositional instruction. A published treatise like Kirnberger's *Die Kunst*, by contrast, even if it conveys a curriculum of sorts, tends to convey its instructional context implicitly, at best. The second source is a collection of Bach's chorale harmonizations compiled in 1762 by Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch, Zelter's own teacher. With this collection, I examine Zelter's contributions to this volume, which he added decades after Fasch created the collection, and compare them to Fasch's contributions. These sources participate in a thread leading from the previous chapter and into the next. For one thing, Zelter drew his chorale-heavy approach to composition pedagogy from Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch, who served with Emanuel Bach at Frederick II's court in Potsdam.[1] Fasch's collection of Bach's chorale settings, moreover, is "the earliest extant Berlin layer in the transmission of Bach chorales."[2] Finally, Mendelssohn would go on to found the Leipzig Conservatorium, the instruction at which is the focus of the next chapter.

I show in this chapter that significant chorale-related elements in Kirnberger's *Die Kunst* are also found in Zelter's curriculum for Mendelssohn—particularly the conception of harmony as fundamentally a four-part phenomenon and the approach to creating diverse musical textures via chorale harmonization in increasingly complex elaborations. Like Kirnberger, moreover, Zelter omits study of Bach's four-part chorale settings; indeed, there is no sign whatsoever of

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[1] Larry R. Todd calls Zelter "a musical hyphen to connect Felix to eighteenth-century German musical culture" (Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music*, 44), even if, as I will show, his lineage is incorrect.

[2] Hans-Joachim Schulze, "'Vierstimmige Choraele aus den Kirchen Stücken des Herrn J. S. Bachs zusammen getragen': Eine Handschrift Carl Friedrich Faschs in der Bibliothek der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin," *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung, Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, 2003, 10 ("Die Fasch-Abschrift repräsentiert demnach die früheste erhaltene Berliner Schicht in der Überlieferung Bachscher Choräle").

these pieces in Mendelssohn's exercises. This absence is not for Zelter's lack of interest in

Bach's four-part chorale settings, however: Zelter contributed two of these settings to a

collection by his teacher Fasch, from whom Zelter also derived his chorale-based curriculum. A

comparison of Zelter and Fasch's contributions to this collection reveal a fundamental shift in

conception of these pieces: whereas Fasch presents them as music-theoretical objects for

contemplation, Zelter presents them as musical works, complete with a clear instrumentation and

specific occasion for which it was intended. That neither Fasch's nor Zelter's presentation of

these pieces corresponds with that in Birnstiel 1765/69, however, highlights the uniqueness of

the conception of Bach's chorale settings in the earliest editions. Between my discussion of these

two sources, finally, I discuss the provenance of Zelter's curriculum for Mendelssohn. While

commentators have attributed this curriculum to Kirnberger, there is no evidence for this

attribution, and Zelter himself attributes it to Fasch. This correction opens the possibility that

Emanuel Bach—and to some extent his father—played a yet more central role in the

development of chorale-based approaches to music theory.

6.1 Mendelssohn's Composition Exercises

Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's exercises from his study with Carl Friedrich Zelter reflect

a handling and conception of the chorale much like that in Kirnberger's *Die Kunst*. Some of

these similarities are obvious: work with the chorale occupies a substantial portion of Zelter's

curriculum and arises in approximately the same curricular position as that in *Die Kunst*:

immediately following figured bass and preceding more complicated counterpoint. Zelter also

employs some of the same techniques as Kirnberger, such as melody harmonization, setting a

migrating cantus firmus, and elaboration via short motives. Zelter's employment of the chorale

both in a pre-compositional phase and to teach motivic elaboration suggest that the chorale is for him, as for Kirnberger, not simply a musical genre, but a medium in which to practice and illustrate harmony and voice-leading principles. Certain aspects of Zelter's handling of chorales, like his disposing chorales on four staves with SATB clefs, as well as his restricting of parts to moderate ranges, suggest that he conceives of these pieces vocally; but the lack of any text—indeed even of any vestiges of texts—in the chorales properly speaking suggests that this vocality is ultimately notional, that the exercises are not actually intended to be sung. Indeed, Mendelssohn assigns text-setting in later exercises: texts from of Christian Fürchtegott Gellert's *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*. Interestingly, given Zelter's interest in chorale settings and admiration for Bach, there is no trace of Bach's four-part chorale settings, despite some commentators' claims to the contrary. These exercises thus illustrate the general disarticulation of Bach's chorale settings from the type of chorale-heavy music-theoretical instruction developing around this time.

Figure 78: Figured-bass realization in Mendelssohn's exercises with Zelter; image from the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 43, fol. 1r, used under Creative Commons license CC-BY-NC 4.0.

Figure 79: Mendelssohn's setting of a cantus firmus in four parts; image from the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 43, fol. 4v, used under Creative Commons license CC-BY-NC 4.0.
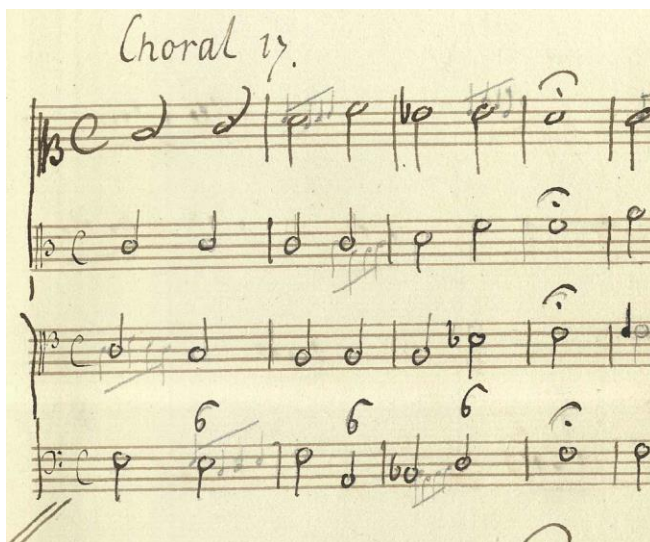
Figure 80: Mendelssohn's setting of a cantus firmus, with strings of eighth notes in alternating parts; image from the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 43, fol. 12r, used under Creative Commons license CC-BY-NC 4.0.
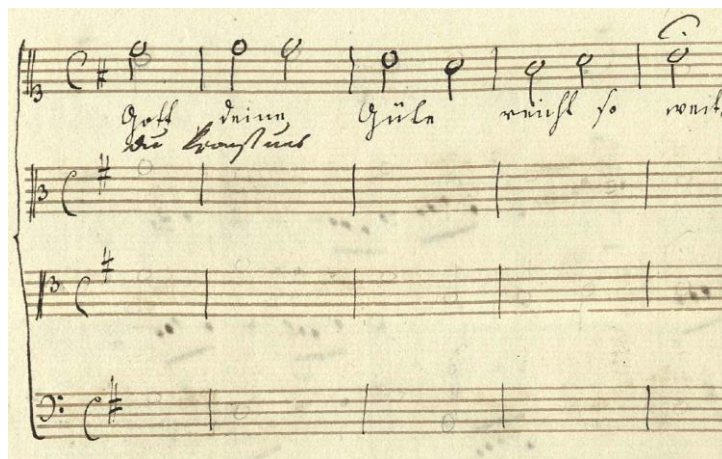
Figure 81: Mendelssohn's setting of a text from C. F. Gellert's *Geistliche Oden und Lieder* (image from the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c. 43, fol. 15v, used under Creative Commons license CC-BY-NC 4.0) and Todd's transcription of the same passage (Todd, *Mendelssohn's Musical Education*, 133).

Mendelssohn's exercises under Zelter's tutelage are preserved in a bound volume

consisting of 71 folios.[3] Several distinct sections may be discerned in these exercises—partly

from the nature of the exercises and partly by means of Zelter's sparse labelling and comments in

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[3] An entire page from these exercises is reproduced in Bodleian Library, ed., *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, Bodleian Picture Books: Special Series, no. 3 (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1972), pl. 2. Larry Todd also reproduces several pages—and transcribes their entirety—in Todd, *Mendelssohn's Musical Education*. I thank Martin Holmes, Alfred Brendel Curator of Music, and other staff at the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford for facilitating my use of these images.

the exercises. The first section consists of figured-bass realizations: Zelter has provided a bass

line with figures, and Mendelssohn's work is evidently to discern the roots and qualities of

harmonies, then realize them in four parts, and finally trim this down to three parts, if not also

adjusting the uppermost line in the process (Figure 78).[4] The trimming to three parts seems

intended to adapt the texture for playing at a keyboard. There are nine such exercises in all, and

Zelter refers to this section as *Generalbaß*.[5] In the second section, Mendelssohn sets half-note

cantus firmi homophonically in four parts, also supplying figures below the score (Figure 79).[6]

Zelter identifies these with the term "Choral" followed by a number representing their serial

position throughout this section. There are in total sixteen such settings, and at least some of their

cantus firmi appear to be chorale tunes.[7] The third section resembles the second in consisting of

four-part settings of *cantus firmi*, but with some differences: some half notes are connected by

strings of eighth notes in repeated patterns, with these strings staggered across all four of the

parts; moreover, the *cantus firmus* also appears in parts other than the uppermost (Figure 80).

Zelter identifies the first setting of this section as "Choral 17," but he does not label any of the

remaining settings. The following section features text-setting exercises: Mendelssohn provides

Zelter texts from Gellert's *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*, and Zelter must provide both melody and

harmony in four parts. These begin in the simple texture of the earlier section, but then become

elaborated with strings of eighth notes (Figure 81).[8] Here, the part with a text seems no longer to

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[4] Todd discusses the probable phases of this exercise in Todd, *Mendelssohn's Musical Education*, 20–21.
[5] See Ibid., 110 (fol. 3v). Todd observes about Mendelssohn that "there can be little doubt that he was well tutored in it [i.e., thoroughbass] before he proceeded to the study of chorale" (Ibid., 10).
[6] Crossed-out notes in these transcriptions are evidently Zelter's corrections.
[7] Todd identifies several of these: see ibid., 28.
[8] The texts in this section come from C. F. Gellert's *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*, as Todd reports (Todd, *Mendelssohn's Musical Education*, 36). Todd does not consider this a new section, but rather a continuation of the previous one. To be sure, not all sections in these exercises are clearly delineated. I believe it more appropriate to consider this a separate section on the grounds that for the first time in these exercises, the goal seems to extend beyond harmony and voice-leading to text-setting, and because a section so conceived is roughly equivalent in

be a *cantus firmus*, but instead Mendelssohn's composition, since Zelter makes modifications to the text-bearing part. At the end of this section, Zelter has Mendelssohn set a given text four different times. The remainder of the notebook contains counterpoint exercises, beginning with exercises in two parts with various inversional combinations and then in canon, then canons in three parts, and then fugue. The first few of these incorporate a *cantus firmus* in half notes, with at least one of these a pre-existing tune from the Lutheran tradition.[9] The notebook closes with a variety of the foregoing, but above all three-part fugal—or at least imitative—assays. Finally, within each of group of exercises, there is a general progression from keys with fewer to more accidentals. Moreover, the initial exercises are in duple meter, with more triple meters appearing over the later course of the exercises.

Already at a superficial level, it is clear that this curriculum has much in common with Kirnberger's. The overall arc of Zelter's teaching is similar, passing as it does from thoroughbass through chorale harmonization—to study first basic counterpoint and then more complex counterpoint—and then terminating with canon, fugue, and other more complex contrapuntal work. This arc is by no means unique to Kirnberger, of course—but similarities continue to emerge in other of the details of this curriculum. The section in Mendelssohn's exercises revolving around chorale harmonizations exhibits some noteworthy similarities to Kirnberger's curriculum, such as in employing a *cantus firmus* in half notes first in the uppermost part, then in the other parts, or in connecting half notes in all parts through motivic strings of eighth notes.

But some similarities between Zelter and Kirnberger on the level of theoretical commitments also emerge. Zelter evidently adheres to a conception of harmonic structure similar

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length to its predecessors. Figure 6.4 comes from earlier in the section. Todd labels these as chorales, although none of the melodies set is pre-existing, to my knowledge.
[9] See Ibid., 149 (fol. 21v, no. 2).

to Kirnberger's—that is, that tonal harmony is on a fundamental level four-part, notionally vocal homophony. This conception is already apparent in the figured-bass exercises: most likely, Mendelssohn first realized a figured bass (third staff from top) in four parts (second staff), somewhere in this process determined the chordal roots (for Kirnberger, the "fundamental bass") and chordal quality (bottom staff), and then pared back the texture to three parts in relatively close position (see Figure 78).[10] The point to note here is that the first texture in which Zelter has Mendelssohn realize harmonies is four-part homophony. As such, Zelter seems to intend this texture as basically uninterpreted, a representation of tonal harmony in general; moreover, it is also from this texture that Mendelssohn derives the ultimate, three-part texture—one likely intended for keyboard, since it adheres to keyboard conventions.[11] If Zelter did not conceive of the four-part texture as some uninterpreted representation of harmony, why would he not have Mendelssohn simply begin realizing the setting in three parts?

The approach of representing harmony by means of a four-part homophonic texture is also observable in the chorale-based exercises, which are without exception in four parts. That these, too, are primarily studies in music-theoretical fundamentals and not composition, per se, is clear. First, the only information in these exercises is in most cases that pertaining to pitches and their organization. Second, the format of their visual presentation—on four separate staves with figures—does not correspond to conventions for a particular instrumentation. Third, Zelter makes no effort to indicate the name or origins of chorale tunes; he deploys these simply as ready-to-hand *cantus firmi*. One difference with these exercises as compared with the thoroughbass exercises, however, is the greater emphasis on voice-leading, since the four parts

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[10] This is Todd's interpretation of the exercises: ibid., 20–21.

[11] Todd makes a similar observation here, describing a four-part textures as "the norm" and "five-part and three-part writing as special, deferred cases" (ibid., 10). That the exercise is at base music-theoretical is also, of course, reinforced by the fact that Mendelssohn must determine chordal roots and qualities in the same exercise.

here are set on individual staves. Moreover, the fact that the clefs used are those conventional for a SATB choir suggests a vocal conception; this conceded, absent any other vocal elements—a text or slurs, for example—this vocality remains notional, not actual. Finally, the later chorale-centered exercises involving eighth-note motives that bridge half-note durations suggests that this four-part, notionally vocal, homophonic texture is not only a default representation of harmony, but also a framework of sorts: as in Kirnberger's elaboration procedure in *Die Kunst*, this texture serves as a basis from which to elaborate a more complicated texture. To be sure, Zelter does not take this approach as far as does Kirnberger, given that the transition from these four-part textures to similar exercises of different numbers of parts is less smooth: for example, Zelter also incorporates exercises pertaining to text-setting along the way, and he introduces textures with a different number of parts simultaneously with invertible counterpoint. Moreover, Zelter does not require Mendelssohn to pursue an exercise in the opposite direction—namely, the stripping of notes from musical repertoire into a more homophonic representation of it. Yet Zelter's adherence to a conception of musical structure as four-parted is nonetheless unmistakable.

There are also significant differences between Zelter's approach in his exercises for Mendelssohn and Kirnberger's approach in *Die Kunst*. For example, while both do treat of text-setting, Zelter does so within the study of harmony, whereas Kirnberger does so in his volume on expression, not his volume on harmony.[12] Moreover, Zelter has Mendelssohn set a number of *cantus firmi* that seem not to be chorale tunes, even if their features resemble those of the chorale tunes he uses—in half notes, with largely step-wise melodic motion, in short phrases, and so on. Zelter also includes a text-setting exercise for Mendelssohn, whereas text-setting in Kirnberger's

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[12] Kirnberger discusses text-setting in various parts of *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes*, Volume 2, Book 1; the discussion of *Die Kunst* in Chapter 5 dealt almost exclusively with Volume 1.

Die Kunst largely belongs in the treatise's second volume, and the chorale settings that Zelter

assigns are all four-part and notionally vocal, whereas Kirnberger offers a variety of line

cardinalities and even instrumentations. One significant difference between Zelter's and

Kirnberger's approaches, however, lies the absence of connection to J. S. Bach in the former's

curriculum. This lack of connection is remarkable in that Zelter not only admired Bach's music,

but also worked with it extensively—with both the *Singakademie*, which he directed beginning

in 1800, and the *Ripienschule*, which he founded in 1807.[13] In fact, Zelter even worked closely

with a collection of Bach's chorale harmonizations assembled by his teacher Carl Friedrich

Christian Fasch, as I will discuss below. If Zelter found working with both chorales and four-part

homophony so pedagogically fecund, why would he not have used these pieces as models, as

Emanuel Bach proposes in his preface to Birnstiel 1765 and Kirnberger in his *Die Kunst*?

Naturally, Zelter does not comment on this decision in the exercises; but an examination of

Fasch's collection of these pieces may shed light on this question, as I show below.[14]

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[13] Hans-Günter Ottenberg, "Zelter, Carl Friedrich," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/. Interestingly, Donald Mintz writes of Zelter's "reluctance" to perform Bach's music publicly and observes that, "despite the fact that Zelter like Fasch before him directed frequent rehearsals of Bach's choral music with the Berlin Sing-Akademie, he gave no public performances of Bach" (Mintz, "Aspects of the Bach Revival," 206).

[14] Although Todd claims that "the basic thrust of his [i.e., Zelter's] instruction seems to be to imitate and transmit to Mendelssohn various stylistic elements of Bach's chorale settings" (Todd, *Mendelssohn's Musical Education*, 29; see also 7), the evidence that he presents for this rests on some generic features shared by Mendelssohn's and Bach's settings of chorale tunes. Todd also speculates that Zelter may have selected the chorale tunes that he assigns Mendelssohn to harmonize from Breitkopf 1784–87 (ibid., 28), but there is no reason to think that this collection would be of any more use than any other "readily available chorale collection," since all that Zelter would have borrowed is tunes—not entire settings, for example. Moreover, while Todd notes that several of the tunes that Zelter assigns Mendelssohn are also in Breitkopf 1784–87, these tunes are different in several significant respects in the two sources, including with regard to key, rhythm, and pitch.

6.2 Whence Zelter's curriculum?

Before proceeding, it should be noted that Zelter did not in fact derive his approach from Kirnberger, despite similarities between these approaches and contrary to claims to this effect by Larry R. Todd and other scholars.[15] To begin with, Zelter almost certainly did not study with Kirnberger. As Zelter himself reports, Kirnberger died in the same year that he originally sought composition lessons—but he studied with Fasch, not Kirnberger; and this report is the last time that Zelter mentions Kirnberger in his autobiographical writings.[16] Not once in this rather detailed autobiography, moreover, does Zelter mention Kirnberger's *Die Kunst*.[17]

It seems far more likely that Zelter derived his approach from his training with Fasch. Zelter's description of his training with Fasch, which he calls "a systematic harmony course,"

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[15] In his description of the exercises, Todd writes that "from Kirnberger, Zelter borrowed the theoretical basis for much of Mendelssohn's training in composition," and he calls Kirnberger, along with Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch, one of Zelter's teachers: ibid., 9 (see also 2, 8, 26, as well as Todd's biography of Mendelssohn, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music*, 4, 38–39, 44). Douglass Seaton also calls Kirnberger "[Zelter's] teacher" (Seaton, "Composition Course," 127), and in a review of Todd's monograph on these exercises, Eric Werner writes that "Todd's presentation of Zelter's dependence on the authority of Kirnberger is, while not new, very well documented" (Werner, Review of Todd, *Mendelssohn's Musical Education*, 785). This belief seems to persist in more recent writings: Christian Filips calls Kirnberger Zelter's teacher in a 2009 publication: see Filips (ed.), *Der Singemeister Carl Friedrich Zelter*, 98. While in her 2013 dissertation (which Todd supervised), Angela Regina Mace nowhere mentions Kirnberger, she does cite Todd's *Mendelssohn's Musical Education* as an authority on Mendelssohn's "pedagogical lineage" that "through Zelter can be traced back to Bach" (Mace, "Formation of Mendelssohnian Style," 93).

[16] Zelter, *Zelters Darstellungen seines Lebens*, 128: "Ich faßte nun den Entschluß, den ordentlichen Kursus der Harmonie bei Fasch zu lernen." Zelter also writes that "diesem würdigen Herren Fasch habe ich das Gute, was manche meiner Kompositionen haben mögen, gänzlich zu danken" (ibid., 6). In fact, Kirnberger attempted to dissuade Zelter from pursuing a career in music: ibid., 129–33, 135. Zelter later reported that "seit der Zeit [i.e., his audience with Kirnberger] hätte ich keine Lust, eine Note zu schreiben" (ibid., 138). It should also be noted that the entries for Zelter in *Grove Music Online* and *MGG Online* make no mention of Kirnberger.

[17] Zelter gives no indication that he is slighting Kirnberger; on the contrary, he clearly esteemed Kirnberger considerably, whether through his devastation at Kirnberger's discouraging his compositional aspirations, or Zelter coming to Kirnberger's defense in the *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung* in 1793 in response to an "anecdote" demeaning his character in an earlier issue of the publication. Zelter writes of Kirnberger that the latter "war kein grosser ausübender Künstler, das gestand er freiwilling, aber ein gründlicher und mittheilender Harmonist": Carl Friedrich Zelter, "Etwas zur Vertheidigung Kirnbergers," *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung* 33 (1793): 130. While Zelter here describes Kirnberger's *Kunst des reinen Satzes* as "noch unübertroffen" and observes that "er gab in seinen dürstigsten Umständen unentgeltlichen Unterricht in der Musik" (ibid., 130–31), he makes no mention of having studied under him.

bears some significant similarities to the curriculum reflected in his instruction of Mendelssohn.[18]

> At first, he allowed me to compose according to my inclination. Then we pursued a systematic method, which I preferred more and more as the work became easier. For a long while, I wrote four-part chorales before turning to five-part ones. Next we progressed to counterpoint and canon, which gave me intense joy….Eventually, we did three-part composition….From here, I turned to the so-called character piece and the French dance, and with that, the method *per se* was finished and the fugue begun, which I postponed until I might be more prepared for it.[19]

The most striking similarity of Zelter's curriculum with Fasch's is the general frame—that is, [thoroughbass,] chorales, counterpoint, canon, and fugue. Here, the chorale serves as a transition from thoroughbass—which largely serves to capture harmony at a basic level—and more complex textures.[20] To be sure, the fit is not perfect: Zelter does not include character pieces or French dances, nor does he include five-part chorale settings.[21] But Zelter's approach does seem close enough to Fasch to consider it inherited from his teacher, even if adapted—perhaps in light of his student's needs. There is therefore no need to attribute Zelter's approach to Kirnberger's influence—if indeed there were any evidence for such a connection.

To be sure, it is theoretically possible that Fasch derived his curriculum from Kirnberger, and thus that Zelter inherited it from Kirnberger indirectly. But while Fasch had several interactions with Kirnberger, Zelter records nothing suggesting that Fasch and Kirnberger's

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[18] "…den ordentlichen Kursus der Harmonie" (Zelter, *Zelters Darstellungen seines Lebens*, 128). See also his more detailed description in Zelter, *Zelters Darstellungen seines Lebens*, 155–56; Todd offers a translation of most of this passage in Todd, *Mendelssohn's Musical Education*, 9–10 (see also Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music*, 39).
[19] Todd, *Mendelssohn's Musical Education*, 9–10
[20] I place thoroughbass in brackets because Zelter does not mention it—but it seems safe to assume that he intended it, as Todd observes (ibid., 10), given how standard a starting point in composition pedagogy it was.
[21] Arguably, Zelter does align with Fasch on "three-part composition," as he moves to three-part counterpoint in the comparable position in his curriculum; but the fit is admittedly debatable, since it is not clear that Zelter would include counterpoint under "composition."

relationship was one through which Kirnberger may have influenced Fasch in any relevant respect.[22] A more likely possibility is that Fasch developed his own harmony *Kursus* from that of Emanuel Bach, with whom he served as harpsichordist in Frederick the Great's court—Bach as the first harpsichordist and Fasch the second. And indeed, different statements of Bach's resemble Fasch's curriculum, if in a more basic form. As seen above, Bach recommends in the preface to Birnstiel 1765/69 that composition studies lean substantially on chorales, as do both Fasch and Zelter's curriculums. But there is also Emanuel Bach's famous description of his father's pedagogy in a letter to Johann Nikolaus Forkel, his father's earliest biographer. In a 1775 letter responding to questions that Forkel had posed, Emanuel writes,

> In composition, he started his pupils right in with what was practical and omitted all the *dry species* of counterpoint that are given in Fux and others. His pupils had to begin their studies by learning pure four-part thorough bass. From this, he went to chorales; first he added the basses to them himself, and they had to invent the alto and tenor. Then he taught them to devise the basses themselves. He particularly insisted on the writing out of the thorough bass in parts. In teaching fugues, he began with two-part ones, and so on.

> The realization of a thorough bass and the introduction to chorales are without doubt the best method of studying composition, as far as harmony is concerned.[23]

This approach resembles Fasch's curriculum as described by Zelter—even if a compressed version thereof, since Emanuel only mentions thoroughbass, chorales, and fugues, the latter

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[22] By Zelter's account, Fasch seems to have tolerated Kirnberger more than did most Berlin musicians, also correcting and instructing Kirnberger on occasion (Zelter, *Karl Friedrich Christian Fasch*, 59; on Kirnberger's often tumultuous relationship with the Berlin musical world, see Jerold, "Kirnberger versus Marpurg"). Zelter seems to associate Kirnberger above all with canons: he records Kirnberger as having attracted both Fasch and Emanuel Bach to the writing of canons, even if Kirnberger sought Fasch's help in resolving a particularly difficult canon (Zelter, *Karl Friedrich Christian Fasch*, 59–60; see also Zelter, "Etwas zur Vertheidigung Kirnbergers," 131). Todd does suggest that Fasch derived his own instruction from Kirnberger, writing that "Kirnberger exercised a profound influence on Fasch's own teaching," although he provides no evidence for this claim: see Todd, *Mendelssohn's Musical Education*, 9.

[23] *NBR* 399.

beginning with two parts and proceeding to more. Not to be overlooked, moreover, is Emanuel Bach's emphasis that thoroughbass be written, since the practice is historically a fundamentally performed one; while Zelter does not mention thoroughbass in his report of Fasch's curriculum—Todd rightly asserts that its presence is assumed—it is obviously a written practice in Zelter's curriculum.[24]

What would be the implications if Fasch derived his curriculum from Emanuel Bach? The first implication is that it would increase Emanuel Bach's importance in the history of chorale-based instruction—that is, beyond that constituted by his involvement with Birnstiel 1765/69, in both its conceptualization and creation. The second implication is that it similarly traces chorale-based instruction back to Sebastian Bach—again, apart from Birnstiel 1765/69. To be sure, these represent different strands from Birnstiel 1765/69: while Sebastian Bach evidently used chorale harmonization in instructing his students, he did so on the four-staff, more vocal score found in Kirnberger's *Die Kunst* and Zelter's instruction of Mendelssohn—and in Fasch's collection of Bach's four-part chorale settings, which I will discuss in the next section. To be sure, Emanuel Bach may not be the only source from which Fasch derived his approach; the approach may have simply been common to Sebastian Bach's circle—a collaborative, even distributed development, just like Birnstiel 1765/69. Yet this possibility, too, would position Sebastian Bach at the headwater of this river—even if his followers significantly altered his approach, whether reconceptualizing his chorale settings, as does his son in Birnstiel 1765/69, or Fasch does in his substantial additions to the curriculum that Emanuel Bach describes.

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[24] Todd, *Mendelssohn's Musical Education*, 10.

6.3 Zelter's Additions to Fasch's Collection of Chorale Settings by Bach

While Mendelssohn's exercises from his studies under Zelter contain no sign of Sebastian

Bach's music, and thus shed no light on Zelter's conception of Bach's four-part chorale settings,

there is another source that does shed such light: a manuscript collection of Bach's four-part

chorale settings compiled by Fasch in 1762.[25] Zelter studied this document extensively, as his

careful interventions across the collection indicate—detailed corrections of notes, additions of

accidentals, and so on. Zelter clearly found the document useful in the state in which Fasch left

it, as his own close study of it decades later evidences.[26] His most suggestive interventions,

however, are more substantial and include the addition of two settings at the end of the

collection. These two settings offer a valuable means of comparing Fasch's and Zelter's

conception of these pieces; it is therefore on these two settings that I will focus in this section.

Before discussing Zelter's interventions in this manuscript, I will describe the document

as Fasch conceived it. He created it in 1762; this makes the document, as Hans-Joachim Schulze

observes, "the earliest extant Berlin layer in the transmission of Bach chorales."[27] The

manuscript consists of a title page, an index of chorale harmonizations, the harmonizations

themselves, and then a series of empty ruled pages. The title page describes the collection as

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[25] Bach and Bach, *Vier Stimmige Chorœle* (shelfmark: Berlin, (D-Bsa) SA 818). On this document, see Wolfram Ensslin et al., eds., *Die Bach-Quellen der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin: Katalog* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2006), and Hans-Joachim Schulze, "'Vierstimmige Choraele aus den Kirchen Stücken des Herrn J. S. Bachs zusammen getragen' : Eine Handschrift Carl Friedrich Faschs in der Bibliothek der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin," *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung, Preußischer Kulturbesitz,* 2001, 9–30. As Schulze describes, not all of the settings in this manuscript are by Sebastian Bach: six complete settings and part of a seventh are by Emanuel Bach (Schulze, "Vierstimmige Choraele," 10). Schulze addresses Zelter's contributions but little in his discussion of this collection.

[26] It is unclear when Zelter made his interventions, since he did not date them as Fasch did his. As I briefly discuss below, Wolfram Enßlin, in his catalogue of sources in the collection of the Berlin Sing-Academie that Fasch founded and Zelter took over, records other chorale settings by J. S. Bach that Zelter copied in 1820 (*Bach-Quellen der Sing-Akademie*, 170–71).

[27] Schulze, "Vierstimmige Choraele," 10 ("Die Fasch-Abschrift repräsentiert demnach die früheste erhaltene Berliner Schicht in der Überlieferung Bachscher Chorāle").

"Four-part Chorales Collected from the Church Music of J. S. Bach."[28] The index lists chorale

incipits with page numbers, and the chorale harmonizations—of which there are 135 in all—

follow immediately. As Schulze reports, six of these settings were in fact composed by Emanuel

Bach *in toto* and another partially; and so, leaving aside several duplicates, the number of chorale

harmonizations uniquely by Sebastian Bach is in fact 122.[29]

     With regard to the disposition of the musical text, Fasch's collection lies somewhere in

between Bach's autograph full score, as discussed in Chapter 2 above, and the first two

collections that I discussed in Chapter 5—namely, Birnstiel 1765/69 and Breitkopf 1784–87.

Fasch's collection resembles Bach's autograph in disposing settings on four staves, with the

older clefs proper to an SATB vocal ensemble (Figure 82). Yet this is where the similarity to

Bach's original ends; like Birnstiel 1765/69, Fasch's collection omits any obbligato lines or

instrumental interludes, as well as the additional continuo line and its figures, leaving only four

mostly homophonic lines. It also omits not only texts for singing, but the vestiges of such text as

well, like slurs or flagging.[30] Fasch's collection also identifies settings like Birnstiel 1765/69—

that is, with a short text and a number—and the order of settings reflects no discernible scheme,

apart from the occasional clustering of settings with the same tune.[31] Finally, settings never cross

page turns, even if they occasionally cross an opening. The most noteworthy difference between

Fasch's collection and the early editions, then, is the former's dispersal of the four onto separate

staves, each with a clef proper to it, while the latter condenses the texture onto two staves with a

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[28] The title reads in German, "Vier Stimmige / Choräle, / aus den Kirchen Stücken des Herrn / J. S. Bachs / zusammen getragen." The word "Herrn" is written over a scratched-out "seeligen."
[29] Schulze, "Vierstimmige Choraele," 10.
[30] Ibid., 14.
[31] Most pages in fact show multiple numbers, reflecting multiple numbering schemes at work; Schulze believes that these numbers refer to Fasch's original source (that no longer exists; ibid., 14–15). It should be noted that some settings—as Figure 6.5—show a date on the bottom of the page; these dates, which range from February 11, 1762 to March 18, 1762, presumably indicate the date on which Fasch entered the settings to which dates are appended.

soprano and a bass clef, respectively; in all other respects, Fasch's collection hews to the early editions. Given the lack of musical material that diverges from relatively close four-part homophony, as well as the lack of text for singing (and vestiges thereof), settings in Fasch's collection are not essentially different in conception than those in the early editions; that is, they remain music-theoretical objects presented for contemplation and study of harmony and voice-leading principles, not for performance. The four parts' separation onto separate staves only has the effect of emphasizing the unique trajectories of individual lines, with a concomitant deemphasis of the simultaneities formed by these parts.[32]

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[32] The similarities of Fasch's collection with an earlier collection created around 1735 by of one of Sebastian Bach's students, Johann Ludwig Dietel, are striking: this collection is disposed on four staves but without a text for singing. The main difference is the presence in the Dietel collection of occasional slurring and flagging, both of which are suggestive of a vocal conception, as well as of occasional figures under the bass line. This collection does also incorporate the odd obbligato line, grace note, change of meter, and first and second endings as well. In these respects, the Dietel collection hews closer to Bach's original conception of these pieces, as discussed in Chapter 2, even if overall it still seems disposed for the study of harmony and voice-leading principles. The Dietel collection is housed in the Bach-Archiv Leipzig under the shelfmark D-LEb Peters Ms. R 18. That there exist these two collections with a basic conception similar to Birnstiel 1765/69 suggest precedents to that edition—even if, as Emanuel Bach insists in his preface to it, Birnstiel 1765/69 is novel in its execution of this conception. For more the Dietel collection, see Smend, "Zu den ältesten Sammlungen"; and Hans-Joachim Schulze, "'150 Stück von den Bachischen Erben': Zur Überlieferung der vierstimmigen Choräle Johann Sebastian Bachs." *Bach-Jahrbuch* 69 (1983): 81–100.

Figure 82: J. S. Bach, chorale setting "Warum betrübst du dich," in Bach and Bach, *Vier Stimmige Choräle*, 153.

To return to Zelter, the two settings that Fasch's student adds clearly differ from his

teacher's in conception of Bach's chorale settings: whereas Fasch presents the settings that he

enters into the manuscript as repositories of harmony and voice-leading principles, Zelter

presents the two settings that he contributes as fundamentally vocal and rooted in a rich liturgical context. While Zelter preserves Fasch's open-score notation, with one part on each of the four staves and with the older SATB clefs, he also draws significantly from vocal aspects of the pieces as Bach originally composed them: for one thing, Zelter prefers vocal parts over instrumental ones and preserves vestiges of the text that Bach set—and in one setting, the original text itself. Moreover, he appends to both settings a note indicating the position in the liturgical calendar of the cantatas from which each setting is drawn. In short, Zelter's versions of these settings stress the vocal and liturgical aspects to a degree not observed in the collections of Bach's chorale harmonizations thus far examined, a conception of these pieces much more as musical works than as music-theoretical objects.

Zelter intervenes in the manuscript in a variety of ways. Some of these interventions clearly represent refinements to Fasch's contributions. For example, Zelter enters minor corrections of notes and accidentals to a number of the settings that Fasch entered.[33] He also adds alternate identifiers to those that Fasch originally supplied, just as Fasch did for other of his entries. Given that only one of Zelter's additions of this type corresponds to the traditional name for one of these tunes, his intent here seems similar to Fasch's—that is, to facilitate the comparison of different settings of a given chorale identified according to the different verses set.[34] Apart from these, Zelter also adds an entry to the collection's index and supplies figures to

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[33] As the RISM record for this document notes, these are in red and brown ink: see "Collection 135 Chorales" (https://opac.rism.info/metaopac/search?View=rism&id=469081800).

[34] Johann Sebastian Bach and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, "Vier Stimmige Choræle, aus den Kirchen Stücken des Herrn J. S. Bachs zusammen Getragen" (n.p., 1762), 41 and 122, Berlin, (D-Bsa) SA 818. Specifically, above the title for "Es ist das Heil uns kommen Herr," Zelter writes, "Sey Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gott," and above that of "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," he writes, "Herzlich tut mich verlangen p. 70 dieselbe Melodie." (For attributions to Zelter, see Enßlin, *Bach-Quellen der Sing-Akademie*, 164 and 166.) It should be noted that Schulze expresses doubt as to whether the second of these is in fact Zelter's modification: Schulze, "Vierstimmige Choraele," 20.

the lowest line in a number of places.[35] That he intervenes at such a level of detail and across the collection suggests that he engaged with it closely under Fasch's conception—that is, where settings are music-theoretical objects.
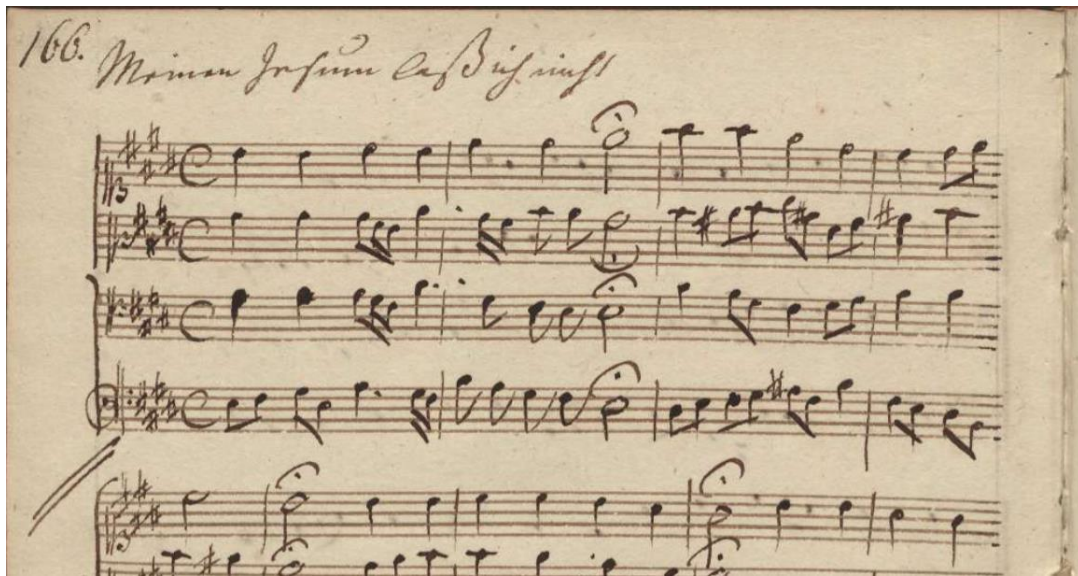
Figure 83: J. S. Bach, chorale setting "Meinen Jesum laß ich nicht," bb. 1–3; in Bach and Bach, *Vier Stimmige Choräle*, 166.

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[35] See, for example, "Jesu nun sey gepreiset" and "Vater unser im Himmelreich" (Bach and Bach, "Vier Stimmige Choraele," 60 and 82). The supposition of Zelter making an index entry is based on the appearance in the index of one of the incipits that he adds, "Sey Lob und Ehr dem höchsten," to the one that Fasch had already supplied, as just discussed.
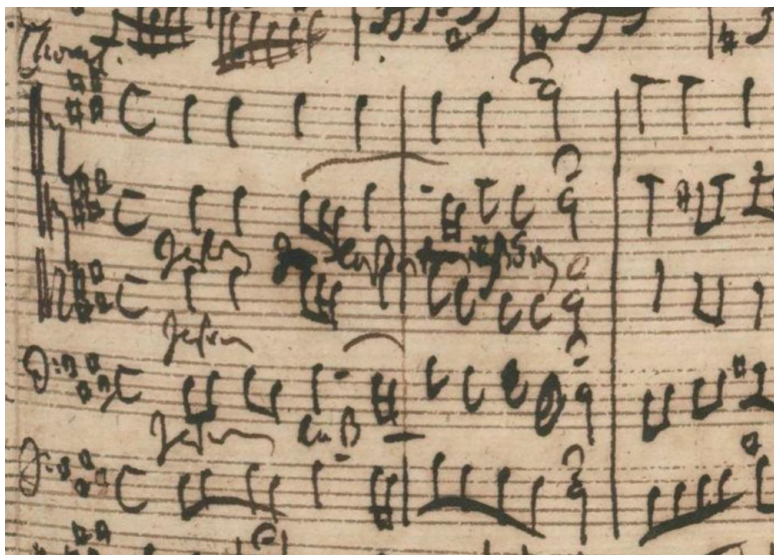
Figure 84: J. S. Bach, chorale harmonization "Jesum laß ich nicht von mir," bb. 1–2; in cantata "Meinen Jesum laß ich nicht" (BWV 124). D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 876 (source: Bach-Digital; in J. S. Bach's hand).

Figure 85: J. S. Bach, chorale harmonization "Jesum laß ich nicht von mir," bb. 1–3; in cantata "Meinen Jesum laß ich nicht" (BWV 124); Helms (ed.) *Neue-Bach Ausgabe*, Series 1, Vol. 5, p. 142.

Zelter also adds two chorale settings to this collection, and these suggest a rather different conception of Bach's four-part chorale settings. The first setting that Zelter enters is identified by

the text incipit, "Meinen Jesum laß ich nicht" (Figure 83).[36] At first blush, the visual format of this setting closely resembles that of the settings Fasch had previously entered into the manuscript: Zelter disposes the musical text on four staves, with one part per staff and SATB clefs. Like Fasch, Zelter also omits an in-score text for singing, but closer inspection reveals vestiges of a text; for example, b. 2 shows flagging in all parts except the soprano, and indeed comparison with the harmonization in the context of the larger work for which it was composed, Bach's cantata "Meinen Jesum lass ich nicht" (BWV 124), reveals that the flagged notes do correspond to individual syllables of the text that Bach set (Figures 84 and 85).[37] In preserving this flagging, then, Zelter also preserves a significant trace of the piece's vocal origins—and thus displays a different conception of this setting from Fasch's.
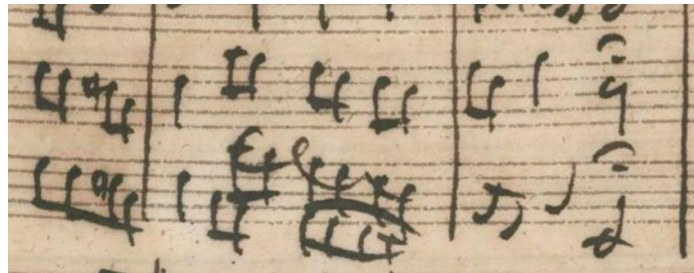
Figure 86: J. S. Bach, chorale harmonization "Jesum laß ich nicht von mir," bb. 8–10, vocal bass and continuo line (both in bass clef and in E major); from cantata "Meinen Jesum laß ich nicht" (BWV 124). D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 876 (source: Bach-Digital; in J. S. Bach's hand).
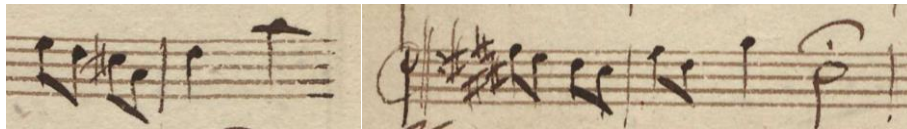
Figure 87: J. S. Bach, chorale harmonization "Meinen Jesum laß ich nicht," bb. 8–10, bass part (in bass clef and in E major). In Bach and Bach, *Vier Stimmige Choräle*, 166 (Zelter's entry).

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[36] Ibid., 166.

[37] I have provided in Figures 6.7 and 6.8 reproductions of both of Bach's manuscript for this source and the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition of the piece, respectively, in light of the lack of clarity in the text of the former. In his manuscript, Bach departs from his more usual practice of supplying the text on the soprano part, instead supplying it to varying degrees in the three lower parts. His reason for doing so is presumably to indicate that these three voices move in this passage in rhythmic counterpoint to the soprano.

Zelter's approach leans toward a vocal conception in other ways as well. Whereas in the collection's other settings, Fasch regularly incorporates instrumental parts—occasionally preserving the continuo line instead of the vocal bass where the two deviate, for instance—Zelter includes only vocal parts in the two settings that he contributes. For example, in bb. 9–10 of one setting—Bach's chorale setting "Jesum laß ich nicht von mir" in his cantata "Meinen Jesum laß ich nicht" (BWV 124)—the continuo line in Bach's original is an octave lower than the vocal bass line (Figure 86);[38] of these two lines, Zelter incorporates the vocal bass, not the continuo line (Figure 87).[39] Zelter similarly prefers the vocal reading elsewhere in the setting. In the tenor part of Bach's manuscript of the piece, the E4 and C#4 at the beginning of b. 5 are flagged separately, and the D#4 and E4 eighth notes at the end of the bar also show a beaming division (Figure 88); these notes are thus flagged and beamed to reflect the correspondence of individual syllables to eighth notes, in the first case, and the interruption of a new syllable on the E4, in the second case, to reflect the setting's text ("Christus lässt mich für___und"). In the original parts of the viola line in the same passage, by contrast, these eighth notes are beamed together (Figure 89). Of these two versions, Zelter chooses the vocal one (Figure 90). He follows the same practice, moreover, in two other places where vocal and instrumental parts diverge.[40]

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[38] As Figure 6.9 shows, this change was apparently an afterthought for Bach, since it seems to replace a struck-out version that, at least for six eighth notes, proceeds in unison with the vocal bass. It should be noted that there is a discrepancy between the reading in Bach's original manuscript for this cantata and the version in the Fasch manuscript: where the former has a B3 eighth note connecting the C#4 and A3 in beats 2 and 3 of b. 9, the latter only has a quarter-note C#4. This discrepancy seems inconsequential here—although it may, of course, indicate what sources were involved in the version Zelter transcribed. Birnstiel 1765/69 does not contain this setting.

[39] Zelter also prefers the vocal bass's reading over that of the continuo in discrepancies in b. 3 and the setting's final bar.

[40] See b. 1 (alto and tenor), b. 4 (soprano and alto), and b. 12 (alto and tenor).
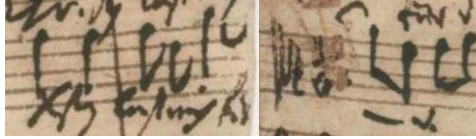
Figure 88: J. S. Bach, chorale setting "Jesum laß ich nicht von mir," bb. 5–6, tenor part (in tenor clef and E major). D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 876 (source: Bach-Digital; in J. S. Bach's hand).

Figure 89: J. S. Bach, chorale setting "Jesum laß ich nicht von mir," bb. 5–6; from cantata "Meinen Jesum laß ich nicht" (BWV 124), viola part (in alto clef and in E major). D-LEb Thomana 124 (source: Bach-Digital; in J. S. Bach's hand).
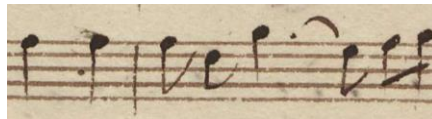
Figure 90: J. S. Bach, chorale setting "Meinen Jesum laß ich nicht," bb. 5–6, tenor part (in tenor clef and in E major); in Bach and Bach, *Vier Stimmige Choräle*, 166 (Zelter's entry).

In addition to preserving some of the original vocal aspects of this piece, Zelter also acknowledges its liturgical aspects. At the end of his setting, he has scrawled a note that reads, "Taken from the church music: First Sunday after Epiphany: 'Meinen Jesum laß ich nicht,' in E major" (Figure 91).[41] The reference is apparently to the Sunday for which Bach wrote the cantata from which this setting came, and the reference to "Meinen Jesum" is likely to that of the cantata—which, as a so-called chorale cantata, is based on the chorale that bears that name.[42]

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[41] "Aus der Kirchen- / musik: Dominic. / 1. post Epiphan: / Meinen Jesum / laß ich nicht. / aus E dur": ibid., 167.

[42] See Dürr, *Cantatas of Bach*, 186–88. Interestingly, Bach's manuscript for the piece carries essentially the same inscription: on the first page of this manuscript he has written, "Dominica 1 post Epiphan: | Meinen Jesum laß ich nicht": D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 876.

Zelter's inclusion of this information indicates that he considered this liturgical aspect relevant to the setting, that he conceived of the setting as connected to a specific performance context.
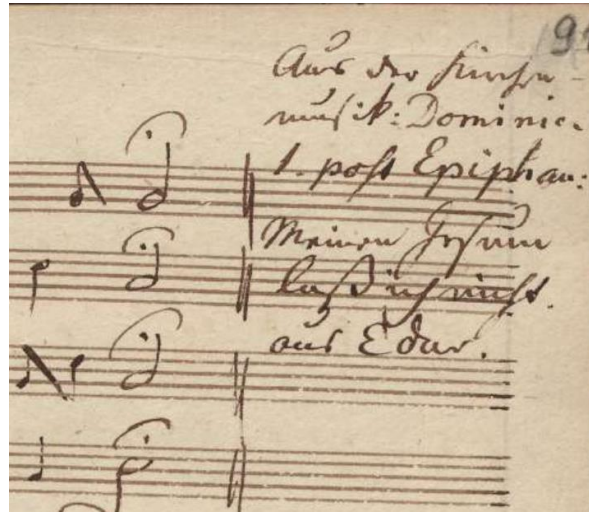
Figure 91: Handwritten note at end of J. S. Bach, chorale setting "Meinen Jesum laß ich nicht," in Bach and Bach, *Vier Stimmige Choräle*, 167.

The second chorale setting that Zelter adds similarly incorporates vocal and liturgical aspects—indeed, even more so than the first setting. The format of this setting, which Zelter identifies as "Die Kön'ge aus Saba kommen dar," resembles that of the previous, with its open score, distribution of parts one to a staff, and clefs particular to each of the four SATB parts (Figure 92). Zelter once again adds a note in the margin at the end of this setting referring to the liturgical position of the cantata for which the chorale was originally set, "Sie werden aus Saba alle kommen" (BWV 65); the note reads, "From the church music [of] the feast of Epiphany."[43] As with the previous setting, there are some divergences in Bach's original version between the vocal lines and the doubling instrumental parts. In such cases, Zelter prefers the former; for

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[43] "Aus der / Kirchen / Musik / festo / Epiphan" (Bach and Bach, *Vier Stimmige Choraele*, 167).

example, Bach in his original version has flutes double the soprano line at the octave, but Zelter follows the soprano rather than the flutes (Figure 93 and 94). Perhaps the most striking indication of a vocal conception in play here, however, is Zelter's inclusion of the entire text that Bach set.[44] That Zelter provides the text only under the topmost part in no way mitigates the vocal conception, however: this was Bach's practice as well.[45]

Figure 92: J. S. Bach, chorale setting "Die Kön'ge aus Saba kommen dar," bb. 1–7; in Bach and Bach, *Vier Stimmige Choräle*, 167.

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[44] For this text, see Dürr, *Cantatas of Bach*, 172–75. The presence of an in-score text may explain why Zelter carries over only one of the text-related slurs that appear in the vocal parts and but not in the instrumental parts (viz., b. 8, tenor). Alternatively, this may also owe haste or sloppiness than his conception of the piece, since Zelter also omits ties that both instrumental and vocal parts show (see alto, bb. 14–15).

[45] On Bach's practice in this regard, see Chapter 2. Figure 6.16 also shows the incipit of the text to be sung, but here on the bass line. To eliminate confusion, I have omitted from the reproduction of this manuscript an additional text added by J. C. F. Bach below the continuo part.

Figure 93: J. S. Bach, chorale setting "Die Kön'ge aus Saba kommen dar," bb. 1–7; in cantata "Sie werden aus Saba alle kommen" (BWV 65). D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 147 (source: Bach-Digital; in J. S. Bach's hand).

Figure 94: J. S. Bach, chorale harmonization "Die Kön'ge aus Saba kommen dar," bb. 1–7; in cantata "Sie werden aus Saba alle kommen" (BWV 65). Helms (ed.), *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Series 1, Vol. 5, p. 28.

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The presence of the text evidently also affects how Zelter identifies the setting. Traditionally, chorale harmonizations are identified by the incipit of the chorale's original text—that is, of its first verse—which in this case would be either "Puer natus in Bethlehem" or its German translation, "Ein Kind geborn zu Bethlehem."[46] In fact, the Latin version is how the tune is identified in Birnstiel 1765/69.[47] But the text by which Zelter identifies the setting is the first line of the text that Bach set—the chorale's fourth verse. This reinforces his sensitivity to the setting's vocality and the specific occasion for which it was set: this is for Zelter a setting of this specific verse, which was chosen for a specific Sunday in Epiphany. The compilers of Birnstiel 1765/69, in using the chorale's incipit, present the setting as simply a setting of the chorale tune, without reference to a specific one and its themes.

Figure 95: J. S. Bach, chorale harmonization "Puer natus in Bethlehem," bb. 1–4; in Bach and Bach, *Vier Stimmige Choräle*, 20.

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[46] As with many chorale tunes, this tune was adapted from a tune of earlier origin; see Johannes Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder aus den Quellen* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1889), no. 192b.
[47] Birnstiel 1765/69, 6.

Curiously, this second addition by Zelter does not introduce a new setting into the collection: Fasch had already entered it among his contributions. The two versions therefore afford not only a helpful comparison between Zelter's and Fasch's approaches, but perhaps also an indication of one of the collection's uses. Fasch's version, the twentieth entry in the collection, differs with Zelter's version in several respects.[48] First, as was his general practice, Fasch includes neither text nor any information about the setting's liturgical position. Second, he identifies the setting according to the tune's Latin name, "Puer natus in Bethlehem," not according to the incipit of the verse of the German translation that Bach actually set. Third, although the two settings are identical in their pitch material, Zelter's version responds to the text that Bach actually set in ways that Fasch's version does not. This is most obvious in the first full bar: where Zelter transcribes three quarter notes in all voices to correspond to the text's syllables (Figure 92), Fasch provides only a half note–quarter note rhythm (Figure 95). Less prominent but still significant in this regard is a tie found in Fasch's version connecting two notes across the bar line separating bb. 9 and 10, where Zelter's version has none—presumably because these two notes correspond to two different syllables (Figures 96 and 97).[49] The comparison of these two settings thus clearly illustrates Fasch's and Zelter's different attitude toward Bach's chorale harmonizations: Zelter stresses vocal and liturgical aspects that Fasch omits outright.[50]

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[48] Bach and Bach, *Vier Stimmige Chorœle*, 21.

[49] I omit from consideration here the tie that Fasch employs in the alto line between bb. 14 and 15, since if Zelter followed the text that he included in his copy, a tie would appear here in his copy as well. His omission of a tie here seems owing to his inconsistency on slurs and ties in this setting, as mentioned above.

[50] Perhaps unsurprisingly, the version of this setting found in both Birnstiel 1765/69 and Breitkopf 1784–87 editions is that of Fasch. (This setting is no. 12 in both editions.) It is intriguing that despite their differences, both Fasch's and Zelter's versions contain a reading found in neither the Birnstiel nor the Breitkopf edition: in the lowest part in b. 5, both settings show an E3, where both the Birnstiel and Breitkopf editions (as well as the Becker and Erk editions made in the nineteenth century) show a C3. Bach's own full-score manuscript of this setting in his cantata "Sie werden aus Saba alle kommen" (D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 147) shows an unusually large notehead on both bass and continuo parts that extends from C3 to E3, and thus on its own would permit either reading. (Unfortunately, the parts for this cantata seem to be lost.) The discrepancy between Fasch and Zelter's reading, on one hand, and that of Birnstiel 1765/69 and Breitkopf 1784–87, on the other, may have implications for the source from which Fasch and Zelter work working. This matter warrants further investigation.

Figure 96: J. S. Bach, Chorale setting "Puer natus in Bethlehem," bb. 9–10 (soprano and alto parts; clefs are soprano and alto, respectively). In Bach and Bach, *Vier Stimmige Choräle*, 21 (Fasch's entry). D-Bsa SA 818.
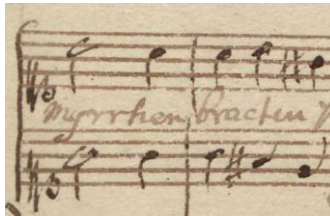
Figure 97: J. S., Bach, Chorale harmonization "Die Kön'ge aus Saba kommen dar," bb. 9–10 (soprano and alto parts). In Bach and Bach, *Vier Stimmige Choräle*, 167 (Zelter's entry). D-Bsa SA 818.

Zelter's conception of Bach's chorale settings as revealed in this collection may suggest why he does not incorporate them into his instruction of Mendelssohn. In this instruction, the chorale is an abstract bearer of harmony and voice-leading principles. While his engagement with the rest of Fasch's collection clearly indicates his familiarity with conceiving of Bach's chorale settings in this way, Zelter himself presents them as deeply embedded in a specific performance and liturgical setting.[51] It also should be noted here that there exist other exemplars of Bach's chorale harmonizations copied by Zelter that contain features similar to those he added to Fasch's collection, and that some of these date from around 1820.[52] While currently available evidence does not permit dating Zelter's additions to Fasch's collection of these pieces, Zelter's 1820 copies of Bach's chorale settings suggest that he held the same attitude toward Bach's

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[51] Donald Mintz draws a similar conclusion about Zelter's preface to the libretto of *St. Matthew Passion*, which was reprinted in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*: "there is constant emphasis…in Zelter's case, on its [Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*'s] historical validity, and its dramatic structure": Mintz, "Aspects of the Bach Revival," 215.
[52] See Enßlin, "Bach-Quellen der Sing-Akademie," 170–71. Zelter's copies of chorale harmonizations also include settings by other composers, including Johann Christoph Kühnau (ibid., 169–70).

chorale settings as vocal, liturgical musical works at this time—the same time at which he was instructing Mendelssohn. This fact further highlights the absence of Bach's chorale settings from this instruction: incorporating them must have occurred to Zelter.

6.4 Conclusion

An attitude toward Bach's chorale settings emerges in this chapter that differs substantially from that established in the first two editions of Bach's chorale harmonizations. Those two editions present Bach's chorale settings as music-theoretical objects that exemplify harmony and voice-leading principles, completely removed from the context of their performance and intended for contemplation and study rather than singing. While Kirnberger uses the chorale in these ways in his *Die Kunst*, and speaks of Bach's chorale settings in this way, he never uses them in this way. Zelter, in his instruction of Mendelssohn, follows Kirnberger's pattern: he uses the chorale to convey and learn harmony and voice-leading principles, but in his case, Bach's chorale settings are in fact nowhere to be found at all. Yet Bach's chorale settings are apparently still valuable for Zelter—valuable enough that he not only engages with but also adds to his teacher Fasch's manuscript collection. And these additions reflect a quite different attitude toward Bach's chorale settings: rather than music-theoretical objects, they are musical works drawn from liturgical settings. These additions thus offer an alternative to the conception of Bach's chorale settings as music-theoretical objects in the early editions, and one that future music theorists will draw upon, and even add to.

Chapter 7 The Leipzig Conservatorium: Institutionalization and Uncertainty

In this chapter, I examine the work of three mid-nineteenth-century German music theorists. I begin with two essays by Carl Ferdinand Becker concerning Bach's four-part chorale settings and his edition of these pieces. I also examine a discussion of Bach's chorale settings in Adolf Bernhard Marx's *Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition, praktisch-theoretisch*. Finally, I explore two textbooks by Ernst Friedrich Richter: his *Lehrbuch der Harmonie* and his *Lehrbuch des Contrapunkts*. Each of these theorists is connected to Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, whose training under Carl Friedrich Zelter was discussed in the previous chapter: it was Mendelssohn who commissioned Richter's textbooks after he engaged him to teach at the Leipzig Conservatorium at its founding—as he did Becker as organ professor. Marx also was a friend of Mendelssohn's from about 1826 to 1841—and Marx, like Mendelssohn, studied with Zelter for a short time.

I show in these sources the continued divergence of attitudes toward Bach's four-part chorale settings, on one hand, and the chorale in general, on the other, witnessed in Zelter's work. With respect to Bach's chorale settings, Becker struggles with these pieces' failure to conform to norms for chorale harmonizations: they are far too difficult for a congregation to sing. Becker resolves this problem by attributing Emanuel Bach's recasting of these pieces to his father: Sebastian Bach, Becker claims, intended these autonomous pieces as models for study in musical composition. Emerging findings about these pieces that show their origins in larger, liturgical works force Becker to reconsider his position; but while he accedes in word, his

musical edition still presents them as music-theoretical objects. Marx, by contrast, criticizes the presentation of Bach's chorale settings as music-theoretical objects, insisting instead that the larger liturgical drama from which they were extracted exerts an influence on them essential to their interpretation. In Richter's textbooks, the author carefully works out the conception of harmonic structure described in Kirnberger's *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes*, as described in Chapter 5, whereby musical works are best according to a four-part, notionally vocal, homophonic foundation. But Richter also connects the chorale to this conception, as the best way to understand it. Although Richter undoubtedly was familiar with and likely admired Bach's four-part chorale settings, these pieces are nowhere to be found in his textbooks.

7.1 Becker and Bach's Chorale Harmonizations

Carl Ferdinand Becker was thoroughly occupied with Bach's chorale harmonizations in the 1830s. In 1830, he published an essay entitled "On Bach's Chorale Settings." Soon after, he supplied a foreword to the so-called *dritte Auflage* of these pieces—that is, the third edition, evidently considering Birnstiel 1765/69 and Breitkopf 1784–87 the first and second editions, respectively. In the same year as the *dritte Auflage* appeared, 1832, he published the first edition of Bach's figured-bass chorales, and nine years later, in 1841, the first installment of his edition of Bach's four-part chorale settings. Becker's efforts around these pieces during this eleven-year span are therefore considerable. In this section, I discuss his essay, his foreword to the *dritte Auflage*, and his edition of Bach's four-part settings. Collectively, these documents vividly depict Becker's on-going struggle to maintain a conception of these pieces as models for musical composition.

Becker's 1830 essay clearly establishes an anxiety plaguing the scholar: while he states in no uncertain terms his belief that chorales must be harmonized as simply as possible, he also observes the failure of Bach's chorale settings—which he regards highly—to satisfy this desideratum. The scholar resolves this problem by proposing two intended uses for them: first, for study in musical composition, and second, for singing by a group of trained singers. In neither case does he envision a liturgical use. Two editor's notes inserted at the essay's end, however, cast doubt on Becker's claims, citing new research suggesting that the settings originated within larger, sung liturgical works. In his preface to the *dritte Auflage* written two years later, Becker struggles to maintain the conception of Bach's four-part settings expressed in his 1830 essay, in light of the new research. He addresses this research by adding a third intended use that preserves his view of their essentially non-liturgical, autonomous character: the pieces are "interludes" within larger liturgical works. Nine years later, however, Becker seems to have come around: he acknowledges in his preface that the pieces are an integral part of larger sung, liturgical works, even while still allowing their use as models for study. But this is only in word: without text for singing and with settings of the same tune transposed to facilitate comparison, Becker disposes the musical text for study and ease of comparison unlike any other collection of Bach's four-part chorale settings.

7.1.1 "Ueber J. S. Bach's Choralbearbeitung"

The earliest of Becker's writings that I discuss here is an essay entitled "On J. S. Bach's Chorale Settings" that first appeared in 1830.[1] Given that Becker's ultimate aim in this essay is

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[1] Carl Ferdinand Becker, "Ueber J. S. Bach's Choralbearbeitung," *Eutonia* 3 (1829): 126–29. This essay first appeared in *Eutonia*, a journal that, in its first issue in 1829, billed itself as "principally a pedagogical music journal

apparently to introduce his edition of Bach's so-called figured-bass chorale harmonizations, he

spends a surprising amount of time grappling with Bach's four-part chorale settings. The source

of this struggle is a tension between his expectations for chorale settings and Bach's actual

practice. While Becker's argument for Bach's four-part chorale settings ultimately does not hold

up, this struggle sheds valuable light on his view of Bach's vocal chorale settings, a view that in

turn offers a helpful point of comparison for Becker's other writings on these pieces.

For Becker, Bach's four-part chorale settings clearly pose a problem: while chorales are,

in his view, supposed to be simple and foster congregational participation, Bach's four-part

settings are relatively complex and contain all manner of unnecessary embellishments. Becker

attempts to resolve this tension in two ways. First, he clarifies the basic nature of Bach's four-

part chorale, in his view: individual and independent pieces, composed primarily for study but

secondarily for singing by trained singers—and by no means liturgical in function. Second,

Becker describes chorale settings by Bach that do, in fact, conform to the genre's demands: the

69 chorale settings that Georg Christian Schemelli published in a 1736 hymn book, an edition of

which Becker planned to publish in the near future. Underlying these considerations, moreover,

is Becker's firm belief that Bach is a composer primarily of Lutheran liturgical music, and his

two clarifications, he believes, absolve the composer of insensitivity to the demands of this

genre. Two notes by the journal's editor appended to this essay, however, provide recent findings

that undermine Becker's claims: that at least some of Bach's four-part chorale settings originate

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for all those who teach music in schools and lead music in churches, or are preparing for a career in these [pursuits]"
("hauptsächlich pädagogische Musik-Zeitschrift für alle, welche die Musik in Schulen zu lehren und in Kirchen zu
leiten haben, oder sich auf ein solches Amt vorbereiten"). The journal was edited by Johann Gottfried Heintzsch,
who was also the dedicatee of Becker's 1832 edition of J. S. Bach's figured-bass chorale settings. Citing this essay
is complicated, as the pagination changes multiple times over the course of the issue in which this essay appears.
The curators of the Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek, which offers a digital reproduction of
this issue online, follow the pagination provided in the essay, for which reason I do the same. All translations of this
essay are my own.

in liturgical, sung works. Since this information evidently arrived too late for Becker to adapt his essay to it, however, they leave the essay's basic claims in a state of suspense.

Becker begins the essay by setting up the problem: "all reputable music teachers agree…that a chorale melody should, wherever possible, be accompanied with the simplest harmony and must remain far from every decoration and every artifice, so that even the most untrained singer may participate in [the singing of] church songs."[2] In his four-part chorale settings, however, "J. S. Bach apparently contradicts this entire [notion]": a glance in the collection of these pieces reveals sharp dissonances, difficult rhythms, leaps, voice-crossings, and all manner of other complications.[3] Becker is forced to ask, "could this master…have not known how the harmony of a chorale must be supplied?"[4]

Becker takes two tacks in resolving this problem. First, he attempts to clarify some misunderstandings that have apparently accrued regarding these pieces—to "correct the false perception of Sebastian Bach and reveal the impetus from which this collection of chorales, which cannot be praised [highly] enough, arose."[5] Becker's explanation sheds valuable light on his conception of these pieces. "Bach did not write these chorales in order that use be made of them at congregational gatherings," he proclaims; "he did even not wish that they be printed."[6]

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[2] "Alle anerkannte Tonlehrer stimmen darin überein: daß eine Choralmelodie wo möglich mit der einfachsten Harmonie begleitet werde und aus ihr alle Verzierungen, alles Gekünstelte entfernt bleiben müsse, damit auch der ungebildetste Sänger an dem Kirchenliede Antheit nehmen könne" (ibid., 126).

[3] "…doch wäre scheinbar ein Joh. Seb. Bach wohl im Stande das Ganze zu widerlegen" (ibid., 126).

[4] "…hätte dieser Meister, höre ich fragen, seinen Zweck so ganz aus den Augen gesetzt und er nicht gewußt, wie die Harmonie eines Chorals beschaffen sein muß?" (ibid., 126). The extent to which Becker is expressing his own beliefs here is unclear. On one hand, he at one point implies he is merely reporting a general consensus, qualifying statements with "…I hear asked…" ("höre ich fragen": ibid., 126); on the other hand, whatever his understanding of the pieces, he clearly holds both they and their composer in high regard, as the essay is rife with praise for both.

[5] "…den falschen Schein von einen Seb. Bach zu entfernen und die Ursache mitzutheilen, aus der diese Choralsammlung, die nicht genug zu rühmen ist, entsprang" (ibid., 127).

[6] "Bach schrieb diese Choräle nicht, daß davon bei Versammlung der Gemeinde Gebrauch gemacht würde; er wollte dieselben nicht einmal drucken lassen" (ibid. 127); see also ibid., 128: "nur nicht zu dem Gesange einer Gemeinde angewendet werden können." Given the extent to which I cite this passage, and for comparison further below with the passage from which Becker draws it, I have reproduced this passage in its entirety in Figure 98.

Instead, he wrote them "individually and occasionally, in part for his composition students, to serve as examples and models, in part for the students at the Thomasschule, in order that they be performed as songs at private events, like celebrations of the new year."[7] Embedded in this statement are several interesting claims. First, these pieces are for Becker decidedly not movements within larger musical works; Bach composed each on its own. Second, their intended function is either for composition lessons or for singing by the *Thomaner*—but in neither case for the congregation, the typical intended audience for chorales. Finally, so committed is Becker to the idea that these are not conventional chorale settings that he specifies events at which he imagines them being performed. His naming of only secular events is remarkable, given that Bach's principal appointment in Leipzig—the location of these pieces' composition that Becker evidently has in mind, given his reference to the Thomasschule—was as a cantor, a fundamentally liturgical position. Casting these pieces as secular, as his naming of only secular events implies, also aligns them with other aspects of Bach's activity: Becker sets up the passage under discussion here by similarly claiming that "Bach himself rarely played the organ to accompany the congregation, but only [did so]…when there was no church service."[8] This alignment reinforces Becker's alienating of Bach's chorale settings from chorale conventions, as the other secular music that he names is also instrumental, not vocal.

Interestingly, the conceptions of these pieces that Becker articulates fill out the picture that Emanuel Bach paints in his foreword to Birnstiel 1765/69—and in the process, attributes his

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[7] "…einzeln und gelegentlich, theils für seine Schüler in der Composition, damit sie diesen als Beispiele und Muster dienen sollten, theils für die Thomaner, damit sie dieselben bei Privatveranlassungen (Neujahrsingen u. dergl.) im Gesang ausführen möchten" (ibid., 127). It should be noted that the German "gelegentlich" permits both the reading I provide and the reading "for [specific] occasions"; given the thrust of the argument here, the former seems to me more plausible here.

[8] "Bach selbst spielte selten die Orgel, die Gemeinde zu begleiten, sondern nur…wenn kein Gottesdienst war." Becker goes on to observe that these performances offered "a splendid means of relaxation" ("ein treffliches Erleichterungsmittel"; ibid., 127).

beliefs to Bach himself. Whereas Emanuel acknowledges that these pieces could be sung, for example, Becker names the ensembles that he believes Sebastian to have had in mind when composing them. Similarly, where Emanuel suggests the pieces would serve well for instruction in composition, Becker ascribes this intention to Sebastian vis-à-vis his composition students. But there are indications that, like Emanuel Bach, Becker favors the piece's use for training in composition. One such indication is Becker's language throughout the article in referring to these pieces: he refers to "taking a look" in the collection, the various ornaments that appear "on the page," and his hope that many people will "diligently study" the collection.[9] Even in his description of Bach's chorale-related activities, he describes the composer "playing" when referring to chorale settings for the organ, but when he turns his attention to the four-part chorales, he describes Bach as "writing."

But there are other indications of Becker privileging a conception of Bach's four-part chorale settings as objects of study. To show this, it is necessary to note that this passage is not wholly Becker's own. He cites two sources for it: Johann Nikolaus Forkel's 1802 biography of Sebastian Bach and an 1810 article by Ernst Ludwig Gerber "On the chorale and its accompaniment with the organ," as the title reads.[10] Inspection of the latter reveals that Becker

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[9] "Man werfe einen Blick in die Sammlung. …Man sieht auf jeder Seite…"; "Hoffentlich wird dadurch Mancher…diesen herrlichen Schatz hervorzusuchen…und…ihn recht fleißig zu studieren" (ibid., 126–27).

[10] Johann Nicolaus Forkel, *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig: Bei Hoffmeister und Kühnel, 1802), 39, and Ernst Ludwig Gerber, "Noch etwas über den Choralgesang und dessen Begleitung mit der Orgel," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 12, no. 28 (1810): 433. Interestingly, the passage from which Becker draws in the second of these (see Figure 99) is in fact a footnote inserted by the journal's editor—at the time Johann Friedrich Rochlitz, a champion of Sebastian Bach's. Given that Gerber's description of Bach's chorale harmonizations in the relevant section seems confused—for example, he describes the placement of themes in voices other than the soprano—Rochlitz's note evidently seeks to correct Gerber. Gerber may have been confusing Bach's four-part vocal chorale harmonizations with four volumes of his organ preludes edited by Schicht and published by Breitkopf & Härtel not overly long before the article was question: these volumes appeared between 1803 and 1806. I have preserved in Figure 98 the asterisks that Becker inserts to cite these two sources in footnotes, although I have not preserved the notes themselves. It should be noted that Becker's citation of this passage ends after the second of these notes—that is, he does not include the portion at the end of the original passage that begins, "wofür damals…"

drew this passage almost verbatim from the Gerber article (see Figures 98 and 99). Yet Becker is

not merely parroting Gerber: Becker's citation of Forkel, which occurs in the middle of the

passage taken from the Gerber article, is not found in the Gerber article itself.[11] Moreover, the

portion to which Becker appends the citation of Forkel is the phrase, "to serve as examples and

models." In other words, Becker goes out of his way to insert into the Gerber passage Forkel's

idea of Bach's chorale settings being models. Yet even here, Becker is in fact also modifying

Forkel, who in the passage Becker is likely citing, only mentions "models" (*Muster*); Becker

himself adds "examples" (*Beispiele*).[12] Becker's investment at this point in the notion of Bach's

chorale settings as models and examples is uncertain, since he moves on directly to the figured-

bass chorales—that is, without describing what using them as models looks like—the fact of his

modifying the quotations from both Gerber's article and Forkel's monograph indicates his

investment in the idea of "models and examples"; and he will take up this notion in the future, as

I show below.

> "Bach schrieb diese Choräle nicht, dass davon bei Versammlung der Gemeinde Gebrauch
> gemacht würde; er wollte dieselben nicht einmal drucken lassen, sondern nach seinem
> Tode erst sammleten, *wie schon gesagt,* sein *würdiger* Sohn und *der berühmte Schuler
> Bachs,* Kirnberger die Blättchen, worauf sie hingeworfen waren, aus ihren eigenen und
> des Verstorbenen Papieren, und machten sie bekannt. Bach selbst spielte nie Orgel, die
> Gemeinde zu begleiten, sondern nur, aus eigener Neigung oder Aufforderung Anderer,
> wenn kein Gottesdienst war. Da nahm er allerdings oft Choräle zu Hauptgedanken seiner
> gelehrten Ausführung, weil sie die würdigsten, und weil sie auch *damals* jedem Zuhörer

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[11] Apart from citing Forkel, Becker also makes several small changes to the passage—for example, adding terms that describe both Emanuel Bach and Kirnberger more admirably: Becker describes Emanuel Bach as "worthy" (*würdig*) and Kirnberger "famous" (*berühmt*; Becker, "Ueber Bach's Choralbearbeitung," 127). Another change is Becker's removal of Rochlitz's qualifier "at that time" (*damals*) when describing the familiarity of Bach's audience with chorale tunes—a surprising change, given that time had elapsed since the situation that Rochlitz describes (ibid.).

[12] The passage of Forkel's that Becker evidently has in mind reads, "Was für Muster er selbst in dieser Art geliefert hat, weiß jeder Kenner" (Forkel, *Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke*, 39). This passage is evidently Forkel's incorporation of Emanuel Bach's answers to questions the former had asked him about Sebastian Bach's pedagogy: see *NBR* 399. It is unclear what Becker thinks that he is adding with "examples," since the term usually refers to representatives of a given group or domain: what would the domain be in this case? It would not be chorale settings, as he holds the chorale settings in question to be completely unrepresentative of the genre.

vollkommen bekannt und geläufig waren, und diesem mithin dadurch ein treffliches Erleichterungsmittel geboten ward, dem Spieler, auch *auf den* künstlichen *Pfaden* seines tiefen Geistes zu folgen. Jene vierstimmigen Choräle aber schrieb Bach einzeln und gelegentlich, theils für seine Schüler in der Composition, damit sie diesen als Beispiele und Muster dienen sollten*), theils für die Thomaner, damit sie dieselben bei Privatveranlassungen (Neujahrsingen u. dergl.) im Gesang ausführen möchten. **) [...]"

Figure 98: Passage from Becker, "Ueber J. S. Bach's Choralbearbeitung," 127. (Asterisks are original and refer to notes not reproduced here; italics indicate modifications relative to Rochlitz's original note; ellipses in brackets refers to an omission.)

"Bach schrieb diese Choräle nicht, dass davon bey Versammlung der Gemeinde Gebrauch gemacht würde; er wollte dieselben nicht einmal drucken lassen, sondern nach seinem Tode erst sammleten sein zweyter Sohn und Kirnberger die Blättchen, worauf sie hingeworfen waren, aus ihren eigenen und des Verstorbenen Papieren, und machten sie bekannt. Bach selbst spielte nie Orgel, die Gemeinde zu begleiten, sondern nur, aus eigener Neigung oder Aufforderung Anderer, wenn kein Gottesdienst war. Da nahm er allerdings oft Choräle zu Hauptgedanken seiner gelehrten Ausführung, weil sie die würdigsten, und weil sie auch damals jedem Zuhörer vollkommen bekannt und geläufig waren, und diesem mithin dadurch ein treffliches Erleichterungsmittel geboten ward, dem Spieler, auch in den künstlichen Gewinden seines tiefen Geistes, zu folgen. Jene vierstimmigen Choräle aber schrieb Bach einzeln und gelegentlich, theils für seine Schüler in der Composition, damit sie diesen als Beyspiele und Muster dienen sollten, theils für die Thomaner, damit sie dieselben bey privatveranlassungen (Neujahrsingen u. dgl.) im Gesang ausführen möchten—wofür damals jeder nur einigermassen Gebildete, wo nicht Einsicht, doch Sinn und Geschmack, wenigstens Achtung besass."

Figure 99: Passage from Gerber, "Noch etwas über den Choralgesang," 28, n.*. (This passage is an editor's note.)

The second solution that Becker offers to resolve the tension between his expectations for chorales and the reality of Bach's four-part chorale settings is the existence of Bach's so-called figured-bass chorales, heretofore apparently overlooked. Even if Bach's four-part chorale settings did not satisfy the conventions for chorales that Becker stipulates, writes Becker, "Bach also, however, set 69 chorales in a very simple way, and these settings are evidently little known, for even the thorough Forkel and the diligent Gerber passed over them in silence."[13] Becker goes

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[13] "Bach bearbeitete aber auch 69 Choräle auf eine höchst einfache Art und diese Bearbeitung möchte wohl nur wenig bekannt sein, da selbst der gründliche Forkel, sowie der fleißige Gerber sie mit Stillschweigen übergeht" (Becker, "Ueber Bach's Choralbearbeitung," 128).

on to describe the circumstances of Bach's writing these pieces, including their editing by Georg

Christian Schemelli, and their hymnological value. While I will not dwell on these pieces, it

should be noted that their appearance in this passage further reinforces Becker's investment in

the notion that Bach's four-part settings are models. In a "supplement" to the article, Becker

presents two settings of the tune "So giebst du nun, mein Jesu, gute Nacht," one from the

Schemelli collection and the other from Breitkopf 1784–87.[14] The first of these Becker presents

on two staves, with the tune in the upper staff and a figured bass-line in the lower, as is

conventional for the genre (Figure 100).[15] The four-part setting, by contrast, Becker presents as it

appears in Breitkopf 1784–87—that is, disposed on two staves, with two parts per staff (Figure

101). The main difference between the selections, apart from the presence of figures on the

former and the fuller texture of the latter, is that Becker provides a text for singing with the

figured-bass setting and none with the four-part setting. That he includes a text is not incidental:

the original version in Schemelli's collection—explicitly titled a "song book" and prepared for

"the Lutheran congregants in Naumburg-Zeitz"—contains only the incipit in the score, evidently

under the assumption that the reader will refer to the complete text printed below the score

(Figure 102).[16] By inserting this text into the figured-bass chorale's score, then, and omitting it

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[14] This "supplement" (*Beilage*) is located at the very end of the issue and folds out to a width beyond the page dimensions of the rest of the publication. The four-part setting appears as no. 206 in Breitkopf 1784–87 under the same title that Becker provides. Besides to demonstrate the two different types of chorale setting, as he explains, Becker chose this setting to correct what he identifies as an error in Breitkopf 1784–87: the omission of a bar between bb. 7 and 8 in Breitkopf 1784–87. While the *dritte Auflage* does not include this bar—unsurprisingly, since it essentially reproduces Breitkopf 1784–87—Becker's 1843 edition of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations does include it (see Johann Sebastian Bach, *Joh. Seb. Bach's vierstimmige Kirchengesänge*, ed. Carl Ferdinand Becker [Leipzig: Verlag von Robert Friese, 1843], 223; the setting is no. 159), as do most modern editions (see, for example, Bach, *371 Harmonized Chorales* (ed. Riemenschneider), 49; the setting is no. 206). Finally, Becker also silently corrects what is evidently an error in Breitkopf 1784–87: in the earlier edition, the soprano has a D3 on beat 2 of b. 2 instead of a C3, as it appears in the version in the Schemelli collection. Becker does not comment on this correction. The error is reproduced in the *dritte Auflage*.

[15] The clefs on the upper staves in both examples are in fact incorrect: they should be soprano clefs, not treble clefs.

[16] Interestingly, Becker seems to have changed his conception of Bach's figured-bass settings between his penning of this essay and the publication of his edition of them announced in this essay: in the edition, he omits sung texts

from the four-part setting, Becker is going out of his way to indicate that Bach's figured-bass

chorales are for singing by a congregation in a liturgical setting—and that the four-part chorale

settings, by contrast, are not; rather, they are "examples and models" for composition students.

Figure 100: J. S. Bach, chorale setting "So giebst du nun, mein Jesu, gute Nacht," in Becker, "Ueber J. S. Bach's Choralbearbeitung," n.p. (The clefs on the upper staff of both examples are incorrect: they should be soprano clefs, not treble clefs.)

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entirely—with the exception of his use of texts as incipits, as with the existing editions of Bach's four-part chorale settings. In fact, his presentation of these pieces matches the editions of Bach's four-part settings closely, apart from the slimmer texture and his inclusion of figures, as Figure 6.27 shows. His description of the pieces in the edition's foreword confirms this change of conception; as he writes, the collection "puts an outstanding collection of models in the hand of the harmony instructor, for setting chorales always remains of the greatest utility to the student and cannot be practiced often enough" ("…ist dem Lehrer der Harmonie damit eine treffliche Mustersammlung in die Hände gegeben, da das Aussetzten der Choräle dem Schüler stets vom größten Nutzen bleibt und nicht oft genug geübt werden kann" [Carl Ferdinand Becker, "Vorwort," in Johann Sebastian Bach, *Choräle mit Beziffertem Baß*, ed. Carl Ferdinand Becker (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1832), n.p.]). Peter Krause, who describes the edition as a "collection of models for harmony instruction" ("Mustersammlung für die Harmonielehre"), goes so far as to claim that with this very edition, "Becker founded a tradition extending to the present" ("Becker begründete damit eine bis in die Gegenwart reichende Tradition"), evidently referring to the *Harmonielehre* tradition (Peter Krause, "Carl Ferdinand Beckers Wirken für das Werk Johann Sebastian Bachs," *Beiträge zur Bachforschung* 2 [1982]: 94). If Krause is indeed referring to the deploying of chorale harmonizations as models of *Harmonie*, he seems to overlook the existence of this tradition far in advance of Becker's 1832 edition of these pieces, as this dissertation shows. It should not go unmentioned, however, that with his edition of Bach's figured-bass chorale settings, Becker seems to have done to settings precisely what had been done to Bach's four-part chorale settings—that is, extracting them from a richer musical context and presenting them as music-theoretical objects.

Figure 101: J. S. Bach, chorale setting "So giebst du nun, mein Jesu, gute Nacht," in Breitkopf 1784–87, 120.

Figure 102: J. S. Bach, chorale setting "So gibst du nun, mein Jesu, gute Nacht" in Schemelli (ed.), *Musicalisches Gesang-Buch*, 211.

Figure 103: J. S. Bach, chorale setting "So giebst du nun, mein Jesu, gute Nacht," in Bach, *Choräle mit beziffertem Baß*, 18.

Becker's essay takes an interesting turn at the very last moment, where, following the essay proper, the journal's editor, Johann Gottfried Hientzsch, takes the liberty of weighing in on the origins of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations. In a footnote labeled "addition" (*Zusatz*), Hientzsch reports having heard "from several friends of music familiar with J. S. Bach's music" that "many of the chorales in the chorale book edited under his name were in fact written according to the earlier kind of church music—[that is,] cantatas, etc.—and were taken out of these [works] by the editor of the chorale book."[17] While Hientzsch is unsure of this possibility "because several larger and smaller pieces of church [music] by J. S. Bach are coming out in print these days," he writes, "this will soon be confirmed or denied."[18] Hientzsch follows this note with a second, "later addition" (*späterer Zusatz*), reporting that "the great Passion by J. S. Bach" had just come out in print, and upon inspection, no fewer than thirteen chorale settings from that work also appeared "note for note" in the collection of Bach's four-part chorale settings.[19] That this discovery could catch Hientzsch and Becker by surprise indicates the state of

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[17] "…von mehrern Musikfreunden, welche mit Joh. Seb. Bachs Werken ziemlich bekannt waren"; "viele der Chorale in dem unter seinem Namen herausgegebenen Choralbuche eigentlich zu Kirchenmusiken nach früherer Art, zu Cantaten etc. geschrieben und aus diesen von den Herausgebern des Choralbuchs herausgenommen seien in jenes" (Becker, "Ueber Bach's Choralbearbeitung," 129, n.*).

[18] "Da jetzt mehrere größere und kleinere Kirchenstücke von J. S. Bach im Druck herausgekommen, so muß sich das bald bestätigen oder widerlegen" (ibid.).

[19] "Da in diesen Tagen zufälliger Weise die große Passion von J. S. Bach grade ankam, so sah ich bald in dieser nach und habe gefunden, daß sämmtliche 13 Choräle in ihr von Note zu Note im J. S. Bachs Choralebuche stehen" (ibid.). The passion in question is Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* (BWV 244), whose first edition was published by

knowledge about Bach's chorale settings in the Leipzig music community; while these pieces

were evidently known through Birnstiel 1765/69 and Breitkopf 1784–87, as well as the writing

on them like the Gerber and Forkel essays from which Becker drew, these writers had evidently

not investigated more deeply the pieces' origins.[20]

The location of these notes is suggestive for the chronology of the discovery that

Hientzsch reports relative to the article's printing. Curiously, the asterisk in the text that indicates

the note is appended not to the claims that the note contradicts, but instead to the attribution of a

chorale melody that Becker cites in his discussion of the figured-bass chorale settings—that is,

an apparently unrelated point. The most plausible reason for the asterisk's location seems to be

the note's location on the essay's final page: as the "later addition" makes clear, the

developments reported here took place partway through the typesetting process. The first note,

then, would have been added after the text for all but the end of the second-last page was set, and

the second note must have been added after everything—including the previous note—had been

set; otherwise, the first note would presumably not have been printed, since the second note

answers questions the first note poses.[21] In short, these notes freeze two moments in a time of

significant change in perceptions and knowledge of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations.

Adolph Martin Schlesinger and edited by Adolf Bernhard Marx: thirteen of the chorale harmonizations in this passion are found in Breitkopf 1784–87.

[20] It is difficult to assess the extent to which the beliefs that Becker expresses in this article are a result of lack of information *tout court* or his ignorance—willful or not—of existing information. Becker's discussion of Bach's four-part setting of "So giebst du nun, mein Jesu, gute Nacht" suggests that he has carefully scrutinized at least this setting, given the corrections he makes, as discussed above; but his inaccurate description of Breitkopf 1784–87—as containing 370 settings and as having been printed between 1784 and 1789 (see ibid., 126, n.*)—suggests that he did not accord the entire collection the same careful scrutiny. Christoph Wolff distinguishes between public and professional recognition of Bach's music, acknowledging the importance of Mendelssohn's 1829 performance of the *St. Matthew Passion* for the former, as well as observing that "in professional circles the name of Bach, even during the composer's life (and even outside of Germany), was well known." He goes on to write that "the Berlin performance of the St. Matthew Passion emerges as a first high point…rather than the actual beginning, of a recognition of his vocal oeuvre" (Wolff, "On the Recognition," 383–84).

[21] Another possibility is that the final page was simply set a second time with the new information.

One would wish to know Becker's response to this new information; but presumably because Hientzsch's notes were added so late in the process, Becker did not respond to them in this publication. Yet Becker's continued engagement with these pieces in two subsequent publications can shed light on this question. Before I turn to these, it is worth acknowledging how Becker's interpretation of these pieces proves the effectiveness of Emanuel Bach's recasting of his father's chorale settings, as discussed in Chapter 5: the available editions, as well as a handful of other written sources, led Becker to conclude that they were primarily models of music-theoretical principles and secondarily intended for a trained choir to sing. Indeed, the considerable difference between these two interpretations even illustrates the ambiguity that Emanuel Bach preserved in the early editions.

7.1.2 The dritte Auflage

The so-called *dritte Auflage* ("third edition") of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations was published by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1832.[22] This edition would become the canonical version of Bach's chorale settings; as the next chapters show, it was in use well into the twentieth century, and even in the twentieth-century United States. But the *dritte Auflage* also affords an opportunity to explore Becker's changing conceptions of Bach's four-part chorale settings, since Becker wrote the edition's foreword. In what follows, I consider the edition's musical text first, since in fact Becker was asked to write his foreword after the musical text had been set.[23]

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[22] The moniker *dritte Auflage* derives from the edition's title page and evidently counts Birnstiel 1765/69 and Breitkopf 1784–87 as the first and second editions—even though the latter includes two volumes of settings that the former does not (although see Riemenschneider's alternate interpretation in Bach, *371 Harmonized Chorales*, viii–ix).

[23] As Becker writes in the foreword to his 1841–43 edition of these pieces (discussed below), "I was asked to deal with the foreword that I provided after the printing of the entire [volume] was finished" ("Zu dem von mir

7.1.2.1 Musical Text

While Becker was not involved in preparing the musical text of the *dritte Auflage*, it is nevertheless worth examining this text, both as a point of comparison to Becker's foreword and given that it would become the most authoritative version of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations. I argue here that editorial decisions in this edition contributed to its canonization—and to that of the conception of these pieces reflected in Birnstiel 1765/69 and Breitkopf 1784–87, the implied "first" and "second" editions.[24] In part, this canonization is effected through the *dritte Auflage*'s preserving much from the previous two editions: the editors retain the same pieces, readings, and general format of the earlier editions, only changing their order slightly. Also preserved is the conception of these pieces as music-theoretical objects, since all of the essential features of their notation in the previous editions are also preserved. But this canonization is also effected through signs that the edition constitutes a closed corpus: its assembling into a single volume, the provision of an index, and the title page's announcement of the total number of settings. In fact, the editors also strengthen the impression of the edition's authoritativeness to represent Bach's intentions—and with this, the conception of the chorale found within—by omitting any information as to editors' or collectors' intervention. These factors together solidify the conception of these pieces of objects of music-theoretical reflection.

I begin with a general description of the edition, then briefly discuss the effect of the editors' decisions. Unlike Breitkopf 1784–87, which comprises four separately issued volumes, the *dritte Auflage* consists of a single volume only. There are four main portions to this volume:

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gelieferten Vorwort wurde ich von der Handlung aufgefordert, nachdem der Druck des Ganzen schon geendet war": Carl Ferdinand Becker, "Vorwort," in Johann Sebastian Bach, *Joh. Seb. Bach's vierstimmige Kirchengesänge*, ed. Carl Ferdinand Becker [Leipzig: Verlag von Robert Friese, 1843], viii).

[24] Since it is unclear who is responsible for editorial decisions in the *dritte Auflage*, I will in what follows simply refer to "the editors" for these decisions.

a title page, a foreword, an index, and the musical text.[25] The title page reads, "371 Four-part

Chorale Songs by Johann Sebastian Bach, Third Edition."[26] No editor is named, nor is there any

acknowledgement that the works in question are collected. The foreword occupies two pages and

is signed by Becker, who is also listed as an organist at St. Peter's Church in Leipzig, and dated

to 9 December 1831.[27] The index likewise occupies two pages—and, as with the index in

Breitkopf 1784–87, it lists all the chorale harmonizations in alphabetical order by first letter of

incipit. Again as with Breitkopf 1784–87, some entries in the index have multiple numbers

beside them, since several settings employ the same incipit. The only real difference between the

indexes in Breitkopf 1784–87 and the *dritte Auflage* is their location in each edition: at the end of

the fourth volume in the former, and at the beginning in the latter.

The musical text follows. The editors have evidently taken Breitkopf 1784–87's musical

text as their starting point, with respect to both the settings that they include and their general

ordering. Owing to the editors' reversion to the oblong format of Birnstiel 1765/69, in

combination with their desire to maintain the practice of settings not crossing pages, their

ordering differs slightly from Breitkopf 1784–87's ordering. With regard to identifying settings,

the editors follow essentially the same practice as the earlier editions, using a number reflecting

cardinal position and identifying settings with the same texts as in Breitkopf 1784–87.

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[25] For fuller descriptions of this edition, see Rempp, *Critical Report*, 55–56; and Wachowski, "Vierstimmige Choräle Bachs," 57–58.

[26] "371 / vierstimmige Choralgesänge / von / Johann Sebastian Bach // Dritte Auflage."

[27] "Organist an der St. Petrikirche."

Figure 104: J. S. Bach, representative page of chorale settings from *dritte Auflage*, 55.

On the level of the individual page, settings are disposed much as in the two earlier editions: they are identified with a number reflecting the setting's position in the overall order as well as with an incipit, and the setting's musical text follows (Figure 104). Settings are notated on two staves and without in-score text or any other markings, apart from some slurs in later harmonizations.[28] The editors have followed the practice of Breitkopf 1784–87 in disposing the upper two parts on the upper staff and the lower two parts on the lower staff; their only significant modification is the use of a treble clef instead of the earlier editions' soprano clef.[29] As Wachowski reports, the readings are basically the same as Breitkopf 1784–87, despite the errors in the earlier edition: the newer edition "offers a reprint of the 1784–1787 edition faithful almost to the note, [complete] with all of the printing errors and modifications made by C. P. E. Bach."[30] It is surprising that despite going through the trouble of resetting the pieces, the editors elected to preserve Breitkopf 1784–87's readings.[31]

There are several ways in which editorial decisions in the *dritte Auflage* contribute to the canonization of the conception of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations created in the previous two editions. To begin with, the editors explicitly align this edition with Birnstiel 1765/69 and Breitkopf 1784–87 not only by identifying it as the "third edition" but also by preserving the essential features of those earlier editions. Most significantly for present purposes, these features include the format of the settings, complete with its ambiguities as regards performance and purposes; as a result, all of the arguments for their constitution as objects for

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[28] The absence of in-score text is the rule; this edition follows practices of its predecessors in including a small number of text indications, as discussed in Chapter 5 above.

[29] Rempp calls this "moderne Klaviernotation": Rempp, *Critical Report*, 55.

[30] "…bietet einen fast notengetreuen Nachdruck der Ausgabe von 1784–1787 mit allen Druckfehlern und den durch C. P. E. Bach erfolgten Abänderungen" (Wachowski, "Vierstimmige Choräle Bachs," 57–58). As Wachowski points out, Becker's promise in the foreword of greater "authenticity and correctness" compared with the earlier editions "can hardly be the case" ("Davon kann jedoch kaum die Rede sein"; ibid., 58).

[31] Unfortunately, very little information is available on the creation of this edition, including the editors' motivations for decisions such as this.

contemplation are in effect here. Modifications like the minor reordering of settings, the oblong

rather than upright format, and the new clef for the upper staff do not alter this effect. Yet even

while preserving essential features, the editors of the *dritte Auflage* create a stronger impression

of completeness than in the earlier editions. In the first volumes of both Birnstiel 1765/69 and

Breitkopf 1784–87, it is unclear how many settings the collection comprised—and the former

does not even deliver the number of volumes it promises.[32] The *dritte Auflage*, by contrast,

combines the four volumes of Breitkopf 1784–87 into a single volume, lists on the title page the

total number of settings it contains, and includes an index to its contents at the front of the

volume. All of these signal that the edition in the form presented is complete.[33]

A final editorial decision warrants mention here: the editors omit any mention that the

collection is in fact a collection or that it has been edited. The two earlier editions referred to

aspects of the editorial process to some degree, whether in their respective forewords or—on the

title page of Birnstiel 1765/69, at least—of Emanuel Bach's role in "collecting" the settings.

There is no such acknowledgement in the *dritte Auflage*. At the very least, this omission leaves

ambiguous the question of authorship, but to some readers, it may also imply that the volume's

contents faithfully represent Sebastian Bach's conception of these pieces. This implication is

strengthened by Becker's rhetorical approach in the edition's foreword of attributing to Bach his

beliefs concerning the pieces. The consequence of this implication, in turn, is to increase this

edition's impression of authoritativeness—and with the edition in general, the authority of the

pieces contained therein. To be sure, Becker's foreword may temper this conception, given his

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[32] In the preface to Birnstiel 1765/69, Emanuel Bach writes that "this part will be followed by two others, and together they will contain over 300 songs" (*NBR* 380; "Es werden diesem Theile noch zween andere folgen, und alle zusammen über dreyhundert Lieder enthalten" [Bach, "Vorrede" (Birnstiel 1765), n.p.]).

[33] The *dritte Auflage* also corrects the numbering problem found in Breitkopf 1784–87 presumably occasioned by the separation into volumes: both the last setting of its third volume and the first setting of its fourth are numbered "283." Thus, the numbers of the settings in the fourth volume are in the *dritte Auflage* shifted by one.

insistence that the pieces could be sung and his prescription of how this might be undertaken, as I discuss below; yet the editors supply the settings with no text, and given the incorporation of instrumental readings into the collection, as discussed with respect to Birnstiel 1765/69, the edition does not seem to envisage any particular performing forces. Given all of these factors, it is perhaps unsurprising that the *dritte Auflage* should become the authoritative edition for Bach's four-part chorale settings—and, in the process, solidify the conception of the pieces as music-theoretical objects established by Birnstiel 1765/69 and Breitkopf 1784–87.

7.1.2.2 Dritte Auflage, *Foreword*

In his preface to the *dritte Auflage*, Becker largely doubles down on the conception of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations that he expressed in his 1830 essay, albeit with some modifications to accommodate the new historical evidence that Hientzsch mentioned there. Becker asserts the same two purposes for these pieces: they are both models for composition instruction and as musical material for "singing societies" (*Singvereine*). Two aspects of his foreword suggest a gradual shift in his views, however, and this perhaps in response to the new evidence: first, a further use that Becker allows for the chorale settings—namely, in liturgical settings in an *alternatim* performance—and second, his assertion that Bach in some cases wrote these pieces as "interludes" in larger works. These modifications suggest an attempt by Becker to both assimilate the new information about the origins of these pieces reflected in Hientzsch's notes in the 1830 article and to preserve his belief that these pieces are fundamentally secular and independent.

Most of the foreword is given over to Becker's efforts to describe "something about this chorale book's creation and its purpose."[34] For this, he draws upon two main sources: the essay by Gerber on which he drew for his 1830 article and Emanuel Bach's preface to Breitkopf 1784–87.[35] Becker relies upon the first of these—modified here considerably more than in his 1830 article, and also without citation—to provide his account of Bach's intentions for these pieces.[36] He repeats his claim that Bach did not write these pieces for congregational use, and inserts a comparison to a chorale book that was indisputably created for liturgical use: Johann Gottfried Schicht's *Allgemeine Choralbuch* (Leipzig, 1819).[37] Becker then repeats the assertion that Bach wrote his four-part chorale settings for his students in composition, as examples and models, on one hand, and for singing by the choir at the St. Thomas school. But he also adds a third purpose: for use as "interludes" in Bach's motets, cantatas, and similar works.[38] This last is undoubtedly a response to Hienzsch's *Zusatz* to Becker's 1830 essay.

Becker then turns to describing the collection's compilation by Emanuel Bach and Kirnberger, which he does by loosely paraphrasing and lightly supplementing a portion from the Gerber article. In so doing, he emphasizes the chorale settings' value as models for composition; Emanuel Bach and Kirnberger, he writes, "easily recognized what great utility a collection of

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[34] "…einiges über die Entstehung und den Zweck dieses Choralbuches" (Carl Ferdinand Becker, "Vorwort," in Johann Sebastian Bach, *Choräle mit beziffertem Baß*, ed. Carl Ferdinand Becker [Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1832], n.p.).

[35] In fact, the section of Emanuel's preface that he cites is the same in both Birnstiel 1765 and Breitkopf 1784–87, but Becker cites the latter—and, as in his 1830 essay, with incorrect dates of publication (1784 to 1789).

[36] This passage reads as follows (with italics indicating modifications relative to Becker's 1830 article, and ellipses in brackets to omissions): "Bach schrieb diese *kleinen Meisterstücke* nicht, daß davon *Gebrauch* bei Versammlung der Gemeinde gemacht würde, *wie dies der Zweck z. B. bei Schicht's Choralbuch ist*; [...] er wollte *sie* nicht einmal drucken lassen [...]. *Gelegentlich schrieb er sie auf*, theils für seine Schüler in der Composition, damit sie diesen als Beispiel und Muster dienen sollten; theils für *das Thomanerchor in Leipzig*, damit *es* dieselben bei Privatveranlassungen (Neujahrsingen, *Currente* u. dgl.) [...] ausführen möchte, *theils zu Zwischen-Sätzen seiner Motetten, Cantaten u. dgl*" (Becker, "Vorwort" [*dritte Auflage*] n.p). The original passage is shown in Figure 98.

[37] One of Becker's reasons for mentioning Schicht here may be that like Bach, Schicht was a cantor at the Thomasschule in Leipzig, a post that he took up in 1810. Becker himself studied under Schicht at the Thomasschule.

[38] "…theils zu Zwischen-Sätzen seiner Motetten, Cantaten u. dgl." (ibid.).

these chorales must offer to students in composition."[39] It was this use that stimulated them to produce first Birnstiel 1765/69 and then Breitkopf 1784–87, which they did out of Sebastian Bach's and their own "papers" of chorale settings.[40] Mention of these two editions leads Becker to invoke a passage from Emanuel Bach's foreword to Breitkopf 1784–87. The passage he cites is where Bach observes what fine models these pieces constitute—how "connoisseurs of the art of musical composition" will not fail to consider them *Meisterstücke* "when they contemplate with appropriate attention the quite special arrangement of the harmony and the natural flow of the inner voices and the bass, which are what above all distinguish these chorales." Becker also includes Emanuel's exclamation of how "useful such contemplation may be to those who are anxious to learn the art of musical composition," but ends the citation where Emanuel acclaims the value of beginning instruction in musical composition with chorales rather than "stiff and pedantic counterpoint."[41]

So far, then, Becker's attention is trained upon employing the chorale settings as models for composition. Yet he closes his discussion by pivoting to their performance. Their use by *Singvereine* is "indispensable" (*unentbehrlich*), he writes, without elaborating.[42] They could particularly contribute to the elevation of the spirit, however, "if used appropriately in a liturgical

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[39] "…erkannten aber leicht, welchen großen Nutzen eine Sammlung dieser Choräle für Jünger in der Composition leisten mußte" (ibid.).

[40] Even Becker's reference to these settings being recorded on "papers" (*Blättchen*) suggests their conception as independent from any larger musical work.

[41] *NBR* 379–80 ("Diesen Namen werden die Kenner der Setzkunst, gegenwärtiger Sammlung, ebenfalls nicht versagen können, wenn sie die ganz besondere Einrichtung der Harmonie und das natürlich fließende der Mittelstimmen und des Basses, wodurch sich diese Choralgesänge vorzüglich unterscheiden, mit gehöriger Aufmerksamkeit betrachten. Wie nutzbar kann eine solche Betrachtung dem Lehrbegierigen der Setzkunst werden"). Becker's reason for omitting this passage is unclear to me, since the other elements of this passage already appear in the passages he does cite; perhaps he objected to *beginning* composition instruction with chorales, or to calling counterpoint "stiff and pedantic."

[42] *Singvereine* were secular singing groups with a mix of musical and convivial aims that began springing up in communities across Germany around the turn of the nineteenth century—partly inspired by Fasch's Sing-Akademie in Berlin, whose direction Zelter took over after Fasch's death.

service," he writes.[43] He provides remarkably specific instructions on the latter: a solo group singing verses in alternation with the congregation, where the former is an unaccompanied group of soloists who have prepared the piece in advance and the congregation is accompanied by the organ in the manner of a simple song.[44] The procedure that Becker describes thus represents a subtle but significant departure from his views in his 1830 essay: whereas in the earlier essay, he took pains to portray the pieces as secular, here he permits their performance in a liturgical context. Even in this context, however, the pieces clearly stand out from simpler chorale settings, not only in their substantial difference of instrumentation but—what is particularly significant in a liturgical context—also the fact that the congregation does not participate in their singing. Indeed, this scheme resembles Becker's account of Bach's deployment of these pieces—as "interludes," only the larger work broken up here is a chorale sung in the manner conventional for Lutheran services. Becker closes the foreword by advising the reader of his edition of Bach's figured-bass chorales, repeating the contention that launched his 1830 essay: the four-part harmonizations are "in fact not appropriate for [use in] church," because chorales should be simple.

While the time between Becker's 1830 essay and his foreword to the *dritte Auflage* was relatively small, it was enough for him to rethink his position on Bach's chorale settings in light of the emerging information about these pieces reported by Hientzsch. It is therefore remarkable how little his views changed—particularly given his apparent interest in Bach's intentions, since the new information came to bear precisely on how Bach used the pieces. While his scheme for performing the pieces in a liturgical setting seems to be a concession to the newly available

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[43] "…wenn sie bei dem Gottesdienst zweckmäßig angewendet werden" [Becker, "Vorwort" (*dritte Auflage*), n.p.].
[44] "…Volksgesang angemessen begleitet" (ibid.). By "solo" (*Sologesang*) here, Becker evidently has in mind a group with one person per part.

information about them, their detachment from the musical context in which they are inserted reflects the strength of Becker's belief in their independence, as also reflected in his term for them in Bach's works, "interludes." Indeed, given the passages that he cites, the space he devotes to discussing possible uses, and his editorializing, the main use that Becker sees for Bach's chorale settings seems to be as models for musical composition.

7.1.3 Joh. Seb. Bach's vierstimmige Kirchengesänge *(Ed. Becker)*

A third source sheds light on Becker's attitude toward and conceptions of Bach's chorale harmonizations: his own edition of these pieces, published in six installments from 1841 to 1843.[45] Unlike with the *dritte Auflage*, Becker had full control over all of this edition's details; as the title page indicates, he both supplied it with a foreword and "arranged" (*geordnet*) its musical text. As such, this edition should offer the most complete expression of his conception of these pieces; nevertheless, a major discrepancy arises between the conception of Bach's chorale settings in the edition's foreword and its musical text. I discuss these parts of the edition separately, beginning with the former.

In brief, Becker's foreword suggests that his conception of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations has changed considerably since his earlier writings. Instead of presenting these pieces as secular works, he locates them at the center of Bach's church activity. He also insists on their essential connection to the larger musical works within which they originated. While Becker preserves his view that these pieces are unsuitable for singing by a congregation and thus do not adhere to the genre's conventions, this observation has become evidence for Bach's

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[45] Johann Sebastian Bach, *Joh. Seb. Bach's vierstimmige Kirchengesänge*, ed. Carl Ferdinand Becker (Leipzig: Verlag von Robert Friese, 1843). For convenience, I will refer to this edition as Becker 1841–43. On the issuing of this edition in installments, see Wachowski, "Vierstimmige Choräle Bachs," (58, n.24).

genius; Bach's brilliant settings align the composer with the sixteenth-century contrapuntists.

Becker's main interest in this edition, then, is to memorialize Bach—and he believes these pieces are uniquely suited to do so, given the composer's devotion to religious music and the permeation of his oeuvre with chorale tunes. While Becker describes his edition as arranged "for both study and for…performance," its musical text does not reflect this. To be sure, he presents the pieces as essentially vocal—on four staves with SATB clefs, adopting vocal readings, and with text-related slurs; but he provides no actual texts for singing. He also forgoes any indication of either the larger works from which pieces are drawn or the religious character that he insisted they possess. Two other significant changes he makes—reordering these pieces into groups of settings of the same tune, and transposing all settings of these groups into the same key—suggest that his overriding conception of the chorale is as an object of music-theoretical contemplation.

7.1.3.1 Foreword

Becker's foreword to his own edition is rich in indications concerning his attitudes towards these pieces. Several themes emerge in it. First, the edition is clearly a monument to Bach, on whom he showers considerable praise—encomia like the "exalted musical master" and the "[one] before whose grandeur one would wish to fall down."[46] Becker's hagiographic intentions are already indicated by his inclusion of Bach's portrait in the edition's front matter, something he advertises on the title page.[47] Becker also considerably emphasizes Bach's

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[46] "…der hohe Tonmeister" [Becker, "Vorwort" (Becker 1841–43), v]; "…vor dessen Herrlichkeit man niederfallen möchte"; this last line comes from a passage Becker quotes from Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut, *Ueber Reinheit der Tonkunst* (Bach, *Bachs vierstimmige Kirchengesänge*, v, n.1). Becker quotes from the second edition (1826) of this essay, which is considerably expanded from the first (1825). I take his quotation of it as accurately representing his own beliefs, since he takes the liberty of modifying the passage at several points.

[47] Somewhat more subtly, given its position in the edition, Becker's inclusion of Bach's so-called "deathbed chorale" as the last setting in the collection (no. 210, "Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen sein," 276–79) also participates

devotion to writing music for the church; as he insists, the composer was "almost constantly

liv[ing] and labor[ing] for the church."[48] Within these activities, moreover, his setting of chorale

tunes played a central role. As Becker writes, "we find him [Bach] often occupied with settings

of church tunes," evidently because these are "the worthiest motives" for the exercise of his

talents.[49] Indeed, Bach continued this practice "until his last breath," a claim that Becker

illustrates through the legend of Bach dictating on his deathbed variations on the chorale "Wenn

wir in höchsten Noth sein" to one of his students.[50] The scene that Becker illustrates, then, is one

in which Bach's setting of chorale tunes stands for not only his entire compositional activity, but

indeed for his entire life's purpose. In the process, however, one aspect of Becker's earlier

attitude toward chorale settings has shifted significantly: whereas he earlier took pains to insist

that Bach's four-part settings, at least, were essentially secular, here they are unquestionably

liturgical. This liturgical character is also indicated by a change in terminology: in a break with

earlier editions, Becker refers to these pieces on the title page as *Kirchengesänge* ("church

tunes"), not *Choralgesänge* ("chorale tunes"), and he prefers the former term in the foreword.[51]

While both terms have liturgical connotations, these connotations are of course much stronger

with the former.

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in this monumentalizing: its texture, its length, and Becker's the inclusion of an inscription with it set it apart from the other settings. See also his foreword [Becker, "Vorwort" (Becker 1841–43), iii].

[48] "…fast stets für seine Kirche lebte und wirkte" (ibid., v).

[49] "…so finden wir ihn oft mit Ausarbeitungen von Kirchengesängen beschäftigt, hier sie selbst als die würdigsten Motive benutzend" (ibid.).

[50] "…bis zum letztes Lebenshauch" (ibid.). Becker himself dramatizes this deathbed scene considerably. The piece in question is Bach's variations on the chorale "Vor deinen Thron tret ich hiermit" (BWV 668a), which was first published in 1751 as an appendix to Bach's *Die Kunst der Fuge* under the title that Becker provides here. On this scene, see David Gaynor Yearsley, *Bach and the Meanings of Counterpoint*, New Perspectives in Music History and Criticism (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1–41; and Christoph Wolff, "The Deathbed Chorale: Exposing a Myth," in *Bach: Essays on His Life and Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 282–94.

[51] The title reads, "Joh. Seb. Bach's / vierstimmige / Kirchengesänge." To be sure, it is not wholly clear that in all of Becker's references in the foreword to Becker 1841–43, he intends Bach's four-part settings specifically; particularly in the earlier portions of the discussion, he more likely means any of Bach's chorale settings, regardless of genre, or even his entire oeuvre of music for the church in general.

As in his two essays discussed above, Becker here grapples with the unique qualities of Bach's four-part settings—but with a substantially different outcome. The editor already hints, in his description of Bach's life and work, that these pieces do not abide by chorale conventions: Bach's chorale settings, he writes, are "the opposite of the simplest and most ordered [pieces]."[52] He emphasizes in particular the composer's failure to adhere to that basic principle of chorales— that they be oriented toward "the people" (*volksthümlich*); indeed, Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations are "completely unfruitful" when regarded from the perspective of such an ideal.[53] In contrast to the tenor of the earlier essays, however, wherein Bach's failure to satisfy these ideals is a problem demanding resolution, here it is instead evidence for Bach's genius; not only was Bach disinclined to write in a *volksthümlichen* manner, but "it was completely impossible for his individuality to draw near to the congregation and to employ the simplest artistic means so necessary for [the congregation]."[54] Even Bach's figured-bass chorales—which Becker evidently still considers as composed for singing—demonstrate "what a wide gulf separates him from the people."[55] Instead, "his [Bach's] inclination was more to bring figured music to completion or to attain the highest level of art," writes Becker, quoting Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut.[56] Bach's chorale settings should be compared not to prior and succeeding cantors at the *Thomaskirche*, Becker proposes, but rather to "the old sixteenth-century contrapuntists."[57]

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[52] "…den Gegensatz von dem Einfachsten und Zusammengesetzten" [Becker, "Vorwort" (Becker 1841–43), v].
[53] "…so mußten freilich seine an sich unvergleichlichen vierstimmigen Choräle für das letztere [i.e., das Volk] ganz unfruchtbar bleiben" (ibid.). The citation of Thibaut ends with these words; see Thibaut, "Ueber Reinheit der Tonkunst," 19.
[54] "Seiner Individualität war es ganz unmöglich, sich der Gemeinde zu nähern und sich für sie der so nothwendigen einfachsten Kunstmittel zu bedienen" [Becker, "Vorwort" (Becker 1841–43), v].
[55] "Welche weite Kluft ihn von dem Volke trennt" (ibid.).
[56] "…seine Neigung ging mehr dahin, die Musik im Figurirten zur höchsten Vollendung zu bringen oder die höchste Stufe der Kunst zu erreichen" (ibid.). It is possible that Thibaut here intends "figured" music as instrumental music, in contrast with vocal music. This basic classification of all music is found in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century German treatises under the designation *musica choralis* and *musica figuralis*.
[57] "…der alten Contrapunktisten des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts" (ibid.).

For one thing, this adjustment signals Becker's esteem for Bach, since the contrapuntists in question represent the pinnacle of a musical era—that is, Renaissance counterpoint. But the comparison is also apt in that the contrapuntists also began with religious melodies—in their case, chant—"as the simplest material" and added appropriate musical lines to it. Unlike the classical composers of chorales, however, "Bach wrote [his chorale settings]…in the first place only for himself and for those who were able to follow the flight of his lofty ideas"; with regard to their performance, he repudiated collaboration with the congregation.[58] As a consequence, his chorale settings will, like the work of the old contrapuntists, be described as truly artistically beautiful for all times, writes Becker.[59] In summary, for Becker the ill fit of Bach's chorale settings with conventional ideals about chorales is, if anything, further evidence of Bach's greatness.

It is against this backdrop that Becker becomes explicit about Bach's purpose with his chorale settings. He begins this passage in the same manner as his earlier essays: "Bach produced no choral book [intended] for the congregation…"[60] But now, nine years later, he concedes the evidence that Hientzsch appended to his earlier essay—albeit with some reluctance: when he acknowledges the presence of Bach's chorale settings "in his greatest just as in his smallest works," it is as a concession (*einräumen*), "where[ever] he found it fitting [*zweckmässig*]."[61] Further on in the essay, however, he extends Hientzsch's observation: whereas the latter mentioned only Bach's Passions, Becker names "oratorios, cantatas, motets, and so on" as the

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[58] "Bach schrieb aber auch zunächst nur für sich und für die, welche seinem hohen Ideen Flug zu folgen im Stande waren" (ibid., vi).

[59] "…so wird ihnen doch die Bezeichnung des wahrhaft künstlerisch-schönen für alle Zeiten verbleiben" (ibid.).

[60] "…daß Bach kein Choralbuch für die Gemeinde ausgearbeitet hat" (ibid.).

[61] "…überall, wo er es für zweckmäßig fand, dem Choral in seinen größten wie kleinsten Werken eine Stelle einräumte" (ibid.).

works out of which "the first hundred church songs were drawn" for Birnstiel 1765/69.[62] Becker goes so far as asserting that "it should never be overlooked…that…[these pieces] are only parts of a larger whole," and he criticizes Emanuel Bach for omitting information on the settings' sources.[63] Instead, "the impression of these individual parts [in relation] to the whole must be other than if one considers them as independent settings," he writes, citing Adolf Bernhard Marx for this view.[64] In other words, the chorale settings' connection to the larger musical works from which they come is essential, and it is the editor's responsibility to convey this information.

Despite acknowledging the chorale settings' origins in larger works, however, he still considers them to be destined for study. For example, in the passage about their purpose, he refers to the collecting of these masterworks "to present them to the student of the art [*Kunstjünger*] to study and thus help him to learn to comprehend and understand this brilliant composer."[65] Indeed, when he earlier in the essay described Bach's lifelong devotion to composing music for the church, he referred to setting chorale tunes "as models for his followers."[66] Finally, after completing his history of earlier editions of these pieces, Becker touts his edition as "collected and arranged for the first time for both study and for the performance [*Ausführung*] of Bach's works."[67] Interestingly, he provides no further instructions on how these

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[62] "So sorgfältig aus J. Seb. Bach's Oratorien, Cantaten, Motetten etc. das erste Hundert der Kirchengesänge entlehnt ward" (ibid., vii).

[63] Becker's criticism presumably lies not only in that this information would enhance the understanding of individual settings, but also in that this information—which would have been easy to record while extracting chorale settings from these larger works—may by the time of Becker's writing be lost.

[64] "Nie darf aber bei den Bach'schen Bearbeitungen übersehen werden, daß sie—wenigstens ihre Mehrzahl nach—nur Theile eines großen Ganzen sind und der Eindruck dieser einzelnen Theile zum Ganzen muß dann wohl ein anderer sein, als wenn man sie als selbständige Bearbeitungen betrachtet" (ibid., vi). It should be noted that Becker dedicated the edition to Marx: Becker 1841–43, iii.

[65] "…dem Kunstjünger zum Studium vorzulegen und somit ihn zu befähigen, diesen genialen Tonmeister erfassen und verstehen zu lernen" [Becker, "Vorwort" (Becker 1841–43), vi].

[66] "…mit einigen Stimmen schmückend, als Muster seinen Jüngern aufzustellen" (ibid., v).

[67] "…zum erstenmal zum Studium, wie für die Ausführung Bach'scher Werke zusammen zu reihen" (ibid., viii). The phrase "for the first time" here is peculiar, of course, for the purposes that Becker lists are essentially those that Emanuel implies in his preface to Birnstiel 1765/69, if stated somewhat more generally.

pieces should be performed; the main use he seems to have in mind is study. This is confirmed in his arranging of the edition's musical text, to which I now turn.

Figure 105: Bach, chorale setting "Warum betrübst du dich," in Becker 1841–43, 138.

7.1.3.2 Musical Text

At the level of individual settings, several elements immediately set Becker's presentation of the musical text apart from that of previous editions. The most striking is the musical text's disposition on four staves as opposed to two, with one part per staff and with the clefs of each staff corresponding to the classic SATB configuration (see Figure 105). That Becker intends this disposition to evoke a vocal conception is reinforced by his labelling each of the four staves on the first setting according to these voice parts (Figure 106).[68] In fact, Becker highlighted the disposition on four staves in his foreword; quoting Emanuel Bach's own words from his preface to Birnstiel 1765/69—apparently in a veiled claim for greater faithfulness to Sebastian Bach's original intentions—he observes that the chorale settings were "originally set out on four staves for four singers," and so collections should present them thus.[69]

Figure 106: The first chorale setting in Becker 1841–43, 1.

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[68] While Becker omits these indications on other four-part settings, he does indicate voice parts when a given harmonization involves five parts rather than the normal four: see, for example, "Jesu meine Freude" (147, no. 85g), and "Welt ade! Ich bin dein müde" (176–77, no. 111).

[69] "...ursprünglich in vier Systeme für vier Singstimmen gesetzt sind" [Becker, "Vorwort" (Becker 1841–43), viii]. Another possible indication of a vocal conception is Becker's liberal slurring, which in general aligns the parts in homophony in the same way that a text would have. Rempp casts doubt on the scientificity of Becker's slurs, observing that they "in general indicate only the editor's presumed text outlay" ("die Hinzufügung von Bindebögen, welche eine vom Herausgeber in der Regel nur vermutete Textunterlegung andeuten" (Rempp, *Critical Report*, 60). He also describes the result as "revocalized" (*revokalisiert*; ibid.).

Figure 107: J. S. Bach, chorale setting "Ach wie nichtig, ach wie flüchtig," bb. 5–6, lower staff (in bass clef), in Breitkopf 1784–87, 26. (Setting is in A minor.)

Figure 108: J. S. Bach, chorale "Ach wie nichtig, ach wie flüchtig," bb. 7–8, lowest staff (in bass clef), in Becker 1841–43, 76. (Setting is in A minor.)

The readings that Becker presents also contribute to a vocal conception, albeit on a subtler level: where in Sebastian Bach's original setting a chorale tune, an instrumental line departs from the vocal line it normally doubles, he typically adopts the vocal line instead of the instrumental line. As discussed in the previous chapter, such divergences between vocal and instrumental readings occur with particular frequency between the continuo and vocal bass lines, and the latter is usually an octave higher. Figures 107 and 108 show a passage from the chorale setting identified as "Ach wie nichtig, ach wie flüchtig." In Breitkopf 1784–87, the editors take the continuo line the lowest voice (Figure 107); in his version, however, Becker adopts the vocal bass line (Figure 108). Another situation in which such divergences occur are with regard to ties: in Bach's original settings, he often has doubling instruments sustain notes over bar lines when they are repeated, even if voices will articulate both notes with different syllables. Where editors of earlier editions often incorporate the former reading, as discussed above, Becker does not. With the chorale setting entitled "Ich ruf zu dir Herr Jesu Christ," the editors of Breitkopf 1784–87 adopt the tied violin part (Figure 109), whereas Becker takes the untied the alto line (Figure

110).[70] Thus, in his preferences of readings too, Becker departs from his predecessors by presenting a more vocally oriented version.
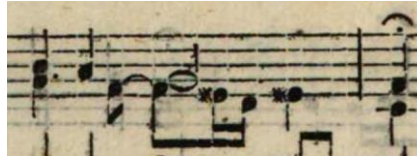
Figure 109: J. S. Bach, chorale "Ich ruf zu dir Herr Jesu Christ," bb. 9–10, upper staff (in soprano clef), in Breitkopf 1784–87, 40. (Setting is in E minor.)

Figure 110: J. S. Bach, chorale setting "Ich ruf zu dir Herr Jesu Christ," bb. 9–10, second-highest staff (in alto clef), in Becker 1841–43, 76. (Setting is in E minor.)

Yet not all of Becker's editorial decisions reflect a vocal conception. Most strikingly, he presents provides no text underlay, nor does he ever suggest a source for texts to which these settings might be sung.[71] As it happens, the slurs that he so fastidiously includes throughout each setting would in many cases be unnecessary had he provided a text: its relation to the notes could then have been made through other means, such as text placement, beaming, and dashes. A

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[70] Becker seems also to have taken the liberty of changing the rhythm in this line, breaking the dotted quarter note E4 into a quarter note and an eighth note and slurring the latter to a D4, and then having the second syllable of the bar ("kannst") begin on beat 2. I have not found this reading in any extant sources, but this modification at least provides additional evidence for Becker's attention to how a setting's text—no matter how hypothetical—relates to its constituent musical lines.

[71] Just as in Breitkopf 1784–87, Becker does occasionally supply a snippet of text: see, for example, "Christus, der ist mein Leben" (Becker 1841–43, 13, no. 7B), where Becker provides one line of text in one part. In doing so, Becker is likely following the editors of Breitkopf 1784–87, who in their version of this setting (no. 315, same identification) provide the first two words of the four-word phrase that Becker supplies: see Breitkopf 1784–87, 184. While holding that Becker "presented to the public for the first time an edition of Bach chorales for practical use as a chorale songbook," Wachowski calls the omission of texts for singing "incomprehensible" ("dem Publikum erstmals eine Ausgabe Bachscher Choräle für den praktischen Begrauch als Chorgesangbuch vorzulegen….letztere jedoch werden dem Benutzer unverständlicherweise vorenthalten"; Wachowski, "Vierstimmigen Choräle Bachs," 58–59).

comparison of Becker's version of the chorale setting from Bach's cantata "Ob sich's anliess',

als wollt' er nicht" (BWV 155) to that in the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* is a case in point: the former

employs twenty slurs (Figure 111), whereas the latter, which includes a text in the score,

employs only six (Figure 112). Becker's heavy reliance on slurs, then, is in fact required *because*

of the absence of a text for singing, if he wishes the semblance of homophony. It is also worth

noting that a complete score of any variety still remains at a remove from a conventional vocal

part, which would typically include only a single line rather than the entire texture; a disposition

with all parts shown is instead for a conductor's or composer's use.[72] In short, Becker's omission

of a text underlay substantially undercuts the vocality suggested by other features of the edition's

arrangement—and with it, the possible use of his edition for vocal performance; nor does he

suggest in his foreword any other medium of performance. Instead, the vocality remains

notional, not actual, even if more vividly so than in earlier editions.

Figure 111: J. S. Bach, chorale setting "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her," bb. 1–4, in Becker 1841–43, 5.

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[72] Peter Krause interprets this *Partiturnotation* even more narrowly, associating it, in conjunction with the use of the "old clefs," with a pedagogical intention: see Krause, "Beckers Wirken," 94.

Figure 112: J. S. Bach, chorale harmonization "Ob sich's anliess', als wollt' er nicht," in cantata "Mein Gott, wie lang', wie lange" (BWV 155), bb. 1–4. Helms (ed.), *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Series 1, Vol. 5, p. 188.

Just as Becker's edition follows but also augments the notional vocality in earlier editions, he also presents settings as music-theoretical objects for study—but more so. One way in which he does this is by reordering settings relative to earlier editions. To be sure, Breitkopf 1784–87 modified the order the Birnstiel 1765/69 established (and established its own in the novel third and fourth volumes), and the *dritte Auflage* modified Breitkopf 1784–87's order; but these reorderings seemed primarily to accommodate changes of format, from oblong to vertical to oblong, while avoiding settings crossing pages. While Becker also largely preserves the ordering of tune names in Breitkopf 1784–87, he departs considerably from earlier editions by assembling all settings of a given tune together and labelling successive harmonizations with a

letter—A, B, and so on.[73] Thus, under "no. 2," for example, which he identifies with the text "Ich dank dir lieber Herre," Becker provides three different settings.[74]

But this is not all: Becker also constitutes the settings as music-theoretical objects through transposing into the same key all the settings of a given chorale tune that he has assembled (if they were not originally in the same key).[75] Thus, in the case of the three settings of "Ich dank dir lieber Herre," for example, he transposes the third setting from B-flat major to A major, the key in which the other two settings appear in earlier editions.[76] While most of the transpositions are of a relatively small interval, transpositions of a third are not uncommon, and those of a fourth are not unheard of.[77]

These modifications are substantial—certainly the most substantial in editions of these pieces since Breitkopf 1784–87. It is surprising that the only modifications that he calls attention to in his foreword are the texture's disposition on four staves and his addition of 19 new settings. His goal in reordering and transposing the settings seems clearly to facilitate comparison between multiple settings of the same tune. Thus, of the two purposes for the collection that he mentions in the foreword—the collection is allegedly for "both study and…performance"—the

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[73] This reordering may be what Becker refers to when he describes the edition as having been "offered in lucid order" ["in eine übersichtliche Folge zu bringen"; Becker, "Vorwort" (Becker 1841–43), viii]. It is noteworthy that Becker's ordering corresponds more closely to Breitkopf 1784–87 than to the *dritte Auflage*: with this decision, he further distances himself from that edition than he already did in his foreword to his own edition (ibid., viii, n.10).

[74] The first of these, no. 2A, appears as no. 2 in Breitkopf 1784–87; the second, no. 2B, as no. 340; and the third, no. 2C, as no. 272. All settings are identified identically there.

[75] This indication may be seen in Figure 111.

[76] It is unclear how Becker chooses the key for a group of settings of a given tune, and he is silent on the subject, although he tends to present untransposed settings before transposed ones. He does not, it should be noted, necessarily preserve the key of the first harmonization of a given tune as it appears in Breitkopf 1784–87, nor does he present harmonizations in the order in which they appear in Breitkopf 1784–87. While one logical scheme would be to present simpler settings prior to more complex ones, it is not clear that he employs such a scheme.

[77] For an example of the latter, see the fifth and sixth settings of "Freu' dich sehr, o meine Seele" (Becker 1841–43, 51, no. 29).

musical text satisfies the first of these handily, but not the second.[78] He also seems to have reneged on another important aspect of the foreword: despite his insistence on the importance of situating settings within the musical works from which they were extracted and of their liturgical character, he includes no indication of either of these in the musical text. Thus, despite his avowed change of heart with respect to the nature of Bach's chorale settings, the conception of the pieces that he presents ultimately differs little from that presented in earlier editions: the settings remain four-part, mostly homophonic, and notionally vocal. He has presented a collection of objects of study.

Interestingly, the reception of Becker 1841–43 was mixed: while some later scholars acclaimed it, and the edition was used in some instructional settings, Woldemar Bargiel would report in 1891 that the edition was out of print.[79] Instead, the *dritte Auflage* printed a decade earlier would become the most canonical edition of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations, whether with respect to the pieces it comprises, their ordering, their mode of presentation, or their ultimate conception. This is surprising, since Becker's edition seems to accomplish more effectively what its predecessors did: his reordering and transposition of the pieces lends better to their study, and they at least appear to be more vocal. Yet as time went on, the edition increasingly became a curiosity, a passing moment in accounts of the history of Bach's chorale harmonizations.

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[78] This also seems to be Peter Krause's conclusion: "With this [edition],…Becker pursued pedagogical goals above all," although he focuses on the disposition on four staves and the use of "old clefs" ("Becker vergolte hierin wie auch im Übergang zur Partiturnotation und in der Benutzung alter Schläussel vor allem pädagogische Absichten"; Krause, " Beckers Wirken," 94.) The rest of Krause's discussion suggests that by "pedagogical" he in fact means what I have been calling "music-theoretical."

[79] Woldemar Bargiel, "Vorwort," in Johann Sebastian Bach, *Vierstimmige Kirchengesänge*, ed. Woldemar Bargiel, 8 vols. (Berlin: Bote & G. Bock, 1891–93), 2. Bargiel reports using Becker's edition for score-reading at the Königliche Hochschule in Berlin. Its unavailability was a motivation for Bargiel to pursue his own—but with some improvements, including restoring texts for singing and returning settings to their original keys (ibid.).

7.2 Marx, *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition, praktisch-theoretisch*

Before completely departing Becker's orbit, I will briefly examine a portion of Adolf Bernhard Marx's *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition, praktisch-theoretisch*.[80] The portion in question Becker cites in the foreword to his 1841–43 edition just discussed to support his insistence that Bach's four-part chorale settings must be considered in relation to the larger work from which they were extracted.[81] Becker observes that Marx "pronounces himself particularly well on this subject in his *Lehre von der Musik*."[82] Marx's text may make an instructive comparison for Becker in two senses. First, it offers a contrast to the other conceptions of Bach's chorale harmonizations that I explore in this dissertation, for Marx is thoroughly invested in understanding these pieces in the context of the larger work—perhaps more than any other figure explored here. Indeed, Marx seems to be responding to the same information about these pieces to which Becker is, but embracing it in ways that Becker did not. Second, Marx's text provides a helpful backdrop to the next chapter, since it is the earliest major music-theoretical German text in which the chorale figures prominently to make landfall in the United States.

For Marx, Bach's four-part chorale settings are fundamentally liturgical, sung pieces integrally connected to the larger musical works of which they were originally part. To be properly understood, Marx believes, the chorale settings must be considered within the context of these larger works, and particularly in relation to their drama and spiritual message. Moreover,

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[80] Adolf Bernard Marx, *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition, praktisch-theoretisch, zum Selbstunterricht, oder als Leitfaden bei Privatunterweisung und öffentlichen Vorträgen*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1837). For convenience, I hereafter abbreviate Marx's textbook to *Lehre der Komposition*.

[81] The passage from Becker 1841–43 in question is "the impression of these individual parts [in relation] to the whole must be other than if one considers them as independent settings" ["…der Eindruck dieser einzelnen Theile zum Ganzen muß dann wohl ein anderer sein, als wenn man sie als selbständige Bearbeitungen betrachtet"; Becker, "Vorwort" (Becker 1841–43), vi].

[82] "Trefflich äussert sich in dieser Hinsicht A. B. Marx in seiner Lehre von der musik" (ibid., vi, n.5).

even if issues of harmony and voice-leading are significant in Bach's chorale settings, they are so in service to these dramatic and liturgical issues. This attitude toward Bach's chorale settings is evident not only in Marx's arguments, but also in his provision of an analysis of several of these pieces from the *St. Matthew Passion* (BWV 244), his visual presentation of the settings he discusses, and his discussion of Abbé Vogler's "improvements" to several of Bach's chorale harmonizations.

The passage of Marx's *Lehre der Komposition* of interest here is an extensive note to a discussion in the second book of the first volume of the second edition. This book deals with the harmonization of melodies—specifically, of chorales and secular songs. The discussion to which the note is appended is entitled, "The Working Out of Harmony in Lines."[83] Up to this point in the treatise, Marx's teaching on chorale harmonization has centered on the supplying of simple harmonies; here, however, he broaches voice-leading, beginning with "the character of the voices" in general and then "the application to the chorale" of these characters.[84] When he considers "the artistic goal of setting chorales," he observes that chorale harmonization is not free composition, but is instead constrained by the given *cantus firmus* and its musical implications.[85] In addition to studying the *cantus firmus* closely to understand these implications, he advises the student "to go only so far…to satisfy a particular meaning of this or that place in the text, or finally [to satisfy] the entire text in every moment, as far as form and the resources [*Mittel*] of the chorale and the given *cantus firmus* permit it"—in other words, to be attentive not

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[83] "Ausführung der Harmonie in Stimmen" (Marx, *Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, 273 ff). The note is in fact one of numerous that appear in an appendix entitled "Nähere Winke und Zusätze für die praktische Durcharbeitung des ersten Theils" (Marx, *Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, 395). All citations of Marx's *Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition* here are from the second edition, since it is from this edition that Becker quotes. All translations are my own.
[84] "Karakter der Stimmen," "Anwendung auf den Choral" (Marx, *Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, 273 and 276).
[85] "…das künsterische Ziel der Choralbehandlung" (ibid., 281).

only to the musical implications but also to the semantic aspects of the text in question.[86] The note of interest here is appended to this discussion. In the note, Marx remarks on the indispensability of chorale harmonization for training in composition, counters an implied claim that harmonizing chorales is "dry and spiritless" (*dürr und geistlos*), and then briefly discusses some of the settings that he provides in a supplement to his textbook. While he leaves further consideration of these matters to the reader, he adds that "we may not leave this eminently important topic without a final word about the chorales of Sebastian Bach, who stands for master of the High Choral Style and eternal example."[87] This, evidently, is the passage to which Becker was referring.

Marx begins by observing that while collections of Bach's chorale harmonizations are by now well known, these pieces—"or at least the largest part—were taken out of various musical works for church, and not at all treated independently by him."[88] As such, he writes, these settings cannot be taken as free works of art in the genre of "chorale." Instead, one "must keep in mind that they were set [by Bach] under the influence of this or that specific church music, particular mood, and so on, [and] that in no way, then, does one have before them pure models [*reine Muster*] of free handling of chorales; but in order to judge [these pieces] correctly, [one] must go back to the place where Bach wanted his chorale to have its [particular] effect."[89] Marx

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[86] "Nur so weit zu gehen, nur dem allgemeinen Karakter jedes Chorals nachzutrachten rathen wir dem Schüler, bis er vollere Herrschaft und tieferes Bewusstsein über seine Kunst erworben hat und mit sicherm Erfolge streben mag, auch dem besondern Sinn dieser oder jener Textstelle, oder zuletzt dem ganzen Text in allen Momenten zu genügen, soweit es Form und Mittel des Chorals und der gegebne Cantus firmus gestattet" (ibid., 282).

[87] "Die weitere Prüfung überlassen wir einem Jeden, dürfen aber von dieser höchstwichtigen Sache nicht scheiden, ohne ein letztes Wort über Sebastian Bach's Choräle, der für den höhern Choralstyl als Meister und ewiges Muster dasteht" (ibid., 471).

[88] Marx cites here both the *dritte Auflage* and Becker 1841–43, the latter of which he calls "an excellent full-score edition from the commendable Becker" ("…eine vorzügliche Partitur-Ausgabe von dem verdienstvollen C. F. Becker"; ibid.).

[89] "Es sind bekanntlich schon vor Jahrzehnten mehrere hundert Bach'scher Choräle gesammelt und mehrmals herausgegeben worden. Allein diese Choräle (oder doch der grösste Theil) sind aus verschiednen Kirchenmusiken des Meisters herausgehoben, keineswegs von ihm selbständig behandelt worden. Man kann sie also, wie jedem

is here clearly responding to the first three editions of Bach's four-part chorale settings.[90] He

identifies several key aspects, including their extraction from larger musical works, their

recasting as independent pieces and abstract models for composition, and the attribution—if

usually implicit—of this version of these pieces to Sebastian Bach's intention. Instead, "if the

student therefore truly wishes to truly understand Bach's chorales, he must comprehend them

with respect to place and position, in connection with the church music into which the master

inserted them."[91]

To illustrate, Marx provides an example: "a chorale out of the St. Matthew Passion."[92] He

begins by explaining chorales' role in the work in general—a special one, in his view.

Interspersed in the events that the evangelist and others recount there are both solo numbers,

which express the sentiments of individuals, and chorales, which express the sentiments of the

Christian community. While Bach deploys these chorales with their traditional valence—as

simple songs of the people—he also accords them great worth, treating them with utmost

subtlety and care. Even how they enter, Marx maintains, conveys valuable dramatic information.

In light of Bach's careful treatment of these pieces, it is unusually instructive, he writes, to

examine every "stirring" in them in the greatest detail.

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gleich einleuchten muss, nicht ohne Weiteres als ein freies Kunstwerk im Choralfach aufnehmen und beurtheilen, sondern muss bedenken, dass sie unter dem Einflusse dieser oder jener bestimmten Kirchenmusik, besonderer Stimmung u. s. w. gesetzt sind, dass man also keineswegs überall reine Muster freier Choralbehandlung vor sich hat, vielmehr, um recht zu urtheilen, auf den Ort zurückgehen muss, wo Bach mit seinem Choral wirken wollte" (ibid.).

[90] It is surprising that Marx held Becker's edition in high regard (ibid., 471, n.*), given his criticism of the approach that Becker takes in the edition's musical text, as I discuss in the previous section.

[91] "Will der Schüler daher Bach's Choräle gründlich verstehen, so muss er sie an Ort und Stelle, im Zusammenhang der Kirchenmusik auffassen, in der sie der Meister eingeführt hat" (ibid., 471–72).

[92] "…einen Choral aus dem Matthäischen Passion" (ibid., 472).
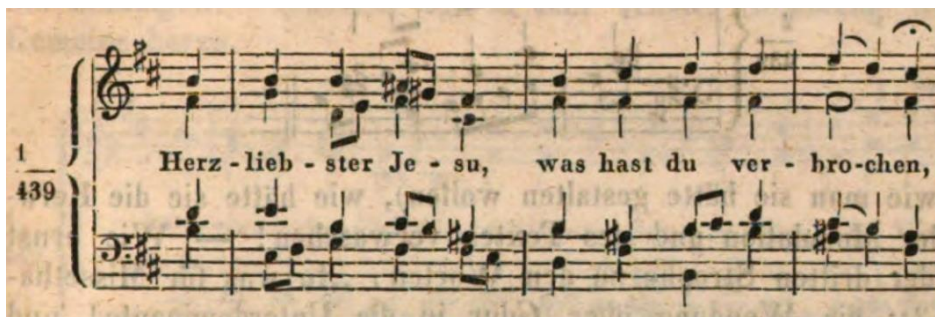
Figure 113: J. S. Bach, chorale setting "Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen," bb. 1–3; from *St. Matthew Passion* (BWV 244), as presented in Marx, *Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, vol. 1, 473.

To illustrate these points, Marx directs his attention to the first chorale setting from Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, "Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen," which he presents in its entirety on a two-staff score, along with its text (Figure 113). Marx's discussion of this chorale setting is rich and dramatic, and he throughout connects musical elements—key relations, cadences, and harmonic choices, among others—to the liturgical and dramatic narrative in which they participate. "How serious," he writes, "is the change to the subdominant through G major accompanying the words, 'What misdeeds…'!" for example, and how the various modulations and cadence capture the mood perfectly.[93] He devotes particular attention to voice-leading and individual lines—to "the melodiousness of each voice, always with an eye to the text" and "how each corresponds to the character of the whole"; as he writes, "the diligent and attentive student must ponder every step" of the harmony and voice-leading.[94] He also compares another setting of the same chorale and the dramatic effects of its different handling, regularly quoting portions of its text along the way, and then touches on several other settings in

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[93] "Wie ernst ist in der dritten Strophe zu den Worten : 'In was für Missethaten —?' die Wendung über Gdur in die Unterdominant!" (ibid., 474). The portion in question is bb. 8–9.

[94] "Nun prüfe man den Gesang jeder Stimme, stets mit Rücksicht auf den Text….Nun fasse man die Stimmen in ihrem Zusammenwirken in das Auge, wie jede ihrem Karakter entspricht"; "Die eifrige und sinnige Schüler muss jeden Schritt erwägen" (ibid.).

the *St. Matthew Passion* in similar fashion. The discussion is prolonged, particularly for a

supplementary note. He concludes his discussion of chorales in the passion with a wish: "may

the young person also recognize in those [foregoing] Bach chorales the traces of artistic

completeness, and then return to the typicalness of chorale treatment and allow it to be for the

moment his only occupation."[95] For Marx, in short, the chorale setting is inseparable from, an

integral player in, the larger musical work to which it belongs, and its interpretation must take

account of it.

In a final section in this protracted note, Marx engages with Carl Maria von Weber's

publication of Abbé Georg Joseph Vogler's reworkings of twelve of Bach's chorale settings.[96]

Marx's main criticism of these reworkings echoes the points he made earlier: Vogler's goal here

was

> to show how the chorales could have been set otherwise and better, corresponding better
> to the general principles of setting chorales….A true criticism and improvement [of these
> pieces] would have shown how those chorales could have been treated more in line with
> their goals in the larger works for which they were intended.[97]

Bach's and Vogler's settings differ to such a degree, Marx observes, "because Bach sang in his

church service out of [his] pious, true soul, while Vogler proceed out of [a desire] to show his

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[95] "So möge der Jünger auch in jenen Bach'schen Chorälen die Spuren künstlerischer Vollkommenheit erkennen, dann aber sich auf das Typische der Choralbehandlung zurückwenden und es für jetzt seine einzige Aufgabe sein lassen (ibid., 479).

[96] Carl Maria von Weber, Georg Joseph Vogler, and Johann Sebastian Bach, *Zwölf Choräle von Sebastian Bach umgearbeitet von Vogler* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1810).

[97] "Zu zeigen, wie die Choräle anders und besser—den allgemeinen Grundsätzen von Choralbehandlung entsprechender zu setzen gewesen wären….Eine wahre Kritik und Verbesserung hätte also zeigen müssen, wie jene Choräle für ihren Zweck in der bestimmten Kirchenmusik angemessener hätten behandelt werden können" (Marx, *Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, 481). Marx also restates the point he made earlier: "Er hat ja diese Choräle gar nicht als selbständige Aufgaben behandelt, sondern als Theile bestimmter Kirchenmusiken, folglich mit genauester Rücksicht auf diese, ganz hingegeben, ganz bedingt von der Stimmung des besondern Moments, in dem der Choral eintreten sollte" (ibid.).

harmonic artfulness or superiority."[98] But Vogler also chose the wrong pieces for the exercise: if Weber and Vogler wished to explore Bach's voice-leading prowess, Marx writes, they should instead have considered his B-minor Mass, or his eight-part motets, and other similar works.[99] Bach's chorale settings are for Marx principally liturgical works, with the voice-leading subservient to the narrative and liturgical drama.

Marx's view of Bach's chorale settings clearly diverges from the mainstream of attitudes discussed so far in this investigation. He is clearly aware of the mainstream practice of extracting Bach's four-part chorale from their musical and liturgical context, stripping their texts, and presenting them as models of harmony and voice-leading principles. But unlike other writers examined so far, he criticizes this practice explicitly. For one thing, it overlooks these pieces' ineluctable connection to the larger musical work to which they belong, in his view; if anything, the chorale settings depend for their meaning, in part, on this connection, whether to the movements surrounding them or to the larger work's dramatic themes and overall trajectory.[100] But for another—and by reason of these pieces' subjection to their broader context—Bach's chorale settings are not the best representatives of his harmony and voice-leading practice.[101]

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[98] "Weil Bach in seinem Gottesdienst aus frommer treuer Seele gesungen hat, während Vogler darauf ausging, seine harmonische Kunst oder Ueberlegenheit zu zeigen" (ibid., 483).

[99] Ibid., 480.

[100] Donald Mintz echoes similar themes when he reports on Marx's contributions to the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* around Mendelssohn's performance of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* that "there is constant emphasis in these articles on the true churchliness of the Passion": Mintz, "Aspects of the Bach Revival," 215. Mintz also writes that "Marx's articles in turn begin an entirely new trend in Bach criticism, a trend that marks a distinct and indeed violent rejection of the entire rational spirit of the Enlightenment" (ibid., 207).

[101] It should be noted that Marx does include several short excerpts of four-part chorale settings by Bach in the main body of the text—to demonstrate different "solutions" for a chorale tune: see Marx, *Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, 329–32, 346–47. Each of these excerpts is one to three bars and set on two staves without a text for singing, and Marx has also transposed each solution to the same key—as did Becker in his edition—for the purpose of comparison. These settings appear to all be taken from Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*. Marx makes no comment on his use of the settings in this manner, which resembles the approach that he criticizes in the note discussed above. He also cites the *dritte Auflage*, in addition to Becker's edition (ibid., 346)—as he does collections of chorale settings by a number of composers—but he gives no evidence of having consulted either of these editions; even in the settings that Marx transposes to the same key, this key is different than the one in which Becker presents the same settings (see Becker 1841–43, 77–83).

Marx's *Lehre der Komposition* shows that the mainstream conception of Bach's four-part chorale settings as models of music-theoretical principles was not unanimously held in nineteenth-century Germany. To be sure, Becker ultimately professes adherence to a conception of these pieces as integrally connected to the larger works from which they were extracted—even if this is a struggle for him. But when he produces his edition—in the preface of which he expresses this view—its musical text remains oriented to the mainstream conception, perhaps more than any other. Marx, by contrast, responding to the same evidence that Becker does, actually follows through on the view of these pieces as inseparable from their larger context, engaging in analysis of them that reflects his stated beliefs. Interestingly, Marx's view will crop up in later parts of this investigation; but among music theorists, he pursues it perhaps more than any other.

7.3 Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie* and *Lehrbuch des Contrapunkts*

In this section, I discuss the role of the chorale in two textbooks by Ernst Friedrich Richter: his *Lehrbuch der Harmonie* ("Manual of Harmony"; 1853) and *Lehrbuch des einfachen und doppelten Contrapunkts* ("Manual of Simple and Double Counterpoint"; 1872).[102] Richter's work plays an important role in the present investigation for several reasons. To begin with, his pedagogy was one of the first vehicles by which chorale-based music theory was transmitted to the United States—initially, through a textbook based on his approach written by an American student of his, James Parker's *Manual of Harmony* (1855), and soon after, through English

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[102] Ernst Friedrich Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1853); Ernst Friedrich Richter, *Lehrbuch des einfachen und doppelten Contrapunkts : Praktische Anleitung zu dem Studium desselben* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1872). For convenience, I will hereafter abbreviate these textbooks respectively as *Lehre der Harmonie* and *Lehre des Contrapunkts*, respectively.

translations of his textbooks, as I discuss in the next chapter. But Richter's work also

institutionalizes the chorale in music theory—first, by committing a chorale-based music-theory

pedagogy to the form of a textbook, thus systematizing it; and second, by doing so with a

specific music institution in view.[103] That the institution in question was the Leipzig

Conservatorium is also significant: as Ludwig Holtmeier writes, the Conservatorium quickly

became "the dominant model of the cultivation of professional European musicians in the second

half of the nineteenth century."[104] The conservatory's prestige was naturally one of the factors

that contributed to the dissemination of Richter's work in the United States. One source of this

prestige was its connection to Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, whose instruction under Zelter was

examined in the previous chapter. Mendelssohn founded the Conservatorium in 1843, his

prodigious brilliance having won him substantial recognition already in his early twenties.

In fact, Mendelssohn is directly connected to Richter's textbooks: it was he who

commissioned them. Richter reports on their genesis in the preface to his *Lehrbuch des*

Contrapunkts: "When at the suggestion of the now immortalized F. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy I

received the commission to prepare a textbook for the Leipzig Conservatorium, the assignment

to fulfill was to provide students with a short, condensed aid for the practice of the principles

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[103] Ludwig Holtmeier describes Richter's *Lehrbuch der Harmonie* as "a new type of manual for a new kind of institutional instruction" ("…einen neuen Typus von Lehrbuch für eine neue Art von institutioneller Lehre"; Ludwig Holtmeier, "Feindliche Übernahme. Gottfried Weber, Adolf Bernhard Marx und die bürgerliche Harmonielehre des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Musik & Ästhetik* 16, no. 63 [2012]: 17).

[104] "Das Leipziger Konservatorium, dass in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts zum dominierenden Modell der europäischen professionellen Musikerausbildung wurde" (ibid.). Wilhelm Adolf Lampadius reports that by July of the conservatory's first year of existence, "there were sixty-eight [applications of admission]; forty-two candidates were accepted,—among them two Dutchmen, one English-man, and one American" [Clive Brown, *A Portrait of Mendelssohn* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 175]. Holtmeier may be overstating the case, however: both the Paris and Vienna conservatories exerted considerable influences as well. On the influence of all three, see Bjørnar Utne-Reitan, "Music Theory Pedagogy in the Nineteenth Century: Comparing Traditions of Three European Conservatories," *Journal of Music Theory* 66, no. 1 (2022): 63–91.

brought forward in class and the rules that arise in the execution of practical exercises."[105] The

first product of this commission was Richter's *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, first published in

1853.[106] While according to Richter, "there was at that time no thought of a second and third

manual," his time teaching higher levels of music theory impelled him to seek "a special

treatment of these objects of instruction."[107] This impulsion led him to publish first his *Lehrbuch

der Fuge* (1859) and then his *Lehrbuch des Contrapunkts*.[108] His language and description of this

process in the preface to the last of these make clear that the three textbooks may—indeed,

should—be considered as closely related, although in this section my primary focus is on the

Lehrbuch der Harmonie and the *Lehrbuch des Contrapunkts*.

While Richter's doctrines and practices surrounding the chorale exhibit distinct

similarities to those of Kirnberger, Richter extends these doctrines further. To begin with,

Richter's conception of musical structure is identical to Kirnberger's in its basic details,

amounting as it does to four-part, notionally vocal homophony, but Richter articulates this

conception more clearly than Kirnberger with a more extensive conceptual vocabulary. Again

like Kirnberger, Richter prescribes the harmonization of chorale tunes as the best way to

understand his conception of musical structure, to the point of presenting chorale harmonizations

notationally the same way in which he presents illustrations of musical structure. While Richter

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[105] "Als ich auf Anregung des nun längst verewigten F. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy den Auftrag erhielt, ein Lehrbuch für das Leipziger Conservatorium der Musik zu bearbeiten, war die Aufgabe zu erfüllen: ein kurzes, gedrängtes Hilfsbuch zur Repetition der beim Unterricht vorgetragenen Grundsätze und Regeln zur Ausführung der praktischen Aufgaben den Schülern in die Hand zu geben" (Richter, *Lehrbuch des Contrapunkts*, v).

[106] Richter writes in the foreword to this textbook that "es galt bei dem praktischen Studiengang in der Theorie der Musik den Schülern ein Hilfsmittel zur Erläuterung der vorgetragenen Lehrsätze und zur Wiederholung derselben in die Hände zu geben" (Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, iii).

[107] "Während der Arbeit aber fühlte ich das Bedürfniss etwas weiter zu gehen als die Lehre der Harmonie streng genommen forderte, um so mehr als ein Gedanke an ein zweites und drittes Lehrbuch damals gänzlich fern lag….Bei der Erweiterung meiner Erfahrungen im Unterricht vieler Schüler in den höhern Aufgaben konnte mir dies nicht genügen und es machte sich mir eine besondere Bearbeitung dieser Lehrgegenstände immer wünschenswerther" (Richter, *Lehrbuch des Contrapunkts*, v).

[108] While the *Lehrbuch des Contrapunkts* comes earlier in the curriculum, Richter wrote the *Lehrbuch der Fugue* first because it came to him more quickly: ibid., vi.

resembles Kirnberger in illustrating the generation of musical works beginning from a four-part, homophonic framework, as well as reducing musical works into such a framework, he goes further than Kirnberger in demonstrating this generative process with respect to an existing musical work; indeed, he even attributes this technique to a composer. Finally, Richter also departs from Kirnberger in his complete lack of attention to J. S. Bach's chorale harmonizations; while he clearly reveres Bach and is familiar with his chorale settings, Richter does not employ them in his harmony curriculum.

7.3.1 Conception of Musical Structure

Richter is remarkably comprehensive and clear in describing his conception of musical structure in the *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*. This description appears early in the book, where he outlines several fundamentals; he has just described the concept of a harmony, and now he describes a set of conventions for conceptualizing harmonies and rendering them in a quasi-musical texture. These conventions are important for the remainder of Part I, in which Richter outlines a variety of "principles and rules" (*Grundzüge und Regeln*) pertaining to the handling of harmonies in this texture. In introducing these conventions, Richter writes that "we consider each harmony not as a simple mass, however, but rather distribute its constituent parts among four particular lines"; that is, harmonies are conceived as disposed in four parts, each of which has its own characteristics.[109] What precisely these characteristics are Richter does not articulate to a great extent, but his assigning them the names "soprano," "alto," "tenor," and "bass" associates

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[109] "Wir betrachten aber jede Harmonie nicht als eine blosse Masse, wie sie Compositionen für das Pianoforte häufig darstellen, sondern vertheilen ihre Bestandtheile unter vier besondere Stimmen" (Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 11). All translations of Richter's *Lehrbuch der Harmonie* in this chapter are my own. As in earlier discussions, I translate *Stimme* here as the more generic "line" instead of "voice."

the entire texture with a specifically choral ensemble, and thus affords the texture a certain

vocality. He also divides these lines into two groups: the "outer lines," constituting soprano and

bass, and the "middle lines," constituting alto and tenor. To be sure, the lines' vocality is

notional: later, in a discussion of the nature of these lines, Richter observes that these lines "are

always *thought of* as vocal lines"—and to be sure, he provides no further indication of an actual

vocality.[110]

Figure 114: "Notational arrangement" (*partiturmässige Anordnung*) of Richter's conception of musical structure (Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 11).

As with authors examined above, the visual manifestation of this conception of musical

structure is for Richter also an integral part of it: he moves immediately to describe this

conception's "notational arrangement" (*partiturmässige Anordnung*), presenting a score with six

different C major chords (Figure 114). This score consists of four staves, with each staff labelled

with one of the voice parts that Richter has just described; he also notates the chords in whole

notes and separates them with double bar-lines. The dispersion of the four notes of each chord

onto separate staves reflects the author's emphasis on the individuality and integrity of the lines,

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[110] "…die Stimmen, die im reinen Satze immer als Singstimmen gedacht werden" (ibid., 93, italics mine; see also Richter, *Lehrbuch des Contrapunkts*, 17: "…also selbständige Singstimmen behandelt werden").

and his labelling of each reinforces the vocality with which he imbues them.[111] While Richter calls attention to the "special clefs" that he uses for the three upper lines in light of their individual range, he departs from earlier authors by employing here all treble clefs, not C-clefs, even while permitting the use of other clefs.[112] As he immediately admits, however, Richter does not in fact follow his own prescriptions for notating harmonies; "for our next exercises, we do not employ a separate staff for each line, but, because of its simpler visual depiction, we will instead employ a presentation of the lines suited to the keyboard."[113] Here he disposes the same chords as in the previous illustration, but now on two staves, with the upper three voices mostly on the upper staff and the bass mostly alone on the lower (Figure 115).[114] In fact, this is Richter's preferred disposition for demonstrating principles of harmony and voice-leading (Figure 116). This disposition's associations with the keyboard and the comparative difficulty of following individual musical lines in it should not lead one to believe that he is uninterested in these lines' activity; on the contrary, he calls this presentation the "distribution of lines" (*Stimmenvertheilung*) and follows up this discussion with further observations about lines. As he writes, "the consideration of the lines takes places in a double sense: first, in the sense of the

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[111] It is curious that Richter only presents chords of the same harmony to illustrate voice-leading, since their constituent members do not lead in any natural way between chords; moreover, the double bar-lines between chords suggest that he does not in fact have voice-leading in mind here, even if he will in later demonstrations of principles of harmony and voice-leading. To be sure, he has not introduced the concept of voice-leading yet.

[112] "Für die drei obern Stimmen bedient man sich besonderer Schlüssel, die ihrem Umfange besser entsprechen" (Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 11). His use of the treble clef—the "violin clef," in his words—for the tenor line is particularly surprising; the clef that bears the tenor's name, which earlier authors use, is much lower in range than the treble clef. Richter does employ C-clefs at several places later in the textbook—most suggestively, at the beginning of Part III, at the beginning of the "practical application of harmonies," but here, too, quickly returns to a two-staff presentation (ibid., 128–30). He also returns to C-clefs in his in an explanation of suspensions: because this notation "provides a better view of the trajectory of each individual line," he recommends it for the realization of certain exercises and for developing score-reading skills (ibid., 92–96), but again quickly abandons it.

[113] "Für unsere nächsten Uebungen wählen wir der leichtern Uebersicht wegen nicht für jede Stimme ein besonderes Liniensystem, sondern wollen die claviermässige Darstellung der Stimmen benutzen" (ibid., 12).

[114] Interestingly, Richter reproduces in this illustration all of the chords in the earlier, four-staff illustration (Figure 114) identically except the fourth. Given the breadth of this chord's spacing and his association of this style of notation with the keyboard, he may have altered it to be more *claviermässig*.

trajectory [*Fortschritt*] of each voice independently, and second, with respect to [a voice's] relationship to the other voices. Both [relationships] must be pure and well-formed."[115] When both of these aspects are attended to, continues Richter, the result may be called "pure voice-leading" (*reine Stimmenführung*). This notion of purity (*Reinheit*) also has a place in the realm of "harmony and its progression," moreover, wherein it is achieved through seeking out the natural and lawful (*Aufsuchung des Natürlichen und Gesetzmässigen*).[116] Taken together, pure voice-leading and pure harmony constitute *reiner Satz* ("pure musical composition"), or strict style (*strenger Styl*).

Figure 115: Typical format for Richter's illustrations of harmonic principles (Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 12).

Figure 116: An illustration of harmonic principles typical for Richter in *Lehrbuch der Harmonie* (40).

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[115] "Die Berücksichtigung der Stimmen findet in doppelter Beziehung statt; einmal in Beziehung auf den Fortschritt jeder Stimme für sich allein, dann in ihrem Verhältnisse zu den übrigen Stimmen, welches Beides rein und wohlgebildet sein muss" (ibid., 12).
[116] While Richter is not explicit about this, what he means here is likely the "rules and laws" that he refers to in the next paragraph, which in turn seem to be his main preoccupation in the remainder of Part I.

This is a remarkably lucid and rich account of the conception of musical structure held by many authors in this investigation. Richter is more explicit about this conception than earlier authors: certain aspects that must be divined in Kirnberger's work, for example, are clearly and explicitly stated here. Absent from this account, however, is any sign of chorales; it may thus be fairly wondered whether the chorale connects at all to Richter's conception of harmonic structure. Indeed it does, even if the chorale arises for the first time substantially later in the textbook; moreover, the passage in question also reveals close connections to his conception of musical structure.

7.3.2 "Inner Harmonic Structure" and the Chorale

At the end of Chapter 14, Richter considers the relation of the foregoing chapters' contents—suspensions, pedal point, passing notes, and neighbor notes—to the textbook's broader goals:

> The importance of the topics explained in the twelfth to fourteenth chapters is great enough to subject them to a careful investigation, as the fundamental knowledge of these [topics] significantly contributes to the understanding of [the] inner harmonic structure [*innerer harmonischer Struktur*] of a composition. It remains, however, to speak about its relation to *reinen Satz*, the topic of our next studies.[117]

Richter does not define "inner harmonic structure," but he probably means something like what he had earlier described as a "harmonic framework" (*die harmonische Unterlage*), with reference to a minor scale. In this illustration, he provided a rhythmized scale on one staff and homophonic

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[117] "Die Bedeutung der in den zwölften bis vierzehnten Kapiteln erklärten Gegenstände für die Composition ist gross genug, um dieselben einer sorgfältigen Untersuchung zu unterwerfen, wie deren gründliche Kenntniss zum Verständniss innerer harmonischer Struktur einer Composition wesentlich beiträgt. —Es bleibt noch übrig, über ihr Verhältniss zum reinen Satze, dem Gegenstand unserer nächsten Studien, zu sprechen" (ibid., 114–15).

chords on a staff below it (Figure 117), observing that "the harmonic framework acts upon the shape of the minor scale itself."[118] In another passage immediately prior to that quoted above, he refers to the "underlying, solely harmonic structure" (*zum Grunde liegenden einfach harmonischen Struktur*) of a passage filled with passing notes.[119] Back to the passage quoted above, what Richter seems to have in mind is a simplified version of passages—one with the non-harmonic tones studied in Chapters 12 to 14 removed, for example. He even summarizes the goal of the foregoing the other way around, as the "recognition and working out of simple harmonic formations" (*Erkennung und Ausführung einfacher harmonischer Bildungen*), where "working out" also includes filling in such formations with non-harmonic tones, and "simple harmonic formations" abstract musical configurations like those he uses to illustrate principles of harmony throughout the textbook thus far.[120] As he writes, recognizing and working out these "simple harmonic formations" requires distinguishing "the essential from the inessential."[121] For the latter, he lists "all harmonic artifices" (*alle harmonischen Künsteleien*) and unusual harmonies, as well as "irregular" and "free" use of the non-harmonic tones that he mentioned earlier; the latter, he summarizes, is "everything that appears inappropriate for good, four-part

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[118] "…wohl aber wirkt die harmonische Unterlage auf die Bildung der Molltonleiter selbst, wie folgende Beispiele zeigen" (ibid., 29). Richter uses a comparable locution, *einfache harmonische Struktur*, earlier in the textbook with reference to knowledge of the inversion of intervals, but neither does he here explain what he means by it (ibid., 7–8).

[119] "…dass diejenigen Durchgangsnoten, die mit andern, ausser der zum Grunde liegenden einfach harmonischen Struktur, eine gleichsam innerste neue harmonische Führung bilden, natürlicher und milder sind, als diejenigen, deren Zusammenstellung sich harmonisch nicht nachweisen lässt" (ibid., 113).

[120] "Handelt es sich aber zunächst um Erkennung und Ausführung einfacher harmonischer Bildungen" (ibid., 115). While it is unclear what Richter means here by *zunächst*, I have interpreted it as referring to the contents of the textbook thus far.

[121] "Handelt es sich aber zunächst um Erkennung und Ausführung einfacher harmonischer Bildungen, so wird zwar Alles, was geeignet ist, die Stimmen auszubilden, mit Recht benutzt werden, Anderes aber, was ihnen bloss zur Ausschmückung dient, entfernt, kurz das Wesentliche vom Unwesentlichen getrennt bleiben müssen" (ibid.).

song."[122] Vocal composition, he explains, excludes many of the inessential features found in instrumental music, and thus is "the basis upon which all music is grounded."[123]

Figure 117: Illustration of the "harmonic framework" (*harmonische Unterlage*) of a minor scale (Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 29).

In sum, several aspects of "inner harmonic structure" may be discerned here. First, this structure pertains to musical textures, and every musical texture can be said to have such a structure. Second, this structure is within the texture; it is not equivalent to the texture but is a simpler version of it. Third, this version of the texture explains the texture, since it constitutes the texture's essence. And fourth, this structure in fact corresponds to Richter's conception of musical structure described above—that is, to four-part, notionally vocal homophony.

It is with this discussion of "inner harmonic structure" that Richter first invokes the chorale. This invocation is brief, however: he observes that "the setting of chorales or simple chorale-like pieces [*Sätzen*] is proposed as initially the most serviceable [way] of practicing the

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[122] "…kurz Alles, was einem einfachen, guten vierstimmigen Gesange unangemessen erscheint" (ibid.).

[123] "Wird überhaupt die Gesangscomposition als die Basis angenommen, auf die sich alle Musik gründet, so wird bei derselben von selbst Manches ausgeschlossen bleiben, was den Instrumentalcompositionen angemessen ist" (ibid.).

use of harmonies and of learning good and pure voice-leading."[124] In other words, chorale

setting, which Richter evidently considers an instantiation of the vocal composition connected

with "inner harmonic structure," helps ease the transition from theoretical knowledge about

harmony into musical textures, and voice-leading within that.

But the reader must wait until Chapter 18, which treats of "the expansion of harmonic

accompaniment," for a demonstration of chorale-setting to apply harmony and learn voice-

leading. This chapter is the second in Part III, which is devoted to "the application of

harmonies," by which he evidently means turning abstract harmonies into musical textures.[125]

Richter begins Part III with a procedure resembling species counterpoint—but, like Kirnberger,

beginning directly in four parts. While the previous chapter is devoted to settings entirely in

whole notes, in Chapter 18, Richter here introduces half notes into the non–*cantus firmus* lines.

He explains that "the use of the exclusively melodic progression in whole notes as exercises

(*cantus firmus*) contributed to the goal of revealing the simple harmonic content of a bar—or, as

occurs in *alla breve* meter, in its principal divisions (half notes)."[126] In other words, the shift

from whole-note to half-note textures amounts to the fragmentation or elaboration of a texture's

"simple harmonic content." His term "harmonic content" may probably be taken as another

synonym for "inner harmonic structure," since the illustrations of the two concepts closely

resemble each other. "If the exercise is in half notes," Richter observers, "chorales may be

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[124] "Wenn auch zur Uebung im Gebrauch der Harmonien und zur Erlernung einer guten und reinen Stimmenführung die Bearbeitung von Chorälen oder choralmässigen, einfachen Sätzen zunächst am zweckmässigsten vorgeschlagen wird…" (ibid.).

[125] "Praktische Anwendung der Harmonien" (ibid., 128).

[126] "Die Benutzung der einfach melodischen Fortschreitung in ganzen Noten als Aufgaben (cantus firmus) geschah zu dem Zweck, um den einfachen harmonischen Inhalt eines Takts, oder wie im Allabreve-Takt geschieht, in seinen Haupttheilen (halben Noten) darzustellen" (ibid., 149). The term "progression" (*Fortschreitung*) here is unusual in present-day music-theoretical discourse. I take Richter's use of the term to reflect the fact that *cantus firmi* are typically characterized by stepwise (*schreiten*=to step), gradual motion, and by I understand *cantus firmus* in this passage as a gloss of everything that precedes it.

selected for the task"—that is, the task of "applying" harmonies, of exercises in harmonic and voice-leading principles.[127] In other words, this shift from whole notes to half notes opens the possibility for incorporating chorales—which he apparently considers are necessarily in half notes. He describes this procedure: "for personal practice, the root notes of good available harmonic settings of chorales may be taken and a [new] setting attempted."[128] To demonstrate, he first provides a chorale tune, "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," notated in half notes and with letters above the staff indicating the harmonic roots evidently taken from another setting (Figure 118).[129] He continues: "the working-out of this chorale could be according to the earlier exercise, as follows."[130] To demonstrate this working-out, he provides a setting of the tune according to the harmonies written above the staff (Figure 119); as promised, the result is in four parts and largely homophonic, like the earlier exercises. Visually, it resembles the settings in Birnstiel 1765/69, in that it is on two staves, with two parts per stave throughout, and with no text for singing or any other indications of intended instrumentation. The only hint that it is a chorale are the fermatas at cadences—decidedly subtle as a marker.[131]

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[127] "Geschieht die Aufgabe in halben Noten, so können hierzu Choräle gewählt werden" (ibid., 149).

[128] "Für die eigenen Uebungen können sehr leicht die Grundtöne vor handener guter harmonischer Bearbeitung von Chorälen ausgezogen und die Bearbeitung versucht werden" (ibid.).

[129] This is, incidentally, the same tune that Kirnberger uses in one of his demonstrations of chorale harmonizations (see Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, 226–28), although he names it there "Du dessen Augen floßen, so bald sie Zion sahn, etc.", an alternate text for this tune—and that used in the first chorale setting in Graun's popular *Der Tod Jesu*. The frequency with which authors invoke this particular tune for exercises is remarkable, yet unfortunately authors typically do not comment their reasons for this choice.

[130] "Die Ausführung dieses Chorals könnte nach obiger Aufgabe folgende sein" (Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 149).

[131] Another obvious difference—and not a textural one—is the length of the cantus firmus in question: the chorale tune is substantially longer than the cantus firmus he used in the prior demonstrations. Richter does not call attention to this difference.

Figure 118: Chorale tune that Richter proposes for demonstrating setting a chorale (Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 149).

Figure 119: Demonstration setting of the chorale tune "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" (Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 149; only first two lines provided).

That Richter should introduce this procedure of "applying" harmonies with the aid of chorales is noteworthy for several reasons. First of all, the chorale is the first musical genre he has invoked so far; almost everything else has been abstract illustrations of harmonic principles, whether with musical notation or other means.[132] But the way he deploys it is less as a musical

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[132] Richter does provide a short excerpt from Beethoven's "Leonore" overture and cites just by name several other pieces: ibid., 101, 105.

genre and more as "harmonic content" or "harmonic structure"; the salient difference is that Richter seems to consider "harmonic structure" as occurring in whole notes and chorales in half notes.

7.3.3 Elaboration of Musical Textures

On the heels of his illustration of chorale harmonization, Richter outlines a procedure that illustrates the notion of "inner harmonic structure" yet more vividly. This procedure appears in the following chapter, where Richter begins by clarifying that his goal is the development (*Ausbildung*) of melody, as the chapter is entitled, and not its invention (*Erfindung*).[133] This concept, which he calls "the most important thing for our harmonic exercises," will help "to learn to know and to apply what is essentially harmonic."[134] Thus, while the exercises may appear oriented toward melody, they ultimately concern harmonic principles. Richter states two such principles:

> Every worked-out and developed melody has a foundation [*Grundlage*] that is just as simple as the ones that we used in our last examples.

> Every instance of complicated harmonic voice-leading can be traced back to a simple harmonic connection [*Verbindung*].[135]

Beyond the two principles just cited, he also observes that to perform this tracing back, "it is necessary to learn how to differentiate the essential notes from the accessory or secondary

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[133] "Ueber Ausbildung der Melodie" (ibid., 150).
[134] "…was für unsere harmonischen Uebungen das Wichtigste ist…das wesentliche Harmonische derselben kennen und gebrauchen zu lernen" (ibid.).
[135] "Jede noch so ausgeführte und ausgebildete Melodie hat eine eben so einfache Grundlage, wie wir sie in unsern letzten Beispielen als Aufgaben benutzt haben. / Jede noch so complicirte harmonische Führung der Stimmen lässt sich auf einfache Harmonieverbindung zurückführen" (ibid.).

items," as discussed above.[136] The "last examples," it should be noted, are the four-part settings of *cantus firmi* just discussed, the final of which is a chorale setting.

Figure 120: Melody of Richter's elaboration demonstration (Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 151).

Figure 121: Initial "working-out" (*Ausarbeitung*) of the melody (Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 151).
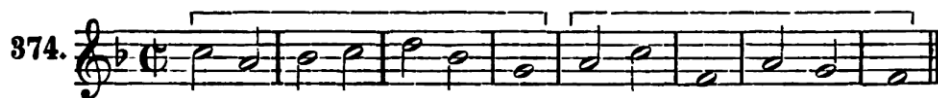
Figure 122: Imposition of phrase structure to the melody (Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 152).

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[136] "Um dies zu erkennen, ist es nothwendig, die wesentlichen Noten von dem Bei- und Nebenwerk unterscheiden zu lernen" (ibid.).

Figure 123: Richter's examples of possible metrical renderings of the selected melody (Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 152).

Figure 124: The original melody after the addition of passing and neighbor notes (Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 152).

Figure 125: Addition of "accessory tones" (*Nebentöne*; Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 152–53).

Richter next proceeds through a seven-stage demonstration of how a melody may be "developed," beginning with a single line written "in the simplest way"—that is, in whole notes with chordal roots written above them, like the *cantus firmi* in the procedure chapter (Figure 120).[137] The presence of chord roots, of course, confirms that this is not merely an exercise in

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[137] "…die wir in der einfachsten Weise nach obiger Art mit Bezeichnung der Grundtöne aufschreiben wollen" (ibid.).

melody, but that Richter in fact conceives of the melody harmonically.[138] This is confirmed in

his first setting—in four-part homophony on two staves (Figure 121)—which he suggests is a

sort of version of the *cantus*. This is a surprising conception of a *cantus*: typically, *cantus* are

thought of as distinct from their settings. In the third stage, Richter reverts to a single line,

imposing a phrase-structural interpretation on it (Figure 122) and setting it in mostly half notes

rather than whole notes; in the process, the melody takes a clearer musical shape. In the fourth

stage, Richter imposes further metrical interpretation, suggesting three possibilities (Figure 123).

In the fifth, he adds passing and neighbor notes to yet another metrical interpretation (Figure

124), and in the sixth, he adds additional "accessory notes," partly through chromaticism and

partly through a greater variety of durations (Figure 125). In the last stage, moreover, he calls

attention to the essential–accessory distinction by providing two lines, the one below drawn from

the fourth stage and labelled "original," and the one above evidently an elaboration of it, filled in

with "accessory notes."[139] Richer also labels the elaboration with the expressive indication

adagio, which, in conjunction with the character that the greater variety of notes and alterations

offers, lends the impression of having crossed a threshold dividing abstract musical schematic

from something closer to an actual musical work. The crossing of this threshold is significant not

only for the elaboration procedure at hand, but also for the textbook as a whole, one of whose

curricular goals is to teach musical composition.[140] Finally, Richter fills out the elaborated line in

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[138] This is reinforced by Richter's use of the singular form of *beide* to describe this musical material, which amounts to treating them as a single unit: "Beides, Melodie und Harmonie, ist einfach gewählt" (ibid., 151).

[139] He also identifies it in his prose as "basic line" (*Grundstimme*): ibid., 153.

[140] Richter himself suggests as much following the example to be discussed momentarily: "it was necessary for us to place in the correct light the relationship of the exercises we had [undertaken] so far with the practical side [of composition]" ("…eben so sehr war es uns hierbei nur darum zu thun, theils die Beziehung unserer bisherigen Uebungen zur praktischen Seite ins rechte Licht zu setzen" [ibid., 156]).

four parts—although the non-*cantus* parts prove to be slightly elaborated versions of those in the second stage, as Richter's reference to "the original harmony" makes clear (Figure 126).[141]

Figure 126: Restoration of harmony (Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 153).

Across these seven stages, then, Richter begins with a *cantus firmus* and develops it into a phrase that might have been extracted from an actual musical work; as he observes, he intends the example to show "of what development [*Entwickelung*] the simplest melodic and harmonic phrase is capable."[142] Yet while he calls the procedure "development" of both melody and harmony, Richter's rhetoric suggests that he sees the relationship between the "foundation" and the final product as bidirectional—that is, the foundation can still be discerned in the final

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[141] This relationship may explain why the non–*cantus firmus* parts in Figure 121 are so dull in comparison with most of the other four-part homophonic settings in the textbook: Richter presumably had the final result in Figure 126 in mind when designing Figure 121.

[142] "…nur zu zeigen, welcher Entwickelung der einfachste melodische und harmonische Satz fähig ist" (ibid., 153).

product. This is evident in the principles presented above—particularly the second, with his verb "traced back" (*zurückgeführt*), but also in the distinction between "essential" and "accessory" notes, with its implication that the removal of the latter will yield the foundation.

The relationship between foundation and "complicated harmonic voice-leading" is so important to Richter that he provides a further verification (*Probe*) of it. He begins with a different four-part homophonic texture that again resembles the visual presentations of his model of musical structure (Figure 127). In a four-stage condensation of the seven-stage procedure just described, Richter appears to compose a string quartet by Beethoven (Figure 128).[143] By showing the presence of such a foundation in a canonical musical work, Richter anticipates the objection that the notion of a foundation does not concord with actual repertoires. But Richter goes yet further, providing a later portion of the same movement that varies the first excerpt he provided (Figure 129). Furthermore, Richter states outright the claim implicit here: even if "when composing, one does not always proceed in the way shown above," he observes, "with the later variation of the original melody Beethoven could proceed in no other [way]."[144] In other words, what Richter has been describing is in fact the procedure that Beethoven himself must have used.

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[143] Richter performs the procedure this time in only four stages from framework to final product; for the sake of brevity, I reproduce only the first and last stage. The piece in question is the second movement of Beethoven's String Quartet in E-flat major, Op. 74. The first excerpt is the opening eight bars of this movement (less a one-bar introduction), and the second excerpt bb. 64–7 of the same movement.

[144] "…eben so gewiss es ist, dass man bei der Composition nicht immer auf die oben gezeigte Art verfährt, (wenn auch Beethoven bei den späteren Umänderungen jener ursprünglichen Melodie zum Theil nicht anders verfahren konnte)" (ibid., 155–56).

Figure 127: The "progression of basic harmonies" (*Grundharmonienfortschreitung*) of Beethoven's String Quartet in E-flat, Op. 74, II (Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 154).

Figure 128: Beethoven's String Quartet in E-flat, Op. 74, II, bb. 2–5, as presented in Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 154 (only first system shown).

Figure 129: Beethoven's String Quartet in E-flat, Op. 74, II, bb. 64–66, as presented in Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 155.

Richter supports his claim that every worked-out melody has a foundation via a procedure of elaboration of a framework to a more complex texture; but in some respects, it would be more intuitive to demonstrate this claim through the reverse operation—that is, a reduction. While he does not address this concept in his *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, it is strongly implied. In his *Lehrbuch des Contrapunkts*, however, he outlines this procedure clearly, and his discussion of the procedure reinforced his statements concerning musical structure discussed above.

7.3.4 Reduction in Lehrbuch des Contrapunkts

To recall, Richter's *Lehrbuch des Contrapunkts* is the second textbook in his three-part curriculum, following the *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*. The author's discussion of reduction occurs at the very beginning of the first chapter, which is entitled "The Relationship of Harmonic

Composition [*Satz*] to Counterpoint."[145] The nature of this "relationship" Richter already hints at in the title of the larger section that this chapter opens: "The Development of Counterpoint from a Harmonic Foundation."[146] The aim of this section, it would seem, is in part to bridge the gap from his harmony textbook to his counterpoint textbook: how do the concepts in the former relate to the latter? He begins by observing that "we base our first stage on the earlier method of instruction, with a few limitations."[147] The "earlier method" here is species counterpoint, as he explains, and one of his departures from species counterpoint is his different starting point: instead of a two-part texture, a four-part one. The reason for this is, he explains further, is "because we generally attach a greater importance on the harmonic progression as foundation [*Grundlage*] in our music." In other words, a four-part texture provides a harmonic foundation that a two-part texture does not.[148] In the process, moreover, he implicity equates the notion of "harmonic foundation" with four parts. This assumption was already apparent in the elaboration procedure described above: when he "works out" abstract harmonies into a musical texture, this texture is automatically—and only ever—four-parted. Harmony is for Richter necessarily four-parted. Unlike the two-part texture standard in species counterpoint, moreover, this four-part texture lends direction to a texture. A four-part texture also has direction, Richter observes, while characterizing the result of traditional, two-part counterpoint as "accidental" and the approach to it "at times mechanical."

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[145] "Das Verhältniss des harmonischen Satzes zum Contrapunkt" (Richter, *Lehrbuch des Contrapunkts*, 14).

[146] "Die Entwickelung des Contrapunktes aus der harmonischen Grundlage" (ibid.).

[147] "…legen wir für dieses erste Stadium die frühere Lehrmethode mit einigen Einschränkungen zum Grunde" (ibid.).

[148] "Wenn wir, entgegengesetzt der frühern Lehrart, anstatt vom zweistimmigen Satz vom vierstimmigen ausgehen, so geschieht es, weil wir der harmonischen Folge als Grundlage in unserer Musik überhaupt eine grössere Bedeutung beilegen" (ibid., 15). Richter also uses the term *harmonische Grundlage* in the previous paragraph in reference to the first species of "Fux and his followers" (ibid.). Richter discusses this notion in the book's introduction; see in particular his definition of counterpoint: "die freie, melodisch–selbständige Führung einer Stimme in Verbindung mit einer oder mehreren andern gegebenen oder vorhandenen melodischen Stimmen unter den Gesetzen der harmonischen Verbindung und Fortschreitung" (ibid., 2).

To illustrate both the notion of an underlying progression and the direction that such a progression lends, Richter provides two musical examples. One is "a short movement from Bach": the choir's entrance in the opening movement of J. S. Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* (Figure 130). The other is evidently a simplified version of the passage in four-part homophony within a relatively tight range (Figure 131).[149] Striking about the demonstration is the contrapuntal nature of the original compared with the simplified version: the original begins with a duo where both parts play off each other to maintain constant activity at the eighth-note level, and then after two bars, the same combination enters at the fifth in the inner parts while the first two parts move on to new material. In short, the texture is active and changing—complicated, to use Richter's term above. The simplified version, by contrast, is throughout in four-part homophony, and so even where there are only two parts in the original, Richter has filled in the texture—in some cases with pitches found in the parts' activity, in some cases apparently by interpretation. He describes the interpretation by observing that "with[in] all of the contrapuntal independence of the lines in this well-known phrase, the following harmonic progression is decisive [*maßgebend*]," and also calls the progression "determinative" (*Bestimmende*).[150] By this, he appears to mean that the simplified version in fact somehow controls, perhaps even produces, the original version.

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[149] "Bei aller contrapunktischen Selbstständigkeit der Stimmen ist in diesem bekannten Satze doch allein folgende einfache Harmoniefolge maassgebend" (ibid., 16).

[150] "…das Bestimmende derselben nicht zu verkennen" (ibid., 16). It should be noted that Richter believes Bach's music to have marked a fundamental shift in the very musical organization he seeks to illustrate here, even if this feature applies to most or all music after him: "Was frühere Bestrebungen nicht erreichten, war ihm möglich, nämlich : die freieste melodische Selbstständigkeit der Stimmen auf naturgemässer Grundlage der fortschreitenden Harmonie" (ibid., 7; see also 15). The history of contrapuntal/harmonic organization that Richter presents in the textbook's introduction reads as a teleological account of the emergence of the harmonic organization that he describes here.

Figure 130: Opening of J. S. Bach, *St. Matthew Passion*, as presented in Richter, *Lehrbuch des Contrapunkts*, 15–16.

Figure 131: Harmonic–contrapuntal interpretation of the opening of J. S. Bach, *St. Matthew Passion*, as presented in Richter, *Lehrbuch des Contrapunkts*, 16.

It is clear that the four-part, simplified version of the Bach passage is the same concept as what in his *Lehrbuch der Harmonie* Richter described as a harmonic "foundation," just presented in the reverse order, and without any steps demonstrating how he derived this foundation.[151] As with the demonstration in the harmony textbook, Richter's simplification here matches in all its

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[151] Richter's omission of a procedure here likely relates to his broader goals for the passage: Richter is still in an introductory mode at this point, catching the reader up on basic concepts that the textbook apparently assumes.

details the beginning texture of his elaboration procedure—that is, it is four-part homophony within a constrained range. It also serves a similar function, underlying the texture in question—historically and compositionally in the earlier demonstration, hermeneutically in this demonstration. To be sure, Richter's claims about the simplified demonstration in this case exceed those concerning the harmonic foundation in the *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, in which his claim was merely for the existence of the foundation; here, the foundation exerts an influence on the original. In brief, this demonstration confirms the picture in the earlier textbook: Richter conceives of harmony as fundamentally in four-part homophony, and a foundation in this texture underlies any musical texture.

Before concluding this examination of Richter's textbooks, it is worth considering one more topic: the place of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations. Interestingly, Becker does not incorporate these pieces into his curriculum; in fact, he does not even mention them. This is surprising, given that he must have been familiar with, if not steeped in, these pieces, given the enthusiasm surrounding Bach's music in Leipzig during the Bach revival—which Mendelssohn, who had commissioned his textbooks, had provided the greatest spark for with the 1829 performance of the *St. Matthew Passion* in Berlin. Moreover, Becker, who, as seen above, was intimately involved with these pieces, also taught at the Leipzig Conservatorium. And indeed, Richter was clearly enthusiastic for Bach's works, as his textbooks bear witness.[152] Richter also knew Marx's *Die Lehre von der musikalische Composition*, since he cites it in his *Lehrbuch des Contrapunkts*.[153]

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[152] In the *Lehrbuch des Contrapunkts*, Richter calls Bach "der grösste aller Contrapunktisten": ibid., 7. He also cites Bach's fugues in numerous places in his *Lehrbuch der Fuge*.

[153] Richter clearly admired Marx's *Lehre von der musikalischen Composition*: in his introduction his *Lehrbuch des Contrapunkts*, Richter refers to "Dr. Marx's great manual of composition," even if he also criticizes it for, among other matters, its author's avoidance of "abstract studies in harmony and counterpoint" ("…seines grossen Lehrbuchs der Composition"; "…dass abstracte Studien in Harmonie und Contrapunkt vermieden sind"; ibid., 11).

But the incorporation of Bach's chorale settings into a music theory curriculum may not have been as obvious to Richter—or Zelter, for that matter—as it is to present-day American music theorists, who can hardly escape these pieces. For one thing, Richter employs little musical repertoire in general; unlike Goetschius, for example, whose writings I explore in Chapter 9, Richter's pragmatic, no-nonsense approach leaves little room for examples of musical repertoire. For another, Richter's conceptualization of musical works as underpinned by a four-part, homophonic, notionally vocal framework might in fact make him less likely to incorporate these pieces; would not the similarity—both visually and conceptually—be confusing to students? Moreover, the derivation of the underpinning framework for Bach's chorale settings would likely be a disappointing affair—amounting to the removal of "non-essential" tones; if anything, an argument for the presence of a four-part underlying framework is more vivid and compelling when it is derived from textures with more or fewer lines than four.

Richter's textbooks point up nineteenth-century German music theorists' lack of enthusiasm for incorporating Bach's chorale settings into their instruction. They would not fulfill Emanuel Bach and Kirnberger's suggestions that these be used for music theory instruction; it would be American music theorists who ultimately heeded this call.

Chapter 8 The Nineteenth-Century United States: Transmission and Naturalization

In the previous chapter, I discussed the chorale in several mid-nineteenth-century German sources. I showed authors' varied conceptions of Bach's four-part chorale settings, with Carl Ferdinand Becker unable to surrender his view of these pieces as autonomous music-theoretical objects and Adolf Bernhard Marx, by contrast, insisting on the importance of their larger musical and liturgical context for their interpretation. I also showed Ernst Friedrich Richter's refinement of the chorale-infused curriculum found in Kirnberger and Karl Friedrich Zelter's instruction— but with no sign of Bach's chorale settings.

In this chapter, I examine the transmission of the chorale from Germany and its naturalization in the United States through several sources. The first an English translation of Adolf Bernhard Marx's *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition* by Herrman Saroni, a German émigré to the United States and a self-described student of Mendelssohn, that appeared in 1852. I also examine a textbook by an American, James Parker, who studied with Richter in Germany and wrote a *Manual of Harmony* (1855) that draws substantially on Richter's views. The next two sources are connected to John Sullivan Dwight, another evangelist of German culture to Americans. I consider Dwight's essay "Bach's Chorals [*sic*]," in which he advocates for the use of Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations, as well as a small edition of these pieces whose imminent publication the essay announces. Next, I briefly discuss a note in a translation of Richter's *Lehrbuch der Fuge* that recommends the use of the *dritte Auflage* edition discussed above, and I close with three textbooks written for the American market by authors connected to

Richter or his students: Stephen A. Emery's *Elements of Harmony* (1879), Percy Goetschius's *The Material Used in Musical Composition: A System of Harmony* (1889), and Arthur Foote and Walter R. Spalding's *Modern Harmony in its Theory and Practice* (1905).

I show in this chapter the quick adoption of chorale-based German instruction in American music theory, on one hand, and the much slower adoption of Bach's chorale settings as music-theoretical objects, on the other, even while the latter possibility was available to Americans at an early stage. Saroni's translation of Marx's *Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition* establishes a context for this chapter, presenting the chorale to an audience unfamiliar with it as a secularized repository for German culture, and specifically for German music-theoretical principles. The main conduit of chorale-based instruction, however, was students of Ernst Friedrich Richter. Parker's *Manual of Harmony* (1855) shows that the essential parts of Richter's teachings—representing tonal music as four-part homophony, and the connection of this representation to the practice of harmonizing chorales—were already available in mid-nineteenth-century American music theory; but Parker departs from Richter in presenting a chorale setting by Bach, even if quietly. Dwight's "Bach's Chorals," moreover, demonstrates that the idea of representing Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations as models for four-part composition was already available to Americans mid-century, even if Dwight leaves this possibility completely unexplored. Emery's *Elements of Harmony* reflects an attitude toward the chorale similar to Parker's *Manual*; but Goetschius recommends the study of Bach's chorale settings, albeit more as musical works than as embodiments of music-theoretical principles. Foote and Spalding, however, are perhaps first to present an excerpt of Bach's chorale settings, even if this excerpt nearly disappears among their quotation of other chorale-like works. These

authors consider Bach's chorale settings as more representative of counterpoint than harmony, and as such they largely fall between the cracks of harmony and counterpoint curriculums.

8.1 The American Reception of J. S. Bach

I will begin by providing some background on American musical culture relevant to this chapter.[1] Unlike other German composers like Handel, Mozart, and Beethoven, Bach's music was largely unknown in the United States for most of the first half of the nineteenth century.[2] Only two of his works surface prior to 1829, and this largely out of sight.[3] Mendelssohn's 1829 performance of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* in Berlin that sparked the Bach Revival evidently also had an effect in the United States: some of the earliest appearances of Bach's music in print were from this work. One of these, his setting of the chorale "Befiehl du deine Wege," appeared in an 1839 issue of *The Seraph*, a monthly publication of chorale music published by Lowell Mason from 1838 to 1840.[4] Mason printed another setting of Bach's in *The Modern Psalmist*, a tune book, although he attributed it to "Joh. Herrm. Schein," and in a later edition of the same collection attributed another tune to Bach that is not found in his works.

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[1] Beyond the sources cited below, the journal *Bach Perspectives* devotes an entire volume to Sebastian Bach's reception in the United States: see Vol. 5, *BACH IN AMERICA*.

[2] Barbara Owen records the appearance of Handel's choral works in the United States around the middle of the eighteenth century and the establishment of the Handel and Haydn Society in Boston in 1815 (Owen, "Bach Comes to America," 1). David W. Music observes that "while United States compilers issued tune books named after Beethoven, Handel, Haydn, Mendelssohn, and Mozart, none titled their book The Bach Collection of Church Music" ("Early Bach Publications," 69).

[3] The first piece printed was a "Polonoise" from one of Bach's French suites published in a piano tutor by Johann Christian Gottlieb Graupner that drew substantially from an 1801 piano tutor compiled by Clementi published in London (Clark, "Beginnings of Bach," 339). Owen describes a manuscript of Bach's cantata "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott" (BWV 80) made by Moravian schoolmaster and musician John Christian Till in 1823, but questions whether it was ever used in performance (Owen, "Bach Comes to America," 3).

[4] Music, "Early Bach Publications," 49. The setting is titled "MIZZAH" and bears the additional note "From the Passion Music, of John Sebastian Bach."

These appearances of Bach's music are typical in several ways. First, they are products of "missionaries" of Bach's music.[5] *The Seraph* was one of several publications that shared news and printed music from Europe around this time, selections from two of which I discuss below in this chapter. Indeed, the flow of musical culture from the European continent was gradually increasing, whether through the American reprinting of European material, the emigration of German and English musicians to the United States, or the return of American students after studying in Europe.[6] Second, the setting of "Befiehl du deine Wege" was altered from Bach's original version in typical ways. One obvious way is the imposition of an English text, usually unrelated to the original German. Others include swapping the soprano and the tenor, lengthening musical phrases to accommodate typically longer English lines of text, and omitting repeats to accommodate the fewer lines of English texts.[7] In some cases, editors would simplify Bach's settings considerably.[8] In A. N. Johnson's *Instructions in Thorough Base* (1844), the author presents sixteen settings for continuo practice with their alto and tenor lines missing.[9] Third, mistaken attributions abound, reflecting a general lack of knowledge of Bach's music. In some cases—as with Johnson's *Instructions*—the author simply identified his chorale settings as

[5] For this term, Owen quotes John C. Schmidt, *The Life and Works of John Knowles Paine* (Owen, "Bach Comes to America," 3), and Dirst applies it to John Sullivan Dwight ("Doing Missionary Work").

[6] See Owen, "Bach Comes to America," 3. On American musicians studying in Europe, see Bomberger, "The German Musical Training of American Students, 1850–1900,"

[7] Music observes that "the Bach pieces that were inserted into the tune books were often adapted—or mangled—almost beyond recognition by American compilers," and that "rarely were works left untouched" ("Early Bach Publications," 75, 68).

[8] Owen presents an example of one such simplification from B. F. Baker and I. B. Woodbury's *The Choral: A Collection of Church Music Adapted to the Worship of All Denominations* printed in 1845: Owen, "Bach Comes to America," 4–5.

[9] See Music, "Early Bach Publications," 53, 61–62.

"German choral [sic]."[10] Fourth, chorale settings by Bach increasingly appeared printed in music

periodicals, particularly through champions like Mason and Dwight.[11]

The presence of Bach's music in the United States is directly related to its availability in

print in Europe. The genre of Bach's music most frequently appearing in American compilations

was his chorale harmonizations; these were available in multiple editions, three of which were

discussed preceding chapters. To be sure, some of the chorale settings came directly from the *St.*

Matthew Passion—that is, without the intermediary of an edition—again, owing to its

availability in the *Passion*'s 1830 printing; this is the case with the chorale setting in *The Seraph*

mentioned above.[12] The fact that compilers seem not to have borrowed from each other but

instead drawn from German sources reinforces the significant role that these publications—and

their American disseminators—played for knowledge of Bach's music in the United States.[13] In

1850, Oliver Ditson published an edition in Boston of Bach's *Wohltempierte Clavier*, which was

first of Bach's works to be published apart from collections of his chorale settings.[14] A watershed

moment, however, came in 1850 with the establishment in Germany of the Bach Gesellschaft;

the Gesellschaft undertook an edition of Bach's complete works, the first of which appeared in

1851. This may have been the impetus for the first recorded performance of Bach's music in the

United States in 1853: Bach's concerto in D minor (BWV 1063), performed on the piano by

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[10] Ibid., 50–51.

[11] Mason published two of Bach's chorale harmonizations the *New York Musical Review* in 1857: see Lowell Mason, "A German Choral," *New York Musical Review*, 1857. (Music mistakenly records the year of publication as 1851: see Music, "Early Bach Publications," 72). Dwight published two chorale harmonizations in conjunction with his article "Music in this Number" (86), both of which are identified as "Herzlich thut mich verlangen" and featuring the same English text, "Hope on, poor soul, forever." It should be noted that because they were evidently part of the issue's front matter, collations of multiple issues of *Dwight's Journal* typically omit this addendum, as they do for other front matter.

[12] Music observes that the setting appears in the available editions in D major, whereas in the *Passion*—as in *The Seraph*—it is in E-flat major: Music, "Early Bach Publications," 51–52.

[13] Ibid., 69.

[14] Clark, "Beginnings of Bach," 344.

three German émigrés accompanied by string quartet.[15] The earliest recorded performance of one of Bach's choral works, moreover, occurred in 1858 and was his motet *Fürchte dich nicht* (BWV 228).[16] Over the ensuing decades, performances of Bach's works rose steadily, from five in the 1850s to over 40 in the 1870s.[17] During this same time, chorales remained the largest proportion of Bach's works in print.[18]

The majority of Bach's chorale settings in print appeared in either tune collections or essays, however. With respect to editions—which naturally differ in that they are devoted solely to these pieces and typically adhere to a higher standard of authenticity—the German editions discussed in previous chapters seem to have been available, but to a limited extent. For example, in an 1856 essay that I discuss below, John Sullivan Dwight appears to rely for all his information on a single German edition, the *dritte Auflage*; and although he knows of the recent printing of the first volume of Ludwig Erk's 1850 edition, his misrepresentation of basic information about it indicates that he has not seen it. And if anyone in the United States should have access to these editions, it is Dwight, given his broad connections to the musical world, including that in Germany. The earliest American edition of Bach's four-part chorale settings was printed in 1856 and included twelve pieces set to English texts. I discuss this edition below. While a number of German editions were published toward the end of the century—particularly as supported by the publication of the Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe—no new American editions

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[15] See Kroeger, "Bach in Nineteenth-Century America," 35. On misidentifications of this piece in the secondary literature, see Owen, "Bach Comes to America," 7, n.17.
[16] Owen, "Beginnings of Bach," 339.
[17] Kroeger, "Bach in Nineteenth-Century America," 36.
[18] Music, "Early Bach Publications," 70.

appeared until the 1920s, in part owing to the increasing availability of German editions in the United States.[19]

To summarize, knowledge of Bach and his music at the beginning of the eighteenth century in the United States was minimal. Through the work of evangelists for German culture and Bach in particular over the first half of the century, however, awareness of Bach's music spread gradually. Chorale settings were the main genre that these evangelists shared, although these settings often underwent substantial alteration to accommodate anglophone audiences. Following—and in large part owing to—the founding of the Bach Gesellschaft in 1850, knowledge of Bach's music increased substantially in the second half of the century, with his chorale settings still occupying a prominent place. While a small American collection was published in 1856, it was not until the twentieth century that a complete American edition would appear.

8.2 Marx, *Theory and Practice of Musical Composition*, trans. Saroni (1852)

Marx's *Lehre der musikalischen Komposition* clearly met with considerable enthusiasm in Germany: despite its imposing size—four volumes of around 500 pages each—it went through several editions, with the first volume of the third edition appearing before the last volume of the first edition.[20] The work went on to appear beyond Germany: editions in English and French

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[19] Two of the most prominent German editions published toward the end of the century are Bach, *Vierstimmige Kirchengesänge* (ed. Bargiel), printed in eight volumes from 1891 to 1893; and Johann Sebastian Bach, *389 Choral-Gesänge : für gemischten Chor*, ed. Bernhard Friedrich Richter (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1898). Of the 371 settings in Breitkopf 1784–87, the Bach Gesellschaft left those whose origin in a larger work was known in that larger work, printing only the remainder—as well as his motets and other songs—in a separate volume that appeared in 1892 and was edited by Franz Wüllner. I discuss American editions published in the 1920s in the following chapter.

[20] The first volume of the third edition was printed in 1846, while the first edition's fourth and final volume was printed in 1847. Interestingly, there seems to have been at least two versions of the fourth edition: an "expanded and improved" (*vermehrte und verbesserte*) and an "unaltered" (*unveränderte*).

appeared in the 1850s.[21] It is one of these translations that I discuss here: the first edition prepared for an American audience.[22] While this was not the first German music-theoretical work to be presented to an American audience, it was evidently the first to rely on the chorale to any significant degree.[23] I do not dwell in this section on Marx's work, per se, as I did in the previous chapter; my main interest the American reception of this work as discernible in the translation.

Saroni's translation of Marx's *Lehre der Komposition* participates in a more general importation of European music and musical culture into the United States during the nineteenth century.[24] Some of this importing took place by Americans who travelled to Europe for a musical education and some by Europeans who came to the United States, perhaps seeing an opportunity.[25] Saroni's translation involved both of these. Lowell Mason, who was involved with publishing the translation, was one of the former.[26] Mason undertook at least two trips to Europe,

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[21] According to a note in the book's front matter in the fourth "expanded and improved" edition, Part II (1856), Marx signed a contract with Robert Cocks and Company in London in 1852 to produce a translation there. This edition was translated by Augustus Wehrhan from the fourth German edition and published in 1852. It was also reprinted by Cambridge University Press in 2004.

[22] The first edition was published by F. J. Huntington and Mason & Law in 1852, according to its title page. This edition was translated from the third German edition, whose first volume appeared in 1846. Marx's theories in this work evidently also enjoyed some longevity: an "adaptation" by J. Mendelsohn, entitled *A Complete Method of Musical Composition According to the System of A. B. Marx*, was published in 1910. This publication apparently adapts the work's first book; while Mendelsohn had in mind to publish at least some of the remaining books (J. Mendelsohn, *A Complete Method of Musical Composition According to the System of A. B. Marx* (New York: Carl Fischer, 1910), vi. vi), he seems not to have carried out this plan.

[23] The first major German music-theoretical work to be presented to an American audience was evidently Gottfried Weber's *General Music Teacher*, published in Boston in 1842. This was followed by a translation of the same author's four-volume *Versuch einer geordneten Theorie der Tonsetzkunst* (1817–21) in 1846 as *Theory of Musical Composition*.

[24] As Philip V. Bohlman writes, "in many areas of the USA during the mid-19th century, 'art music' meant German music, and it was performed almost exclusively by German American musicians" [Philip Bohlman, "United States of America, II. Traditional Music, 1. European American.," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/].

[25] On Americans travelling to Europe for musical education, see Bomberger, "German Musical Training."

[26] The publishers of the first edition are listed as "F. J. Huntington and Mason & Law," and the "Mason" contribution constituted Daniel Gregory Mason and Lowell Mason (see Harry Eskew et al., "Mason Family (ii)," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/). Huntington soon rescinded publication to various configurations of the Mason family. The translation's seventh edition, which appeared in 1864, lists S. T. Gordon as its publisher.

during which he "met many European musicians and educators, purchased music and observed music teaching in schools," and he shared these experiences with American audiences, whether through his *Musical Letters from Abroad* (1854) or his contributions to music pedagogy in the United States.[27] Saroni was one of the latter, having been born in Germany and applied for naturalization in the United States in 1844.[28] Saroni's main media for disseminating German culture to Americans were essays and translations, particularly those pertaining to instruction and music appreciation."[29]

Saroni's note indicates his perception of the chorale's unfamiliarity to his American audience: it is the only explanatory note that he includes, and he acknowledges his discomfort at including such an unfamiliar genre. But he also considers the chorale a helpful vehicle for introducing not only German music-theoretical principles but German culture at large to Americans—particularly since German theorists selected the chorale to bear these principles because of its cultural importance. Finally, Saroni's note reveals a feature characteristic of the chorale's American reception: whereas Marx presents the chorale as essentially religious, the translator considers them essentially secular.

Saroni's translation presents only the first of the original work's four volumes.[30] This volume consists of two books. The first, which Saroni translates as "The Elements of Musical

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[27] See Eskew et al., "Mason Family (ii)"; see also Carol A. Pemberton, *Lowell Mason: His Life and Work*, Studies in Musicology, no. 86 (Ann Arbor, Mich: UMI Research Press, 1985).

[28] David Francis Urrows, "Saroni, Herrman S.," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/.

[29] Urrows, "Saroni." According to Ruth Henderson, "Biographical information is scarce concerning Saroni" (Ruth Henderson, "Saroni's Musical Times," Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals, 2013, https://www.ripm.org/?page=JournalInfo&ABB=SAR).

[30] In an issue of *Dwight's Journal of Music* dated May 22, 1852, John Sullivan Dwight reports on the conclusion of a contract between Marx and the publisher Robert Cocks in London "for the publication there of his entire work, in four volumes, in the English language" (John Sullivan Dwight, "Prof. A. B. Marx, of Berlin," *Dwight's Journal of Music*, May 22, 1852, 54; see also John Sullivan Dwight, "New Publications," *Dwight's Journal of Music*, May 1, 1852, 29.). To my knowledge, only the translation of the first volume was ever completed (see n.22 above). As for the American version translated and edited by Saroni, Dwight implies in a notice printed in *Dwight's Journal* three

Composition," treats of "the means which the tonical and rhythmical elements offer us for artistic objects."[31] As the author explains, this book deals with "mere natural harmony" and making compositions out of "restricted" means as exercises. The second book, by contrast, is devoted to "the *application* of these means for artistic objects."[32] In this second book, the student is asked to produce compositions that "can already be considered as independent works of art." The general approach is through "the accompaniment of given melodies," which, Marx explains, is "the most simple task" that a composer may be called on to execute.[33] For this task, the author proposes two types of melody: chorale melodies and "the secular melodies of the people" (*die Choralmelodien und die weltlichen Volksmelodien*). His approach having been outlined, Marx launches immediately into "The Accompaniment of the Choral [*sic*]" (*Die Begleitung des Chorals*).[34] These explanations clearly indicate that Marx conceives of chorales as actual musical works, not music-theoretical abstractions, as his introduction here—with its references to "the practice of accompaniment," "the adaptation of words to them," and "our mode of worship"—

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months later (August 28, 1852) that these two books were all that the publishers intended to present in the United States: "the present volume comprises all that portion of the original work which it was supposed would be at all adapted to the wants of this country, and embraces two of the German books" (John Sullivan Dwight, "Third Edition, Now Ready, of the Translation of Marx's Great Work on Musical Composition," *Dwight's Journal of Music*, August 28, 1852, 168.).

[31] Marx, *Theory and Practice*, 281 ("Im ersten Buche haben wir uns die Mittel angeeignet, die das Tonwesen und der Rhythmus darbieten für künstlerische Aufgaben": Marx, *Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, 293). The title of Book I in the original work is *Die Elementarkompositionslehre*. I draw all translations of Marx's treatise here from Saroni's translation.

[32] Marx, *Theory and Practice*, 281 (italics original; "Nunmehr schreiten wir zu der Verwendung dieser Mittel auf künstlerische Zwecke fort": Marx, *Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, 293). It is tempting to find in this distinction echoes of the dichotomy of theory and practice mentioned in the treatise's title; if this is Marx's intention, however, he seems not to follow the scheme much further than this volume.

[33] Marx, *Theory and Practice*, 281 ("Die erste Aufgabe ist die Begleitung gegebner Melodien. Es sind zunächst zweierlei Arten von Melodien, deren Begleitung vom Komponisten gefodert [*sic*] werden kann": Marx, *Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, 293).

[34] The German term *Choral* was commonly translated "choral" in nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century English. It is unknown to me whether the term was pronounced as our present-day "chorale" or our adjective of the same orthography. I have uncovered no evidence that the term under this orthography had any different meaning than the present-day "chorale."

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reinforces.[35] Moreover, he sees chorales as inherently religious and rooted in a long historical tradition. As he observes, "the choral was always, and is now[,] an essential part of Christian, particularly evangelical worship. Many of these melodies have been transmitted to us from our fathers and forefathers;…they have been the armor of the church."[36]

Amid these explanations, the translation's editor deems it necessary to attach a further note of explanation, which he appends to the end of the introduction to the second book. The note reads as follows:

> The chorals and national melodies, or melodies of the people, form a style of music peculiar to Germany and to German composers, and, owing to their importance, German theorists have attached to them all those rules of composition which perhaps could have been attached to other musical forms. The translator had no alternative before him, but either to give the information embodied in these important branches as he found it, and to give a literal translation of the work before him, or to reduce this information to mere principles and to adapt them to other cosmopolitan forms. The translator of this work has chosen the former, because, independent of the correct conveyance of the author's ideas, he thought it too good an opportunity of acquainting the student with these peculiar musical forms, to let it pass for mere brevity's sake, or for other equally unimportant reasons.

Several points bear noting here. First of all, this is the only editor's note in the entire volume; clearly, Saroni considers his intervention too important to not interject—apparently because of his audience's complete unfamiliarity with the two genres in question. Second, Saroni considers

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[35] Marx, *Theory and Practice*, 283 ("…leichste und nächste Aufgabe für Begleitung," "…die Textunterlage…ist höchst einfach," "…wie sie jetzt unserm Gottesdienste angeeignet sind": Marx, *Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, 288).

[36] Marx, *Theory and Practice*, 283–84 ("Der Choral ist von den frühesten Zeiten her wie jetzt ein wesentlicher Theil des christlichen, besonders des evangelischen Gottesdienstes gewesen, und muss es für alle Zeit bleiben. Viele dieser Melodien haben uns von der Kindheit her, haben unsre Väter und Vorfahren seit Jahrhunderten erquickt, getröstet, gestärkt,—sind die Stimme des Volks gewesen, mit der es sich zum Evangelium bekannte und zur Heiligung erhob, sind ein starkes Rüstzeug der Kirche bei ihrer Reinigung und Erneuerung gewesen": Marx, *Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, 295).

these genres as essentially repositories of music-theoretical principles—and this by the decision

of theorists, in view of the genres' cultural importance.[37] Third, chorales and national melodies

are so woven into the book's fabric that extracting from them the principles that they embody

would do the translation a significant injustice. To be sure, extracting the chorale from the

portion of Marx's textbook would have been prohibitive: most of the volume's second book (of

two) centers on the chorale.

Also noteworthy is how the locus of the chorale's value shifts between Marx's original

and Saroni's translation. Whereas Marx selects the genre simply for practical reasons—because

harmonizing melodies is the simplest task that an organist will be called upon to perform—for

his translator, the chorale's value lies in its capacity to convey German culture and musical

principles. To be sure, the difference is understandable: Marx writes from within a culture in

which the chorale would be used for the purposes he describes, while Saroni addresses an

audience for whom he presumes that the genre—and thus the context in which it would be

used—would largely be unfamiliar.[38] Also absent from Saroni's note is any acknowledgement of

the chorale's religious nature. This absence is conspicuous in two ways: first, Marx himself

particularly stresses this aspect of the chorale, as noted above, and second, the chorale's religious

nature is one of the main characteristics distinguishing it from the other genre in question in

Marx's book—namely, secular song. The net effect on the translation, then, is not only a

secularization, but also an objectification: being removed from the culture to which it is so

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[37] Saroni evidently was also motivated by his high esteem for German culture; in his "Preface to the Elementary Part," he observes how "German musicians have made Music so thorough a study" and bemoans the inadequacy of the English language to translate German music-theoretical terms [Hermann S. Saroni, "Preface to the Elementary Part," in Adolf Bernhard Marx, *Theory and Practice of Musical Composition*, trans. Hermann S. Saroni (New York: F. J. Huntington and Mason & Law, 1852), 14.].

[38] While there has been a significant Lutheran presence in the United States since the mid-seventeenth century (see M. Alfred Bichsel et al., "Lutheran Church Music in the United States," in *Grove Music Online* [Oxford University Press, 2001], https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/), there is no evidence that Saroni wishes to restrict his audience to this segment of the population; indeed, these explanations point to the contrary.

intimately connected, the chorale loses its connection to practical purposes and its religious valence, leaving its function as a repository of German culture—and specifically of German musical principles.

What has happened to Marx's disquisition in his original text on Bach's chorale settings in the *St. Matthew Passion*? It is entirely absent: in his translation, Saroni not only omits the note in which this discussion occurs, but also the paragraph that triggers the note—one of the many small portions that Saroni omits. Interestingly, this paragraph, in a section entitled "Artistic Aim of Choral Treatment," departs from the rest of the section by treating of the devotional aspects of the chorale—its "simple Christian piety" and its "general character of ecclesiastical edification," among others. As such, Saroni's omitting this paragraph participates in his secularizing of the chorale.

Before moving on, it is worth briefly considering how widely Marx's chorale-heavy approach spread in the United States. In a notice of the availability of the translation's third edition, John Sullivan Dwight refers to "the rapid sale of two editions."[39] Like the original German version of the treatise, the American translation was produced in several editions over a short span of time.[40] The work—both in the original German and in Saroni's translation—is also still widely available in the libraries of American institutions, sometimes in multiple editions, and often with the library's stamp bearing a date not long after the work's publication, all of which is evidence of the book's wide circulation.[41] Thus, this work may have been the first to

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[39] Dwight, "Third Edition, Now Ready." 168. The notice appeared in 1852, the same year in which the first edition first became available.

[40] To be sure, the work's publishers seem to apply the term "edition" loosely, as the differences between editions seems minimal; pagination between the first and the sixth edition, for example, is very similar, if not identical.

[41] A WorldCat search makes this clear. Numerous copies of the work are also available for online viewing, such as those through the Hathitrust Digital Library (babel.hathitrust.org), the Internet Archive (archive.org), or Google Books (books.google.com). To be sure, the translation's reception was not unanimously praised: in a short letter printed in the October 2, 1852 edition of *Dwight's Journal*, Mason & Law—one of the publishers of the first

deploy the chorale for music-theoretical ends in the United States. Yet there is little evidence that Marx's approach in *Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition* caught on to any great degree; even if read, its counsels were not adopted into broader American practice—unlike those of Richter, to whose work I now turn.

8.3 Parker, *Manual of Harmony*

Ernst Friedrich Richter's ideas, which featured prominently in the previous chapter, were first received in the United States through James Parker's *Manual of Harmony* (1855). Parker attests to Richter's influence on this textbook; he writes that in its preparation, "free use has been made of a little work that has recently appeared in Germany, by E. F. Richter, a Professor of the Conservatory at Leipzig." And Parker's connection to Richter was direct: he studied with Richter at the Leipzig Conservatorium.[42] The "little work" Parker refers to must be Richter's *Lehrbuch der Harmonie* (1853), one of two of Richter's works that I discussed in the previous chapter.[43] Indeed, so committed to Richter's approach was Parker that he would two decades later produce a translation of this textbook for an American audience.[44]

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edition—refer to "a public attack…made upon our edition of 'Marx's Musical Composition,' by one of the gentlemen who had charge of the convention," leaving this personage unnamed (Mason & Law, "A Letter from the Publishers of Marx," *Dwight's Journal of Music*, October 2, 1852). The "attack" in question seems to have been targeted at Saroni's translation rather than Marx's theories, however.

[42] According to Robert Stevenson, "from 1851 to 1854, [Parker] studied with Hauptmann, Moscheles, Plaidy, Richter and Rietz in Leipzig" [Robert Stevenson, "Parker, J(ames) C(utler) D(unn)," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/]; see also Thompson, *History of Harmonic Theory*, 3–4.

[43] To be sure, Richter published two textbooks before his *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*—namely, his *Die Elementarkenntnisse zur Harmonielehre und zur Musik überhaupt* and his *Die Grundzüge der musikalischen Formen und ihre Analyse*, both printed in 1852; but the first deals with only the most elementary music-theoretical concepts and the second with musical form—that is, not the concepts that Parker presents in his *Manual*.

[44] See Ernst Friedrich Richter, *Richter's Manual of Harmony: A Practical Guide to its Study*, trans. J. C. D. Parker (Boston: Oliver Ditson Company, 1873).

Many elements that characterize present-day American music theory are observable in Parker's *Manual*. For one thing, the author presents tonal harmony as four-parted and notionally vocal, both in his stated teachings and in the musical illustrations that he presents. For another, he closely connects this concept with the practice of chorale harmonization, presenting the latter as a summation of the textbook's teachings. Indeed, the author even uses the term "choral[e] style" to describe a four-part, homophonic texture. Parker also presents multiple chorales, including a four-part chorale setting by Bach—perhaps the earliest appearance of these pieces in American music theory. But comparisons to present-day theorizing only go so far. For one thing, Parker only presents a single setting of Bach's, unlike the copious number more typical for present-day textbooks, and indeed, he does not even explicitly acknowledge it, presumably owing to the general ignorance of these pieces in the United States. For another, Parker modifies this setting's notation, evidently in an attempt to align it with his illustrations of harmony principles.

The chorale is integral to Parker's *Manual of Harmony*, as chorale-writing constitutes its summation. As the author writes in the textbook's preface, "nothing farther is here attempted than to impart a knowledge of simple choral-writing in four parts."[45] That chorale-writing could summarize his curriculum relies in part upon the author's conception of harmony. He describes this conception explicitly in his introduction to the concept of chords: "harmony is usually conceived of and written in *four* parts, each singing one tone of the chord."[46] Indeed, almost the only musical texture the Parker uses to illustrate harmonic principles throughout the book is four-part (Figure 7.1). The textbook's final chapter, "General Rules for Progressions in Writing

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[45] J. C. D. Parker, *Manual of Harmony: Being an Elementary Treatise of the Principles of Thorough Bass* (New York: S.T. Gordon, 1855), iii.

[46] Ibid., 31 (italics original). The author's conception of these parts as vocal is confirmed by his application of names for them, which he presents in the order bass, soprano, tenor, and alto (ibid.).

Harmony," cements the connection between the chorale and his conception of harmony; as

Parker writes,

> The student, if he has carefully studied the foregoing chapters, is now able to write four-part harmony in successions of chords, or as it is technically called, in simple *choral style*; and we think what has now been discussed is amply sufficient to enable him to understand, analyze and explain all passages he may meet with in music of that class.[47]

In short, the chorale is for Parker essentially coterminous with his notion of harmony, and this

mediated through a four-part and notionally vocal texture that he calls "choral style," whose

writing also constitutes the textbook's curricular goal.

For most of his textbook, Parker presents the chorale as a musical abstraction particularly

suited to representing tonal harmony. This abstraction may be observed in his use of the term

"choral style," which implies a distillation of the genre's features essential to his purposes. The

features in question include only those elements relating to harmony and voice-leading in the

abstract—no elements of their liturgical, Lutheran origins, for example, or even an expectation

that they actually be sung. This conception of the chorale is likewise on display in the exercises

that, in a departure from Richter, Parker provides; in one exercise labelled "choral," he asks the

student to harmonize a bass line with figures. While the solution in the textbook's answer key is

indeed a Lutheran chorale tune, this connection seems basically immaterial: Parker gives no

indication that he intends that the student discover specifically this tune. As he writes in the

preface, "the same bass [provided for realization in the exercises] can evidently be harmonized in

many different ways"—and of course, part of this harmonization would involve supplying a

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[47] Ibid., 97 (italics original). It could perhaps be argued that with his term "choral style" (and the author's term "choral" elsewhere), the author in fact means the present-day term "choral" and not "chorale," thus taking a four-part texture to stand for all musical textures for choirs. This seems unlikely, however, given that he offers chorales as examples, and all else is consistent with the interpretation I offer. As noted above, the orthography "choral" was a common one in English of this time for what is today spelled "chorale."

soprano line, where he evidently expects the chorale tune to fall.[48] Moreover, the only indication

that the solution is in fact a chorale in the Lutheran tradition is the label that the author attaches

to both the exercise and the solution; he identifies neither the chorale in question nor its origins,

nor yet does he provide a text on the score or any indication that it is to be sung. In fact, the only

perceptible difference between this harmonization and his illustrations of harmonic principles

scattered throughout the textbook is the note durations that he uses for the latter—half notes

versus whole notes, respectively (see Figure 132). This notational decision reveals a slippage for

Parker between the chorale as a music-theoretical abstraction and the chorale as a genre—that is,

a Lutheran tune with a text, and possibly harmonized, as discussed above; while the former

embodies the music-theoretical principles he seeks to impart, he borrows freely from the latter

for this goal.

Figure 132: Illustration of harmonic principles in Parker, *Manual of Harmony* (51).

Figure 133: Harmonization exercise involving a chorale tune in Parker, *Manual of Harmony* (103).

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[48] Ibid., iv. For the author's solution to the exercise, see ibid, 123–24. That the author provides another chorale tune—the famous Reformation hymn "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott"—in another harmonization exercise (ibid., 103–4) makes little difference: he does not identify the tune as such, nor does he provide any other indication of its origins apart calling a chorale in his instructions to the student.

The importance of the chorale to Parker's *Manual* is also clear at the end of the book, where it appears in several guises. To begin with, he includes a chorale tune well-known in the Lutheran tradition among the exercises he provides: the famous Reformation hymn "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," which he suggests that the student harmonize. Yet, like the earlier exercise incorporating a chorale, he only refers to the tune as a chorale; he does not provide the tune's name, nor does he provide a text or anything relating to its origins (Figure 133). Parker also includes two chorale harmonizations, one by Mendelssohn and the other by J. S. Bach. He introduces these immediately following the passage quoted above where he introduces the term "choral style":

> We think what has now been discussed is amply sufficient to enable [the student] to understand, analyse and explain all passages he may meet with in music of that class. As a sample, we have introduced at the end of the chapter a choral (taken from Mendelssohn's Oratorio of 'St. Paul,') with the figuring, suspensions, passing notes, &c., &c., fully denoted. And we recommend to the student as an exercise, to analyze for himself others in the same way.[49]

Parker's presentation of these two chorale settings from prominent composers represents a departure from Richter's textbook, since the latter presents none. Indeed, the very provision of exercises represents a departure from Richter, who only makes off-hand suggestions through the textbook on which Parker's *Manual* is based. This may constitute another accommodation to an American audience, as with Saroni's translation of Marx, in that Parker assumes that his reader will need help beyond what Richter's audience would need—and possibly that his reader will not

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[49] Ibid., 98. The chorale setting by Mendelssohn, of the first verse of the chorale "Wachet auf ! ruft uns die Stimme," is the fifteenth movement of his *St. Paul*. It is unclear to me what Parker means by "that class": nothing in the foregoing would seem to correspond to this.

have access to a formal classroom setting like the Leipzig Conservatorium, where the instructor supplements the textbook with demonstrations through repertoire. Indeed, it may even offer a glimpse of Richter's own classroom practices not captured in his textbook, since Parker strays but little from Richter's doctrines. Richter's presentation of these chorale settings likely also reflects the general awareness of Bach's music, as discussed above: while he mentions Mendelssohn's name explicitly here, he does not mention Bach's, only affixing the composer's name to the setting directly by way of due diligence.

Yet Parker's choice of two four-part chorale settings to demonstrate his point here is peculiar; if he believes that students are now equipped to analyze any music, as he states, why does he present two pieces with the same texture that he has been using throughout the textbook to illustrate harmonic principles? Much more persuasive would be to present pieces with a more complicated texture, to show how the principles taught relate to such a texture. Likely he would claim such a demonstration would exceed "the limits of the present work," as he does immediately following with respect to pieces with a "greater freedom of harmonic progressions." And so, these pieces in effect serve as the end of the line for this textbook's curriculum, and simultaneously—and implicitly—as a connection to the next stage in music theory studies, a position that in present-day American music theory, Bach's chorale settings occupy.

J. SEB. BACH.

Figure 134: Chorale setting by J. S. Bach employed in exercises in Parker, *Manual of Harmony* (105).

109. O Welt, ich
(Nun ruhen

Ich bin's, ich soll _ te büs _ sen an Hän _

Figure 135: J. S. Bach, chorale harmonization "O Welt, ich muss dich lassen," as presented in Erk 1850/65 (73).

Parker's notational choices in presenting Bach's chorale harmonization also warrant

discussion. The author's presentation hesitates between conceptions of these pieces seen in

earlier chapters. On one hand, he presents the piece as largely abstract: he omits any mention of

the piece's source, apart from Bach's authorship, and does not indicate vocal parts, as he does in

the case of the Mendelssohn chorale setting (Figure 134). On the other, the notation conveys

distinct signs of a vocal conception: Parker separates the four parts onto individual staves—with

three treble clefs and a bass clef—and also includes slurs, even if there is no text for singing.[50]

That Parker should include any of these vocal elements is more remarkable than it may seem.

His source seems to have been Ludwig Erk's 1850 edition of Bach's chorale settings, since this

was likely the only edition available to Parker that offers the reading that he presents (Figure

135).[51] The connection is not immediately clear, because Parker omits the text for singing that

Erks presents and separates the musical text out onto four staves; but Parker not only reproduces

the slurs that Erk provides, he also adds slurs necessitated by the removal Erk's text, to align

parts in the homophony that this text indicates. For example, Parker includes a slur above the two

quarter notes in the bass line's first complete bar, since the other three parts all have half notes at

this moment. Whereas Erk's edition, with the text "bin's" corresponding to this moment,

indicates that the four parts are homophonic—that is, the bass sustains this syllable across the D-

flat and the C—Parker must include a slur to indicate this relationship. The result of this

approach is a preservation of the clear homophony in Bach's original version—and with it, the

setting's vocality.

But a comparison of Parker's version with Erk's also reveals another significant

modification: Parker doubles the durations in his version so that the main beat is in half notes

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[50] That the author omits figures here is less noteworthy, since the point of the exercise is to add figures. The treble clef on the tenor line presumably intends transposition down an octave.

[51] See Johann Sebastian Bach, *Johann Sebastian Bach's mehrstimmige Choralgesänge und geistliche Arien*, ed. Ludwig Erk, vol. 1 (Leipzig: C.F. Peters, 1850), 73. The chorale setting of Bach's in question here is the tenth number in the *St. Matthew Passion* and sets the text "Ich bin's, ich sollte büßen." (This chorale setting surfaces several times in the present chapter.) While the Bach Gesellschaft had by the time Parker's *Manual* appeared published the volume containing the *St. Matthew Passion*—the fourth volume, edited by Julius Rietz and appearing in 1854—it seems unlikely that Parker would have been able to consult this resource in time for his textbook's printing. In addition, the collections of Bach's chorale settings were probably more readily available, as the volumes of the Bach Gesellschaft Ausgabe were critical editions, and therefore more expensive and with fewer exemplars. While Becker does present this harmonization in his 1841 edition (Becker 1841–43, 80–81)—and also with the slurring that Parker provides—his reading varies slightly (see b. 9). Parker would also have needed to transpose the setting from the A major in which Becker provides it.

rather than quarter notes.[52] The immediate result of this decision is a visual resemblance to his illustrations of harmonic principles, which typically proceed in whole notes (Figure 132); as such, this decision reinforces the connection between the chorale setting and Parker's image of harmony.[53] Indeed, when the author summarizes the textbook's teachings in a single musical texture, the main metrical unit is half notes (Figure 136); if the book's curricular goal is chorale-writing, as seen above, it is unsurprising that the exercises and illustrations that examples of the goal in question should resemble the exercises and illustrations that Parker provides to lead to this goal. But another result of this decision is a greater abstraction. Whereas Bach's original setting at the quarter note creates two levels of metrical organization, Parker's revision notates only one.[54] While this will have little to no effect on the heard experience of the piece, the visual appearance implies a lack of metrical organization again much closer to Parker's illustrations of harmonic principles, which, being at the whole-note level, have none. This lack of metrical organization, moreover, isolates the harmony and voice-leading principles in question by freeing the illustration from metrical implications. A similar approach may be seen in species counterpoint, where the *cantus firmi* on which exercises are based are typically at the whole-note level to eliminate any metrical impositions. And indeed, both Parker's exercises and the chorales that he presents naturally resemble the "simple counterpoint" exercises found in Kirnberger's *Die Kunst*, as discussed in Chapter 5 above. To return to the Bach chorale setting, Parker has altered its notation to create a visual linkage to his illustrations of abstract music-theoretical

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[52] Both of the other chorales mentioned here are in half notes as well, although unsurprisingly: there is no durational change with Mendelssohn's setting, and indeed the half note was the most common duration at which to present these tunes.

[53] While Parker himself presents harmonic illustrations on two staves, he earlier in the textbook prescribed writing harmony "in score," by which he means in open score: Parker, *Manual of Harmony*, 32.

[54] For levels of metrical organization, see Lerdahl and Jackendoff, *Generative Theory*, Chapter 4, "Grouping Structure," and Chapter 5, "Metrical Structure."

principles—a linkage suggested by multiple German authors but not pursued in any meaningful way.

FIG. 147.

Figure 136: Summary of the harmonic phenomena and notations discussed in Parker, *Manual of Harmony* (97).

In summary, Parker's *Manual*, already at this early stage of American music theory instruction, bears some key characteristics of present-day thought and practices—particularly the belief that tonal harmony is best represented in four-part homophony, his association of this concept with the chorale and chorale-writing, and his use of the term "choral[e] style." As such, his textbook may have served as a conduit of these principles from Germany to the United States. While Parker's textbook does not feature the numerous four-part chorale settings by Bach that fill present-day textbooks, he does make a significant departure from Richter's textbooks in including a single setting, even if it is understated, and thus may forecast the much greater inclusion of these pieces by later authors. Finally, Parker's alteration of this setting by Bach also represents a surprisingly early attempt to connect the abstract representation of musical structure through chorales to Bach's chorale settings that would so come to characterize American music theory.

8.4 Dwight, "Bach's Chorals"

John Sullivan Dwight's essay "Bach's Chorals," published in 1856 in his *Dwight's Journal of Music*, and the edition of these pieces whose publication the article announces, together offer a glimpse of early American attitudes toward Bach's four-part chorale settings.[55] In the article, Dwight urges his audience to adopt Bach's chorale settings for several uses, most of which relate to singing. But the final use that he lists is as models for four-part composition. While he calls this use the pieces' "most important service," his commitment to this idea is questionable: he says nothing more on the subject, and the edition in question—which Dwight himself helped prepare—is clearly disposed for singing. In fact, the idea is likely not his own: it most likely derives from the *dritte Auflage*, apparently the only edition available to him—and possibly his only source on the pieces—since other information that he presents necessarily comes from this edition. Dwight's article, then, shows that the notion of treating Bach's chorale settings as music-theoretical objects was available to Americans at a relatively early date, even while their main interest in these pieces lay with use for singing.

Dwight spends most of his article "Bach's Chorals" preoccupied with arguing for the value of Bach's chorale settings for use by singing groups.[56] In light of choirs' reliance continued reliance on psalmody, which he calls "common-place and trashy," he laments that no one has yet

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[55] John Sullivan Dwight, "Bach's Chorals," *Dwight's Journal of Music*, September 13, 1856. Dwight had also published an article recommending Bach's chorale harmonizations earlier in the year, on August 16, 1856 (see John Sullivan Dwight, "Hints for Choirs," *Dwight's Journal of Music*, August 16, 1856) and followed both articles up with another on November 1, 1856 "renewing" this recommendation (see John Sullivan Dwight, "Hints to Choral Societies," *Dwight's Journal of Music*, November 1, 1856). I supplement the present discussion with these two articles. By 1858, Dwight was referring to these pieces frequently; see in particular John Sullivan Dwight, "Music in This Number," *Dwight's Journal of Music*, June 12, 1858, which repeats many of the themes I discuss here. On Dwight's championing of Bach's music to his America audience, see Matthew Dirst, "Doing Missionary Work: Dwight's Journal of Music and the American Bach Awakening," *Bach Perspectives* 5, Bach in America (2003): 15–35, https://doi.org/10.5406/j.ctvvng36.7.

[56] I take for granted that Dwight is the author of this essay: while the essay is unsigned, Dwight contributed much of the *Journal*'s material (see Dirst, "Doing Missionary Work," 16). All quotations in this discussion are from Dwight, "Bach's Chorals," 190, unless otherwise indicated.

published an edition of Bach's chorale harmonizations in the United States. Yet Dwight is also skeptical about their suitability for churches: these harmonizations are "more refined and cultivated" than what churches can manage, and their rhyming and metrical schemes a difficult fit with existing American hymns.[57] These pieces would be of greater value, he asserts, for "our more advanced choirs, our choral societies, our musical classes and 'Conventions'" in anywhere from intimate settings to concerts. Indeed, even keyboardists would find "religious satisfaction" in playing them.[58]

> The final benefit that Dwight lists, however, is as models for composition. As he writes,

> Their most important service will be to musical schools and classes. As models in the art of four-part composition, within the short form of a choral or psalm tune—an art at which so many try their hands in our day—they will be invaluable. The harmonizing of chorals, with Bach for a model, is made the foundation of all exercises in composition by Marx and the other masters in the German schools. Many of these Chorals Bach has harmonized in several different ways.

There are several noteworthy aspects to this passage. To begin with, the practice of four-part composition—and the set of beliefs about musical organization that accompany it—is clearly familiar to Dwight, reinforcing the impression from Parker's textbook discussed above. Indeed, this practice seems widespread: Dwight reports "many" attempting it. Nevertheless, the notion of applying Bach's chorale settings to this practice seems novel; Dwight gives no indication that this association has been attempted—and throughout the essay, he presents Bach's settings as

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[57] Music observes that Lowell Mason, in his *Musical Letters from Abroad* (1854), arrives at a conclusion in fact similar to Becker's, finding the Bach's chorale settings too difficult for church congregations (see Music, "Early Bach Publications," 47–48). On metrical misfit, see Kroeger, "Bach in Nineteenth-Century America," 39.

[58] See also Dwight's "Hints for Choirs," an entry in the *Journal* on Aug 16, 1856: "of all fourpart music for practice, none is equal to the old German chorals, arranged by John Sebastian Bach, to bring a choir into the knowledge of the beauty of harmonic effects, and to teach the singers to pour out their voices in long, full, firmly drawn notes. In sacred music this is utterly indispensible" (159). According to Dirst, "Dwight believed that Bach's greatest works had the power to transform the receptive listener with a uniquely personal kind of spiritual nourishment" (Dirst, "Doing Missionary Work," 16).

generally unknown to his audience. He also suggests how this use might be undertaken—

namely, the comparison of Bach's various settings of the same tune. Finally, his association of

this approach with Marx is surprising: as shown in the previous chapter, Marx does discuss

Bach's chorale harmonizations in his *Lehre von der Komposition*—but he objects to their use as

abstract music-theoretical objects, instead engaging a lengthy demonstration of their deep

embeddedness in the larger religious, dramatic work within which they originate. This

mischaracterization seems to be a consequence of Dwight having skimmed Marx's work too

quickly, as he himself admits.[59]

As quickly as Dwight broaches this "most important" use of Bach's chorale settings,

however, he abandons it, pleading lack of space to expound further. Yet he follows this

discussion immediately by promising an edition of these pieces: "a beginning is soon to be made

in introducing to the American public some of the Chorals of Bach, precisely as he wrote them,

and with English words"—namely, an edition of the pieces, which he announces will be

published by "our enterprising publisher" Oliver Ditson.[60] Given that Dwight's entire discussion

leads up to his recommendation that the pieces be used as models of composition, and

immediately following he announces the edition, one might expect that the edition lends itself to

such study. I will discuss this edition presently.

Before discussing the edition, it is worth briefly considering Dwight's source of

information on Bach's chorale settings in this article. Most likely, his source is the *dritte Auflage*

discussed in the previous chapter. Among available editions of these pieces, he identifies only

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[59] Dwight writes in a review of Saroni's translation that "we have reserved it with the hope of finding time and room for that [i.e., doing it justice]; but lest the matter should grow old in the mean time, we make here simply a first note of our impressions, meaning to return to it again": John Sullivan Dwight, "New Publications," *Dwight's Journal of Music*, 1 May 1852, 29.

[60] Dwight does mention the use of Ditson's collection to teach composition in his article "Music in this Number," but this is merely one of several possible uses that he suggests (Dwight, "Music in this Number," 86).

two in this essay: the *dritte Auflage*, which he calls "that made by Becker in 1831," and the first volume of Erk's edition. Dwight clearly had spent time with the *dritte Auflage*: he borrows two passages from Becker's preface to the edition. One is from the opening, where Becker lauds Bach as "great and bold and new"; Becker surrounds this line with quotation marks, although does not mention his source.[61] The other is the line that Becker reused in all three of his essays discussed in the previous chapter, where he launches into his discussion of Bach's intentions:

> Bach did not write these little masterpieces for use in public worship; nor did he even allow them to be printed. He wrote them *occasionally*, partly as examples for his scholars in composition; partly for the choir of the *Thomas-Schule* over which he presided in Leipzig, to be used in their various private occasions, New Year's festivals, &c., and partly as interludes in his larger pieces, his Motets, Cantatas, Passions, &c.[62]

Here, Dwight leaves no indication that he is quoting from another source. Dwight also evidently relies on the *dritte Auflage* for information about the history of the collection: he reproduces Becker's publication dates for Breitkopf 1784–87 as 1784 to 1789, an error uniquely found in the *dritte Auflage*.[63] Dwight evidently did not himself consult Erk's edition, by contrast: he cites the publication date of the first volume as "184-" and the number of the settings contained therein as 200, whereas Erk only published 150 settings in the volume, and the volume was published in 1850.[64] Similarly, had he consulted Becker 1841–43, he would have known that Becker did not,

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[61] Becker's original line is as follows: "Groß, kühn und neu steht Ioh. Seb. Bach in allen seinen Werken da" [Becker, "Vorwort" (*dritte Auflage*) n.p.]. Dwight provides this entire line (in translation) surrounded by quotation marks—without, however, mentioning whom he is quoting.

[62] For the German original, see the previous chapter, where I discuss this passage in detail.

[63] Becker, *dritte Auflage*, 1.

[64] Dwight also cites this number in an article entitled "Music in this Number," published in the June 12, 1858 issue of the *Journal*, where he calls the edition "the last German collection of Bach's Chorals" (Dwight, "Music in this Number," 86). Interestingly, the editor of the collection of chorales that Dwight announces in this essay did consult Erk's edition, since the settings in the Ditson edition are apparently drawn from Erk's edition: the latter edition is the only source that both presents no. 10, "Herzlich tut mir verlangen," in E major and identifies it with this text "Herzlich tut mir verlangen"—and it also contains all of the settings in the Ditson collection, and under the same identifying texts.

in fact, contribute to the *dritte Auflage*'s musical text, and he thus would have attributed the edition to Becker.[65] Thus, it seems likely that the *dritte Auflage* was the only edition that Dwight consulted.[66] In this light, Dwight's proposal that Bach's chorale settings be used as "models in the art of four-part composition" stands out more: Becker only mentions "composition," whereas Dwight specifies "four-part," indicating at least that his borrowing of Becker's ideas in this respect was more that blind copying.

Shortly after Dwight published his essay "Bach's Chorals," Oliver Ditson published several pamphlets that would eventually compose a small collection of Bach's four-part chorale settings. As mentioned, Dwight's essay can be read as a protracted announcement for the collection, which satisfies the lament with which he opens the essay—that no such edition is available to American audiences.[67] In fact, Dwight assisted in the creation of this edition: one of the settings attributes its text to him.[68] While Dwight's essay describes using Bach's chorale settings as models of four-part composition as the pieces' "most important service," the edition was in fact created for singers: settings are notated on four separate staves with an English text, and an additional two staves bearing a condensed version of the same texture are also provided—

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[65] See Becker 1841–43, viii, n.10.

[66] Dwight also evidently did not have access to Becker 1841, since he attributes the *dritte Auflage*'s musical text to Becker, whereas in Becker 1841, the editor disclaimed involvement with the text, as discussed in the previous chapter.

[67] Dwight reports in his *Journal* that Ditson issued the collection in numbers of "two or more" in late 1856 until they reached the promised total of twelve (Dwight, "Hints to Choral Societies," 37). I consider here the version of these pieces as issued in small sets of two pieces, not as in the collation of all twelve created some time after all twelve were issued. For the former, I rely on two numbers available in digitized form on the Library of Congress website. (One is named as *12 German chorals* and has call number M1.A12V vol. 82 Case Class, while the other is named as *Twelve German chorals* and found in Box 3, Edison Sheet Music Collection, Library of Congress Music Division.) I thank Jim McDonald of the Harvard Musical Association for kindly sending me a digitized version of the Association's copy of the entire collation of twelve settings. It would appear that the plates were altered between the printing of the first number, which contained settings identified as "Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam" and "Christus, der uns selig macht," and that of the collation of all twelve settings, since in the individually printed number there is no number, but there is a note that reads, "English words by J. S. Dwight," whereas in the collation, there is a number but no mention of Dwight's contribution. Moreover, the numbers were evidently shuffled, since nos. 9 and 10 in what was presumably the second-last number, "Vater unser im Himmelreich" and "Herzlich thut mich verlangen," respectively, appear as nos. 11 and 12 in the collation of all 12.

[68] See "Christ, unser herr, zum Jordan kam," the first setting of the set under call number M1.A12 V.

presumably for an accompanying piano (Figure 137).[69] While settings are identified by the traditional German names for the tunes, the text provided for singing bears no evident relation to these German names.[70] All indications, then, are that these pieces are presented for "singing groups," as Dwight advises in his essay, but in no way for study by students in musical composition. Indeed, the Ditson edition is more oriented toward vocal performance than any available at the time.

This examination of Dwight's essay on Bach's chorale settings and the edition that it announced show that the idea of considering these pieces as models for four-part composition was available to Americans at a relatively early date, but that—like the German theorists before them—they did not pursue this idea; instead, they thought the pieces more suited to use by singing groups, producing what was to this point the edition of Bach's chorale settings the most oriented toward singing.

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[69] It is unclear to me who edited this collection, as no editor is listed in the issues that I have examined. Given Dwight's special interest in the edition, as exhibited in his multiple references to it and enthusiasm for it in the pages of his *Journal*, as well as his involvement in supplying the sung texts, he may have played a role in this capacity; but if the editor relied upon the first volume of Erk 1850 for the edition, as I suggest below, it is unclear why Dwight, if he is this editor, would at the same time reflect ignorance of this edition in the article I discuss immediately above. In light of these considerations, I leave the editor anonymous here. Dwight evidently cultivated a close relationship with the Ditson: in Dwight's *Journal*, he regularly announces Ditson's many new printings through notices and announcements, and in 1858, Ditson took over publication of the *Journal*.

[70] This approach was evidently unusual for American hymn books of the time: as Music writes, "the tunes seldom appeared under their German titles or included translations of the original texts" (Music, "Early Bach Publications, 68).

Figure 137: J. S. Bach, chorale harmonization "Herzlich thut mich verlangen"; in *12 German Chorals*, edited by Oliver Ditson (fifth installment).

8.5 Late Nineteenth-Century Music Theorists: Emery, Goetschius, Foote, and Spalding

In this section, I sketch a picture of American music theorists' attitudes toward the chorale leading into the twentieth century. This was a time of great change in both the United States' musical culture and its music-theoretical culture, with sizable increases in numbers of musical performances, music and music-theory publications, and musical institutions. To sketch this picture, I briefly examine writings by several authors: Stephen A. Emery's *Elements of Harmony* (1879), Percy Goetschius's *The Material Used in Musical Composition: A System of Harmony* (2nd edition, 1889), Arthur Foote and Walter R. Spalding's *Modern Harmony in its*

Theory and Practice (1905), and Spalding's*, Tonal Counterpoint: Studies in Part-Writing*

(1904). The authors whose work I examine are directly connected to others whom I discuss

elsewhere in this investigation. Stephen Emery studied with Richter at the Leipzig

Conservatorium, for example, and Emery describes his *Elements of Harmony* as "based upon the

admirable system of Prof. Richter."[71] Percy Goetschius, moreover, is connected to Donald

Tweedy, whose *Manual of Harmonic Technic* (1928) is the earliest American textbook that

makes extensive use of Bach's chorale settings: Goetschius influenced Tweedy to the point that

Tweedy dedicated his *Manual* to him. Beyond this, Goetschius was also one of the most prolific

music theory pedagogues around the turn of the twentieth century. Arthur Foote, finally, studied

under Emery, and his co-author Walter Spalding was, like Goetschius, one of Tweedy's

teachers.[72]

These authors as a group thoroughly assimilated the practice, found already in Parker's

Manual, of using chorale harmonizations to represent and practice the principles of tonal

harmony. Central to this assimilation is authors' image of tonal music, however loosely held, as

fundamentally four-part, notionally vocal, and homophonic—the very image found in Richter

and his predecessors. The American authors considered here generally make no special comment

on this belief, however, and instead seem to hold it as a matter of course. Bach's chorale settings

are not, however, found in these textbooks. This is not for lack of access to these pieces: as

shown above, John Sullivan Dwight drew upon the *dritte Auflage* for his essay "Bach's chorals";

moreover, the collection of Bach's chorale settings that this essay announced was based on Erk's

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[71] Stephen A. Emery, *Elements of Harmony* (Boston: Arthur P. Schmidt, 1879), 3.
[72] Nicholas E. Tawa, *Arthur Foote: A Musician in the Frame of Time and Place*, Composers of North America Series, no. 22 (Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 1997), 31 ff; Michael Meckna, "Tweedy, Donald," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/.

1850/65 edition.[73] And the idea of using Bach's chorale settings as models for four-part composition was also current in the American musical world, as Dwight had described this as their "most important service." To be sure, the possibility of using Bach's chorale settings for music-theoretical purposes does arise among these theorists, as I show; but like the authors discussed earlier in this chapter, they largely do not pursue this possibility. Instead, they leave this to the student to pursue. When Foote and Spalding do present an excerpt of Bach's chorale settings, it is only a brief, generic section that disappears amongst other pieces that they cite. Moreover, authors typically incorporate Bach's chorale settings at the end of their curriculum, in a curricular transition from harmony to counterpoint; but in these textbooks, this position means that Bach's chorale settings in fact find a home in neither curriculum. Finally, these textbooks reveal a gradual change from conceiving of these pieces as vocal, liturgical musical works toward conceiving of them as repositories for harmony and voice-leading principles.

8.5.1 Emery, Elements of Harmony

Chorales only appear late in Stephen A. Emery's *Elements of Harmony* (1879); indeed, the chorale is the textbook's final subject. The author introduces it, along with liturgical plainchant, to demonstrate the "practical results" of his instruction in a "more interesting form"—more interesting, presumably, because they are actual musical genres, even if simple ones.[74] In his earlier instruction, Emery had presented basic doctrines of tonal harmony, all while

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[73] In a note in his translation of Ernst Friedrich Richter's *Lehrbuch der Fuge*, Arthur Foote also suggests the *dritte Auflage* as a resource for chorale tunes: see Ernst Friedrich Richter, *A Treatise on Fugue, Including the Study of Imitation and Canon*, trans. Arthur Foote (Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1878): 19.

[74] Emery, *Elements of Harmony*, 116. The section entitled "Chorals" begins at 123. The textbook is divided up into "lessons" rather than the more conventional chapters, and the rollout of topics does not always align with these lessons.

employing a four-part, notionally vocal texture to exhibit these principles—what he describes as "the usual quartette, Bass (Baritone), Tenor, Alto and Soprano," and which he also glosses as "four-voiced harmony."[75] His harmonizations of chants and chorales closely resemble his earlier configurations illustrating harmonic principles: they are also in four-part homophony, and they are notated on two staves in half notes.[76] In a sense, then, the author has smoothly substituted harmonizations of chant and chorales for his abstract configurations. Chorale harmonization is not only the end of Emery's harmony curriculum, but it is also the brink of the study of counterpoint; as he writes, "should one desire to go on still further, three and two part harmony could be taken up at this point, leading directly to the study of counterpoint."[77]

There are several clear similarities with Parker's *Manual* discussed earlier in this chapter. Emery holds the same conception of musical structure as Parker—and as their teacher Richter— namely, four-part, notionally vocal homophony. They also notate this texture the same way in their illustrations of harmonic principles. Both also bring in chorale harmonization as the first application in a properly musical form of the principles they taught; and because the texture and notation is similar, the transition is smooth. Where the two authors differ is in how Parker presents a chorale setting by Bach, albeit somewhat buried among his exercises; Emery presents no settings by Bach, or by any other composer. Emery does, however, recommend to the student Carl Ferdinand Becker's *Vollständiges Choralmelodienbuch* (Complete Book of Chorale Melodies") for further work in chorales.[78] It is clear from this that with chorale harmonization,

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[75] Ibid., 12. The author later recommends "tak[ing] parts of simple instrumental works and arrang[ing] them in four voiced harmony" as a bridge to composition (ibid., 130).

[76] To be sure, Emery does not in fact provide chorale harmonizations, per se: he harmonizes some of the chants that he provides, and then implies that the same should be done with the chorale tunes that he provides.

[77] Ibid. See also the previous note.

[78] Ibid. The collection's full title is *Vollständiges Choralmelodienbuch zu dem neuen Leipziger Gesangbuche zum Gebrauche in Kirchen und in Schulen*. It was published in Leipzig in 1844.

Emery has in mind representatives of the genre, not music-theoretical abstractions.[79] His description of the chorale—as "perhaps the most sublime form of devotional music"—reinforces this.[80]

In short, in the quarter of a century that had elapsed between Parker's and Emery's textbooks, little had changed in doctrines and approach from these two students of Richter; and despite significant growth in the reception and knowledge of Bach's music, Emery gives no indication that incorporating these pieces even crossed his mind.

8.5.2 *Goetschius,* The Material Used in Musical Composition

Like many American musicians of his time, Percy Goetschius undertook music studies in Germany and then returned to the United States; but unlike the greatest share of American students—who, like Emery, studied in Leipzig—Goetschius studied at the Stuttgart Conservatory, with Immanuel Faisst.[81] Goetschius's influence on American music theory was

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[79] In a later "revised and enlarged" edition of the textbook published in 1890, Emery replaces this recommendation with one of his *Supplementary Exercises*, which he published in 1886 for use in conjunction with the textbook. He describes this supplement as "contain[ing] fifty German chorals copied from standard sources, somewhat more difficult than those in this work and calculated to prepare one for the study of Counterpoint" (Stephen A. Emery, *Elements of Harmony*, rev. and enl. [Boston: A. P. Schmidt, 1890], 111). Incidentally, Arthur Foote's copy of this supplement, bearing an inscription of his name, is held at Harvard University.

[80] Emery, *Elements of Harmony*, 1st ed., 123.

[81] While from 1850 to 1900, 1,300 American students are known to have studied in Leipzig and only 600 in Stuttgart, "the number of Americans who attended the conservatory in its first twenty-five years was equal to the number of Americans who attended the Leipzig Conservatory in the same period [1857–82]"; nevertheless, "relatively few of them [those who studied in either Dresden or Stuttgart] had a lasting impact on American music" (Bomberger, "German Musical Training," 210; for the section treating of the Stuttgart conservatory, see 210–19). Faisst's imprint on Goetschius is especially pronounced in the latter's first textbook, *The Material Used in Musical Composition* (1st ed. 1882): Goetschius dedicated the textbook to his teacher and indeed observes that it is based on what he calls Faisst's *Method of Harmony* (1848)—even if in Goetschius's hands Faisst's doctrines underwent "many, in part radical, modifications"—and Faisst himself wrote a preface to the textbook (Goetschius, *Material in Musical Composition*, vi and ix–xi).

substantial: his voluminous writings include a dozen works spanning more than fifty years.[82]

Across the span of his writing, however, some patterns in his attitude toward the chorale emerge. My discussion here centers on the second edition of *The Material Used in Musical Composition: A System of Harmony*, since, unlike the first edition, it was prepared for an American audience.[83]

By and large, the chorale does not play a central role in Goetschius's *The Material*. As with Emery's *Elements of Harmony*, Goetschius broaches the subject of the chorale only late in his textbook, in a section entitled "'Polyphonic' Embellishment of Harmony" to which Goetschius appends a series of harmonization exercises. This topic represents the culmination of the various doctrines explored in the textbook to this point: the author has from the outset relied on a four-part, notionally vocal texture as the basis for abstract musical illustrations and the exposition of principles. In fact, he goes further, writing that "music of every description is based upon the *succession of these and similar Chords*," for whose conception "four distinct voices (otherwise called parts, especially in instrumental music) are necessary, and are usually employed."[84] This doctrine approaches that of an underlying framework, as seen in Richter and earlier authors, although Goetschius does not outline the same procedures of reduction and elaboration.[85] The section treating "polyphonic embellishment," however, carries the elaboration of these four voices to a level beyond that explored so far. Such embellishment, if pursued to a

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[82] David M. Thompson goes so far as to call Goetschius "the father of American [music] theory" and devotes an entire chapter of his history of music theory in the United States to him (see *History of Harmonic Theory*, ch. 2). David Berry and Sherman Van Solkema, however, caution that "his [Goetschius's] work was somewhat atypical of the developing American tradition of empiricism and openness to new ideas" (Berry and Van Solkema, "Theory").

[83] Goetschius, *Material in Musical Composition*, vii. This and all further references to this book will be from the second edition (1889), unless otherwise specified, since while this edition and the first (1882) were printed in Germany, the second edition was also—and primarily—printed in New York by Schirmer. Despite this, Goetschius taught in Stuttgart until 1890 [Ramona H. Matthews, "Goetschius, Percy," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/].

[84] Goetschius, *Material in Musical Composition*, 16.

[85] Goetschius does, however, describe the reduction of individual voices: see ibid., 232–33. See also his brief mention of embellishing homophonic textures into polyphonic ones: ibid., 230.

certain degree, will yield to the next topic in Goetschius's curriculum: counterpoint. If elaboration of a texture's constituent lines occurs to such a degree "that the attention is diverted from the fundamental succession of Chords," counterpoint results; the individual lines, rather than the harmonies that emerge from them, become the focus. Moreover, instead of the soprano being superior to other lines, as in homophony, all lines acquire equal importance.[86] While a properly polyphonic texture is beyond the ability of the beginners to which Goetschius addresses himself, the exercises that he proposes "[approach] the idea and resembles the effect of the polyphonic style."[87] This moment, then, lies on the seam between the realms of harmony and counterpoint.

At this point, Goetschius provides six melodies to be harmonized, of which three bear the label "Choral."[88] In his instructions, the author advises the reader that "for models [of harmonizing these chorale tunes], see the 'Chorals' in Bach's 'St.-Matthew'-Passion."[89] There are several noteworthy points in this suggestion. To begin with, this is perhaps the earliest suggestion in American music theory that Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations be used as models for chorale harmonization. But what exactly is the nature of this suggestion? Specifically, does Goetschius intend these pieces as models of four-part writing, or of musical structure—in satisfaction of the idea voiced beginning in Emanuel Bach's preface to Birnstiel 1765, and on American soil in Dwight's essay discussed above? Yes and no. On one hand, Goetschius broaches chorale harmonization here as a way of practicing his notion of the "polyphonic embellishment of harmony," which he conceives as a four-part phenomenon, possibly that underlies musical works—although he does not enter into great detail on the latter. On the other

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[86] Ibid., 230.
[87] Ibid., 231.
[88] Ibid., 232–33.
[89] Ibid., 233.

hand, Goetschius does not present any of the chorale settings that he suggests as models, and so confirming his conception of them through notation is not possible here.[90] However, his reference point for these pieces is the *St. Matthew Passion*, not any of the available editions of Bach's four-part chorale's settings, and it is the latter that presents them as music-theoretical objects, and not the former.[91] Moreover, Goetschius's attention to these pieces' affect—when he advises that they "be harmonized and elaborated in a more serious (strict) manner" than the non-chorale tunes that he provides—reinforces that he is conceiving of them more as musical works.

Figure 138: J. S. Bach, chorale harmonization "Ah Jesu Christ, With us Abide"; in Goetschius, *Sixty Chorales Harmonized by Johann Sebastian Bach* (1).

Indeed, it is almost surprising that Goetschius does not further pursue Bach's four-part chorale settings as exemplars of his conception of musical structure: this conception corresponds

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[90] Goetschius's omission of any examples here is striking given how his text is littered with repertoire examples.

[91] It may be worth noting that none of the chorale tunes that Goetschius presents is found in the *St. Matthew Passion*. That his reference point is the *Passion* and not one of the existing collections may indicate that the author was not familiar with existing collections of Bach's chorale harmonizations: had he been familiar with these collections, why would he not have recommended them, given how many more settings were available there and how much more amenable their presentation to serving as models?

closely to the texture of Bach's settings, and Goetschius produces numerous examples throughout his books, particularly examples by Bach.[92] And if these pieces—and chorale harmonization in general—lie in the seam between harmony and counterpoint, these pieces are not found in his later counterpoint textbooks.[93] Decades later, though, he comes very close to drawing this connection: in 1934, he published an edition of Bach's chorale harmonizations in whose preface he writes of what he calls "contrapuntal harmony." While Bach's organ chorales are "always contrapuntal," in his vocal chorales, Goetschius writes, "his added voices represent more nearly pure harmony, often, it is true, of so elaborate a character that the term 'contrapuntal harmony' might be more exact."[94] Yet Goetschius's conception of these pieces as presented in the edition is clearly as liturgical pieces to be sung, not as the music-theoretical abstractions. This conception is clear from his preface to the edition, which begins, "the type of vocal music known as the Chorale…is inseparably connected and identified with the service of the German Protestant church."[95] Goetschius also provides instructions on the pieces' performance and an index of harmonizations according to "Subjects and Occasions." Finally, this conception is clear

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[92] In Goetschius's exposition of his model of musical structure, for example, he supplies one piece to exemplify it: a fugue by Bach (Goetschius, *Material in Musical Composition*, 21). The "copious use of examples" in teaching composition was characteristic of his teacher Immanuel Faisst's work: see Bruce Carr, "Faisst, Immanuel," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001), https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/.

[93] In Goetschius's 1902 *Counterpoint Applied in the Invention, Fugue, Canon and other Polyphonic Forms*, chorale harmonizations of this type are nowhere to be found; while the author employs chorales, he does so as *cantus firmi* for more-complex textures, such as figurated chorales or fugues.

[94] Johann Sebastian Bach, *Sixty Chorales*, ed. Percy Goetschius (Boston: O. Ditson, 1934), n.p. With respect to one harmonization in particular, Goetschius comments that "this elaborate setting is an exceptional example of Bach's supreme mastery of 'contrapuntal harmony'" (ibid., 59). How Goetschius developed this notion of "contrapuntal harmony" warrants further investigation. A new perspective on harmony and counterpoint may be detected in the author's preface to his 1910 *Exercises in Elementary Counterpoint*, in which he attests to his "constantly strengthening belief" that knowledge in harmony is best approached through the study of counterpoint, and specifically through one-part, then two-part, three-part, and four-part textures, and that the book concerns harmony as much as counterpoint. Yet he still seems to hold to his four-part conceptions of musical structure, which he calls "the full four-part texture," even if he prefers to conceive of it contrapuntally: "its acquisition," the author writes, "will fully prepare the student to undertake the subsequent tasks in homophonic and polyphonic composition" [Percy Goetschius, *Exercises in Elementary Counterpoint* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1910), v].

[95] Bach, *Sixty Chorales*, n.p. Interestingly, Goetschius also asserts that Bach set these chorales "as material for his choir," among other purposes. Whether he draws this assertion from Becker's preface to the *dritte Auflage* or Dwight's 1856 essay discussed above—or whether it is of his own deriving—is unclear.

in their visual presentation—most obviously in each setting's multiple verses of English texts

each as well as additional performances suggestions (Figure 138). And so while Goetschius

entertains the possibility of treating Bach's chorale settings as exemplifications of musical

structure, he does not pursue this possibility to any length.

8.5.3 *Foote and Spalding,* Modern Harmony*, and Spalding,* Tonal Counterpoint

The final textbooks that I discuss in this section are Arthur Foote and Walter R.

Spalding's *Modern Harmony in its Theory and Practice* (1905) and Spalding's *Tonal

Counterpoint: Studies in Part-Writing* (1904).[96] The authors of these textbooks differ from both

Emery and Goetschius in that they were trained principally in the United States, not Germany.[97]

As such, their textbook offers a picture of a second generation of German training transferred

and assimilated into an American context. Yet *Modern Harmony* bears significant similarities to

both Emery's and Goetschius's textbooks: its authors rely throughout on a four-part texture to

illustrate harmonic principles, for example, and they employ for their exercises the

harmonization of melodies—including of hymns and chants—in this same texture.[98] Like

Goetschius, moreover, the authors present numerous examples extracted from musical works, in

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[96] *Modern Harmony* seems to have been well received: the authors revised it in 1924 and again in 1936. The book was also reprinted in 1969 as *Harmony*.

[97] Nicholas Tawa writes that Foote nevertheless "associat[ed] with the many highly competent German musicians residing in Boston, especially Otto Dresel, Franz Kneisel, George Henschel, and Wilhelm Gericke" (87–88). Spalding graduated from Harvard College in 1887 and received his master's degree in 1888: see *Baker's Biographical Dictionary* (7th ed.), 2174.

[98] "Our first exercises are to be simple combinations of chords for four voices, soprano, alto, tenor, bass," [Arthur Foote and Walter Raymond Spalding, *Modern Harmony in its Theory and Practice* (Boston, MA: Arthur P. Schmidt, 1905), 19]. Further instructions for these exercises begin at 31. So firm is the authors' commitment to four-part textures that their consideration of "harmony other than with four voices" occupies no more than a single paragraph (although see also ibid., 243); here, the authors observe that "through natural development, and from custom, harmony in four parts has come to be considered normal" (ibid., 252). This seems to enter the realm of model of musical structure, even if the authors are much less explicit about it than they could be: see in particular the discussion immediately preceding their recommendation of the *dritte Auflage* (Foote and Spalding, *Modern Harmony*, 223–24), which I discuss presently.

addition to their own abstract illustrations. Given this context, it is perhaps unsurprising that chorale settings figure among these examples; for example, the authors offer a number of chorale settings by Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, settings from Haupt's *Choralbuch*, and a setting by Hassler of the "Passion Chorale."[99] Yet the authors only barely present a chorale setting by Bach: only one excerpt consisting of four chords—and as such, barely distinguishable as a setting by Bach.[100] As with Goetschius, that the authors pass over Bach's chorale settings is peculiar, given how these pieces align with their default illustration texture and how they already invoke chorale settings by other composers. Indeed, they even profess their belief in the wide applicability to other tonal repertoire of Bach's harmonic practices.[101]

Yet interestingly, the authors do, in fact, recommend Bach's chorale harmonizations as part-writing models on one occasion. Near the end *Modern Harmony*, in the end of a note recommending further analytical exercises—including "songs" by a list of composers and "piano works" by others—the authors add the following line: "For an exhaustive study of part writing, and especially of suspensions and of chords of the 7th used in the freest possible manner, the student is referred to the 371 Vierstimmige Choralgesänge of Bach (Breitkopf und Härtel)."[102] There are several points to mention here. First, the authors evidently consider these pieces as only peripherally related to the textbook's topic—*viz.*, harmony; instead, Bach's chorales settings belong in the domain of part-writing—evidently unlike the other chorale settings they presented earlier. One reason for their considering Bach's settings in this way may be their view that Bach's settings are written in the "freest possible manner": this freedom presumably exceeds the

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[99] Ibid., 24 (see also 160 and 218), 77.
[100] Ibid., 173.
[101] In what seems to be a reference to the textbook's title, the authors call Bach's music "modern in the true sense of the word": see Ibid., 271, n.1.
[102] Ibid., 224.

limits of their harmony curriculum. The authors' characterization of these pieces as "an exhaustive study of part writing" exhibits a confidence in Bach's authority, the comprehensiveness of the corpus that these pieces evidently constitute, and their suitability for conveying music-theoretical principles; indeed, the qualification "exhaustive" may presage the early corpus studies of these pieces that I discuss below.[103] Finally, the author's recommendation of the *dritte Auflage* as a source for these pieces is striking, given that several more recent German editions were by now available; this highlights not only American music theorists' continued dependence on German sources, but also the resilience of this particular edition.[104]

Further light may be shed on the status of the chorale for these authors—or at least for Spalding—by a related work: Spalding's *Tonal Counterpoint: Studies in Part-Writing* (1904). This textbook both confirms the attitude toward Bach's chorale harmonizations found in *Modern Harmony*—that its value lies in the domain of part-writing—and also sheds additional light on the pieces' reception, in that the author provides actual examples of these pieces. Indeed, Spalding presents a number of Bach's chorale settings over the course of the textbook—if somewhat fewer than one might expect, given their characterization in *Modern Harmony* as an "exhaustive study" of part-writing. Spalding recommends Bach's chorale settings here in a manner similar to *Modern Harmony*: "Early in this course of study the '371 Four-voiced Chorals' of J. S. Bach should be procured, and the student to whom work on the above melodies

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[103] Perhaps relevant here as well is the author's reference to discerning "the harmonic outline" from "ornamental tones" in one's analyzing, suggesting that their default four-part, notionally vocal texture is at the same time a model of musical structure, and that they intimate this in such close proximity with a recommendation of Bach's chorale harmonizations.

[104] These include the second volume of Erk 1850/65; the *Bach Gesellschaft*'s volume of chorale harmonizations ("Vierstimmige Choralgesänge, Lieder und Arien"), which was edited by Franz Wüllner and appeared in 1892; and the *389 Choral-Gesänge: für gemischten Chor*, edited by Bernhard Friedrich Richter and published in 1898.

has been fairly easy may now harmonize some chorals or at any rate phrases from them."[105] Spalding thus affirms the position of these pieces' near the transition from harmony to counterpoint. Yet like Goetschius, the author exhibits a hands-off attitude toward these pieces: "It is left to the teacher to direct this part of the work in accordance with the advancement and facility of each particular student." In conjunction, he recommends five particular settings as "suitable for treatment at this stage of the work"—but he moves on immediately to recommend other repertoire, observing that "many interesting and stimulating examples may be looked up from the works of the great composers," and providing an example from Handel's oeuvre. Indeed, all of his other recommendations of Bach's chorale settings for study in the textbook come with recommendations to study other works, whether by Bach or other composers.[106]

Spalding's visual presentation of Bach's chorale settings sheds further light on how he conceives of them. The author usually identifies chorales by citing the larger work from which they were extracted—typically a cantata or a passion (Figure 139)—but sometimes he simply writes "choral" (Figure 140).[107] The practice of identifying of chorale settings by the larger works suggests that the author conceives of the pieces as an integral part of these larger works, not as independent works. This practice also suggests that the author's main source is not one of the editions of Bach's chorale harmonizations—and certainly not the one that he

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[105] *Tonal Counterpoint: Studies in Part-Writing* (Boston: The Arthur P. Schmidt Co., 1904), 53. The author demonstrates this exercise later in the textbook (see ibid., 173–77). I take the edition to which Spalding refers here to be the *dritte Auflage* and Spalding's name for it simply a translation of the German title, since to my knowledge, no other edition of these pieces under this name was available to Spalding. Moreover, this is the only edition that Foote and Spalding cite in *Modern Harmony*.

[106] Spalding recommends the study of Bach's chorale settings in conjunction with those of "Mendelssohn and others," and particularly "with reference both to their harmonic and their contrapuntal aspects" (ibid., 158). Earlier in the textbook, moreover, earlier, he suggests that "the earnest student should play and thoroughly analyze certain of the works of Bach,—especially the forty-eight Preludes and Fugues, the two-voice Inventions and some of the Chorals and Cantatas. These compositions represent the most perfect union of a free contrapuntal style with our modern harmonic system" (ibid., 73).

[107] The author does in one case refer to settings by number in a collection—in his recommendation of five settings mentioned above (ibid., 53); but this is presumably because he had just named a specific edition. Moreover, he does not provide notated examples in this place.

recommended—since those sources typically do not include such information, but rather the larger works themselves.[108] Yet the author's identifying practices do evidence some abstraction: whereas he does not cite a chorale's place in the larger work from which it comes, he does provide this information with regard to non-chorale works—for example, including a movement's number when excerpting a movement in one of Bach's passions (Figure 7.10).

Figure 139: J. S. Bach, chorale harmonization, as presented in Spalding, *Tonal Counterpoint* (35).

Figure 140: J. S. Bach, chorale harmonization, as presented in Spalding, *Tonal Counterpoint* (173).

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[108] As mentioned above, I consider the edition that Spalding explicitly cites to be the *dritte Auflage*.

With regard to musical notation of Bach's four-part chorale settings, Spalding typically presents these on four staves (Figures 139 and 140). On one hand, this manner of presentation stresses the pieces' more contrapuntal aspects, in conjunction with the textbook's main topic; on the other, it also reflects a much more vocal conception of these pieces—particularly in conjunction with the authors' use of the SATB clefs that Bach used in his original version of these pieces, as seen in Chapter 2 above.[109] That Spalding does not include a text to be sung does not detract greatly from this impression, since he omits the texts of other vocal pieces as well. It is also noteworthy that the chorale settings that the author presents are usually larger portions, if not entire settings, and not the short excerpts that present-day authors often cite; as such, they appear more like musical works and less like simple illustrations of harmonic principles.

This brief survey of turn-of-the-century American music-theory textbooks exhibits several patterns with respect to chorales. First, by the end of the nineteenth century, the practice of chorale harmonization as a way of studying harmonic principles, found earlier in American works that draw explicitly on German ones, had become naturalized in American music theory. The adoption of this practice was enabled in part by authors' conception of musical structure, which they conceived as four-part, notionally vocal homophony. These characteristics, combined with authors' affinity for Bach's music, make it somewhat surprising that authors do not invoke Bach's four-part chorale settings more often, particularly where they invoke the chorale settings of other composers. To be sure, the overall trend across the works examined here is toward inclusion of Bach's chorale settings: whereas Emery nearly repeats Parker's 1855 teachings— *sans* Bach's chorale settings—Goetschius recommends the examination of these pieces without undertaking it, and Foote and Spalding cite a brief portion of one of these, but otherwise consider

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[109] Spalding is not wholly consistent with clefs: the excerpt in Figure 139 has a treble clef for the alto line, whereas other harmonizations have him using an alto clef (see, for example, ibid., 173–74).

them too contrapuntal for inclusion in a harmony curriculum. Where Spalding does cite Bach's chorale settings in his *Tonal Counterpoint*, he does so as pieces extracted from larger musical works and less as independent works, even if traces of abstraction appear.

8.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown the general trajectory of American music theory with respect to the chorale, and specifically Bach's four-part chorale settings, through the second half of the nineteenth century. In his translation of Marx's textbook, Saroni presents the chorale as largely unfamiliar to his American audience, yet essential to his evangelistic project, given that chorales are vehicles for German music-theoretical principles; but the chorale is also secularized—and unlike in Marx's original, Bach's chorale settings are not presented as indelibly connected to larger works. Parker's *Manual* conveys the basics of Richter's teachings to an American audience but breaks with Richter in presenting a chorale setting by Bach, even if without ceremony. In his advocating for American use of Bach's chorale settings, Dwight claims that their use as models of four-part writing is their most important, but does not pursue this idea—not even in the edition that followed the essay. Finally, the presence of Bach's chorale settings increases through several textbooks approaching the turn of the twentieth century, from their mention to actual presentations of these pieces; but authors represent them more as musical works than as music-theoretical objects, and they situated them in the gap between the harmony and counterpoint curriculums. It remains to be seen how Bach's four-part chorale settings eventually came to stand for tonal harmony writ large and be ushered into a place of great prominence in a harmony curriculum. This is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 9 Twentieth-Century American Music Theory: A Made-in-America Tradition

In this chapter, I explore the chorale in twentieth-century American music theory to bring this history up to the present day, as described in Part I of this dissertation. I discuss a combination of theoretical texts and musical editions, as in the earlier chapters of this history. I begin with Donald Tweedy's *Manual of Harmony* (1928), the earliest music-theoretical source to develop a curriculum heavily reliant on J. S. Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations. I also discuss several Schenkerian texts, including the first undergraduate textbook influenced by Schenker, William J. Mitchell's *Elementary Harmony* (1939), and the first monograph that explicitly seeks to disseminate Schenker's views, Adele T. Katz's *Challenge to Musical Tradition* (1945). But before these two books, I briefly examine Schenker's own handling of the chorale across his writings, to provide a point of comparison. I briefly examine a study of Bach's chorale settings by Kent Gannet, *Bach's Harmonic Progressions* (1942), and then I finish by discussing Salzer and Schachter's *Counterpoint in Composition* (1969).

Across these sources, I show the increased prominence of Bach's four-part chorale settings in American music theory. Tweedy's *Manual* is the earliest written work to fulfill Emanuel Bach's call in his preface to Birnstiel 1765 for a composition curriculum based on Bach's four-part chorale settings. In an extreme continuation of trends observed in late-nineteenth-century textbooks, Bach's chorale settings both proliferate in the *Manual* and appear early in the curriculum; in fact, they are among the first "real music" to appear. Both of these characteristics are also in evidence in Mitchell's *Elementary Harmony*, which presents Bach's

chorale settings as embodiments of harmony and voice-leading principles. This handling departs from Schenker's own handling of Bach's chorale settings: the Austrian theorist treats them as example of masterworks, and therefore free composition—not music-theoretical abstractions. Katz takes this departure from Schenker even further, loading Bach's chorale settings with the burden of standing for Bach's harmonic practice, which in turn is the foundation for two centuries of music that follows it. In Gannett's *Bach's Harmonic Progression*, I show an exaggerated form of treating Bach's chorale settings as music-theoretical abstractions; and finally, Salzer and Schachter's *Counterpoint in Composition*, I demonstrate how the authors reinstate the chorale as the bridge from species counterpoint to free composition by means of Bach's chorale settings, which they consider embodiments of musical structure.

9.1 Tweedy, *Manual of Harmonic Technic*

Tweedy's *Manual* is the earliest textbook to significantly privilege Bach's chorale settings. While the author's late-nineteenth-century predecessors acknowledged these pieces' value as voice-leading models without actually presenting them for this purpose, Tweedy does use them this way—and in substantial number, and throughout his textbook. The author describes selecting them for their ability to model four-part writing; in so doing, he satisfies a suggestion made by Emanuel Bach in his preface to Birnstiel 1765 and until this moment left unfulfilled. Tweedy's conception of these pieces does not adhere to Bach's, however: his description of Sebastian Bach's chorale settings reveals that he conceives of them partly as musical works and partly as music-theoretical objects, and his manner of both identifying and disposing these pieces notationally confirm this.

Just as Richter's *Lehrbücher* were closely connected to the Leipzig Conservatorium, Tweedy's *Manual of Harmonic Technic Based on the Practice of J. S. Bach* is bound up with the first years of the Eastman School of Music: according to the title page, the book was written for that institution, and in the textbook's preface, Tweedy reports having tried out the textbook there for five years.[1] In the book's foreword, moreover, Eastman's then-director Howard Hanson writes that the institution is "proud to sponsor" the book "as the first of what we hope may become a series of distinguished works on musical theory and pedagogy."[2] As mentioned earlier, Tweedy is also directly connected to at least two of the authors discussed above: he studied under both Walter Spalding and Percy Goetschius, and in fact he dedicates the *Manual* to the latter.[3] Yet as will become clear, this textbook contrasts in significant ways with the books previously discussed, particularly in regard to the author's reliance on the chorale.

The importance of the chorale to Tweedy's *Manual* is immediately obvious: four-part settings by Bach litter the textbook, and in fact are among the only pieces he cites. This is a highly considered decision, however: Tweedy describes selecting Bach's chorale settings as "models" of tonal harmony, whether because of their richness in harmonic phenomena, their fine craftsmanship, or their beauty. In this respect, Tweedy's use of these pieces captures some of the main reasons why present-day Americans use them, as reflected above in Chapter 3. Yet Tweedy's conception of these pieces does not match that of present-day theorists: as reflected by both his rhetoric and his presentation of these pieces, he integrates elements of a conception of them as musical works and as music-theoretical objects. Interestingly, Tweedy's extensive

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[1] Donald Tweedy, *Manual of Harmonic Technic Based on the Practice of J. S. Bach* (Boston: Oliver Ditson Company, 1928), xiii.

[2] Ibid., vii.

[3] Tweedy studied counterpoint with Goetschius at the Institute of Musical Art (now the Juilliard School) beginning in 1912, and his work with Spalding occurred at Harvard, from where he received his Master of Arts degree in 1917 (Claire Raphael Reis, *Composers in America; Biographical Sketches of Contemporary Composers with a Record of their Works*, Rev. and enl. [New York: Macmillan Co., 1947], 365).

reliance on chorales seems to be largely original: his citing of influences on his thinking yields no clues to his reliance on chorales.

Bach's four-part chorale settings play an important role in Tweedy's *Manual* on multiple levels. At a superficial level, the author refers to these pieces throughout the textbook, often citing multiple of them to illustrate a single point or assigning their study as an exercise for the student. So great is his reliance on these pieces, in fact, that he also provides an appendix devoted only to them. This appendix lists each chorale setting by order of appearance in the *dritte Auflage* along with its identifying incipit, cross-referencing a setting's location in two other editions and offering references to a setting's appearance in the textbook.[4] The sheer number of references to Bach's chorale settings that the appendix records—245, in total—indicates the extent to which Tweedy relies on these pieces.

But the author's reliance on Bach's chorale settings manifests itself at a conceptual level as well. The first indication of this conceptual importance is the textbook's title, where Tweedy promises an approach "based on the practice of J. S. Bach." It quickly becomes clear, however, that "Bach's practice" here in fact refers exclusively to the composer's four-part chorale settings: Tweedy cites no other works by Bach, and indeed he never discusses Bach's style beyond his chorale settings.[5] In fact, these pieces are almost the only repertoire that he cites in the textbook; while he does mention a handful of works by other composers, Bach's chorale settings are the only works that he reproduces as musical examples, apart from tunes for harmonization or aural-

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[4] See Tweedy, *Manual of Harmonic Technic*, 291–301. The two additional editions in question are Bernard Friedrich Richter's 1898 collection based on the *Bach-Gesellschaft* volume, as well as Ludwig Christian Erk's *Johann Sebastian Bach's mehrstimmige Choralgesänge und geistliche Arien* (1850 and 1865).

[5] Tweedy implicitly acknowledges this conflation at one point, when he refers to "the art of Bach, as exemplified in his settings of the traditional chorales of his church" (ibid., 154).

skills exercises. In sum, Bach's chorale settings constitute a major thread in the fabric of Tweedy's *Manual*.

Happily for present purposes, Tweedy offers some explanations for his reliance on Bach's chorale harmonizations. His explanation is worth citing *in extenso*:

> Musical models for this style of writing were necessary which should be expert in craftsmanship as well as sufficiently rich in harmonic vocabulary to serve to illustrate all phases of the subject. It was also imperative that they be beautiful. The masterly chorale-settings for four voices by J. S. Bach fulfill these requirements as no other work of musical art can. They form, by themselves, within the limits of a single volume, a complete "school" of harmonic part-writing as yet unsurpassed. As published by the firm of Breitkopf & Härtel,—"Joh. Seb. Bach: *371 Vierstimmige Choralgesänge*, Edition Breitkopf No. 10," they are an indispensable companion to the present manual, and are constantly referred to in the text.[6]

Tweedy's reliance on Bach's four-part chorale settings, then, stems from a quest for "musical models." While the chorale settings satisfy a number of criteria for these models—beautiful, expertly wrought, harmonically rich—the author's primary reason for relying on them seems to be their ability to exemplify a certain style of writing. The "style" in question is evidently "the four-voice style," as Tweedy writes in the passage just preceding. But what role does this "style" play in the textbook? Why is it important to have "musical models" of this in the first place? In the previous paragraph, he writes that "it has seemed advisable to limit the scope of technical procedure in the present work to the writing of chord-successions for four voice-parts." While the instructor may choose to work in other textures, four-part homophony has the benefit of applying to a variety of other genres: it is "unquestionably fundamental for chorus, string-

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[6] Ibid., xii.

quartet, and orchestra," and as such "is adhered to throughout this volume."[7] In other words, he focuses on four-part homophony because of its use in music for several ensembles. Also influential in Tweedy's decision to rely almost exclusively on Bach's chorale settings is their harmonic richness: they include such a variety of harmonic phenomena that as a body, they are adequate for the entire undergraduate curriculum. Indeed, he even imagines the collection of Bach's chorale settings as a textbook—he mentions the *dritte Auflage*—on par with his *Manual*. To summarize, then, Tweedy deploys Bach's four-part chorale settings as models of four-part homophonic writing and as a compendium for tonal harmony.

Many of these themes appear in present-day American music theory—the heavy reliance on Bach's chorale settings as musical examples and the connecting of these to a default texture for the illustration of harmonic principles, above all. This in itself is remarkable: Tweedy is the earliest theorist on record to rely to this extent on Bach's chorale settings. But the whole picture of present-day theory has not yet coalesced here.

For one thing, Tweedy's rhetoric seems to reflect a conception of these pieces as musical works. This is no clearer than where Tweedy introduces the genre of the chorale.[8] He begins by observing the importance of the texts that these harmonizations originally adorned: "a complete understanding of certain passages [of Bach's chorale harmonizations] is impossible without study of the original German text of the chorales." Along these lines, he even recommends the 1898 edition edited by Bernhard Friedrich Richter—in which the editor restores texts, instrumental interludes, and obbligato instruments—as "the most authoritative edition for the original text."[9] Evidently as an extension of the text's importance—and in an echo of Marx—

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[7] Ibid., xii.
[8] See ibid., 41.
[9] Tweedy's reason for calling this edition "the most authoritative" is likely that it is based on the *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe*, the first critical edition of Bach's music.

Tweedy also acknowledges "the *dramatic* significance of certain chords as Bach uses them."[10] He even urges their use in American churches, recommending a recent English-language collection for singing the pieces in a liturgical setting.[11] In short, Tweedy seems committed to the notion that Bach's chorale settings are musical works derived from and intended for a specific devotional context.

Tweedy's visual presentation of Bach's chorale harmonizations reflects elements of both conceptions of chorales.[12] With regard to identifying Bach's chorale settings, Tweedy's practice largely reflects the minimalism also found in the *dritte Auflage* and its predecessors: he identifies pieces with an incipit and a number, the latter of which corresponds to the setting's position in that edition (Figure 141).[13] Absent, then, are elements that situate a given setting in the larger musical work in which it originated, such as mention of this work or the text that it accompanied.[14] The author in fact calls attention to his practices: "note the customary German title for the text of the chorale. This is often the title for the traditional tune also. The number in parentheses refers to the number of this chorale in the Edition Breitkopf, No. 10. (See Appendix.)."[15] On one hand, in qualifying the German title as "customary" and referring to a

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[10] Ibid. (italics original). Later, Tweedy asks student to note "the emotional significance of the chords with chromatically altered tones" in these pieces (ibid., 259).

[11] The collection is *The Bach Chorale Book*, edited by the Rev. J. Herbert Barlow and published in 1922. While this collection originated in England, it was also printed in New York by H. W. Gray, an agent for Novello. The collection presents one hundred settings, but in its preface, Barlow contemplates future volumes. I have uncovered no evidence that Barlow followed through on these ruminations.

[12] It should be noted that Tweedy includes only a few notated examples in the text; the vast majority of examples are simply citations of settings in which the harmonic phenomena under discussion occur, or references to pieces that the author assigns as analysis exercises, that the author expects readers to look up on their own. In short, the sample size of notated examples of these pieces is small.

[13] In the book's text, apart from notated examples, the author identifies settings by their number in the *dritte Auflage* rather than their incipits, a practice that reflects an even greater reliance on this edition.

[14] The chorale setting in Example 1 is the third movement of Bach's cantata "Ich elender Mensch, wer wird mich erlösen" (BWV 48) and begins with the text, "Soll's ja so sein." Tweedy's omission of the composer's name, which in present-day textbooks normally appears with examples, seems insignificant here: his examples are typically integrated into his prose to the point of breaking a sentence mid-way through, and he often mentions the composer there—both of which are true with this example.

[15] Tweedy, *Manual of Harmonic Technic*, 29.

"traditional tune," Tweedy acknowledges the long tradition from which chorales emanate. On the other hand, his practices still isolate settings from their original musical context: the identifying texts that he uses are from the *dritte Auflage*, which follows Breitkopf 1784–87, whose identifying texts in most cases do not correspond to Bach's original texts. Neither does Tweedy translate these texts for his readers; his stress on the relevance of settings' texts for compositional choices evidently does not extend this far.

Figure 141: Bach, chorale setting "Ach Gott und Herr," in Tweedy, *Manual of Harmonic Technic* (34).

With regard to the notation of Bach's chorale settings, Tweedy again largely follows the *dritte Auflage*: settings are on two staves, with two parts on each staff that are differentiated by stem direction and no texts for singing. Yet Tweedy deviates from the *dritte Auflage* by including slurs, if only ever in the uppermost part (Figure 142).[16] Surprisingly, this slurring does not follow the editions with text that he recommends (Figures 143 to 145). Since the slurring provided is most associated with a text, Tweedy's intervention is evidently an attempt to project a more vocal conception of these pieces, reflecting his emphasis on settings' tunes discussed

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[16] To be sure, flagging in these settings is in general relatively uncommon, given that most syllables occur at the quarter-note level, not the eighth-note level. The small number of Tweedy's notated examples precludes investigating his practices in this regard to any meaningful extent.

above. Yet the author omits other clues to a vocal conception, whether explicit—like

instrumental indications—or implicit—like beaming. In summary, Tweedy's notational

presentation of Bach's chorale settings mirrors his statements in casting these pieces both as

musical works and as music-theoretical abstractions.

Figure 142: Bach, chorale setting "Heut' triumphiret Gottes Sohn," bb. 10–12, in Tweedy, *Manual of Harmonic Technic* (117).

Figure 143: Bach, chorale setting "Heut' triumphiret Gottes Sohn," bb. 10–12; in *dritte Auflage*, 47. (Upper staff is in the treble clef, lower staff the bass clef.)

Figure 144: Bach, chorale setting "Heut' triumphiret Gottes Sohn," bb. 1–4; in Tweedy, *Manual of Harmonic Technic*, 117.

Figure 145: Bach, chorale setting "Heut' triumphiret Gottes Sohn," bb. 1–4, showing slurs missing in Tweedy's version; in J. S. Bach, *389 Choralgesänge: für gemischten Chor*, 114.

Since Tweedy's *Manual* is the earliest source that exhibits reliance on Bach's chorale

settings to any meaningful extent, it is worth considering possible influences for this approach.

Tweedy himself acknowledges the influence of several figures in his preface, including "the

theoretical teaching of Rimsky-Korsakoff and Vincent d'Indy in Europe and of Ernest Bloch,

Percy Goetschius and Franklin Robinson in America."[17] While Rimsky-Korsakov's harmony

textbook contains substantial chorale-writing, there is no mention of Bach.[18] In his *Cours de*

composition musicale (1903–50), d'Indy expresses his admiration for Bach, and particularly his

fugues and chorale preludes for organ; but he has little good to say about chorales, even about

those by Bach.[19] While Milton Babbitt observes about Bloch that he "always used nothing but

Bach chorales to teach harmony," Babbitt also describes this approach as "new" in "about 1936,"

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[17] Ibid., xiii.

[18] Rimsky-Korsakov's harmony textbook *Uchebnik garmonii* [Textbook of harmony] (St. Petersburg, 1884–5); it subsequently appeared in German as *Praktisches Lehrbuch der Harmonie* (Leipzig, 1895) and in French as *Traité d'harmonie théorique et pratique* (Paris, 1910).

[19] Vincent d'Indy, *Cours de composition musicale*, ed. Auguste Sérieyx (Paris: Durand et Cie., 1903–50). On Bach's chorale settings, d'Indy complains that they arise too frequently and interrupt the musical and dramatic flow of the composer's cantatas and passions (ibid., vol. 2, part 1: 407).

and Tweedy records working on his textbook five years prior to its publication.[20] While

Goetschius should be a good candidate, given his time spent in German musical institutions and

his proposing the chorale harmonizations in Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* as "models" for part-

writing,[21] as discussed above, Tweedy acknowledges Goetschius's contributions in conjunction

with other aspect of his approach and does not mention chorales.[22] Relatively little research on

Robinson is available, but his *Aural Harmony* (1918) contains no mention of Bach. In summary,

there is no strong indication that Tweedy derives his approach with Bach's chorale settings from

any of the figures that he names.

It is also possible that Tweedy's approach vis-à-vis Bach's chorale harmonizations was

too commonplace for him to cite a single source for it. One reviewer of Tweedy's *Manual*

observes both the wide application of this approach but also the author's unique contribution to

it, writing that "Bach's 371 Choralgesänge have often been used as models by harmony teachers

without instruction becoming so broad and rich as Mr. Tweedy has here made it."[23] It may also

be that other American teachers were taking this approach in instruction without committing it to

print; indeed, this could have been the situation with Bloch, for example. This possibility must be

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[20] On Babbitt, see Stephen Dembski and Joseph Nathan Straus, eds., "Professional Theorists and Their Influence," in *Milton Babbitt: Words about Music*, by Milton Babbitt, The Madison Lectures (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 126. On Tweedy working on the textbook five years prior to its publication, see Tweedy, *Manual of Harmonic Technic*, vii and xiii). In his history of the Eastman School of Music, Charles Riker records Bloch as having taught on faculty at the institution from 1924 to 1925, directly during the time that Tweedy would have been testing his approach; but there is no extant evidence, to my knowledge, of Bloch working extensively with Bach's chorale settings around this time (Charles Cook Riker, *The Eastman School of Music; Its First Quarter Century, 1921-1946* [Rochester, NY: University of Rochester, 1948], 91).

[21] For more on Goetschius's biography, see Mother Catherine Agnes Carroll, "Percy Goetschius, Theorist and Teacher" (Rochester, NY, University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music, 1961). In *History of Harmonic Theory*, David M. Thompson devotes an entire chapter (Chapter 2) to Goetschius and his theories.

[22] Tweedy writes that this "system of symbolization, while in some respects novel, has been developed from that originated by Gottfried Weber and improved upon by Faisst and Goetschius" (Tweedy, *Manual of Harmonic Technic*, xiii).

[23] Will Earhart, review of *Manual of Harmonic Technic*, by Donald Tweedy, *Music Supervisors' Journal* 15, no. 3 (1929): 91. Earhart goes on to write, "this is to say that allying Bach with Tweedy is here quite as important a fact as that Mr. Tweedy allied himself with Bach. Others have chosen a good text: Mr. Tweedy has preached a great sermon on it" (ibid.).

left for future investigation. The most available evidence suggests that Tweedy's deployment of Bach's chorale settings here was of the author's own design.

What is perhaps most remarkable about Tweedy's *Manual* is its fulfilment of a suggestion dating back to Emanuel Bach's preface to Birnstiel 1765 and that resurfaces in editions of these pieces and essays about them: to base a music theory curriculum upon Bach's four-part chorale settings. This is in itself a remarkable turn; but Tweedy's Schenkerian compatriots take Bach's chorale settings even further, casting them as models of musical structure. It is to these Schenkerians that I now turn—but I begin with Schenker himself.

9.2 The Chorale in Heinrich Schenker's Work

The preliminary impetus for considering the music-theoretical work of Heinrich Schenker in this investigation is the association by present-day music theorists of the chorale with the Austrian music theorist's work, as shown in Chapters 3 and 4 above. This association can already be nuanced, based on the foregoing. Chapter 8 clears up any question of whether the Schenkerians brought the chorale to American music theory: it instead arrived no later than the 1850s in multiple sources—before Schenker was even born. The previous section of this chapter shows that the proliferation of Bach's chorale settings in American music theory also did not originate with Schenkerians: Tweedy's 1928 *Manual* precedes any Schenkerian publication in the United States.[24] In this section, I show that Schenkerians do make a significant contribution to this history: they connect Bach's four-part chorale settings to the notion that the shape of

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[24] David Carson Berry makes a case that the earliest large-format work influenced by Schenker's theories is George Wedge's *Applied Harmony*, which was published in two volumes from 1930 to 1931. Berry records a number of earlier signs of Schenker's influence in the United States, including "a brief essay (ca. 550 words) on Schenker's work" written by Henrietta Michelson and published in *The Baton* in 1927; but this essay does not mention Bach's chorale settings (Berry, "Schenker's First 'Americanization,'" 160–81.

musical structure is four-part, notionally vocal homophony. Yet this connection is made by Schenkerians, not Schenker himself; that is, the fixation on Bach's chorale settings is a feature of *American* Schenkerianism. The goals of this section, then, are first of all, to clarify the status of the chorale for Schenker himself and second, to provide a backdrop for the discussion of later Schenkerian authors that follow.

While the chorale is far from absent in Schenker's work, he does not in fact privilege it in ways that one might expect in light of the subsequent American reception of his work. The chorales that Schenker uses as examples are largely treated just like any other examples of free composition; moreover, Schenker takes careful account of the contexts for which Bach's settings were written: the larger work from which a setting is drawn, its text and the meaning thereof, the liturgical purpose. Thus chorales, for Schenker, are not the theory-laden abstract objects found in later authors' writings. Neither does Schenker particularly valorize Bach's four-part chorale settings. While he does offer these pieces as examples of free composition and clearly admires them, he does not present them in any exceedingly great number, and—again unusually in this context—he also criticizes them. Moreover, Bach's four-part chorale settings by no means exhaust the range of chorales to which Schenker appeals. To be sure, Schenker does seem to have employed the chorale as a music-theoretical tool: his lesson notes and diaries in particular attest to his regular use of the chorale as part of a music-theoretical curriculum. But even in this respect, the chorale seems to lose importance for Schenker over the course of his writing and thinking, as the stages of his series *Neue musikalische Theorien und Phantasien* evidence. Indeed, Schenker explicitly opposes certain aspects of the tradition that I have been tracing in this dissertation—specifically, the use of chorale tunes for counterpoint exercises and the beginning of counterpoint training with four-part textures; instead, he considers the chorale's

utility as bridging the gap from counterpoint to free composition. In brief, Schenker himself cannot be considered to have participated in any emphatic sense in the tradition that this dissertation traces.

I begin by considering Schenker's invocation of chorales as musical examples. Schenker certainly does quote and cite chorales in his writings. Perhaps the most prominent instance is in his *Five Graphic Analyses*, where the first piece analyzed is the chorale setting from Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, "Ich bin's, ich sollte büßen."[25] That Schenker chose to present this piece in the *Five Graphic Analyses* likely has more to do with its relatively uncomplicated texture than with it being a chorale setting, since the five pieces chosen for this publication tend toward ever greater textural complexity.[26] Moreover, the pieces in this set of analyses are only five of a list of eighteen for which, according to Felix Salzer, Schenker intended to publish analyses—and no other work in that list is a chorale.[27] The book in which Schenker includes the greatest number of chorales is *Free Composition*, which treats eight different four-part chorale settings by Bach.[28] This number is not overwhelming; Schenker cites many more sonatas and symphonies by Beethoven, for example, or mazurkas and études by Chopin. Moreover, Schenker's invocations of chorales are not limited to Bach's four-part settings; he also cites four of Bach's so-called figured-bass chorales from the Schemelli collection, as well as chorales by composers other than Bach, such as Johann Crüger. And so even in *Free Composition*, where the chorale is arguably more prominent than in other writings by Schenker, Bach's chorales make up only a small

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[25] See Heinrich Schenker, *Fünf Urlinie-Tafeln* (Vienna: Universal Ed, 1932), 32–33. According to Felix Salzer, study of the five pieces contained in this publication was the curriculum for a seminar that Schenker held in the winter of 1931–32 (ibid., 17).

[26] Schenker also evidently found this particular chorale setting expedient for his analytical goals, as he discusses it no fewer than five times in *Der freie Satz*.

[27] See ibid., 17–20.

[28] Interestingly, Schenker cites no chorale settings by J. S. Bach in his *Harmonielehre*, and *Das Meisterwerk in der Musik*.

fraction of the music analyzed, and neither is Schenker fixated, as are other authors, on Bach's four-part settings in particular.

The language that Schenker employs in discussing chorales likewise offers few signs of the kind of privileging of these works typical of other authors. For example, Schenker treats the chorales that he presents less as autonomous, music-theoretical objects and more as works embedded in a rich context. In one discussion, for example, he refers to the chorale as "the achievement of Luther and the object of faithful Protestant cultivation," thereby acknowledging both chorales' original liturgical purpose and their origins in a centuries-old tradition.[29] Elsewhere, in a discussion of Bach's setting of "Ich bin's, ich sollte büßen" in *Five Graphic Analyses*, he acknowledges the importance of a chorale's text when he refers to a specific technique employed "in spite of the period in the text."[30] Indeed, he seems in this discussion to be envisioning an actual performance of this piece, given his reference to "the traditional long hold at the fermata" in the location under discussion.[31] Moreover, among the many editions of Bach's chorale settings at his disposal, his preferred editions both treat chorales in the same manner. When not citing the Passion or cantata from which a given chorale derives, Schenker cites Ludwig Christian Erk's two-volume edition printed in 1850/65, which, as shown above, reflects to a greater degree than most editions the rich tradition within which Bach's chorale harmonizations participated. Schenker's notes and diaries, moreover, testify to his reliance on Herman Roth's *25 Geistliche Lieder aus dem Schemelischen Gesangbuch* ("25 Spiritual Songs

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[29] Heinrich Schenker, *Free Composition*, trans. Ernst Oster, vol. 3, New Theories and Fantasies (New York: Longman, 1979), 94 ["Die durch den Protestantismus bedingte innige strenge Pflege des Chorales—ein wesentliches Verdienst Luthers—bewahrte den deutschen Musiker von der Entgleisung in ein musikalisch ungegründetes Verzieren…": Heinrich Schenker, *Der freie Satz*, vol. 3, Neue musikalischen Theorien und Phantasien (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1935), 152].
[30] Heinrich Schenker, *Five Graphic Analyses* (New York: Dover Publications, 1969), 9.
[31] Ibid.

from the Schemelli Songbook"), an edition of Bach's figured-bass chorales clearly prepared for singing.[32]

Figure 146: Schenker, analytical graph of Bach, chorale setting "Ich bin's, ich sollte büßen," from *St. Matthew Passion* (BWV 244); in Schenker, *Der freie Satz*, supplement, 8.
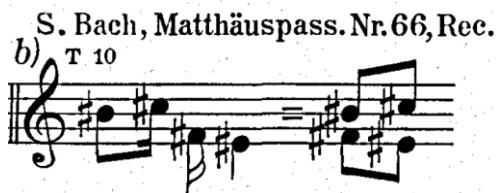
Figure 147: Schenker, analytical graph of Bach, recitative "Am Abend, da es kühle war," from *St. Matthew Passion* (BWV 244); in Schenker, *Der freie Satz*, supplement, 55.

Figure 148: Schenker, analytical graph of Bach, chorale setting "Ich bin's, ich sollte büßen," from *St. Matthew Passion* (BWV 244); in Schenker, *Der freie Satz*, supplement, 39.

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[32] Johann Sebastian Bach, *Lieder, 25 geistliche, aus dem Schemellischen Gesangbuch für 1 Singstimme und basso continuo*, ed. Herman Roth (Leipzig: C.F. Peters, 1922). A wealth of archival material from Schenker's notes and diaries may be found at *Schenker Documents Online* (https://schenkerdocumentsonline.org/).

Schenker's citational practices with respect to given chorale settings also reflect his

consideration of their larger musical contexts.[33] To begin with, Schenker identifies all of the

four-part Bach chorale settings in *Free Composition* according to the larger work within which

the settings first appeared (Figure 146)—which in every case is one of Bach's passions, whether

the *St. Matthew Passion* (BWV 244) or the *St. John Passion* (BWV 245). In addition to citing the

chorale by referring to the larger work, moreover, Schenker also identifies the position of the

chorale in the larger work by citing its movement number. That he considers chorales no

differently from other musical works in this regard may be seen by comparison with another

movement Schenker cites from the *St. Matthew Passion*, this time the recitative "Am Abend, da

es kühle war" (Figure 147). In some cases, moreover, Schenker identifies Bach chorale settings

via an incipit; yet the incipit that he provides typically comes from the text that Bach sets in the

setting's original context; this is notable since, as mentioned in Chapter 2, collections of Bach's

chorale harmonizations typically identify these by the incipit of the first verse of a chorale tune's

text, which is usually not the text that Bach sets. In one analytical graph, Schenker identifies the

setting from which it derives via the incipit "Ich bin's, ich sollte büßen," which is the text that

Bach sets in this movement of *St. Matthew Passion* (Figure 148).[34] This text, however, is the

fifth verse of a chorale that first appeared around 1555, whose first line of its first verse is "O

Welt, sieh hier dein Leben."[35] That Schenker identifies this piece by the verse that Bach sets

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[33] I do not discuss Schenker's visual presentation of chorales here, as most of his illustrations are analytical graphs, not musical scores of the pieces. (It may be noted in this respect, however, that he does not present chorales any differently from other repertoire that he presents, including texted repertoire.) He does present several chorale settings in *Counterpoint*, vol. 1, however; I discuss these below.

[34] See also Schenker's *Five Graphic Analyses*, wherein he identifies this chorale setting in the same way. Whether this identification represents Schenker's decision or that of the editors of this volume is unclear. In a list of works that Felix Salzer reports Schenker assigning his class to analyze and for which he evidently also planned to publish as analytical graphs, Schenker identifies the setting with reference to both Erk's 1850/65 edition of Bach's chorale settings and the setting's having originated with the *St. Matthew Passion*: see Schenker, *Fünf Urlinie-Tafeln*, 18.

[35] This chorale is 2293b in Zahn's *Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder*, vol. 2, 64.

instead of the conventional name for the tune thus confirms his attention to the setting's original context; in this, Schenker recalls Marx's practice in his *Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, as discussed in Chapter 7 above. In the earliest collections of Bach's chorale harmonizations, by contrast, this setting is identified by another common name for the tune, "Nun ruhen alle Wälder."[36]

Schenker also makes no claims about Bach's chorale settings like those found in other literature—for example, about their capacity to serve as images of musical structure. To be sure, Schenker does praise these pieces. In a diary entry, for example, he describes Bach's greatness in comparison to other composers by analogy with how "a single bar from a chorale by the master ranks above the chorale settings of other musicians."[37] Elsewhere, he praises Bach's chorale settings for the embellishments in the composer's bass lines, for which he asserts that there is "no better introduction….This profound art has not yet been really heard or appreciated, nor has it ever been equaled, much less surpassed, by any other master of the tonal art."[38] But beyond this, Schenker makes no further claims about these pieces and their import for tonal music, as other authors do; the only aspect of chorales writ large that holds a special value for him is in how composers use chorale tunes in a variety of iterations and indeed derive musical material

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[36] This setting appears as no. 120 in Birnstiel 1765/1769 and no. 117 in Breitkopf 1784–87, both under this identifying text. This popular tune was set to several texts and consequently was known by several names; two others are "O Welt, ich muß dich lassen" and "In allen meinen Taten," both of which incipits appear for settings of it in the early collections of Bach's chorale settings.

[37] *Schenker Documents Online*; the diary entry is from November 15, 1914, and the passage reads as follows: "Just as one can attribute a chorale to a J. S. Bach and to no other composer from a pithy bass line, and thus a short extract bears witness to the overall structure of the genius-driven intellect, – in the same way, the extract from a work by Bach bears witness, in further prolongation, even to the overall structure of the German nation. And so it arises that the nation that can boast an 'extract' like Bach ranks just as high above the nations as a single bar from a chorale by the master ranks above the chorale settings of other musicians."

[38] Schenker, *Free Composition*, 102 ("Seb. Bachs Choralsatz eignet sich am besten zur Einführung in die Kunst der Baß-Diminution….Noch ist diese tiefsinnige Kunst niemals gehört und gewürdigt worden, auch ist sie von keinem Meister der Tonkunst je wieder erreicht, geschweige übertroffen worden": Schenker, *Der freie Satz*, 166).

from them.[39] He even questions Bach's harmonic choices at times; for example, he criticizes

both Bach and Heinrich Bellermann for their settings of the chorale tune, "Gelobet seist du Jesu

Christ."[40] As he writes, both composers "force themselves" to observe a mixolydian

interpretation of this tune, and thus "make grave concessions to theory," which he considers

"unnatural." While Schenker speculates that the two composers' reason for acceding to this

interpretation is "just for the sake of theory," he allows that Bach's setting is "beautiful," owing

to its "artistic voice leading and so many [other] basic devices." Thus, Schenker does not

consider Bach's chorale settings as above criticism, but his criticism is centered on Bach's

harmonic treatment—the very aspect for which other authors consider these works exemplary

and authoritative. In summary, Schenker does not valorize Bach's chorale settings either for their

harmonic treatment or for their capacity to represent musical structure, as other authors examined

in this investigation do.

Schenker does, however, discuss two issues closely connected to the tradition that this

dissertation traces: the use of chorale tunes for counterpoint exercises and the approach of

beginning counterpoint training with four-part textures. The first of these discussions appears in

his *Kontrapunkt*, vol. 1 (1910), where the author discusses the concept of *cantus firmus*. In this

section, he criticizes several of his contrapuntist predecessors—Fux, Albrechtsberger, Cherubini,

and Dehn—for "always view[ing] cantus firmus and chorale as synonymous in their theoretical

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[39] "The magnificent heritage of the German chorale brought forth many boldly conceive compositions. These compositions show how such a simple derivation can suffice for the creation of a great work of art—even without recourse to repetition in the foreground" (Schenker, *Free Composition*, 99).

[40] Heinrich Schenker, *Counterpoint: A Translation of Kontrapunkt*, trans. John Rothgeb and Jürgen Thym, New Musical Theories and Fantasies 2, vol. 1 (New York: Schirmer Books, 1987), 38 (Heinrich Schenker, *Kontrapunkt: Cantus Firmus und zweistimmiger Satz*, vol. 1, Neue musikalischen Theorien und Phantasien 2 [Vienna: Universal Edition, 1910], 56–57).

works."[41] The problem with this attitude, Schenker writes, is that in so doing, "they place their exercises now under one rubric, now under the other." The two rubrics in question are (species) counterpoint and free composition, and the distinction between these two could not be more important for Schenker.[42] For Schenker, counterpoint "is nothing but a theory of voice leading [that] demonstrates tonal laws and tonal effects in their absolute sense"; it is both highly regulated and the domain of mere exercises.[43] With free composition, by contrast, composers have a far richer harmonic palette and greater liberty in the arrangement of tones. Schenker describes the conflation of counterpoint and free composition as the "fundamental error" of his predecessors, and indeed he holds that the distinction between them is precisely what is new about his approach to counterpoint.[44]

When it comes to the difference between cantus firmi and chorale tunes, "the chorale melody is already a real melody—that is, a real composition—while the cantus firmus merely serves the purpose of an exercise that need not go much beyond a minimum of artistic beauty."[45]

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[41] Schenker, *Counterpoint*, vol. 1, 18 ("Das eben zuletzt erwähnte Mißverständnis ist als die Ursache davon zu betrachten, weshalb z. B. Fux, Albrechtsberger, Cherubini, Dehn u. s. w. in ihren theoretischen Werken C. f. und Choral allezeit und wirklich für Synonyma hielten, und ihre Aufgaben bald unter dieser, bald unter jener Bezeichnung setzen, ohne es gar der Mühe wert zu halten": Schenker, *Kontrapunkt*, vol. 1, 27). Schenker does not quote or cite here specific passages of any of these authors on this point.

[42] References to "counterpoint" in this discussion understand species counterpoint. I use the term unmodified following its use in John Rothgeb and Jürgen Thym's translation of the work in which Schenker most discusses this distinction, *Kontrapunkt*, vol. 1, which in turn reflects Schenker's own usage of the term. As discussed below, Salzer and Schachter, in adapting Schenker's doctrines, distinguish "elementary" counterpoint—which corresponds to what Schenker here means by the term counterpoint—and "elaborated" or "prolonged" counterpoint, which constitutes the development of "underlying [musical] principles" (Salzer and Schachter, *Counterpoint in Composition*, xviii–xix).

[43] Schenker, *Counterpoint*, vol. 1, 14 ("Dies Kontrapunktslehre, als bloß eine Lehre der Stimmführung, weist somit Tongesetze und -wirkungen von ihrer absoluten Seite nach": Schenker, *Kontrapunkt*, vol. 1, 21). By "absolute," Schenker seems to mean at least without reference to a particular instrumentation and absent any "external" reference, if not also immutable with regard to the relationships it explores. Schenker elsewhere calls counterpoint "a small practice stage" and "a preliminary school"; with composition, by contrast, the composer is free, ready to "provide his melody with one type of expression or another" (Schenker, *Counterpoint*, vol. 1, 8).

[44] Schenker, *Counterpoint*, vol. 1, 1–2, 13 ("Der Grundirrtum der älteren Kontrapunktschule": Schenker, *Kontrapunkt*, vol. 1, 2).

[45] Schenker, *Counterpoint*, vol. 1, 39 ("Am obigen Choral lerne man ferner aber auch verstehen, daß gegenüber dem C. f. unserer Aufgaben ja schon die Choralmelodie eine wirkliche Melodie, eine wirkliche Komposition vorstellt,

But the distinction between cantus firmi and chorale tunes is for Schenker not merely abstract: he also identifies specific musical features that are permitted in chorale tunes but not in cantus firmi. For example, a cantus firmus must begin and end on the tonic scale-degree,[46] and it must not feature repeated notes.[47] Schenker also calls attention to chorales' regular fermatas, which he evidently understands as a feature essential to chorales.[48] Indeed, the author mentions all of these features in his criticism of a passage in Dehn, where the latter "proposes a genuine, authentic chorale melody 'for longer exercises.'"[49] In sum, "there is a considerable difference between an authentic artistic chorale and the cantus firmus of even their [his predecessors'] own exercises….the above-mentioned masters often gave the impression of teaching real composition while actually presenting mere voice-leading problems."[50]

To be sure, Schenker here seems focused on chorale tunes; to what extent do these attitudes bear also on chorale settings, the preoccupation of other authors discussed above? To begin with, in his discussions of chorale tunes, Schenker clearly has in mind the activity of *setting* chorale tunes, even if he does not specify what sort of setting, and since he believes the specific characteristics of chorale tunes carry harmonic implications, what applies to these tunes

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während der C. f. lediglich den Zweck einer Aufgabe erfüllt, die im allgemeinen nicht über ein bescheidenes Mindestmaß von Schönheit…hinauszugehen braucht": Schenker, *Kontrapunkt*, vol. 1, 59).

[46] "…the tonic beginning is required *only* by the cantus firmus" (Schenker, *Counterpoint*, vol. 1, 39 [italics original]). Schenker feels free to use the language of tonality because he rejects the use of modes traditional in species counterpoint: see Schenker, *Counterpoint*, vol. 1, 20–32.

[47] "It is not permitted in the cantus firmus to repeat a tone even once": Schenker, *Counterpoint*, vol. 1, 42.

[48] While he does not explicitly proscribe these for cantus firmi—presumably because such a proscription would be unnecessarily specific—fermatas would presumably be ruled out by principles such as the following: "we must prevent *groups of several notes* from establishing such *units based on rhythm or harmony*"—anything "that would give it an individual character" (ibid., 17; see also 18).

[49] In reference to the chorale tune, Schenker writes, "the melody…implies entirely different, and so much more complicated, conditions and prerequisites that really cannot be reconciled with [contrapuntal] studies, at least not with their first stage"; he goes on to cite "beginning with the tone of the dominant…the fermatas characteristic of the chorale melody, and…the repetition of tones" (ibid., 40).

[50] Ibid., 18 ("In Wirklichkeit besteht aber zwischen einem echten künstlerischen Choral und dem C. f. selbst ihrer eigenen Aufgaben doch ein sehr beträchtlicher Unterschied…indem die oben gennanten Meister nur zu oft inmitten der Darstellung bloßer Stimmführungsprobleme das Gefühl nicht losließen, wirkliche Komposition zu lehren": Schenker, *Kontrapunkt*, vol. 1, 27–28). Further along, Schenker writes, "the cantus firmus is really nothing but an exercise" (ibid., 20).

also applies to settings thereof; in other words, if chorale tunes are free compositions, not mere exercises, so are their harmonizations. Furthermore, if chorale settings are free compositions, ipso facto they do not belong in the realm of counterpoint. This attitude flies in the fact of the use of the chorale explored in earlier chapters; from Kirnberger, the first author's work examined, chorale setting is a means of studying basic counterpoint—and as exercises, not, for example, for music to accompany liturgical celebrations. And so, by insisting that chorale tunes lie outside of the realm of counterpoint, Schenker decisively situates himself outside the tradition explored in earlier chapters.

A topic related to using chorale harmonization as training in counterpoint that Schenker discusses is that of beginning counterpoint studies with four-part textures. As shown above, this is a common approach among those who rely significantly on chorales—again, beginning with Kirnberger. Schenker addresses this question, too, in his discussion of distinguishing counterpoint from free composition; he not only cites Richter's work, but he cites the very rationale discussed in Chapter 7 above that Richter provides for beginning his counterpoint curriculum with four-part textures. By way of reminder, Richter asserts that counterpoint is guided by harmonic forces and thus should take harmony into consideration, and he illustrates this with the choir's entrance in the opening of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, for which he provides a four-part reduction. Schenker invokes this discussion as an example of the opinion "that the first voice-leading exercises are to be immediately connected with free composition."[51] In his view, Richter's approach is "illogical from the outset," and for two reasons.[52] The heart of Schenker's complaint seems to be allowing harmony to influence counterpoint—an influence

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[51] Schenker, *Counterpoint,* vol. 1, 6 ("…daß schon die ersten Stimmführungsaufgaben durchaus nur mit der freien Kompositionen (früher der vokalen, jetzt der instrumentalen) in so unmittelbaren Zusammenhang zu bringen seien": Schenker, *Kontrapunkt*, vol. 1, 10).
[52] Schenker, *Counterpoint,* vol. 1, 7.

that Richter embraces.[53] For Schenker, by contrast, the absence of harmony—particularly

harmony as encompassed by his concept of the *Stufe*, or scale degree—is one of the defining

features of counterpoint. Richter's embracing harmony in counterpoint entails the conflation of

counterpoint and free composition to which, as seen above, Schenker objected so strenuously.[54]

Schenker had in fact already assailed Richter for this approach in his own *Harmonielehre*

(1906). Here, Schenker discusses an illustration of harmonic principles from Richter's *Lehrbuch

der Harmonie* that appears in a four-part texture, feigning confusion over whether the illustration

constituted counterpoint or harmony (Figure 149).[55] "What is this supposed to mean?" he asks.

The texture looks like "a small piece in strict four-part composition," which would mean that the

lowest part is the *cantus firmus*—but this line wholly lacks the balance that a *cantus firmus*

requires.[56] While this forces the conclusion that it is instead an example of free composition,

which would be reinforced by the presence of Roman numerals under the lowest line, and that

the notes in this line in fact signify *Stufe*, the presence of the upper three parts is mystifying: they

are wholly superfluous in such a demonstration.[57] And so Richter is conflating harmony and

voice-leading in precisely the way that Schenker opposes; what is worse, this approach

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[53] In his *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, Schenker observes, Richter had combined these two domains in the opposite direction, applying "the voice leading of counterpoint in exercises of harmony": ibid. ("…daß derselbe Autor ja ebenso umgekehrt schon in die Aufgaben der Harmonie doch auch die Stimmführung des Kontrapunktes hineingetragen hat": Schenker, *Kontrapunkt*, vol. 1, 11).

[54] Schenker, *Counterpoint,* vol. 1, 9–10.

[55] Heinrich Schenker, *Harmony*, ed. Oswald Jonas, trans. Elisabeth Mann Borgese, New Musical Theories and Fantasies 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), 175–77. Earlier in *Counterpoint*, vol. 1, Schenker summarizes Richter's *Lehrbuch der Harmonie* thus: "I never understood Richter's *Harmonielehre*, for example— neither the words in the text nor the notes of the musical examples" (Schenker, *Counterpoint*, vol. 1, xxiii). While Schenker is not explicit about this, the illustration of harmonic principles that he cites may well be an example of the "tonal dolls" he refers to earlier, whereby "whatever they [theorists of harmony] need, the tonal doll is always agreeable" and demonstrates principles of harmony or voice-leading (ibid., xxx).

[56] Schenker, *Harmony*, 175. ("Was soll das vorstellen ? / Am ehesten müßte man sich dazu neigen, dieses Beispiel für ein kleines vierstimmiges Sätzchen im strengen Satz anzusehen, wobei dann aber der Baß gar vielleicht als Cantus firmus gedacht werden müßte": Schenker, *Harmonielehre*, 224–5). It is unclear to me why the lowest line would have to be the cantus firmus in this case and not any of the other lines.

[57] For this objection to be true, of course, Schenker must have in mind one of his graphs of an example of free composition, not the notation of the work, per se, since there is nothing unusual about upper parts in the latter.

represents "the current methods of teaching."[58] This demonstration thus shows how diametrically opposed Schenker is to the approach to four-part writing refined by Richter and taught by many of those discussed above.
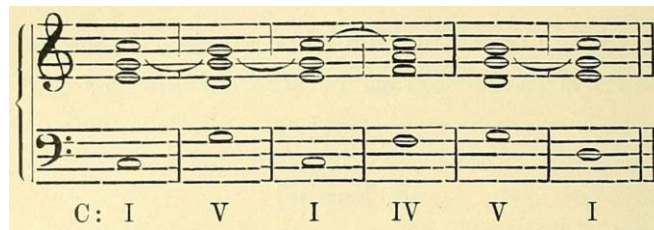
Figure 149: Schenker, reproduction of illustration in Richter, *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*, 23rd ed.; in Schenker, *Harmonie*, 224.

It must be noted that chorales did in fact play a role in Schenker's music-theoretical world: his lesson notes and diaries in particular attest to his regular use of chorales in a pedagogical context. These documents reveal him using chorales in a number of ways, including having his students harmonize chorale tunes or analyze existing chorale harmonizations, or comparing the former to the latter.[59] His occasional reference to "the chorale" or "the chorale in general," moreover, suggests that he considered the chorale a standard feature of the music-theoretical curriculum.[60] To be sure, there are intimations of this attitude toward the chorale in his published writings as well. In a demonstration surprisingly similar those of authors discussed

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[58] Schenker, *Harmony*, 175 ("...die bisherige Lehrmethode": Schenker, *Harmonielehre*, 223).

[59] Information on Schenker's lesson notes and diaries in this section are taken from the internet resource "Schenker Documents Online" (https://schenkerdocumentsonline.org/index.html) unless otherwise noted. Throughout his lesson notes, Schenker will refer to a chorale tune by its incipit, sometimes specifying the specific handling he assigned the student in question. With regard to comparisons of his students' settings with settings by other composers, Schenker notes concerning a lesson given to Marianne Kahn on May 30, 1914, for example, "the first chorale from the St. Matthew Passion; comparison of her own working with that of Bach."

[60] See, for example, a note concerning a lesson he gave to Marianne Kahn on Saturday, May 23, 1914, or a lesson he gave to Marianne Kahn in 1923/4.

above, Schenker in one place offers his own four-part setting of a chorale tune to illustrate harmonic points in his discussion of cantus firmus in *Kontrapunkt*, vol. 1.[61]

What is more, the chorale seems to have originally played a significant role in Schenker's music theory curriculum: as one of the "bridges to free composition" (*Übergänge zum freien Satz*) from counterpoint.[62] The necessity for such bridges arises from his strict separation of counterpoint and free composition just discussed: while this delineation permits him to describe musical works in new ways, it also creates gap that must be bridged, since the very laws that counterpoint expresses are at work in free composition. He bridges this gap in several ways, one of which involved chorales. He already mentions his plan to take this approach in his preface to Book 1 of *Kontrapunkt*, where, after he presents his theory of voice-leading "on a purely vocal basis"—by which he evidently means species counterpoint—he will move on to thoroughbass and chorales before arriving at free composition.[63] Positioning the chorale between a theory of voice-leading, on one hand, and free composition, on the other, suggests that chorale here, with thoroughbass, constitute one of "the bridges to free composition" that he describes in the introduction to Book 2 *Kontrapunkt*.[64] This positioning of course resembles that of the chorale in

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[61] Schenker, *Counterpoint*, vol. 1, 37.

[62] *Übergang* may also be translated as "transition"; I translate it as "bridge" following the standard translations, such as Rothgeb and Thym's translation of *Kontrapunkt*.

[63] Ibid., xxx ("…zunächst auf rein vokaler Basis durchgeführt, sodann in der Technik des Generalbasses, der Choräle und endlich der des freien Satzes aufgedeckt": Schenker, *Kontapunkt*, vol. 1, xxxii).

[64] Schenker, *Counterpoint*, vol. 1, 16 ("…die Übergänge zum freien Satz": Schenker, *Kontrapunkt*, vol. 1, 25). Schenker's initial sketches for the second volume of *Kontrapunkt* also indicate his intention to treat of the chorale; for example, in a letter written in 1920 to August Halm describing this work, he includes chorales in a list of topics that he intends to treat: "'Semper idem, sed non eodem modo' illuminates every section. That same motto [applies] to three-voice strict counterpoint, through four and multi-voice counterpoint, through mixed species to free composition, and again in the sections on scale-steps, composing-out, voice-leading, parallel fifths and octaves, passing-tone, syncope, keyboard settings and reductions, thoroughbass, chorale, and so forth" (link). Hedi Siegel also quotes this letter in her illuminating essay, "When 'Freier Satz' Was Part of *Kontrapunkt*: A Preliminary Report," ed. Carl Schachter and Hedi Siegel, Schenker Studies 2 (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 12, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511470295.004. See also William Pastille, review of Nach Tagebüchern und Briefen in der Oswald Jonas Memorial Collection, by Hellmut Federhofer, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39, no. 3 (1986): 672; and Matthew Brown and Robert W. Wason, review of *Review of* Counterpoint, by Heinrich Schenker, John Rothgeb, and Jürgen Thym, *Music Theory Spectrum* 11, no. 2 (1989): 36.

present-day American music theory—as a genre or texture in the transition from basic music-theoretical principles to actual music. Yet as the plan for *Kontrapunkt*, Book 2 took shape—during which time the portion on free composition became detached, later to become its own work, as Hedi Siegel describes—the portion devoted to the chorale seems to have diminished in importance; in an early draft for Book 2, for example, this topic is relegated to a "supplement" (*Nachtrag*) that offers "a word concerning the chorale."[65] Moreover, in the published version of *Kontrapunkt*, Book 2, the chorale is entirely absent the book's structure.[66] To be sure, references to the chorale may still be found in his lesson notes continuing into the 1930s; but it ceases to occupy the position of structural importance that it did prior to writing Book 2 of *Kontrapunkt*.

One final matter requires discussion here: Schenker's model of musical structure. It is beyond the scope of this section to discuss this matter in detail, as it is integral to Schenker's theories and complicated; but a brief summary in terms relevant to the present dissertation will serve as a backdrop to the discussion of his American followers below. In short, Schenker seems to exercise a fundamentally two-part model of musical structure. This is evident in his famous graphs, which he used to illustrate the structure of musical works; at their most basic level, they consist of a lower line and an upper line. While at this basic level, the parts are homophonic, the notion of homophony carries little meaning in such a sparse texture. Moreover, it is not clear that these lines are basically vocal, even if he seems to believe species counterpoint to be vocal. Indeed, it is not clear these lines are even instrumental: they exist on a nearly metaphysical level

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[65] Siegel, "Preliminary Report," 16, n.15, 19.

[66] Schenker, *Free Composition*, xxi–xxii. This volume of the author's three-part series *New Theories and Fantasies* was published after his death: see Schenker, *Free Composition*, xv–xvi. Evidently, Schenker's original intention was to return to at least thoroughbass, if not also the chorale: he describes his reasoning in a letter that Siegel quotes where he observes that "the voice leading of thorough bass could never be correctly understood without a knowledge of free composition," and thus it was more practical to first discuss free composition and return to thoroughbass later (Siegel, "Preliminary Report," 21–22). He evidently made substantial progress on the topic of thoroughbass, having drafted an *Abschnitt* on the topic (Siegel, "Preliminary Report," 14; see also 18–19, 21–23); but this seems not to have been published.

deeper than that of the reductions discussed in earlier chapters. In short, then, Schenker's model of musical structure differs in all the main respects from that held by other figures discussed above.

In short, then, Schenker falls in his own written works decidedly outside of the tradition discussed above that perhaps finds its clearest articulation with Richter. While he seems to have used chorales as a matter of course, in his writings he objects strongly to their use in counterpoint studies. In his view, chorale settings, just as the tunes on which they are based, are examples of free composition and involve harmony, which counterpoint must exclude out of hand. For the same reason, he also objects to beginning counterpoint in four parts and to Richter's use of four-part homophony to illustrate principles of harmony and voice-leading. One particularly interesting departure, however, consists of his inclusion of Bach's four-part chorale settings in his writings, which, as I have shown, do not appear in German music-theoretical writings. Finally, while early on, he seems to have considered the chorale as an effective medium for the transition from counterpoint to free composition, he seems to have abandoned this idea as time wore on, to where it disappeared entirely.

9.3 Early Schenkerians: William Mitchell and Adele Katz

A number of Schenker's students and devotees arrived in the United States during the 1930s and set to work spreading his doctrines by teaching and publishing essays.[67] William J.

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[67] For a summary of the early years of Schenkerianism in the United States, see David Carson Berry, "Hans Weisse and the Dawn of American Schenkerism," *Journal of Musicology* 20, no. 1 (2003): 104–56, https://doi.org/10.1525/jm.2003.20.1.104. In his article "Schenker's First 'Americanization': George Wedge, the Institute of Musical Art, and the 'Appreciation Racket,'" Berry argues that the earliest signs of Schenker's teachings in the United States can be found "as early as 1925" in the work of George A. Wedge (143)—although Berry concludes that "Wedge's work may be thought of as offering a foretaste of the Americanization of Schenker that was to follow in the academy" (209).

Mitchell and Adele Katz were students of one of the earliest of these, Hans Weisse, who began

teaching in the United States in 1931.[68] The two publications that I discuss here—Mitchell's

textbook *Elementary Harmony* (1939) and Katz's monograph *Challenge to Musical Tradition: A*

New Concept of Tonality (1945)—are among the first book-length writings of American

Schenkerians.[69] Both authors are clear that, while they build upon Schenker's teachings, they

also chart their own course. I will argue that their reliance on the chorale is one of the key

aspects that sets their thinking apart from Schenker's. Indeed, this reliance becomes typical of

Schenkerian thinking in the United States; to use William Rothstein's locution, the

conceptualizing and deployment of Bach's chorales settings as models of musical structure are

part of Schenker's "Americanization."[70]

9.3.1 *Mitchell,* Elementary Harmony

William Mitchell's *Elementary Harmony* may be considered the earliest attempt to adapt

Schenker's theories to a textbook.[71] In the preface to *Elementary Harmony*, William Mitchell

explicitly acknowledges both his general reliance on Schenker's views and his occasional

departures from them: as he writes, "while those few who have read and understood these

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[68] In his preface to *Elementary Harmony*, Mitchell writes that Weisse, "better than anyone else could have done, introduced me to and clarified the writings of Heinrich Schenker, undoubtedly the greatest theoretician of our time" (William J. Mitchell, *Elementary Harmony* [New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939], viii.). Katz dedicates *Challenge to Musical Tradition* to Weisse, "whose inspiration as a musician and encouragement as a friend made this book possible" (Adele Katz, *Challenge to Musical Tradition: A New Concept of Tonality* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945], v).

[69] In "Schenker's First 'Americanization,'" Berry calls Mitchell's *Elementary Harmony* "the first American textbook to draw explicitly on Schenker's ideas" (Berry, "Schenker's First 'Americanization,'" 178), and writes of Katz's book that it "is not a textbook at all" (ibid., 179, n.79). This informative article centers around George Wedge, with whom Berry identifies "the *earliest* attempt at Americanizing Schenker" (230). Berry specifically discusses Wedge's textbook *Applied Harmony* (1930–31), yet he notes that "Wedge makes no explicit mention of Schenker (or his work)" (178).

[70] See Rothstein, "Americanization of Schenker"; see also Snarrenberg, "Competing Myths"; and Berry, "Schenker's First 'Americanization.'"

[71] See n.24 above.

writings [of Schenker's] will recognize my indebtedness [to them], it will be apparent that the material has been applied [in this textbook] to quite different ends."[72] The role that chorales play in *Elementary Harmony* is one of the significant ways in which Mitchell departs from Schenker. Apart from the relatively high frequency of chorales throughout the textbook, chorales are closely tied to Mitchell's conception of voice-leading; in fact, chorales—and in all cases four-part settings by J. S. Bach—are the only musical works that Mitchell presents to illustrate voice-leading principles. The author's visual presentation of these pieces, moreover, suggests that he conceives of these pieces as musical abstractions: compared with the edition from which the settings are drawn, he presents them stripped of all elements besides those pertaining to harmonic organization. Indeed, this presentation differs but little from the abstract configurations that he employs to illustrate general harmonic principles. Apart from his substantial reliance on chorales, Mitchell also departs from Schenker in conceiving of musical structure as both notionally vocal and four-part. Finally, the fact that Mitchell never justifies his reliance on Bach's chorale harmonizations and only refers to their use as "models" in passing suggests that his practices in regard to chorales had by the late 1930s become familiar to his audience.

The significance of chorales in *Elementary Harmony* is evident already at a superficial level: Mitchell cites Bach's chorale settings at several points across the textbook.[73] Indeed, these pieces are probably the most frequently occurring composer–genre combination in the textbook, and he cites them across the work to illustrate a variety of phenomena.[74] Mitchell first introduces Bach's chorale settings in his chapter on voice-leading. Here, they function as illustrations from

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[72] Mitchell, *Elementary Harmony*, viii.
[73] Mitchell does in one place cite a short excerpt of a homophonic work whose composer he identifies as Rosenmüller, but he does not identify the work: see ibid., 124. The work's texture appears to consist of five parts.
[74] Most of these are four-part settings, although Mitchell also includes some of Bach's figured-bass chorales in the exercises at the end of the textbook: see ibid., 257.

musical repertoire of the texture that Mitchell has chosen for presenting principles of harmony and voice-leading—that is, four-part, notionally vocal homophony. In selecting this texture, Mitchell aligns himself with Richter and those who followed and preceded him; indeed, Mitchell's systematic description of this texture even resembles the description provided by these authors. His presentation of Bach's chorale settings in this context suggests that he considers them uniquely capable of illustrating this texture and the fundamental principles taught in the chapter; in fact, these are the only musical examples he presents not only in this chapter, but until Chapter XII five chapters later.

Mitchell's visual presentation of Bach's chorale settings also reinforces the connection between these pieces and his abstract illustrations of principles of harmony and voice-leading. This presentation is by now familiar: on two staves, with two parts per staff, and stems differentiating each part (Figure 150). Omitted, by contrast, are any signs of the text that these pieces originally set, as well as any vestiges of that text, such as slurring and flagging. This presentation makes Bach's chorale settings resemble illustrations of music-theoretical principles (Figure 151). The resemblance between these two is particular salient where Mitchell presents very short excerpts of Bach's chorale settings, even as short as two beats (Figure 152). Mitchell's minimalist presentation of these pieces is clearly an intervention on his part: as a source for these pieces, he cites the 1898 edition edited by Bernard Friedrich Richter and drawn from the *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe*.[75] This edition supplies a host of information: the text that Bach originally set, other indications like slurring and flagging that related to that text, the instrumentation of Bach's original setting, the work in which the setting first appeared, the original author of the

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[75] Bach, *389 Choralgesänge*. In the second and third editions of *Elementary Harmony*, Mitchell cites the edition edited by Albert Riemenschneider.

chorale tune, and so on (Figure 153).[76] Moreover, questions of visual presentation as they relate

to his conception of musical structure were evidently on his mind: in describing four-part

exercises, he calls attention to their presentation, observing that his prescribed format is "the

clearest compact way" of completing these exercises.[77] In short, Mitchell's minimalist

presentation of these pieces is a deliberate choice.
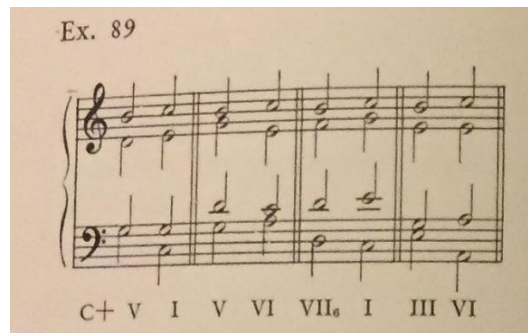
Figure 150: Illustration of harmonic principles in Mitchell, *Elementary Harmony*, 48.
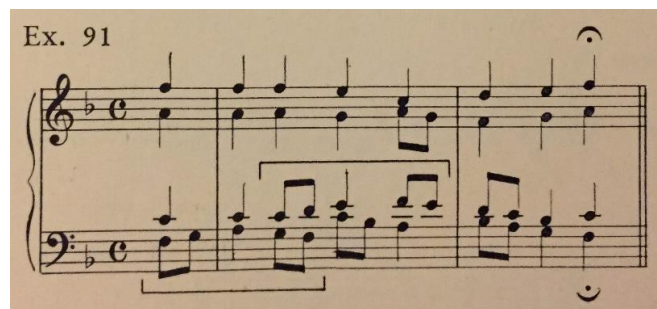
Figure 151: Bach, chorale setting "Herr Jesu Christ, wahr'r Mensch und Gott"; in Mitchell, *Elementary Harmony*, 49.

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[76] Mitchell does identify these works by means of the incipit that Richter provides and not a number; but because he identifies works not on his examples but in his main text, I dwell less on this aspect. Katz's practice is the same as Mitchell's in this respect; on their notated examples, both provide only the example number.

[77] Mitchell, *Elementary Harmony*, 43.
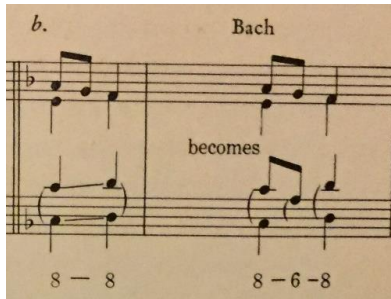
Figure 152: Bach, chorale setting "In dich hab' ich gehoffet, Herr"; in Mitchell, *Elementary Harmony*, 119.

Figure 153: Bach, chorale setting "Herr Jesu Christ, wahr'r Mensch und Gott"; in Bach, *389 Choralgesänge*, 99.

That Mitchell intends the resemblance between Bach's chorale settings and his illustrations of music-theoretical principles, moreover, is suggested by other aspects of his handling of these pieces. One such aspect is his rhetoric. In the introduction to his default texture for music-theoretical principles, he advises the reader to consider exercises in this texture as more of "a testing ground preparatory to greater freedom than as examples of free composition even though at times, when chorale tunes and folk melodies are harmonized, there seems to be a similarity to certain kinds of composition."[78] The exercises that Mitchell has in mind are evidently chorale and chorale-like settings, not only given his explicit mention of these here, but

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[78] Ibid., 42.

also the fact that chorale settings are the only examples that he provides in this chapter. Yet that he engages in a comparison by degrees between "a testing ground" and "free composition" suggests that he considers chorale settings to exist in a hazy area between the two; yet his comparison of tune settings with "certain kinds of composition" suggests that he does not consider such settings free composition at all. Another clue to how Mitchell conceives of Bach's chorale settings is an offhand comment about these pieces, buried much later in the textbook, that they "usually serve as models"—evidently, given the context, of voice-leading.[79] This description, too, distances the chorale settings from free composition and instead in the realm of abstractions. Thus, whether in his rhetoric or his visual presentation of Bach's chorale settings, Mitchell clearly departs from Schenker: these pieces are musical objects, not examples of free composition.

Finally, Mitchell may incorporate elements of Schenker's model of musical structure into his own, but he ultimate lands with Richter and company on this topic. This is suggested by Mitchell's choice of these pieces to illustrate what he calls "the horizontal dimension" of musical organization. With "the vertical dimension," these concepts form part of Mitchell's image of musical structure: these dimensions, which he also understands as "voice-leading" and "chord construction," respectively, are the two basic "problems" that a student must overcome in learning harmonic principles.[80] This language of two "dimensions"—as well as his fondness for the highly spatial, visual metaphors of "vertical" and "horizontal" to describe them—Mitchell likely derives from Schenker, as well as the insistence that the latter often takes priority over the

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[79] The entire sentence reads as follows: "Bach's settings [of chorale melodies], which usually serve as models, contain in the 389 included in the Breitkopf und Härtel *Choralgesänge* only one such interval [the augmented second expressed melodically,] to the writer's knowledge" (ibid.*,* 169).
[80] Ibid., 42 and 47; see also 37.

former.[81] But this is where the similarities with Schenker on musical structure seem to end. In the other details of this conception, he more closely resembles Richter, in fact. For one thing, Mitchell's default texture for illustrating harmonic principles and practicing these principles consists of four homophonic parts (Figure 150).[82] This texture is also notionally vocal; as he writes, "exercises will be worked out for a vocal quartet consisting of a soprano, alto, tenor, and bass."[83] While Mitchell does not present reductions or elaboration, there are indications that he considers his default texture along these lines. For one thing, he refers to his work in this texture as "first problems" and their "original form." For another, he later observes that that "the problems of instrumental music are largely derivative and superimposed" on the default texture that he has chosen, implying that more complicated textures can be reduced to the default texture.[84]

In summary, while Mitchell attests to Heinrich Schenker's influence on his *Elementary Harmony*, he departs from Schenker in some basic ways. The most significant of these is in his conception of musical structure: unlike Schenker's two-part structure, Mitchell's model is the four-part, notionally vocal homophony observed in many authors discussed earlier chapters. Mitchell also departs from Schenker in presenting Bach's four-part chorale settings decidedly not as examples of free composition but as music-theoretical objects particularly well suited to illustrate principles of voice-leading. Mitchell's presenting Bach's chorale settings in this manner is clearly deliberate, given both how his examples differ from the edition that he cites as a source

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[81] For Mitchell's views on these "dimensions," see ibid., vii–viii, 46–47, and 51. For Schenker's views, see, for example, his description in *Counterpoint*, vol. 1 of the "basic ingredients" of music (Schenker, *Counterpoint*, vol. 1, xxv). Schenker's *Harmonielehre* in particular is saturated with this spatial language.

[82] Tweedy describes harmonization as intended "to put order into the acquiring of harmonic skill" (*Manual of Harmonic Technic*, 74); while he names three skills in this connection—beyond harmonization, also figured-bass exercises and "chord drills"—he dwells to a much greater extent on harmonization: see Mitchell, *Elementary Harmony*, 76–85.

[83] Ibid., 43.

[84] Ibid.

but also his description of them as "models" of voice-leading. This approach also sets Mitchell apart from Tweedy's *Manual*, whose approach in presenting so many of these pieces Mitchell otherwise reflects. It is the version in Mitchell's *Elements*, moreover, not Tweedy's, that would take root in American music theory. In this textbook, then, is found the basic shape of American music theory with respect to musical structure, the chorale, and the connection between them.

9.3.2 *Katz,* Challenge to Musical Tradition

The connection of Adele Katz's *Challenge to Musical Tradition: A New Concept of Tonality* (1945) to Heinrich Schenker is clear in several ways. To begin with, Katz dedicates the book to Schenker's student Hans Weisse, "whose inspiration as a musician and encouragement as a friend made this book possible."[85] She also acknowledges the assistance of two other of Schenker's disciples active in the United States—namely, Felix Salzer and Ernst Oster.[86] But Katz also explicitly attests to Schenker's influence: "the [book's] underlying approach is based on the method used by Heinrich Schenker in his *Tonwille*, *Das Meisterwerk in der Musik*, and *Neue musikalische Theorien und Phantasien*, with special reference to *Der freie Satz*."[87] Indeed, the book's "*raison d'être*," Katz says, is to disseminate Schenker's views.[88] Yet the author also takes care to distinguish her work from Schenker's own; as she writes, "the musical selections

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[85] Katz, *Challenge to Musical Tradition*, iv. Katz later writes that Weisse "introduced his teachings in this country and carried them to a further development, aroused a tremendous response through the inspiration of his creative approach" (ibid., xxiv).

[86] Katz thanks Salzer "for the warm and unflagging interest he has shown from the inception of this book through its final phases, and for his provocative point of view which evoked so many stimulating discussions of problems dealt with in this book" and Oster "for his careful examination and checking of the graphs throughout the book" (ibid., vii).

[87] Ibid., xxiv.

[88] Katz writes that it is "essential that the far-reaching implications and consequences of Schenker's conception of structural coherence on the understanding and interpretation of music be revealed to a wider public. It is hoped that this book will fill this need, which is its *raison d'être*" (ibid., xxiv–xxv, italics original).

cited have been chosen completely on my own responsibility[,] and their analysis and the solution of the problems they contain are entirely the result of my own findings."[89] While she describes her aim as outlining a new theory of tonality, it is at once also a history of tonality: the chapters progress through composers chronologically, beginning with J. S. Bach.

I show in this section that Bach's chorale settings play a central role in Katz's argument in *Challenge*. In part, this is owing to their compactness, their ability to show a range of musical phenomena in a tight configuration. In part, this is owing to her view of Bach's music, which she considers the foundation of the rest of the music in *Challenge*, which stretches into the twentieth century. Thus, Bach's chorale settings are her main witness in her first two chapters, which respectively treat of tonal coherence generally and Bach's music particularly. Katz's presentation of these pieces resembles that of Mitchell, however: she removes all references to the pieces' performance context, including their original musical context, their original instrumentation, or the text for singing, among others. Viewed in conjunction with her schematics of these pieces' structure, however, it becomes clear that they are for Katz representations from the "masterworks" of musical structure, even if not in its deepest form.

Chorales appear in only two chapters in Katz's *Challenge*, but their role in the book is central: principally constituting Bach's four-part chorale settings, they are Katz's principal witness to the conception of tonality that she expounds in Chapter 1 and to J. S. Bach's harmonic practice in Chapter 2. Moreover, musical examples in general do much of Katz's theoretical work, given Katz's emphasis—inherited from Schenker—on theory being always subject to musical works.[90] This is in distinct opposition to Richter's approach in his *Lehrbuch der*

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[89] Ibid., xxv.
[90] As Katz writes, "the system should adhere to the music, not the music to the system" (ibid., 63).

Harmonie and some of those after him—and even Mitchell, at moments—who rely more on abstract musical configurations.

Katz offers a clear rationale for why she uses Bach's chorale settings. One reason is, on the face of things, superficial: these pieces are compact, and yet they faithfully convey Bach's harmonic practice. As she writes, "it is possible in a few measures to show specific tendencies that are equally characteristic of his treatment of the fugue, the suite, and the various other forms in which he found expression."[91] But her rationale for seeking to convey Bach's harmonic practice, in turn, runs much deeper. For one thing, she considers Bach's harmonic practice the foundation of future harmonic practice. This belief is founded on his harmonic innovation; in his Well-Tempered Clavier, Bach was, according to Katz, "the first composer to set forth the possibilities of the diatonic system (in his *Well-tempered Clavichord*), and…in so doing he enunciated the principles of structural unity that evolved through the system."[92] In this way, Bach's innovation laid the groundwork for future composers: "although the major and minor systems already were established before Bach came on the musical scene, his wider exploration of their possibilities in connection with the concept of tonality was a vital factor in determining the future trend of music."[93] Therefore, analyses of Bach's works are for Katz the "evidential material on which to build the foundation for Schenker's definition of tonality."[94]

There are at least two ways in which Katz's views on Bach's music come to bear on his chorale settings in particular. One is with respect to modality. As Katz writes, "by demonstrating the advantages of the tonal over the older modal system, Bach took a step that was to determine

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[91] Ibid., xxv. She also writes, "in general, the examples have been selected for their fitness to demonstrate certain techniques and also because of their compactness" (ibid., xxv). This rationale repeats almost verbatim comments by some respondents discussed in Chapter 3 above.
[92] Ibid., xxv.
[93] Ibid., xxvi.
[94] Ibid., xxv.

the future development of music.[95] This is of course relevant to Bach's chorale settings since many of the original chorale tunes are modal, while his settings are basically tonal. The other way is with respect to the combination of harmony and counterpoint in Bach's chorale settings: "through its differentiation of the harmonic and contrapuntal functions[,] it [Bach's music] demonstrates a conception of tonality which it is essential to understand in order to explain the works that follow"—that is, the works that Katz discusses in the remainder of her book.[96]

Katz's phrase "harmonic and contrapuntal functions" refers to a basic distinction in the "new concept of tonality" that she presents in particularly Chapter 1, largely through Bach's chorale settings. In brief, she considers certain chords harmonic, or "structural," and others contrapuntal, or "prolonging," conceptions basic to Schenker's theorizing. Katz demonstrates these distinctions with reference to several of Bach's chorale settings. In one particularly vivid demonstration, for example, she shows in a setting of "Es ist genug" how some particularly distant harmonies not only do not destabilize the opening phrase's tonal coherence, but in fact demonstrate its strength; the example "shows that there are no limitations of key in the prolonging chords, but only in the harmonic progressions that define the structural motion," which in this case are entirely standard (Figure 154).[97]

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[95] Ibid., 65.

[96] Ibid., 64. Katz also writes that "in his demonstration of tonality as the principle of unity expressed through the motion within a single horizontalized chord, he defined the interrelationship of the harmonic and contrapuntal functions as a necessary principle of free composition" (ibid., 65).

[97] Ibid., 42. In this passage and elsewhere in the chapter, Katz insists upon the importance of considering the texts of Bach's chorale settings; this particular setting she calls "a typical example of Bach's symbolic treatment of the text through his use of chromatic passing tones" (ibid., 41). This is another way in which she follows Schenker— although in ways strongly reminiscent of Albert Schweitzer in his two-volume work *J. S. Bach* (London: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), which Katz also cites in her bibliography. Schweitzer's work also figures significantly in the thought of Albert Riemenschneider, who edited the most well-used edition of these pieces among Americans, toward these pieces: on this, his article written with Charles N. Boyd "Preface: The Chorales as an Approach to the Appreciation of Bach," in *Chorales by Johann Sebastian Bach*, vol. 1 (New York: G. Schirmer, 1939). Here, the authors describe the texts of these chorales as "the most important clue to their full comprehension" and the pieces themselves as "the key to a comprehensive understanding of the rest of Bach's work" (ibid., iii).

EXAMPLE 16

Figure 154: Demonstration of structural and prolonging chords in Bach, chorale setting "Es ist genug," bb. 1–4; in Katz, *Challenge to Musical Tradition*, 41.

In deploying Bach's chorale settings for topics so fundamental in her book—and to her understanding of music—Katz presents them as images of musical structure. In part, this occurs via a procedure of abstraction already observed in Mitchell's *Elementary Harmony*: she presents them without texts and on two staves, with neither text nor any slurring or flagging that would correspond to a text—that is, stripped of any indications of their liturgical or performance context.[98] Like Mitchell, moreover, this presentation is a deliberate intervention: the edition that she cites for these settings—the 1898 *389 Choralgesänge* edited by Bernhard Richter and based on the *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe*—presents them with a text, with slurring corresponding to this text, and with any places where accompanying instruments deviate from the choral parts; it also includes information on the larger work from which it was extracted, the original

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[98] To be sure, Katz does present texts for singing on two settings, one of which is presented in Figure 154. This is in line with her insistence on the importance of chorales' texts: see the previous note.

instrumentation, the tune's composer, the text's author, and what verse of the chorale Bach set (Figure 155).[99] Katz's stripping of all this information in her version is a necessary step toward depicting musical structure through them—but not the whole story.

Figure 155: Bach, chorale setting "Herzliebster Jesu," bb. 1–6; in Bach, *389 Choralgesänge* (ed. Richter), 113.

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[99] Unlike Mitchell, Katz does not present principles of harmony and voice-leading in a default texture, as noted above. Another interesting aspect of Katz's presentation relative to the version in the *389 Choralgesänge* is her omission of lines that Richter adds when a doubling instrument deviates from its companion vocal line: compare, for example, the last bar of her version of "Valet will ich dir geben" (Katz, *Challenge to Musical Tradition*, 2) with Richter's version (Bach, *389 Choralgesänge*, 215), or the last bar of the excerpt of "Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen" (Katz, *Challenge to Musical Tradition*, 44) with Richter's version (Bach, *389 Choralgesänge*, 113).

Figure 156: Illustration of musical structure of Bach, chorale setting "Herzliebster Jesu," bb. 1–6; in Katz, *Challenge to Musical Tradition*, 44.

The other step is Katz's presentation of these pieces with her schematics of their

structure. Figure 156 reproduces one such presentation: Katz's stripped-down version of Bach's

setting of "Herzliebster Jesu" with two schematics underneath, the first a reduction of the setting

with Schenkerian annotation imposed on it, and the second a further reduction with only the

skeleton of the first reduction remaining. What is manifestly clear on even a cursory comparison

of the version from which Katz drew is that her version constitutes but one reduction on the way

to a deeper version of the piece's structure. At the same time, the importance of these pieces'

"compactness," as she describes it, reveals itself: Bach's chorale settings in a sense come pre-reduced relative to other repertoire; owing to this compactness—in large part their homophonic nature and vocal range—the difference between these levels of structure is readily perceived. In fact, in other demonstrations employing Bach's chorale settings, she simply imposes Schenkerian annotation on her version of the setting (Figure 157). In other similar schematics with looser textures and a greater range, by contrast, Katz forgoes the piece's score and skips right to the reductions (Figure 158). Indeed, the very compactness of Bach's chorale settings—likely the most compact of the "masterworks"—may assure them of their place in demonstrations of basic music-structural principles like Katz's.

Figure 157: Imposition of Schenkerian annotation on Bach, chorale setting "Auf meinen lieben Gott," bb. 7–11; in Katz, *Challenge to Musical Tradition*, 106.

EXAMPLE 39

Figure 158: Illustration of musical structure of Hadyn, Sonata in D, development; in Katz, *Challenge to Musical Tradition*, 106.

To be sure, Bach's chorale settings are not a perfect representation of musical structure for Katz. Unlike Kirnberger and Richter and others who followed them—including Mitchell—Katz's conception of musical structure amounts to an essentially two-part phenomenon, as the "deepest" schematic in Figure 158 suggests. Indeed, Katz herself is explicit about her conception of musical structure; in reference to Bach's chorale setting "Ich danke dir, O Gott," she writes that the outer lines "constitute, when combined, the structural framework of these measures."[100] In the same discussion she introduces the term "basic structure" to "the melodic and harmonic framework outlined by the structural top voice and the basic harmonic progression."[101] Bach's chorale harmonizations, and particularly given Katz's presentation of them, are an important step on the way to uncovering this deeper musical structure.

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[100] Katz, *Challenge to Musical Tradition*, 22.
[101] Ibid., 23.

In summary, Bach's chorale settings play an important role in the work of both Mitchell and Katz, two of the earliest American authors to publish on Schenker's theories. As I have shown, however, both authors' use of these pieces differs considerably from Schenker's. In presenting them, they strip them of all aspects relating to their larger musical context, aspects that Schenker diligently includes. More significantly, where for Schenker, Bach's chorale settings are merely one type of many masterworks, Mitchell and Katz both present these pieces as images of musical structure. As such, the significant reliance of both of these authors on Bach's chorale settings and their particular use of them constitute a heretofore unacknowledged aspects of Schenker's "Americanization."[102] While many in present-day music theory perceive the chorale and Bach's chorale settings in particular as intimately connected to Schenker's work and thinking, as seen in Chapter 3 above, it is in fact his American disciples that effected this connection.

9.4 Gannett, *Bach's Harmonic Progressions*

Kent Gannett's *Bach's Harmonic Progressions (One Thousand Examples)* (1942) is perhaps the earliest written source that takes a systematic corpus-study approach to J. S. Bach's chorale harmonizations.[103] The author describes it as "not…a treatise on counterpoint, but rather…an aid to the student of harmony and counterpoint"; with it, the student may "supplement the work assigned in any standard textbook on harmony or counterpoint."[104] His belief in the project's value derives from his attitude toward Bach's music; as he writes, "the music of Bach

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[102] William Rothstein coined the term in this context in his 1986 article "The Americanization of Heinrich Schenker." See also Berry, "Schenker's First Americanization"; and Snarrenberg, "Competing Myths."
[103] While little information about Gannett's work is available, he is evidently connected with Percy Goetschius, since he dedicates this volume to him.
[104] Gannett, *Bach's Harmonic Progressions*, iv.

has been the basis upon which most of our treatises on harmony have been built"—and, one imagines, the theories that those treatises expound.[105] In this, Gannett resembles Katz, who, as discussed in the previous section, considers Bach's harmonic practice the basis of that of later composers. Gannett therefore offers this catalogue as a means for students to engage with Bach's music; as he writes, Bach is "the great master musician of all time, and music students today will do well to acquire as thorough an understanding of his writing as possible."[106] With this, the author of course also implies that Bach's chorale settings represent his harmonic practice faithfully.

Gannett's book is essentially a catalogue of contrapuntal solutions drawn from Bach's four-part chorale settings to fifty different step-wise melodic motions—"scale steps 6–5 in major," for example.[107] The author introduces each melodic motion with some commentary concerning the pattern's frequency of occurrence, any points about situations of its typical occurrence, and any pitfalls of which his reader should be aware. Excerpts are extremely short: each solution is at base two chords, even if Gannett often also provides a small amount of material before or after the solution, and non-chord tones often come between the two chords (Figure 159). He also identifies harmonies with Roman numerals and non-chord tones with his own system of annotation. For each of the fifty melodic motions that he catalogues, Gannett presents twenty different harmonizations in order of harmonic complexity. He identifies each harmonization via a two-number code: one corresponds to the number in the *dritte Auflage* of the

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[105] Ibid., iv. The author also describes Bach as "still the great master musician of all time, and music students today would do well to acquire as thorough an understanding of his writing as possible" (ibid. v). I have not found evidence for the claim that most harmony treatises are based on Bach's practice, apart from Tweedy's *Manual*.
[106] Ibid.
[107] The author also offers examples of repeated notes, and he provides at the back of the book harmonizations of the entire major and minor scales.

setting from which the excerpt was extracted and the other to the excerpt's bar number within that setting.[108] Gannett also provides the two-number code for similar excerpts in other settings.

Figure 159: Typical page from Gannett, *Bach's Harmonic Progressions*, 3.

But Gannett also makes some interesting modifications relative to the *dritte Auflage*, from which these excerpts were drawn. To begin with, in an approach reminiscent of Becker's 1841–43 edition discussed in Chapter 7 above, Gannett has transposed each excerpt to either C major or A minor, a "convenience…[that] will readily be appreciated."[109] As Gannett writes, "by associating the different chords and their manner of progression with the simplest of keys only, we focus the mind more surely upon the object to be attained"—that is, "know[ing] what chords result from a melodic leading of the voices, as only the master musician can show us."[110]

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[108] For the author's citation of this edition, see ibid., 1. The author adds to this citation "or other editions" without, however, naming any of the editions that he has in mind. This is, of course, somewhat problematic, given that different editions feature different numberings, if not also different larger numbering schemes.
[109] Ibid., iv.
[110] Ibid.
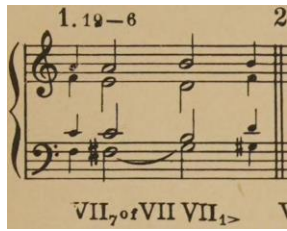
Figure 160: Comparison of excerpts from Bach, chorale setting "Ich hab' mein' Sach' Gott heimgestellt," b. 6: in Gannett, *Bach's Harmonic Progressions* (29) and in *dritte Auflage* (wherein clefs are treble and bass, and key signature has a B-flat).

The other modification that Gannett has made is metrical: he has adjusted excerpts such that the two melodic notes are half notes, regardless of their original duration (Figure 160). He has also adjusted durations of the surrounding material—before, after, or between the two main chords—and at the same time omitted any bar lines. Finally, he has omitted any indication of where the two melodic notes fall metrically in bars—whether a strong or weak beat, or whether triple or duple metre. As with his transposition of solutions to the same key, he presumably adapts their durations to facilitate comparison from one solution to the next. His choice of the half-note level is presumably to avoid the clutter of beaming, but also corresponds to the magnification of very short excerpts that characterizes the entire enterprise. But the effect of these adjustments is a sense of timelessness, a metrical ambiguity. This is particularly true in the solutions with substantial musical material preceding or following the two main chords, given the total amount of durations in each bar; but the lack of consistency in the total amount of durations and their outlay relative to the main chords also contributes to this effect. What comes to the fore, instead, is simply four-part, homophonic voice-leading structures completely abstracted from any context—certainly of liturgical and performance context, but even of musical context. This is true even from the standpoint of the length of solutions: Gannett has extracted extremely short segments from pieces that themselves are in many cases extracted from

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larger musical works. Gannett's segments are music-theoretical objects of harmony and voice-leading par excellence; indeed, they are not even subject to time.

A final noteworthy aspect of Gannett's project is the hesitation that he expresses in the book's preface and in the comments introducing each melodic motion about aspects of the project. One subject of these hesitations is the Roman numeral analysis that he provides; as he writes, "in the chord markings or analysis there may be some room for argument."[111] Part of the difficulty here is in fact the very harmonic treatment that constitutes the book's main topic: "in fact, it is sometimes rather difficult to ascertain just what key center was intended by Bach," and in the section on "lowered 7 to 8 in minor ," he observes this about the entire section.[112] As possible factors in these traits, he cites the "older modal influences at work in these chorales," as well as Bach's contrapuntal bent at the expense of harmony; as he writes, "Bach's harmonizings were always contrapuntal.[113] Another difficulty is unclarity about what constitutes a thoroughgoing harmony and what a passing sonority; as he writes in one case, "in the example, the V^7 and II^6 are written like passing-tones between the chords VI and III, and simply happen to form the chords as marked" (Figure 161).[114] In a similar instance, Gannett remarks that "this sort of thing multiples itself many times in Bach's writing."[115] As a result of such factors, "chord analysis seems rather incongruous at times when applied to Bach's writing."[116] Another confounding element is the many atypical features of some of Bach's progressions, whether skips in a given voice, large distances, or strange progressions; as Gannett summarizes, "many

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[111] Ibid., v.
[112] Ibid., v, 32. In another case, Gannett writes, "in the chorale from which it [the first example] is taken the key relationship is probably ambiguous" (ibid., 2).
[113] Ibid., iv.
[114] Ibid., 1.
[115] Ibid., 3.
[116] Ibid., 1.

unusual solutions appear."[117] Some of these features in fact seem to challenge theoretical tastes in Gannett's milieu: in several cases, he remarks how certain progressions or motions between parts would draw consternation from theorists of his day.[118]

Figure 161: Passing chords posing analytical difficulties in a progression in Gannett, *Bach's Harmonic Progressions*, 1.

Determining Gannett's position in these fissures is not straightforward. In large part, he seems to side with Bach; as he writes, "to say that the rules of harmony have been broken would imply that the rules were made for composers to follow, whereas the rules follow the composers, who, in turn, depart from the common practice if they are to possess individuality."[119] Indeed, a certain frustration with theorists is detectable in his comments about theory. Yet a mild bewilderment also creeps in—and understandably, since he considers Bach's harmonic treatment as the foundation of harmony treatises. Moreover, Gannett has isolated this harmonic treatment in the most controlled, regularized way, with excerpts of minimal length transposed into a single key and omitting any metrical inflections. If any approach to these pieces should reveal reliable findings with respect to harmony and voice-leading, it is this one. Gannett's project thus reveals a gap between Bach's practice and the theory that it is supposed to represent, calling into

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[117] Ibid., 14, 15, 17, 31, iv.
[118] Ibid., 5, 6, 21.
[119] Ibid., iv.

question the suggestion by Emanuel Bach and several others after him, as shown above, of the fittingness of Bach's chorale settings for training in music theory.

9.5 Salzer and Schachter, *Counterpoint in Composition*

Chorales occupy a privileged position in Salzer and Schachter's *Counterpoint in Composition*. Where Salzer and Schachter preserve Schenker's basic distinction between counterpoint—an abstract musical realm—and real music, as well as the need for a bridge between them, they depart from Schenker by reinstating the chorale in this position: they devote an entire chapter to chorale-writing at the end of this transition between realms. This chapter is replete with Bach's chorale settings; in fact, Bach's are the only chorale settings here. But in another departure from Schenker, they do not treat these pieces as free composition. Their visual appearance is as abstractions—stripped of indications of their larger musical context and intended performance. But the authors' rhetoric goes further: they are models of musical structure. Both with respect to the chorale's curriculum position and their conception of Bach's chorale settings, therefore, the authors bring the history of the chorale in music theory to its present state.

Salzer and Schachter's main purpose with *Counterpoint in Composition* is to show how counterpoint has played a "central role in Western art music." Their project resembles Schenker's in some basic respects—above all, in their adherence to his fundamental distinction between counterpoint and free composition, or what they call "elementary" and "prolonged" counterpoint.[120] While these are separate realms, they are also intimately connected. The

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[120] Salzer and Schachter, *Counterpoint in Composition*, xvii–xix.

principles of species counterpoint underlie free composition; the relationships that Johann Joseph Fux sets out in his *Gradus ad Parnassum* in fact reflect the basic structure of musical works. Salzer and Schachter describe this connection as that between "a fundamental scientific or philosophical concept and its manifold elaborations and developments."[121] Properly understanding compositions, then, requires taking both realms into consideration.[122] Along with Schenker, finally, Salzer and Schachter also believe in the conceptual—and evidently also curricular—priority of counterpoint over against harmony.

Salzer and Schachter's prioritization of species counterpoint distinguishes them from the other authors examined in this investigation. The primary topic of interest for the authors discussed above is harmony; while counterpoint comes to bear in their considerations, it usually takes a subordinate position. A case in point is Richter's argument for the presence of a four-part harmonic framework undergirding the chorale entrance in the opening of the *St. Matthew Passion*, as discussed above at the end of Chapter 7.[123] Kirnberger, too, insisted that counterpoint studies should begin with a four-part texture, since "complete harmony is in four parts."[124] Emanuel Bach declared his opposition to Fuxian counterpoint in the preface to Birnstiel 1765/69, complaining of its "dry species."[125]

Salzer and Schachter do also align with these authors, however, in the structural role that they accord the chorale. The earlier authors associated their harmony-first approaches with the chorale: they employed the chorale as a default musical texture for conveying these principles four-part harmony—and in many cases, they consider this texture as the very structure of

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[121] Ibid., xviii.
[122] Ibid., xvii, ix.
[123] Richter, *Lehrbuch des Contrapunkts*, 16.
[124] Kirnberger, *Strict Composition*, 159 ("Denn da die vollständige Harmonie vierstimmig ist": Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, I:142).
[125] *NBR* 399.

musical organization. Moreover, harmonizing chorale tunes serves for them as a way of learning basic principles of harmony and voice-leading. Salzer and Schachter resemble these authors in according the chorale a dedicated place in a similar position: in the transition from an abstract realm into free composition—into "real music." Whereas Part 1 of *Counterpoint in Composition* is devoted to species counterpoint, Part 2 is devoted to applying the principles of species counterpoint to free composition. Part 2 begins with two chapters outlining various direct connections of species counterpoint to free composition, and the next chapter, Chapter 8, is entitled "The Chorale." The book's final two chapters treat of combined species and voice-leading techniques in a historical perspective. In according the chorale its own specific place in the trajectory from species counterpoint to free composition, Salzer and Schachter depart from Schenker, who although he evidently used the chorale regularly and as a matter of routine, did not devote a special section of his treatise on counterpoint to the chorale. It must be for the chorale's association with harmony-first theorists, then, and the departure from Schenker that Salzer and Schachter acknowledge the reader's "possible surprise" that they devote an entire chapter to chorale-writing.[126] To be sure, Salzer and Schachter's using the chorale in the transition to free counterpoint is more of a reinstatement vis-à-vis Schenker's thinking, since he originally planned a section on precisely this, as discussed above.

Predictably, given the departure from Schenker and adherence to harmony-focused theory that their inclusion of the chorale represents, Salzer and Schachter provide a rationale for this decision. One reason they provide is that the chorale substitutes for four-part species counterpoint. The standard counterpoint curriculum outlined by Fux begins with two lines and passes through all five species, then three lines, and then four and onward. Salzer and Schachter

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[126] Salzer and Schachter, *Counterpoint in Composition*, ix, n.1.

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omit exercises in four parts, they write, since such exercises "offer no fundamentally new problems except those concerned with doubling, spacing, and the crossing of voices"—problems that, in their view, "can be more profitably studied in connection with chorale writing (Chapter 8) and exercises in imitation (Chapter 9)"[127] In studying the chorale, the authors continue, the student will "apply his knowledge of voice leading to a musical context in which harmonic and contrapuntal elements function in close combination."[128] This last statement already illustrates the transition within which the chorale is situated: it is a "musical context," unlike the abstract context of counterpoint in Part 1 of the book. Accordingly, the context in question involves the consideration of not only counterpoint, but also harmony. But the authors offer another rationale in their opening of the chapter on the chorale: they seek to observe "the interaction of counterpoint with other musical forces in the context of setting a whole piece or large section."[129] This is therefore a similar argument to Katz's, as well as respondents in Chapter 3 above: chorales' compactness permits observation of phenomena over larger stretches.

It immediately becomes clear, however, that the authors' main interest with the chorale is not simply chorale-writing writ large, but specifically Bach's chorales: apart from a few chorale harmonizations written by the authors themselves for demonstration purposes, the only settings that they present as examples are by Bach, almost all of them four-part.[130] The authors acknowledge as much: as they write, the chapter "contains an investigation of the voice leading of Bach's chorales."[131] The authors' focus on Bach's chorale settings is remarkable given that the entire first half of the book focused on the realm of abstractions; one might expect the

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[127] Ibid., viii.
[128] Ibid., ix.
[129] Ibid., 245.
[130] The only exceptions are chorale tunes in the exercises that they attach to the end of the chapter: see ibid., 317–28. I discuss these below.
[131] Ibid., ix. See also the authors' introduction to the chapter on the chorale: "Although many composers have written excellent chorales, we shall concentrate upon the four-part settings of J. S. Bach" (ibid., 245).

authors to ease out of this transition—for example, by exploring the chorale in general terms, possibly with model compositions, and perhaps later with a diversity of simple examples from a variety of composers. But instead, the authors move directly to the chorale settings of a single composer—just as Tweedy in his *Manual*, or Gannett in *Bach's Harmonic Progress*. In fact, they lead off Part 2 of the textbook with three chorale settings by Bach. So why this focus on such a slim repertoire?

One reason that the authors provide for their singular focus on Bach's chorale settings is their high quality: "Bach's chorales are universally regarded as the supreme examples of the *genre*; many are masterpieces whose richness of content and depth of expression belie their brevity."[132] Why should they not present students with the best exemplars available? But particularly suggestive for explaining the authors' use of Bach's chorale settings is their explanations in the book's preface. They begin with a striking statement: "In our opinion," they write, "the Bach chorales present a microcosm of musical structure."[133] This statement makes immediate sense of why the authors use Bach's chorale settings as they do: if species counterpoint describes patterns and principles that underly musical works—in other words, musical structure—and Bach's chorales are small samplings of musical structure, then the move between them is in fact a smooth operation. But this movement hides a fundamental ontological gap: species counterpoint resides in the realm of abstract musical principles, while Bach's chorale settings are examples of free composition—"living music," as they call it.[134] In considering the latter "microcosms of musical structure," these pieces are somehow participating in both realms. What the authors describe with respect to dissonance treatment in the chorale—

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[132] Ibid., 245 (italics original).
[133] Ibid., ix.
[134] Ibid.

that it "stands midway between the rigorous simplicity of the species exercises and the texture…of instrumental music"—indeed applies to their understanding of Bach's chorale settings more generally.[135]

Another portion of the authors' description of Bach's chorale settings in their preface warrants consideration here. These pieces, Salzer and Schachter write, "embody techniques characteristic of earlier as well as later music."[136] In this statement may be detected a similar sentiment to Katz's in her *Challenge*—that Bach's harmonic practice forms the foundation for later music. But Salzer and Schachter go further: Bach's harmonic practice is also present in earlier repertoire. In this sense, his chorale settings constitute a sort of axis or gravitational centre with respect to an entire musical tradition; they are almost universal. Also striking in this statement is the notion of embodiment: Bach's chorale settings do not merely resemble other pieces—they are in themselves these principles. Resonances of this notion may be detected in the authors' description of species counterpoint; as they write, counterpoint shows "the almost limitless possibilities for the imaginative transformation of the elements of voice leading into the fabric of living music, be it by Josquin or by Wagner" and "fundamental concepts of broad applicability."[137] If Bach's chorale settings are also embodiments of musical principles, why should this not apply to them?

There are several domains in which Salzer and Schachter's special attitude toward Bach's chorale settings is evident. One is in how they consider chorale tunes independently of settings and then when set. In their introduction to chorale tunes, the authors refer to a host of contextual factors beyond strictly music-theoretical ones; characterizing chorale melodies as "hymn tunes of

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[135] Ibid., 249.
[136] Ibid., ix. Similarly, the authors also write, "both their concentration and the wide applicability of their procedures make Bach's chorales of central importance in the study of voice leading" (ibid.)
[137] Ibid., ix, xvi.

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the Lutheran church," they describe their use in "Lutheran service by composers of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries," their origins in "earlier secular or religious melodies," and the beauty and "sacred associations" of some of them.[138] Thus, chorale tunes are here clearly examples of free composition—just as for Schenker, as discussed above. But the authors' attitude shifts when they describe setting these tunes; in this exercise, the tunes are deployed "as a cantus firmus." Their language even changes accordingly: they refer to only abstract, technical aspects, such as "strong vertical implications," "horizontalized expression of underlying chords," and "motivic design." This conception of chorale tunes as cantus firmi of course constitutes another departure from Schenker, who, as seen above, insists that they must not be so conceived.

The difference in conceptions is also reflected in the authors' identification of chorale tunes and chorale settings. When the authors refer to chorale tunes, whether in explanatory prose or notated examples, they provide the tune's name—for example, "Heiliger Geist, du Tröster mein"—which, as mentioned above, is typically the incipit of a tune's first line (Figure 162).[139] With this name comes several other implications: a program, the possibility of the piece being for singing, its liturgical purpose, its German origins, and so on. When they refer to Bach's chorale settings, by contrast, they do so by a number—"Chorale 108," for example—and this is also their practice with notated examples (Figure 163).[140] The latter practice hides all of the factors just mentioned, as well as the origins of many of Bach's chorale settings in larger musical works, and instead situates the piece as a member of a collection of other chorale settings—a source that they even cite: "the Riemenschneider edition."[141] But the authors depart even from

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[138] Ibid., 245.
[139] Ibid., 275.
[140] Ibid., 247.
[141] Ibid., 246, n.2. That the authors' source for these pieces is a collection is reinforced by their reference to "a cursory look through the Bach chorales" (ibid., 246). Interestingly, the authors describe the numbering in this edition as "the traditional numbering found in most previous editions" (ibid.); but this numbering is in fact that of the *dritte Auflage*, which, as mentioned above, differs from numerous other available editions.

this edition, since Riemenschneider identifies chorale settings via an incipit (Figure 164).[142]

These identification practices are unique relative to other repertoire in the textbook. When Salzer and Schachter present vocal pieces, they typically use an incipit (Figure 165)—including chorale settings by other composers (Figure 166); this is even true of excerpts from Bach's larger vocal works—for example, recitatives (Figure 167). In thus identifying Bach's chorale harmonizations, then, Salzer and Schachter depart from not only their own practices vis-à-vis other musical works that they present, but also the edition from which they draw.

Figure 162: A chorale tune as presented in Salzer and Schachter, *Counterpoint in Composition*, 319.

Figure 163: A chorale setting by J. S. Bach as presented in Salzer and Schachter, *Counterpoint in Composition*, 247.

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[142] The authors even handle Bach's so-called figured-bass chorales differently from the figured-bass chorales of other composers. For the former, see ibid., 251 and 263; for the latter, see ibid., 152.

Figure 164: Bach, chorale setting "Valet will ich dir geben"; in Bach, *371 Harmonized Chorales and 69 Chorale Melodies*, 25.

Figure 165: Example from Schumann, "In der Fremde," as presented in Salzer and Schachter, *Counterpoint in Composition*, 169.

Figure 166: Johann Hermann Schein, chorale setting "Die Nacht is kommen," as presented in Salzer and Schachter, *Counterpoint in Composition*, 146.

EXAMPLE 6-13 Bach, St. John Passion, No. 16, Recitative

Si – mon Pe – ter stood and warmed____ him – self.

Figure 167: Recitative from Bach, *St. John Passion* (BWV 245), as presented in Salzer and Schachter, *Counterpoint in Composition*, 125.

The authors' notational presentation of Bach's chorale settings also reflects their privileged role. They present the pieces in the format familiar from the earliest editions: two staves, with two parts per staff differentiated by stem direction, and neither text nor vestiges thereof (Figure 8.21). On no example of these pieces do they indicate what instrumentation they have in mind; while in their discussion of these pieces, they refer to individual voice-parts, and they elsewhere refer to the pieces' "rather severe vocal idiom," they elsewhere contemplate performance by either voice or instruments.[143] Moreover, in a handful of the settings that they present, they include figures below the bass line, notation idiomatic to keyboard realization.[144] As concerns their omission of a text for singing, this seems clearly to be a result of editorial decision, since they typically include a text with other vocal works they present (Figures 165 to 167). They even include a text in another chorale setting not by Bach that they present (Figure 166).[145] Indeed, so important, it would seem, do the authors consider the text in some examples that they offer a translation of it—including in other pieces extracted from Bach's passions

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[143] Ibid., 259, 266.

[144] Ibid., 259, 270–72.

[145] Similarly, the authors do not provide texts on Bach's figured-bass chorales, but they do provide a text on figured-bass chorales by other composers: see ibid., 152, 251, 263.

(Figure 167).[146] And so, in combination with their practices for identifying these pieces, Salzer and Schachter's visual presentation of these pieces casts them as musical abstractions rather than as musical repertoire.

Much of Salzer and Schachter's *Counterpoint in Composition* resembles present-day American music theory, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 above. While chorale-writing is important, this topic is almost entirely monopolized by Bach's four-part settings, which the authors cite extensively. Indeed, Bach's chorale settings play a critical role in the transition from abstract principles to "real" music. Their ability to play this role, moreover, comes from their status as both embodiments of musical structure and examples of free composition. This status is reflected in not only the authors' rhetoric, but also their identification and notational disposition of these pieces. It is unsurprising that these similarities should obtain: Schachter co-wrote the textbook of the set examined in Chapter 4 that appeared earliest—Aldwell and Schachter's *Harmony & Voice Leading*. The first edition of this textbook appeared in 1978—nine years after the publication of *Counterpoint in Composition*—and the fact of its continued use into the present day, albeit with some revisions, is a testament to the book's success.

To be sure, Salzer and Schachter's approach in *Counterpoint in Composition* is not identical with the mainstream of textbooks in Chapter 4. While in those textbooks, chorales bridge the study of abstract principles to that of actual compositions, the abstract principles are not species counterpoint, but rather those of four-part harmony of the type found in Kirnberger's *Die Kunst* and Richter's *Lehrbuch der Harmonie*. Indeed, the ten most popular undergraduate music theory textbooks are devoted to either harmony or musicianship broadly conceived; only

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[146] To be sure, the authors do not provide a text with all the repertoire they present that has one: see, for example, ibid., 177 and 367. Also, despite not providing texts on their notated examples of Bach's chorale settings, they do occasionally discuss the text that Bach sets: see, for example, ibid., 261, where, in an approach that resembles Katz's, they discuss Bach's choice of a certain harmony relative to a setting's title.

Aldwell and Schachter's textbook explicitly refers to voice-leading in its title, even if all of the textbooks incorporate it to some extent—particularly in exploring "chorale style."[147] And so the approach taken by Kirnberger and Richter has edged out Schenker's approach in this respect as well—all while the chorale, and specifically Bach's four-part settings, maintain their central role.

In summary, Bach's four-part chorale settings play a critical role in Salzer and Schachter's *Counterpoint in Composition*: they bridge the gap between the realms of abstract musical principles—species counterpoint—and actual music. These pieces are uniquely suited for this role, in the authors' view, because they are images of musical structure: they embody musical principles found in music not only following them but also preceding them. The authors' conception of these pieces as abstract repositories of principles is confirmed not only in their rhetoric surrounding them, but also their identification and notation of them—practices familiar from present-day music theory, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. Whether with respect to conceptions of Bach's chorale settings, their position in the music theory curriculum, practices for presenting them, or the role of chorale-writing in general, this history has come up to the practices of present-day American music theory.

9.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the attitude toward and use of Bach's four-part chorale settings observable in present-day American music theory takes clear shape. It is in Tweedy's 1928 *Manual* that a music theory curriculum filled with and in large part based upon these pieces first appears—that is, in an American textbook prepared for an American institution by an author who has no direct

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[147] If textbook authors do include species counterpoint, it is usually compacted into a single chapter—as in Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader's *Harmony & Voice-Leading*: see Chapter 5, "Introduction to Counterpoint."

connection to German music theory. American followers of Heinrich Schenker also rely substantially upon Bach's chorale settings—first of all Mitchell, in his 1939 textbook *Elementary Harmony*, and then Katz, in her 1945 monograph *Challenge to Musical Tradition* that expounds Schenker's theories. But both authors depart from Schenker in employing Bach's chorale settings as music-theoretical objects, and for Katz, they explicitly stand for Bach's harmonic practice, which she in turn considers the foundation for later harmonic practice. While in his *Bach's Harmonic Progressions*, Gannett abstracts Bach's chorale settings to a degree heretofore unknown—as little more than exhibitors of harmony and voice-leading patterns, he also expresses reservations about the suitability of these pieces to this end. And finally, Salzer and Schachter graft Mitchell and Katz's impulses concerning Bach's chorale settings onto Schenker's theoretical framework: while with Schenker, they insist on species counterpoint forming the basis of musical structure, they also reinstate the chorale as a bridge to free composition—but specifically Bach's chorale settings, which they consider not only images of musical structure, but embodiments of principles of music both future and past. And with this textbook, the present dissertation has come full circle: the conceptualization and prominence of the chorale in Salzer and Schachter's textbook is essentially that found in present-day American music theory.

Chapter 10 Conclusion

Chorales are ubiquitous in present-day American music theory. Part I of this dissertation outlined the extent of this ubiquity. Through a survey of music theory practitioners, including both a questionnaire and follow-up interviews, I showed that the overwhelming majority of practitioners use chorales to some degree. Chorale use is nearly universal in early undergraduate music theory instruction, although over half of practitioners use the chorale to teach elective courses. While practitioners use chorales to teach a variety of topics, ranging from cadence to phrase structure, they do so particularly when teaching the basics of harmony and voice-leading. Chorale use was substantial, if lesser, in research as well, although the topics for which practitioners used it were more diverse; but as with instruction, the illustration of harmony and voice-leading figured substantially. Chorales also appear in admissions materials, to a limited extent, and in entrance examinations, to a greater extent, suggesting that they serve as a proxy for musical or music-theoretical competence. With respect to which chorales practitioners use, they cite a variety of sources and composers, but over half cited chorales composed by J. S. Bach. Indeed, connections to Bach's chorale settings arose in several portions of this survey, to the point where some practitioners understand by the term "chorale" Bach's four-part chorale settings.

Practitioners cited a variety of reasons for which they used chorales. Most of these centered upon their musical qualities, and particularly aspects related to harmony and voice-leading; but they also cited practical aspects like their singability or simplicity for learning, or

even their compactness on a page. Not all practitioners felt chorales to be profitable, however. Some cited disciplinary tradition or institutional expectations for their use of chorales, and some expressed outright opposition to the chorale's prominence: they felt studying hymns aligned poorly with the goals and principles of music theory, and some felt chorale use reflective of an outsize influence of harmony and voice-leading concerns. Whether in support of or opposed to chorale use, practitioners generally reflected the chorale's substantial presence in American music theory—and particularly in early instruction—as well as its close connection to harmony and voice-leading.

Given the chorale's prominence in early undergraduate instruction, the next step of this investigation examines American music theory's reliance on the chorale through a corpus study of undergraduate music theory textbooks. This study confirms several findings from the survey: American music theory's unusual interest in Bach's four-part chorale settings, as indicated by their strikingly high incidence among all musical examples, and authors' frequent deployment of these pieces to illustrate harmony and voice-leading. But this study also showed new aspects of the chorale's use; for example, authors' presentation of Bach's chorale settings is idiosyncratic. In their notated examples, authors present them stripped of any indication of their origins in larger, liturgical musical works, or that they were intended for singing with accompaniment by a small instrumental ensemble. Instead, only pitch material is presented, organized into four clearly maintained lines strictly confined to two staves, and absent any indications, explicit or implicit, of instrumentation. Accompanying recordings similarly present them in various ways, but most involve non-singer instrumentations. Authors' identification practices for chorales are also unusual: they omit any reference to the larger work from which they were extracted, instead often referring to the chorale's position in a collection. The result of these habits of presentation

is a highly ambiguous setting that foregrounds harmony and voice-leading at the expense of nearly all else; it presents them as music-theoretical objects, constituted primarily for study and contemplation. Yet Bach's chorale settings seem singled out for this treatment: these unusual practices are not found with reference to other musical repertoire.

But authors' use of the chorale also connected to American music-theoretical practice on deeper levels. The most suggestive such connection is to "chorale style"—at once a musical texture and a notation used for both illustrating harmony and voice-leading principles. One aspect of this connection is nominal; but another is how authors use "chorale style" for similar purposes to Bach's settings—that is, illustrating harmony and voice-leading. More strikingly, however, the texture and notation that "chorale style" constitutes uncannily resembles those of the four-part chorale settings by Bach. But it also emerges, through the practice of "reducing" musical textures, that "chorale style" is an image of musical structure; that is, it embodies in musical notation a conception of the organization of tonal music at a fundamental level. The striking connections between Bach's chorale settings and "chorale style," then, suggested that Bach's chorale settings take on this same role—that is, that they serve as models of musical structure.

The deep rootedness of the chorale in American music theory, its German origins, and the striking prominence of Bach's chorale settings suggests called for investigation of the chorale's history in music theory. How did this German, liturgical genre become so widespread in American music theory, to say nothing of decontextualized and secularized in the process? Exploring these historical questions was the business of Part II of the investigation.

Given the prominence of Bach's chorale settings in present-day music theory, this history began with the first edition of these pieces, whose first volume was printed by Birnstiel in 1765

Berlin. Surprisingly, the essential elements of American music theorists' idiomatic presentation of Bach's chorale settings are already found in this edition: they are presented wholly unconnected from the larger works and liturgical context within which so many originated, and they are instead presented as objects for personal, intellectual enjoyment. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's preface to the work confirms that they were intended for contemplation as illustrations of harmony and voice-leading principles. He also proposed their use in instruction in musical composition—indeed as models, as his announcement following the second volume's publication expresses it. The second edition of these pieces, printed by Breitkopf between 1784 and 1878, preserves all the characteristic features of the first edition, even though the musical text is reset; this, in conjunction with the preservation of Emanuel Bach's preface and the printing of the collection's two remaining volumes, cements the conception of the pieces established in the Birnstiel edition.

Also relevant to these editions is Kirnberger's treatise *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes*— partly given the author's central role in producing the first two editions, and partly given the music-theoretical perspective lent by a contemporary treatise. Kirnberger breaks with tradition by beginning counterpoint instruction with four parts rather than two, in light of his own conception of musical structure: complete harmony consists of four discrete parts. Kirnberger also recommends chorales for the study of elementary counterpoint, and indeed he uses chorales across his harmony and voice-leading curriculum. But chorales occupy an event deeper position: not only does he elaborate a variety of musical textures out of chorale *cantus firmi*, but he reduces two arias into what he calls chorales; indeed, chorales subsist at the most fundamental level. Despite Kirnberger's admiration for Bach, his involvement with the first two editions of Bach's chorale settings, and his recommendation of these pieces as models for composition,

Kirnberger himself does not employ the pieces in this manner, setting a pattern that many future theorists would follow.

The next phase of this history explored documents surrounding Zelter, in his pivotal role as inheritor of an earlier tradition vis-à-vis Bach's chorale settings, on one hand, and his instruction of Mendelssohn. Mendelssohn's notebooks indicate Zelter's conception of harmony as fundamentally four-parted, and—likewise in resemblance of Kirnberger—he in fact assigns Mendelssohn numerous chorale-based exercises. Yet Bach's chorale settings are also absent here, despite present-day commentators' claims to the contrary, even if Zelter was intimately acquainted with these pieces, as his additions to a collection of Bach's four-part chorale settings created by his own teacher Fasch reveals. A comparison of Fasch's contributions in 1762 with Zelter's decades letter reveals divergent conceptions of these pieces: while Fasch presents them as models of harmony and voice-leading, Zelter presents them as integrally connected to the liturgical occasion for which they were written, and essentially sung works.

This history went on to explore Bach's chorale settings after the Bach Revival that was spurred by Mendelssohn's 1829 performance of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*. Becker's writings from 1830 to 1841 depict the hymnologist's struggles to understand the nature of Bach's chorale settings. Becker begins by insisting on the pieces' intended use as models for composition. While in time, with the emergence of information about these pieces, he accepted that they originated in larger liturgical works, even in his own edition, printed between 1841 and 1843, he presents them according to his original conception of the pieces—that is, as music-theoretical objects. The chorale plays a central role in the textbooks that Richter wrote for the Leipzig Conservatorium under Mendelssohn's commission. Richter refines the approach found in Kirnberger's *Die Kunst*, systematizing it and providing it a conceptual vocabulary; but Richter,

too, omits Bach's chorale settings, despite his reverence for Bach and his substantial reliance on a four-part model of musical structure, particularly as illustrated by his procedures of embellishment and reduction. Finally, while Marx accords Bach's chorale settings a special place in his *Kompositionslehre*, he insists on their fundamental connection to their broader musical, dramatic, and liturgical context, as well as the subjugation of their voice-leading to the meaning of their texts. In short, authors further pursue two different conceptions of Bach's chorale settings—one as music-theoretical objects, and the other as musical works; but they still do not appear in the music-theoretical curriculum.

The chorale first makes landfall in the United States in a translation of Marx's composition treatise, where the translator presents the chorale as a repository of not only German music-theory, but German culture more generally. But most responsible for the chorale's dissemination in the United States are Richter's many American proselytes, beginning with Parker's 1855 *Manual*. This textbook demonstrates the presence of some of Richter's basic doctrines—predominantly that music is basically four-parted and the capacity for chorale-writing to encapsulate music-theoretical instruction—at an early moment in American music theory. Indeed, while Parker even includes a chorale setting by Bach, this setting is buried among exercises. Dwight's 1856 essay demonstrates that the notion of employing Bach's chorale settings as harmony and voice-leading models was already known and available in the United States in the 1850s, even if Dwight himself seems to lack the resources to pursue it. Approaching the turn of the century, however, music theorists continue to display the basic tenets of Richter's approach. While Bach's chorale settings are increasingly found in treatises, authors do not present them in notation, and they present them as beyond the purview of harmony texts—in the transition to voice-leading instruction.

The first music-theoretical text to substantially incorporate Bach's chorale settings is Tweedy's 1928 textbook, wherein these pieces appear abundantly. Indeed, Tweedy even selects them as models for the "style" that he seeks to inculcate. Yet Tweedy presents them more as musical works than music-theoretical objects. American Schenkerians, by contrast, do invoke Bach's chorale settings as music-theoretical objects, however; they present them as constitutive of not only Bach's harmonic practice, but harmony writ large, in music both prior to and following Bach, aided by their adoption of Richter's four-part conception of musical structure. This is in distinct contrast to Schenker himself, for whom Bach's chorale settings were no different than any other masterworks—that is, free composition—musical structure is fundamentally two parted, and chorales may not be used a *cantus firmi*. Gannett reflects an intense interest in Bach's chorale settings as models of harmony and voice-leading, abstracting them to levels not yet seen—perhaps even to their maximum, in focusing on two-chord pairs and removing metrical context. Salzer and Schachter, finally, reinstate the chorale to a position that Schenker originally planned but on which he did not follow through: in the bridge from species counterpoint—that is, abstract principles—to free composition, or "real music." And this is the position that Bach's chorale settings hold to this day.

Striking about this history is how relatively late Bach's four-part chorale settings entered the music-theoretical curriculum, to say nothing about becoming mainstream. In their introduction to these pieces in the first edition of their *Harmony & Voice Leading*, published in 1978, Aldwell and Schachter observe that Bach's chorale settings "have served as models for generations of music students, from Bach's day to yours." [1] Similarly, one of the respondents in the survey of the field discussed in Chapter 3 wrote that "J. S. Bach's chorale harmonizations

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[1] Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading* (1st ed.), 60.

were the model of harmony and voice-leading for many generations down to the present day." As I have shown, the earliest evidence of Bach's chorale settings being used as music-theoretical models at a meaningful scale is Tweedy's *Manual*, published in 1928—fifty years earlier. And even here, Tweedy's approach to the chorale differs from Aldwell and Schachter: the author conceives of them partly as part-writing models, partly as music-theoretical works—thus, not obviously as images of musical structure. Moreover, the textbook seems not to have been the blockbuster that the editors of the series it inaugurated hoped it would be, since they removed it from later series lists; it was only in Mitchell's 1939 *Elementary Harmony*, another eleven years later, that use of Bach's chorale settings—in curricular location, visual presentation, and the conception of the pieces that these suggest—begins resembling present-day music theory. In short, the notion that Bach's chorale settings enjoy a long music-theoretical tradition is an American invention, and part of the field's mythology.

I hope that the findings of this dissertation encourage music theory practitioners to reflect on their use of Bach's chorale settings, on music-theoretical use of the chorale in general, and on the field as a whole. Are Bach's chorale settings indeed apt for the American theorists' use of them? Do they deserve the position that they enjoy in American music theory? What does their enjoyment of this position indicate about the field? And what other mythologies may be lurking in the shadows?

Appendices

Appendix A: Questionnaire sent to Music Theory Practitioners

This appendix provides a visualization of the questionnaire sent to music theory practitioners that forms the basis of Chapter 3.

The Chorale in Contemporary Music Theory

Introduction

This survey seeks to assess the extent to which chorales are used in contemporary music theory. There are five sections, which address the following:

1) courses required of all music majors
2) electives for music majors
3) courses for non-music majors
4) music-theoretical activities in general
5) your institutional context

This survey should take less than 10 minutes to complete. While it may be completed on a range of devices, it will be easiest to complete it on a personal computer or tablet. By taking this survey, you are consenting to the collection of the data you provide and to its subsequent presentation in the form of a dissertation, conference papers, or publications. Any potential identifying information will be kept strictly confidential.

In which country do you conduct the majority of your music-theoretical activities?

[▼]

Part I: Courses REQUIRED of music majors

Do you teach music theory courses REQUIRED of all music majors?

○ Yes

○ No

How many semesters of REQUIRED courses in music theory must music majors at your institution take?

[   ]

Additional comments:

[   ]

What textbook(s) do you use for music-theory courses REQUIRED of all music majors?

(Please indicate the extent to which you use each with a percentage. Check only those that apply. Total percentage should add to 100%.)

	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
Aldwell and Schachter, Harmony and Voice Leading (2011)											
Burstein and Straus, Concise Introduction to Tonal Harmony (2016)											
Clendinning and Marvin, The musician's guide to theory and analysis (2016)											
Kostka and Payne, Tonal Harmony (2013)											
Laitz, The Complete Musician (2016)											
Roig-Francoli, Harmony in Context (2011)											
No textbook											

	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100

In-house textbook
(indicate author):

[   ]

Other:

[   ]

Other:

[   ]

Additional comments:

[   ]

Which of the following topics do you teach in your courses required of ALL music majors?

(Please select all that apply.)

☐ Cadence
☐ Counterpoint
☐ Harmony
☐ Instrumentation
☐ Phrase Structure/Form
☐ Rhythm

To what extent, if at all, do you use chorales* when teaching the following topics in your courses REQUIRED of all music majors?

(Please indicate the extent with a percentage, which represents time using chorales when teaching the subject.)

* For present purposes, a chorale is 1) the melody of a hymn-like musical composition with Lutheran origins, 2) the four-part SATB harmonization of such a melody, or 3) a musical composition that resembles either of the above.

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              0    10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100
```

» Cadence

» Counterpoint

» Harmony

» Instrumentation

» Phrase Structure/Form

» Rhythm

Are there other topics for which you use chorales when teaching your courses REQUIRED of all music majors?

(Please indicate a) the topics, and b) the extent to which you use chorales when teaching the topics.)

```
              0    10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100
```

Topic:
[   ]

Topic:
[   ]

Topic:
[   ]

Additional comments:

485

If in teaching courses REQUIRED of music majors, you use chorales of your OWN choosing (e.g., NOT included in a textbook you are using), whose chorales do you use?

(Please list the composer(s)—including yourself, if applicable.)

Part II: ELECTIVES for music majors

Do you teach music-theory ELECTIVES for music majors?

○ Yes

○ No

How many semesters of music-theory ELECTIVES does your institution require music majors to take?

Additional comments:

What textbook(s) do you use for music-theory ELECTIVES for music majors?

(Please indicate the extent to which you use each with a percentage. Total percentage should add to 100% for each course represented.)

	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100

Course/Textbook:

Course/Textbook:

Course/Textbook:

Course/Textbook:

Course/Textbook:

Additional comments:

Which of the following topics do you teach for music-theory ELECTIVES for music majors?

(Please select all that apply.)

- ☐ Cadence
- ☐ Counterpoint
- ☐ Harmony
- ☐ Instrumentation
- ☐ Phrase Structure/Form

☐ Rhythm

To what extent, if at all, do you use chorales* when teaching the following topics in music-theory ELECTIVES for music majors?

(Please indicate the extent with a percentage, which represents time using chorales when teaching the subject.)

* For present purposes, a chorale is 1) the melody of a hymn-like musical composition with Lutheran origins, 2) the four-part SATB harmonization of such a melody, or 3) a musical composition that resembles either of the above.

	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
» Cadence											
» Counterpoint											
» Harmony											
» Instrumentation											
» Phrase Structure/Form											
» Rhythm											
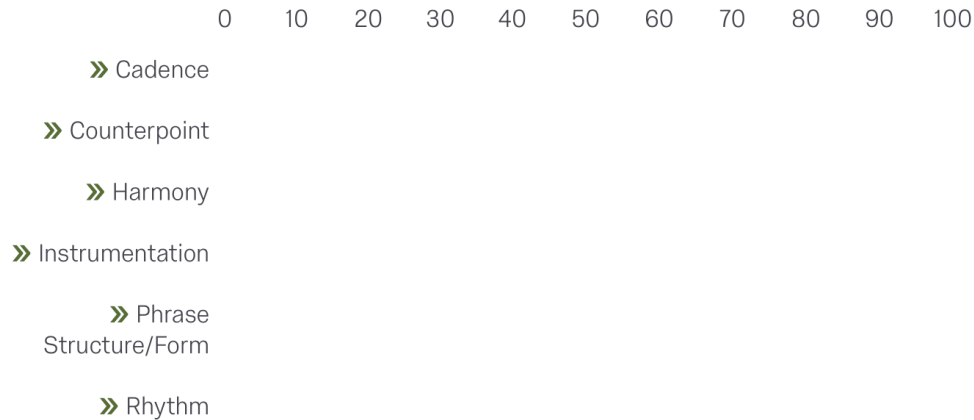
Are there other topics for which you use chorales when teaching music-theory ELECTIVES for music majors?

(Please indicate a) the topics, and b) the extent to which you use chorales when teaching the topics.)

	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
Topic:											

488
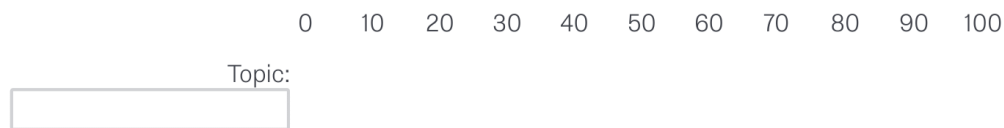
0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100

Topic:

Topic:

Additional comments:

If in teaching ELECTIVES for music majors, you use chorales of your own choosing (e.g., not included in a textbook you are using), whose chorales do you use?

(Please list the composer(s)—including yourself, if applicable.)

Part III: Courses for non-music majors.

Do you teach music-theory courses for NON-music majors?

○ Yes
○ No

What textbook(s) do you use for music-theory courses for NON-music majors?

(Please indicate the extent to which you use each with a percentage. Answer for only those that apply. Total percentage should add to 100%.)

	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
Aldwell and Schachter, Harmony and Voice Leading (2011)											
Burstein and Straus, Concise Introduction to Tonal Harmony (2016)											
Clendinning and Marvin, The musician's guide to theory and analysis (2016)											
Kostka and Payne, Tonal Harmony (2013)											
Laitz, The Complete Musician (2016)											
Roig-Francoli, Harmony in Context (2011)											
No textbook											
In-house textbook (indicate author):											

Other:

Other:

Additional comments:

[ ]

Block 8

To what extent is your decision to include chorales in your pedagogy in general (whether for required courses, electives, or courses for non-music majors) dependent on the following factors?

	Unimportant	Somewhat unimportant	Somewhat important	Important	Very important
Institutional expectations	○	○	○	○	○
Disciplinary tradition	○	○	○	○	○
Musical qualities unique to the chorale (please specify): [ ]	○	○	○	○	○
Singability	○	○	○	○	○
Religious connotations	○	○	○	○	○
Other (please specify): [ ]	○	○	○	○	○
Other (please specify): [ ]	○	○	○	○	○

Additional comments:

[ ]

Part IV: Other Music-theoretical Activities

In what context(s), or for what purposes, do you use chorales in your PERSONAL RESEARCH, if at all?

(Please list all.)

In your opinion, what MUSIC-THEORETICAL value does the chorale have (whether for pedagogy, research, or other activities)?

In your opinion, does using chorales in music theory have any NON-music-theoretical value? If so, what?

Additional comments:

Part V: Music theory at your primary institution

For your music-theoretical activities, are you affiliated with an institution?

○ Yes

○ No

For what UNDERGRADUATE music programs does your institution require chorale-harmonization as part of its ADMISSIONS MATERIALS?

○ [   ] programs (please list):

○ ALL undergraduate students must submit chorale-harmonizations

○ NO undergraduate students must submit chorale-harmonizations

○ I don't know

Additional comments:

[   ]

For what GRADUATE music programs does your institution require chorale-harmonization as part of its ADMISSIONS MATERIALS?

○ [   ] programs (please list):

○ ALL graduate students must submit chorale-harmonizations

○ NO graduate students must submit chorale-harmonizations

○ I don't know

○ we don't have graduate programs

Additional comments:

[   ]

For what UNDERGRADUATE music programs does your institution include chorale-harmonization on its PLACEMENT EXAMS?

○ [   ] programs (please list):

○ ALL undergraduate placement exams include chorale-harmonizations

○ NO undergraduate placement exams include chorale-harmonizations

○ I don't know

Additional comments:

[   ]

For what GRADUATE music programs does your institution include chorale-harmonization on its PLACEMENT EXAMS?

○ [   ] programs (please list):

○ ALL graduate placement exams include chorale-harmonizations

○ NO graduate placement exams include chorale-harmonizations

○ I don't know

Additional comments:

[   ]

How many full-time members are there on your MUSIC faculty at your institution?

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How many full-time members are there on your MUSIC THEORY faculty at your institution?

Additional comments:

What is your status at your home institution?

Faculty/student   ▼

Specific status   ▼

What is your primary institutional affiliation?

Additional comments:

Additional comments

Please add any other comments you may have relating to the use of the chorale in music-theoretical activities in general.

[   ]

Further research

Would you be willing to participate in an interview on the topic of the chorale in music theory?

○ Yes

○ No

Please provide an e-mail address whereby you can be reached for an interview.

[   ]

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in an interview. You will be contacted within approximately two to four weeks about this.

Appendix Figure A.1: Visualization of the questionnaire sent to music theory practitioners that forms the basis of Chapter 3.

Appendix B: Tally of Chorales Cited in Textbook Corpus

This appendix lists all of the chorales cited as musical examples in the ten textbooks that form

the corpus studied in Chapter 4, beginning with those in the Riemenschneider edition of Bach's

chorale settings.

> **Legend:**
> CM = Clendinning and Marvin, *Musician's Guide*
> BS = Burstein and Straus, *Concise Introduction*
> KPA = Kostka, Payne, and Almén, *Tonal Harmony*
> Laitz = Laitz, *Complete Musician*
> ASC = Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*
> RF = Roig-Francolí, *Harmony in Context*
> SHM = Shaffer, Hughes, and Moseley, *Open Music Theory*
> TM = Turek and McCarthy, *Today's Musician*
> BHKN = Benjamin, Horvit, Koozin, and Nelson, *Techniques and Materials*
> Snod = Snodgrass, *Contemporary Musicianship*

Textbook / Chorale no.		CM	BS	KPA	Laitz	ASC	RF	SHM	TM	BHKN	Snod	Total
1	Aus meines Herzens Gr	6					1					7
2	Ich dank' dir, lieber Herre		1									1
3	Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh'		1				1					2
6	Christus, der ist mein Leben						1					1
7	Nun lob', mein' Seel', den Herren								1			1
8	Freuet euch, ihr Christen					1						1
9	Ermuntre dich, mein schwacher Ge	1										1
11	Jesu, nun sei gepreiset					1	1					2
14	O Herre Gott, dein göttlich W	1					2					3
19	Ich hab' mein' Sach' Gott heimgestellt					1	1					2
20	Ein' feste Burg ist unser	3					1					4
21	Herzlich tut mich verlangen						2					2
22	Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele		1			1			2			4
23	Zeuch ein zu deinen Toren					1						1
25	Wo soll ich fliehen hin						1					1
26	O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort			1		2			1			4
32	Nun danket alle Gott					1	1		1			3
34	Erbarm' dich mein, o Herre Gott						1					1
40	Ach Gott und Herr					1	1					2
42	Du Friedenfürst, Herr Jesu Ch	1					1					2
45	Kommt her zu mir, spricht						1					1
47	Vater unser im Himmelreich					1						1
48	Ach wie nichtig, ach wie flüch	1							1			2
50	In allem meinen Taten	1										1
51	Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ	1				1						2
54	Lobt Gott, ihr Christen, allzug	1					1					2
58	Herzlich lieb hab' ich dich, o H	1										1
59	Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du			1								1
62	Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten					1						1
64	Freu' dich sehr, o meine Seel	1										1
67	Freu' dich sehr, o meine Seele					1	1					2
69	Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott					2						2
72	Erhalt'uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort					1						1
74	O Haupt voll Blut und W	4										4
80	O Haupt voll Blut und W	1	1		1	1	2					6
83	Jesu Leiden, Pein und Tod					1						1
88	Helft mir Gott's Güte preisen	1										1
90	Hast du denn, Jesu, dein Ang	1										1
91	Verleih' uns Frieden gnädiglich				1							1
93	Wach' auf, mein Herz								2			2
94	Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz						1					1
96	Jesu, Meine Freude					1	1					2
99	Helft mir Gott's Güte preisen					1						1
100	Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt					1						1
101	Herr Christ, der ein'ge Gott's-Sohn	1				1			1			3

102	Ermuntre dich, mein sc	1	1		2		1		5
103	Nun ruhen alle Wälder	2							2
104	Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten				1				1
106	Jesu Leiden, Pein und Tod						1		1
107	Herzlich lieb hab' ich dich, o Herr		1						1
108	Valet will dir geben	1			2		1		4
111	Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du	1							1
113	Christus, der uns selig macht				1				1
117	Nun ruhen alle Wälder	1		3	2	1			7
118	In dich hab' ich gehoffet, Her	1							1
131	Liebster Jesu, wir sind h	1							1
135	Gott der Vater wohn' uns bei				1	1			2
137	Wer Gott vertraut, hat wohl gebaut				1				1
138	Jesu, Meine Freude					1			1
142	Schwing' dich auf zu deinem Gott				1				1
143	In dulci jubilo						1		1
144	Wer in dem Schutz des Höchs	1							1
145	Warum betrübst du dich	1	1						2
146	Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten				1				1
147	Wenn ich in Angst und Not	1							1
148	Uns ist ein Kindlein heut' geb	2						1	3
149	Nicht so traurig, nicht so sehr				2				2
153	Alle Menschen müssen sterben				1				1
156	Ach Gott, wie manches Herzeleid				1				1
159	Als der gütige Gott					1			1
160	Gelobet seiest du, Jesu Christ	1				1			2
163	Für Freuden, lasst uns springen		1						1
167	Du großer Schmerzensmann					2	2		4
168	Heut' ist, o Mensch, ein	1							1
171	Schaut, ihr Sünder						1		1
172	Sei gegrüßet, Jesu gütig				1				1
176	Erstanden ist der heil'ge Chris	1							1
178	Das neugeborne Kindelein				1				1
179	Wachet auf, ruft uns di	7							7
180	Als Jesus Christus in der Nacht		1				1		2
181	Gott hat das Evangelium					1			1
184	Christ lag in Todesbanden	1			4				5
192	Gottlob, es geht nunmehr zu	1							1
193	Was bist du doch, o Seele, so betrübet					1			1
195	Wie schön leuchtet der Morg	1							1
196	Da der Herr Christ zu Tische saß					1			1
197	Christ ist erstanden	1							1
201	O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde groß				1				1
207	Des heil'gen Geistes reiche Gnad'				1				1
208	Als vierzig Tag' nach Ostern	2							2
209	Dir, dir, Jehovah, will ich singen				1				1
212	Herr, ich denk' an jene Zeit				1				1

No.	Title											Total
215	Verleih' uns Frieden gnädiglic		1									1
217	Ach Gott, wie manches Herzeleid									1		1
220	Sollt' ich meinem Gott nicht singen					1						1
222	Nun preiset alle		2			1						3
225	Gott, der du selber bist das Licht			1								1
228	Danket dem Herrn, denn er ist sehr			1								1
234	Gott lebet noch					1			1			2
237	Was betrübst du dich, mein Herze					2						2
243	Jesu, du mein liebstes Leben			1								1
244	Jesu, Jesu, du bist mein								1			1
249	Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr		1									1
250	Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott		1			1						2
256	Jesu, deine tiefen Wunden		1			1						2
260	Es ist gewisslich an der	1										1
261	Christ lag in Todesbanden								1			1
262	Ach Gott, vom Himmel	3										3
263	Jesu, Meine Freude		1									1
265	Was mein gott will, das					1						1
269	Jesu, der du meine Seele		3									3
270	Befiehl du, deine Wege		1	1								2
272	Ich dank' dir, lieber Herre					1						1
279	Ach Gott und Herr					1						1
280	Eins ist not! ach Herr, dies Eine					1						1
281	Wo soll ich fliehen hin					2			1			3
289	Nun ruhen alle Wälder			1								1
291	Was frag' ich nach der Welt								1			1
292	Nimm von uns, Herr, du treue		1									1
293	Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan					3				1		4
298	Weg, mein Herz, mit den Gedanken					1						1
303	Herr Christ, der ein'ge Gott'ssohn								1			1
330	Nun danket alle Gott		1									1
334	Für deinen Thron tret'ich hiermit								1			1
336	Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält					1						1
365	Jesu, meiner Seelen Wonne					1						1
	Totals:	29	42	17	5	66	33	0	24	3	0	219

Four-part vocal chorale-harmonizations

J. S. Bach, "cantata 140" (CM, 17.4)

The Chorale Book for England [unnumbered] (BS, 4.1)

The Chorale Book for England, no. 105 (BS, 5.3)

Anon., "A Mighty Fortress" (L, 1B.12A1)

J. S. Bach, "Wo soll ich fliehen hin," Cantata no. 5 (L, 9.4B)

J. S. Bach, from motet "Jesus, meine Freude" (ASC, 20-11)

Schein, "Wir Christenleut" (RF, 14.11b)

Figured-bass chorales

J. S. Bach, "Herr, nicht schicke deine Rache" (BS, 11.19)
Freylinghausen, "Morgenglanz der Ewigkeit" (ASC, 15-13)
J. S. Bach, Geistliche Lieder, no. 47 (ASC, 20-13a)

Chorale tunes
Anon, "Jesu Leiden, Pein und Tod" (BS, 25.1)
Anon, melody from Gross Kirchen Gesangbuch (KPA, 5.3)
Crüger, "Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du" (KPA, 5.4)
Anon., "Das neugeborne Kindelein" (ASC, 8-1a)

Appendix Figure B.1: Chorales cited as musical examples in the ten textbooks that form the corpus studied in Chapter 4.

Appendix C: Distribution of Chorales across Textbooks

This appendix provides visualizations of the distribution of chorales across the corpus of textbooks studied in Chapter 4. I omit graphs for Shaffer, Hughes, and Moseley's *Open Music Theory* and Snodgrass's *Contemporary Musicianship*, since neither provides any chorales.

Appendix Figure C.1: Distribution of chorales across Clendinning and Marvin, *Musician's Guide*.

Appendix Figure C.2: Distribution of chorales across Burstein and Straus, *Concise Introduction*.

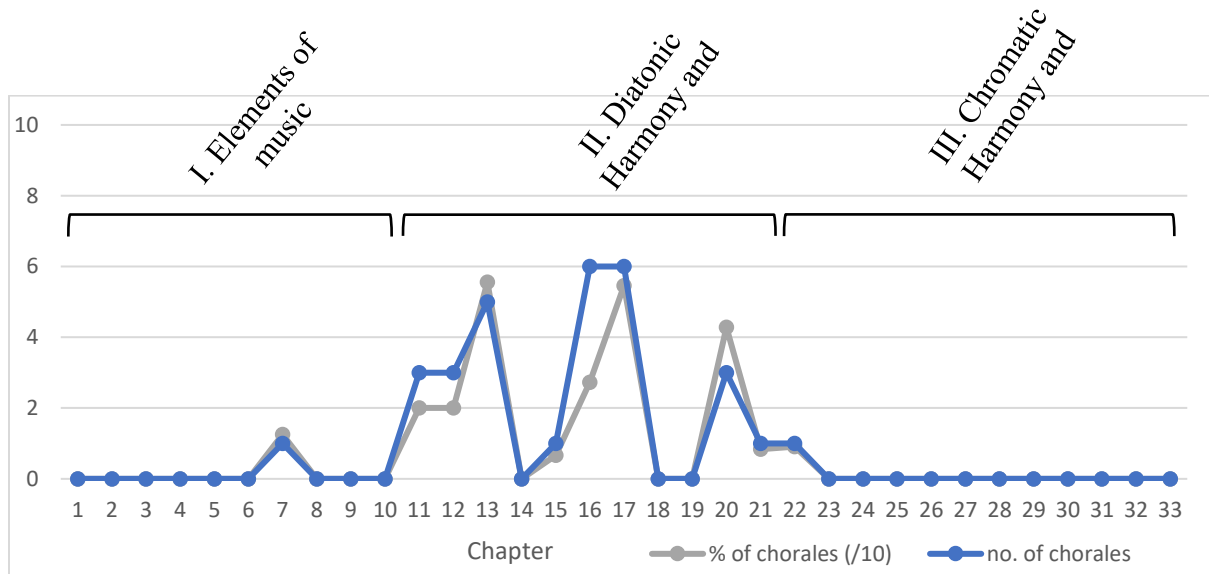Appendix Figure C.3: Distribution of chorales across Kostka, Payne, and Almén, *Tonal Harmony*.
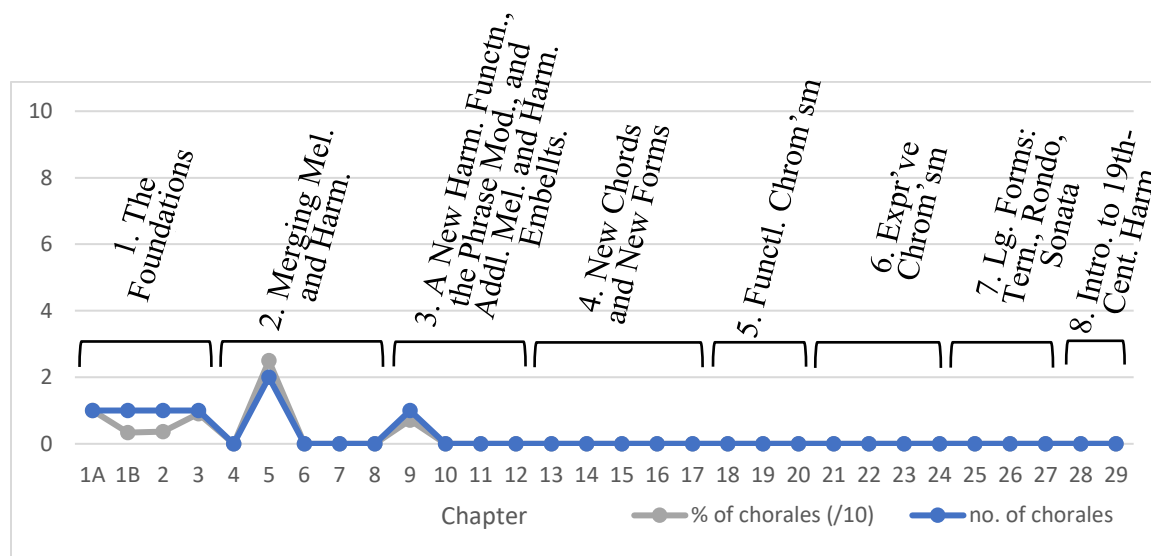
Appendix Figure C.4: Distribution of chorales across Laitz, *Complete Musician*.
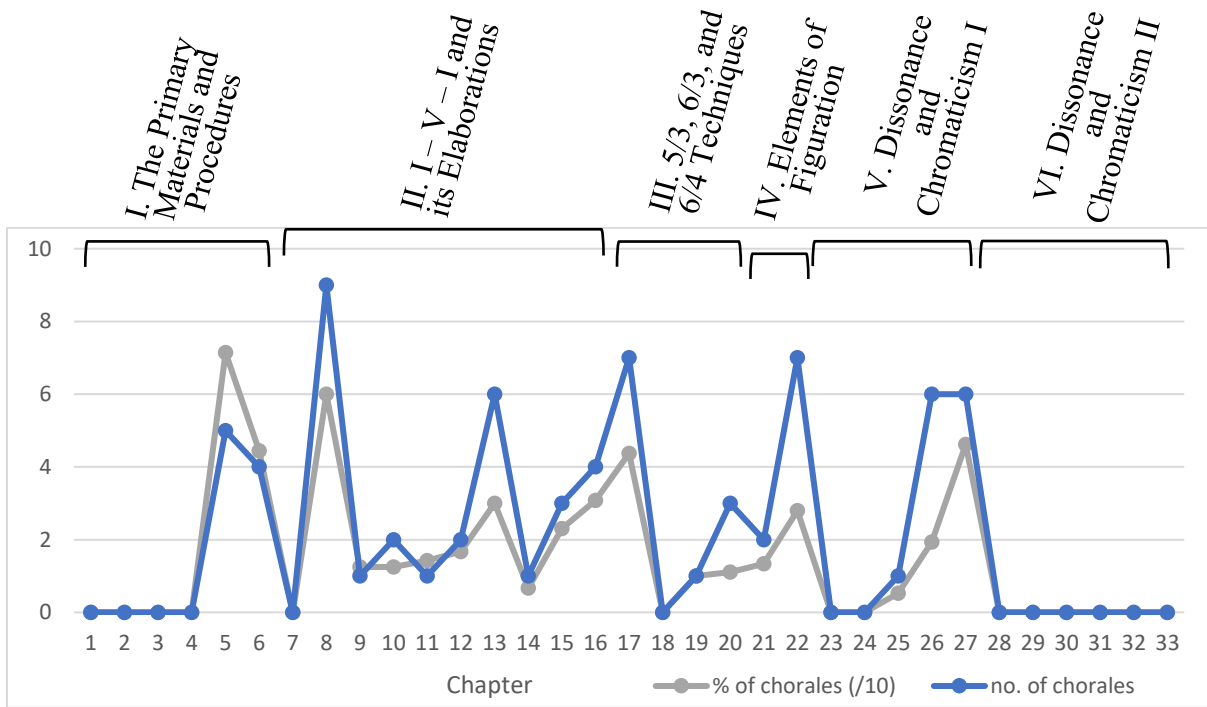
Appendix Figure C.5: Distribution of chorales across Aldwell, Schachter, and Cadwallader, *Harmony & Voice Leading*.
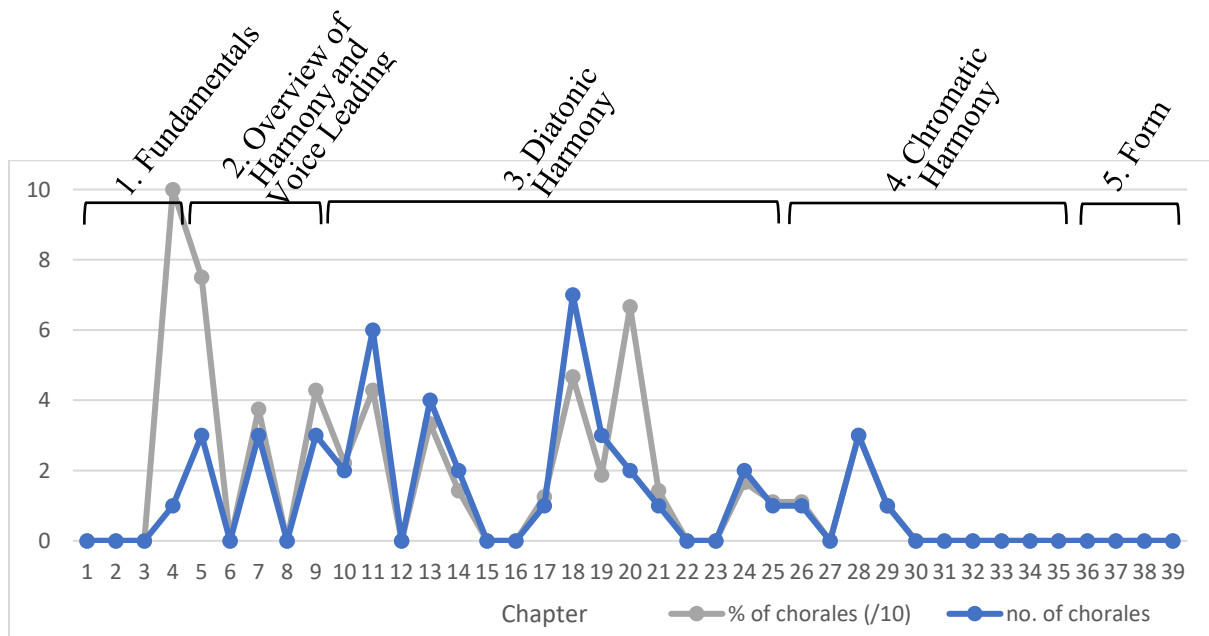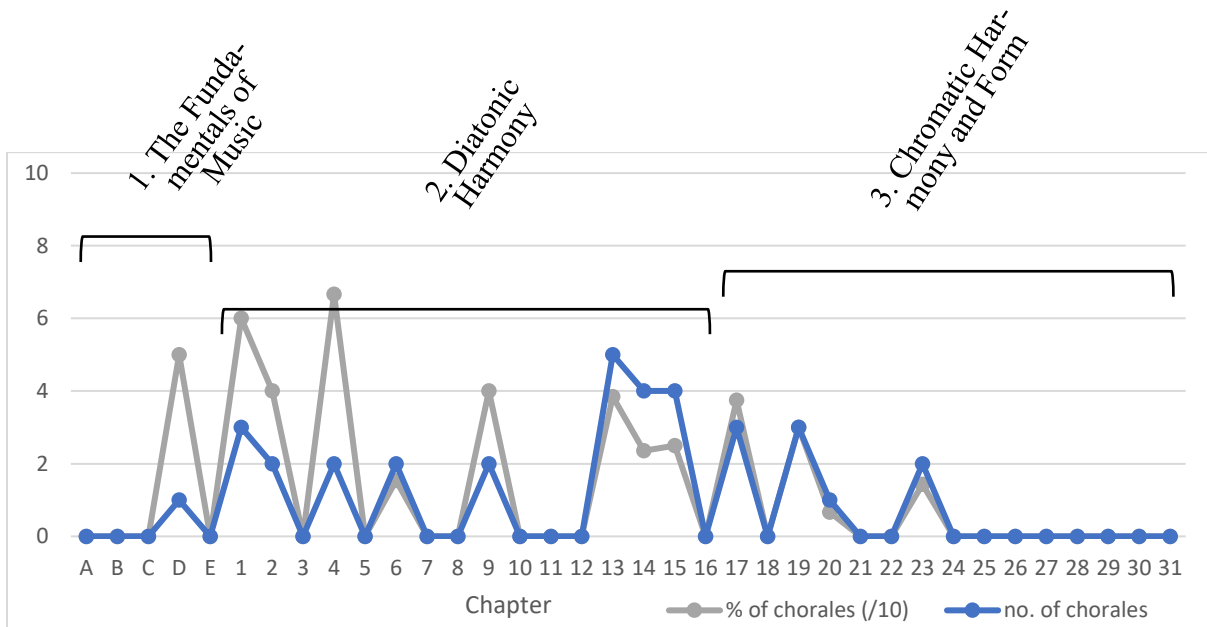

Appendix Figure C.6: Distribution of chorales across Roig-Francolí, *Harmony in Context*.
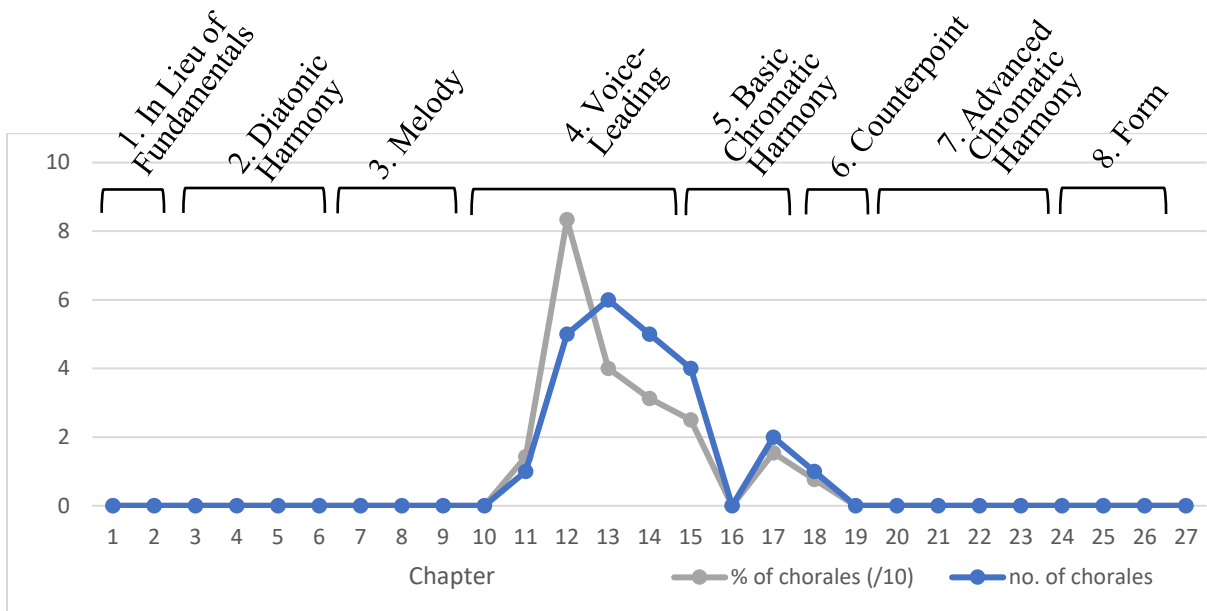
Appendix Figure C.7: Distribution of chorales across Turek and McCarthy, *Today's Musician*.
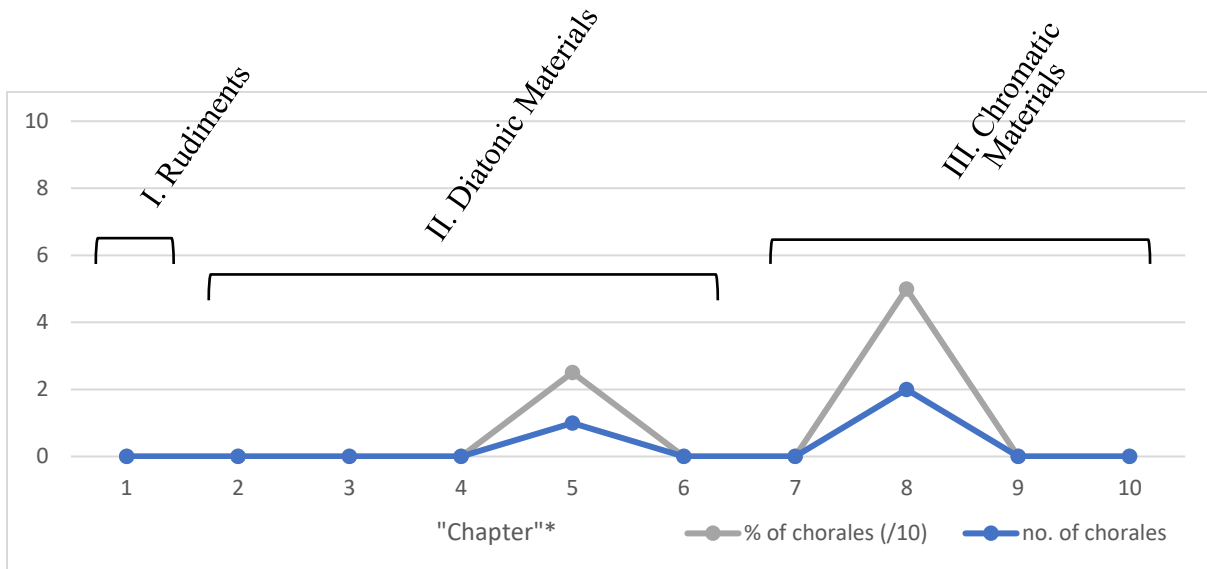
* What I indicate as "chapters" here are in fact sections of a study guide that the authors offer on a website that accompanies their textbook (tmmtheory.com/study-guide). The authors offer no musical examples in their textbook, per se.
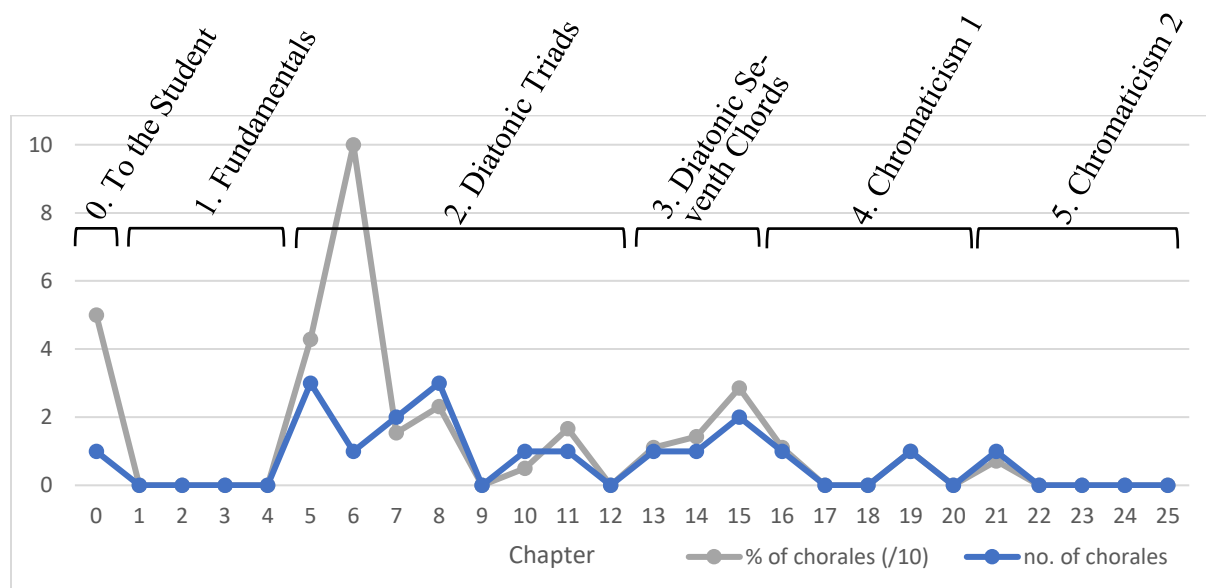
Appendix Figure C.8: Distribution of chorales across Benjamin, Horvit, Koozin, and Nelson, *Techniques and Materials*.

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