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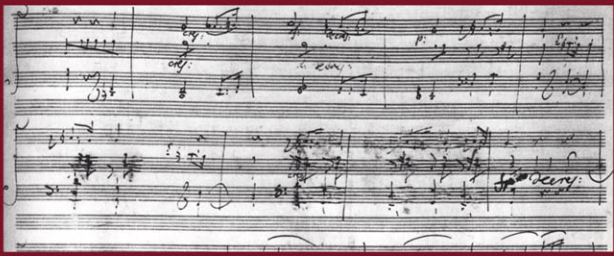
CLASSICAL & ROMANTIC PERFORMING PRACTICE 1750–1900



CLIVE BROWN

WITH A FOREWORD BY
SIR ROGER NORRINGTON

Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750–1900

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To Dorothea, who will not read this book, but without whose encouragement it would never have been finished

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Preface

This is the book we have been waiting for. One of the joys of the last thirty years has been the forging of links between performers and scholars. Such links have already produced exciting results, and information on performing practice has been piling up for the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The nineteenth century, however, has been largely a closed book, assumed, perhaps dangerously, to be part of a received 'tradition'. Just how wrong that tradition can sometimes be Clive Brown now shows us in awe-inspiring detail.

From the vantage point of the new Millennium, the history of twentieth-century music will perhaps seem to have been as much about the rediscovery of the past as about the music of its present. And that's not a bad thing. In a sense, this century has had three avant-gardes. The first, of course, was the great new works written in it. The second was a huge store of medieval and Baroque music recovered from near-extinction and brought to a delighted public. The third avant-garde grew out of the necessary serious thought about how such unknown music should be performed. It led naturally to a reappraisal of the music of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which we thought we already 'knew'.

It is easy to forget that before 1800 there was simply no historical musical repertoire at all. Yesterday's music was as dead as yesterday's newspapers. As a repertoire began to develop from the time of Beethoven's symphonies, the chosen old works that were included in it were naturally treated as 'contemporary' music and modernized accordingly. But this modernization process couldn't continue indefinitely. By 1950, the irrationality of playing Bach as if it were Beethoven, and Beethoven as if it were Wagner, began to be intolerable to many of us. The potential hollowness of unrevised 'tradition' began to ring false. The historical movement that resulted was not an aberration; it was simply a revolution waiting to happen, when the elastic of that tradition was stretched to breaking-point. Unless we are going to play only brand-new music, we simply *have* to understand and value the past. And a relationship with that past needs to be founded on truth as well as sympathy, concern as well as exploitation, information as well as guesswork.

By the time this book has become a classic tool of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century performing practice, it will be hard to believe that there were once musical professionals whose fear of the kind of knowledge it contains urged them to scorn the historical movement. It will be hard to explain that such 'flat-earthers' called an informed approach to music 'flummery', 'exoticism', or 'learning to play out of tune'. What these faint-hearted folk were afraid of was a loss of artistic freedom, a withdrawal of that power which performers had more and more taken over during the early part of the twentieth century. And yet, of course, music has always been a shared activity between creator and performer. You don't lose power by knowing things.

Power-hungry performers have a free hand once a composer is dead—especially if he is 200 years dead. What the historical movement has tried to do is to give that composer back his share in the proceedings. 'Tradition' and mysterious illumination from teachers can easily assume the mighty shadow of truth. But sharing the stage with a composer and his age isn't really frightening or restricting at all. It is liberating and creatively inspiring.

The thrill of that discovery, the recreation not just of unknown music of the past but of music we thought we knew all about, has been central to the musical lives of many thousands of listeners and performers ('flat-earthers' apart) for the last thirty years. During exciting years of pioneering with the London Classical Players, I have been fortunate to have learnt much from Clive Brown about nineteenth-century peforming style. Many of our landmark recordings (Beethoven, Berlioz, Brahms, Bruckner) were made with his advice and encouragement. Now he brings all this information to the public for the first time.

It is, of course, a never-ending quest, never fulfilled and by definition unfinishable. One of Dr Brown's great strengths is his acknowledgement of weakness. As he says in his own introduction: 'in most cases the effect envisaged by a composer or theorist can only be guessed at'. Yes, but guessing which is informed by everything one can find out has at least a chance of catching those intimate perfumes of the past that many of us seek.

Of course there is no 'authenticity'. Of course we don't know all the answers. Even if we did, it wouldn't make us perfect performers. Music-making must always involve guesses and inspirations, creative hunches and improvised strategies, above all, instinct and imagination. But if we don't have all the answers, the least we can do is to set out on our journey with the right questions. These questions, and indeed many of the possible answers, Clive Brown gives us in wonderful profusion. I cannot recommend this book too highly.

Roger Norrington

July 1997

Acknowledgements

This book is the result of more than ten years research; but it owes nearly as much to practical collaboration and informal discussion with scholars and practising musicians as to my own archival work. To list all those who have contributed ideas or forced me to re-examine my own interpretations of the evidence, or simply whose published work in this field, though not directly referred to in the book, has provided a starting point for my investigation is impossible. I hope those to whom I have not directly referred will pardon me.

My interest in the study of performing practice, and its relationship with scholarly editing, was stimulated in the early 1980s by Christopher Hogwood's invitation to advise the Academy of Ancient Music on the texts for their recordings of Beethoven Symphonies. In the next few years I enjoyed a fruitful exchange of ideas with Roy Goodman, Caroline Brown and other musicians associated with the Hanover Band, though the exigencies of the professional world made it difficult to put many of these ideas into practice to any great extent. I also had the great good fortune of getting to know Roger Norrington, whose enthusiasm prompts him not only to address the spirit of the music, but also to respond boldly to historical evidence about performing styles and techniques. He has not been afraid to experiment with radically different approaches to performing well-known works, often in the teeth of resistance from players who were, understandably, reluctant to attempt unfamiliar techniques in the limited time allowed for professional concerts and recordings.

The book that has finally emerged from these experiences and my own archival research has benefited greatly from many other practical experiments and academic exchanges. I cannot fail to mention the following, whose contributions have been more than incidental (though some of them may scarcely be aware of this): Robert Bottone, Duncan Druce, Angela East, Geoffrey Govier, Peter Hanson (and the other members of the Eroica Quartet), John Holloway, Yuki Konii, Colin Lawson, Harry Lyth, Hugh Macdonald, Richard Maunder, Rudolf Riedel, David Rowland, Simon Standage, Judith Tarling, and Elizabeth Wallfisch. In addition I am grateful to the following archives and

their librarians or curators for friendly assistance in consulting collections, making source material available, providing microfilm, or giving permission for reproductions: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Bodleian Library, Oxford; The British Library, London; Conservatorio di musica Luigi Cherubini, Florence; Fürst Turn und Taxis Hofbibliothek, Regensburg; Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna; Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Darmstadt; Library of Congress, Washington; Museo Donizettiano, Bergamo; New York Public Library; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; Sächsische Landesbibiliothek Dresden; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, Vienna.

I am grateful to the Leverhulme Trust for the award of a research grant during the early stages of my research in 1987–8 and to Bretton Hall, College of the University of Leeds, for allowing me a term's release from teaching in 1995, which allowed me to finish writing the book. I should like to thank Bruce Phillips at OUP for encouraging me and prodding me to complete the book, and Helen Foster for helpful assistance in seeing it through the press. Finally, I am indebted to Nina Platts for tireless and good humoured assistance in checking proofs and preparing an index.

Contents

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Introduction

A comprehensive study of Classical and Romantic performing practice would require many volumes and many different authors. An adequate synthesis of the considerable body of recent secondary literature alone would fill more space than the present volume; it would also, perhaps, omit matters considered here. The purpose of this book is to investigate a number of key issues that are particularly relevant to understanding the intentions, expectations, or tacit assumptions of late eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century composers, to consider the extent to which these intentions, expectations, and assumptions may be evident in their notation, and, above all, to identify some of the constantly changing conventions of performance that informed the experience and practice of composers and executants alike.

While a broad range of major issues is examined, some significant matters, such as details of playing technique on individual instruments, methods of conducting, the physical conditions of music-making, and so on, are only touched upon in conjunction with wider issues, or if there are particular insights to offer. The technical specifications of instruments and the changes that took place in these during the period, though vitally important in recreating the textures and tone colours imagined by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century composers, have only been referred to where they are directly relevant to questions of performing style. Comprehensiveness has been eschewed in favour of a more thorough investigation of chosen issues.

In another respect the present study acknowledges self-imposed restrictions. Much heat has been generated by philosophical and aesthetic debate about the ways in which theoretical knowledge of historical performing practice has been utilized in the modern concert hall and recording studio; the author's standpoint may become to some extent apparent from the content of this book, but it is not a part of the present purpose to engage directly in that debate. It may, however, be stated as his firm conviction that dogmatism is seldom, if ever, appropriate in matters of musical performance. For much of the period examined here performers' freedom to impress their own personality on the music,

often through minor, and sometimes major modifications of the strict meaning of the notation, was regarded as a right which only a few composers seriously disputed. There were good performances and bad performances, but their goodness or badness was not necessarily directly related to fidelity to the composer's text or to predetermined rules in any sense that would have been recognized by the modern devotee of urtexts and tables of ornaments. The conclusions about historical performing practice that are presented here are offered, therefore, rather as a stimulus to consider a wider range of possibilities in executing and interpreting works from this fruitful period of Western music than as a performer's guide to matters of specific detail. The author acknowledges that a fine, communicative, contemporary performance may take absolutely no account of the relevant historical performing practices, and may depart radically from anything the original composer might have conceived; but he is convinced that performances can always be enriched by greater awareness of the notational and stylistic conventions familiar to the composer and by a knowledge of the range of techniques employed by the instrumentalists or vocalists for whom the music was intended.

To determine which notational practices, styles, or instruments are appropriate to which music is far from simple. The territory is vast and complex; it is also remarkably hostile to certainties. This is partly because much information about specific composers' intentions is irrecoverably lost, and partly because the very nature of musical performance has always encouraged diversity and variety of interpretation. In some respects, such as ornamentation, a preference for particular types of instrument, the size and layout of orchestras, conducting practices, string bowing and so on, there is much concrete evidence relevant to particular individuals and places. Yet the gap between documentary evidence of this kind and a reliable aural conception of how musicians of the period might have made the music sound is very difficult to bridge. It is precisely the finer nuances of performance, which are so little susceptible to verbal explanation, that make all the difference between one style of performance and another; and that elusive quality 'good taste' does not seem to have been as susceptible to universal laws as some aestheticians would like to believe. In most cases the effect envisaged by a composer or theorist can only be guessed at, until, for the music of the late nineteenth century, the additional resource of gramophone recording became available. The existence of recordings from the early 1900s provides a salutary lesson for students of performing practice, for the aural evidence often reveals things that are startlingly different from anything that might confidently have been adduced from the documentary evidence alone. For earlier periods there are clues that this or that procedure may be more appropriate to the music of one composer while a different approach may be more suitable for that of another, but inevitably much remains highly speculative. We know, for instance, that equal temperament was vying for

supremacy with various forms of unequal temperament during the closing decades of the eighteenth century, but have little firm evidence about whether Mozart, Haydn, or Beethoven expected the use of one or the other for their keyboard music, or indeed whether they regarded this as a matter of any significance for the achievement of the effects they intended.

In the matter of notation there are enormous areas of uncertainty, where we are confronted by symbols that meant one thing to one composer and something else to another, or even where a symbol has various meanings within the opus of a single composer. This is notoriously true of many ornament signs, but it is equally true of accent, dynamic, articulation, and phrasing marks. On the other hand there are symbols that are, or appear to be, distinct in form but synonymous in meaning. In printed music there is seldom any doubt about the identity of the symbol employed by the engraver, but in manuscript it is frequently unclear whether one symbol or another is intended. This is often the case, for instance, with dots and strokes used as articulation marks, turn, trill, and mordent signs, 'hairpin' diminuendo or accent marks, and many others. Though a large number of these problems are resistant to clear solutions, there are nevertheless many cases in which significant details of practices appropriate to particular composers and periods can be discovered, and these can help us to go beyond the notation to catch a glimpse of that which was taken for granted by well-trained musicians of the period. We are sometimes able to reach a high degree of certainty that such and such a symbol or form of notation had a precise meaning for a particular composer; but cases in which this kind of thing is possible are perhaps less common than some scholars and executants would like to imagine.

It is also extremely difficult to draw a line between those aspects of a composition where composers envisaged more or less strict adherence to the notation and those where they would have admitted, or indeed required, some degree of deviation from its apparently literal meaning. The eighteenth-century practice of extensive improvised ornamentation of a melodic line survived, albeit in an increasingly circumscribed form, well into the nineteenth century, especially in opera; and there were many less obtrusive types of ornamentation, such as the addition of appoggiaturas, vibrato, portamento, and the arpeggiation of chords on keyboard instruments, which either followed well-understood principles or were regarded as a legitimate area of interpretative freedom. Notation in the pre-computer era, even in the hands of so fastidious a composer as Elgar, could not by any means contain all the information that would have fixed the composer's conception with scientific exactness, nor would many composers of the Classical and Romantic periods have wished to exercise such despotic control over performance of their music. However precisely composers tried to convey their wishes, there was always the expectation, and sometimes the requirement, that the fine performer would depart from strict observance of

the notation by employing some degree of rhythmic distortion, expressive phrasing, supplementary dynamics, and accentuation, along with other elements that have, to a greater or lesser extent, always been a feature of musicianly performance.

Having approached as closely as possible an understanding of what the composer envisaged, therefore, we will still be left with a broad area in which the interpretative skill of the performer would have been expected to operate. Many composers are known to have valued a considerable degree of interpretative freedom on the part of the performer. Indeed, to a large extent the core of the music remains undisturbed by differences of taste and temperament among accomplished musicians even when these result in performances that would have seemed unfamiliar to the composer. It is almost axiomatic that attempting self-consciously to preserve the stylistic peculiarities of past generations or particular performers, even where such things are theoretically reproducible (for instance, by slavish imitation of old recordings), is a path towards creative stagnation. But to regard all investigation of the relationship between a composer's notation and the artistic assumptions that may lie behind it as irrelevant to performance of the music is as perverse and one-sided as to quest for the chimera of authenticity. There can be little dispute that the more performers understand about the possible implications of the notation before them the more likely they are to render the music with intelligence, insight, and stylistic conviction; yet it is remarkable how little emphasis is placed on this approach in the vast majority of conservatoires, colleges, and universities.

Understanding the notation is not merely a matter of having an uncorrupted text of the composer's most complete version of a work. Although, in most cases, it is likely to be desirable to take an urtext as a starting-point, too great a reliance on such 'pure' texts creates its own dangers. The publication of *durchgesehene kritische Gesamtausgaben* (revised critical complete editions) in the second half of the nineteenth century sowed the seeds of a tendency which has achieved its full flowering in the second half of the twentieth century. Despite the counter-currents of heavily edited 'classics' from Ferdinand David and Hugo Riemann in the nineteenth century to Carl Flesch, Arthur Schnabel, and many others in the twentieth century, the cult of the urtext has grown slowly but steadily until many modern musicians, including advocates of period performance, have invested these editions with a mysterious, almost sacrosanct quality, as if the more literally the notes, phrasings, dynamics, and so on, which constitute the composer's latest ascertainable version of the work, are rendered, the closer the performance will be to the ideal imagined by the composer. Research into Baroque performing practice has led to a general recognition that this is not true of music from that period, yet there are still many professional musicians who believe that, from the Classical period onwards, different criteria should be applied: not a slur more nor less, a

crescendo or diminuendo only if specified, one staccato note to be rendered differently from another only if the composer's writing appears to distinguish between a dot or a stroke, and so on. This picture may caricature the devotee of the urtext, but it hints at a widespread tendency to regard the relationship between notation and performance in a somewhat naïve light. Equally misguided is the attitude of many modern performers who, while acknowledging that eighteenth-century music requires different stylistic criteria from that of, say, Stravinsky or Britten, believe that from the early nineteenth century onwards an essentially undifferentiated and wholly modern approach is entirely appropriate. With respect to vibrato, for instance, the widely held notion that only a discreet and selective use is appropriate to eighteenth-century music, while nineteenth-century music, because of its increasingly 'Romantic' content, must have been characterized by a more vibrant tone quality, may actually be the reverse of the truth.

The present study aims to investigate the infinitely complex and fascinating relationship between notation and performance. The search will supply few unequivocal answers. If the following pages are more full of 'might have been' and 'seem to have' than readers seeking the solution to particular interpretative or notational problems would like, they may nevertheless find that faint rays of light will have been shed on some areas, and that the range of uncertainty has, at least, been narrowed; even if they consider some of the arguments presented here unconvincing, they may, perhaps, be stimulated to see things that they had previously taken for granted from a new angle. It is certainly not the purpose of this book to attempt to describe or prescribe an 'authentic' way of playing Classical and Romantic music; such an aim would patently be absurd. This is a critical examination of a number of central aspects of the subject, which it is hoped may provide another perspective on matters that have been the object of scholarly discussion, alert students to key issues, and stimulate performers to reappraise their approach to a familiar repertoire. The weight of evidence suggests that, throughout much of the period, a rather different relationship existed between performer and composer from that which obtains today. The almost reverential manner in which we tackle the Classical and Romantic repertoire, attempting to sublimate ourselves to the intentions of the 'great composer' by as literal a rendition of the received text as possible, owes much to mid- and late-nineteenth-century ideas, or rather, perhaps, to a misunderstanding of them. Wagner's writings were in this, as in so many other things, extraordinarily influential. He once insisted that, in performing a composer's work the executant musician should 'add nothing to it nor take anything away; he is to be *your second self*'.[1] This certainly represented a reaction against some

[1] 'Der Virtuos und der Künstler', *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen*, 10 vols. 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1887–8), i. 172 .

of the extreme manifestations of artistic licence, particularly prevalent in opera, by a composer who wished to exercise greater control over the performance of his music; but to interpret it, along with similar statements by other important nineteenth century musicians, as demanding slavishly literal rendition of the notation would be unhistorical; such comments can only be understood in the context of the notational and performing conventions of their day. In general, there may well be scope for a more adventurous approach to the interpretation of late- eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century notation, in which modern performers attempt to regain some of the free, creative spirit that the most accomplished Classical and Romantic musicians brought to the performance of the music of their own day.

I

Accentuation in Theory

Accentuation is perhaps the most basic of the principal determinants of style in performance, yet it is among the least thoroughly investigated and understood aspects of historical performing practice. Here, as elsewhere, misconceptions about the standpoint of theorists and the practice of performers abound. There is a widely held notion that performance in the Classical period was characterized by a more rigid observance of hierarchical metrical accentuation than in either the Baroque or the Romantic. This view has been propounded in its most unsophisticated form by Fritz Rothschild[1] on the basis of examples given by Johann Abraham Peter Schulz and other eighteenth-century authors, without taking into account the vast corpus of theoretical writing that qualifies these early attempts at a scientific analysis of musical procedures. An insufficiently critical acceptance of such statements may have tended to encourage somewhat rigid and inexpressive performances of late eighteenth-century music. In addition, the paucity or absence of accent markings in eighteenth-century scores and their increasing frequency in nineteenth-century music has tended to engender a false idea among non-specialists that differentiated accentuation for structural or expressive purposes became more prevalent with the passage of time. There is no good reason to believe that this is the case. The proliferation of performance instructions in late eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century music is not necessarily evidence that the devices they specify were being more often employed than before; it is likelier to be an indication that composers increasingly came to regard individual patterns of expressive accentuation as integral to the character of particular pieces of music, and no longer wished to entrust this vital ingredient of expression entirely to the experience or whim of the performer. The more comprehensive notation of accents that developed during the nineteenth century, however, generated its own

[1] *The Lost Tradition: Musical Performance in the Time of Mozart and Beethoven* (London, 1961).

problems. The meaning of signs and written instructions varied from time to time, place to place and composer to composer, leading to confusion about their significance that has persisted to the present day.

Categories of Accentuation

Throughout most of this period accents were seen as falling into several basic categories. At a fundamental, almost subliminal, level was the accentuation connected with the metrical structure of the music, which was integral to the relationship between melodic figuration and harmony change, and the positioning of dissonance and resolution; this was variously known as grammatical or metric accent, or, in England, simply as accent. Superimposed upon this basic framework was a level of accentuation that was designated rhetorical, oratorical, or expressive accent or, by some English writers, emphasis.[2] A number of theorists further subdivided this type of accentuation. Heinrich Christoph Koch described two kinds of expressive accent, which he called oratorical and pathetic, the latter being an intensified version of the former. Some theorists seem to have regarded accentuation whose function was to define the extent and subdivision of musical phrases (here referred to as structural accent) as a distinct category,[3] but it is not always possible to see where the dividing line between this and expressive accent occurs. The majority of writers made no firm distinction between accentuation that emphasized phrase structure or rhythmic features, thus clarifying the rhetorical meaning of the music, and accentuation that was essential to its emotional content (since phrase structure and rhythm are inextricably linked with expression), yet it seems clear that this sort of notion lay behind the tripartite division of Koch and others.

Similar analyses of functionally different types of accentuation continued to be made in the following century, modified, however, in response to changes in musical style. Mathis Lussy broadly adhered to a three-part categorization, identifying metric, rhythmic, and pathetic accentuation, as counterparts to instinct, intelligence, and emotion respectively. Yet by the time Lussy wrote, there were, as he put it, 'certain modern theoreticians' who rejected the idea of the metric accent as such.[4] Perhaps the most radical rejection of the received notion of metrical accent came from Hugo Riemann, who arrived at the view that it was almost entirely irrelevant to the accentuation demanded by particular musical phrases. In an essay in 1883 he regretted that the old grammatical accent system had been constantly reproduced, even in his own earlier writ-

[2] e.g. by John Wall Callcott, *A Musical Grammar* (London, 1806) and John Jousse, *The Theory and Practice of the Violin* (London, 1811).

[3] This type of accentuation was described by, among others, Schulz, Türk, and later Fink and Lussy.

[4] *Le Rhythme musical, son origine, sa fonction et son accentuation* (Paris, 1883), 33.

ings, and wished to replace it with a crescendo–diminuendo system related to phrase structure.[5] Riemann's theories, which seem to have been strongly influenced by nineteenth-century practice, enjoyed considerable prestige in the late nineteenth century and, in some quarters, well into the twentieth century, but they did not displace the concept of metrical accent in conventional theory teaching.

Metrical Accent

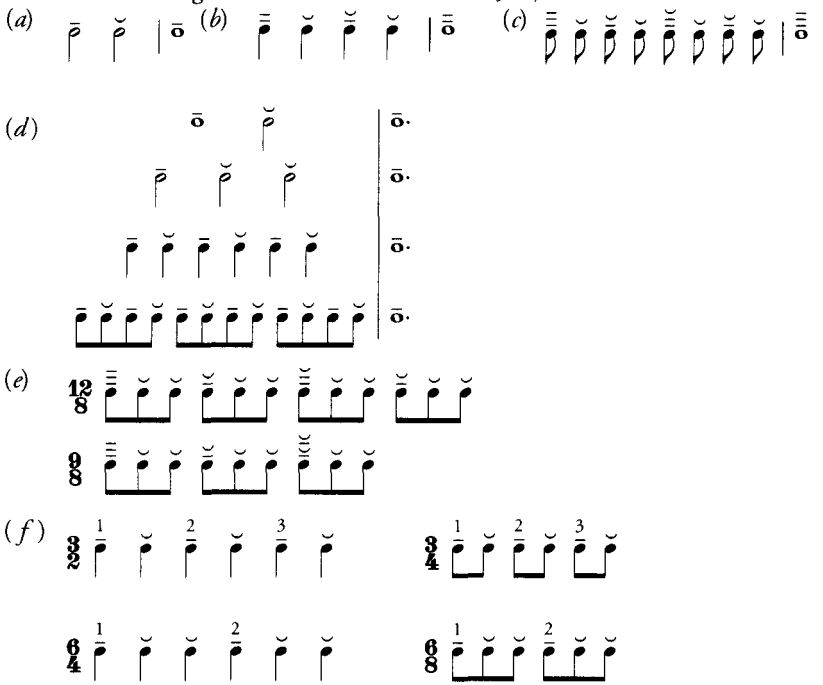
Between the middle of the eighteenth century and the end of the nineteenth, the majority of theorists was broadly agreed about the nature and function of metrical accent. Analyses of this type of accentuation took a number of forms, and the terminology employed is diverse; but (apart from a few differences discussed below) there was broad agreement about the arrangement of accented and unaccented beats in most species of metre. Fundamental to the system, and still expounded in conventional modern theory teaching, was the age-old concept of rhythmic arrangement by twos and threes, where, in duple metres, the beats are alternately accented and unaccented and, in triple metres, the first of each group of three beats receives a greater degree of metrical accent than the others. These principles were also seen to operate in subsequent subdivisions of the beat, thus producing patterns of duple or triple grouping in smaller note values. From the various permutations of twos and threes all the commonly used metres were derived.

While the fundamental patterns of alternation of strong and weak were generally agreed, however, there was rather more diversity of opinion with respect to the relative degree of strength or weakness each beat should receive. Many writers of practical instruction manuals contented themselves merely with explaining how strong and weak beats were distributed in different metres, without making any distinction between greater or lesser accentuation of strong beats according to their position in the bar. More theoretically minded authors went further, elaborating a hierarchical system in which some accented beats received more stress than others. The precise pattern of this differentiated accentuation was determined by the metre. In the early 1770s J. A. P. Schulz explained it thus:

> Duple [even] time has two principal time-units, the first of which is long, the second short: [Ex. 1.1(*a*)] If, however, these notes are divided into smaller values, such as crotchets in Alla breve time, for example, the first note of the second time-unit receives more emphasis and the crotchets themselves behave like time-units [Ex. 1.1(*b*)]

[5] Carl Wilhelm Julius Hugo Riemann, 'Der Ausdruck in der Musik', *Sammlung musikalische Vorträge*, i, no. 50 (Leipzig, 1883), 47.

Ex. 1.1. Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 1st edn., ii. 1136–7



If the bar is divided into still smaller values such as quavers, each of these will have a different degree of emphasis. E.g.: [Ex. 1.1(*c*)]

This last example shows clearly the difference between the long and the short notes in duple time . . .

In triple [uneven] time the unequal value of notes is illustrated by the following example: [Ex. 1.1(*d*)]

How to play these notes in respect of their different weights and the accents placed upon them will easily be understood from what has been said about duple time . . .

In fast movements, or in time signatures where the number of notes can be divided by three, such as 12/8 or 6/4 and in all similar cases, the first note of three is invariably emphasized thus $-\cup\cup$, and the emphasis on other time-units depends on whether they are even or uneven. E.g.: [Ex. 1.1(*e*)]

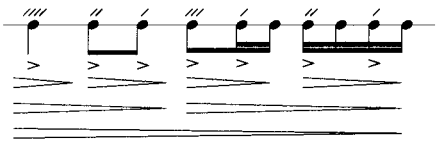
After what has been said of the inner value of time-units, surely no proof is required to show that, as regards accentuation, 6/4 is essentially different from 3/2, and 6/8 from 3/4, despite the fact that both metres contain the same number of identical note values. The following table will show the difference clearly: [Ex. 1.1(*f*)] [6]

[6] In Johann Georg Sulzer, ed., *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, 1st edn. (Leipzig, 1771–4), ii. 1136–7.

Similar hierarchical principles were constantly reiterated during the nineteenth century, though not wholly unchallenged. Adolph Bernhard Marx mused in 1854:

> we may content ourselves with merely marking the greater divisions (parts, sections, phrases) or we may proceed to define in detail the bars and members of the bar, distinguishing the more important with stronger accents.
>
> It may be asked how far this detailed accentuation is to be carried? In my 'Theory of Composition' I have already drawn attention to the charm that rests in this 'play of the accents,' and also to the danger of producing a fragmentary effect by obtrusion of subordinate features. This danger can easily be illustrated to the eye by a variegated accentuation, such as: [Ex. 1.2]
>
> Where is the medium between an undefined and an exaggerated accentuation?[7]

Ex. 1.2. Marx, *The Music of the Nineteenth Century*, 260



Hugo Riemann, however, was apparently, the first theorist fundamentally to question the relevance of hierarchical metrical accent to musical performance.

However, as the most penetrating expositions make clear, the system was not, in practice, so neatly logical as certain writers would have liked to make it. Not all the ways in which composers used common time (**c**), for instance, could be reconciled with a single conception of that metre in relation to its tempo giusto (see Chapter 8) and accentual characteristics. In addition, Schulz and Kirnberger, together with other theorists, some of whom were probably influenced by their approach[8] and others of whom were not,[9] insisted that there was an important distinction between a true quadruple metre and one which was merely derived from two bars of duple metre with the bar-line removed. Schulz explained that the true **c** (*Viervierteltakt*) was accented as in: Ex. 1.3(*a*) not Ex. 1.3(*b*), the latter accentuation belonging properly only to

[7] *The Music of the Nineteenth Century and its Culture*, trans. August Heinrich Wehrhan (London, 1854), 260.

[8] e.g. Daniel Gottlob Türk, *Klavierschule oder Anweisung zum Klavierspielen für Lehrer und Lernende mit kritischen Anmerkungen* (Leipzig and Halle, 1789); 2nd rev. edn. (Leipzig and Halle, 1802), and, in England, August Frederic Christopher Kollmann, *An Essay on Musical Harmony* (London, 1796), 73. Kollmann was certainly influenced by Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*, i (Berlin and Königsberg, 1771), ii (Berlin and Königsberg, 1776–9), trans. as *The Art of Strict Musical Composition* (New Haven, 1982): he quotes him on p. 77.

[9] e.g. François-Joseph Gossec, Joseph Agus, Charles-Simon Catel, and Luigi Cherubini, *Principes élémentaires de musique arrêtés par les membres du Conservatoire, suivis de solfèges* (Paris, ?1798–1802) and other French writers.

Ex. 1.3. Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 1st edn., ii. 1136–7

(*a*)  (*b*) 

the **c** that resulted from two bars of combined 2/4 (*zusammengesetzter Viervierteltakt*).[10] Some writers, though, regarded this distinction as dubious. Leopold Mozart categorized all even time as duple and all uneven as triple, regarding the division of even time into four crotchets as essentially a means of making 'the even time-measure more comprehensible to the pupil', adding: 'That even time be mostly only duple, a good composer must know best himself.'[11] Half a century later Callcott too argued that, notwithstanding the notion (held by some French and German musicians) that common time was a simple rather than compound measure there were really no grounds for recognizing quadruple metres as in any essential way different from duple ones; he took the view that **c** was only distinguished from 2/4 'by the omission of the alternate Bar'.[12] Callcott even seems to have questioned the value of establishing a hierarchy among the accented notes within the bar, being content merely to recognize the normal distribution of accents on the first note of groups of two and three; in this respect he stands closer to the practical approach of many authors of instrumental methods.

In fact, it is clear that even those writers who attempted the most extensive classifications of the differences between the various types of metre were conscious that, in practice, many factors modified the strict operation of these rules. Tempo, above all, was crucial in determining the frequency and weight of metrical accents. Callcott observed: 'every species of measure may be subdivided by Accents, according to the degree of quickness in which it is performed'.[13] Even Schulz, having detailed the difference between a genuine **c** metre and one that really consisted of combined bars of 2/4, admitted that 'in performance, especially in slow pieces, it [genuine 4/4] is often confounded with the combined [type] and divided into two parts, each of two crotchets.'[14] And later in the nineteenth century Adolf Bernhard Marx articulated a generally held view when he made the observation that speed determines the extent to which a hierarchy of accents is intelligible.[15]

In the early part of the period there were also some rather basic disagreements about the metrical accentuation of triple time. A considerable number of important eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century writers main-

[10] In Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, ii. 1135. Kollmann repeated this in his *Essay*, 72.

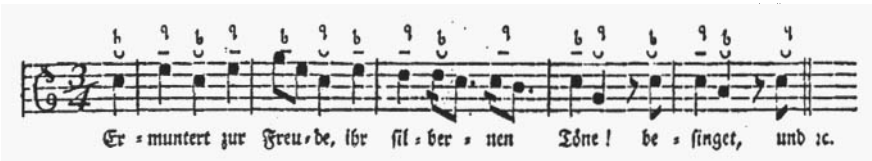
[11] *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg, 1756), trans. Editha Knocker as *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing* (Oxford, 1948), I, ii, §4.

[12] *Musical Grammar*, 257. [13] Ibid. 44.

[14] In Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, ii. 1135.

[15] *Allgemeine Musiklehre* (Leipzig, 1839)), trans. A. H. Wehrhan as *A Universal School of Music* (London, 1853), 113.

Ex. 1.4. Löhlein, *Anweisung zum Violinspielen*, 53



tained that in certain triple metres the third beat was emphasized more than the second. Schulz's example of accentuation in 9/8 (Ex. 1.1(*e*)) shows that he regarded this to be the case in that metre too. Johann Peter Milchmeyer asserted that 'in a three-four metre, the first and third crotchets are the strong beats and the second the weak beat', but he cautioned that in 3/8 only the first beat received the emphasis.[16] Georg Simon Löhlein also seems to have regarded a stress on the third beat in 3/4 as normal,[17] giving the example shown in Ex. 1.4; while Jean Jacques Rousseau[18] and François Henri Joseph Castil-Blaze,[19] among French authors, and Charles Burney[20] and Callcott,[21] among English ones, maintained a similar position. Burney, however, qualified his observation that in triple time 'the *first* and *last* are accented, the *second* unaccented' with the comment: 'if the *third* note in triple time is accented in serious music, it is always less forcibly marked than the first'. Türk, while apparently recognizing a subsidiary stress on the third beat as normal, remarked, perhaps thinking of such pieces as polaccas and chaconnes, that 'in a few cases the second is internally long and thereby the third is short'.[22] In a similar manner, the authors of the Paris Conservatoire's *Principes élémentaires de musique* recognized the possibility of a metrical accent occurring on either or neither of the last two beats.[23]

It seems likely that such conceptions of triple metre were related partly to the old practice of beating time in triple metre with an uneven tactus (a two-beat downbeat followed by a one-beat upbeat) and partly, perhaps, to its association with particular dance types in which those sorts of accentuation were characteristic. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, as the uneven tactus disappeared and the relationship between art music and dance music weakened, the idea that the third beat in triple metres might have a regular metrical accent seems largely to have died out. The new orthodoxy was that the third beat in triple metres required the least metrical accent. Around 1840 François Habeneck stated that 'In a bar with three beats, the first beat is always strong, the second is sometimes strong and sometimes weak. The third beat is always

[16] *Die wahre Art das Pianoforte zu Spielen* (Dresden, 1797), 7.
[17] *Anweisung zum Violinspielen* (Leipzig and Züllichau, 1774), 53.
[18] *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1768).
[19] *Dictionnaire de musique moderne* (Paris, 1821).
[20] In Abraham Rees, *Cyclopaedia* (London, 1819), art. 'Accent'.
[21] *Musical Grammar*, 41.
[22] *Klavierschule*, I, §55.
[23] Gossec et al., *Principes*, 44.

weak.'[24] The proposition that the natural metrical accentuation of triple metres was strong–weak–weaker is found in many nineteenth-century German sources: Gottfried Wilhelm Fink described it thus in 1837,[25] and Moritz Hauptmann's almost metaphysical analysis of metre and rhythm in his highly respected treatise *Die Natur der Harmonik und der Metrik* (1853) led him to propose this scheme as an essential aspect of triple metre.[26] Hauptmann's approach may well have been responsible for the similar views expressed by Arrey von Dommer (1865)[27] and Hauptmann's pupil Oscar Paul (1873).[28] Dommer's description of the third beat in 3/4 as 'completely accentless, completely upbeat' certainly indicates a very different concept of triple metre from that which had been widely held at the beginning of the century.

In reality, much in the more elaborate expositions of metrical accentuation had scant relevance to practical music-making, since such things as different varieties of common time or differently accented triple metres were not prescribed for the performer by the time signatures composers gave to their works; they were, at best, only recognizable from the nature of particular pieces of music. It is this fact that seems to be acknowledged when, in its discussion of triple time, the *Principes élémentaires de musique* stated that in 3/4 an accent may fall on the second or third beat 'through the nature of the melody'.[29] As implied by differences of opinion among theorists and complaints about the casualness of composers in choosing the correct metre, much depended, in practice, on the knowledge and stylistic sensitivity of the performer, which was acquired far less from awareness of theoretical writings than from direct musical experience. In this respect the borderline between metrical and structural accent becomes blurred.

While the performer was ideally expected to be aware of the metrical scheme that provided the framework for the composer's musical ideas, it was nevertheless acknowledged by many writers throughout the period that it was unnecessary, indeed inartistic, to make purely metrical accentuation obtrude upon the listener's perceptions, except in special cases (for example dances and marches) where distinct accentual patterns were an essential feature of the genre. Elsewhere, the metrical accentuation was generally expected to be conveyed to the listener by the melodic and harmonic structure of the music, without any necessity for the performer to contribute an obvious accent. Referring to the accents that fall on the strong beats, Johann Friedrich Schubert commented in 1804: 'These require no accentuation on the part of the singer, since they accent

[24] *Méthode* (Paris, *c.*1840), 109.

[25] In Gustav Schilling, ed., *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften* (Stuttgart, 1835–8), art. 'Accent'.

[26] (Leipzig, 1853).

[27] *Musikalisches Lexicon* (Heidelberg, 1865), art. 'Accent'.

[28] *Handlexikon der Tonkunst* (Leipzig, 1873), art. 'Accent'.

[29] Gossec et al., *Principes*, 44.

themselves through their inner strength.'[30] (However, it may be noted that some thirty years later G. W. Fink, though he warned in general against excessive stressing of metrical accents, made quite the opposite point about accents in singing, saying: 'The metrical accents in vocal compositions, where they generally coincide with the long syllables [of the text] should least of all be neglected.')[31]

The necessity of subordinating metrical accent to the accentuation required by the shape of the phrase and the expressive content of the music was often stressed by writers throughout the period. In England in 1770 John Holden, having remarked that 'In the performance of music, there is a certain emphasis, or accent laid on the beginning of every measure, which distinguishes one species of time from another', observed: 'There is no occasion to make the beginning, or emphatical part of the measure, always stronger, or louder than the rest, though it is sometimes best to do so.'[32] And Johann Friedrich Reichardt cautioned his reader against interpreting Quantz's instructions for metrical accentuation too literally:

> Also, it would be extremely faulty if the accentuation of the notes—about which Herr Quantz says so much—were always to be marked with a particular pressure of the bow. This [accentuation] is nothing more than the slightest weight, with which anyone with a correct feeling for the beat plays, which, of his own accord, without thinking about it, he will give to the stronger beats, just as children on their coloured fiddles already give it to the notes on which, if left to themselves, they will stamp with their foot. If the child does not get this right he should not learn music.[33]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Heinrich Christoph Koch referred similarly to the metrical accent as an 'almost unnoticeable stress',[34] and Gottfried Weber, a musician of a younger generation, made much the same point almost twenty years later when he cautioned that 'What is said of the heavy and light parts of the bar is not to be understood as that a so-called heavy or strong part of the bar must really in all cases be delivered more heavily and strongly (more *forte*) than the so-called light or weak part; we here speak rather of an internal weight.'[35]

Johann Nepomuk Hummel's description of metrical accent, too, seems to emphasize the essentially notional quality of strong and weak beats, rather than suggesting that the performer will automatically deliver them more strongly:

[30] *Neue Singe-Schule oder gründliche und vollständige Anweisung zur Singkunst* (Leipzig, [1804]), 134.

[31] In Schilling, *Encyclopädie*, art. 'Accent', i. 36.

[32] *An Essay towards a Rational System of Music* (Glasgow, 1770), 32.

[33] *Ueber die Pflichten des Ripien-Violinisten* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1776), 8–9.

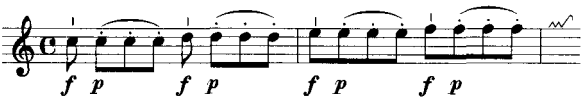
[34] *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1802), art. 'Accent'.

[35] *Versuch einer geordneten Theorie der Tonkunst* (Mainz, 1817–21), trans. J. F. Warner as *Theory of Musical Composition* (London, 1846) i. 90.

The parts of the bar are divided into accented and unaccented. By the former are to be understood those parts upon which our feelings naturally bestow a certain degree of weight or stress. The latter pass by our ear, as it were, and, in comparison with the former, appear light and unimportant.[36]

However, during the Galant and Classical periods there seems to have been a significant distinction between melody and accompaniment with respect to metrical accentuation. It arises from the characteristic textures of this music, in which accompanying parts and bass were so often given regular patterns of repeated notes, the so-called *Trommelbass*. As with so much else in the study of performing practice, it is important to distinguish here between the conventions that applied primarily to solo performance and those that were germane to ensemble or accompaniment. The metrical structure of the music, seen from the point of view of the composer, is intimately connected with such things as phrase structure, the rate of harmonic change, and the fullness or lightness of texture at any given point. To a large extent these factors will, as J. F. Schubert remarked, cause the strong beats of the metre to 'accent themselves through their inner strength'; and this probably lay behind Hummel's comments. But many writers pointed out that when instrumentalists played repeated patterns of accompaniment figures, they had to ensure that the accents were placed strictly in accordance with the music's metre unless this were expressly countermanded by the composer's markings. Thus Johann Joachim Quantz advised the cellist that 'If in a Presto that must be played in a very lively fashion several quavers or other short notes appear upon the same pitch, the first in each measure may be stressed by pressure on the bow'.[37] And Leopold Mozart gave a similar example of an 'ordinary accompaniment to an aria or concert piece, where for the most part only quavers or semiquavers appear' (Ex. 1.5).[38] In these types of accompaniment it would clearly be out of place either to make absolutely no kind of metrical accent or to place the stronger accents on metrically weaker beats, except in special circumstances, or where the composer has indicated something particular. It may well be the case that rhythmic or expressive accent

Ex. 1.5. L. Mozart, *Versuch*, XII, §9



[36] *Ausführliche theoretisch-practische Anweisung zum Piano-Forte-Spiel* (Vienna, 1828), trans. as *A Complete Theoretical and Practical Course of Instructions, on the Art of Playing the Piano Forte* (London, 1828), i. 59.

[37] *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin, 1752), trans. Edward R. Reilly as *On Playing the Flute* (London, 1966), XVII, 4, §9.

[38] *Versuch*, XII, §9.

in the melody will contrast with the metrical accentuation of the accompaniment. From time to time, however, the accompanying parts will also have melodic material and will then be likely to make freer use of non-metrical accent, in accordance with the general principles discussed below. In more intricately textured works, such as string quartets, all parts in the ensemble may alternate between the observance of metrical accentuation in accompaniment figures and the application of expressive accents in melodic passages. As is evident from later nineteenth-century discussions of accentuation, this type of differentiation weakened during the Romantic period when, in many types of music the distinction between melody and accompaniment became less clear-cut.

Before looking at the factors that were seen to modify the principles of metrical accentuation, it may be useful to note one particular situation in which, during the Classical period, it was felt by many to be specially undesirable that the hierarchy of strong and weak beats should be emphasized by the solo performer. This was in passagework with relatively fast-moving equal notes. Koch observed that in this case the metrical accent 'must be so finely modulated that it is barely perceptible, otherwise a tasteless and limping style of performance results'.[39] Burney considered that in 'very rapid divisions, ascending or descending the scale in notes of equal length, no regard is had to accents'.[40] And Milchmeyer similarly instructed that 'in a run of several bars the ear should not be able to distinguish any strong or weak beat from the beginning to the end'; though, apparently contradicting himself, he added that 'in triplets and in upwards and downwards passages of four, six, and eight notes in both hands one mostly strikes the first notes a little more strongly and in passages of four semiquavers, or in slow tempo of two quavers, one changes the finger on the first note very often in order to give the melody its true accent'.[41] J. F. Schubert commented: 'In passagework it is difficult to prescribe where the accents have their proper place; this must be entirely a matter of feeling and taste',[42] and Bernhard Heinrich Romberg, discussing accentuation in his 1840 cello school, made a similar point when he observed that in rapid passages 'it is only requisite to make a few notes here and there, prominent, in order to deprive the passage of its otherwise monotonous effect'.[43] Hummel, Carl Czerny, and Manuel García were among those who gave illustrative examples of this kind of selective accentuation; García explained that the accent '(according to the artist's instinct) is placed on any one sound selected in passages of equal notes. This is done to avoid monotony' (Ex. 1.6).[44] As in other

[39] *Musikalisches Lexikon*, art. 'Accent'.

[40] In Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, art. 'Accent'.

[41] *Die wahre Art*, 7.

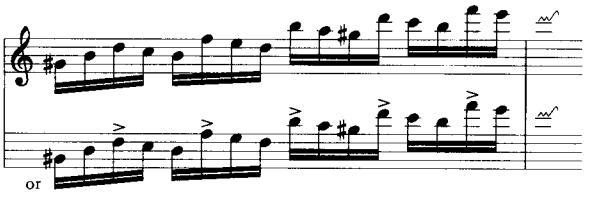
[42] *Neue Singe-Schule*, 134.

[43] *Méthode de violoncelle* (Berlin, 1840), trans. as *A Complete Theoretical and Practical School for the Violoncello* (London, 1840), 129.

[44] Hummel, *A Complete*, iii. 61; Czerny, *Vollständige theoretisch-practische Pianoforte-Schule* op. 500, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1839), iii. 9; trans. as *Complete Theoretical and Practical Piano Forte School* op. 500, 3

Ex. 1.6. (*a*) Hummel, *A Complete*, iii. 61; (*b*) Czerny, *Vollständige . . . Pianoforte-Schule*, iii. 9; (*c*) García, *New Treatise*, 52

(*a*)



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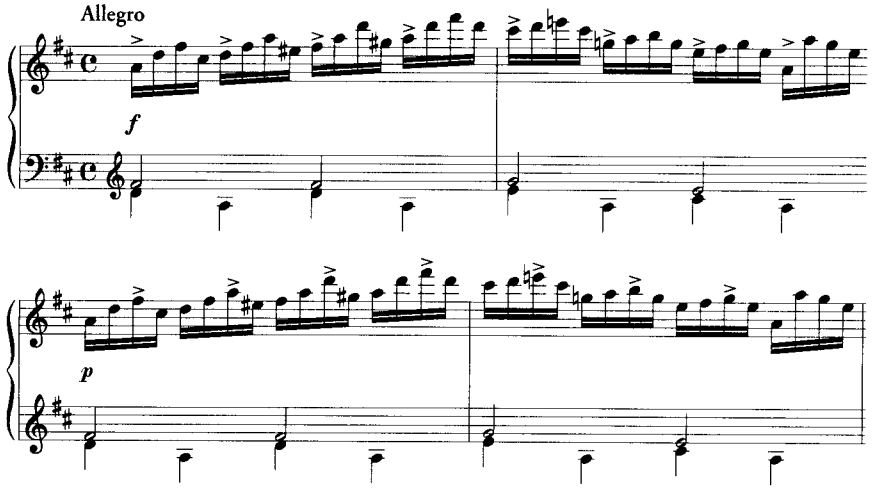

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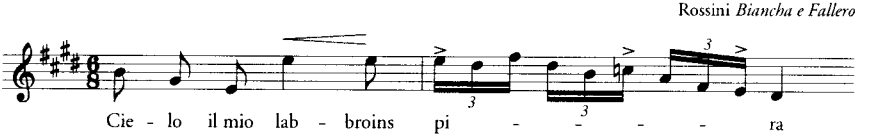


vols. (London, [1839]); vol. iv, *Die Kunst des Vortrags der älteren und neueren Klavierkompositionen* (Vienna, 1846), trans. as *The Art of Playing the Ancient and Modern Piano Works* (London, [1846]); García, *Traité complet de l'art du chant* (Paris, 1840), trans. and enlarged as *García's New Treatise on the Art of Singing* (London, 1894), 52.

aspects of accentuation, however, tempo was seen as important in determining the frequency with which accents were appropriate in passagework.

Structural and Expressive Accents

After considering metrical accentuation, Koch continued with a discussion of what he called oratorical accentuation. He began his treatment of the subject with an analogy between the nature and purpose of accentuation in speech and music which is typical for the period:

> Just as in speech, particularly if the speaker speaks with feeling, certain syllables of the words are marked by a special emphasis, by which the content of the speech is mainly made clear to the listener, so in the performance of a melody which has a definite feeling it is necessary to execute certain notes with a conspicuous manner of performance if the feeling which it contains is to be clearly expressed.[45]

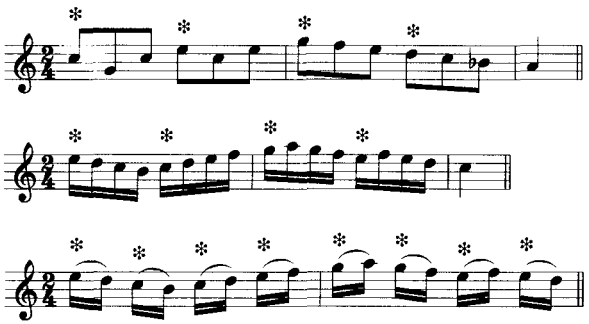
Like other theorists of his time Koch observed that these expressive accents, which he divided into oratorical and pathetic (apparently making a distinction only of degree rather than kind between them), are much more evident in performance than the metrical accents, and, this time using an analogy with painting, he continued: 'They are at the same time the highest lights and impressions of the tone-picture, and in performance the ear will be made aware of the more definite meaning of the melody through these accents.' He further remarked:

> They are distinguished from the metrical accent not only through the above-mentioned more prominent performance, but also through the fact that they are not confined to any specific part of the bar, but are merely contained in the ideal concept of the composer, which he has portrayed in notes, from which the taste of the performer must discover it. Of this type are the accents with which the notes marked * in the following extract must be performed if the melody is not to sound as lame and insignificant as that of many a schoolboy's monotonous recitation of his catechism [Ex. 1.7].

These accents represent a larger-scale structural feature of the music than that defined by metrical accentuation. In the given example, Koch's accents come exclusively on metrically strong beats, because this is required by a melody of that type, though the oratorical accents could be less regularly distributed if the melody so required. Koch's failure to differentiate clearly between the accentuation necessary to articulate the phrase structure and that required to bring out the emotional content of the music reflects the widely prevalent view of the time, that music was fundamentally a language whose principal purpose, like that of poetry, was to express something more than the mundane material of common speech; the intelligible delivery of a phrase and its emotional weight, therefore, were inseparable.

[45] *Musikalisches Lexikon*, art. 'Accent'; see also Türk, *Klavierschule*, VI, §12, Hummel, *A Complete*, iii. 55.

Ex. 1.7. Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon*



Other late eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century writers seem to have been more acutely conscious of a distinction in function between structural and expressive accentuation (and articulation), but the recognition that the latter types of accentuation should operate at a significantly more obtrusive level than metrical accentuation appears to have been general. In the 1830s G. W. Fink wrote: 'A too-symmetrical and scrupulously regular, mechanical beat introduces a stiffness into the performance which equates with crudeness. As a rule, therefore, the metrical accents should not be applied anything like so sharply and strongly as the rhythmical and above all the sectional accents [*Einschnittsaccente*[46]] of the rhythmic segments.'[47] And in a similar vein Arrey von Dommer observed in 1865:

> A correct oratorical accentuation must always fundamentally be a correct metrical one, despite many liberties for the sake of the particular expression. Yet it reaches beyond the simple regularity of the metrical accentual pattern, appears already as a higher artistic freedom and is a more essential part of expressive performance. One can deliver a passage with absolutely correct metrical accentuation and still play very stiffly and vapidly if the animation through oratorical accentuation is lacking.[48]

Thus, the harmonic and melodic structure of a well-written piece could be seen as virtually sufficient in itself to convey the metrical pattern of the composition to the listener so long as performers were responsive to that pattern in their choice of accentuation; there was no need for the metrical regularity of the music to be stressed. Only those notes that were important for the shape of a phrase or the expressive content of a melody were expected to receive a distinct emphasis. Although individual structural and expressive accents would often occur on metrically strong beats, the accentual pattern of a melody in performance would rarely, if ever, conform exactly with the theoretical hierarchy of

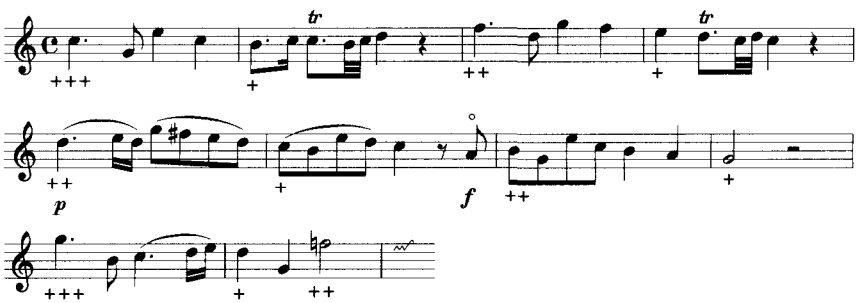
[46] The term *Einschnitt*, frequently employed by musical theorists of this period, has no entirely satisfactory English equivalent. The word means literally a cut, incision, or notch and was used in this context to describe the notional or real articulations which separate the 'phrases' in a musical 'sentence'.

[47] In Schilling, *Encyclopädie*, art. 'Accent', i. 36.

[48] *Musikalisches Lexicon*, art. 'Accent'.

beats, for the accentual relationships required by the phrase structure would generally override the small-scale metrical patterns with, for instance, a greater emphasis on the strong beat of one bar than another, or more stress on the second half of a 2/4 or 4/4 bar than on the first. Frequently, too, the expression might require more accent on so-called weak beats than on strong ones. Türk qualified his explanation of metrical accent with the observation that the initial note of each section of melody 'must be given an even more marked emphasis than an ordinary strong beat'[49] and added that even among these more prominently stressed beats there should be a hierarchy according to whether they were the beginning of a main section or only a unit within the larger phrase. He illustrated his meaning with an example (Ex. 1.8), observing: 'The greater the number of crosses the greater the emphasis; the o indicates that the upbeat quaver is unstressed in relation to the following note.'

Ex. 1.8. Türk, *Klavierschule*, VI, §14

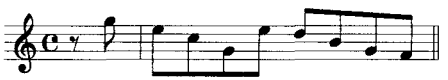


Türk's concern that the upbeat should not be stressed in this context would undoubtedly have been endorsed by other theorists; but there were circumstances in which, even if nothing were indicated by the composer, some eighteenth-century musicians might have thought it appropriate to accent a note that would normally be seen as an upbeat. Quantz, for instance, had advised that 'in gay and quick pieces the last quaver of each half bar must be stressed with the bow'[50] and gave an example in which such a treatment was to be recommended (Ex. 1.9). Leopold Mozart, too, advocated a similar procedure 'in lively pieces . . . to make the performance right merry'[51] (Ex. 1. 10).

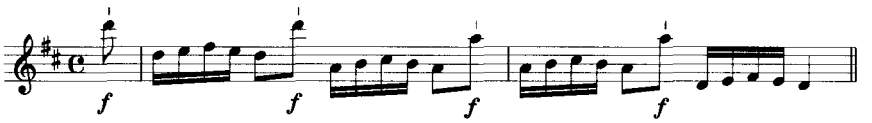
It is questionable whether, in practice, Türk would have expected the performer literally to apply the predominantly diminuendo pattern of phrasing indicated in Ex. 1.8, to other melodies any more than he would have anticipated slavish adherence to the theoretical hierarchy of metrically stronger and weaker beats in the bar (except perhaps in repeated accompaniment figures).

[49] *Klavierschule*, VI, §14. [50] *Versuch*, XVII, 2, §8. [51] Ibid., XII, §13.

Ex. 1.9. Quantz, *Versuch*, XVII, 2, §8



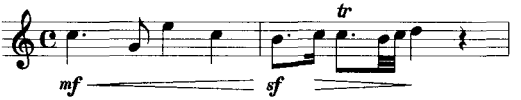
Ex. 1.10. L. Mozart, *Versuch*, XII, §13



His example certainly cannot be taken to prove that, as a general principle, late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century melodies were expected, either absolutely or relatively, to have the most prominent accent on the first strong beat of each major melodic segment. Yet it seems possible that 'downbeat' rather than 'upbeat' treatment of the first part of a phrase was regarded as normal in the majority of cases at that period. A generation later it was still possible for August Ludwig Crelle to state that 'as a rule the musical unit begins powerfully and importantly, the middle continues moderately and evenly and the end speeds up and becomes less powerful'.[52]

Examples from other sources suggest, however, that even if Türk's illustration and Crelle's advice represented the most usual approach to the accentual shaping of a melody (in the absence of contrary markings by the composer) during the late Classical period, it would have been neither unknown nor considered unmusical for a performer to shape an unmarked melody differently; it is precisely this latitude that blurs the distinction between structural and expressive accentuation. In the case of Türk's example, for instance, the expressive impact of the melody could be changed by giving it the dynamic shape shown in Ex. 1.11, with its implications of a quite different accentuation.

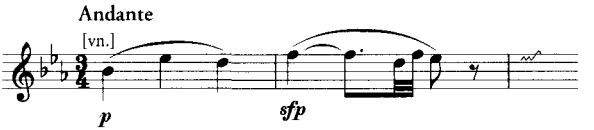
Ex. 1.11.



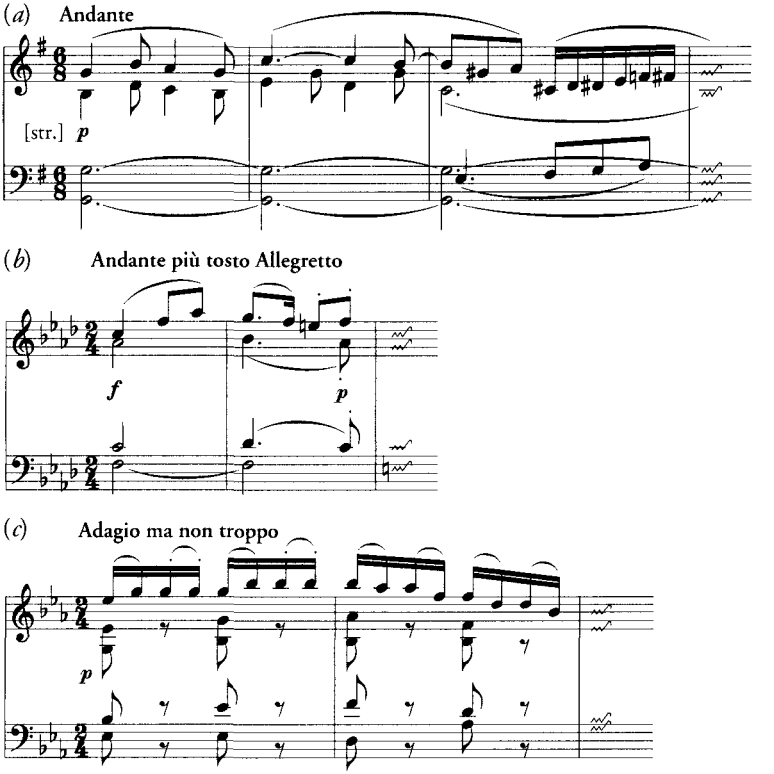
A careful eighteenth-century composer, for instance Mozart, might mark such accentuation where he regarded a particularly emphatic rendition of it as vital to the expression (Ex. 1.12), but the absence of such a marking in the music of his less meticulous contemporaries, or even of Mozart himself, may not necessarily be an indication that this type of treatment would be contrary to the composer's conception. The melodies shown in Ex. 1.13, for instance, may well

[52] *Einiges über musikalischen Ausdruck und Vortrag* (Berlin, 1823).

Ex. 1.12. Mozart, Violin Sonata K. 454/ii



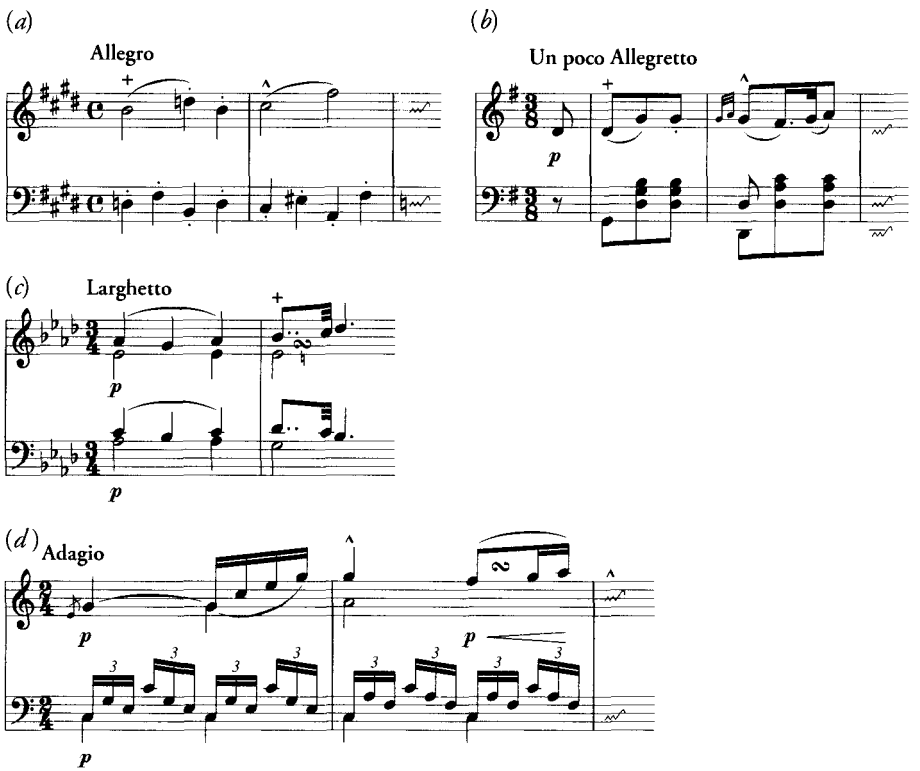
Ex. 1.13. (*a*) Mozart, Symphony in D K. 504/ii; (*b*) Haydn, String Quartet op. 55/2/ii; (*c*) Beethoven, String Quartet op. 18/6/ii



have elicited an 'upbeat' accentual pattern from some contemporary performers although the composer did not mark it. This is most likely to have been the case where there is an increase of harmonic tension (dissonance) at the beginning of the second bar. Theoretical support for this type of approach is provided by Hummel, who gave several examples in his piano method where he considered such accentuation appropriate (Ex. 1.14; + indicates a slight accent, ^ a more emphatic one).

It must always be borne in mind that the overwhelmingly prevalent eighteenth-century view was that details of this kind could generally be left to

Ex. 1.14. Hummel, *A Complete*, iii. 56–9



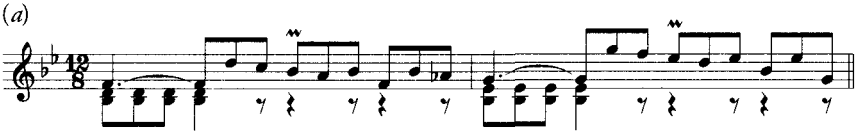
the taste of performers, whose treatment of a melody would be determined by their response to such internal musical signals as harmony, melodic shape, and so on (as discussed further below). On the other hand, it is conceivable that the modern performer's instinct to apply this sort of upbeat treatment to passages in eighteenth-century music where no dynamic instructions are given may be the anachronistic product of musical conditioning by a tradition that only became established during the course of the nineteenth century.

In short, there was general agreement during the Classical period that, within broadly defined parameters, fine and knowledgeable performers would accent a melody according to their perception of its particular character rather than rigidly emphasizing the metrical accent indicated by the time signature. Consequently, rather more flexibility is likely to have been approved in practice than the stricter theorists seem to imply. Türk cited two musical examples to show that 12/8 and 6/8 are essentially different and that a piece of music appropriate to the one cannot properly be written in the other (Ex. 1.15).[53] But his examples also illustrate that even if they were 'incorrectly' written in the other

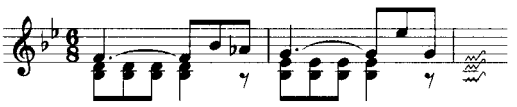
[53] *Klavierschule*, I, §59.

Ex. 1.15. Türk, *Klavierschule*, I, 4, §59

(*a*)



(*b*)



metre, the skilful player, responding to the nature of the melody, the texture and harmonic structure of the music, and so on, would almost certainly seize upon the sense of the piece and give it an appropriate accentuation and phrasing. Many composers were clearly felt by their more theoretically minded contemporaries to reflect too little on the metre in which their conceptions could best be expressed. Nevertheless, it can scarcely be doubted that thoughtful composers strove hard to find the metre that most closely fitted the predominant accentual characteristics of their ideas. Instances of the same theme notated in different metres in Beethoven's sketchbooks may well reflect his search for the most appropriate pattern and intensity of metrical stress for a particular idea. A similar motive may also lie behind the rescoring of whole movements in different metres by, for example, Mozart and Mendelssohn.[54]

The continuing elaboration and systemization of a hierarchy of metrical accent appropriate to each metre, in a stream of nineteenth-century theoretical works, especially by German authors, seems distinctly at odds with the increasingly free approach of the more experimental musicians of that period, but such theoretical elaborations were, to a considerable extent, the result of a desire to endow *Musikwissenschaft* with the dignity of a historico-scientific discipline. Indeed, there were few nineteenth-century theorists who did not acknowledge, at least in parentheses, that the rigid hierarchy of metrical accent was overridden in practice by the requirements of the particular musical context. It seems probable that while, with minor modifications, theoretical understanding of metrical and structural accentuation during the period as a whole remained constant, practical application of that theory diverged ever further from it, in line with developing musical aesthetics. Just as the music of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century was characterized, in general, by distinct and regular rhythmic patterns, so the coincidence of metrical and structural accentuation was correspondingly more frequent, and

[54] See below, Ch. 8.

there was often a rhythmic counterpoint of metrically accented accompaniment figures with more freely accented melodic lines.

This situation is nicely summed up by J. A. P. Schulz's treatment of the subject, which could in many respects have come from a traditional theorist at any point during the period. It is worth quoting at length for the clarity with which it highlights the complexity of the interaction between the varying types of accentuation.

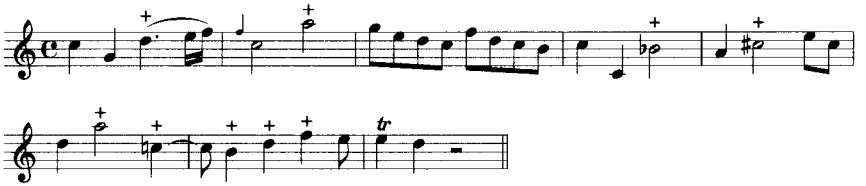
The accents of the melody must be made apparent. The notes which fall on the strong beats of the bar will be reckoned first among these. Of these the first note of the bar receives the most prominent pressure, so that the feeling of the beat is constantly sustained, without which no one will understand the melody. After the first beat of the bar the other strong beats of the bar are marked, but less strongly. Hereby, however, the distinction which the phrase divisions make between the beats must be well observed. The first note of a bar which is only a part of a phrase cannot be so strongly marked as when it begins the phrase or when it is the principal note of a phrase. Those who do not observe this, but constantly mark the first note of the bar with equal strength in every piece, ruin the whole piece; for by this, since they are in this respect too clear, they damage the clarity of the whole, in that they are thereby prevented from marking the phrase divisions appropriately, which is of the greatest importance. This will become clearer from what follows. The weak beats will only be marked when a new phrase begins on them, as will be shown hereafter.

Secondly, those notes in every phrase which require a particular emphasis are reckoned among the accents. As in speech many words merely serve to connect, or depend upon the principal word of the phrase, which the speaker pronounces without noticeably raising his voice, so that he might be able to make the principal word all the more audible: so also in every melodic phrase there are principal and auxiliary notes which should be well distinguished from one another in performance. Often, and particularly in pieces which have a single type of note throughout, the principal notes coincide with the aforementioned accents of the bar. In such pieces, however, where there is greater variety of melody, the principal notes almost always stand out from the ordinary notes and should be marked with particular emphasis. They can be recognized by the fact that they are in general longer or higher than the preceding and immediately following notes; or that they are raised or lowered by a ♯ or ♭ which is foreign to the prevailing key; or that they are free clashing dissonances; or that they prepare a dissonance which is tied to them; they fall mostly on the strong beats of the bar except when a new phrase division begins with them, or when the composer in order to make himself more emphatic decides on a syncopation and allows it to come in a beat too early; in such cases they also occur on the weak beat of the bar, and in the latter case are most easily recognizable by their added length, as in the fifth and sixth bars of the following example: [Ex. 1.16] All notes marked + are so many main notes of this phrase, that should be performed far more emphatically than the rest.

. . .

This may be sufficient to make those who wish to perform a piece clearly aware of the accents in it. One can easily grasp that their observation gives performance, apart from clarity, a great light and shade, especially if a differentiation of emphasis is also made between the main notes, in that one always requires more or less emphasis than another, like the main words in speech. Through this occurs the fine shadings of strong and weak

Ex. 1.16. Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 2nd edn., iv. 701



which the great virtuosos know how to bring into their performance. But to say where and how this ought to happen is so difficult, and for those who do not have their own experience and a fine sensitivity so inadequate, that we regard it as superfluous to dwell further upon it.[55]

During the course of the nineteenth century a number of important composers strove to produce music in which accentuation was liberated from what they saw as the restrictions of metre; in such music, structural and expressive accentuation occurred with increasing frequency on beats that were metrically weak, and the distinction between free melody and metrically more regular accompaniment became far less common. Symptomatic of this attitude is Liszt's comment, in the preface to the collected edition of his symphonic poems, that he wished to 'see an end to mechanical, fragmented up and down playing, tied to the bar-line, which is still the rule in many places and can only acknowledge as appropriate the phrase-based style of performance, with the prominence of special accents and the rounding off of melodic and rhythmic shading [*den periodische Vortrag, mit dem Hervortreten der besonderen Accente und der Abrundung der melodischen und rhythmischen Nuancierung*]'.[56] His statement is not essentially in conflict with the opinion expressed by earlier writers, at least with regard to melody, but taken in conjunction with the style of much of his music and that of the mature Wagner, for instance, it becomes clear that it embodies a substantial difference in practice. Even in the music of composers closer to the Classical tradition such as Schumann and Brahms, there is evidence of a conscious attempt to escape the fetters of an over-rigid rhythmic structure; this was undoubtedly, to some extent, a conscious reaction to the conventional rhythm that underlay much early Romantic music, by composers such as Spohr, Weber, Marschner, and Mendelssohn, which sometimes contrasted awkwardly with their increasingly expressive harmonic idiom. A similar tendency can be seen in the approach to phrasing that is apparent in many mid- to late nineteenth-century editions of earlier music, such as Ferdinand David's *Die höhe Schule des Violinspiels* and Hugo Riemann's

[55] In Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 2nd edn. iv. 702–3.

[56] *Liszts Symphonische Dichtungen für grosses Orchester*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, [*c.*1856]), i. 1.

editions of the Classics, or in discussions of phrasing by later nineteenth-century writers such as Mathis Lussy. It seems as if these musicians frequently envisaged structural and expressive accentuation as running contrary to the metrical accentuation where, in many cases, earlier musicians may have seen them as coinciding.

2

Accentuation in Practice

In his discussion of oratorical accentuation Koch had observed that although the notation of his day was 'complete and precise' in showing pitch and duration, the things 'by which the spirit of the piece must be made palpable in performance can never fully be represented by signs'. Nevertheless, he took the view that since it is an 'established thing that the lively representation of the melody of a piece of music depends for the most part on the correct performance of the oratorical and pathetic accents',[1] a more sophisticated system for prescribing which notes should be accented and in what degree would be highly desirable. He did not believe that his contemporaries were anything like careful enough in marking the accentuation they required in their music. In this he was entirely in agreement with Türk, who, in his *Sechs leichte Klaviersonaten* of 1783, had made use of a sign (^) to indicate accentuation where he felt that it was not necessarily obvious. Türk remarked: 'I still believe that the accent which is so essential to good execution can, in certain cases, be as little left to the discretion of the performer as, for example, the extempore use of *forte* and *piano* or of one of the essential ornaments.'[2]

Discussion of the subject by Koch, Türk, and others of their contemporaries makes it abundantly clear that the relative scarcity of instructions for accent in eighteenth-century music carries no implication that expressive accents were not envisaged where they are not specifically marked. As with much else in the music of that period, even the more painstaking composers only indicated the music's most prominent and essential features, and many seem to have neglected even to do that; thus it was left to the executant to supply most of the accentuation necessary for a fine and tasteful performance. Despite the vastly increased use of various forms of accent markings by composers of succeeding

[1] *Musikalisches Lexikon*, art. 'Accent'. [2] *Klavierschule*, VI, §16.

generations,[3] accomplished nineteenth-century performers would still have been expected to contribute much in the matter of accentuation and phrasing beyond what was indicated by the composer. In the section on performance in his *Violinschule* Louis Spohr, for instance, distinguished between a 'correct style' and a 'fine style'; the former required a minute observance of all the composer's performance markings, but the performer was expected to achieve the latter through 'additions of his own', among which were 'the accentuation and separation of musical phrases'.[4] To a greater or lesser extent Spohr's identification of the requirements for a fine style remains valid for all conventionally notated music, and, despite the greatly expanded use of accent marks, many of the situations in which a discrete level of unmarked accentuation was expected to be introduced in late eighteenth-century music have parallels in much nineteenth-century music, especially that of composers such as Mendelssohn and Brahms, whose instincts were more firmly rooted in the Classical tradition.

Specific examples illustrating tasteful accentuation in theory and instruction books provide many indications of the circumstances in which eighteenth- and nineteenth-century musicians felt that accents should occur, even where none were indicated. But as well as giving guidance for the placement of metrical and structural accents through specific examples, various theorists catalogued general circumstances in which, unless the composer specified something different, the performer generally needed to employ a structural or expressive accent. The following pages examine some of the factors that might imply accent in the music of this period.

Indications of Accent

Slurred Groups

During the eighteenth century and for much of the nineteenth there was a strong association between accentuation and the beginning of slurred groups of notes. Despite the unqualified endorsement of this practice by many theorists, however, the association was clearly not quite as obligatory as it sometimes appears from their writings, even in the eighteenth century. As is often the case, theorists tended to reiterate rules that were expounded by earlier authors, whether or not these accurately represented the notational habits of their contemporaries. Although some degree of accentuation at the beginning of slurred groups will frequently be appropriate in late eighteenth-century music and fairly often, too, in nineteenth-century music, there will be many situations in which the slurs have no such implications, for composers had

[3] See Ch. 3.

[4] (Vienna, [1832]), trans. John Bishop as *Louis Spohr's Celebrated Violin School* (London, [1843]), 181, 182.

already begun to use this symbol in a number of quite different ways during the second half of the eighteenth century.[5]

Authors of eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century treatises were broadly agreed about the execution of slurred groups, but individual treatments of the matter reveal some interesting differences of detail. Leopold Mozart taught that 'if in a musical composition two, three, four, and even more notes be bound together by the half-circle [slur] . . . the first of such united notes must be somewhat more strongly stressed, but the remainder slurred on to it quite smoothly and more and more quietly'.[6] The musical examples which precede this statement consist of a four-bar passage repeated thirty-four times with different patterns of slurred and separate notes, and with slurs beginning frequently on metrically weak beats. He later insisted that a degree of lengthening was integral to this accentuation.[7] In Löhlein's 1774 *Anweisung zum Violinspielen*, the first explanation of the slur says simply that the notes so marked must be 'performed in one bowstroke and softly connected to each other'.[8] But when explaining patterns of stress in a melody, by means of an underlaid text, he observed: 'when two notes come on one syllable . . . both notes will be played in one bowstroke, but the first receives a special pressure, because the syllable will be enunciated on it, and the other, as it were, melts into it [*die andere gleichsam obenein gehet*].'[9]

Many writers, especially in the earlier part of the period (when very long slurs were extremely rare), considered this type of accented and nuanced execution appropriate to slurred groups of any length. The Löhlein–Witthauer *Clavier-Schule*, for instance, referred without reservation to slurred groups 'of which the first note always receives a somewhat stronger pressure';[10] and Türk gave examples of up to eight notes in a slur for which he instructed that 'the note over which the slur begins, will be very lightly (hardly noticeably) accented'.[11] Those Classical writers who made a distinction based on the length of the slurred group, generally taught that, as a rule, groups of up to three or four notes should certainly be treated in this manner whereas longer slurred groups might not be. Asioli merely instructed that in groups of three or four slurred notes: 'The accent is given to the first; the others are played with an equal degree of force.'[12] In keyboard playing Frédéric Kalkbrenner, like Hummel, Czerny, and Moscheles, similarly taught that 'Three or four slurred notes can only be performed on the Piano by leaning on the first and

[5] For more extensive and general discussion of the range of meanings of slurs, see Ch. 6.

[6] *Versuch*, VII, 1, §20. [7] See below, 'Agogic Accent'. [8] p. 32. [9] p. 53.

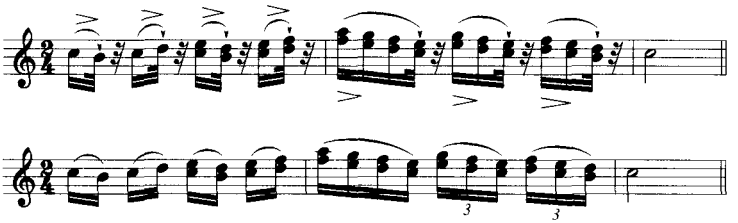
[10] Löhlein, *Clavier-Schule, oder kurze und gründliche Anweisung zur Melodie und Harmonie* (Leipzig and Züllichau, 1765), 5th edn., ed. Johann Georg Witthauer (Leipzig, 1791), 18.

[11] *Klavierschule*, VI, §38. Türk's instruction was repeated verbatim thirty years later in Friedrich Starke's *Wiener Pianoforte-Schule* (Vienna, 1819), i. 13.

[12] Bonifazio Asioli, *Principj elementari di musica* (Milan, 1809), trans. and ed. John Jousse (London, [1825]), 108.

shortening the last'[13] (Ex. 2.1); and Crelle in 1823 graphically illustrated the accentual element in slurred pairs by instructing that the first note should be forte and the second pianissimo.[14] It was in the context of piano playing that Brahms and Joachim discussed this aspect of performance in 1879, though rather with respect to articulation at the end of the slur than to accent at the beginning.[15] In 1858 the violinist Charles de Bériot recommended a small accent at the beginning of slurred groups, but no break between them.[16] But all these generalized instructions might, as their authors would undoubtedly have been the first to acknowledge, be overridden by particular musical circumstances.

Ex. 2.1. Kalkbrenner, *Méthode*, 12



Slurs that begin on metrically weak beats will often imply a displacement of accent. Milchmeyer, making no qualification about the length of slurs, observed: 'in the legato style, finally, everything hangs on the slurs and the expression which the composer wished to give to the piece; here one very often makes the weak beat strong and changes the fingers on it.'[17] Türk had also given examples of slurs beginning on weak beats, where he required a 'gentle accent', though none of his examples exceeded four notes (Ex. 2.2).[18] Philip Anthony Corri, too, expounded the general proposition that the first note of a slur, even, as he observed, were it to occur on a weak beat, would require emphasis.[19]

The association of accent with the beginning of a slur continued in theory books throughout the nineteenth century, even when composers were making much greater use of explicit accent and dynamic markings. But the association became increasingly out of touch with composers' practices, for a distinction between the symbol as an indication for legato and as a sign for the accentuation and phrasing of short figures was rarely made with clarity either by composers or theorists. Nevertheless, Mathis Lussy could still maintain without

[13] *Méthode pour apprendre le piano-forte à l'aide du guide mains* op. 108 (Paris, 1831), trans. as *Complete Course of Instruction for the Piano Forte* (London, [*c.*1835]), 12.

[14] *Einiges*, 93.

[15] See Ch. 6 below.

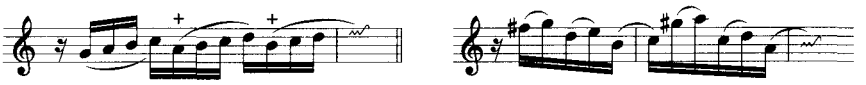
[16] *Méthode de violon* (Mainz, [1858]), 90.

[17] *Die wahre Art*, 8.

[18] *Klavierschule*, VI, §38.

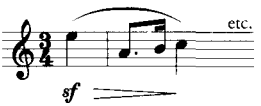
[19] *L'anima di musica* (London, 1810), 72.

Ex. 2.2. Türk, *Klavierschule*, VI, §38



qualification in 1883 that 'Every time a slur [*coulé*] begins on the last note of a bar, of a beat, it is strong. Every time the end of a slur comes on the first note of a bar, of a beat, it is weak.'[20] The contemporaneous Mendel–Reissmann *Lexikon* was more cautious about implying an inevitable link between the beginning of a slur and accent; it gives the example shown in Ex. 2.3, commenting that it 'shows a shift of the accent, which is indicated by the phrasing slur and also for greater certainty by sf and >'.[21] Many other practical and theoretical considerations indicate that, in nineteenth-century music especially, the application of accent to the beginning of a slur, however discreet, is by no means always appropriate.

Ex. 2.3. Mendel and Reissmann, *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon*, 14



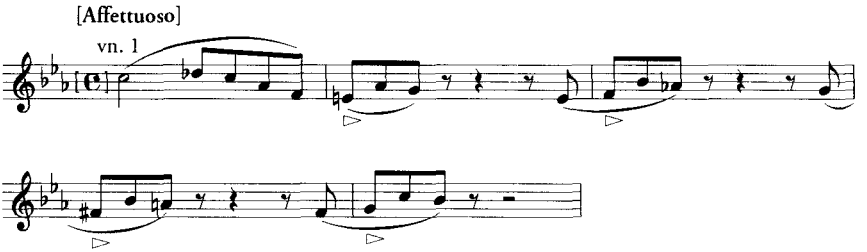
The weight of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century authority behind the idea that the first note of a short slurred group should receive greater accent and that the subsequent notes under the slur should diminuendo need not be considered to exclude other possibilities in particular circumstances. Asioli, for instance, extending the principle that ascending phrases increase in volume and descending phrases decrease in volume, instructed that in slurred ascending passages one should 'begin the passage piano and reinforce the sound to forte'.[22] (This does not, of course, necessarily exclude a slight emphasis on the first note in relation to the one immediately following.) A more important ambiguity in the slur–emphasis relationship occurs with string bowing. Here the principal accentuation or dynamic high point of the phrase may not always be intended to coincide with the beginning of the slur; this was particularly the case in works by string-playing composers. Sometimes, even in eighteenth-century music, a composer would take care to indicate the disparity between the slurring (bowing) and the accentuation, as did Vogler in his melodrama *Lampedo* (Ex. 2.4). With less fastidious composers it will be rash to assume a coincidence of slur beginning and accent as a matter of course, even

[20] *Le Rhythme musical*, 33.

[21] Hermann Mendel and August Reissmann, *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon* (Berlin, 1882), 14.

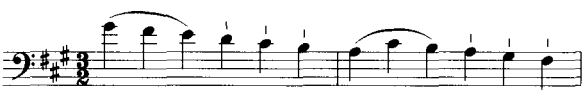
[22] *A Compendious Musical Grammar*, 108.

Ex. 2.4. Vogler, *Lampedo*, MS in Heissische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Darmstadt, mus. ms. 1097, fo. 33ᵛ; pub. in fac. in the series *German Opera 1770–1800* (New York and London, Garland, 1986)



where no alternative is indicated. This is increasingly true of nineteenth-century music, though at least from the 1830s careful composers would seldom have left such things to chance.[23] However, there are many problematic cases in music from the period of transition between the earlier use of the slur predominantly to articulate short figures and its later widespread employment as a less specialized indication for legato. Even in the case of short slurs in string music, especially when the composer was a string player, there may well be a tension between the slur as bowing instruction and the slur as an indication for an accent-diminuendo delivery. Justus Johann Friedrich Dotzauer, in his *Violoncell-Schule*, for instance, cautioned the student to make an accent within a slur where this was necessary to maintain the integrity of the metre, observing, with respect to Ex. 2.5: 'On account of the metre the third of the slurred notes must be somewhat staccato [*muss . . . etwas abgestossen werden*], otherwise it could easily give the effect of triplets.'[24]

Ex. 2.5. Dotzauer, *Violoncell-Schule*, 33



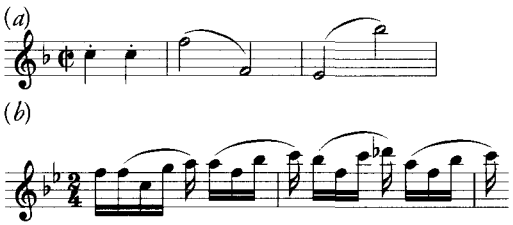
Only in the case of slurred pairs were musicians more or less agreed throughout the period that a distinctive treatment was called for, and it was solely with respect to paired notes that Franklin Taylor in the 1880s unreservedly employed the term 'slur', observing: 'When two notes of equal length in quick or moderately quick tempo are joined together by a curved line they are said to be *slurred*,

[23] See Ch. 3, esp. Ex. 3.63.

[24] *Violoncell-Schule für den ersten Unterricht* (Vienna, [*c.*1836]), 18. It is noteworthy here that he evidently uses the term *abgestossen* (staccato) primarily in its sense of accent, since a simple shortening of the third note would have the opposite consequence of enhancing the triplet effect.

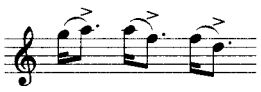
and in playing them a considerable stress is laid on the first of the two, while the second is not only weaker, but is made shorter than it is written, as though followed by a rest.'[25] But even where only two notes were joined in this way he remarked that there were exceptions, writing: 'When the curved line is drawn over two notes of considerable length, or in slow tempo, it is not a slur, but merely a sign of legato' (Ex. 2.6(*a*)), and in contrast to earlier writers such as Kalkbrenner and Czerny he remarked that the sign indicated legato rather than a slur 'if it covers a group of three or more notes', except where it is extended to 'end upon an accented note, then an effect analogous to the slur is intended' (Ex. 2.6(*b*)).[26]

Ex. 2.6. Taylor, 'Phrasing', in Grove, *Dictionary*



Another exception to the accentuation of the beginning of slurred pairs, at least in some musicians' practice, seems to have been the performance of 'scotch snap' figures, where a number of writers mention that the accent should occur on the second note of each pair. In his discussion of musical accent Pietro Lichtenthal gave the illustration shown in Ex. 2.7.[27] Similarly Justin Heinrich Knecht, after discussing the accentuation of long–short dotted figures, remarked: 'if, however, the dot stands after the second note of a figure of two notes or after the second and fourth notes of a figure of four notes, so the accent and the weight fall on the second and fourth notes; on the other hand the first and third notes are quickly dispatched, as follows' (Ex. 2.8).[28] Though Knecht shows no slurs these are implicit, being normally understood to be present in such figures. In contrast, however, Türk, echoing C. P. E. Bach, stated that in

Ex. 2.7. Lichtenthal, *Dizionario*, art. 'Accento musicale'



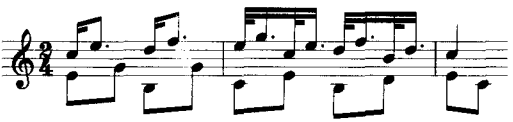
[25] In 'Phrasing', in George Grove, ed., *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ii. 706 ff. (He is here referring to piano music. For further discussion of the articulation of slurred pairs see Ch. 6 below.)

[26] 'Phrasing', in Grove, *Dictionary*, ii. 707.

[27] *Dizionario e bibliographia della musica* (Milan, 1826), art. 'Accento musicale'.

[28] *Knechts allgemeiner musikalischer Katechismus* (Biberach, 1803), 4th edn. (Freiburg, 1816), 34.

Ex. 2.8. Knecht, *Katechismus*, 34

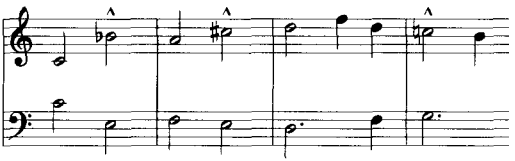


these figures: 'The first (short) note, of course, is to be accented but the emphasis should be only a very gentle one';[29] while J. F. Schubert felt that a very slight accent on the first note might sometimes be appropriate, but that neither note of the figure should be especially accented, and he particularly warned against making the first note of the pair significantly shorter than its notated length (as some theorists advised) or articulating markedly between the pairs.[30] A further exception was, in some musicians' opinions, where there were rising two-note figures, particularly rising semitone appoggiaturas, which were considered to require a crescendo treatment.

Dissonance and Chromatic Notes

One of the chief reasons for stressing an appoggiatura was its dissonance. There was a widely held view in the eighteenth century that all dissonances implied a special degree of emphasis. Quantz advised strengthening chromatic notes, explaining that the degree of accent was determined by the intensity of the dissonance; and he detailed three classes of dissonance, according to the intensity of accent required.[31] Leopold Mozart was among the musicians who instructed that accentuation was required on a dissonant note or on one that prepares a dissonant interval, and on a chromatic note or a melody note that occurs over chromatic harmony.[32] Similar advice was repeated by J. F. Schubert in 1804; he observed that notes belonging to a foreign tonality should be accented, so long as they were not too short (Ex. 2.9), and he added: 'the more foreign or distant the tonality, the more emphasis the note which prepares or

Ex. 2.9. Schubert, *Neue Singe-Schule*, 133



[29] Türk, *Klavierschule*, VI, §48; Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* (Berlin, 1753), i. III, §24. Various other matters connected with this kind of figure are considered in Ch. 6 below.

[30] *Neue Singe-Schule*, 132.

[31] *Versuch*, XVII, 2, §14 and XVII, 6, §14.

[32] Ibid., XII, §8.

makes evident the tonality must receive'.[33] Türk made much the same points about dissonances, notes preparing a dissonance, or chromatic notes that required accentuation, but having stated that the harder a dissonance is, or the more dissonant notes there are in a chord, 'the stronger must one strike the harmony', he very sensibly cautioned: 'But this rule cannot and ought not always be followed to the letter, because too many changes might then ensue'.[34]

The association of dissonance and accent continued throughout the nineteenth century. Frédéric Kalkbrenner required that 'all notes foreign to the key and those which bear an accidental should be well marked'.[35] Bernhard Romberg, having instructed that a descending scale should diminish in volume, added: 'But if, in the descending scale, a note should occur at the end which does not belong to the key in which the music is written, this note will require a stronger accent, and there are very few cases in which it will not be made a prominent feature of the passage'.[36] A musician of the next generation, Manuel García, also insisted on accenting dissonances in singing, stating: 'The stress, too, should always be laid on notes which, requiring nice and delicate intonation, are difficult to seize,—such, for instance, as dissonancies [*sic*]'.[37]

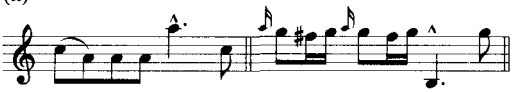
Pitch

Just as a dissonance was to be emphasized because, by its very nature, it gave prominence to the beat on which it occurred, so a particularly high or low note, especially if it were separated by a considerable interval from the preceding note, was likely to require a more forceful delivery. Thus, Leopold Mozart advised accenting particularly high or low notes following a leap. He also suggested emphasizing high notes in lively pieces, even on a weak beat, but cautioned against doing so in slow or sad ones[38] (see above, Ex. 1.10). Türk and J. F. Schubert gave similar advice (Ex. 2.10).[39] Kalkbrenner and Henri Herz seem to reflect a general opinion in suggesting that the highest note of an ascending phrase or phrase unit should be played louder than its neighbours, and that, whereas an isolated low note might be played loudly, one that came at the end of a descending phrase would normally be very gently delivered unless the composer specified the contrary or unless, as Romberg implied, some other factor, such as dissonant harmony, also exerted an influence.[40]

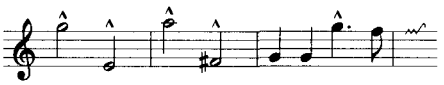
[33] *Neue Singe-Schule*, 133.
[34] *Klavierschule*, VI, §32.
[35] *Complete Course*, 12.
[36] *Méthode*, 128.
[37] *New Treatise*, 52.
[38] *Versuch*, XII, §13.
[39] Türk, *Klavierschule*, VI, §15; Schubert, *Neue Singe-Schule*, 133.
[40] Kalkbrenner, *Complete Course*, 12; Herz, *Méthode complète de piano* op. 100 (Mainze and Anvers, 1838), 32.

Ex. 2.10. (*a*) Türk, *Klavierschule*, VI, 2, §15; (*b*) Schubert, *Neue Singe-Schule*, 133

(*a*)



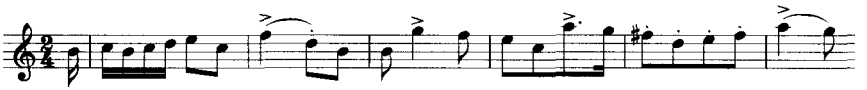
(*b*)



Length

Similar principles were applied to long and short notes within a phrase. According to Leopold Mozart, a note distinguished from its neighbours by greater length would be emphatic.[41] Kirnberger stated simply 'Longer note values are always performed with more weight and emphasis than shorter ones'.[42] Philip Corri observed: 'Emphasis should be generally placed on the longest and highest note of a sentence, and a note that is dotted among equal notes' (Ex. 2.11).[43] Hummel likewise commented: 'If after a short note occupying the accented time of the measure, a longer note should succeed on the unaccented time, the latter usually requires an emphasis',[44] while Czerny insisted that, in general, long notes be strongly accented.[45] Later in the century Lussy continued to promulgate this notion, commenting that a long note that follows several shorter ones 'acquires great force'.[46]

Ex. 2.11. P. A. Corri, *L'anima di musica*, 72



Syncopation

The rule of accenting individual syncopated notes that occur in an otherwise unsyncopated melody seems closely related to the principle that long notes should be more emphatic than short ones. The degree of emphasis appropriate to a particular syncopated note would, of course, depend on its length, prominence or function.

[41] Mozart, *Versuch*, XII, §8.

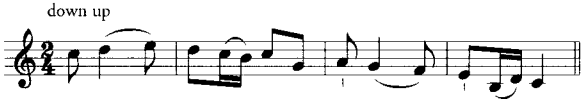
[42] *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes*, ii, 4, §116; trans. David Beach and Jurgen Thym (New Haven and London, 1982), 384.

[43] *L'anima di musica*, 72. [44] *A Complete*, iii. 54 n. [45] *Pianoforte School*, iii. 21.

[46] *Traité de l'expression musicale: Accents, nuances et mouvements dans la musique vocale et instrumentale* (Paris, 1874), 6th edn. (Paris, 1892), trans. M. E. von Glehn as *Musical Expression* (London, [*c.*1885]), 129–30. (For the implications of the term 'vibrato' in such contexts see below, Ch. 14, esp. pp. 518 ff.)

Syncopation was, however, often described as a displacement of the metrical accent. John Jousse expressed the conventional view, commenting: 'When syncopated notes happen the Emphasis lays on them contrary to the Rules of Accent'.[47] Knecht was more explicit: 'Although its first half comes on a weak part of the bar, one commonly gives [the beginning of] a syncopated note a stronger emphasis than its second half which comes on a strong part of the bar, even if there is no accent sign above or below it.'[48] Leopold Mozart, from the practical viewpoint, advised the violinist that in playing a given passage that included a syncopation (Ex. 2.12) 'You must not forget to attack the middle note rather more strongly with the up stroke; and to slur the third note smoothly on to it with a gradual fading away of the tone'.[49] In the context of tempo rubato (see below, Ch. 11), therefore, where syncopation might continue for some time, the metrical accent in the melody could be at odds with that of its accompaniment for a considerable period.

Ex. 2.12. L. Mozart, *Versuch*, IV, §23

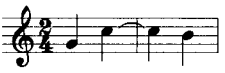


Yet, although most authorities seem to have been in agreement about the accentuation of syncopated notes, a few authors suggested that, in certain circumstances at least, syncopated notes might receive the accent on the part of the note that occurred on the normal metrical strong beat. In the original edition of his *Violinschule* Leopold Mozart unreservedly condemned this practice. Discussing ties, he gave the following example shown in Ex. 2.13 and commented:

> It is bad enough that people exist who flatter themselves greatly on their art and who yet cannot play a minim, yea, hardly a crotchet without dividing it into two parts. If one wished to have two notes, one would certainly write them down. Such notes must be attacked strongly and, with a gradual dying away, be sustained without after-pressure; just as the sound of a bell, when struck sharply, by degrees dies away.[50]

And in his consideration of performance style in general he returned to the point, observing: 'the notes which are divided by the bar-line must never be

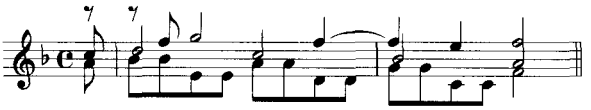
Ex. 2.13. L. Mozart, *Versuch*, I, 3, §18



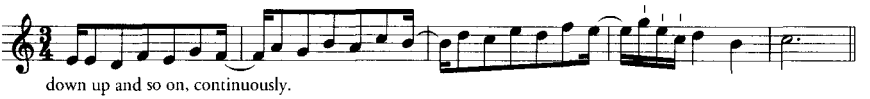
[47] *Theory and Practice of the Violin*, 43. See also Callcott, *Musical Grammar*, 44.
[48] *Katechismus*, 28. [49] *Versuch*, IV, §23. [50] Ibid. I, 3, §18 n.

separated; neither must the division be marked by an accent but must be merely attacked and quietly sustained; not otherwise than if it stood at the beginning of a crotchet.'[51] He illustrated the point with the example shown in Ex. 2.14. But in his 1787 revision of the book he added an additional footnote to one passage of syncopation (Ex. 2.15): 'This is the only case in which it is customary to mark the division of the notes by a perceptible after-pressure of the bow. That is to say: when several such notes follow each other in a quick tempo.'[52]

Ex. 2.14. L. Mozart, *Versuch*, XII, §16



Ex. 2.15. L. Mozart, *Versuch*, IV, §27



J. A. P. Schulz also appears to recommend this kind of treatment for isolated syncopations, commenting on one of his examples (see above, Ex. 1.16): 'The syncopated notes in the seventh bar are certainly not real main notes; but one only wanted to show here that one has to perform such notes like main notes, namely firmly and emphatically, and the second half of them will be strengthened with a jerk in order to make the strong beat of the bar felt.'[53]

Some early nineteenth-century authors also seem to suggest this as a legitimate way of performing syncopation. Romberg illustrated something of this kind; giving advice for performing the passage in Ex. 2.16(*a*) he remarked that it might be played as if notated as in Ex. 2.16(*b*) (the staccato marks under the tie imply accent, as was common in German usage (see below, pp. 98 ff.)), and he instructed that 'in playing the third and fifth quavers a slight jerk be given to the bow'.[54] Baillot, too, described a similar treatment of syncopation (Ex. 2.17) as the first of three principal styles of performing such figures, commenting

Ex. 2.16. Romberg, *A Complete*, 42

(*a*) (*b*)

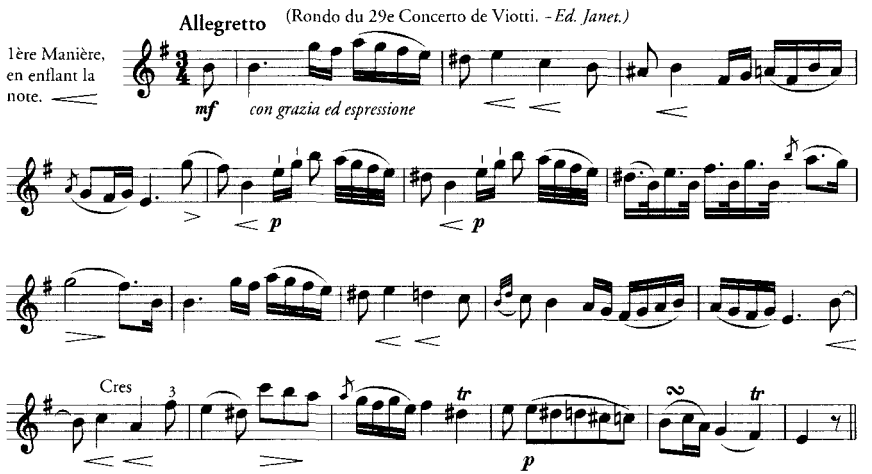
[51] *Versuch*, XII, §16.

[52] Ibid. IV, §27 (1787 edn. footnote).

[53] In Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 2nd edn. iv, 703.

[54] *A Complete*, 42.

Ex. 2.17. Baillot, *L'Art du violon*, 135



that one made it 'By swelling the note and accelerating the speed of the bow right up to the end of the note, but lightly'.[55]

Such approaches to the performance of syncopation are at odds with modern orthodoxy, which, like Leopold Mozart's earlier handling of the subject, stresses that it is always bad style to accent the second half of the note. It is possible, however, despite Mozart's explicit prohibition of that practice, that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was a greater tendency to press on the second half of an isolated syncopation when dissonance occurred at that point; and Baillot's and Romberg's discussions of the subject indicate that (except in keyboard playing, where such an effect was impossible) this kind of treatment may not infrequently have been made a feature of the passage.

Beaming

Beaming may sometimes have served, to a certain extent, to indicate phrase groupings and therefore accent,[56] especially in passages of unslurred notes or within a general legato context. It was, however, a very uncertain way of showing accent or phrasing, since only quavers and faster note values have beams, and in many contexts there is little scope for modifying the beaming from conventional groupings. Nevertheless, there are many occasions where Classical and Romantic composers seem to have used this device with the deliberate intention of showing where the accents or phrase divisions were to fall. This

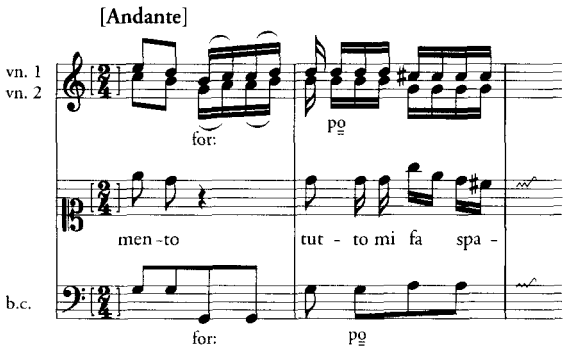
[55] Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot, *L'Art du violon: Nouvelle méthode* (Paris, 1834), 135–7.

[56] See e.g. music example i) on p. 355 of Türk's *Klavierschule*, where both slurring and beaming from weak- to strong-beat quavers are used.

notational practice was described and illustrated by Schulz as a means favoured by some composers for indicating where the phrase divisions should fall (see Ex. 4.4 below). In many cases such peculiarities of notation have been ironed out in later editions, even so-called critical editions.

There were, however, various reasons that might induce a composer to use this type of notation. J. C. Bach commonly separated the first of a group of quavers to indicate the notes to which a forte followed by a piano was intended to apply, for instance in *Lucio Silla* (Ex. 2.18); and this practice seems to have been followed by many of his contemporaries. In such cases the meaning was precisely opposite to that of the breaks in beaming that indicated the end of one phrase and the beginning of another, since it made the note following the interruption in the beaming weaker rather than stronger than the separated note.

Ex. 2.18. J. C. Bach, *Lucio Silla*, Act II, Scene vii, pub. in *The Collected Works of Johann Christian Bach*, viii (New York and London, Garland 1986)

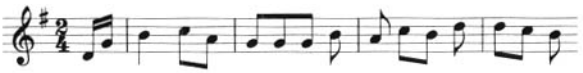


A number of early nineteenth-century writers explicitly acknowledged that the first note of groups that are beamed together contrary to the usual conventions should receive an accent. J. W. Callcott gave an example from Haydn to illustrate how a composer might employ this device (Ex. 2.19).[57] Beethoven used modified beaming on many occasions where it evidently has implications for both accent and phrasing (Ex. 2.20); but there are other occasions where inconsistency of notation (caused partly by a conflict between convenient shorthand and intentionally irregular beaming) confuses the issue. In the first movement of the Fifth Symphony, for instance, the separation of the three-note figure (Ex. 2.21(*a*)) from the first note of the bar does not always seem to be significant, though at times it certainly is (Ex. 2.21(*b*)).

Weber often used irregular beaming to clarify phrasing. Sometimes this implied accent on the first note of a beamed group, as when he beamed pairs of

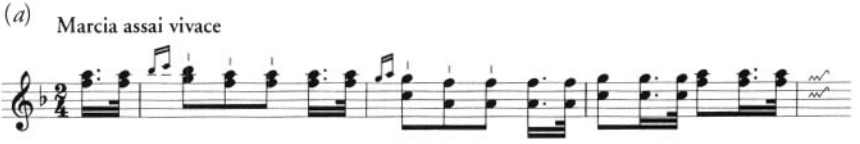
[57] *Musical Grammar*, 44; also in Jousse, *Theory and Practice of the Violin*, 43.

Ex. 2.19. Callcott, *Musical Grammar*, 44



Ex. 2.20. Beethoven: (*a*) *Chorfantasie* op. 80; (*b*) String Quartet op. 132/v

(*a*)



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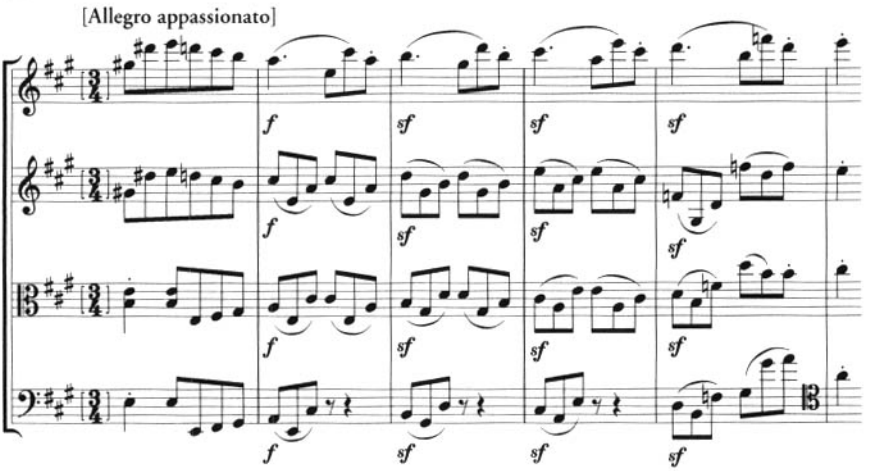
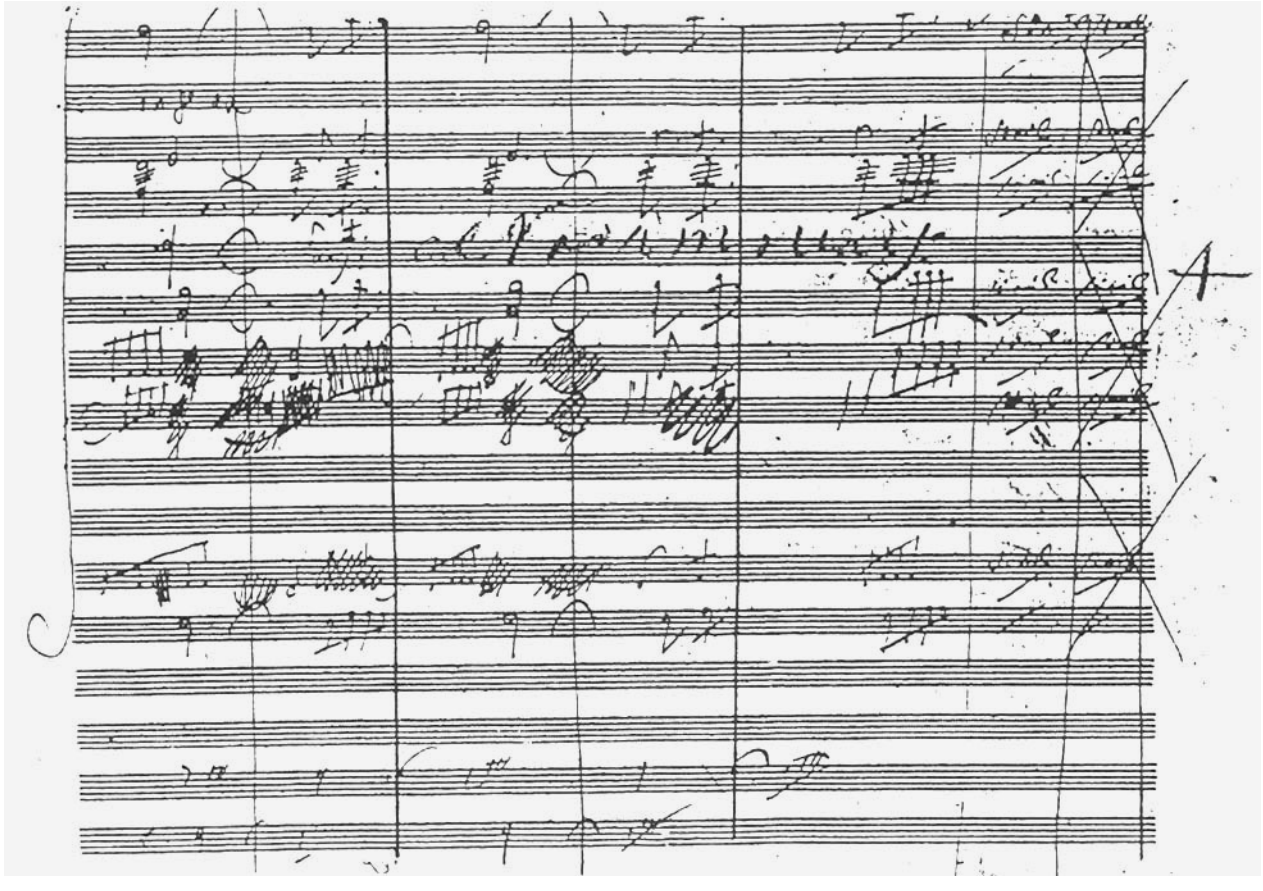


notes contrary to the normal notational convention, or sometimes it merely showed where a phrase should be articulated, particularly when accompanying voices (Ex. 2.22). Schubert, too, seems to have considered abnormal beaming to be of significance. In the autograph of the Andante of his String Trio D. 581, for instance, he clearly began by writing separate quavers in the viola and cello parts but then, having altered the first occurrences, subsequently wrote them with a beam from metrically weak to strong beats. In bars 14–15 of the cello part he even wrote the beam across the bar-line. That Schubert wanted to reinforce the irregular accentuation is suggested by the simultaneously occurring accents in the violin melody in bars 5 and 6 (Ex. 2.23). Among later composers who used modified beaming, sometimes across a bar-line, with evident implications of accent and phrasing were Schumann, Brahms, and Tchaikovsky (Ex. 2.24). The example from Tchaikovsky is particularly interesting because it shows how, in the string parts, the slurring seems to have limited implications of phrasing, for the change from fours to pairs, as comparison with the

Ex. 2.21. Beethoven, Fifth Symphony op. 67/i



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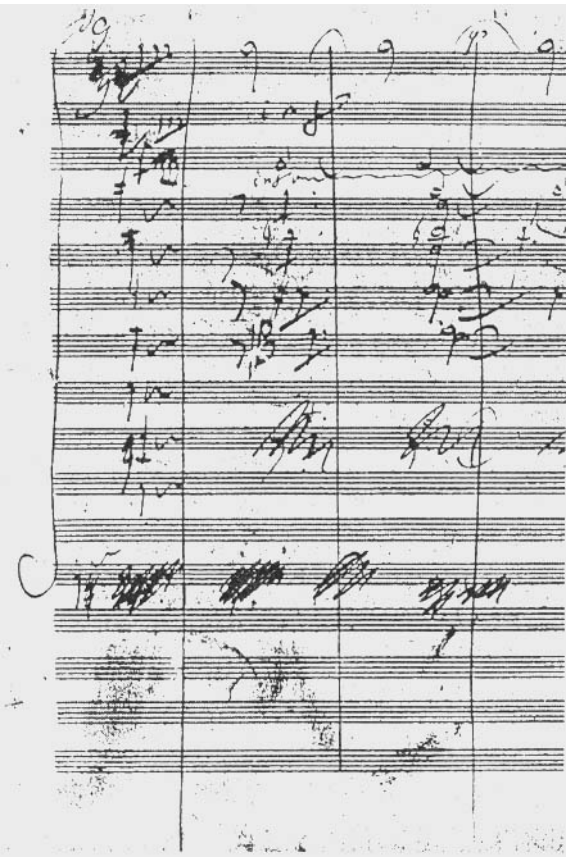
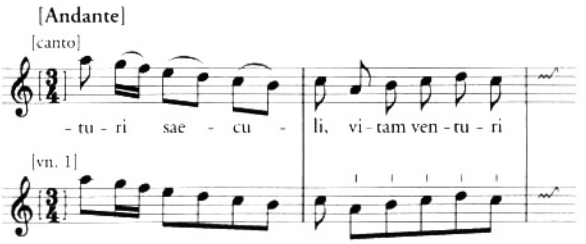


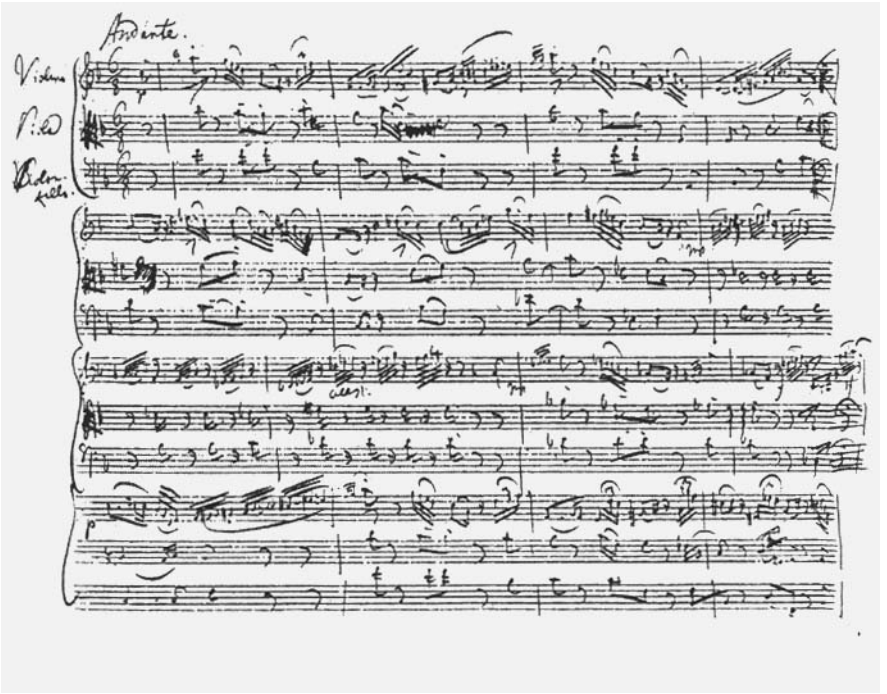
Ex. 2.22. Weber, Mass in E flat J. 224, Credo



flutes suggests, is merely to permit the players to use more bow for the crescendo.

In the early nineteenth century August Eberhardt Müller linked the beaming of triplets in threes and sextuplets in sixes with their accentuation, saying that in triplets 'the first of the three notes is gently accented while in sextuplets

Ex. 2.23. Schubert, String Trio D. 581/ii



only the first of six notes' receives an accent (Ex. 2.25).[58] Gottfried Weber, on the other hand, somewhat pedantically insisting on the metrical accentuation of sextuplets, instructed that they should be accented in groups of two notes. (Ex. 2.26)[59]

Final Notes

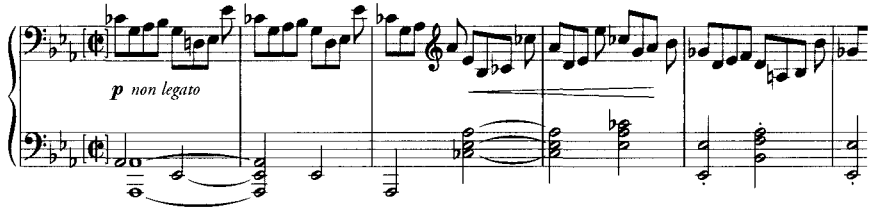
The rule that musical units should generally begin powerfully and progressively decline in force, was outlined by Crelle, as mentioned earlier, and many other musicians of the period. The majority view implies that in most contexts the final note of a phrase, though receiving the appropriate metrical accent, would be unlikely to have an expressive accent. But an occasional dissenting opinion can be found; Kalkbrenner, for instance, observed that 'the first and last notes of a passage should be more energetic than the rest'.[60] Hummel's examples of appropriate accentuation show some final notes gently accented, some more forcibly accented and some without any particular accent.[61]

[58] *A. E. Müller's Klavier- und Fortepiano Schule* (Jena, 1804), 16. This book is an expanded edition of Löhlein's *Klavierschule.*

[59] *Theory*, i. 90. [60] *A New Method*, 12. [61] *A Complete*, III, 54–9.

Ex. 2.24. (*a*) Schumann, Piano Quintet op. 44/i; (*b*) Brahms, String Quartet op. 51/2/i; (*c*) Tchaikovsky, *Symphonie pathétique* op. 74/i

(*a*)



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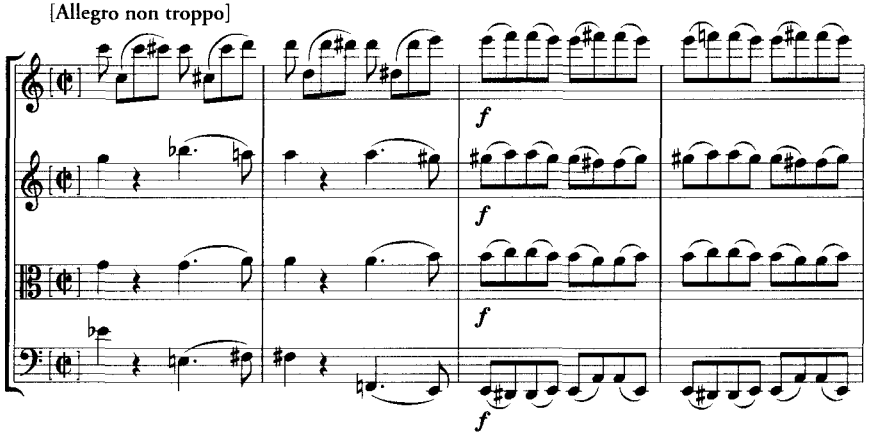
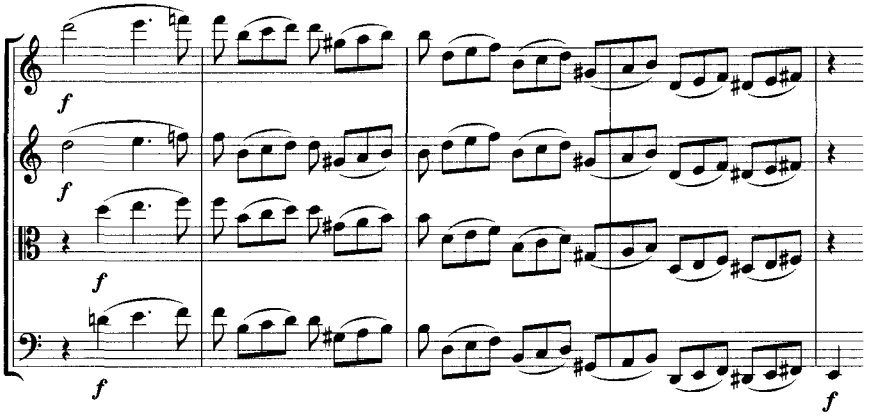
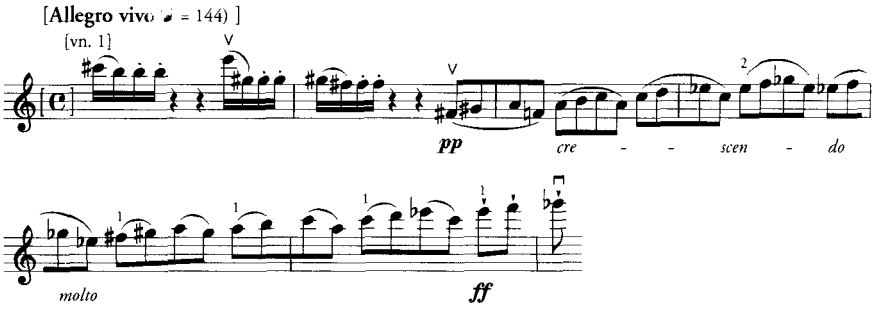




Ex. 2.24. *cont.* (.)



Ex. 2.25. Müller, *Klavier und Fortepiano Schule*, 16

Ex. 2.26. G. Weber, *Theory of Composition*, i. 90

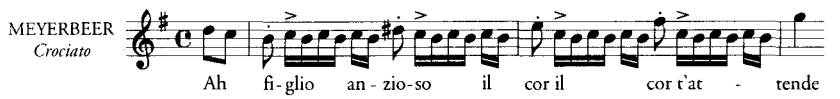
There seems to have been one important exception to the principle enunciated by Crelle and others, and it may have been quite widespread. Philip Corri, writing about keyboard playing, agreed with the majority view when he noted that 'the final note of a phrase [is] never to be played with emphasis unless marked'; but he added: 'N.B. this rule is quite reversed in singing as the last note should be sung with firmness and sustained long'.[62] Here he was echoing an aspect of the teaching of his father, Domenico Corri,[63] and, perhaps a principle of the eighteenth-century Italian school.

Other Factors

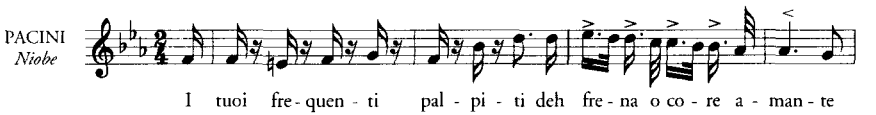
Other criteria for the performer to apply emphasis where none was specifically notated were given by musical writers throughout the period; each author had slightly different advice to offer, sometimes of a generalized nature and sometimes applied to particular examples. Manuel García recommended that the first note of every repetition of a similar figure should be distinguished by greater weight (Ex. 2.27); he felt that this was particularly applicable to passages of dotted notes (Ex. 2.28) and that in certain circumstances the short note of the figure, too, should be accented (Ex. 2.29). He also suggested that use might be made of the so-called contra-tempo (Ex. 2.30).[64] J. F. Schubert had given

[62] *L'anima di musica*, 73. [63] *The Singer's Preceptor* (London, 1810). [64] *New Treatise*, 52–4.

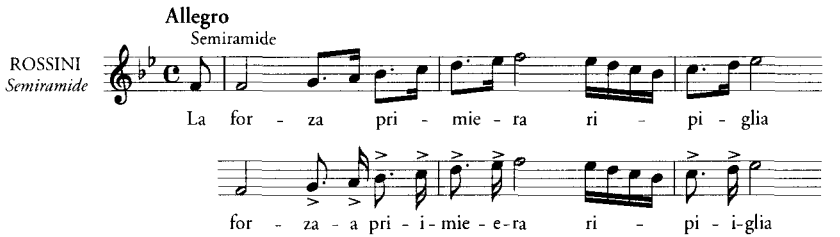
Ex. 2.27. García, *New Treatise*, 52



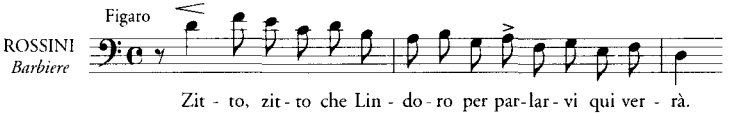
Ex. 2.28. García, *New Treatise*, 52



Ex. 2.29. García, *New Treatise*, 54

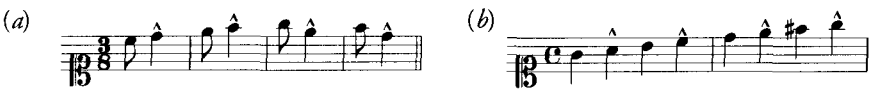


Ex. 2.30. García, *New Treatise*, 52



similar counsel a couple of generations earlier, remarking: 'In very special cases the notes which fall on the weak beat [may be accented].' He gave two examples (Ex. 2.31), but added: 'In the case of (b) one would do well to observe that the notes marked with ^ must only receive a gentle emphasis, otherwise the melody could easily become bizarre. One always does better not to accent notes of this kind if one cannot rely on one's taste or if they are not specifically marked *f* or *pf* [poco forte] by the composer.'[65] Schubert also made another point, which he regarded as relevant to some of the vocal music of his period; he noted that whereas the principal rule for singers was to take account of the words in accenting the melody, there were cases where the composer had evidently

Ex. 2.31. Schubert, *Neue Singe-Schule*, 134



[65] *Neue Singe-Schule*, 134.

subordinated the words to the melody, and in these cases the singer should take care to adapt his accentuation to the melody rather than the words.

Types of Accent and their Realization

There were a number of ways in which accents would have been realized in performance during this period, and the sort of accentuation that would have been regarded as appropriate to particular contexts is often difficult to determine. As Koch remarked: 'the manner in which the emphasis of these notes is brought out is really easier to feel than to describe'; but he went on to identify the principal aspects of accentuation, including the statement that it 'consists partly in a certain emphatic lingering, whereby it appears as if one remains a moment longer on such an accented note than its specific duration requires'.[66]

Agogic Accent

The question of what Koch meant by lingering is related to the vexed problem of inequality, and the extent to which related procedures may have been applied during this period. It is important to distinguish, however, between:

1. 'inequality' as a specific term for a technique applied to specific note values, or types of passages, in particular circumstances, as occurred in French and French-influenced music;
2. the rendition of certain notes in performance, according to well-established conventions, with different values from the written ones, for example, dotted rhythms and some triplet patterns;[67] and
3. a more or less obvious deviation from notated values that may have been applied from time to time by performers, following the dictates of their own taste, for expressive purposes.

The last of these encompasses what Riemann designated the agogic accent, but is also directly related to the matter of rubato in its various meanings.[68]

There are numerous references to what Koch described as 'emphatic lingering' in the literature of the period 1750–1900. But before examining more closely what may have been implied by these references it is necessary to consider the German terminology, in which 'internally long' (*innerlich lang*) and 'internally short' (*innerlich kurz*) were used for strong and weak beats respectively. There has been a degree of uncertainty and confusion about whether the nomenclature implied a real chronometric lengthening of the notes that fell on these beats. It seems clear, however, that, for the most part, the terminology (which derives from that of poetry) is not to be understood as indicating that

[66] *Musikalisches Lexikon*, art. 'Accent'. [67] See Ch. 16, 'The Variable Dot'. [68] See Ch. 11.

all strong beats, which were by definition internally long, would have been expected to be lengthened in duration, even to a minimal degree, although this may easily be inferred from some mid-eighteenth-century treatments of the subject, such as Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg's.[69] Koch, whose use of the terminology is very similar to Marpurg's, was at pains to explain that he did not consider 'long' in this context to mean actually of longer duration; in his *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*, commenting on the relationship between stressed and unstressed in pairs of consecutively sounded notes, he observed: 'one of them will be perceived by the hearing as longer (that is really to say, with more emphasis), and that therefore it expresses more inner worth than the other'.[70] In the early nineteenth century, Gottfried Weber adopted a more explicit terminology for his discussion of metrical accentuation, seemingly to avoid the ambiguity of earlier expressions, writing of internal weight rather than length.[71]

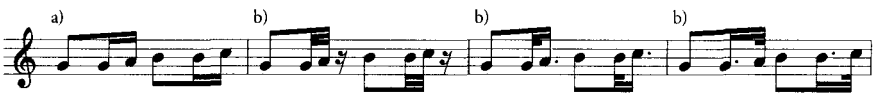
It is, nevertheless, undoubtedly true that in the middle of the eighteenth century a form of unequal performance similar to, but almost certainly less pronounced than the French *notes inégales* was current among some German and Italian musicians. Quantz made detailed recommendations about lengthening notes that, according to the rules of metrical accent, fall on the internally long beats; though, as in the French tradition, this was limited to specific circumstances.[72] He regarded the procedure as appropriate to 'the quickest notes in every piece of moderate tempo, or even in the Adagio' and instructs that this stressing and lengthening must be given to the first, third, fifth, and seventh note of each figure (assuming the figure starts on the beat). Exceptions to this rule occur if the notes have staccato marks, if several notes are repeated at the same pitch, if more than two notes come under a slur, or in quaver passagework in a gigue. In the case of passagework that is too quick to permit unequal execution (i.e. very fast passagework in instrumental music and moderately fast passagework in vocal music), the first of each group of four notes was to receive this treatment. Quantz's account does not make it clear how pronounced a lengthening he required, though he stated that it should not be as much as if the note were dotted. There seem to be no direct rejections of this aspect of Quantz's teaching in the three or four decades during which his book remained a respected source of authority, unless we take J. F. Reichardt's caution against constantly marking 'the accentuation of the notes—of which Herr Quantz says so much'[73] as a criticism of his approach. Nevertheless, since other German writers failed to reiterate Quantz's instructions, it seems probable that his highly stylized description of the technique, tied rather to metrical than expressive accent, does not accurately represent normal practice in Germany even at

[69] *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst* (Berlin, 1760–4) i. 99 (letter 13, §2).
[70] *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition* (Rudolstadt and Leipzig, 1782–93), ii. 273.
[71] *Theory*, i. 90. [72] *Versuch*, XI, §12. [73] *Ueber die Pflichten*, 28.

the time the book was published, and that, by the 1770s at any rate, few musicians would have been employing the type of unequal performance he described.

Yet, while there is no suggestion that any form of inequality was employed as a matter of rule in the late eighteenth century or the nineteenth century, there are indications that some performers were in the habit of spontaneously converting patterns of equal notes into dotted patterns. Whether this occurred through carelessness similar to that implied by Türk when he complained that the phrase marked *a*) in Ex. 2.32 often came out as one of the three versions marked *b*),[74] or whether as a conscious modification of the notated patterns is uncertain. Manuel García, for instance, felt it necessary to comment after explaining the desirability of strongly accenting dotted notes: 'Much as we acknowledge the necessity of strongly pointing [over-dotting] the above examples [see Ex. 2.28 above], and others of a similar character, we reprobate the habit of pointing [dotting] notes of equal value.'[75]

Ex. 2.32. Türk, *Klavierschule*, I, §63



Leopold Mozart, whose *Violinschule* was published only four years after the appearance of Quantz's book, gives a rather different account of where and how he wished the performer to lengthen notes. He agreed with Quantz about the necessity for stressing the metrically strong beat and about lengthening and stressing the first note of slurred pairs, but rather than prescribing this for the fastest notes in a piece he stated that it should be applied to crotchets or quavers in 2/2 and 3/2, quavers or semiquavers in 4/4, 2/4, and 3/4, and semiquavers in 3/8 and 6/8 (though this may have been intended to indicate the same thing as Quantz's instructions). However, Mozart said nothing about lengthening separate notes. His description also gives the impression that the lengthening he required was to be subtler and less obtrusive than Quantz's, but the first sentence of the following extract makes it clear that, where slurs were concerned, he regarded a degree of lengthening as obligatory in a tasteful performance:

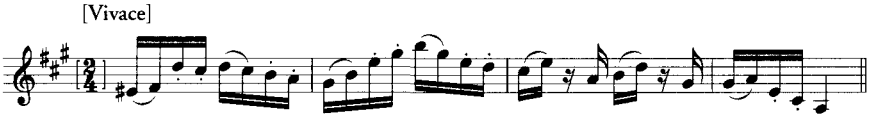
The first of two, three, four, or even more notes, slurred together, must *at all times* [my italics] be stressed more strongly and sustained a little longer; but those following must diminish in tone and be slurred on somewhat later. But this must be carried out with such good judgement that the bar-length is not altered in the smallest degree. The slight sustaining of

[74] *Klavierschule*, I, §63. [75] *New Treatise*, 54.

the first note must not only be made agreeable to the ear by a nice apportioning of the slightly hurried notes slurred on to it, but must even be made truly pleasant to the listener.[76]

A few years later, Löhlein, in the accompanying explanation to one of the practice pieces in his violin treatise, which contained slurred pairs on adjacent notes (Ex. 2.33), instructed the pupil: 'The first of the slurred notes receives a special pressure and is sustained somewhat longer than the notation requires; the other is delivered more weakly and shorter; the third and fourth are played with a short staccato in the middle of the bow.'[77] This instruction was retained in later editions, including the fourth of 1797, which was extensively revised by J. F. Reichardt. From other evidence it seems likely that there was a fairly widespread tendency to apply agogic accent to slurred pairs throughout the eighteenth century.

Ex. 2.33. Löhlein, *Anweisung zum Violinspielen*, 79



By no means all discussions of accentuation in the second half of the eighteenth century are as explicit as those of Quantz and Mozart with respect to the circumstances in which lengthening should occur. Indeed, many musicians seem to have regarded agogic accent as a resource that performers might introduce at their own discrimination. Thus, comparison of Domenico Corri's version of J. C. Bach's 'Nel partir bell' idol mio' with the original published edition reveals instances where slurred pairs that Bach originally notated with equal note values become dotted, but also others where this is not so (see Ex. 12.7 below).

Towards the end of the century and in the early years of the nineteenth century, writers, while continuing to insist that the technique of lingering on accented notes was an essential aspect of expressive performance, treated the matter in a generally freer manner; it was no longer to be applied by rule, but rather according to the individual performer's creative conception. In this respect, attitudes reflect changing musical aesthetics and the notions of Romantic individualism found in the writings of Jean Paul Richter, Wackenroder, E. T. A. Hoffmann, and others. It is typical of this freer attitude that J. F. Schubert in his 1804 *Neue Singe-Schule*, having discussed various situations in which expressive accentuation is appropriate, added: 'It is still to be noted about the notes which should be accented, that from time to time they are also dwelt on longer'.[78] Elsewhere in the book, however, he advised:

[76] *Versuch*, VII, 2, §5. [77] *Anweisung*, 79. [78] p. 134.