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AN INTRICATE SIMPLICITY: CONTRARIES AS AN
EVOCAION OF THE SUBLIME IN MOZART'S
JUPITER SYMPHONY, K. 551

A Thesis Presented for the
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Emily Michelle Wuchner
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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the eighteenth-century aesthetic of the sublime in application to Mozart's Symphony No. 41 *Jupiter*, K. 551. Using Immanuel Kant's definition of the mathematical sublime and Johan Georg Sulzer's idea of the sublime, I argue that Mozart achieves this aesthetic through the synthesis of stylistic opposites: the learned and the galant. The culmination of such is best articulated in the fugue found in the Coda of the fourth movement. In this segment, Mozart combines five galant motives into a learned fugue; this intricate combination of stylistic opposites creates an elevated effect, one in keeping with eighteenth-century philosophies of the sublime. Drawing from my own experiences, I further argue for the subjectivity of the sublime and discuss its occurrence both in composition and as emotion.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	vii
Chapter 1 “In my pocket”: Mozart’s <i>Jupiter</i> and the sublime	1
Statement of Problem and Thesis.....	7
Methodology and Scope.....	8
Rhetoric	13
Sublime.....	19
Learned.....	26
Review of Literature.....	32
Overview of Remaining Chapters	37
Chapter 2 “What fire & spirit”: The symphony in Mozart’s Vienna.....	41
The Viennese Symphony	42
Mozart’s Symphonic Purpose and the “Trilogy”	46
The <i>Jupiter</i>	50
The Symphony as an Idea	54
Chapter 3 “Simplicity and sophistication”: Mozart’s use of learned and galant styles	59
Topics	60
Rhetoric	61
The Learned Style	62
The Galant Style.....	66
Juxtaposing the Learned and Galant	68
Chapter 4 “It brings us near to the infinite”: Music and the sublime	75
Music as Absolute	76
The Theoretical Sublime	78
Music as Sublime	84
The Sublime as Subjective	94
Chapter 5 “Never as simple as they seem”: The <i>Jupiter</i> ’s final fugue	101

The Cantus.....	101
Galant Motives	105
The Fugue.....	108
The <i>Jupiter</i> as Sublime.....	115
Chapter 6 “I know not, nor can I force them”: Sublime subjectivity and experience	122
LIST OF REFERENCES.....	125
VITA.....	137

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Viennese concert program	45
Figure 2: Allanbrook's metrical chart	61
Figure 3: <i>Adagio and Fugue</i> , K. 546, beginning of the fugue	71
Figure 4: Symphony No. 38 <i>Prague</i> , K. 504, strings, mm. 143-156	73
Figure 5: The <i>Jupiter</i> , Violin I and II, Movement 4, mm. 1-4	103
Figure 6: Galant motives	107
Figure 7: The <i>Jupiter</i> , cantus opening and double fugue, Movement 4, mm. 361-382	110
Figure 8: Permutation of the five principal motives in the finale of the <i>Jupiter</i> Symphony	111
Figure 9: The <i>Jupiter</i> , strings, Movement 4, mm. 384-388	112
Figure 10: The <i>Jupiter</i> , brass and timpani fanfare, Movement 4, mm. 389-394	113

Musical compositions, it should be remembered, do not inhabit certain countries, certain museums, like paintings and statues. The Mozart Quintet is not shut up in Salzburg: I have it in my pocket.¹

~Henri Rabaud
La Défense du Prix de Rome (1905)

Chapter 1

“In my pocket”: Mozart’s *Jupiter* and the sublime

When I stepped off an airplane and walked into the Vienna International Airport two summers ago, I had no idea what to expect. It was my first time off of North American soil, and I was about to start a job in a predominantly German-speaking country with only basic German language skills. I knew the experience would be interesting; I had not anticipated it how many different ways.

Through a study abroad program at Murray State University, I spent the summer of 2009 interning at two music museums in Vienna, Austria. Part of the week was dedicated to Mozarthaus Wein--Mozart’s only home in Vienna that remains preserved, and Haus der Musik--an interactive music museum. Prior to this trip, my knowledge of the First Viennese School was limited to the basic information presented in my music history classes. In a downbeat, I could tell you birth and death dates, the number of symphonies composed, and other pertinent information regarding Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. But knowing facts wasn’t enough; I wanted to understand. Tracing the footsteps of these composers in their original contexts seemed a beneficial approach to learning about them more completely.

¹ J.-G. Prod’homme and Frederick H. Martens, “Thoughts and Reflections on Ancient Music and Musicians,” *The Musical Quarterly* 9, no. 2 (1923): 226-44.

Each day after work and on weekends, I planned small excursions for myself so I could see and learn things through my own experiences, and enjoy the surrounding Viennese culture. My discovery of these places was largely done through trial and error, which proved advantageous as errors usually led me to uncovering something unexpected. For example, one Saturday I spent more than an hour wandering around a cemetery in Grinzing searching for Gustav Mahler's grave. In the process, I also found the grave of famous left-handed pianist Paul Wittgenstein. One night after work, I ate Tafelspitz at the cozy Griechenbeisl Inn, a restaurant frequented by both Beethoven and Schubert. Having seen a photo of Esterhazy Palace in the past, I knew I had to visit Eisenstadt. In addition to touring the palace, I visited the family church where Haydn is buried. To my knowledge his head is still there. While touring Haydn's home I remember standing in what historians believe was his living room, listening to the handheld audio tour guide, and hearing that Haydn's home burnt to the ground twice. The only records of his possessions are preserved in the accident reports filed after the fire, and surprisingly the reports include fifty framed pictures. Hung every-which-way and covering the walls of the living room were fifty empty picture frames. I counted. It was at such moments that everything in my lived experiences infused my studies with a sense of reality. Through experiencing Vienna, I began to understand more fully the composers and culture that had initially interested me.

I spent a great deal of time tracking down important landmarks relating to Mozart. One of my most moving and surprising experiences came in finding the apartment where Mozart died, which now houses the Steffl department store. I asked countless employees on each floor if I was in the right place and where Mozart's memorial was, but none could help me. Most seemed to have no idea that Mozart had once lived in this building. Finally, on the fourth floor, a worker in the children's toy department informed me that I would find Mozart on the top floor. I rode

the glass-encased elevator to the highest floor of building, where I encountered a small memorial, complete with an enormous bronze colored bust, to commemorate the great composer, Vienna's adopted son. I stood gazing out the window, where I could clearly see the ornate green and yellow patterned roof of St. Stephen's Cathedral, its steeple soaring far above the city. As people passed behind me, going in and out of the fancy coffee shop now situated on the same spot where Mozart once lived, composed, and died, I felt disappointment and sadness. It seemed that what for me was a key icon of Mozart's life, was ignored by the people who lived with it.

As an outsider to Vienna, I saw two different sides to Mozart's legacy existing simultaneously in the city, those that I understood as the commercial and the magical. Vienna stands as a destination where countless tourists flock in a pilgrimage to one of the most beloved composers in the western art tradition. While inquisitive tourists and music lovers sustain Mozart's continuing legacy, they also inspire and consume extreme marketing techniques, such as those employed by local businesses. Maybe my journalism degree and advertising experience made me particularly conscious of advertising ploys surrounding Mozart. For instance, in walking down any commercial street in Vienna, visitors will encounter at least one life-sized cardboard cutout of Mozart holding a box of chocolates; concerts are held daily with full programs of his music, and hawkers dressed in Mozart's likeness readily sell tickets; plaques commemorate literally every house that Mozart lived in or stayed in during his frequent visits to the city; he even has his own star, comparable to those on the Hollywood Walk of Fame, outside of the Theater an der Wien.

As I discovered, as in the case of Steffl department store, unless specifically searching for some of his memorials, most visitors would likely only notice them in passing, while drinking a café latte during a shopping break, if at all. Millions flock to the city yearly so they can tour the

composer's house, buy chocolates, and hear selections from the *Marriage of Figaro*. It seems as if most are content remembering Mozart for his "rock star" image rather than for his actual person, a person who lived, worked, and struggled like so many people do today. I think Susan's McClary conclusion that Mozart maintains various identities, each of which satisfies a different cultural need of listeners, exemplifies this idea well.² Perhaps the "rock star" Mozart fulfills this need for some.

What I call the magical side is that which I experienced as meaningful, a feeling that transcended Mozart's celebrity, star power, or symbolic image. Within my first couple of days in Vienna, a group of friends and I traveled to Schönbrunn Palace to hear the Vienna Philharmonic's annual summer evening concert. Conducted by Daniel Barenboim, the concert took as its theme the combined ideas of night and music. Of course being in Vienna, it seemed only natural that one of the featured compositions would be Mozart's *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik*. I wasn't anticipating anything life-changing about the performance, this composition being one of Mozart's most recognizable and perhaps overexposed works. Previously, this composition was not on my list of favorites, but as the orchestra started playing, the entire crowd of hundreds grew silent. The notes were so clear, so in-tune, it was hard to believe a live orchestra was playing. Every attack was precise, every decrescendo was so distinct, I felt as if I should crane my neck to hear. As I stood in the brisk night air, I experienced a sense of perfection in my surroundings: dusk was closing in, making the idea of "A Little Night Music" all the more fitting; music floated through the air; the location was ideal. It was surreal, and for me, sublime. I

² Susan McClary, "A Musical Dialectic from the Enlightenment: Mozart's Piano Concerto in G Major, K. 453, Movement 2," *Cultural Critique* 4 (1986): 160.

tried to remember the moments encompassing the duration of the serenade, knowing never in my life would I experience these exact conditions again. I let my feelings govern my head.

As I further my research on the composer and his compositions, I find that tensions between commercialism and compassion apply to Mozart himself and the research that surrounds him. A number of musicologists have written articles focusing on Mozart's motivations for composing particular works. Neal Zaslaw, among others, argues that Mozart composed his symphonies for money, thereby emphasizing Mozart's commercialism.³ Though he was primarily known as an operatic composer, even for Mozart, operas took much more time to write than did symphonies and money was a constantly needed fact of life. Some believe Mozart composed for the express purpose of publication, also suggesting that he constructed his music to satisfy commercial expectations and the need for income.⁴ These scenarios, in which Mozart writes symphonies not out of personal preference, but for sake of profit, exemplify the idea of the commercial Mozart.

But, at the concert that night in Vienna, I experienced a kind of magic as I listened to Mozart's music, so clearly defined and intricately created. Further, it seemed to invite multiple feelings and meanings, depending on the inclinations and perspectives of each listener. In considering this, I am reminded of Salieri's description of Mozart's Serenade for Winds, K. 361 in the film *Amadeus*.⁵ He talks of the simplicity and almost comic qualities of the pulsing beginning when suddenly a floating oboe melody emerges, seemingly out of nowhere, before it is taken over and shaped into a clarinet phrase. For the cinematic Salieri, this music possessed such an expression of longing that he believed he was hearing the voice of God. Even had

³ See Neal Zaslaw, "Mozart as a Working Stiff," in *On Mozart*, ed. James M. Morris (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 102-12.

⁴ Konrad Kuster, *Mozart: A Musical Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 295.

⁵ *Amadeus*, DVD, directed by Milos Forman (1984; Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2002).

Mozart wrote his compositions for profit, he evidently didn't do so haphazardly; the music is crafted carefully and skillfully in ways that elicit heartfelt listener responses and emotions.

At the end of my summer in Vienna, I returned to my home in Indiana, having learned much about Mozart and his milieu, but ultimately confused about how to interpret his musical life. Did he want to write music that would live on, enjoyed by countless individuals, or did he write for the popularity of the moment? And similarly, how do I as a twenty-first century woman, with my home in the U.S., and recently back from spending my summer in Vienna, come to terms with my own experiences of Mozart and his music as sublime?

At the University of Tennessee, I enrolled in a musicology seminar on eighteenth-century music where I hoped these questions would be answered. But this was only the start. While searching for research paper ideas, I found an article discussing the similarities between the compositional styles of Joseph Haydn and Mozart. The authors introduced the idea of Mozart's "leitmotif," commonly associated with the first four notes of the *Jupiter* Symphony.⁶ Mozart used this particular passage (comprising the notes CDFE) in fourteen different compositions, including his first and last symphonies. After further analysis, I wrote a paper discussing possible influences on Mozart's use of the motive, and suggesting the liturgical implications behind the notes. Still, I continued to wonder about how this motive, and the surrounding *Jupiter* movement, have been understood as sublime, and what exactly this idea entails.

As a musicologist, musician, and listener, I consider the sublime as a subjective feeling; different people perceive music in different ways, therefore sublime feelings vary. One might experience sublimity while listening to a favorite symphony while another might feel the sublime

⁶ Ernst Fritz Schmid and Ernest Sanders, "Mozart and Haydn," *The Musical Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (1956): 150-51.

after hearing a recording of Jimi Hendrix playing the *Star Spangled Banner* at Woodstock.⁷ But I am comfortable with such ambiguities. Mozart once said: “I cannot write in verse, for I am no poet. I cannot arrange parts [figures] of speech with such art as to produce effects of light and shade, for I am not painter. Even by signs and gestures I cannot express my thoughts and feelings for I am no dancer. But I can do so by means and sounds, for I am a musician.”⁸ Since Mozart acted upon his feelings when composing, I find it all the more appropriate to consider feelings in listening and reception.

I introduce this chapter with the epigraph by conductor and composer Henri Rabaud because I find it perfectly applicable to my study. Music does not begin or end with what is on paper, or what we can see. It is much more than that. Notes on a page are important but the feelings, emotions, and memories imparted by the music make it relatable and memorable. The melody to the *Marriage of Figaro* overture is not the copy of the score preserved in a library. The cheerful theme is in my head, the difficult bassoon part is in my fingers, but more than this, I experience the beauty of the harmonies and know how I feel when I play them. I, like Rabaud, keep Mozart in my pocket.

Statement of Problem and Thesis

A major problem in understanding any phenomenon, be it music, art, or experiences, as sublime occurs in defining what exactly the sublime entails. A number of eighteenth-century theorists published treatises on the characteristics and meaning of the sublime. By examining these ideas, particularly those by Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), Edmund Burke (1729-1797), and

⁷ Robert Walser, “Eruptions: Heavy Metal Appropriations of Classical Virtuosity,” *Popular Music* 11, no. 3 (1992): 279.

⁸ Cited in Wolfgang Mieder, “‘Now I Sit Like a Rabbit in the Pepper’: Proverbial Language in the Letters of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart,” *Journal of Folklore Research* 40, no. 1 (2003): 34.

Johann Georg Sulzer (1720-1779), I distinguish qualities of the sublime and find and interpret them in the finale to Mozart's Symphony 41, *Jupiter*, K. 551, henceforth referred to as *Jupiter*. Throughout this paper I discuss eighteenth-century philosophies and musical terminology in relation to the *Jupiter*, focusing much of my efforts on the finale, its Coda, and final fugue. I especially employ research completed by Elaine Sisman regarding the sublime in the *Jupiter* as a catalyst for my own argument. Sisman chooses to focus on the movement on a broader level, suggesting that all fugues and imitative sections used throughout the fourth movement signify the *learned* style, while all other sections suggest the *galant*. I choose to consider the movement on a smaller scale, evaluating the relationships between the notes and the motives used in the ending fugue as a further signifier of the sublime.

I argue that the final fugue in the Coda of the *Jupiter* contains both learned and galant characteristics, which were stylistic opposites in the eighteenth century. The galant is evident in the use of five distinct and simple motives, which are then combined to form a learned fugue. This synthesis of contrasting styles and ideas causes a struggle for balance and contributes to *Jupiter*'s articulation of the sublime as it suggests the infinite. Using my experience at the concert in Vienna as a foundational premise, I further examine the sublime as a subjective feeling, in which one's experiences interact with the senses.

Methodology and Scope

Analyzing music and theories from the eighteenth century proves complex, especially when focusing specifically on Mozart, because with each theory yields different meanings and interpretations. I find this especially true of Mozart's *Jupiter*. Throughout my work, I use three different analytical modes in evaluating the *Jupiter*: philosophy, music theory, and a recognition

of listener subjectivity. This combination of methodologies allows my research and analysis to suggest aspects of the *Jupiter* not previously discussed.

To fully comprehend the sublime and other relevant philosophical concepts of the eighteenth century, I examine well-known theories contemporary with Mozart, as well as more recent analytic discussions of them. This approach enables me to synthesize available evidence in formulating my own understanding of the sublime and its application to the *Jupiter*.

My initial catalyst in encountering the *Jupiter* as musically sublime was Sisman's monograph *The Jupiter Symphony*.⁹ Sisman attributes the work's rhetorical power to the synthesis of the learned and galant styles. I agree that this combination of stylistic opposites contributes to the musical sublime found in the *Jupiter* finale. She finds that Mozart further evokes the sublime in his deviation from the norm and the expected. For example, Sisman argues that the fourth movement of the symphony begins twice, the second time in measure 36 where the opening whole-note motive is used fugally.¹⁰ With both "openings" treating the theme differently, one cannot establish a definite starting point. This uncertainty implies the infinite, a characteristic of Kant's mathematical sublime.¹¹ While Sisman mentions the elevated, "chaotic" characteristics of the Coda, I undertake a more extended analysis of the Coda as a focal point for the expression of the sublime in the *Jupiter*.

In evaluating theoretical treatises, I mainly utilize publications contemporary with Mozart's life, written prior to 1791. Like Sisman, I employ Kant's philosophy regarding the mathematical sublime, found in the *Analytic of the Sublime*, a subsection of his *Critique of Judgment* published in 1790. Kant's description of the mathematical sublime as boundless and

⁹ See Elaine Sisman, *The Jupiter Symphony*, Cambridge Music Books (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 75.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 76.

infinite particularly applies to the *Jupiter*'s contrapuntal Coda; his key terminology and concepts appear throughout this thesis.

My work also employs the theories of Sulzer compiled in his encyclopedia *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (1777), as they relate directly to music and rhetoric.¹² In particular, I employ the definition of symphony, written by Sulzer's assistant Johann Abraham Schultze. Schultze labels the symphonic genre itself as sublime and identifies key characteristics present in an elevated symphonic movement. While I discuss these ideas later, some characteristics include brilliance, powerful bass melodies, sudden key changes, and imitations in a fugal manner. Schultze writes, "an *allegro* in a symphony is what a Pindaric ode is in poetry: it likewise elevates and shakes the soul of the listener, and demands the same spirit, the same sublime imagination and the same knowledge of art in order to be successful."¹³ I find Schultze's prescription for the sublime symphony uncanny, almost as if Mozart composed the *Jupiter* finale, which is similarly marked *molto allegro*, in keeping with Schultze's thoughts. While I do not argue Mozart in fact used this theory as inspiration for the symphony, I believe Mozart and his contemporaries were familiar with these ideas and variously employed them in their compositions.

My philosophical analysis and score study draw largely on understanding the sublime as the synthesis of contraries, such as the learned and galant styles, considered stylistic opposites in the eighteenth century. Focusing on the fugal Coda, I analyze Mozart's five motives articulated throughout the movement and their ultimate combination in quintuple inverted counterpoint.

¹² Johann Phillip Kirnberger and Schultze assisted Sulzer in writing the articles pertaining to music. Therefore not all views in the *Allgemeine* are entirely Sulzer's; however he likely did supervise the publication process. Hosler additionally writes that researchers generally agree that the aesthetic viewpoint belongs to Sulzer. (See Bellamy Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views on Instrumental Music in 18th-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1981), 145.) For the purpose of this paper, I cite Schultze for all entries referring to the symphony and Sulzer for all other entries when discussing the *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 166.

Further, I believe the fugue in the Coda, in its entirety, is sublime in its assimilation of multiplicities; its ever-changing nature suggests the infinite.

In addition to analyzing contemporaneous philosophical and theoretical foundations for the *Jupiter*, I acknowledge the subjectivity of the individual listening experience. Many scholars refer to the eighteenth century, and especially Mozart's music, as embodying perfect order, comparable to the Garden of Eden, and therefore untouchable by critics.¹⁴ I challenge this idea, positing that all music is worthy of critique and invites subjective interpretation, especially when considering music as an activity in which all participate. Rather than evaluating Mozart's work as a fixed entity, I both read it in its cultural context and recognize my own subjective position as observer.

Richard Taruskin points out that the *New Harvard Dictionary of Music* definition of "authenticity" makes no mention of performance, instead focusing on the connection between the composer and music.¹⁵ For some, an ideal performance would revive historical music to reflect the composer's intentions by mimicking the original performance atmosphere while also encompassing the thoughts, feelings, and ideas of the composer.¹⁶ This endeavor, however, is virtually impossible since the composer's intentions are unknown to the listeners, whose suppositions about the authorial voice are often informed by their own listening to the music. It is also impossible to recreate music as it was in the eighteenth century since we have no period recordings to analyze and imitate. Additionally, our preconceived notions and judgments regarding musical value bias our views of period music.

¹⁴ See McClary, "Musical Dialectic," 130.

¹⁵ Richard Taruskin, "The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past," in *Authenticity and Early Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 91.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 97.

Some eighteenth-century sources suggest how feelings figure in composing and listening to music. Sulzer wrote that music, poetry, and rhetoric had the power to “clearly arise out of the fullness of lively feelings, and the desire to utter them in order to maintain oneself and others in this state of feeling.”¹⁷ Mozart’s quote stated in the introduction similarly speaks to his tendency to impart his own feelings to his compositions. Such concepts of feeling in music, however, were often dismissed by nineteenth-century music critics, who referred to music composed by their eighteenth-century predecessors as “absolute.” Susan McClary describes a similar situation in which she and a colleague attended a performance of Mozart’s Piano Concerto in G Major, K. 453. McClary saw no problem with the embellishments and feeling expressed in the performance, but her colleague detested the interpretation, labeling it as inauthentic and overly-romantic.¹⁸ Expanding on this experience, McClary researches and addresses the faulty premise held by many contemporary researchers, who draw an untouchable line between us and eighteenth-century music, especially that of Mozart, claiming it is perfect and therefore beyond critique. McClary, on the other hand, analyzes the second movement from Mozart’s piano concerto by considering eighteenth-century social discourse in relation to Mozart’s chosen compositional procedures. She further considers the meanings implied by the structure of this composition, in relationship to Mozart’s oeuvre and with regard to the idea of absolutism.

McClary writes that music, like literature and art, has the ability to arouse and channel one’s desire, sometimes more effectively than other forms of media. The impact that listeners feel from music helps shape identities and teaches us how to experience emotions, desires, and our own bodies. McClary explains:

¹⁷ Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, 144.

¹⁸ McClary, “Musical Dialectic,” 130.

Since few listeners know how to explain how it creates its effects, music gives the illusion of operating independently of cultural mediation. It is often received (and not only by the musically untutored) as a mysterious medium within which we seem to encounter our “own” most private feelings.¹⁹

This idea corresponds with my argument regarding the subjectivity of the sublime and my own sublime experience. Music does not evoke one universal feeling, but rather different feelings based on countless factors, including the music, the performers, the performance context, and the listeners themselves. McClary notes society’s role in determining what is inferred from music and what is socially acceptable. For example, the culturally constructed convention that western composers use a minor key to evoke sadness and expect listeners to feel sad when hearing tunes in that key is a socially accepted phenomenon, which constantly changes.²⁰ Correlating a key, or musical element, to a certain feeling is the result of repetition. However it is not absolute; rather elements of such responses remain subjective to the listeners’ interpretation of the music, as in my own experience in Vienna.

Rhetoric

Scholars of the eighteenth century saw a close connection between rhetoric and music, especially in music of the Baroque era. Ancient ideas of distinguishing different levels of speech (high, middle, low), coupled with categorizations of different compositional purposes (church, theater, chamber), relate to the *Jupiter* and are discussed further below. For centuries, vocal

¹⁹ Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender & Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 53.

²⁰ McClary, “Musical Dialectic,” 131.

music dominated western European repertoires; therefore composers were influenced by doctrines pertaining to setting text to music. Composers retained similar concepts of expressing text musically when composing purely instrumental works. Exactly how composers integrated these rhetorical principles into their craft remains the subject of some speculation.

Starting in the nineteenth century, scholars and composers did not commonly receive training in the rhetorical discipline; however those in the eighteenth century regularly attended classes on the subject, internalizing its key premises and drawing upon their applicability to musical composition.²¹ Recent research notes that composers adopted a formal eloquence through their exposure to rhetoric in studying Latin. Mozart did not start studying Latin until the late 1760s; prior to this point his father recommended he consult a German translation of the psalms before setting them in Latin.²²

Although some argue that Mozart's compositional treatment of text was based on practicality and proper pronunciations rather than oratorical considerations, I contend that an understanding of rhetoric offers key insights into eighteenth-century conceptions of music and creativity. Some scholars do not consider rhetoric a direct influence on eighteenth-century composers or compositions. Instead, they argue that musicians adapted rhetorical terms to fit musical concepts. Literary scholar Brian Vickers considers that while rhetorical ideas may have given composers inspiration for musical form and composition, it did not necessarily drive the expansion of musical resources. Vickers concludes that composers did not intentionally insert rhetorical ideas into their music, but that theorists labeled such ideas after the composition of the

²¹ Elaine Sisman, "Learned Style and the Rhetoric of the Sublime in the *Jupiter* Symphony," in *Wolfgang Amadé Mozart: Essays on His Life and His Music*, ed. Stanley Sadie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 214.

²² Blake Wilson, et al. "Rhetoric and Music." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed 14 September 2010, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

piece.²³ Nonetheless, as a fundamental component of eighteenth-century education, scholars and musicians alike would have accumulated knowledge of these areas, making it easy for them to find a correspondence between oral rhetoric and musical examples, whether it be at the moment of composition, in the listening experience, or as part of analysis.

In antiquity, writings by Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian discuss the importance of the art of speech. Quintilian states that well trained orators must know principles of music.²⁴ Speech was an important facet of ancient Greek and Roman society, which in fact acknowledged three different stylistic tiers of oration: the plain or low, the middle, and the high, grand, or elevated. The purpose of the speech determined the level that the orator used.²⁵ Plain or low speeches were used for teaching, the middle to appease or charm, and the elevated for directly affecting the emotions of the audience.²⁶

Similarly, eighteenth-century music theorists labeled three stylistic tiers in music: the church, theater, and chamber styles. Meinrad Spiess (1683-1761) describes each style in his *Tractatus Musicus* of 1746.²⁷ He writes that the church style, because it intends to motivate and encourage worshipers to praise God, ranks the highest of the three styles and merits supreme care in musical construction. This style is the most capable of producing the sublime. The chamber style encompasses ideas including delight, affection, and taste, which are musically found in concerti grossi and sonatas de camera. Such works were meant to evoke delight in the listeners. The closely related theater style, as its name suggests, accompanies action on the theater stage or in a salon.

²³ Brian Vickers, "Figures of Rhetoric/Figures of Music?," *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 2, no. 1 (1984): 41.

²⁴ Sisman, "Learned Style," 221.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Wilson, "Rhetoric and Music."

²⁷ See Leonard Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1980), 7.

According to Johann Forkel (1749-1818), the three musical tiers do not necessarily correspond with the three speaking tiers.²⁸ Johann Adolph Scheibe (1708-76) explains, these rhetorical rankings are found in each of the musical styles and were used to suit the particular educational levels of the listeners. Scheibe describes the musical characteristics of each quality and states that instrumental music must not only echo the same level of feelings conveyed through vocal music, but also inspire wonder in the listener by incorporating virtuoso passages. Scheibe writes:

To clarify the idea of style, the best division is: the high, the middle or moderate, and the low or comic. The high style encompasses all great, exalted, dreadful feelings, and violent passions. The middle style includes softer and milder feelings, such as love, calmness, satisfaction, cheerfulness, and joy, and in the low style we include that which is more popular and obvious than genteel, more trifling and merry than clever, and particularly, everything that pertains to caricature and comedy.²⁹

The high style should possess characteristics reserved for kings and heroes while also evoking majesty, pride, astonishment, and fear through its musical embodiment of stately qualities; it features rich harmonies, and fresh, lively, and elevated melodies.³⁰ The middle style should be pleasing to listen to, full of clear, light, flowing melodies suggesting love, joy, and delight. The low style represents music in its simplest form: short and free of elaboration. The high and low styles were opposites, while the middle style could incorporate qualities of each,

²⁸ Sisman, "Learned Style," 221.

²⁹ Cited in Ratner, 364.

³⁰ Ibid., 7.

thus making it flexible to either style. According to Ratner, the *alla breve* style, the simplest form of the learned style, descended from combinations of whole and half note passages, which in turn descended from plainsong, held the highest rank in high music.³¹ Usually accompanying liturgical texts, the music adopts serious, grave qualities and could serve as a statement of prayer, a cry for help, or a moral message.

Finally, an exploration of the fugue as a rhetorical device underlies my discussion of the *Jupiter*, which contains several imitative sections in addition to the famous fugal Coda. Ratner defines texture as the way in which voices work together in a composition. This interrelationship among voices involves the number of voices sounding, how the voices function, and the effects and sonority produced by the combination of voices. He explores two forms of counterpoint, species and figured, and states that counterpoint embodies qualities found in the learned style. The codifications of species counterpoint involved a strictness of procedure and the simplified application of church modes; at the same time it functioned as a foundation for galant music. Figured counterpoint incorporated both learned and galant characteristics in its use of simple, playful melodies combined to create a fugue.³²

Many theorists and researchers consider fugue the ultimate rhetorical device because of its inherent sense of dialogue and the communicative qualities of the different subjects. These facets are clearly present in the *Jupiter* finale. The fugue acts as a representation of the learned style, which is emblematic of the third rhetorical style, or elevated style. The idea of the sublime often represents elevated compositions, but not all elevated compositions are sublime. Gregory Butler argues that the application of rhetorical principles to music started with the fugue for a

³¹ Ibid., 23, 364.

³² Ibid., 111.

number of reasons. First, the art of learning rhetoric was an academic movement, and taught in schools; similarly, the fugue was a learned entity, reserved for the educated elite.³³ An intricate and structured device, fugue can also serve as an expressive musical force that exerts strong musical-rhetorical ideas. Finally, both poetry and the fugue share similar rhetorical possibilities, thus signifying the fugue's contribution to the development of *musica poetica*. One of the pioneer theorists in studying the correlations between fugue and rhetoric, Joachim Burmeister (1566-1629), considers each subject entry in a fugal composition as a representation of words; all entries are linked etymologically.³⁴ He concludes that the power of the fugue is to attract and hold the listener's attention.

Eighteenth-century treatises refer to the fugue as a conversation, argument, dispute, debate, or battle, which links the ideas of words and music. In this vein, Athanasius Kircher (1602-80) views fugal subjects as contributing to a larger structure; in particular a series of points of imitation forms the foundation of both writing a fugue and also completing an oration.³⁵ Johann Mattheson (1681-1764) refers to the various fugal voices as "combatants" who are engaged in a "pleasant dispute."³⁶ He expands on the idea of fugue: "one voice, so to speak, converses with the other after the manner of a conversation, throws out questions, gives answers, is of a different opinion, secures approval, is in agreement, accepts opposition, etc."³⁷ Similarly, in his analysis of Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*, Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718-95) writes that a fugue resembles a dispute, while Luigi Antonio Sabbatini (1732-1809) argues the fugue

³³ Gregory G. Butler, "Fugue and Rhetoric," *Journal of Music Theory* 21, no. 1 (1977): 50.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 55.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 63.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 64.

³⁷ Cited in *Ibid.*

represents a combat among multiple parts.³⁸ Similarly, contemporary musicologist Simon Keefe analyzes the use of fugue in the *Jupiter*, concluding that its use of counterpoint suggests a dialogue or conversation among groups of people.³⁹

Sublime

The high or grand style of rhetoric connects with the idea of sublimity. Eighteenth-century literary critics grew interested in the notion of the sublime upon reading the translation of Pseudo-Longinus' treatise *On the Sublime*.⁴⁰ Written in the first century, Pseudo-Longinus' treatise outlines five different levels of sublimity: one's capability to form conceptions; the incentive of powerful emotions; the suitable use of figurative language; the presence of noble diction and imagery; and the presence of words in speech, leading to a complete effect of elevation and dignity. These ideas propelled eighteenth-century thinkers to associate the passage from Genesis "And God said 'Let there be light,' and there was light," as well as the thunderbolt, with the idea of the sublime.⁴¹ David Morris writes of the many sublime aspects found in religion, and cites Psalm 18 as an eighteenth-century model of sublimity.⁴² The text suggests the true power of the Lord, who can cause both terrifying destruction but also provide safety and forgiveness.

³⁸ Ibid., 65.

³⁹ See Simon P. Keefe, "The *Jupiter* Symphony in C, K. 551: New Perspectives on the Dramatic Finale and Its Stylistic Significance in Mozart's Orchestral Oeuvre," *Acta Musicologica* 75, no. 1 (2003): 17-43.

⁴⁰ Recent research identifies the author of the treatise *On the Sublime* as unknown. Following tradition, writers continue to refer to the author as Longinus or Pseudo-Longinus, a third-century rhetorician. See Samuel Monk, *The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in 18th-Century England* (New York: Modern Language Association of America: 1935).

⁴¹ Cited in Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 14.

⁴² David B. Morris, *The Religious Sublime: Christian Poetry and Critical Tradition in 18th-Century England* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1972), 19.

Similarly, the rhetorician Quintilian finds in the grand style the capability to impact an audience with an irresistible force; he says, “It is this force and impetuosity that Aristophanes compares to the thunderbolt.”⁴³ Like Pseudo-Longinus, Quintilian characterizes the sublime as a lightning bolt. This symbolism suggests the supernatural due to the thunderbolt’s divine associations, including as the weapon of the God Jupiter.

The revival of the notion of the sublime in the eighteenth century led theorists to refer to Pseudo-Longinus himself as sublime.⁴⁴ Similarly, composers and artists themselves were referred to as sublime. For example, George Frederic Handel (1685-1759) as well as his choral music style, symbolized the sublime in the later part of the century because of the extreme simplicity of his music and his status as a great fughist.⁴⁵ The reasons for Handel’s sublime identity combines opposites in that his musical style was known for its simplicity as well complexity, in his role as a fughist.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, writers described the sublime as a contradictory set of feelings such as joy and despair, sadness and adulation. Further, these elements became part of an emotional sequence. According to Ronald Paulson; “the sublime and the beautiful ...were not just opposing categories; they became...a sequence: not just the great natural upheaval versus the quiet sunlit meadow...but the progression to be desired or demanded or regretted from one of these to the other.”⁴⁶

Edmund Burke’s *A philosophical enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the sublime and beautiful*, published in 1757, served as a catalyst for renewed discussion of the sublime,

⁴³ Cited in Ibid., 15-16.

⁴⁴ Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 14.

⁴⁵ Nicholas Matthew, “Beethoven’s Political Music, the Handelian Sublime, and the Aesthetics of Prostration,” *19th-Century Music* 33, no. 2 (2009): 112.

⁴⁶ Cited in Sisman, “Learned Style,” 224.

beautiful, and picturesque in the eighteenth century. Here, Burke describes the terrifying as a source of pleasure:

Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror is a source of the sublime; that is the productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling.⁴⁷

Just as Mozart's *Jupiter* combines opposites in the learned and the galant, the Burkean sublime comprises a mixture of opposites in a terrifying feeling that results in pleasure. The most powerful passion caused by the sublime for Burke is astonishment, which "is that state of the soul, in which all its motions are suspended, with some degree of horror."⁴⁸ Characteristics that for Burke suggest the sublime include vast, rugged, negligent, dark, gloomy, and massive. Other lesser effects of Burke's sublime include admiration, reverence, and respect. Notably, however, as Walter John Hipple points out, Burke does not require that the sublime is always terrifying: "it is *either* terrible, *or* associated with something terrible, *or* acts upon us like the terrible."⁴⁹ Burke suggests that terror, without any imminent danger present, represents one of the most sublime feelings of all. This formulation demonstrates his idea of the sublime as twofold. First the subject experiences a danger (such as impending solitude, death, or emptiness), which evokes the feeling of sublimity; then the threat subsides as the subject realizes the risk no longer exists, resulting in reflection on the situation.

⁴⁷ Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful and Other Pre-Revolutionary Writings*, ed. David Womersley, (New York: Penguin Putnam, Inc., 1998), 86.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁴⁹ Walter John Hipple Jr., *The Beautiful, the Sublime, and the Picturesque in Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Theory* (Carbondale: The Southern Illinois University Press, 1957), 87.

German theorist Immanuel Kant considers the sublime somewhat differently in his *Critique of Judgment*, published in 1790. Kant contrasts the beautiful with the sublime, stating that the beautiful has form and boundaries. On the other hand, the sublime is infinite and formless while completely present in thought. According to Kant:

[The sublime] is a pleasure that arises only indirectly; viz. it is produced by the feeling of a momentary checking of the vital powers and a consequent stronger outflow of them, so that it seems to be regarded as emotion--not play, but earnest in the exercise of the imagination.⁵⁰

Thus, the sublime is a boundless entity. Kant divides the sublime by the type of overwhelming force one experiences, namely, either a natural force--the dynamical--or a cognate force--the mathematical.⁵¹ Similar to Burke's sublime, Kant's dynamical sublime combines both British and German doctrines and relies on the forces of nature, which evoke an exciting fear. Such forces include flashes of lightening, booming thunder, erupting volcanoes, and whirling hurricanes.⁵² Kant, like Burke believes that viewing danger can suggest a sublime feeling, as long as one remains safe. Further, for Kant, a person does not necessarily have to fear what is happening, but must empathize with an instance in which he or she would fear the situation.⁵³

Kant defines the complex mathematical sublime as "that which is absolutely great;" he further defines the term "absolutely great" as "what is great beyond all comparison."⁵⁴ Neil Hertz describes the mathematical sublime as that which: "arises out of sheer cognitive exhaustion, the

⁵⁰ Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, trans. J. H. Bernard (New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1951), 83.

⁵¹ Ibid., 85.

⁵² Ibid., 100.

⁵³ Ibid., 83.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 86.

mind blocked not by the threat of an overwhelming force, but by the fear of losing count or being reduced to nothing.”⁵⁵ According to Kant, an object itself cannot be sublime since most objects are mathematically measurable. For instance, buildings and pillars are not sublime since their size and shape have been determined by the builder.⁵⁶ The sublime is, rather, immeasurable and tests the limits of the imagination. Discussing Kant, Kiene Brillenburg Wurth writes: “Given this unconditional nature of the idea of the infinite, the analytic attributes the failure of imagination to comprehend entirely to the fact that infinity is one of those extravagant ideas of reason without an object.”⁵⁷

The sublime occurs when the mind listens to reason but reason proves inadequate. To illustrate his point, Kant uses traveler and author M. Savary’s description of the pyramids of Cheops in Egypt.⁵⁸ From afar, one can see the pyramids’ complete structure and its existence is unquestionable. Up close, however, the structures become puzzling; the mind wonders how the structure was put together with minimal supplies, how the pyramid remains intact given its location and age, and one cannot see the majesty of the entire object. It is too much for the mind to take in.

This idea of extreme perception ties into Sisman’s argument about sublimity in the *Jupiter*. Relying on the research of Neil Zaslaw, Sisman cites the difficulty and technical demands Mozart’s music required of both performers and listeners, and concludes that many of his contemporary listeners found his music overwhelming.⁵⁹ They felt they could only appreciate

⁵⁵ Neil Hertz, *The End of the Line: Essays on Psychoanalysis and the Sublime* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 40.

⁵⁶ Kant, *Critique*, 91.

⁵⁷ Kiene Brillenburg Wurth, *Musically Sublime: Indeterminacy, Infinity, Irresolvability* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2009), 66-67.

⁵⁸ Kant, *Critique*, 90.

⁵⁹ Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 76.

and fully comprehend his music in small doses. Exemplifying the mathematical, various intricacies of Mozart's music prove "too much to take in" and surpass what can be measured; the music thus becomes infinite.⁶⁰

An important figure in German art and aesthetics, Johann Georg Sulzer defines the sublime in his guide to German arts, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (1771). The sublime (Erhaben) refers to things greater and more powerful than one expects and that accordingly arouse astonishment and admiration. He compares the feeling of the sublime to overwhelming "hammer-blows":

The sublime is thus the highest thing that there is in art. It should be resorted to only when the psyche is to be attacked with hammer-blows, when admiration, awe, powerful longing, high courage, or even fear of terror are to be aroused, whenever the aim is to intensify the powers of the soul or violently to curb them.⁶¹

Sulzer writes that the sublime is significant in size but: "since a sense of size originates only when we realize how big something is, the size of the sublime object should not be totally beyond our conception; for admiration of size arises only from the ability to compare."⁶²

Encyclopedia contributor Schultz writes that the symphony was considered a sublime creation, one that possesses "unquestionable and moral human worth."⁶³ Schultz and Mattheson agree on a number of characteristics that make a musical work sublime: strong rhythms, counterpoint, brilliance, virtuosity and fire, and sudden contrasts and changes. These sounds move the listener,

⁶⁰ Cited in Ibid., 18; See also Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 528-31.

⁶¹ Cited in Peter le Huray and James Day, ed. *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 113.

⁶² Cited in Ibid.

⁶³ Cited in Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, 165.

and produce a sublime effect. Sulzer equated the sublime and the grand with the highest forms of art “because they stimulated man’s inner activity, the origin of all moral action and his true source of humanity.”⁶⁴

Generally, the sublime evokes a feeling of awe or disbelief. The sublime is not an everyday occurrence, but rather a rarity. If one experienced the sublime like clockwork, on a daily basis, the sublime would cease to matter. It would become a common feeling. For some, sublime situations might include seeing the seemingly endless vistas while standing on top of a mountain in the Alps. Others might see sublimity in the intricate placement of lines and use of colors in a Picasso painting. In my experience, described in the introduction, hearing the Vienna Philharmonic play *Eine Kline Nachtmusick* at twilight one summer evening was sublime. The precision of the bowings, dynamics, and musicality, coupled with the nighttime atmosphere, created a feeling I have a hard time finding the perfect words to describe accurately.⁶⁵ However, there is no cookie-cutter model or checklist that denotes the sublime; therefore the sublime is a subjective entity, producing the ultimate feeling of admiration and wonder, which only happens on rare occasions. What is sublime and how long the sublime feeling lasts depends on the listener and his or her subjective experience. Furthermore, what constitutes the sublime depends on the culture in which one participates; what was sublime to eighteenth-century ears is not necessarily considered sublime to twenty-first century listeners, but my own experience demonstrates that both can overlap.

⁶⁴ Cited in Ibid., 168.

⁶⁵ I do not suggest that a certain atmosphere must be present for the sublime to exist, but rather that the atmosphere in which one hears or experiences sublimity can add to and heighten the sublime experience.

Learned

A baroque technique using prevailing Renaissance principles, the learned, or strict, style incorporates musical traditions central to the liturgy. In the early Renaissance, melodies were written over a preexisting *cantus firmus* in a single voice, whereas later renaissance and baroque traditions allowed for each vocal line to make use of the *cantus firmus* equally. Thus, the learned style combined both ideas: use of the *cantus firmus* as a foundation, and equal treatment of all voices. Ratner describes the learned style as “imitation, fugal or canonic, generally.”⁶⁶ Giorgio Pestelli distinguishes between two types of counterpoint: “stile osservato,” counterpoint used as an academic exercise within sacred music, and “secular” counterpoint, “an imitative style within a regime of free conversation.”⁶⁷

Eighteenth-century use of the learned style was largely established and built on using the traditional rules of counterpoint as utilized by J.S. Bach and Handel. Such ideas included treating each voice as a horizontal and distinct melodic line and using passages of imitation and fugue. Training in eighteenth-century composition involved practice of the learned style, particularly as presented in Johann Joseph Fux’s treatise *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725). In this publication, Fux provides a *cantus firmus* in whole notes to which the student composes a counterpoint. The exercises continue with varying note lengths and multiple notes against one note. Joseph Haydn used *Gradus ad Parnassum* early in his contrapuntal training and adapted the method for his students.⁶⁸ Mozart may have studied the method, through his father’s instruction, or through his studies with Padre Martini, who championed Fux’s instructional method and Palestrina’s

⁶⁶ Ratner, *Classic Music*, 23.

⁶⁷ Giorgio Pestelli, *The Age of Mozart and Beethoven*, trans. Eric Cross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 136.

⁶⁸ Johann Joseph Fux, *The Study of Counterpoint from Johann Joseph Fux’s Gradus ad Parnassum*, trans. Alfred Mann (New York: W.W. Norton, 1971), xi-xii.

compositions.⁶⁹ Mozart used Fux's examples when instructing his own students, and many of his compositions that incorporate learned passages demonstrate the influence of rhythmic relationships found in Fuxian examples.

Heinrich Christoph Koch (1749-1816) defined the strict style as adherence to the melody with very few elaborations. Composers accomplish this through the frequent use of closely bound progressions, allowing little opportunity for elaboration. He also states that in a fugue all voices in turn sing the principal part and one can always hear the primary subject, a factor that contributes directly to the expression of sentiment in the music.⁷⁰ These characteristics describe a style best suited for the church setting and typified by the fugue.

Eighteenth-century writers, including C.P.E. Bach, were quick to distinguish the difference between the learned and the galant (discussed further below). According to Koch, the galant style fit best in theatrical and chamber music settings, while the learned was found in sacred settings. Others point out the free compositional style of the galant while the learned was more rule-bound, especially in its treatment of dissonances. Contemporary theorist Edward Lippman, in his discussion of galant principles, states that the aesthetics of this time seemed to thrive on controversy surrounding the new versus the old and simplicity versus complexity. This conflict between church polyphony and a modern secular style particularly centered in Germany.⁷¹

I define the learned style simply as music whose roots lie in the church and that was adopted by a number of composers, with frequent use of the fugue. Examples of learned music include, but are not limited to, liturgical music used daily in the church, fugue techniques, and

⁶⁹ Ibid., xii.

⁷⁰ Ratner, *Classical Music*, 23.

⁷¹ Edward Lippman, *A History of Western Musical Aesthetics* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 60.

the cantus firmus. Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* qualifies as learned because it served as an important and prevalent teaching tool for composers. It further reflects liturgical influences, as seen in Fux's use of concepts developed by Palestrina.⁷² Musical works by Bach also demonstrate the learned style. Many later composers, including Mozart, used Bach's work in a learned capacity, as a model for their own work, or as a teaching tool.

Galant

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, composers placed new importance on mastering both the galant and learned styles, and started combining these in their compositions. In his dissertation, Harry Lackritz Gray finds juxtaposed styles in many of Mozart's compositions, including the String Quartet no. 14 in G major, K. 38; Piano Concerto no. 19 in F major, K. 459; the Overture to *Die Zauberflöte*, K. 614; and the *Jupiter*.⁷³ In the eighteenth century, mastering both learned and galant styles was important in a composer's training and the implementation of his craft.

Musicologists have long mused over the true and ever-changing meaning of the broadly defined term galant and its musical application. First used in the fourteenth century, galant variously came to describe ideas such as social behavior, literature, and painting. Randle Cotgrave (c. 1570-1634) defined the *gallant homme* in the first major French-English dictionary, published in 1611, as "A gallant, foodlie; noble, worthie, virtuous; also a subtile, wise, craftie,

⁷² Alfred Mann, *The Study of Fugue* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 1987), 75.

⁷³ Harry Lackritz Gray, "Interpreting the Learned Style as an Expression of Enlightenment Values in Late Instrumental Works by Mozart" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 2006); see also Nicolas Henri Waldvogel, "The Eighteenth-Century Esthetics of the Sublime and the Valuation of the Symphony" (Ph.D. diss., Yale, 1993).

cunning, wylie, fellow.”⁷⁴ During the sixteenth century, *galant* meant both brave and victorious, while also denoting a scoundrel. By the seventeenth century the word circulated in the most elegant tiers of society and expression; the *galant homme* meant a man who flatters, compliments, has a gracious and civil exterior, and treats all women with politeness.⁷⁵

The Germans associated the *galant* style with a representation of the new, modern, and chic, in opposition to the strict worship tradition. Use of the term *galant* moved to Germany as part of the French influence during the Thirty Years War and due to Germany’s role in international commerce.⁷⁶ The term’s widespread usage situated the *galant* as a full-fledged movement. In Germany, the term gained associations with reading, card playing, coffee, and tobacco because these activities carried ideas of refinement and socialization.⁷⁷ In the middle of the eighteenth century, only Germans used the concept of the *galant* in relation to music; such usage was completely alien to the French, English, and Italians.⁷⁸ The first to apply *galant* to music was Mattheson in his treatise *Das forschende Orchestre* (1721). Here, he refers to *galant* as a lighter kind of music and lists a number of composers who wrote in the *galant* style, including Antonio Vivaldi, Benedetto Marcello, and Georg Philipp Telemann.⁷⁹ Mark Radice assesses that Mattheson did not use the term *galant* to refer to a particular musical style shared by these composers, but rather to encompass a plethora of musical styles used at the time.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Cited in Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style 1720-1780* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003), 16.

⁷⁵ David A. Sheldon, “The Galant Style Revisited and Re-Evaluated,” *Acta Musicologica* 47, no. 2 (1975): 242.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 242.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 243.

⁷⁸ Mark A. Radice, “The Nature of The *Style Galant*: Evidence from the Repertoire,” *The Musical Quarterly* 83, no. 4 (1999): 608.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 614.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

J.J. Quantz (1697-1773) too defined the galant style, classifying it by its clarity, simple, clear, light, and flowing melodies, and its charming, decorative embellishments.⁸¹ Similarly, Johann Adolph Scheibe (1708-76) wrote that beauty and naturalness were the main attributes of the galant style. The melody should contain “well-devised ornaments and be clear, lively, flowing, free, and natural but also clever and new.”⁸² Galant pieces should also avoid “odd, dissolute and wild, crude, silly, and commonplace” melodies.⁸³ According to Daniel Gottlob Türk’s (1750-1813) definition, in using the galant (or free) style, the composer need not follow all music theory rules strictly; he can allow for longer, unprepared dissonances, which were uncommon in strict style.⁸⁴

Türk explains that the galant composer writes more for the ear than the learned composer.⁸⁵ I find this point intriguing when considering the style’s ultimate purpose. Galant music was used to accompany dances or entertain guests in parlors; therefore its primary purpose was for listening. However the learned style was used in sacred settings and was used to accompany worship. Koch describes the free, or unbound style, as containing many melodic elaborations, changes in rhythm, the alignment of unrelated melodic passages, and divisions of the melody.⁸⁶ Galant music features a homophonic texture, with a well distinguished primary voice that the others accompany. Characteristically galant musical works include arias, choruses,

⁸¹ Sheldon, “Galant Style Revisited,” 258.

⁸² Ibid., 259.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Dora Wilson, “Lohlein’s *Klavierschule*: Toward an Understanding of the *Galant Style*,” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 12, no. 2 (1981): 108

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ratner, *Classic Music*, 23.

ballet and dance music, and any introductions, concertos, and sonatas that are not written in the fugal style.⁸⁷

David Sheldon views the galant as a transitional musical style, representing the remains of the baroque tradition, without introducing anything new to music.⁸⁸ Pestelli refers to galant as an “extrovert” style, featuring a cantabile melody, Alberti bass, and a regular phrase structure.⁸⁹ He finds that composers such as J.C. Bach, Georg Christoph Wagenseil, Baldassare Galuppi, Pietro Domenico Paradisi, and Giovanni Marco Rutini exemplify this style.

Due to the varying definitions of the term galant, brought on by its wide use, Sisman argues galant means “free composition.” Further, she broadly suggests that, for the purpose of her study and generally in the eighteenth century, everything not learned falls into the galant category, including “classical or galant counterpoint.”⁹⁰ It is important to remember the overlapping aspects of the styles, such as the galant fugue. Such ideas will be expounded upon in Chapter 3.

Contemporary interpretations of galant stylistic traits include a light texture, periodic phrasing, frequent cadences, simple melodies, and free treatment of dissonances.⁹¹ Melodic passages are most important and are elevated with the help of a single, repetitive accompaniment line. Further, the galant style features simple, playful melodies. Later, in Chapter 5, I argue that all five of the figures used in the fugue of the *Jupiter* finale are galant, while the combination of these figures in the fugal Coda reflects the learned style.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ See Radice, “Nature of the *Style Galant*,” 641.

⁸⁹ Pestelli, *Age of Mozart and Beethoven*, 136.

⁹⁰ Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 71.

⁹¹ “Galant Style,” in *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*, ed. Don Michael Randel (New York: Harvard University Press, 2003), 341.

Review of Literature

A wide variety of literature and theories addresses the conception and composition of the *Jupiter* symphony. Perhaps the authoritative study of the *Jupiter* belongs to Sisman, in her Cambridge Music Handbook to *The Jupiter Symphony*. Supplements to this work appear in her subsequent article “Learned Style and the Rhetoric of the Sublime in the *Jupiter* Symphony.” In both publications she assesses all aspects of the compositional process of the *Jupiter*, including expectations for the symphony as a genre and the conception and reception of the *Jupiter*. I find her discussion of rhetoric, aesthetics, and the sublime particularly relevant to my work. Like Sisman, I use treatises by Burke and Kant in developing my definition of the sublime, but, contrastingly, I further my argument using ideas from Sulzer, Schultz, and Scheibe. Sisman concludes that Mozart’s finale relates most closely to Kant’s definition of the mathematical sublime, as I also discuss, due to Mozart’s increasing use of dissonances and the incomprehensibility resulting from the movement’s complexity.⁹² She labels the movement as massive, disordered, obscure, repetitious, and fleeting, all qualities that make up Kant’s sublime. Mozart magnifies the drama by denying the listener time to comprehend the intricacy of the music.

Sisman argues that the *Jupiter* features Kant’s mathematical sublime, which she identifies in three short sections of the symphony, because the sublime “must always be brief.”⁹³ This assertion puzzles me and I question her definition of the term “brief.” Brevity seems to be a subjective matter, as two notes (such as in Haydn’s *Creation*) can evoke the sublime, while nearly 30 measures (as in the *Jupiter*) can suggest the same. While I understand that one

⁹² Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 76.

⁹³ Ibid.

typically does not experience the sublime for an extended amount of time--it is typically a short period of confusion or terror followed by a release--I think Sisman's assessment merits qualification. She finally describes the Coda as an encapsulation of "contrapuntal chaos," with the individual pieces of thematic material moving throughout all instruments, thus revealing "vistas of contrapuntal infinity."⁹⁴ This cognitive exhaustion creates the mathematical sublime. I agree with this notion and my analysis focuses on this section of the movement (see Chapter 5). I also argue that the entire Coda embodies the sublime and its synthesis of two fundamentally opposite musical styles establishes this aesthetic.

Simon Keefe provides a different perspective to Sisman's argument. He analyzes Sisman's definition of the sublime, concluding that it is possible for a symphony to contain both theoretic (sublime) and dramatic qualities; but Keefe questions her lack of concrete sublime examples in the finale to the fourth movement.⁹⁵ Instead, he considers the entire movement as a conversation, reflecting dramatic qualities, especially evident in the fugal finale. He cites a number of eighteenth-century writers, including Comte de Lacépède and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, who assessed the symphonic genre as a dramatic dialogue.

The fugue, Hegel writes, constitutes a dialogue, with multiple voices communicating simultaneously.⁹⁶ While I do not pursue this idea completely in this paper, I agree with this point and find it exemplified in the Coda. According to German composer and theorist Georg Joseph Volger (1749-1814), whom Keefe cites: "the fugue is a conversation among a multitude of singers... a musical artwork where no one accompanies, no one submits, where nobody plays a

⁹⁴ Ibid., 79.

⁹⁵ Simon P. Keefe, "The *Jupiter* Symphony in C, K. 551: New Perspectives on the Dramatic Finale and Its Stylistic Significance in Mozart's Orchestral Oeuvre." *Acta Musicologica* 75, no. 1 (2003): 37.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 29.

secondary role, but each a principal part.”⁹⁷ By citing specific references from the finale, Keefe concludes that one remarkable aspect of the *Jupiter* lies in the way the five fugal figures, which he refers to as the dialogue, are organized throughout the movement. He also remarks on how the dialogue in the exposition and development prepares the listener for the recapitulation and the coda. He writes: “Mozart writes individual dialogues...at one and the same time, inherently striking in themselves and powerfully directed towards even greater fulfillment.”⁹⁸ This point is supported by Goethe in his assessment of what makes a theatrical piece right for the stage: “each incident must be significant in itself and lead to another still more important.”⁹⁹ I agree that the use of fugue constitutes a dialogue, but I disagree that the entire final movement of *Jupiter* forms a dialogue. I believe that the iteration of the galant motives throughout the movement do not act primarily as communicative devices, but rather prepare the listener for the Coda, which serves as a moment of fulfillment and recognition.

Finally, Keefe analyzes the unusual use of the trumpets and horns throughout the movement. The design of these instruments during the eighteenth century made them unable to play four of Mozart’s five fugal finale themes, unless the passages were altered. At the apex of the movement when all of the woodwinds and strings are playing the themes simultaneously, the brass instead play a march-like fanfare easily accessible by the instruments of the time. For Keefe, the straightforward simplicity of the passage counters the complexity of the opposing parts, preventing the counterpoint from “running to infinity” while also shielding the listener from experiencing cognitive exhaustion.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Ibid., 26.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 35.

⁹⁹ Cited in Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 38.

While I believe that the march serves as a sort of organizing foundation, the mere presence of this new material, for me, does not diminish the applicability of sublimity to the movement overall. Rather, it enhances it by further combining thematic contraries. The effect of the carefully intertwining figures defies simple categorization and evokes a feeling of awe.

My interpretation and analysis of the *Jupiter* combines ideas by Kant, Sulzer, and others to demonstrate the sublime status of the symphony. I find the description of the sublime in Sulzer's encyclopedia completely applicable to the *Jupiter*, and prefer it to Kant's, because of its directness and simplicity. I also like that Schultz addresses the sublime in direct relation to music, whereas Kant's applicability must be inferred. However, Kant's ideas of boundlessness and the infinite do pertain to my study and I argue for their presence in the *Jupiter's* Coda.

Using publications by each author, in addition to critiques and analyses by other writers, I analyze the notion of the sublime and its relationship to music. I specifically focus on Kant's analysis of the sublime, which emphasizes the importance of the infinite, whereby immeasurable objects evoke sublime qualities and test the imagination. Sisman applies this notion of the sublime, arguing that Mozart's music required such demanding attention that performers and listeners alike found it "too much to take in."¹⁰¹ Invoking the mathematical sublime, the intricacy and delicacy of Mozart's music surpasses what can be aurally comprehended, thus evoking a sublime feeling. I also use Sulzer's definition of the sublime, which the author equates to the feeling of hammer-blows, seizing and instantly overwhelming the listener with an irresistible force, which persists beyond the initial element of surprise.¹⁰² Schultz asserts the symphony as a sublime creation, suggesting its incontestable human and moral worth: "The symphony is most

¹⁰¹ Cited in Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 18.

¹⁰² Huray, *Music and Aesthetics*, 113.

excellently suited to the expression of the grand, the festive and the sublime. Its goal is to prepare the listener for an important music work or, in a chamber concert, to offer all the brilliance of instrumental music.”¹⁰³

Specifically, Schultz focuses on the Allegro movement of chamber symphonies, which corresponds with the *molto allegro* tempo marking at the beginning of the fourth movement of the *Jupiter*. Schultz states Allegro movements contain bold, grand, and fiery thoughts. Such movements sometimes have themes articulated in a fugue-like manner and strike the listener as astonishing. An Allegro such as this is comparable to the Pindaric ode found in poetry; Sulzer writes, “It likewise elevates and shakes the soul of the listener, and demands the same spirit, the same sublime imagination and the same knowledge of art in order to be successful.”¹⁰⁴

In his dissertation, Harry Lackritz Gray analyzes Mozart’s use of the learned style which, he argues, juxtaposed against the opposite galant style, suggests Enlightenment ideals like individuality and liberation.¹⁰⁵ His analysis of the galant and learned styles pertain to my study, and I find his analysis of six pieces, including the *Jupiter*, of particular interest. Gray identifies six motives in the *Jupiter* finale and analyzes their use. My analysis makes use of six of Gray’s motives. I also use Nicolas Henri Waldvogel’s dissertation as it provides in-depth analysis of the sublime in the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁶ Waldvogel refers to a number of music theorists, whom I also use, in discussing the sublime aesthetic in the symphonic genre.

Many researchers have focused their studies on the *Jupiter*’s famous four-note (CDFE) opening motive. Used in fourteen different compositions by Mozart, including twelve times prior to the *Jupiter*, the passage continues to cause controversy regarding why Mozart seemed to favor

¹⁰³ Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, 165.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 166.

¹⁰⁵ See Gray, “Interpreting the Learned Style,” *passim*.

¹⁰⁶ Waldvogel, “Eighteenth-Century Esthetics of the Sublime,” *passim*.

these four notes. A. Hyatt King first compiled a complete inventory of Mozart's uses of the motive, as well as its use by other composers, including Palestrina, J.S. Bach, and Handel.¹⁰⁷ The prevalent use of this motive has caused some researchers to question its meaning and use in Mozart's oeuvre; this idea is expounded on in Chapter 2.

Other theories relating to this study include Ian Woodfield's assessment of the *Jupiter's* fourth movement, particularly regarding its Freemasonic connotations and its derivation of the fugal themes from Handel's oratorio *Judas Maccabeus*.¹⁰⁸ In his interpretation of the *Jupiter*, Zaslaw devises a storyline for the symphony, introducing a cast of characters akin to those in an *opera semiseria*. The symphony thus adopts political and social implications, culminating in the liturgically based finale, beginning with the same Credo theme that Mozart had used in his *Missa Brevis* in F Major, K. 192/186f.¹⁰⁹ Ratner considers the *ars combinatoria*, in which parlor games allowed listeners to generate compositional ideas through the roll of a die. He mentions a number of different musical examples, including the *Jupiter*, in which such a game could have been used. He considers the *Jupiter* as related to game playing because of its use of multiple inverted counterpoint, which takes careful planning by the composer.¹¹⁰

Overview of Remaining Chapters

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the rise of the symphony, specifically its presence in eighteenth-century Vienna. At this time, vocal works were extremely popular, making

¹⁰⁷ A. Hyatt King, *Mozart in Retrospect: Studies in Criticism and Bibliography* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1970), 262-63.

¹⁰⁸ Ian Woodfield, "Mozart's *Jupiter*: A Symphony of Light?," *The Musical Times* 147, no. 1897 (2006): 25.

¹⁰⁹ Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies*, 536.

¹¹⁰ Leonard Ratner, "Ars Combinatoria: Chance and Choice in Eighteenth-Century Music," in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Music: A Tribute to Karl Geiringer on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. H.C. Robbins Landon (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 360.

symphonies seem inferior to eighteenth-century ears. By the latter part of the century, the symphony received more attention as an independent genre, able to serve as the focal point of a concert.

Composers and theorists alike had varying ideas regarding the power and the influence of instrumental music. Most agreed that symphonies should be simple, without extensive elaboration, as in a concerto. The symphony therefore, was compared to a chorus, containing many voices working together to complete a single, accessible whole. This corresponds to the idea of the symphony as democratic, an idea discussed by Mark Evan Bonds and others.¹¹¹

I briefly detail the convoluted history of Mozart's trilogy, comprising Symphonies 39-41. A number of different theories exist concerning how long it took Mozart to compose the works, when and where they were performed, and what their purpose was. Finally, I turn my focus to the *Jupiter*, providing a short analysis of the innovative aspects of each movement, and the ways in which each deviates from established norms, particularly in the finale. The individuality and intricateness of the symphony, I argue, led to Johann Peter Salomon's decision to subtitle the symphony *Jupiter*. The opening four-note motive of the movement has invited much discussion in academia as to its origins and influence. I consider past use of the motive as a introduction to further discussion in Chapter 5. Perhaps the most important part of the movement is the Coda, which combines the five themes that Mozart has established throughout the movement into inverted counterpoint.

Chapter 3 articulates the importance of Mozart's conjunctive use of both learned and galant in his compositional style. I begin by discussing Mozart's use of liturgical music and his

¹¹¹ See Mark Evan Bonds, *Music as Thought: Listening to the Symphony in the Age of Beethoven*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.)

implementation of such techniques in his compositions. Mozart gained a comprehension of this music through his studies of Fux, Handel, and Bach, as well as through mentors including Padre Martini, Leopold Mozart, and Georg Reutter.¹¹² Upon arriving in Vienna, Mozart found a number of outlets for studying and performing sacred compositions. Conversely, I discuss Mozart's role as a galant composer, who drew much of his style from compositions by J.C. Bach.¹¹³ Additionally, I link Mozart's application of the learned and galant styles to several of his own compositions written in close proximity to the *Jupiter*. In considering the fusion of the learned and galant styles, and its implications, I examine compositions including portions of Mozart's *Adagio and Fugue* and *Symphony 38 Prague*.

In Chapter 4 I further evaluate the sublime through definitions established by philosophers including Burke and Kant, while also considering the views of music theorists such as Scheibe and Schultz. I evaluate the sublime as subjective, using ideas from McClary and Taruskin to argue that the sublime can occur in the form of an actual feeling, and varies with the individual. Such an idea is controversial in analyzing eighteenth-century music, which some historians position as absolute, perfect, and beyond critique. My analysis, on the other hand, acknowledges the processes through which listeners identify with compositions as feelings and experiences, rather than simply as fact or object.

Chapter 5 comprises my musical analysis of the finale, focusing particularly on the Coda. My analysis begins with a critical assessment of the first theme, referred to by some as the Credo motive, the CDFE motive. This motive is the first theme heard in the fourth movement and is

¹¹² See A. Peter Brown, "Eighteenth-Century Traditions and Mozart's *Jupiter* Symphony K. 551," *The Journal of Musicology* 20, no. 2 (2003): 157-95.

¹¹³ Simon McVeigh, "Johann Christian Bach," in *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia*, ed. Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 38.

immediately heard in two distinctly different ways: as an opening fanfare and as a fugue. I also break down the motive by outlining its galant qualities, and simultaneously, its learned qualities. Further in this chapter I analyze each of the Coda's five themes, using theoretical ideas established by eighteenth-century writers and the ideas compiled by Ratner. Finally, I consider the way the motives work together to form the contrapuntal Coda in ways that strain comprehension and produce awe. I argue that the amalgamation of these contrary characteristics, exemplified through the fugue in the finale's Coda, can evoke a state of sublimity. Here the contrapuntal interworkings suggest the boundless and the infinite while also showing the merging of opposites, as the galant motives combine in the learned fugue.

In my conclusion, Chapter 6, I draw on popular culture to discuss the changing ideas of the sublime as well as the way listeners perceive it. What twenty-first century audiences consider sublime differs greatly from the judgments made by the eighteenth-century ear. This chapter further confirms the sublime effects found in Mozart's use of the galant and the learned styles, specifically focusing on their presence in the final Coda of the *Jupiter* Symphony.

I wish you could hear a German symphony. God!
 What fire & spirit & with what accuracy they execute them.
 ~Charles Burney¹¹⁴

Chapter 2

“What fire & spirit”: The symphony in Mozart’s Vienna

While many critics now revere the symphony and many composers aspire to it, during much of the eighteenth century, listeners responded in quite the opposite fashion. Critics considered the symphony inferior to vocal music and deemed it useless due to its lack of text. However, by the end of the century and throughout the nineteenth century, the symphony represented one of the most popular of western European genres for its ability to convey the utmost emotion. Throughout the course of the eighteenth century, the symphony went from a mundane to a sublime genre, able to impart emotions, feelings, and new ideas. For its unique and forward-looking compositional characteristics, the *Jupiter* as a whole truly exemplifies the idea of the elevated and sublime.

This chapter focuses on a number of historical topics that relate to my study of the *Jupiter*. First, I briefly consider the performance climate and the symphonic genre in Vienna, where Mozart composed the majority of his symphonies. I next consider the oft-argued purpose of Mozart’s symphonies; some of the most convincing scholars demonstrate that he wrote for profit or publication, more than for pleasure. This notion further informs the problematic history surrounding Mozart’s “trilogy,” comprising his final three symphonies, complete in 1788. Little information survives about their purpose or performance venue. Of this group, I discuss the *Jupiter* in detail, highlighting moments from each movement that separate it from other compositions of the time and that have advanced its exalted status.

¹¹⁴ Cited in Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies*, 366.

Finally I discuss the symphony in terms of German aesthetic theories, including the idea of the symphony as a democracy. While some contemporaneous critics voiced a number of grievances against the genre, others noticed its musical and social potential. Using research by Mark Evan Bonds and James Webster, I explore this idea.

The Viennese Symphony

As an introduction to plays and operas, the symphony had deep roots in the theater. Soon, the style was used to introduce private performances in palaces and private concert halls. Still it assumed a position of secondary importance because it introduced vocal and instrumental solos rather than large-scale ensemble works.

Assessing Mozart's *Jupiter* Symphony demands an understanding of the compositional climate in Vienna, where Mozart spent the latter part of his life and some of his most productive years. While the majority of his symphonies were written in Salzburg, Mozart composed nearly ten symphonies in Vienna, including some of his most well-known works such as the *Haffner*, the *Linz*, the *Prague*, and his final trilogy, discussed further below. Perhaps the various musical styles in Vienna in addition to Mozart's ability to assimilate and mimic diverse idioms contributed to his ingenuity in these popular symphonies.

Location played an important role in the development of the symphonic genre; composers generally incorporated the musical styles and tastes of where they lived into the music to increase local appeal.¹¹⁵ Mozart was no exception. During his extensive travels as a child prodigy, he had the opportunity to hear and learn different musical styles from across Europe.

¹¹⁵ Jan Larue, "Symphony," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, accessed January 14, 2011, www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Thus, he picked up techniques practiced in different countries, cultivating them into his own unique compositional style.¹¹⁶

Due to the extensive reach and power of the Habsburg Monarchy, Vienna became the European crossroads; the city's reputation for stylistic diversity and the patronage system drew many musicians and composers.¹¹⁷ Music, and especially symphonies, played an important role in Viennese society, as Vienna and the Habsburg Monarchy formed the leading area of symphonic composition; in this region virtually every concert began and usually ended with a symphony.¹¹⁸ One primary function of music, according to world traveler and music critic Charles Burney (1726-1814), was its private use: "Music is the sole [aspect of Viennese life] in which the nobles show taste."¹¹⁹ One can see this emphasis on the symphonic genre reflected in its use in ceremonies, banquets, receptions, and Catholic church services, and most frequently in the concert setting. These showcases were typically held at palaces, monasteries, or private residences.¹²⁰ Since the first concert hall in Vienna was not built until 1831, concerts were also held publically in parks, pubs, dance halls, restaurants, hotels, and ballrooms, thus bringing a more informal atmosphere and lower class clientele to the symphonic tradition.¹²¹

It is important to reiterate the distinctions among the musical trichotomy, church-theater-chamber, as these categories correlate with the various venues used for symphonic performance. Composers catered each symphony to the type of venue in which it was performed. Concert or chamber symphonies were performed in theaters or concert rooms, casinos, or gardens; theater

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 1.

¹¹⁹ Cited in Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies*, 100.

¹²⁰ Larue, "Symphony."

¹²¹ Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1989), 65.

symphonies and opera overtures were played at the beginning and in between acts of the performance; and church symphonies coincided with the liturgy and consisted of oratorio, overtures, and sacred cantatas.¹²² Symphonies used in theater performances were not usually written specifically for the performance, but many compositions were arranged to serve as the introduction or *entr'acte*.¹²³

In many cases, however, the audience's attention gravitated not toward the symphony itself, but rather to what happened in between its movements. Figure 1 summarizes a program for a Viennese concert that Mozart held in the Burgtheater on March 23, 1783. Note that Symphony No. 35 *Haffner* K. 385 both opens and closes the program, while soloists dominate the rest of the performance.¹²⁴

¹²² Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 1.

¹²³ See Elaine Sisman, "Haydn's Theater Symphonies," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43, no. 2 (1990): 292-352.

¹²⁴ For an in-depth study of Viennese concert life, including concert calendars and lists of patrons, see the appendices to Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna*.

Symphony No. 35 *Haffner*, K. 385, Movements 1-3
 “Se il padre perdei” from *Idomeneo*
 Piano Concerto in C major, K. 415
 Recitative and Aria for Soprano, K. 369
 Symphonic concertante, III and IV of Serenade, K. 320
 Piano Concerto in D major, K.175 with a new finale, K. 382
 “Parto, m’affretto” from *Lucio Silla*, K. 135
 Short, improvised fugue for piano
 Variations for piano, K. 398
 Variations for piano, K. 455
 Recitative and Rondo for soprano, K. 416
Haffner Symphony Movement 4

Figure 1: Viennese concert program¹²⁵

According to accounts of eighteenth-century concerts, ornery, rude, or oblivious latecomers typically interrupted the start of a program, when the symphony was performed.¹²⁶ This suggests the symphony’s use as a “noise-killer,” as filler material to collect the noise of audience entry so as not to detract from the soloist performances to follow.¹²⁷ Mary Sue Morrow establishes the importance of the symphony’s noise-killer effect, noting that there were few other ways to mark the beginning of the concert; the candles could not be dimmed and the composer did not make a separate entrance, as he was already part of the ensemble.¹²⁸ Noting this trend,

¹²⁵ Mozart wrote of this symphonic program in a letter to his father, dated March 29, 1778. This program is cited in a number of publications including in Alfred Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, translated by Arthur Mendel and Nathan Broder, 5th ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1951) 230. Sisman identifies the full title of each piece in Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 1.

¹²⁶ Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna*, 142.

¹²⁷ Laszlo Somfai, “The London Revision of Haydn's Instrumental Style,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 100 (1973-4): 166.

¹²⁸ Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna*, 149.

Haydn requested that his compositions appear in the second half of the Salomon concerts, so that latecomers would not disrupt the performance.¹²⁹

In the 1780s, Joseph II's absolute monarchy significantly restricted the performance of sacred music, and also affected secular music. The ruler detested the lavish court performances held prior to his reign; these ideals affected the aristocracy, who typically sponsored and commissioned symphonies and other chamber works performed at high-class events, like private concerts.¹³⁰ Thus, under Joseph's reign, wealthy listeners most often sponsored performances in their own salons and supported private subscription concerts. Mozart's final three symphonies, including the *Jupiter*, were possibly written for a subscription concert at a casino.¹³¹ Mozart frequently performed at such venues multiple times a week, so often that he once complained of the lack of time to compose as he taught mornings and performed evenings.¹³² This idea demarcates an important change in the compositional process for symphonies. In the early eighteenth century composers primarily worked for patrons. By the latter half of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century, the patronage system carried less influence, causing composers to find other reasons and venues to perform their symphonies.

Mozart's Symphonic Purpose and the "Trilogy"

Mozart's reasons for composing his symphonies present an oft-discussed and controversial topic in musicology, especially with regard to his final three. Alfred Einstein takes a somewhat romantic approach to the composition of these works, arguing that they were written

¹²⁹ Though Haydn requested this format, some of the concerts that season did open with a Haydn symphony. See Sisman *Jupiter Symphony*, 5-6.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 3.

without an intended performance date and reflect Mozart's inner impulse. He writes: "But this is perhaps symbolic of their position in the history of music and of human endeavor, representing no occasion, no immediate purpose, but an appeal to eternity."¹³³

Recent researchers, however, suggest that Mozart composed for some sort of profit, either through subscription concerts or publication, rather than to satisfy his inner self. Mozart was perhaps best known for his contributions to opera; however such works normally took a long time to complete. Therefore, Mozart needed to find a more expedient way to support his family; symphonies allowed for this possibility. Further, Neal Zaslaw writes that Mozart wrote his compositions with a practical purpose for each in mind.¹³⁴ He reasons that since Mozart stayed extremely busy composing he needed some level of urgency to commit to writing a piece. This motivator was likely money, which Mozart always needed.¹³⁵

Like Zaslaw, Stanley Sadie writes that Mozart rarely wrote out of personal expression or compulsion but rather most likely for publication.¹³⁶ He also suggests that in light of Haydn's success in publishing the *Paris Symphonies* as early as 1764, Mozart possibly tried to build on this trend. Writing a set of three symphonies suggests publication as the goal since publishers thought it convenient and economical to print works in sets of three or six.¹³⁷ Though the symphonies were published after Mozart's death, Sadie writes that often composers withheld works from publication for a time so they could sell manuscript copies to patrons, thereby increasing their income.¹³⁸

¹³³ Einstein, *Mozart: His Character, His Work*, 234.

¹³⁴ Zaslaw, "Mozart as a Working Stiff," 102.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Stanley Sadie, *Mozart Symphonies* (London: BBC Publications, 1986), 80.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 86.

By twentieth-century conceptions, a trilogy usually refers to three works that are united by a theme and performed at the same time.¹³⁹ Mozart's final three symphonies do not share such qualities. Since Mozart catalogued his last three symphonies in such close proximity to each other, however, many researchers refer to them as a "trilogy." Further, the immediacy of their composition dates suggests that they were intended for a subscription series concert.¹⁴⁰

Despite the entry of the symphonies into Mozart's catalogue around the same time, a number of theories discuss how long Mozart actually took to compose the trilogy. Originally the academic consensus suggested that Mozart composed all three symphonies in only six weeks. Daniel Heartz writes, however, that since Mozart was preoccupied with writing operas and piano concertos, completing the symphonies could have potentially taken years.¹⁴¹ Other research reveals that Mozart wrote the symphonies over a longer period of time but completed all three at approximately the same time.¹⁴² Thus, he entered all of these into his catalogue in the summer of 1788: Symphony No. 39 in E-flat major on June 25, Symphony No. 40 in G-minor *The Great* on July 26, and Symphony No. 41 *Jupiter* on August 10.

Much of Mozart's life was chronicled in his correspondence with Leopold; but following his father's death in 1781 the composer only exchanged letters with a few correspondents, primarily Contanze and his fellow Freemason, Michael Puchberg.¹⁴³ The letters to Puchberg, who also helped manage sales of Mozart's publications, are particularly important when piecing together the final years of Mozart's life.¹⁴⁴ Virtually all of them request financial support, but

¹³⁹ Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 26.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁴¹ Daniel Heartz, *Mozart, Haydn, and Early Beethoven* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2009), 202.

¹⁴² David Wyn Jones, "Why Did Mozart Compose His Last Three Symphonies? Some New Hypotheses," *Music Review* 51(1990): 280.

¹⁴³ Information from this paragraph is taken from Chapter 3 of Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 21-36.

¹⁴⁴ Heartz, *Mozart, Haydn, and Early Beethoven*, 198.

some also suggest the possibility of subscription concerts, where the final symphonies would potentially debut.¹⁴⁵ From the Puchberg letters, researchers know that Mozart was planning subscription concerts for the summer of 1788; no evidence, however, suggests the concerts ever took place.¹⁴⁶ Though in one letter Mozart sent Puchberg tickets to a subscription concert, researchers have not located a program or any other documentation regarding the concert.¹⁴⁷ This leads some to question whether Mozart lived to hear his final symphonies performed. Since Mozart traveled so frequently during 1788, if the symphonies did not premiere at a summer casino concert, they were very likely played on tour; the strong probability of such effectively quashes the supposition that Mozart never heard his final three symphonies.¹⁴⁸

A. Peter Brown concludes that Mozart was not impoverished when he wrote his trilogy, as previously thought, but rather in a temporary financial decline due to the Turkish War.¹⁴⁹ Zaslaw and Andrew Steptoe echo this assessment; Steptoe argues that Mozart would not have composed the symphonies without the hope that a concert opportunity would arise in the future.¹⁵⁰ Rather, Mozart had a concert date for the symphonies in mind. Steptoe also suggests that if Mozart lived to hear the symphonies, they were not likely performed at the same time. In fact, Steptoe believes none were probably performed in the summer or fall of 1788 because war against the Turks had been recently declared, resulting in a lull in performance activity.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁵ See Emily Anderson, *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, 3rd ed. (London: MacMillan Reference, 1997) especially pages 914-917 and 934-941.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 938.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 914.

¹⁴⁸ Jones, "Why Did Mozart Compose," 280-81.

¹⁴⁹ Brown, "Eighteenth-Century Traditions," 158. See also Volkmar Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Vienna: 1781-1791*, trans. Timothy Bell (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1986), 107-41, for a discussion of Mozart's financial situation.

¹⁵⁰ See Andrew Steptoe, "Mozart and His Last Three Symphonies. A Myth Laid to Rest?," *The Musical Times* 132, no. 1785 (1991): 550.

¹⁵¹ Steptoe, "Mozart and His Last Three Symphonies" 551.

The *Jupiter*

Symphony No. 41 earned a number of nicknames throughout the years; during the early nineteenth century, it was known in German-speaking countries as “the symphony with the fugal finale” or the “symphony with the fugue at the end.”¹⁵² The nickname *Jupiter* was given to the symphony by the English violinist and orchestra leader Johann Peter Salomon (1745-1815), according to Mozart’s son Franz Xaver. The subtitle first appeared on a Edinburgh concert program in 1819, and became a standard label for the work. Zaslaw suggests that the title came from the pomp and military-like opening of the first movement, characterized by dotted rhythms and use of the brass and kettledrums. Such calculated rhythms suggested nobility and godliness to eighteenth-century listeners.¹⁵³

Eighteenth-century symphonies typically followed the four-movement structural plan: Fast (*Allegro*), Slow (*Andante*), Minuet and Trio, and Fast (*Allegro* or *Presto*). Melanie Lowe suggests that the movements of symphonies suggest the high-middle-low trichotomy, discussed previously.¹⁵⁴ The first movement of symphonies typically reflects the high style in its use of fanfares and allusions to the overture style. The middle two movements suggest the middle style, while the finale imparts the low style through the use of buffa or popular comedic dances.¹⁵⁵ She writes that many compositions by Haydn and Mozart correspond to this layout, including Haydn’s Symphony 104 *London* and Mozart’s Symphony 35 *Haffner* and Symphony 38 *Prague*. The *Jupiter* is an exception to this format; despite the prevalent use of the galant style in the

¹⁵² Zaslaw, *Mozart’s Symphonies*, 441.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 442.

¹⁵⁴ Melanie Lowe, *Pleasure and Meaning in the Classical Symphony* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 66.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

fourth movement, the counterpoint and fugue make it dignified and elevated, thus evoking the high style.¹⁵⁶

Brown writes that, in an eighteenth-century Viennese context, listeners most likely understood the *Jupiter* as a ceremonial composition that included imperial and liturgical associations, largely through its use of fanfares.¹⁵⁷ Use of trumpets and drums, as well as the key of C major, usually signified birth, name, or wedding day celebrations held by the Imperial family.¹⁵⁸ Though these celebrations eventually became only a minor part of Viennese and Imperial life in every day experiences, the ideas remained in the consciousness of citizens, who still made a powerful association between such musical sounds and nobility.¹⁵⁹ The first movement contains a number of flourishes, fanfares, and dotted rhythms, recalling the Imperial tradition, which is especially marked by the trumpet fanfares at the beginning. In another interpretation, the first movement of the *Jupiter* embodies the “spirit of comic opera” to some listeners, thus evoking the low styles.¹⁶⁰ Further, Sisman states that the exposition can be broken into three distinct themes (first group, second group, closing group), which correspond to the high, middle, and low styles of music, discussed previously.¹⁶¹ Thus the first movement emphasizes the high style, but can be seen to variously encompass all three styles.

Writers consider a number of different influences in the second movement of the *Jupiter*. Both Sisman and Brown write that the movement shares similarities with the piano concertos

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 67.

¹⁵⁷ A. Peter Brown, *The First Golden Age of the Viennese Symphony*, 5 vols., vol. 2, *The Symphonic Repertoire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 424.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 46.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

Mozart wrote between 1784-86.¹⁶² Both Sisman and Brown consider the movement a *sarabande*, due to its strong second beat emphasis; they also suggest that its inspiration came from Handel and Bach.¹⁶³ The movement is characterized by its emotive rhythms, syncopations, and accents on off beats.¹⁶⁴ In considering the influences of both piano concertos and dance, I find it reasonable to consider this movement reflective of the middle style, which encompasses both of these genres.

During the eighteenth century, minuets were classified as either serious or gay; Brown labels the *Jupiter* minuet as containing both.¹⁶⁵ The antecedent section of the minuet is dominated by downbeats, fanfares, and imitative passages found in the serious style. The consequent Trio imparts a more buffo character. Thus, the movement combines the learned and galant (or serious and gay), an idea further explored in the finale to the *Jupiter*. A major difference in these movements is that in the third, the learned and galant are in separate formal sections (the learned is in the minuet proper while the galant is in the trio) whereas in the finale, both styles are used simultaneously.

The most popular of all the movements is the finale, which Brown calls the “capstone to the character of the first three pieces.”¹⁶⁶ Many writers, including Sisman, agree that even if Mozart knew that the *Jupiter* would be his final symphony, there was no way he could have surpassed the grandeur and majesty of the finale.¹⁶⁷ The pinnacle moment of the piece occurs in

¹⁶² Ibid., 55; Brown, *Eighteenth Century Traditions*, 170-174.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 55.

¹⁶⁵ A. Peter Brown cites information from Sarah Bennett Reichardt, who has done extensive research on eighteenth-century minuets. Reichardt classifies them as either serious (emphasis on the downbeat) or gay (emphasis on the upbeat). See Brown, “Eighteenth-Century Traditions,” 176. Also see Chapter 4 of Lowe, *Pleasure and Meaning*, 99-132.

¹⁶⁶ Brown, *First Golden Age*, 424.

¹⁶⁷ Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 68.

the Coda when Mozart combines five galant motives into quintuple inverted counterpoint. I discuss this event throughout this thesis but fully elaborate on the score in Chapter 5.

The responses to and reception of the *Jupiter* have ranged from admiring to excessive. Some critics argued the symphony was out-of-date, confusing, and contained an overabundance of rich harmonies and arduous technical requirements.¹⁶⁸ A correspondent for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* wrote that Haydn's C major Symphony (No. 95) contained a fugal finale, as did Mozart's Symphony 41 in which, "as is well known, he came on a little too strong."¹⁶⁹

On the contrary, Georg Nikolaus von Nissen (1761-1826), Mozart's first biographer and Constanze Mozart's second husband, wrote of the *Jupiter*:

His great Symphony in C with the closing fugue is truly the first of all symphonies. In no work of this kind does the divine spark of genius shine more brightly and beautifully. All is heavenly harmony, whose tones, like a great noble deed, speak to the heart and enrapture it; all is the most sublime art, before whose power the spirit bows and is amazed.¹⁷⁰

Mozart biographer Hugh Ottoway describes the *Jupiter* as "one of the marvels of Classical music," while others, including Heinrich Eduard Jacob, compare it to a higher power, asserting that the symphony itself contains "the allure of a God, who idly opens his hand to release it from a world."¹⁷¹ Robert Gutman writes that the finale to the *Jupiter* is: "a movement of unexcelled diversity and intellectual power...in which an astonishing variety of plot,

¹⁶⁸ Keefe, "*Jupiter* Symphony," 17.

¹⁶⁹ Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 29.

¹⁷⁰ Cited in Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Cited in Keefe, "*Jupiter* Symphony," 18.

counterplot, and subplot all converge and reach denouement within an overarching structure of universal pardon.”¹⁷²

The Symphony as an Idea

Throughout most of the eighteenth century, society disregarded the symphony for its lack of text and considered it inferior to its counterpart--vocal music.¹⁷³ Critics and listeners alike understood the symphony as “mere noise,” “formless clanging,” and “incomprehensible mishmash.”¹⁷⁴ Not only did this music lack determinate content, but it also lacked the force of the affects, conveyed by the words of drama. However, at the start of the nineteenth century, ideas regarding the aesthetic power and true capabilities of the symphony changed.

Later in the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, critics viewed instrumental music as equal and even superior to vocal music. With no words or set “program” the symphony served as a catalyst for individual thought and interpretation. For instance, Mark Evan Bonds suggests that eighteenth-century writers including Johann Mattheson, Johann Nikolaus Forkel, and Heinrich Christoph Koch believed in the emotional power found in instrumental music, referring to it as “the language of the heart” and “the language of the emotions.”¹⁷⁵ These descriptions elevate wordless music, making it a new form of language, which contributes to its rising notoriety. When compared with language, however, music lacks specificity, positioning it as irrational and imprecise.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷²Cited in *Ibid.*, 19-20.

¹⁷³ Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, 4.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁷⁵ Cited in Mark Evan Bonds, *Music as Thought: Listening to the Symphony in the Age of Beethoven* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 13.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

Some theorists viewed the symphony in a quasi-narrative sense, taking on characteristics which linked the symphony with the theater and operatic traditions. With the contrasting musical forces evident in the diverse instrumentation, theorists such as Ludwig Tieck (1773-1853) saw commonalities between the symphony and opera, “because of the beautiful entanglement of musical characters that it entails.”¹⁷⁷ Others shared similar outlooks, such as E.T.A. Hoffman (1776-1822), who referred to the symphony as “the opera of instruments” and Wilhelm Wackenroder (1773-89), who thought symphonies could present dramas that even the best playwrights could not create.¹⁷⁸ Leo Trietler pursues the idea of narration in Mozart’s music, providing an analysis of Symphony 39, K. 543.¹⁷⁹ In particular, he explicates the narrative interactions between the different components of sonata form, concluding that Mozart’s operas are simply symphonies with singers.¹⁸⁰ These perspectives connect the symphony to one of its original purposes--opening theatrical events. Additionally, linking the symphony with the theater not only reaffirms the relationship between music and rhetoric, but also suggests that the symphony operates in a communal sense.

The symphony as a cooperative or communal entity ties to contemporaneous democratic ideals. While the scale of symphonic works, their length, and the size of their performance venues contributed to parallels between democracy and the symphony, eighteenth-century theorists focused primarily on the symphony as a group of instruments, each with a contrasting timbre, working together polyphonically. The result is not a composition with a single, dominant voice, but rather a collection of diverse voices, each important, which together form the final

¹⁷⁷ Cited in Leo Treitler, “Mozart and the Idea of Absolute Music,” in *Music and the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 183.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ See Ibid., 191-213.

¹⁸⁰ The idea of narration within a symphony links with eighteenth-century absolutism, discussed further in Chapter 4. See Ibid., 212.

product. Many composers and theorists reflected on this idea in their writings. François Jean de Chastellux (1734-88) believed the German symphonists were more concerned with producing a beautiful effect through their extensive use of instruments, than with developing beautiful melodies. He writes, “Their symphonies are a type of Concerto in which the instruments each shine in turn, in what they provoke and respond to one another, dispute and reconcile.”¹⁸¹ Composers were well aware of the communal effect of the symphony, and even tried to incorporate this ideal into their compositions. Bonds mentions Haydn’s idea for a *National Symphony*, which never materialized and Muzio Clementi’s Third Symphony, entitled *Great National Symphony* as examples of communal expression that could not be conveyed through a smaller form like the quartet or concerto.¹⁸²

Richard Will defines the characteristic symphony as an instrumental work with a subject distinguished by text, which could be as much as a paragraph or as little as a one-word subtitle. Will mentions Mozart’s *Jupiter*, citing its “martial splendor;” however since the subtitle *Jupiter* was not bestowed on Symphony No. 41 until after Mozart’s death, it is not considered a characteristic symphony and is therefore not included in Will’s extensive list.¹⁸³ From 1750-1815 nearly 150 characteristic symphonies were written and encompassed the following categories: pastoral, military, hunt, storm, and national or religious characters.¹⁸⁴ Examples include Beethoven’s *Eroica* Symphony and *Pastoral* Symphony, Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf’s *Four Ages of the World*, and Haydn’s *Last Seven Words*. Will writes that most characteristic symphonies derive from cities and courts presided over by Vienna and the Habsburg Monarchy.

¹⁸¹ Cited in Bonds, *Music as Thought*, 64.

¹⁸² See Ibid., 66.

¹⁸³ Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 249-303.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 1.

Community is further emphasized by symphonies on politically-related subjects, such as the *Eroica*. While the beginning seems to suggest “heroic individualism,” by the end, the rhythms used reference the contradanse--a form of celebration.¹⁸⁵

One of the turning points for interpretation of the symphony as a high genre occurred in 1810 with Hoffman’s review of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony, which Hoffman considered “a world that has nothing in common with the external world of the senses.”¹⁸⁶ Bonds writes that, while the period between Kant’s 1790 publication and Hoffman’s in 1810 might seem like a short span of time, the newly revered role of instrumental music was inescapable. Recognizing the changes at work during this period, Hoffman famously wrote of the transition between the three composers: Haydn’s symphonies “led us into vast green meadows, into a merry, bright throng of happy people;” Mozart “leads us into the depths of the spirit realm;”¹⁸⁷ and Beethoven’s symphonies “open up to us the realm of the monstrous and immeasurable.”¹⁸⁸ Thus, to Hoffman, Mozart occupied a place somewhere in between Haydn’s beautiful and Beethoven’s monstrous. Bonds interprets the same comparison as reflective of Haydn’s innocence, Mozart’s superhuman, and Beethoven’s divine. I mention Hoffman’s statement to further exemplify how the symphony changed over the course of the eighteenth century; once considered mundane, by the end of Mozart’s career and throughout Beethoven’s, the genre was taken to new heights. The notion of the late-eighteenth-century symphony as an elevated, high, spiritual, or infinite genre relates to emerging nineteenth-century associations with such music as absolute, an idea further discussed in Chapter 4.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 190.

¹⁸⁶ Cited in Bonds, *Music as Thought*, 8.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 35.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 8.

Burney's introductory quote to this chapter suggests a pervasive perception regarding the caliber and effect of Viennese symphonies at the turn of the century. In those few simple lines, he suggests the virtuosity of the performers, the technicality composers employed in crafting their works, the precision attained at concerts, and importantly, the way such experiences were perceived by audiences. The implications of Burney's exclamation apply to the ideas presented throughout the chapter, which evaluates the state of the symphony in late-eighteenth century Vienna. Furthermore, the idea of listener perception looks forward to Chapter 4, which discusses subjectivity in eighteenth-century music.

Mozart in his music was probably the most reasonable of the world's great composers. It is the happy balance between flight and control, between sensibility and self-discipline, simplicity and sophistication of style that is his particular province... Mozart tapped once again the source from which all music flows, expressing himself with a spontaneity and refinement and breath-taking rightness that has never since been duplicated.

~Aaron Copland¹⁸⁹

Chapter 3 **“Simplicity and sophistication”: Mozart’s use of learned and galant styles**

My argument for the source of the sublime in the finale to the *Jupiter* Symphony centers on Mozart’s conjunctive use of the learned and galant musical styles. Sisman writes that these styles denote opposites in the eighteenth-century context; the learned style signified music, especially counterpoint, rooted deeply in the church, while galant encompassed all other types of music.¹⁹⁰ Mozart utilized both of these techniques, sometimes in the same compositions. In this chapter, I define the learned and the galant styles based on their eighteenth-century meanings. Further, I discuss Mozart’s use of such techniques. Much of this chapter focuses on the fugue, typically associated with the learned, which Mozart employed as both a learned and a galant technique. Specific musical examples from the *Adagio and Fugue*, K. 546 and Symphony No. 38 *Prague*, K. 504 demonstrate Mozart’s fugal usage of both learned and galant styles. Understanding and identifying their distinction explicates *Jupiter* as a synthesis of opposites.

¹⁸⁹ Aaron Copland, *Copland on Music* (New York: Doubleday, 1960), 108.

¹⁹⁰ Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 71.

Topics

To better understand characteristics, types, and specific emotions present in music, especially in the eighteenth century, musicologists including Leonard Ratner, Wye Jamison Allanbrook, and Kofi Agawu have categorized musical ideas into *topoi*, or topics.¹⁹¹ During the eighteenth century, audiences had familiarity with these ideas and could discern their various styles. Topics can appear in two forms: fully worked-out pieces, known as *types*, and figures and progressions found in a composition, known as *styles*. Types generally include dances and marches, while styles include military, singing, and *Empfindsamkeit*. Galant and learned music represent style categories as they generally constitute phrases within a piece rather than an entire composition. Contemporary research suggests a variety of ways in assessing styles used in the eighteenth century. For example, Ratner details movement one of Mozart's Symphony 38 *Prague*, in terms of topics, which include singing style, brilliant style, and learned style.¹⁹² In her influential study of the use of dance in Mozart's operas, Allanbrook assesses the relationship between meter and style. As Figure 2, below, demonstrates, she finds duple meter closely associated with the ecclesiastical style while music in triple meter better suggests human passions.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ See Ratner, *Classic Music*, 9-29 and Wye Jamison Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: Le Nozze Di Figaro & Don Giovanni* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), *passim*. Other books that provide further interpretation and analysis of *topoi* include Kofi Agawu, *Playing with Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classical Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Raymond Monelle, *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military, and Pastoral* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006); and Robert S. Hatten, *Interpreting Musical Gestures, Topics, and Tropes: Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004).

¹⁹² See Ratner, *Classic Music*, 27-28.

¹⁹³ Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart*, 18.

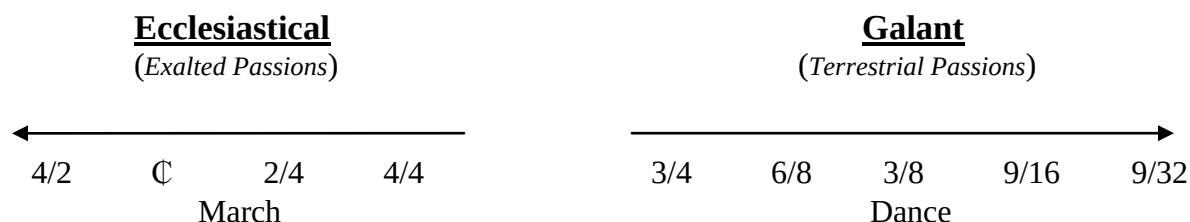


Figure 2: Allanbrook's metrical chart¹⁹⁴

While this system might seem ideal for interpreting the musical dialogue of the eighteenth century, Sisman points out some flaws in the concept of classifying music into topics. One of the main issues is understanding what constitutes a topic. In particular, topics can be overly generalized or taken too literally. Not every minor-keyed tremolo necessarily suggests *Sturm und Drang*, nor is every imitative passage an indicator of the learned style.¹⁹⁵ Regardless, eighteenth-century composers and listeners would have recognized and associated particular musical gestures with strongly engrained extra-musical ideas. Thus, a knowledge of such distinctions aids a contextually meaningful and comprehensive study of the *Jupiter* and its elements.

Rhetoric

As outlined in Chapter 1, eighteenth-century art music featured several important conceptual dichotomies and trichotomies. First used in antiquity, the high-middle-low trichotomy applied to the art of speaking; the rationale for the speech determined the level that the orator used. Low speeches were used for teaching, middle speeches were used to charm or mollify, and

¹⁹⁴ Adapted from *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁹⁵ Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 46.

high speech was used to affect the sentiments of the audience.¹⁹⁶ With some modifications, theorists applied such ideas to music. Starting in the Baroque era, theorists distinguished between the church-theater-chamber styles of music.¹⁹⁷ According to music theorist and composer Johann Adolph Scheibe, however, the three levels of music did not correspond with the three styles of rhetoric. Rather, the three levels of rhetoric were present in each of the three musical styles.¹⁹⁸ According to Scheibe, the learned is most used in the church, while the galant is suited best for chamber compositions.¹⁹⁹ This stylistic distinction further enforces the differences between these topics, both in purpose and in style.

The Learned Style

Conceptually, the learned or strict style incorporates musical traditions important to the liturgy and its practice, most notably the fugue. Learned concepts relate to Renaissance principles, such as use of a *cantus firmus* foundation and equal treatment of all voices in a polyphonic texture. Eighteenth-century views connected the learned style with the polyphony of earlier German church musicians, especially J.S. Bach.²⁰⁰ At the same time, the complex, polyphonic style of music was considered devoid of expression and commonly seen in relation to mathematics; in this way learned music was valued as knowledge rather than as emotional expression.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁶ Sisman, "Learned Style," 221.

¹⁹⁷ Wilson, "Rhetoric and Music."

¹⁹⁸ Ratner, *Classic Music*, 364.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Lippman, *History of Western Musical Aesthetics*, 59.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 76.

Heinrich Christoph Koch writes that the learned style is distinguished by its serious melody, few elaborations, bound dissonance, and adherence to the main subjects.²⁰² German composer and essayist Christian Gottfried Krause (1719-70) writes that compositions written in the learned style are admirable in church music as long as they appear in the right time and place, with moderation, and that they include, project, or inspire affection.²⁰³ Moreover, learned compositions require “practiced listeners” and need several listenings to facilitate full understanding and delight or move the soul.²⁰⁴ This last point was particularly important; for example, J.J. Quantz (1697-1773) states that although seventeenth-century German composers reached a zenith in their accurate use of harmony and virtuosity in playing instruments, their music was bereft of beautiful and charming melodies.²⁰⁵ Many eighteenth-century treatises consider the fugue as a conversation, argument, dispute or battle, positioning such pieces as learned works that link words and music. Simon Keefe employs this idea, citing research by Anton Reicha and Johann Nikolaus Forkel in drawing a comparison between the fugal Coda in the *Jupiter* and a conversation.²⁰⁶

As the primary genre of the learned style, the fugue was considered the pinnacle stage of a composer’s studies and the ultimate test of his compositional skill. Contemporary writers, including Ratner and Giorgio Pestelli, distinguish the learned style by its use of fugue, canonic devices, and imitation.²⁰⁷ It is important to note, and as we shall see in this chapter, that not all fugues are learned; Sisman labels such non-learned fugues as “Classical counterpoint,” which

²⁰² Ratner, *Classic Music*, 23.

²⁰³ Lippman, *History of Western Musical Aesthetics*, 68.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 68-69.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 68.

²⁰⁶ See Keefe, “*Jupiter* Symphony,” *passim*.

²⁰⁷ Ratner, *Classic Music*, 23; Pestelli, *Age of Mozart and Beethoven*, 136.

employ fugal techniques but do not impart the same level of *fugato* as strict fugues.²⁰⁸

Eighteenth-century composers readily used learned devices such as the fugue, fugato, canon, and polyphonic episodes in both chamber and church music; the use of such concepts in larger scale forms, such as symphonic and theatrical musics, soon became a form of experimentation for composers. Composers including Joseph and Michael Haydn, Johann Vanhal, Carlo d'Ordonez, and Franz Xaver Richter used the fugue in their symphonic compositions.²⁰⁹

As discussed in Chapter 1, Mozart's fugues incorporate techniques learned from Fux's studies, as well as Bach's work. The earliest examples of Mozart's fugal writing emerge when he was nine, in a sketchbook from one of his travels (approximately 1765); the last fugue he composed appears in the Requiem (1791).²¹⁰ Throughout the span of these compositions, his fugal works and techniques created a fusion between old and new styles.²¹¹

Mozart utilized the fugal genre in four different ways: through improvising fugues at the keyboard, through the study and arrangement of fugues by other composers, through composing fugues in varying styles, and through the combination of the fugue with sonata form.²¹² Most researchers agree that the apex of Mozart's interest in fugal writing was manifest in the library of nobleman and fellow Freemason Baron Gottfried van Swieten.²¹³ There the composer had access to scores by J.C. Bach, C.P.E Bach, and Handel. On Sundays at noon van Swieten held sessions

²⁰⁸ Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 71.

²⁰⁹ A. Peter Brown lists the symphonies that employ the fugue. See Brown, "Eighteenth-Century Traditions," 178.

²¹⁰ A. Hyatt King, "Mozart's Counterpoint: Its Growth and Significance," *Music & Letters* 26, no. 1 (1945): 12.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

²¹² Warren Kirkendale, *Fugue and Fugato in Rococo and Classical Chamber Music* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1979), 163-4.

²¹³ Unless otherwise noted, information from this paragraph is from Brown, "Eighteenth-Century Traditions," 159.

at his home dedicated to performing works by Bach and Handel; Mozart accompanied singers and even played full score arrangements of the works on the piano. In addition to studying Handel's scores, Mozart arranged and conducted some of his oratorios, including *Messiah* and *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day*. With the help of a few Viennese aristocrats known as the Gesellschaft der Associierten Cavaliere, van Swieten promoted Handel's oratorios on a larger scale. The first director of the association was Joseph Starzer; upon his death Mozart became director.²¹⁴

Bach's implementation of counterpoint fascinated Mozart, who strove to gain as much as he could from the senior composer's method, which he viewed as "something we can learn from."²¹⁵ According to Mozart's student Thomas Attwood, Bach's *Well Tempered Clavier* was always lying open at Mozart's clavier, suggesting continual reference to the music.²¹⁶ Mozart composed fugues prior to meeting van Swieten; however these were purely academic and were not incorporated into his compositional style.²¹⁷ Prior to meeting van Swieten, he rarely used learned counterpoint in his chamber and concert compositions. This rediscovery of the expressiveness implicit in counterpoint was important to Mozart's compositional style in his later years.²¹⁸ His use of Bach's counterpoint developed from strictly studying to working with the material creatively; Mozart gained facility with the fugue by arranging Bach's compositions, attempting like fugues, and gradually disseminating his own compositions along with the Bach tradition.²¹⁹ Using compositions in van Swieten's library, Mozart transcribed Bach fugues for ensembles; one notable instance is a set of six fugues transcribed into a string trio with a slow

²¹⁴ Woodfield, "Mozart's *Jupiter*," 28.

²¹⁵ Cited in King, *Mozart in Retrospect*, 171.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Marshall Brown, "Music and Culture: Mozart, Bach, and Musical Abjection," *The Musical Quarterly* 83, no. 4 (1999): 515.

²¹⁸ Gray, "Interpreting the Learned Style", 88.

²¹⁹ Ludwig Finscher, "Bach and the Viennese Classics," *Miscellanea Musicologica* 10 (1979): 53.

introduction.²²⁰ Finscher identifies Mozart as one of the composers who sought to modernize counterpoint from its original state. Forays into this form of writing include Fugue in C Major K. 394 (383a), the final movement of the String Quartet in G major K. 387, the *Jupiter*, and various incomplete works.²²¹ Mozart composed fugues in both his instrumental and vocal music; typically the vocal works employed stricter counterpoint than the instrumental fugues.²²²

The Galant Style

Simply, the eighteenth-century galant style constituted what was up-to-date, or in style, and favored by aristocrats throughout Europe. With its origins in the Italian opera tradition, galant music was intended for social diversion and entertainment. Frequently, it was defined in terms of its antithesis--the learned. Scheibe defines the galant in his 1737 criticism of J.S. Bach as overly learned and lacking in galant sensibilities:

This great man would be the wonder of entire nations if he were more pleasing and if he did not deprive his pieces of naturalness by a swollen and intricate style and obscure their beauty by all too great art....He who manifests musical rules ever so well with respect to purity and art, but does not at the same time think naturally and straightforwardly, will doubtless arouse admiration

²²⁰ Brown writes that the manuscripts of this set of trios (K. 404a) are late, therefore definitive attribution is impossible; however the stylistic use of the viola suggests Mozart's authorship. See Brown, "Music and Culture," 515-28 for an analysis of these fugues.

²²¹ Finscher, "Bach and the Viennese Classics," 54-55.

²²² Sharon Choa, "Fugue," in *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia*, ed. Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 185.

through his painstaking work but by no means touch his audience.²²³

Historically an ever-changing word, galant in the eighteenth century typically referred to simple, melodic compositions with an equally regular accompaniment, such as Alberti bass. Gray defines a galant composition as one that raises a single melodic line to an eminent level of importance while simultaneously introducing supportive harmonies, articulations, and rhythms to underscore the melodies.²²⁴ Similarly, eighteenth-century theorist Mattheson writes that characteristics of a good melody include facility, clarity, flow, and charm.²²⁵

The galant expressed emotions such as graceful, gentle, playful, tender, and loving.²²⁶ The melodies were beautiful and appealing, meant for the ear, and uncomplicated. While learned music was associated with mathematics, the galant was equated with rhetoric and musical poetics. Galant style and *musica poetica* in fact were addressed in the same treatises, including some traced to the sixteenth century.²²⁷

During his European travels, Mozart absorbed compositional ideas from different locales and personnel. Mozart met J.C. Bach (1735-82) while on a trip to London in 1764. While there is no evidence of formal lessons, Bach became a mentor and close friend of Mozart.²²⁸ Some of Mozart's first galant compositions are found in a sketchbook that contemporary music theorist Robert Gjerdingen has analyzed.²²⁹ He writes that the first composition written in the galant style

²²³ Cited in Lippman, *History of Western Musical Aesthetics*, 74-75.

²²⁴ Gray, "Interpreting the Learned Style," 62.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 64.

²²⁶ Unless otherwise noted, information in this paragraph is from Lippman, *History of Western Musical Aesthetics*, 76-77.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 60.

²²⁸ Simon McVeigh. "Johann Christian Bach," in *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia*, edited by Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 38.

²²⁹ See Robert O. Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 338.

is the Minuet K. 1d, composed in 1761 when Mozart was five. This composition is clearly marked “Minuet,” a genre label that helps signify the music as galant.²³⁰

Simon McVeigh writes that Mozart was clearly influenced by the younger Bach’s style, evident in his melodious gestures, orchestral contrasts, and use of woodwinds.²³¹ Bach’s music is said to be the basis of Mozart’s mature musical style, and its influence is also evident in his first and fourth symphonies, written in London.²³² After traveling to Paris in 1764, Mozart began incorporating more ornaments into his galant compositions.²³³ Piano sonatas comprise a prominent part of Mozart’s galant output.

Juxtaposing the Learned and Galant

While the galant style enjoyed currency throughout western Europe--in England, France, Italy, and Germany--Edward Lippman considers the galant aesthetic as fundamentally German, and notes that it developed alongside learned polyphony.²³⁴ The nature and values of such aesthetics, however, seemed constantly subject to controversy. Indeed a number of conflicts arise in assessing the eighteenth-century use of the learned and galant styles. For example, polyphony, even when sung, was considered the music of the instruments, just as the galant, even when written for instruments, was considered the music of voices.²³⁵

As Lippman points out, divergences include conflict between the urban, international style (galant) and the German provincial (learned); the new and old; the simple and complex. He further assesses the social implications of the galant and learned styles, as embodied in the

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ McVeigh, “Johann Christian Bach,” 37.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 350.

²³⁴ Lippman, *History of Western Musical Aesthetics*, 74.

²³⁵ Ibid., 75.

tensions between the aristocracy versus the church and the court Kapellmeister versus the town cantor.²³⁶ Lippman writes, “Fundamental musical polarities underlie the contrast of learned and galant, giving it depth of meaning and an apparent inevitability.”²³⁷ Moreover, polyphony was likened to understanding and thus became a vehicle for the mind as opposed to the galant, which was expressive and associated with the heart.

Combining the learned and galant in both sacred and secular music was common practice since the early eighteenth century; Mozart, Joseph Haydn, Michael Haydn, and others continued this established tradition in their compositions, especially in their masses and symphonies. One of the most common ways to combine these styles was by employing the fugue; while traditionally considered learned, the fugue could be adapted to fit in a galant context. Some compositions by Joseph and Michael Haydn are considered models for Mozart’s use of fugue and fugato in symphonic and chamber finales. Joseph commonly wrote learned fugues with galant tonal and formal structures while Michael wrote fugal symphonic finales with definite differences between the learned and galant sections. Mastery of both the learned and galant styles was essential to a composer’s training and artistic development.²³⁸

I outline characteristics of learned and galant fugues below, providing musical examples contemporary with the *Jupiter*. This evidence effectively demonstrates the differences between these two types of fugues in the eighteenth century in general and in Mozart’s repertoire in particular. Further, the following discussion elucidates how the finale of the *Jupiter* exhibits learned qualities.

²³⁶ Ibid., 59-60.

²³⁷ Ibid., 75.

²³⁸ Gray, “Interpreting the Learned Style,” 63.

Late-eighteenth-century counterpoint can easily be divided into two categories based on imitative texture: fugue, fugato, *stile legato* or *alla breve* on the one hand; and, on the other hand, counterpoint on a motive or set of motives that permeates a section or the entirety of a composition. Theorists and composers who distinguished between the learned and galant forms of counterpoint usually did so based on adherence to rules, especially in regard to dissonance. The learned style was more rule-bound with controlled dissonances, while the galant style was freer in such areas. Melanie Lowe explains that when used in the late-eighteenth-century symphony, learned counterpoint is stylistically exceptional and can provide style signification that galant counterpoint cannot. She writes, “Learned counterpoint, by echoing music both archaic and sacred, communicates authority; classical counterpoint, a musical texture of the ‘here and now,’ lacks conspicuity and therefore also such potential signification.”²³⁹

The learned style of counterpoint was used more prevalently in the church and required study and practice to perfect. In his *Adagio and Fugue* in C minor, K. 546, shown in Figure 3, Mozart writes a learned fugue, perhaps reminiscent of J.S. Bach, played by string quartet. The cello begins the fugue at the dominant, with the viola entering three bars later playing the subject at the tonic. Three bars later, Violin II followed by Violin I enter similarly. Due to the regularity of subject entrances and the adherence to a standard harmonic plan, this example demonstrates the learned style. Notably too in this example Mozart uses a learned (sacred) fugue style in the secular context, in the genre of a string quartet.

²³⁹ Lowe, *Pleasure and Meaning*, 25.

W. A. M. 546.

Figure 3: *Adagio and Fugue*, K. 546, beginning of the fugue²⁴⁰

²⁴⁰ For this example I use the Breitkopf & Härtel edition of the score, available at <http://imslp.org>.

Offering an alternative to the strict, learned style, Johann Georg Albrechtsberger (1736-1809) writes that a fugue can be galant if the episodes are not modified contrapuntally and if they contain alluring ideas or elements from the theater and chamber styles.²⁴¹ Pestelli distinguishes between two types of counterpoint, defining secular counterpoint, *stile osservato*, as “imitative style within a regime of free conversation.”²⁴² These qualities are evident in the development of Mozart’s Symphony No. 38 *Prague*, K. 504. In this example, Mozart writes a simple galant melody, introduced by the first violins and echoed by the second violins, as seen in Figure 4, below. Mozart develops the idea contrapuntally, adding viola and cello nine bars later, but in a manner that contrasts with the *Adagio*. Instead of relying on mathematical precision in determining the entrances of the voices, Mozart takes a freer approach in the disposition and entry of the parts. The melody is also very simple, consisting of an octave leap, followed by a conjunct downward scale.

²⁴¹ Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 69.

²⁴² Pestelli, *Age of Mozart and Beethoven*, 136-7.

Start of the galant
fugue

The image displays two systems of musical notation for the string section of a symphony. The first system, spanning measures 143 to 152, includes a callout box labeled 'Start of the galant fugue' with an arrow pointing to the beginning of the fugue at measure 143. The notation is in D major (two sharps) and 3/4 time. The upper staves (Violins I and II) feature rapid sixteenth-note passages, while the lower staves (Violas and Cellos/Double Basses) provide a harmonic foundation with sustained notes and some moving lines. Dynamics include 'p' (piano) and 'p' (piano). The second system, spanning measures 153 to 156, continues the fugue with similar textures, including trills and rapid sixteenth-note runs. Dynamics include 'f' (forte) and 'p' (piano).

Figure 4: Symphony No. 38 *Prague*, K. 504, strings, mm. 143-156²⁴³

²⁴³ For this example I use the 1880 Breitkopf & Härtel edition of the score, available at <http://imslp.org>.

Another way Mozart combines opposites is by alternating them throughout the course of an entire work. Sisman cites the finale of his String Quartet No. 14 in G Major, K. 387 as an example.²⁴⁴ In this instance, the exposition begins with a learned fugue comprising whole notes, followed by a galant cadential passage comprising running eighth notes in the first violin. A similar alternation between learned and galant appears in the finale of the *Jupiter*. For example, the beginning establishes a galant theme with four whole notes, which transitions to a short fugue based on the same four-note theme. I find this synthesis important as it shows Mozart's clear understanding and mastery of contrasting compositional styles, both separately and together. I further analyze these ideas within the context of the *Jupiter* in Chapter 5.

I chose to begin this chapter with a quote from Aaron Copland, who, in describing opposites in Mozart's music, captures the essence of this chapter perfectly. It is the synthesis of learned and galant as opposites, both sentimentally and stylistically, that makes Mozart's music truly unique, and in the case of the *Jupiter*, evocative of the musical sublime.

²⁴⁴ See the diagram in Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 73.

Music is well said to be the speech of angels; in fact,
 nothing among the utterances allowed to man is felt to
 be so divine. It brings us near to the infinite.
 ~Thomas Carlyle²⁴⁵

Chapter 4

“It brings us near to the infinite”: Music and the sublime

While the aesthetic of the sublime has altered at times throughout history to adapt to new societies and ideas, the definition of the term in the eighteenth-century context remains well-known. Major theorists, including Immanuel Kant and Edmund Burke associate characteristics including devastating natural phenomena, the terrifying, the infinite, and the overwhelming with the sublime. While these ideas are certainly applicable to music, as Sisman and others have shown, Kant and Burke most likely did not have music specifically in mind when detailing their analysis. Johann Adolph Scheibe, Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, and Heinrich Christoph Koch are a few of the music theorists who assessed the idea of the sublime in relationship to music. Throughout this chapter, I evaluate the ideas of the aforementioned writers on the sublime as a theory and in a musical context. In Chapter 5, I apply these theories to music.

Today, we use the term “sublime” much more loosely than eighteenth-century writers did. A quick Internet search using the terms “Mozart” and “sublime” yields a number of albums claiming to contain Mozart’s most serene, sublime, and relaxing melodies, his most sublime arias, or clarinet pieces. In the eighteenth century, few compositions were labeled sublime, as such a description was reserved for only the most revered works. In the present-day, however,

²⁴⁵ Cited in Colin McAlpin, “Carlyle and the Opera,” *The Musical Times* 58, no. 888 (1917): 58.

many more compositions boast the label sublime as a general expression of praise or enjoyment. Perhaps it has become something of a cliché.

In this chapter, I further examine the particular meaning of the sublime in its eighteenth-century context. I argue that the combination of extreme opposites can serve as an evocation of the sublime. Drawing on research presented in Chapter 3, I conclude that this synthesis is found in the *Jupiter*, and that this conjunction contributes to the work's embodiment of sublime characteristics. Furthermore, I believe that the sublime is a subjective entity, and music from the eighteenth century is not "absolute," as some romantic critics deem it. Here, I consider absolute music as music without an explanatory program attached via text or an author's subtitle.

Music as Absolute

The idea of absolute music, according to Roger Scruton, suggests more of a problem than a generally regarded consensus.²⁴⁶ In the eighteenth century, theorists including E.T.A. Hoffman, Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, and Ludwig Tieck viewed instrumental music as metaphysical-alluding to and expressing the spiritual, ideal, and infinite.²⁴⁷ James Webster writes that eighteenth-century musicians agreed that music contained expressive powers; however the specific effects of these influences were disputed due to changing aesthetic concepts in relation to music.²⁴⁸ Further, he explains that the dichotomy of program and absolute music was not present in the eighteenth century, largely due to the use of topoi, as discussed in Chapter 3. Topoi included extra-musical associations widely used by composers and understood by listeners.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁶ Roger Scruton. "Absolute Music," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed February 22, 2011, www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 8-9.

²⁴⁸ Webster, *Haydn's Farewell Symphony*, 225.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 226-227; 335.

Similarly, Leo Treitler evaluates Mozart's Symphony 39, K. 543 in terms of musical experience, suggesting music's ability to convey expression and emotion, an attribute in keeping with the eighteenth-century beliefs about absolute music.²⁵⁰

By the turn of the nineteenth century, theories regarding absolute music changed to signify instrumental music that was only musical and capable of pure expression because it was not influenced by any extra-musical ideas, such as text or topoi.²⁵¹ According to Melanie Lowe, the components of nineteenth-century absolute music may best be understood in assessing what the music lacks. Lowe writes: "Absolute music contains no object, reference, representation, content, expression, or idea to external music itself."²⁵² To the nineteenth-century ear, absolute music was autonomous instrumental music considered totally musical due to its freedom from text, language, or any other extra-musical devices.²⁵³ The word absolute, Lowe explains, embodies a double meaning, combining the theory of transcendence and spirituality with music as its purely musical self.²⁵⁴ However, the earlier definitions of absolute music, particularly those of the early nineteenth century differ greatly from those that followed.

Eduard Hanslick was perhaps the most influential author in understanding the construct of absolute music, as best seen in his criticism of Richard Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk*.²⁵⁵ In his total art-form, Wagner sought to tie music to other arts and media, creating a more expansive experience. For example, Wagner used Leitmotifs to connect a person, place, thing, idea, or feeling to a musical motive, played only by the orchestra and thus not involving a written, sung text. This association between extra-musical ideas and instrumental music suggests narrative

²⁵⁰ Treitler, *Mozart and the Idea*, 191.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 177.

²⁵² Lowe, *Pleasure and Meaning*, 10.

²⁵³ Treitler, *Mozart and the Idea*, 177.

²⁵⁴ Lowe, *Pleasure and Meaning*, 9.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 9.

qualities, which Hanslick criticized. Hanslick believed music in itself could not express emotions, but had the ability to impart “forms animated through sound.” Further, Hanslick objected to the way that Wagner tied the capabilities and abstraction of music to the concrete limitations of words and drama. Though some critics continue to evaluate Mozart’s music using nineteenth-century conceptions of the absolute, I choose to use eighteenth-century ideas, which emphasize the expressive and interpretive power of music.

The Theoretical Sublime

The word “sublime” has Latin roots--“sub”: “below” and “limen”: “threshold”--but the adjective in its French origin means the opposite--elevated or uplifted.²⁵⁶ As introduced in Chapter 1, the genesis of the sublime lies in Greek antiquity, chiefly in the writing *On the Sublime (Peri hupsos)*, attributed to Psuedo-Longinus. The Greek word *hupsos* was translated to mean both “sublime” and “height;” this distinction was used in some of the subsequent translations beginning in the sixteenth century.²⁵⁷ For instance, the first translation published in 1554 by Francesco Robortello was titled *Treatise on the Grand or Sublime Style of Oration (Liber de grandi sive sublimi orationis genere)* while John Hall’s 1652 translation in the vernacular was titled *Of the Height of Eloquence*.²⁵⁸ The most popular translation was Boileau’s *Treatise on the Sublime*, published in 1674, as it opened up criticism and speculation on the sublime.²⁵⁹

In the eighteenth century, a new found attention to the sublime was articulated in Edmund Burke’s *A philosophical enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the sublime and*

²⁵⁶ Waldvogel, “Eighteenth-Century Esthetics,” 48.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 49.

beautiful, published in 1757. Here, Burke explains the sublime as what suggests pain and pleasure. The sublime evokes a feeling of terror without actually creating a terrifying situation, although Burke's sublime need not always be terrifying: "it is *either* terrible, *or* associated with something terrible, *or* acts upon us like the terrible."²⁶⁰ Many examples of the situations that Burke lists lie in nature, including violent earthquakes, raging storms, or the supernatural. Yet despite these frightening feelings, one experiences pleasure knowing that one is safe from the given event, thus producing the most sublime feeling. Therefore Burke's sublime is understood as twofold: first one encounters a danger; this experience is followed by relief and reflection as one realizes the threat is no longer present. According to Burke, the most powerful passion caused by the sublime is astonishment, which "is that state of the soul, in which all its motions are suspended, with some degree of horror."²⁶¹

Sisman cites a passage near the end of Act II of Mozart's *Idomeneo*, K. 366 (1781), in which a raging storm and sea monster sent by the angry god Neptune incite fear and anxiety in a crowd of opera goers. While none present experience any actual danger, they identify with it through the music and action on stage; they thus participate in the emotional state created by the opera. Similarly, a moment of sublime terror occurs in the finale to *Don Giovanni*, K. 527 (1787), in the deceased Commendatore's return as a statue.

These examples further suggest the supernatural as an invocation of the sublime. In these operas, Mozart invoked the supernatural through his use of what Burke describes as "loudness, suddenness, intermittence, cries," which contribute to the listener's feelings of "astonishment,

²⁶⁰ Cited in Hipple, *Beautiful, the Sublime*, 87.

²⁶¹ Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, 101.

admiration, reverence and respect.”²⁶² Burke includes in his treatise not only physical characteristics of the sublime, such as darkness, but also sounds: loudness, raging storms, thunder, artillery, and multitudes of people shouting. Sisman and Nicholas Till agree that the Burkean sublime applies more to Mozart’s operas than to his other works, such as symphonies. While I understand the application of Burke’s sublime to opera, neither author specifically addresses why Burkean principles correspond only with stage works. I argue some of these same principles are applicable to instrumental music.

I find that a number of orchestral compositions by Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven include characteristics of the Burkean sublime, such as storms or artillery. For example, Haydn’s cantata *The Storm* (1792), and his *Strum und Drang*, minor-keyed symphonies contain elements such as prominent unisons and strong emphasis on expressive notes in the minor scale, creating an unsettled feeling.²⁶³ Also notable, Beethoven’s Sixth Symphony *Pastoral*, composed in 1801, contains a storm while his ballet *The Creatures of Prometheus*, also composed in 1801, contains a mythological storyline similar to *Idomeneo*. While, as the examples demonstrate, many of the ideas in Burke’s sublime are exemplified by program music, I believe absolute music, too, can evoke stormy, military, and supernatural feelings without a written text serving as a guide.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, Immanuel Kant published his *Critique of Judgment* (1790), which includes an analysis of both the beautiful and the sublime. In his publication, Kant details the difference between these entities, writing that the beautiful has

²⁶²Cited in Nicholas Till, *Mozart and the Enlightenment*, 183.

²⁶³ While it lies outside the scope of this paper, the correspondence between the Burkean sublime and the *Strum und Drang* style merits further discussion. The musical elements expressed in the Storm and Stress style potentially reflect the ideas conveyed by Burke’s idea of the sublime.

boundaries whereas the sublime is boundless but still fully present in thought.²⁶⁴ He further breaks the sublime into two categories: the dynamic, a natural force, and the mathematic, a cognitive force. Similar to Burke's sublime, the dynamic sublime arises from nature--volcanoes, earthquakes, and typhoons. Viewing such situations creates a sublime feeling as long as one remains safe.²⁶⁵ As I discussed earlier, Kant also states that no object can be infinite.

The mathematical sublime is much more complex, relating to infinity and arising from fear of cognitive exhaustion. Objects themselves cannot be sublime as they are mathematically measurable and in some cases determined by humans (e.g., the size and shape of a building is determined by the builder). Therefore the mathematical sublime relies on testing the limits of one's imagination. The mathematical sublime is, Sisman writes "too much for the mind to take in" and occurs when sense gives way to reason, ultimately yielding inadequate results.²⁶⁶ In applying Kant's theory to the *Jupiter Symphony*, Neal Zaslaw notes the great difficulty that listeners and performers alike had in listening to and playing Mozart's music.²⁶⁷ Sisman similarly notes that this challenge suggests that people were overwhelmed, a condition that corresponds with Kant's mathematical sublime.²⁶⁸

Beginning with Pseudo-Longinus, the verse "Let there be light," found in Genesis, grew to be associated with the idea of the sublime and therefore merits further discussion.²⁶⁹ English writer Ephraim Chambers (1680-1740) uses the phrase in his entry on the sublime, published in his *Cyclopaedia* (1741).²⁷⁰ This subsequently influenced other definitions and descriptions by

²⁶⁴ Kant, *Critique*, 82.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 86.

²⁶⁶ Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 18.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 76.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 14.

²⁷⁰ See Waldvogel, "Eighteenth-Century Esthetics," 13.

writers including Diderot, Sulzer, Henry Home, Lord Kames, Moses Mendelssohn, and Hugh Blair.²⁷¹ Some authors argue that the phrase “Let there be light” is sublime because of its direct word usage and simplicity.²⁷² Poet and translator Edward Burnaby Greene writes in his *Critical Essays* (1770):

In this passage sublimity is very nobly kept up, without the assistance of verbal pomp; the conciseness of the style admirably exhibiting the sudden creation of light. How is the soul filled with the idea of light springing at once into a place covered with utter darkness! The thought is very grand, but the terms are simple.²⁷³

Similarly, in his *Cyclopaedia*, Chambers cites an argument by French classicist Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636-1711), who writes the sublime does not necessarily require magnificent and grand words, but can be found in a simple thought. He uses the phrase from Genesis as an example to argue his case. If the phrase instead read, “The almighty Author of the universe, with a single word, created light,” it would be written in the sublime style but would not be considered sublime in its essence because it is not as simplistic.²⁷⁴ When worded as it appears in the Old Testament passage, according to Boileau, it is “so extraordinary a turn of expression, which shews the obedience of the creature to the orders of his creator, [it] is truly sublime, and has something more in it than human.”²⁷⁵ Thus, Boileau’s idea of the sublime becomes a dichotomy: the vastness of deliberation magnified by the simplicity of the conception.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 11-12.

²⁷² It is also important to note that some theorists disagree with the interpretation of this verse as sublime. Many, including Pierre-Daniel Huet and Jean Leclercq, argue that particular verse is not more sublime than any of the others in Genesis. See Ibid., 14-16.

²⁷³ Cited in Ibid., 12.

²⁷⁴ Cited in Ibid., 12.

²⁷⁵ Cited in Ibid., 13.

This idea of enormity versus simplicity can easily be found in the *Jupiter* by analyzing the fugue in the Coda. In this section, Mozart unites the five motives he states throughout the movement. Individually, each motive is galant and simplistic, and many feature common, accessible techniques such as consonant jumps and scalar passages. Instead of stating each motive linearly and independently, however, Mozart writes them fugally, creating a rich and complex texture with such precision that it creates a heightened effect. The product of the sublime is a grand simplicity, which, like light, imparts an immediate, elemental, and overwhelming force.

During the eighteenth century, the sublime was a current found in all forms of the arts and grew to encompass the creator as well. For instance, Pseudo-Longinus' treatise on the sublime was so revered, that Pseudo-Longinus himself was considered sublime. According to Alexander Pope (1688-1744): "His own example strengthens all his laws. He is himself the great sublime he draws."²⁷⁶ John Milton's (1608-1674) epic poem *Paradise Lost* constantly appears in discussions of the sublime. Containing the famous verse "Let there be light," Milton's work influenced Handel's *Samson* and Haydn's *Creation*, both of which were considered sublime compositions.²⁷⁷ The odes by Thomas Gray (1716-1771) and James Thompson's (1700-1748) *The Seasons*, in addition to poems by William Wordsworth (1770-1850) were also considered sublime.²⁷⁸ Theorists assessed the sublime in paintings containing shipwrecks, terrifying landscapes and tall mountain ranges, especially those painted by Joseph Mallord William Turner

²⁷⁶ Cited in Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 14.

²⁷⁷ Waldvogel, "Eighteenth-Century Esthetics," 7.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 50.

(1775-1851). Finally, the sublime in literature was present in the gothic novels of Ann Radcliffe (1764-1832) and Horace Walpole's (1717-1797) *Castle of Otranto*.²⁷⁹

Music as Sublime

Most of the descriptions above as to what constitutes the sublime do not include specific examples relating to music, thereby leaving the bridge from philosophy to music somewhat open to interpretation. Some present-day musicologists have seen both Kant's and Burke's sublime as applicable to music, using these philosophical foundations as a vehicle to help assess and understand music of the eighteenth century.²⁸⁰ Additionally, music critics, theorists, and composers of the time provided their own insight into what makes music, and in particular the symphony, sublime. I consider many of these ideas in my analysis of the *Jupiter* as a sublime symphony.

As discussed in Chapter 2, eighteenth-century German and Austrian culture held a number of biases toward symphonies. Initially associated with introducing entertainment such as operas, plays, or chamber concerts to eighteenth-century listeners, the symphony was of secondary importance to music with words. In order to exemplify the sublime, the symphony had to overcome such biases. Accordingly, theorists rarely labeled individual symphonies as sublime, instead citing particular composers, such as Johann Gottlieb Graun (1703-71) and Pierre van Maldere (1729-68), whose output as a whole was sublime.²⁸¹

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 50-51.

²⁸⁰ See Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, Bonds, "The Symphony as a Pindaric Ode," and Webster, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style*.

²⁸¹ Johann Georg Sulzer and Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Aesthetics and the Art of Musical Composition in the German Enlightenment: Selected Writings of Johann Georg Sulzer and Heinrich Christoph Koch*, edited by Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Thomas Christensen, Cambridge Studies in Music Theory and Analysis, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 106. For further discussion, see Bonds, "Symphony as Pindaric Ode, 141-42.

Three significant eighteenth-century writers on the sublime in music are Scheibe, Schulz, and Koch.²⁸² These authors had differing and sometimes conflicting views on what constitutes the sublime. Such discrepancies seem reasonable given that these theorists lived during somewhat different time periods, and each confronted the then constantly changing symphonic genre.

In his definition of the sublime, Scheibe stressed simplicity in both harmony and melody.²⁸³ The opposite was the use of counterpoint, which was commonly associated with the church and sacred style. Traditionally, the sacred style is the highest of the church-theater-chamber trichotomy, further suggesting the elevated style. Despite this status, Scheibe saw use of counterpoint as inexpressive. Criticizing J.S. Bach, Scheibe writes that the technical difficulty in Bach's compositions takes away from any expression that the piece could potentially inflect. Rather than focusing on forming a beautiful harmony and melody, Bach uses individual notes themselves as a form of expression.²⁸⁴ The "truly high style" comprised a simple combination of harmony and melody; Scheibe states:

The harmony must give life to the melody, and then emerges the sublime, which captures our reason, bewitches our senses, and stirs the same passion in us that is being represented. An empty and isolated sound, which falls on our ears without sufficient life, gives us far from enough to ponder and our intellect is occupied by too few objects.²⁸⁵

²⁸² See Waldvogel, "Eighteenth-Century Esthetics," 167-224.

²⁸³ See *Ibid.*, 176.

²⁸⁴ See *Ibid.*, 173.

²⁸⁵ Cited in *Ibid.*, 177.

Scheibe's critique of Bach's music as overly complex parallels Zaslaw's characterization of Mozart's music as overwhelming; in both cases, this idea is exemplified, at least in part, in the use of counterpoint. The important difference between these composers is that Bach's counterpoint was learned and written for the church; in addition it required both composer and performer to showcase their technical skills. Mozart's counterpoint, in the context of the *Jupiter*, on the other hand, is a mixture of the learned and galant. Therefore, the composition encompasses simplicity and a lighter melody while still harboring the fugal texture. Thus, Mozart's galant counterpoint fulfills Scheibe's requirement of simple harmony, making his use of counterpoint, especially in the *Jupiter*, more accessible than Bach's. At the same time, Mozart's use of counterpoint evokes the learned style grounded in the church, suggesting the sublime from a different angle.

In theory, the symphony exemplified an ideal texture, with the melody as an expression of the composer's creativity, a secondary melodic role by a primary harmonic function. The proper balance of these two parts signals balance of contraries and thus the sublime. Scheibe contrasts contemporary symphonies with the earlier symphonic style, characterized by a constricted melody and harmony, which was "more artful and troublesome to compose" and "incapable of the emotional effect."²⁸⁶ Scheibe allows for complex and intricate material in certain instances:

And if, in certain solemn symphonies, a stronger and more intricate harmony or even a suitable imitation is wrought, the context of the whole symphony as well as the succession of all these various passages will make it quite clear that this happened above all to

²⁸⁶ Cited in *Ibid.*, 178.

elevate the melody, and to make its natural beauty, rather than its artfulness, all the more evident and conspicuous.²⁸⁷

In this statement Scheibe seemingly contradicts his previous assertion that counterpoint is inexpressive, an idea which I find important in contextualizing the *Jupiter*. Even Scheibe, who demonstrates a certain dislike for complex forms, suggests here that occasional use of the fugue, as long as the motives remain simple and melodic, can evoke a higher form of melody, thus creating the sublime.

Schulz's ideas of the sublime symphony are recorded in his contributions to *Allgemeine Theorie* (1771-74), published by Sulzer.²⁸⁸ To the authors, the sublime was the highest of all arts, only used when one wants to provoke powerful reactions, according to Schultz: "when one wants to incite the powers of the soul or to hold them back with force."²⁸⁹ It is incomprehensible, exceeds expectations, and stimulates wonderment. He characterizes the sublime by "hammer-blows," arousing awe, longing, terror, or admiration, "whenever the aim is to intensify the powers of the soul or violently to curb them."²⁹⁰

Schulz's description of the best chamber symphonies is of particular interest to my discussion of the *Jupiter*. Specifically, the role of the chamber symphony is to "offer all the brilliance of instrumental music," the best allegros, which contain traits such as grand and bold thoughts, counterpoint, various types of strongly marked rhythms, and use of dynamics.²⁹¹ Mozart's *Jupiter* Symphony, marked Molto allegro, embodies a number of the traits Schulz lists. Simon Keefe discusses this correspondence extensively, even citing measure numbers from the

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 178-9.

²⁸⁸ Sulzer, *Aesthetics and the Art*, 106.

²⁸⁹ Cited in Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, 151.

²⁹⁰ Day, *Music and Aesthetics*, 138.

²⁹¹ Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, 166.

Jupiter finale that correspond with Schulz's ideas.²⁹² A number of other Mozart symphonies parallel qualities within these descriptions, and Keefe even suggests that Mozart was familiar with Schulz's text, and had it in mind while writing the *Jupiter*.²⁹³

Lastly, Schulz writes that a symphony with such an active allegro is comparable to poetry's Pindaric Ode, which "elevates and shakes the soul of the listener, and demands the same spirit, the same sublime imagination and the same knowledge of art in order to be successful."²⁹⁴ Mark Evan Bonds addresses this correlation, writing that at Mozart's time, no other instrumental work was equated with such an eminent literary genre.²⁹⁵ While often compositions were compared to a poem, drama, or oration, comparing a work to a Pindaric Ode bestowed upon the symphonic genre a unique literary esteem.

Bonds writes that the size of the ensemble particularly characterizes why the symphony was considered an elevated or sublime genre.²⁹⁶ The concerto served to highlight one performer's technical skills through virtuoso passages, making the orchestral accompaniment minimal. The performer was the most important aspect. The string quartet was also small, with one performer on each part, suggesting individuality within the whole.²⁹⁷ In the symphony, however, the instruments acted as a united voice, with no one overshadowing another. All instruments work together to form the whole; therefore the symphony lends itself to the idea of the sublime.²⁹⁸ Instead of relying on the skill of the performer, whose virtuosic talent was readily exhibited, it relied on the skill of the composer, whose task was to combine all voices to create a

²⁹² Keefe, "Jupiter Symphony," 19.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Cited in Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views*, 166.

²⁹⁵ Bonds, "Symphony as Pindaric Ode," 134.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 137-38.

²⁹⁷ Bonds, *Music as Thought*, 64-65.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 64.

uniform whole. This idea is especially evident in the *Jupiter* and the fugal finale. Mozart obviously exhibits great skill in his execution of the Coda, combining a five-part fugue, chorale, and fanfare in the brass. While the individual motives and elements are relatively simple for the performers to play, the intricate way in which the ideas are combined require the composer's utmost attention.

Koch's idea of the sublime was simply a conglomeration of theories from various philosophers, which he absorbed and imparted into his books and lectures. His definitions also foreshadow theories such as Kant's *Critique of Judgment*. Nicholas Waldvogel writes that Koch's distinction between two sensations--the desire for possession and fear--roughly correspond to Kant's dynamic and mathematical sublime.²⁹⁹ Kant breaks the sublime into two categories--pleasure from an object's immeasurable extension and pleasure from overwhelming power and strength.³⁰⁰

Perhaps the composer first and most often associated with the sublime was George Friedric Handel, whose compositions earned this description for their simplicity and attention to detail. With its grand choruses, reflective of a united community spirit, Handel's music was used widely at ceremonies and public functions throughout the eighteenth century.³⁰¹ The effect of Handel's music was recognized even years after the composer's death. Johann Reinhold Schultz recounts a dinner conversation with Ludwig van Beethoven, writing: "I cannot describe to you with what pathos, and I am inclined to say, with what sublimity of language, he spoke of the

²⁹⁹ Waldvogel, "Eighteenth-Century Esthetics," 197.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 199.

³⁰¹ Matthew, "Beethoven's Political Music," 111-12.

Messiah of this immortal genius.”³⁰² Schultz also wrote of Beethoven’s belief that Handel was the greatest composer to ever live.³⁰³

Beethoven’s sentiments were echoed by the public, especially in the late eighteenth century. Under King George III’s patronage, Handel enthusiasts gathered in 1784 to commemorate the composer’s 100th birthday.³⁰⁴ In commemoration and under King George III’s patronage, enthusiasts gathered along with approximately 500 singers and instrumentalists to perform some of Handel’s most famous works. William Crotch explained the concert in a lecture he delivered while at Oxford sometime between 1804-20:

The sublime is founded on principles of vastness and incomprehensibility. The word sublime originally signifies high, lofty, elevated; and this style accordingly never descends to anything small, delicate, light, pretty, playful or comic. ...Infinity and what is next to it, immensity, are among the most efficient causes of this quality; and when we hear innumerable voices and instruments sounding the praise of God in solemn and becoming strains, the most sublime image that can fill the mind seldom fails to present itself--that of the heavenly host described in the Holy Scriptures, and thus paraphrased by the poet [Milton]: all the multitude of angels, with a shout Loud as from numbers without

³⁰² Ibid., 110.

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ This date (1784) does not actually reflect the Handel’s 100th birthday. Handel’s biographer John Mainwaring mistakenly attributed Handel’s birth to 1684 instead of 1685. See Waldvogel, “Eighteenth-Century Esthetics,” 28.

number, sweet As from blest voices, uttering joy, heaven rung
 With jubilee, and loud hosannas fill'd the heavenly regions.³⁰⁵

This quote encompasses varying ideals regarding the sublime. The discussion of infinity and immensity describes Kant's mathematical sublime. References to innumerable voices and the multitude of angels reflect aspects of Burke's sublime, which discusses participation of the masses. I find some of these qualities exemplified in the *Jupiter*.

Present at the Handel commemoration was Joseph Haydn, whose oratorio *The Creation* (1796-1798) was considered one of the premier sublime compositions of the eighteenth century. Haydn learned much from works by Handel, using some of the same compositional ideas in his own music. Waldvogel proposes that in writing his oratorio *The Creation*, Haydn was likely influenced by Handel's oratorio *Samson*, especially in his treatment of the transition from darkness to light. In "O First Created Beam," found in Act 1 of *Samson*, the chorus sings "Let there be light" a cappella. In response, the instruments and chorus sing "And light was over all" in the key of C Major, typically referred to as the key of light.³⁰⁶ In *The Creation*, Haydn's chorus follows a similar pattern, singing "Let there be light, and there was light" a cappella. On the second statement of the word "light" the entire orchestra and chorus sound a fortissimo C major chord.

Temperley finds tonal rhetoric in his analysis of the above section.³⁰⁷ The composition begins in c minor, which symbolizes chaos, and suddenly transitions to C major, which symbolizes cosmos. The program also suggests a conversion from darkness to light particularly

³⁰⁵ Cited in *Ibid.*, 31.

³⁰⁶ Nicholas Temperley, *Haydn: The Creation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 50-51.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

considering the use of the key C major.³⁰⁸ Both of these connotations suggest the role of opposites, which together create the impact point, or sublime moment in the composition.

One commonality between these compositions by Handel and Haydn is the genre of oratorio. Kant did not believe any particular work of art is by definition sublime, but did believe the oratorio had the capacity to reach the sublime.³⁰⁹ Researchers regard aspects of some of Handel's oratorios, most notably the *Messiah* and *Samson*, and Haydn's *Creation*, as sublime.³¹⁰ This connection is fitting for several reasons. By definition an oratorio is a composition with a Biblical storyline that includes both voices and instruments. Further, the oratorio features several key elements of the sublime, including liturgical influence and the synthesis of voice and instrument. Rhetorically, the high or grand style is most related to the church and since it is elevated in nature, the sacred style is most commonly linked with the sublime. One could also consider the combination of the vocal and instrumental styles--opposites musically--as a potential signifier of the sublime.

Without a text or program, instrumental music was deemed meaningless and inferior to vocal music. Thus opposites are formed in the musical forces of the oratorio (instrumental versus vocal music) and, in the case of Handel, in the musical meaning (highly regarded vocal music versus inferior instrumental music). The amalgamation of these qualities echoes Burke's idea of embracing a wide participation among the masses. Further, such combinations of opposites trigger Kant's idea of the infinite. At the same time, however, the combination of large-scale

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ Waldvogel, "Eighteenth-Century Esthetics," 77.

³¹⁰ See Ibid., 28-39.

vocal and instrumental forms suggests potentially like genres; for example the multi-voiced symphony was often likened to the multi-voiced choir.³¹¹

I mention these musical examples to better illustrate works classified as musically sublime. Additionally, both Handel and Haydn influenced Mozart's compositions: Haydn as a contemporary of Mozart, and Handel through Baron van Swieten's library. Some musicologists even suggest the thematic influence of Handel and Haydn on Mozart's *Jupiter*. Ian Woodfield traces all five themes used in the *Jupiter* finale to Handel's oratorio *Judas Maccabaeus*, while A. Peter Brown suggests that Mozart was cognizant of Haydn's fugal finale in his Symphony No. 13 in D major (1763) when writing his symphonic music.³¹²

One noteworthy aspect of Mozart's compositions includes the use of four-note motive that begins the *Jupiter*: CDFE. The attention called to this motive suggests the possibility of a higher meaning implied by the notes. Though I do acknowledge that the motive is very common and may have been used inadvertently, I think it is interesting to consider contemporary ideas regarding the motive. For instance some, including Robert Gjerdingen, refer to the passage as the "*Jupiter* Motive."³¹³ Others, such as Daniel Heartz and H.C. Robbins Landon speculate the notes create a Credo theme representative of Mozart.³¹⁴ While I am unable to find a specific Credo chant tradition associated with these particular notes, I do think the possibility of the notes reflecting a personal credo merits further examination, especially in this context.

Another possible avenue of interpretation could center on the idea of "light." C major is typically considered the key of light in the eighteenth-century context. Exploring this idea in

³¹¹ Bonds, *Music as Thought*, 65.

³¹² Woodfield, "Mozart's *Jupiter*," 25-46; Brown, "Eighteenth-Century Traditions," 180.

³¹³ Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 117.

³¹⁴ Heartz, *Haydn, Mozart and the Viennese School*, 279; H.C. Robbins Landon, *The Mozart Essays*, (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1995).

Mozart's music, specifically in the CDFE motive, merits further investigation. In a few occurrences of the 1243 motive throughout his output, Mozart uses the key of C major--the key of light.³¹⁵ These four notes can be understood as four syllables, which could be interpreted in a linguistic sense. In both its German and English translation, the phrase "Let there be light" or "Es wurde licht" comprises four syllables, thus potentially connecting it to the motive.

A Credo is typically defined as a statement of belief, especially in a religious context; Mozart had two distinct beliefs that incorporated light. Mozart's involvement in Christianity and the connection between sacred texts and light was previously established. Additionally, Freemasonic ritual included the transition from darkness to light. Woodfield details such ideas, proposing Mozart drew influence from Handel's *Judas Maccabaeus* because of its reference to Freemasonic symbols, including the progression of darkness to light.³¹⁶ Since Mozart held strong Freemasonic beliefs, it is conceivable that his personal credo reflects such principles. I do not choose to argue these ideas as fact, but merely propose them as a possible inspiration to Mozart.

The Sublime as Subjective

At the beginning of this thesis I addressed the idea of subjectivity in evaluating a musical work. Michael Steinberg summarizes this concept quite simply: "Performance involves both physicality and otherness--the otherness of someone else's rendering."³¹⁷ One can render a musical performance through performing or listening, both of which involve action. Further,

³¹⁵ Elwood Derr, "A Deeper Examination of Mozart's 1-2-4-3 Theme and Its Strategic Deployment," *In Theory Only* 8 (1985): 6.

³¹⁶ See Woodfield, "Mozart's *Jupiter*," 25-46.

³¹⁷ Michael P. Steinberg, *Listening to Reason: Culture, Subjectivity, and Nineteenth-Century Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 1.

Christopher Small addresses a similar idea, labeling the activity “Musicking.”³¹⁸ The meaning of music is determined socially and the result contributes to our very humanness. Small writes:

The fundamental nature and meaning of music lie not in objects, not in musical works at all, but in action, in what people do. It is only by understanding what people do as they take part in a musical act that we can hope to understand its nature and the function it fulfills in human life.³¹⁹

Small assesses musicking as a set of functions that requires interaction between all parties involved, including both performers and listeners.³²⁰ Further, such relationships can occur interpersonally, through humanity and society, or between humanity, nature, and the supernatural. While one’s relationship with music can be influenced by society or other outside factors, part of the musicking experience relies on the individual.

In Chapter 1, I recounted a concert that I attended of the Vienna Philharmonic playing *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik*. The preciseness of the notes, the careful attention paid to the dynamics, and the beauty the ensemble created, combined with the crisp, cool, nighttime atmosphere, evoked a sublime experience for me. However, I doubt the people around me listening to the same performance felt the same way. A number of explanations arise for this--maybe the composition was not someone’s favorite or maybe the sound did not carry to the people standing in the back. In understanding music as an action--the activity of musicking--music becomes subjective and therefore open to differing interpretations. Humans do not all perceive music the same way or experience the same feelings when listening to it. Therefore in application to music,

³¹⁸ Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1998), 2.

³¹⁹ Ibid., 8.

³²⁰ Ibid., 13.

I argue that the sublime acts as a subjective entity, especially when evaluating one's own experience.

In this story, I do not mean to suggest that *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* is sublime as a rule or that it is comparable to the *Jupiter* in terms of compositional elements. Rather, I assert that the sublime can act as an experience in addition to being perceived intellectually and aesthetically; these responses can occur separately or concurrently. The performance of *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* fits the idea of a subjective experience and potentially parallels a reception of the *Jupiter*. The overall effect of music on the listener constitutes a subjective feeling and can include any number of ideas previously presented--musical chaos, storms, or the infinite.

Over time, exact prescriptions for what comprises the sublime have changed, thereby creating differing interpretations and meanings. A significant part of changing musical aesthetics pertains to people's identifications with their own context and culture, especially as received through entertainment. Kiene Brillenburg Wurth discussed how the idea of the Enlightenment influenced eighteenth-century audiences' perceptions of the sublime.³²¹ Enlightened minds focused on reason and the boundaries of the rational. The enormity of the sublime was too great for comprehension. The result led to the pain and pleasure of the sublime--the painful difficulty of attempting to resist sublime terror, followed by a joyful moment of release when one succumbs to feelings of relief. Said Wurth: "Somewhere in the no-man's-land between pain and pleasure, there was a pivoting point or turning leading to a newfound opening, a newly felt sense of being."³²² Enlightenment individuals influentially re-defined, even resurrected from antiquity,

³²¹ Wurth, *Musically Sublime*, 3.

³²² Ibid.

philosophies of the sublime. Further, they interpreted their own sublime experiences based on the cultural ideals of their time.

Similarly, cultural norms inform the contemporary listener's perception of music, as Melanie Lowe explores. Adopting a cinematic approach, she examines the presence of classical music in popular movies and television shows. Through such media, contemporary culture associates music once intended solely for performance in a concert hall with cartoon characters and game shows. She even uses *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* as an example, pointing out its association with *The Simpsons*, *Ace Ventura: Pet Detective*, and *Win Ben Stein's Money*.³²³ Just as the Enlightenment served as the eighteenth-century form of contemporary culture, influencing perceptions of music, classical music in the twentieth century also interacts with popular culture--commercials, television, movies--and is understood accordingly. While the ideas specific to each era are strikingly different, Lowe posits the interpretive process toward the music in each case as similar. She explains:

the listener hears expressive echoes of her own world in the real time of a musical performance, renders the music intelligible by associating those echoes with her own experiences, musical and otherwise, and charts a course of signification according to her understanding of late-eighteenth-century music to construct historically appropriate meanings.³²⁴

This allusion to subjectivity may prove problematic to those musicologists, theorists, and critics who consider eighteenth-century music, especially Mozart, as absolute in its truth or as

³²³ Lowe, *Pleasure and Meaning*, 164.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 179.

beyond interpretation. In introducing my own experience and the ideas above, I emphasize that the sublime can occur as a subjective feeling, which can be evoked through Mozart's music despite its common label as absolute.

McClary, too speaks to personal experience when she recounts her attendance at a performance of Mozart's Piano Concerto in G Major, K. 453. While she enjoyed a positive response to hearing the piece, a colleague criticized the performance for being overtly "romantic" and too "self-indulgent" a rendition of Mozart's music.³²⁵ This performance led McClary to evaluate perceptions of the eighteenth century, in particular Mozart. She writes that many scholars consider music in the eighteenth century and Mozart an embodiment of perfect order, untouchable, the musical Garden of Eden.³²⁶ Similarly, while the film *Amadeus*, in one way, works to demystify the man--it nonetheless preserves his work as infallible.³²⁷

Throughout the rest of her article, McClary "de-mystifies" Movement 2 of Mozart's G Major Piano Concerto, evaluating how Mozart's music articulates eighteenth-century style and social discourse.³²⁸ She seeks to understand elements of Mozart's work in relationship to the social and formal conventions of the eighteenth century, considering tonality, sonata form, and the concerto genre. McClary writes that eighteenth-century musical discourse is contingent on what the collective society perceives as music, which constantly changes. While for the majority of the movement Mozart adheres to collectively accepted principles, there are some divergences from the "standard" musical model, which McClary considers bouts of individualism. Therefore one can interpret both adherence to social norms and individualism within the composition. However, she notes that this is only one of a plethora of interpretations; there is no definitive

³²⁵ McClary, "Musical Dialectic," 130.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Ibid., 131.

meaning, but a constantly shifting array of meanings contingent on listener and context. The only clues to Mozart's inner-thoughts or intentions regarding the music are preserved in manuscripts, which are interpreted by performers.

Similarly, Richard Taruskin analyzes the idea of authenticity in relation to performance practice, arguing that it is impossible for twentieth-century musicians to capture the composer's true feelings and original emotions in writing the piece, to evoke the atmosphere of the original performance, or to create truly historical effects through the use of instruments (period or otherwise).³²⁹ Achieving an authentic performance based on the composer's intentions remains impracticable as performers cannot know what the composer was thinking, composers don't always express their intentions, and sometimes their intentions are misleading. Moreover, Taruskin distinguishes between the composer's interpretation and the performers' interpretation, stating: "The appeal to intentions is an evasion of the performer's obligation to understand what he is performing."³³⁰

McClary further addresses the ways in which music can channel one's emotions, owes sometimes more effectively than other forms of media, such as visual art. She writes that music "is often received (and not only by the musically untutored) as a mysterious medium within which we seem to encounter our 'own' most private feelings."³³¹ Thus, music does not evoke one universal response, but instead, generates different reactions based on countless factors including the music, the performers, the performance context, and the listeners themselves.

In considering the above discussed ideas, I do not think that the sublime is created intentionally by the composer; for example, Mozart did not sit down and think "I am going to

³²⁹ Taruskin, "Pastness of the Present," 97.

³³⁰ Ibid., 98.

³³¹ McClary, *Feminine Endings*, 53.

write my 41st symphony and it is going to be sublime.” Rather, I think this phenomenon occurs when the result and reception of the composition exceed the expectations of the audience and the prescriptions for the time; such effects are enhanced when the piece continues to speak to the times to come. Eighteenth-century listeners, no doubt, knew the *Jupiter* was unique for reasons including the final inverted counterpoint section; however Mozart himself didn’t label the composition sublime. Sisman, a twentieth-century musicologist, does label the composition sublime, thus attesting to the importance and lasting power of the composition. I also think the sublime can be achieved through experience, which is contingent on numerous factors including the performers, the instruments used, and performance atmosphere. This idea is exemplified too through my experience in Vienna, where not only the music, but also extra-musical factors, such as location and time of day, all contributed to a memorable and sublime experience. The sublime can yield a subjective experience and requires the listener to assess the sounds she hears.

The introductory quote to this chapter, by Thomas Carlyle, fits the idea of the sublime perfectly. His mention of angels and divinity suggests a higher power, linking the music he hears to the elevated style, one of the signifiers of the sublime. The most notable aspect, however, is his assertion that music brings one close to the infinite, a quality of the Kantian mathematical sublime. Importantly, this quote clearly ties music to something greater--something essentially unknown--and gives it powers unimaginable to human reason. The musical sublime embraces these qualities, which emerge forcefully upon listening to the finale of Mozart’s *Jupiter*.

When I try to come up with an image for Mozart's music, I always think of a hologram: of something that is both simple and complicated at the same time. When the surface looks simple, tuneful and regular, the phrase structure is subtly irregular underneath. When the surface seems jarring and disorienting, there is regularity underneath. Mozart's world is both surprising and understandable at the same time, both simple and complex. As our culture deals with extremely complicated issues in evermore black and white sound-bite fashion we have Mozart to remind us that things are never as simple as they seem.

Rob Kapilow³³²

Chapter 5

“Never as simple as they seem”: The *Jupiter*'s final fugue

This chapter provides a musical analysis of the Coda of the *Jupiter* Symphony, as it illuminates and supports my demonstration of the sublime aesthetic in the *Jupiter*. The first part of this chapter focuses on the opening four-note motive of the fourth movement, which was the initial catalyst for my work on this symphony. This passage itself represents a synthesis of the learned and galant styles. An understanding of this relationship shows the extent to which Mozart united these stylistic characteristics. Next, I analyze the remainder of the fugal Coda, revealing both its galant and learned characteristics; score excerpts support my analysis.³³³ I conclude that Mozart combines galant motives into a learned fugue, thus evoking the sublime through the synthesis of opposite musical styles.

The Cantus

My initial analysis of the opening CDFE motive (also referred to as the 1243 motive) illustrates how Mozart integrated the learned and galant styles, both simply and later in the

³³² Rob Kapilow, *Mozart's Jupiter Symphony* (Naxos Music Library. Hong Kong: Naxos Digital Services Ltd., 2007), Accessed 4 March 2011, <http://naxosmusiclibrary.com>

³³³ For my analysis and examples from the *Jupiter*, I use the 1880 Breitkopf & Härtel score, pages 35-56, available through the International Music Score Library Project, and accessible at <http://imslp.org>.

movement, complexly. I choose to present this synthesis on both the micro (motivic) and macro (larger structural) levels. In addition to analyzing this motive, which in itself embodies characteristics of both the learned and galant style, I also discuss how the context in which the motive is used further determines its quality.

Mozart opens the fourth movement of the *Jupiter* quite simply, with the whole notes C-D-F-E against an Alberti bass-like pattern. The motivic CDFE pattern featured in the melody has generated much discussion among musicologists, as I elaborated on in Chapter 3.³³⁴ Briefly, A. Hyatt King identified the motive in fourteen of Mozart's compositions, as well as in other works written both before and after Mozart's lifetime. Since no research proves whether Mozart consciously or unconsciously used this motive, it remains a somewhat debatable topic in musicology.

The use of this melodic pattern within the finale of the *Jupiter* notably asserts a duality of both galant and learned styles; this duality demonstrates in microcosm the theme of the larger movement and piece.

³³⁴ For more information on this passage, see Brown, "Eighteenth-Century Traditions" 185-188; Elwood Derr, "A Deeper Examination of Mozart's 1-2-4-3 Theme and Its Strategic Deployment," *In Theory Only* 8 (1985): 5-45; King, *Mozart in Retrospect*, 264; Woodfield, "Mozart's *Jupiter*," *passim*; Susan Wollenberg, "The *Jupiter* Theme: New Light on Its Creation," *The Musical Times* 116, no. 1591 (1975), 781-783.



Figure 5: The *Jupiter*, Violin I and II, Movement 4, mm. 1-4

Figure 5 demonstrates that as written, the motive fits the prescription of the galant style with its uncomplicated, light, and playful character. The accompaniment, too, is simple, alternating between only two different pitches in each measure of the violin II part. The next statement of the four-note motive (mm. 9-12) also has galant characteristics, but with more gusto, resembling the buffa, theater style and including the entire orchestra playing *forte*.

On the other hand, as discussed in Chapter 3, the CDFE motive was commonly used by liturgical composers such as Palestrina, J.S. Bach, G.F. Handel, and Josquin Desprez.³³⁵ Contemporary researchers, including Susan Wollenberg and A. Peter Brown, have mentioned connections between this motive and other Christian traditions, while Ian Woodfield suggests Handel's influence on Mozart through the oratorio *Judas Maccabaeus*.³³⁶

These historical connotations surrounding the four-note motive can help in understanding the possible liturgical, and thus learned, implications of these pitches in Mozart's opening of the movement. Mozart notates the motive in whole notes, one on each pitch appears in the first four measures. This use of whole notes suggests a solemn and hymn-like, learned character, which Gray labels the cantus, alluding to the longstanding tradition of using a slowly moving cantus

³³⁵ King, *Mozart in Retrospect*, 263.

³³⁶ Wollenberg, "Jupiter Theme," 783 and Brown, "Eighteenth-Century Traditions," 186; see also Woodfield, "Mozart's *Jupiter*," 25-46.

firmus as a compositional foundation.³³⁷ The idea of this passage as learned is further established in measures 36-52, where the strings play an imitative section based on the motive.

The close intervallic relationship among the finale's opening whole notes echoes both sacred vocal music and the style of species counterpoint cultivated by Palestrina. Gray points out that this chorale texture is uncommon in Mozart's typical symphonic finales, which usually take the form of giges, contredanses or marches.³³⁸ The duple meter is also important, as Wye Allanbrook associates the use of duple meter with the sacred or exalted style typically reserved for church compositions.³³⁹ Based on the results of King's analysis, and considering the chorale structure of the passage and its solemn mood, I argue that these notes also assume characteristics found prevalently in the learned style.

While the motive appears at the movement's opening in a galant context, it retains a learned identity with strong ties to the liturgy through its common appearances in the works of Palestrina and the *Liber Usualis*. The opening section of the movement contains the four-note motive used twice in galant style. After the opening section concludes, Mozart begins an imitative passage on the opening cantus motive (mm. 36-52), thus suggesting the learned style. However, throughout the movement, the motive continues to suggest the galant context of its initial introduction. Further implications of the motive's dual nature emerge in my analysis of the fugal finale, discussed later. The context in which the motive is used further informs an interpretation of the motive as either learned or galant. The surrounding musical elements in the ensemble, in this case the full orchestra, help determine the character of the motive. Overall, I argue that in the opening four measures, the motive is primarily galant, for its simplicity, both

³³⁷ Gray, "Interpreting the Learned Style," 229.

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart*, 15-17.

melodically and in the accompaniment pattern. However, at the same time, the motive maintains its learned implications based on the sacred aspects described above. Therefore while the motive projects a galant character in this instance, it simultaneously maintains its sacred aspects.

Galant Motives

The conclusion of in the Coda of the fourth movement (mm. 372-402) comprises possibly the most memorable and mesmerizing aspect of the *Jupiter* Symphony.³⁴⁰ Within this section, Mozart introduces a number of juxtapositions that make the movement surprising and unique. For example, he places a learned fugue in a sonata-allegro movement--typically associated with the galant style. The combination of learned and galant here effectively intermingles the new and the old. Additionally, the galant carries associations with the theatrical style while the learned corresponds with the church style. Thus the final fugue interlaces two different styles with respect to the church-theater-chamber trichotomy.

The most important concurrence in Mozart's finale is the use of galant motives in a setting of learned counterpoint. In the span of thirty measures, Mozart intricately pieces together the five motives into quintuple inverted counterpoint along with a chorale and march-like fanfare, played in the brass. Figure 6, below, identifies these five fugal motives and summarizes their galant characteristics. However, when these elements combine to form a fugue, they take on a learned setting; thus Mozart juxtaposes learned and galant elements.

Throughout the fourth movement of the symphony, Mozart introduces five distinct motives, seemingly to prepare the listener for their restatement and permutation in the last few

³⁴⁰ From this point on I will refer to the fugue in the Coda of the fourth movement as "the final fugue." This distinction is necessary as Mozart employs a number of imitative sections throughout the course of the movement, but my study focuses on the last, from measures 372-402.

minutes of the piece. I argue that these five motives exemplify the galant style, and thus contribute to the duality of the final fugue. Figure 6 lists each motive, a nickname for the motive (to aid in further reference), the first measure in which it occurs in the movement, and a few main characteristics that reinforce and indicate its galant use. I discuss some topical ideas further associated with these elements.

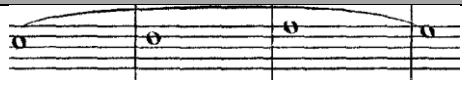
	Motive	Nickname	Measures of first occurrence	Galant characteristics
1		Cantus	1-4 [Vln. I]	Simple; light; singing style; also learned
1b ³⁴¹		Galant Release	5-8 [Vln. I]	Light; staccato; scalar; often repeated; buffa character
2		Fanfare	19 [Ob., Fg., Strings]	Fanfare with a buffa character; theatrical; reminiscent of the French overture
3		March	56-57 [All Strings, Ob., Fg.]	Dotted; dance-like rhythm; light elaboration
4		Legato	74-77 [Vln. I]	Singing style; scalar; lyrical; also appears without slurs and with staccatos
5		Zigzag	82-84 [Vln. I/II]	Short; bouncy; disjunct and scalar; similar to motive 3

Figure 6: Galant motives

Defining the eighteenth-century galant and assigning it to various motives can prove problematic. Theorists including Daniel Gottlob Türk and Koch label the galant style as

³⁴¹ This motive does not appear in the fugue itself but is an important part of the composition. It is the consequent to the opening motive (Cantus) and also appears throughout the composition, most notably at the close of the final fugue.

characterized by simple, light, and dance-like melodies with little embellishment.³⁴² More generally, Sisman states that in the eighteenth century, and for the purpose of her *Jupiter* study, everything that is not learned is galant. Much of my assessment relies on Leonard Ratner's *Classical Music: Expression, Form, and Style*, as well as my own impressions of the music.³⁴³ Ratner distinguishes a number of stylistic topics, providing musical examples of each. I also consult a number of chapters from Gray's dissertation, as they provide theoretical and musical examples of the galant.³⁴⁴ Ultimately, my descriptions of the motives come from my own analysis of and ideas about each particular component.

The Fugue

My study of the *Jupiter* centers on the fugue in the Coda of the fourth movement. It is here that some musicologists, most notably Sisman, find that the movement achieves the sublime, particularly through the implementation of the highly intricate fugue that concludes the composition. In her stylistic analysis, Sisman considers the section on a macro level: she classifies the entirety of the fugue as learned and the following section, starting with Motive 1a, as galant. According to this reading, the use of the learned style, which is elevated, evokes the sublime and thus imbues this section with the same high qualities.³⁴⁵

I agree with many of Sisman's ideas, but argue that a micro-level analysis more fully explicates this section. While she hints at the uniqueness of this particular fugue, which contains

³⁴² See Chapter 3 of Gray, "Interpreting the Learned Style," 34-61.

³⁴³ Ratner uses different motivic numberings from the ones I adopt in Figure 6. I chose this numbering because it reflects the order in which the motives occur in the movement. See Ratner, "Ars Combinatoria," 361.

³⁴⁴ See Gray, "Interpreting the Learned Style," 62-86; 222-272.

³⁴⁵ In his analysis of the final fugue, Simon Sechter writes that Mozart combines learned and free counterpoint. To read his detailed analysis of the movement, see Simon Sechter, "Analysis of the Finale of Mozart's Symphony No. [41] in C [K. 551 (*Jupiter*)]," in *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century: Fugue, Form, and Style*, ed. Ian Bent (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 79-99.

“for a frustratingly brief span...a simultaneous presentation of nearly every one of the many themes and motives of the movement,” the fugue operates on a more intricate level, which offers better insight as to how and why the fugue is sublime.³⁴⁶ I argue that the fugue comprises a number of learned and galant devices which, in combination, create tension and thus evoke the sublime. In this section, I analyze the fugue stylistically and point out key moments when the learned and the galant styles are prevalent. In referring to the motives Mozart uses throughout the fugue, I use the numberings assigned to each in Figure 6.

As seen below in Figure 7, in the measures leading up to the fugue, Mozart writes a chorale introduction (mm. 361-372), most prevalently heard in the string section. As discussed previously, the four-note whole-note phrases reflect material heard at the beginning of the symphony and also invert the opening Cantus motive to be presented in the fugal section. The first two occurrences of the four note motive (mm. 361-367), while they do not strictly follow the 1243 pattern, contain similar interval spacings in an inverted direction. Further, they echo the C7 chord sounded just before the chorale. The final sounding of the motive finally settles on 1243 pattern, played in the Violin I (mm. 369-372). Overall, this chordal section serves as transitional material, melodically connecting and setting up the final fugue. The final fugue contains a number of learned techniques applied to galant motives. The result is a contrapuntal section that features stylistic opposites. The imitative section begins in measure 372 with a double fugue on Motives 1 and 4 in the lower strings.

³⁴⁶ Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 79.

Start of the introductory chorale m.361

Motive 1 acting as a cantus firmus: m. 373

Beginning of the double fugue: pick-up to m. 373

The musical score is presented in a multi-staff format. The first system (mm. 361-368) shows the start of the introductory chorale. The second system (mm. 369-376) shows Motive 1 acting as a cantus firmus. The third system (mm. 377-382) shows the beginning of the double fugue. The score includes dynamic markings (f, p) and a 'Vel.' marking.

Figure 7: The *Jupiter*, cantus opening and double fugue, Movement 4, mm. 361-382

The fugue develops throughout the string section and as new voices enter, so do additional motives; by measure 385, all five motives occur simultaneously in the string section. Over the course of the movement, Mozart combines the motives into eight different combinations. Ratner outlined these interrelationships in his well-known diagram of part exchange in the fugal section. This chart, adapted below as Figure 8, proves useful in evaluating how Mozart combines the five primary motives throughout the string section to create the final fugue. Figure 8 further shows the complexity and mathematical intricacy of Mozart's counterpoint, which clearly exhibits the learned style.

Violin I:			4	1	3	5	2	1
Violin II:		4	1	3	5	2	4	3
Viola:	4	1	3	5	2	4	1	4
Violoncello:	1	3	5	2	4	1	3	5
Contrabass:				4	1	3	5	2

Figure 8: Permutation of the five principal motives in the finale of the *Jupiter Symphony*³⁴⁷

Figure 9 below shows how all of the string parts align in measures 384-388, creating an intricately woven fugue. Yet each voice individually continues to maintain a galant identity by focusing on one of the main galant motives (Motives 1 through 5).

³⁴⁷ As discussed in previous chapters, Leonard Ratner explores the similarities between motivic use in the finale and the *ars combinatoria* parlor game. In this game, musical motives in dance songs are determined by party-goers or by composers with the roll of a die. See Ratner, “*Ars Combinatoria*,” 361.

Motive I

Motive 3

Motive 5

Motive 2

Motive 4

Figure 9: The *Jupiter*, strings, Movement 4, mm. 384-388

The woodwinds join the fugue in measure 389 but do not follow the same motivic entrance pattern as previously established by the strings. Rather, the woodwinds enter, with each instrument playing different motives, ultimately resulting in quintuple inverted counterpoint.

While most instruments actively participate in the fugue by developing the five motives, the trumpets and timpani do not; instead they play a march-like fanfare rhythmic and melodic pattern, seen in Figure 10. While the fugal section forms the centerpiece of the composition, the brass and timpani march is just as important. It imparts a steady rhythm and keeps the motives from flying too far into the contrapuntal chaos, as Sisman has remarked.³⁴⁸ As Allanbrook notes, the march is characteristic of the learned style for its employment of duple meter, as opposed to the dance-like triple meter (see Figure 3). In his analysis of the symphony, Simon Keefe points

³⁴⁸ Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 79.

out that eighteenth-century horns and trumpets could not physically play Motives 2-5. Therefore, Mozart wrote a march loosely based upon the rhythms played by the strings and winds.³⁴⁹ Keefe states that one can consider the march section as either pan-motivic, adopting from previously stated rhythms, or non-motivic, containing new material. I choose to view the rhythms as non-motivic as the rhythmic similarities, to me, are not convincing. Instead, I argue that Mozart inserted a conventional fanfare both to contrast with the contrapuntal section and to ground a dense and complex section in a more readily comprehensible sound.



Figure 10: The *Jupiter*, brass and timpani fanfare, Movement 4, mm. 389-394

It is important to point out the ongoing significance of Motive 1 throughout the Coda's fugal section. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the motive has ties to both the learned and galant styles; this duality is clearly exemplified throughout the contrapuntal section. At the beginning of the double fugue (m. 373), Motive 1, paired with Motive 4, adopts galant characteristics. A repetition of Motive 1 appears briefly in the horn part, and also in the flutes and oboes, found in measures 373-388. Here the use of the motive is not part of the fugue itself, but rather lays the groundwork for the rest of the imitative section. Moreover, the four-note

³⁴⁹ Keefe, "*Jupiter* Symphony," 38.

phrase reflects the alla breve style, the simplest form of the learned style, which descended from plainsong and held the highest rank in high music.³⁵⁰

Researchers including Elwood Derr, Johann Nepomuck David, and William Klentz have all written on the use of Motive 1 and all characterize its use throughout the composition as a cantus firmus. Derr argues that the first four notes form a cantus firmus from Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum*, and traces the motive throughout some of Mozart's compositions.³⁵¹ David writes that all themes used in the movement are based on a cantus firmus comprising the first ten notes played by the violin in this movement.³⁵² William Klentz too writes that the movement is based on a ten-note cantus firmus, comprising the first ten notes of the movement, and has traced this idea throughout Mozart's musical output.³⁵³

Indeed, further research reveals a number of chant compositions based on the notes CDFE and its transpositions.³⁵⁴ This tradition of these pitches in cantus or foundational roles shows the use of the notes in a broader sacred context, and establishes them as a well-known cantus firmus. I argue that Motive 1 acts as a cantus firmus in the *Jupiter* through its constant repetition within the piece, especially in the fugue, and its established history in a much larger cantus tradition. Thus, the motive assumes dual identities: it is a galant motive, as I have already argued, but it is also learned in its roles as a cantus firmus that holds the movement together, as marked in Figure 7. All of these characteristics speak to the motive's learned facets, even as it maintains the lighter, cantabile galant traits that I discussed earlier.

³⁵⁰ Ratner, *Classic Music*, 23, 364.

³⁵¹ See Derr, "A Deeper Examination," 5-45.

³⁵² Cited in Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 34.

³⁵³ See William Klentz, "Per aspera ad astra, or the Stairway to Jupiter," *The Music Review* 30, no. 3 (1969), 169-210.

³⁵⁴ In the online Global Chant Database, a number of cantus results appear when searching the notes CDFE. <http://www.globalchant.org> (accessed 16 February 2011).

The fugue ends with the *tutti* restatement of Motive 1b, what I call the “Galant Release,” in measure 402. At this moment the complexity and the disorder of the fugal section cedes to the galant. Finally the feeling of the sublime fades as the disjunction between learned and galant is resolved.

The *Jupiter* as Sublime

Many researchers, conductors, and listeners alike consider the Coda to the final movement of the *Jupiter* a musical marvel. Though the symphony received some criticism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for its over-the-top harmonic richness and arduous technical requirements, it remains one of Mozart’s most well revered and most-performed works.³⁵⁵ Of particular note, statements by twentieth-century writers express awe over the fugal finale; such assessments, whether knowingly or not, contribute to the idea of the symphony as sublime. For example, Georges de Saint-Foix not only identifies the finale as Mozart’s symphonic testament but also posits that it “[reveals] to us all that music has achieved up to this time, and what it will do nearly a hundred years later.”³⁵⁶ Similarly, Robert Dearling writes that the final fugue achieves a “magnificent peroration,” while Stanley Sadie writes that the apotheosis is the fugal finale, which is so magnificent nothing in symphonic literature comes close in comparison.³⁵⁷ While such ideas do not necessarily reflect eighteenth-century thought, they do speak to perceptions of the movement’s greatness and caliber and suggest a higher meaning to the work: that of the sublime.

³⁵⁵ Keefe, “*Jupiter* Symphony,” 17.

³⁵⁶ Cited in *Ibid*, 18.

³⁵⁷ Robert Dearling, *The Music of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: The Symphonies* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1982), 161; Stanley Sadie, *The New Grove Mozart* (New York: Grove, 1983), 131.

Some, including Sisman, have made a simple equation between the learned and the sublime, placing the fugue as an example of the learned and elevated style and thus as sublime. While this equation makes sense as a general rule, I hesitate to overextend it. Rather, in keeping with my emphasis on the subjective and individual experience, I am interested in exploring specific aspects of the movement rather than only generic traits. Therefore, I argue that the sublime in the finale to the *Jupiter* merits further scrutiny and discussion as to the reasoning and implications behind its heightened effect. I use my own analysis of the movement in developing my conclusions regarding the sublime in the *Jupiter*. Further, I scrutinize Sisman's ideas while also incorporating the theories of Schultz and Scheibe to further my points.

In her detailed and comprehensive study of the *Jupiter* Symphony, Sisman contextualizes a number of different musical ideas pertinent to the symphony, including the notion of the sublime. The importance of this connection is best exemplified in her analysis of the finale. At previously discussed, Sisman at length describes the connection of Enlightenment rhetoric to the high-middle-low and church-theater-chamber trichotomies, and in particular the learned style; this connection between the learned style and high style of rhetoric ultimately evokes the sublime. While I agree the learned style can potentially introduce feelings of the sublime, this stylistic trait alone is not sufficient to create the sublime aesthetic. Again, the equivalence runs the risk of overly general application. Therefore, I focus more specifically on Mozart's seamless combination of two extreme compositional styles--the learned and the galant--during the final fugue as a more particular signifier of the sublime.

For Sisman, three specific instances in the recapitulation of the fourth movement suggest the sublime. The most notable occurs in the contrapuntal Coda which: "is a peroration encapsulating and reversing the dual exordium, moving from contrapuntal chaos to the confident

closure of the galant.”³⁵⁸ In the span of these thirty measures, Mozart writes a double fugue on the first and fourth motives, a canon on the others, and a march-like theme in the brass, all of which I outlined previously. This fugal conglomeration of varying ideas creates, to Sisman, “vistas of contrapuntal infinity” and a “cognitive exhaustion born of sheer magnitude.”³⁵⁹

Finally, the chaos stops at a fortissimo, unison orchestra-wide sounding of Motive 1b, in measure 402. Thus, Sisman concludes that Mozart achieves Kant’s mathematical sublime through his sounding of ever-changing ideas. Here I agree and I note the difficulty created for the listener. Rather than focusing on just one motive or theme throughout the duration of the Coda, Mozart writes a fugue, presenting the listener with a melodic representation of the infinite.

While Sisman believes the combination of the learned and the galant can produce the sublime, she finds Mozart’s synthesis only on a macro level. To this end, she distinguishes and labels larger-scale sections of the composition as learned and galant. For example, the final fugue exhibits the learned style, which is resolved by the galant in the tutti orchestra iteration of Motive 1b. While I completely agree with Sisman’s analysis of these elements, I find many other factors at work that contribute to the sublime, and believe that the Coda section thus merits further analysis. Therefore, my remaining analysis continues on the micro level, including a nuanced consideration of individual notes and motives in the creation of the whole, and how these small scale elements produce the sublime.

Identifying the learned features of the finale proves straightforward. In Ratner’s definition of musical elements that signal the learned style, I identify three crucial ideas, all of which are found in the final fugue: the use of invertible counterpoint, canon, and cantus. As

³⁵⁸ Sisman, *Jupiter Symphony*, 79.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

already established, the most well-known aspect of the finale is the fugue based on Motives 1 and 4, which combine in a double fugue; the remaining three themes combine to form a canon, another signifier of the learned style. Ultimately, when all of the voices enter, these ideas combine to form quintuple inverted counterpoint. Finally, Mozart creates a cantus theme out of the first four notes of the movement, which are present in each measure throughout the section. This consistency helps stabilize the movement, keeping the fugue grounded and preventing it from completely escaping the listener's cognizance. These learned qualities also reflect styles of music heard commonly in the liturgy.

The composition maintains a number of key ideas suggesting the galant style, as well. First, symphonies were generally heard in the chamber or theater context and were meant for the pleasure of ear, not requiring much concentration from the listener. The motives were short and simple in structure. These characteristics are evident in the *Jupiter's* Coda, and particularly in Motives 1-5, as detailed in the above sections.

Yet tension occurs in the combination of the learned and galant styles. As established in Chapter 3, these forms of music were considered stylistic opposites in the eighteenth century; the learned was typically heard in the sacred setting while the galant was heard in the secular. The polarities in these styles create an imbalance, causing a struggle for stylistic equilibrium, reflective of Kant's mathematical sublime. A key point in defining Kant's mathematical sublime is the feeling of cognitive exhaustion. In relation to the *Jupiter*, one could, for example, be overwhelmed at the inability to distinguish individual motives while all patterns are occurring simultaneously. This experience ties to Sisman and Zaslaw's suggestion that listeners and performers found Mozart's music difficult to comprehend and play. The fugal Coda clearly exemplifies this possibility; performers may have difficulty following their own parts as rarely

do two instrument groups play the same motivic pattern at the same time. Similarly, listeners might be overwhelmed by their inability to pick out a single motivic pattern to follow throughout the course of the fugue.

Another important point when considering the sublime lies in the synthesis of contraries. Historically, the sublime occurs as a sequence comprising two contradictory feelings--such as pain and pleasure or despair followed by joy. As Ronald Paulson writes: “the sublime and the beautiful...were not just opposing categories; they became...a sequence: not just the great natural upheaval versus the quiet sunlit meadow...but the progression to be desired or demanded or regretted from one of these to the other.”³⁶⁰ Writers including Edmund Burke considered opposites, such as pain followed by pleasure or terror leading to relief, a part of the sublime experience. I find this applicable to assessing the *Jupiter*, particularly in considering the use of the learned and the galant in the fugue. For example, the chorale introduction to the fugue (mm. 361-372) suggests the learned style, while the tutti restatement of motive 1b in measure 403 imparts the galant. The middle fugue, from measures 372-402, reflects the grey area between the synthesis of the learned and galant and their struggle for equilibrium. Throughout this fugal process, the sublime is most apparent.

In addition to Kant’s sublime, I find it important to consider the musical perspectives of what constitutes the sublime--particularly in the writings of Johann Adolph Scheibe and Johann Abraham Peter Schulz. As discussed in Chapter 4, Scheibe believed that the fugue was incapable of producing anything but confusion and tension, but the combination of simple harmonies and melodies could impart the highest of musical expression. Mozart’s *Jupiter* is a special case. In implementing simpler galant melodies in the fugue, the music becomes a little lighter on the ear,

³⁶⁰ Cited in Sisman, “Learned Style,” 224.

and more accessible than a strictly learned fugue such as Bach would have written. By using the galant style, the composer has the ability to impart more emotion and character than the strict, rigid learned style might allow. But in his writing, Scheibe later points out that at times learned imitation is permissible and effective, if used in solemn symphonies to elevate the melody. Therefore, the *Jupiter* fugue clearly exhibits key aspects of Scheibe's sublime.

Schultz's musical sublime, found in Johann Georg Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, is one of the most quoted philosophies of the sublime of the eighteenth century and is detailed in Chapter 4. One of his most important contributions is labeling the symphony as a sublime genre. To Schultz, the symphony mirrored a choir, both of which comprise a great number of voices working together to create a musical whole. He also details the prescription for the best allegro movements of symphonies, which contain extreme dynamic changes, counterpoint, and strongly marked rhythms. All of these qualities and more are found in the *Jupiter* finale, which is marked *molto allegro*. The similarities between Schultz's definition and the *Jupiter* itself are so uncanny, Simon Keefe even suggests Mozart had the definition in mind while composing the symphony.³⁶¹

The final fugue in Mozart's *Jupiter* Symphony imparts the sublime through its use of opposites: the learned and galant styles. Throughout this section, Mozart ingeniously combines five galant motives into a quintuple inverted counterpoint. The resulting combination of styles causes tension and a sort of imbalance, suggesting the infinite component of Kant's mathematical sublime. This idea of the sublime is further supported by the aesthetic ideas of music theorists Scheibe and Schultz.

³⁶¹ Keefe, "*Jupiter* Symphony," 19.

In his recorded analysis of the *Jupiter*, conductor, composer, and commentator Rob Kapilow outlines and discusses the magic behind the inverted counterpoint Mozart uses. Part of his discussion opened this chapter. Though his analysis seemed geared to those relatively unfamiliar with classical music, I found listening to his ideas beneficial. The simplicity with which Kapilow explains the combination of the complex motives truly reflects the ideas Mozart implements in the movement: a simple complexity, a jarring regularity, a hologram.

When I am, as it were, completely myself, entirely alone, and of good cheer--say traveling in a carriage, or walking after a good meal, or during the night when I cannot sleep--it is on such occasions that my ideas flow best, and most abundantly. Whence and how they come, I know not, nor can I force them...³⁶²
~Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Chapter 6

“I know not, nor can I force them”: Sublime subjectivity and experience

One evening, I searched Google using the Boolean terms Mozart AND sublime, and I was quite surprised by the outcome. Links to albums titled *Sublime Mozart* and *Serene and Sublime: Mozart's Most Relaxing Melodies* were some of the first results.³⁶³ Both albums claimed to contain the best of Mozart's music, ranging from portions of the Requiem, *Così fan Tutti*, and *Le Nozze de Figaro* to a couple of symphonies and piano concertos. Interestingly enough, however, the *Jupiter*, considered by some musicologists, including myself, as sublime, does not appear on the track list of either album.

Initially, I felt concerned when I realized that the composition I spent a year-and-a-half researching, studying, and analyzing in order to prove its sublime aesthetic was not amongst those included. Then I realized this scenario in itself clearly illustrates two key points of my thesis: the sublime changes with time and perception of the sublime is subjective.

The sublime aesthetic constantly changes, so the eighteenth-century theory of the sublime is different from what is considered sublime in the twenty-first century. Eighteenth-century

³⁶² Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, “Mozart's Method of Composition,” *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 32, No. 1786, Mozart Supplement (1891): 19.

³⁶³ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *The Sublime Mozart*, Riccardo Muti, et. al. EMI CMS 7 69946 2 (set). CD; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Serene and Sublime: Mozart's Most Relaxing Melodies*, Various Artists, Sony Classical. CD.

theorists very specifically outlined their criteria for the elevated style and the sublime, labeling relatively few compositions as containing such qualities. It was something for which many composers strove but that few gained; something only the elite and learned understood. This suggestion is not meant to negate the caliber of the works on the aforementioned compilations of Mozart's music, but rather to point out that both albums contain a fairly extensive number of, and widely disparate, tracks. This principle of unmitigated inclusion seemingly negates the sublime, which, in the eighteenth century, was attached to compositions perceived as truly unique and whose qualities surpassed expectations.

By contemporary standards, on the other hand, it seems that any music that sounds pretty or likable is sublime. In the eighteenth century, theorists made clear distinctions between the aesthetics of the beautiful and the sublime, which did not overlap. Of course the theoretical definition of the sublime is still known by philosophers and aestheticians, but use of the word has broadened and been romanticized by society to describe music one simply enjoys or finds pleasant. This results in an anti-sublime, the complete opposite of eighteenth-century beliefs. The situation invites the question: What is really sublime in the twenty-first century?

Largely the sublime relies on experience: what someone hears and how it makes him feel. In his quote that opens this chapter, Mozart discusses his own subjective compositional experience, the unknown and unknowable, and the sublime quality of invention. This idea relates to my own experience encountering Mozart's music in Vienna and the premise for this project. How a person interprets and reacts to music constitutes the subjective sublimity of a composition.

What makes a composition uniquely different and stand apart from all others also relates to its sublimity. In terms of its musical elements, the finale to the *Jupiter* is sublime because it

combines extreme opposites in music: the learned (church) and the galant (dance). Its fusion of galant motives in a fugal texture creates an intricately woven, contrapuntally textured musical synthesis of stylistic opposites combined in a way not previously explored to a similar extent. Its ever-changing nature and difficulty to play or hear reflects the Kantian mathematical sublime--the infinite. Subjectively, the music creates something unique to the ear, overwhelming, maybe even mind-blowing.

The more I research the *Jupiter* Symphony, the more incredible I find it. Whether it is taking a set of colored pencils to the musical score in order to understand how the parts are integrated, considering Rob Kapilow's assessment of how the motives combine, or even just sitting back, closing my eyes and listening, I am truly overwhelmed by the piece's precision, complex use of musical styles, expressive power, and relationship to abstract ideas like rhetoric and the sublime.³⁶⁴ It is an intricate simplicity. Sublime.

³⁶⁴ Kapilow, *Mozart's Jupiter Symphony*.

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