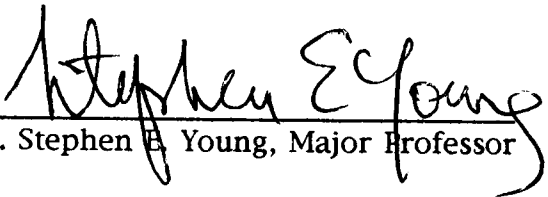
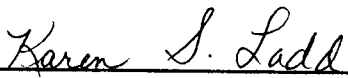


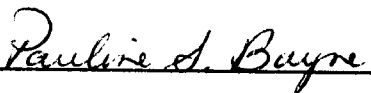
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Ann Riesbeck DiClemente entitled "An Analysis of the German 'Sturm und Drang' Movement and its Influence on Works by Haydn and Mozart of the 1770s." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Music, with a major in Music.


Dr. Stephen E. Young, Major Professor

We have read this thesis and
recommend its acceptance:





Accepted for the Council:



Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of The Graduate School

AN ANALYSIS OF
THE GERMAN *STURM UND DRANG* MOVEMENT
AND ITS INFLUENCE ON WORKS BY HAYDN AND MOZART
OF THE 1770S

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Music
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Ann Riesbeck DiClemente

December 1996

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to
my husband
Rick DiClemente
and my son
Taylor DiClemente
whose unconditional support, love, and patience
have granted me the privilege
of the pursuit of my academic endeavors

And to the memory
of my parents
Bernard Louis Riesbeck
and
Julia Scherbo Riesbeck
and my aunt
Mary Scherbo

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my sincerest gratitude to Dr. Stephen E. Young, Dr. Karen S. Ladd, and Ms. Pauline S. Bayne for the many hours involved in the commitment of serving on my master's committee, as well as their academic guidance and support in the classroom and during the comprehensive examination and thesis preparation periods. Many thanks also to Dr. Ladd's Music History 560 class for providing a forum for my preliminary work on this thesis topic, to Ms. Bayne's Music Bibliography class for the preparation for this research endeavor, and to Keith Whitaker and the staff of the George F. DeVine Music Library for their assistance over the past two years of my graduate work at the University of Tennessee.

I also wish to acknowledge my many teachers, past and present, living and deceased, who have granted their expertise in a diversity of fields from music, art and theatre, to literature and philosophy, instilled within me a true love of learning and encouraged me to pursue my academic goals. I thank John Brock, Keith Brown, Michael Ehrman, Keith McClelland, Dr. David Northington, Dr. Donald Pederson, Peter Van Eenam, Joseph Anderson, and David W. Lee of the University of Tennessee, Dr. Noel Lester of Hood College, Harold G. O'Leary, Dr. George Hauptfuehrer, Dr. David J. Judy, Oliver Manning, and Dr. Stanley Becker of Bethany College, Dr. Howard Wisch, Gary Oesch, and Liberty Antalis of Ohio University Eastern, and Mary Schumacher Kress, Edith Dorsey, and the Franciscan Sisters of St. Sylvester School, Woodsfield, Ohio.

I also extend many thanks to my dear friends Gregory W. Kulczycki for his endless encouragement during my graduate school years and generosity in providing the personal computer used in the

writing of this thesis, and Dr. Theodore Spickler for his perception of the perfect timing of an encouraging word. I also thank my brothers, Richard, Bernard, and Stephen Riesbeck, and their families for their continued encouragement and support.

Above all, I express my deepest gratitude to my husband, Rick, and my son, Taylor, without whose patience, self-sacrifice, and loving support this academic goal would never have been reached.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the German *Sturm und Drang* literary movement of the late eighteenth century and its relevance to musical composition of that time period as well as its significance to historical musicology as a factor in the transition from Classicism to Romanticism. Definitions and stylistic characteristics of musical *Sturm und Drang* and the research of music historians past and present regarding origins and interpretations are investigated, resulting in the presentation of a great diversity of academic views over the last century. An analysis of *Sturm und Drang* elements found in Haydn's Symphony No. 44 in E Minor and Mozart's Symphony No. 25 in G Minor (K. 183) presents these symphonic works of the 1770s as representative of *Sturm und Drang* musical expression. The foundation for the research for this thesis is source information derived from music dictionaries and encyclopedias, historical surveys, primary sources, composer biographies, journal articles, dissertations, critical analyses, and scores and recordings, in an attempt to provide an all-encompassing historical perspective of the *Sturm und Drang* movement and its significance to historical musicology.

PREFACE

The German *Sturm und Drang* movement in literature and art of the late eighteenth century is considered one of the earliest expressions of Romanticism, reaching its peak in the 1770s. There is considerable evidence to support the theory that the same expression of *Sturm und Drang* can be found in musical composition during the same time frame. Haydn's Symphony No. 44 in E Minor ("*Trauersinfonie*") of 1771 and Mozart's Symphony No. 25 in G Minor (K.183) are cases in point. This theory challenges certain traditional views of the dating of early Romantic music as successive to its counterparts in literature and art.

The intent of this thesis is to provide an all-encompassing historical perspective of the *Sturm und Drang* movement and its significance to historical musicology as a factor in the transition from the Classical Period to the Romantic Period. The focus will be on the influence of *Sturm und Drang* elements on the compositional style of Haydn and Mozart in the 1770s. Haydn's Symphony No. 44 and Mozart's Symphony No. 25 will be analyzed and defined as examples of *Sturm und Drang* musical expression.

Chapter I will present the definition and the historical origins of the *Sturm und Drang* movement in literature. Stylistic characteristics and definition of *Sturm und Drang* as it applies to music, as well as views and interpretations by music historians past and present, will comprise Chapter II. An analysis and examination of *Sturm und Drang* stylistic characteristics and elements in Haydn's Symphony No. 44 and Mozart's Symphony No. 25 will be presented in Chapter III, with concluding remarks comprising Chapter IV.

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CHAPTER I

The *Sturm und Drang* Literary Movement

In the arts and humanities world in these last years of the twentieth century, definitions and interpretations of the term *Sturm und Drang* are numerous and diverse. Amid decades of debate regarding its dating, significance, and application to art, music, and literature, *Sturm und Drang* (German: "Storm and Stress") is generally acknowledged as a literary movement in Germany in the 1770s, considered by many as the birth of German Romanticism. To present an historical perspective on the *Sturm und Drang* movement and its relevance to historical musicology, it is necessary to commence with an examination of the movement's historical, philosophical and sociological origins.

The beginnings of European pre-Romanticism are perhaps first evident in the mid-eighteenth century philosophical and aesthetic revolts against the rationalist thought of the Age of Enlightenment. Most notable was the 1756 publication of Irish statesman-philosopher Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*. In contradiction to Johann Winckelmann's treatise on classicism, *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Art*, of the previous year, Burke's *Enquiry* challenged classicist and rationalist values and established a new aesthetic based on imagination rather than reason and espoused a new emotional expressionism inspired by the sublime and infinite nature of the physical world.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau is considered the forerunner of the rebellion against rationalism and early Romantic thought with the 1750 publication of *Discours sûr les sciences et les arts* and *Discours sûr l'inégalité* of 1754.

Rousseau's writings on music criticized the views of Jean-Phillippe Rameau, France's leading composer and music theorist. Within the setting of the famous "War of the Bouffons," the Paris dispute of 1752-1754 over the merits of traditional French opera versus the new Italian opera, Rousseau challenged Rameau's classicist dependency on the scientific approach to music with the idea that music, like nature, was inherently different from science and mathematics in its variety of styles. Rousseau's writings, including his articles for the *Encyclopédie*, his *Dissertation sur la musique moderne*, *Lettre sur la musique française*, and *Dictionnaire de musique*, are considered the earliest theories of romanticism.

It is with the 1761 publication of Rousseau's romantic novel *La nouvelle Héloïse*, however, that one can see the infiltration of early Romantic thought into literature, which effected a social revolution throughout Europe. Written in the popular eighteenth century style of a series of narrative letters, *La nouvelle Héloïse* is a morality tale with themes of conflict between passion and fidelity, love and the mixing of the social classes, and the observation that human behaviour is based on emotion rather than reason. In his autobiography, *The Confessions*, written years later, Rousseau advocates the importance of individualism and self-expression, and the value of introspection and emotional subjectivism. These two works laid the foundation for the tenets of Romantic philosophy and established Rousseau as the embodiment of the Romantic personality. His effect on an audience of young German writers and philosophers was profound and provided fertile ground for the birth of *Sturm und Drang*.

The *Sturm und Drang* literary movement had its beginnings in 1770, reaching its peak around 1778 and its conclusion around 1781. Its primary figures included Herder, Goethe, Lenz, Klinger, and Schiller. Although

German revolt against the ideology of the Age of Reason was seen in the precedent writings of Kant, Klopstock, Haller, Schnabel, and Hamann, it is Lutheran pastor Johann Gottfried Herder who is considered the first to incorporate the ideas of Rousseau into German philosophy. Influenced as a young theology and philosophy student by Kant and Hamann, Herder formulated theories of history, language, art and literature that were integral to the beginnings of German romantic thought. His first series publication of *Fragmente über die neuere deutsche Literatur* in 1767, along with his series on art, literature and music, begun in 1768, entitled *Sylvanae (Kritische Wälder, oder Betrachtungen, die Wissenschaft und Kunst des Schönen betreffend, nach Massgabe neuerer Schriften)*, and the collection of German folkloric poetry *Volkslieder* contributed to the creation of a new German cultural identity, heretofore subservient to the French in language and aesthetics. Herder's *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* of 1773, a collection of essays on history, architecture, and German history, by himself and others, including Goethe, was later seen as the manifesto of the *Sturm und Drang* movement.

Perhaps Herder's most significant contribution was his influence on the young law student Goethe, whom he met in the French city of Strasbourg in 1770. Through Herder, Goethe cultivated an appreciation for Shakespearean drama, German history, and the Middle Ages, and a pantheistic view of the interdependence of man and nature. Prior to meeting Herder, Goethe had written poetry and plays primarily in the *rococo* style; however, the influence of Herder and an unprecedented expressionism is evident in Goethe's 1771 historical drama, *Götz von Berlichingen*. Based on a tale of a sixteenth century German knight and Shakespearean in style, it is this play, along with Goethe's

next work, the novel *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*, that are considered the first literary works of the *Sturm und Drang* movement.

Written in 1774, *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* is an autobiographical love story, tragic in tone and reminiscent of the narrative structure and characterization of Rousseau's 1761 *La nouvelle Héloïse*. Like *Héloïse*, the novel is written as a series of narrative letters which present the story of a romantic triangle: the young lover Werther, his beloved Lotte, and her husband, Albert. The character of Werther is a sensitive youth who falls deeply in love with Lotte, although she is already engaged to Albert. To elude the anguish of unrequited love, Werther moves to the city and secures a government job, which he inevitably leaves due to the social snobbery of the aristocracy toward a bourgeois. Upon his return, Werther finds Lotte now married to Albert, and, in great angst, commits suicide.

The similarities between the characters, plot, setting, and themes in *Werther* and Goethe's own life are many. After his months with Herder in Strasbourg in 1770-1771 and the writing of *Götz von Berlichingen* in 1771 in Frankfurt, Goethe travelled to the rural village of Wetzlar in 1772, where, like Werther, he met and fell in love with Lotte Buff, who was secretly engaged to his friend J. C. Kestner. After several months of emotional turmoil, Goethe, again like Werther, removed himself from the situation and returned to Frankfurt. Werther's unhappy love affair resulting in an act of suicide, as well as his experiences suffering social discrimination, literally parallel events in the life of an acquaintance of Goethe's in Wetzlar, K. W. Jerusalem. The autobiographical foundation of the novel introduces a new emotional subjectivism with focus on the feelings and introspections of the inner self, a feature which became almost synonymous with *Sturm und Drang*.

Throughout Europe, Goethe's novel Werther was received with such overwhelming success and cult-like popularity to the extent that many young men committed suicide over their own romantic failures. The Romantic personality was realized in the character of Werther and recognized in its author, and the themes of passion over reason, the urgency of life, and the pursuit of individuality in one's existence in society and nature were established as *Sturm und Drang* motives. Goethe's period of great *Sturm und Drang* literary expressionism lasted five years, a time of great productivity with the important early works of Götz von Berlichingen, Werther, Clavigo, Stella, and early versions of Egmont and Faust.

The poetry and plays of J. M. R. Lenz are also considered products of the *Sturm und Drang* literary movement. An acquaintance and great admirer of Goethe, Lenz was the embodiment of the Romantic Man in temperament with a predilection for tragic love affairs, many involving former conquests of Goethe's, and several consequent suicide attempts. His works, which include the plays Der Hofmeister and Die Soldaten are considered expressionistic in style, experimental in the use of satire and tragicomedy, and exhibit the considerable influence of Herder and Goethe.

Another Goethe follower, Friedrich Maximilian Klinger is also affiliated with the literary movement primarily through his play entitled *Sturm und Drang*, from which the movement derived its name, written in 1776 and inspired by the American Revolution, as well as his later work of 1781, Die Zwillinge. Klinger's characters and plots involved themes of youthful rebellion against society, the intensity and impetuosity of passion, tragic love, war and violence, conspiracy, and political intrigue.

On the peripheral edge of the movement are the works of J. C. F. von Schiller, especially his play *Die Räuber*, written in 1781. Although the literary revolution of the 1770s had considerably waned by this time, *Die Räuber*, originally conceived in 1777, was acknowledged as a powerful *Sturm und Drang* drama. In his plays as well as his essays, Schiller deals with the themes of man's conflict in society, the concept of morality and heroism, and the forces of good over evil.

The *Sturm und Drang* period is often defined as the "Geniezeit" or the "Age of Genius" in reference to the young Goethe and his playwright and poet colleagues. It is through their voices and the echoes of Herder's interpretations of the philosophies of Rousseau that a new age of German civilization and culture found its awakening. Their inquiries into the issues of man's individualism, his place in society and nature, freedom from the constraints of science and reason, a pantheistic vision of the universe as a unified entity, the quest for artistic expression through the use of imagination and intuition, and the concept of divine inspiration in the form of genius, firmly establish the *Sturm und Drang* movement, albeit short-lived, as not only the precursor but the establishment of the foundation of German and European romanticism.

CHAPTER 2

Musical *Sturm und Drang*

Origins

In an attempt to comprehend the definition and scope of musical *Sturm und Drang*, it is first necessary to consider in proper historical perspective the precedent styles to which it responded. Between 1740 and 1760, a new musical style gained popularity throughout Europe as a reaction against the restrictions of the contrapuntal style of J. S. Bach and Handel. The new *style galant*, reminiscent of the French *rococo* style of art and architecture, aimed toward a lighter, freer, more spontaneous, elegant composition with emphasis on the clear separation of melody from simple harmonic accompaniment. *Galant* composition was less linear than Baroque polyphony, with the construction of symmetrical phrasing with uniform rhythms and experimentation with a wide range of ornamentation. These *galant* characteristics are evident in the keyboard music of François Couperin, J. C. Bach, and Galuppi, the chamber music of Sammartini, the violin works of Tartini, and the operatic works of Pergolesi, Hasse, and Vinci.

Another mid-eighteenth century style, the *Empfindsamkeit*, considered the North German phase of the *rococo*, established a new sentimentality resulting in a new personal expressiveness of emotion. In an attempt to replace the Baroque principle of exploring a single affection or emotion within a composition, *Empfindsamer Stil* composition provided a continuous change of emotions created through the use of a wide range of dynamics, tempo, and texture, often utilizing chromaticism, non-traditional modulations, and abrupt shifts in harmony. These characteristics are most evident in the

keyboard works of C. P. E. Bach, considered the champion of the *Empfindsamer Stil* and as having a profound influence on Haydn and Mozart, as well as instrumental and keyboard works by W. F. Bach, Schobert, Quantz, Benda, and Reichardt. The new innovations in style and expression inherent in the *style galant* and the *Empfindsamer Stil*, as well as performance practices, were theorized in the writings of the 1750s and 1760s of Quantz, Marpurg, C. P. E. Bach, and Leopold Mozart.

It is generally accepted theory that the mid-eighteenth century rebellion in philosophy and literature against the Age of Reason had its counterparts in music as well as art. Parallels can be seen between the *galant* and *Empfindsamer Stil* phases in music and the neo-classicist and early romantic styles in art and architecture as being reactions against the Baroque. European art, especially painting, witnessed a revival of Greek Classicism during this time,¹ as exemplified in the paintings of Jacques-Louis David. However, David introduced a new expression of emotionalism within the restraints of Classic order, which was revolutionary and in deep contrast to the preceding Baroque and *rococo* styles. Even before David's works of the 1770s -1790s, new themes and subject matter were explored, as evident in the 1740s series of etchings by Giambattista Piranesi known as the *Carceri d'Invenzione*. These detailed portrayals of ancient Roman ruins as prisons exude feelings of oppression, melancholy, and the metaphysical. Further themes of the supernatural, the exotic, and the bizarre are exhibited in the paintings of John Henry Fuseli, friend to British early Romantic poet and painter William Blake and many early Romantic German poets and

¹ This revival was the inspiration for the aforementioned treatise on classicist art and aesthetics of 1755 by Winckelmann which was challenged by Burke's *Enquiry* the following year. This is considered the beginnings of the rationalist views of the Enlightenment being challenged by a new expressionism and perhaps the beginnings of the Classicism versus Romanticism debate.

philosophers. This new expressionism with themes and subject matter aimed at eliciting strong emotional reactions from the viewer is also seen in mid-century music, particularly in opera.

In an attempt to escape the excesses of Baroque ornamentation in French and Italian opera, mid-eighteenth century opera experienced reform and restoration of the purity of music for the sake of dramatic expression. *Orfeo ed Euridice* of 1762, Gluck's first *reform* opera, is representative of classicist simplicity and balance. However, its scene with the Furies' guarding the gates to the underworld, in particular, and the characters, setting, and atmosphere created through the use of minor key orchestral unisons and sweeping arpeggios can be regarded as expressionistic in its attempt to frighten and arouse the imagination. The exploration and expression of emotion represented in the *Empfindsamer Stil* is concurrent with the growing importance of the orchestra as seen in Gluck's operas and ballets during the 1760s. Themes of the macabre are noticed in the early Mozart stage works of *Lucio Silla* of 1772 and *La finta giardiniera* of 1774 and Vogler's *Hamlet* and *Lampedo*, both of 1778. The genre of the *melodrama*, spoken dramatic dialogue with orchestral music, cultivated by Benda, Vogler and other Mannheim composers, Neefe, Reichardt, as well as Rousseau and Goethe themselves, is also considered as exhibiting this new expressiveness. During this same time frame of the 1760s and 1770s, the use of minor keys in instrumental works was prevalent in symphonies, string quartets, and sonatas of J. C. Bach, Haydn, Mozart, and others. These operatic and instrumental works fall seemingly indeterminately into the classifications of *Empfindsamer*, *Sturm und Drang*, pre-classical and/or early romantic, and many, in fact, pre-date the *Sturm und Drang* literary movement, presenting a quandary for the historian. In an attempt toward comprehension of musical *Sturm und Drang* and its uniqueness

among other contemporary styles, a look at its definition and stylistic characteristics is necessary.

Definition and Stylistic Characteristics

It was not until the twentieth century that the term *Sturm und Drang* was first applied to music. French Mozart biographer Theodore de Wyzewa, in an article written in 1909 on the occasion of the centenary of Haydn's death, used the term to describe certain stylistic characteristics found primarily in the music of Haydn, but also in the music of Mozart, C. P. E. Bach, Gluck, Vanhal, and Dittersdorf as well. Wyzewa's discourse focuses on the stylistic uniqueness of Haydn's minor key symphonies composed around 1772 and presents theories regarding their inspiration and origin stemming from either an emotional or personal crisis in the composer's life² or an intellectual or moral crisis influenced by the concurrent German *Sturm und Drang* artistic revolt.³ It is from this 1909 article forward that the definition and stylistic characteristics of the term *Sturm und Drang*, as applied to certain eighteenth century musical compositions, have been met with diverse and conflicting views and interpretations resulting in considerable confusion and controversy.

Historian Paul Henry Lang refers to the *Sturm und Drang* literary movement as providing the atmosphere for the Romantic movement and the unification of poetry and music in a new lyricism. Lang infers that the

² Wyzewa refers to the tragic death of a young girl, Mlle Delphin, in June of 1772, as well as Haydn's unhappy marriage, as possible catalysts for this "romantic crisis."

³ Many music historians now refute Wyzewa's point regarding the dates of the minor key symphonies composition with the dates of the literary movement, stating that with modern research and the advances made in manuscript dating, the chronology of Haydn's symphonies is completely different than what was generally accepted in 1909.

boundless passion and idealism of the *Sturm und Drang* gave way to a moderation resulting in classicism:

The centuries-long battle for liberty and form, ideal and reality, German aspirations and the forces of antiquity, came to a standstill, the sentimental irrationalism of the *Sturm und Drang* emptied into the quiet world of the idea and the result was an aesthetic world picture, a Germanism reborn from the spirit of Greece, purified of its conflicts... (620)

Lang's many references to *Sturm und Drang* create a portrayal of the movement as "increased subjectivism (which) demanded an instrumental language that could express passionate accents with the effectiveness of the opera" (713), a "sort of chaos" (739), a "revolution (which) did not reach a climax...end(ing) in classicism...in order and harmony" (741), and a "romantic preamble...(with) classicism providing the bridge between preclassic *Sturm und Drang* and postclassic romanticism" (746). Specific to the musical revolt, Lang refers to a new generation of composers after 1760 who, inspired by the spirit of the *Sturm und Drang* literary movement, sought greater eloquence and profundity transcendent of the *style galant*, which resulted in the beginnings of the modern symphony (611).

Haydn authority H. C. Robbins Landon refers to *Sturm und Drang* thusly:

Behind the facade of Haydn's elegant and wiry music lay another kind of demon. It has been called by various names, and often associated with the German literary movement called *Sturm und Drang*, which it preceded by some years...the same demonic strain (mid-eighteenth century trend of pre-Romantic and Gothic literature) runs through Austrian music, beginning with Haydn and his school c. 1766, finding

superb flowering in the 'dark' side of Mozart and reaching a culmination in Beethoven. (Haydn: Chronicle and Works 2: 15)

Disavowing Wyzewa's theory of a "romantic crisis" in Haydn's life during this time or a link with the literary movement, Landon suggests that many of Haydn's series of minor key symphonies were composed during a "curious period" of crisis in Austrian music, 1765-1775, which preceded the literary *Sturm und Drang* publications of Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen* and *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* in 1773 and 1774, respectively, when Haydn's "crisis" was virtually over. Landon notes that just prior to Wyzewa's article, the first three volumes of the new Haydn *Gesamtausgabe* had been published in 1907 containing a chronological table, prepared by E. von Mandyczewski, of what was then thought to be the complete list of 104 symphonies. However, the dating of several manuscripts considered to be *Sturm und Drang* compositions proved to be incorrect, with many dated too early or too late.⁴ Thusly, he implies that due to the musical writings of this time period not being in valid synchronization with the literary movement, the origins of the Austrian musical crisis were musical rather than literary (266-267).

Landon specifies characteristics of Haydn's *Sturm und Drang* compositional style as employing the following:

- 1) the use of minor keys
- 2) the use of the *sonata da chiesa* (Italian church sonata) form with an entire opening slow movement followed by fast, slow, fast movements
- 3) an increased awareness of contrapuntal forms ⁵

⁴ Landon uses the examples of Symphony No. 49 in F minor ("*La Passione*") composed not only "vor [before] 1773" but in fact 1768; also, Symphony No. 26 ("*Lamentatione*") dated slightly too early by Mandyczewski ("*um* [around] 1765").

⁵ Landon uses the examples of Symphony No. 44 (second movement), Symphony No. 47 (minuet), and the Quartets, Op.20.

- 4) the use of Gregorian plainchant ⁶
- 5) an increased use of dynamic marks, especially crescendo ⁷
- 6) the use of unison forte opening subjects combined with sharp dynamic contrasts within the main subject ⁸
- 7) a new sense of long harmonic line, especially in the construction of slow movements ⁹
- 8) the use of syncopated patterns ¹⁰
- 9) the use of wide leaps in thematic material with longer note values ¹¹
- 10) increased orchestration. (273-276)

Landon also states that the existence of musical *Sturm und Drang* characteristics is not limited to Haydn works, but is seen in the works of many other composers including Gluck, Gassmann, d'Ordonez, Vanhal, and Carl Dittersdorf, all greatly influenced by the style of C. P. E. Bach (280). In his collaborative Haydn: His Life and Music with David Wyn Jones, Landon adds the use of *tremolando*, nervous repeated quavers, to the list of characteristics and Michael Haydn and the young Mozart to the list of composers employing these devices during this time period. Referring to Haydn's music of 1766-1780, Landon and Jones note that it is known that Haydn suffered from illness

⁶ As seen in Symphony No. 26 and the Trio of Symphony No. 45.

⁷ Landon states that Haydn was not attracted to the exaggeration of dynamics as seen in the Mannheim school, but to the use of dynamic gradations as seen in Symphony No. 44 (1st movement).

⁸ As seen in Symphonies Nos. 44, 46, 51, and 52.

⁹ As seen in Symphonies Nos. 45 and 54.

¹⁰ As seen in Symphonies Nos. 26 and 45.

¹¹ As seen in Symphonies Nos. 34 (2nd movement), 39 (4th movement), and 49 (2nd movement).

from the end of the 1760s to the beginning of the 1770s and that it is speculation that perhaps the amount of work accomplished during this time period had taken its toll on the composer. They refer to these years as a time of “a broadening of expressive horizons in Haydn’s music...of which *Sturm und Drang* minor-key music formed only a part, albeit a highly characterful one” (172-173).

Karl Geiringer claims that Haydn’s works of the 1760s exhibit several attempts toward a more emotional expressiveness, coming to full power after 1770 and reaching its peak in 1772, after which Haydn resumed more restraint in his compositions. Geiringer acknowledges Haydn’s *Sturm und Drang* crisis played an integral role in his development and the attainment of his musical maturity (253). Carsten E. Hatting poses that although Geiringer interprets the change in Haydn’s style around 1770 to be an expression of the Enlightenment in music, it may also represent a more specific musical evolution, one arising from Haydn’s need for greater expressiveness through a concentration of style with use of traditional polyphony and greater dynamics. Hatting claims these works are :

the first examples of a music that defends its own existence by reason of what it is, an autonomous music to be listened to for its own sake, rather than because of or in terms of its social function. (439)

Donald Jay Grout and Claude V. Palisca’s definition of *Sturm und Drang* is synonymous with the subjective, emotional expressiveness of *Empfindsamkeit* at its peak in the 1760s and 1770s. They enumerate the stylistic characteristics of this expressiveness as employing the following:

- 1) abrupt shifts of harmony
- 2) strange modulations
- 3) unusual turns of melody

- 4) suspenseful pauses
- 5) changes of texture
- 6) sudden sforzando accents.

These characteristics, they state, are evident in the works of C. P. E. Bach and his contemporaries, the symphonies of 1771-74 of Haydn, and in Mozart's symphonies of 1773-74 (559, 591, 607).

Leonard G. Ratner defines musical *Sturm und Drang* characteristics, exemplified in the 1770s music of Haydn as a counterpart to the writings of Goethe and Schiller, as utilizing:

- 1) driving rhythms
- 2) full texture
- 3) minor mode harmonies
- 4) chromaticism
- 5) sharp dissonances
- 6) an impassioned style of declamation.

In comparison to *Sturm und Drang* composition, Ratner distinguishes *Empfindsamkeit* characteristics as utilizing:

- 1) rapid changes in mood
- 2) broken figures
- 3) interrupted continuity
- 4) elaborate ornamentation
- 5) pregnant pauses
- 6) shifting, uncertain, often dissonant harmony.

Ratner considers these qualities as forerunners of romantic expression, represented chiefly by the keyboard works of C. P. E. Bach but present in the keyboard music of Mozart and Haydn as well (21-22).

Giorgio Pestelli differentiates styles of 1770s musical *Sturm und Drang* as being of these classifications:

- 1) that of Gluck, with the use of strong unisons, syncopations, gloomy orchestration, and minor keys
- 2) that of the *Empfindsamer Stil* of C. P. E. Bach
- 3) that of a stricter tone of expression, including:
 - a) the use of minor keys by some of the Mannheim composers
 - b) the serious tone and more rapid movement in some of Haydn's symphonies of 1768-1772
 - c) the agitation in Boccherini's 1768-1771 works.

Additionally, Pestelli theorizes the consequences of *Sturm und Drang* beyond the significance of the literary movement within the history of German literature as being:

- 1) the appearance of 'committed art'
- 2) the revival of the heroic conception of life
- 3) the development of a seriousness between traditions of the Protestant north and the Catholic south
- 4) the redemption of restlessness and contradiction as artistic and moral values to be explored and expressed rather than suppressed. (103 -104)

Rey M. Longyear describes *Sturm und Drang* or *crise romantique* as designating:

a tense, terse, excited musical style, incorporating surprises in dynamic changes and modulations and an extensive use of the minor mode, that was employed by some composers around 1770, especially in Haydn's symphonies and sonatas. (Nineteenth-Century 61)

Longyear submits, however, that the *Sturm und Drang* occurred much earlier than the 1770s and the literary movement, as most of these characteristics are

evident in operas as early as 1730 and in the keyboard works of C. P. E. Bach of the 1740s. His statistical work shows the 1770s period as containing fewer instrumental works in the minor mode than the preceding or the following decades, especially the mid-1780s (The Minor Mode 35).

Barry S. Brook regards the use of the minor mode as principal tonality in eighteenth century instrumental music as extremely rare and that works written around 1770, not only of Haydn, but of also of Mozart, Vanhal, Gassmann, and others, were almost invariably of *Sturm und Drang* character. Brook categorizes *Sturm und Drang* elements as:

- 1) stress on the minor mode
- 2) driving, syncopated rhythms
- 3) melodic motives built on wide leaps
- 4) harmonies full of tension
- 5) pointed dissonances
- 6) extended modulations
- 7) greater breadth of dynamics and accentuation
- 8) a fascination with contrapuntal devices, canons, fugatos, etc. (278)

Brook theorizes that the *Sturm und Drang* in literature and art represents “an eighteenth century romanticism fully matched in music at precisely the same time” and that the *Sturm und Drang*,

together with the *Empfindsamer Stil* of C. P. E. Bach, and even with the Mannheim experiments in dynamic expression...is part of a continuous thread of early romantic thought that leads directly, through Beethoven, into the nineteenth century. (283-284)

R. Larry Todd suggests that Haydn’s crisis was, rather than a personal one, a stylistic one, a reaction against the precedent Baroque compositional methods. Todd notes that Haydn’s *Sturm und Drang* period of 1768-1773,

especially represented in the minor-key symphonies, exhibit “a stylistic unity” that prefigures the composer’s later development. He attributes the *Empfindsamkeit* of C. P. E. Bach as having a profound effect upon Haydn’s style of the late 1760s, noting that, according to the accounts of biographers G. A. Greisinger and A. C. Dies, Haydn had familiarity with Bach’s early keyboard sonatas and theoretical writings during the 1750s and early 1760s.¹² Todd sees Haydn’s *Sturm und Drang* as a liberation from Baroque convention, with his dynamic and rhythmic experimentation exerting an important influence upon the composer’s later mature style and the development of the symphony (172-196).

Neal Zaslaw observes that the “romantic crisis” theory is based on the predominance of minor-key symphonies in the late 1760s and early 1770s, in comparison to the avoidance of minor keys in the late 1750s and early 1760s, by Mozart, J. C. Bach, Dittersdorf, Haydn, Vanhal, and Ordoñez. However, he notes that each of these composers wrote only one, two, or three such works and that no reference in correspondence or diaries can be found pertaining to a romantic crisis, deducing that any such crisis was either short-lived or non-existent. Zaslaw claims that the musical changes occurring during this time period were part of a stylistic evolution, a synthesis of new ideas and older stylistic practices, concurring with Haydn scholar Jens Peter Larsen’s concept of the “crisis” as “the breakthrough of the Classical style” (Mozart’s Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception 262-263).

Haydn’s *Sturm und Drang* is referred to as “the Expansive Period” by Carolyn D. Gresham. Avoiding the phrase *Sturm und Drang* and the contextual problems therein, Gresham uses this term to describe the creation of

¹² This topic of C. P. E. Bach’s influence on Haydn is researched by A. Peter Brown who states, “The question here then is not *whether* Haydn had an encounter with C. P. E. Bach’s sonatas, but rather *when*” (160).

expressiveness, expansiveness, and drama through Haydn's use of an increased variety of musical techniques during this "unique, isolated phase" of his symphonic development. She determines the stylistic characteristics of Haydn's music of this time as employing the use of:

- 1) the minor mode ¹³
- 2) the *Fortspinnung* phrase, a longer, continuously unfolding phrase which creates tension and suspense by avoiding cadences
- 3) abrupt contrasts in dynamics
- 4) expressive appoggiaturas
- 5) disjunct melody
- 6) dramatic repeated notes
- 7) suspensions
- 8) syncopation
- 9) pedals for phrase extension
- 10) silence
- 11) timbre contrasts
- 12) tremolo
- 13) deceptive cadences. (433)

Gresham states that although many of these same characteristics are found in earlier and later works, the compositions from this "Expansive Period" distinguish themselves as unique in their concentration of dramatic, expressive, and romantic elements in a unified, tightly woven combination, marking a significant phase in Haydn's development (431-434).

Joel Kolk suggests that the origins of Haydn's *Sturm und Drang* style can be identified with earlier eighteenth century opera conventions. Kolk points out that besides the coincidence that Haydn's opera production for the

¹³ Gresham notes that six of Haydn's ten symphonies in the minor mode were written during this time period (431).

Esterhazy court began with the appearance of his first *Sturm und Drang* symphonies, Haydn's operas resembled contemporary opera in its limited use of the minor mode, paralleling the rarity of minor-key instrumental compositions at that time. Kolk claims that Haydn made use of a single minor-key aria in an overall major-key format, as seen in his 1762 *Acide*, a device in comparison with Galuppi's *Il filosofo di campagna* of 1754 and Piccinni's *La buono figiuola* of 1760. In addition, Haydn's use of a number of *Sturm und Drang* devices, such as driving rhythms and angular melodies built on wide skips, can be compared with similarities in melody, harmony, and texture in Gluck's *Orfeo* of 1762.¹⁴ Kolk claims that the reservation of the use of the minor mode to depict moments of heightened emotion or natural phenomena, such as storms, was common practice for opera composers around 1770. He infers that Haydn's *Sturm und Drang* style involves a transfer of older, operatic convention to instrumental composition, and conjectures that Haydn could possibly have used these instrumental compositions as a means to develop his skills as an opera composer (445).

William E. Grim points out that, in the case of Haydn's *Sturm und Drang* symphonies, the evidence does not support the theory of sudden, radical stylistic development nor does it support the theory of a stylistic development as a slow, evolutionary process. Grim comes to the conclusion that "the basic elements of the composer's style were present at the beginning of his artistic career and were utilized and redeployed, as it were, throughout his entire life" ("Form" 241).

Charles Rosen undertakes the question of progress in the arts in the context of Haydn's development as a symphonist. Rosen notes that the 1768 - 1772 series of minor-key symphonies, dramatic, highly personal, and

¹⁴ Kolk compares Haydn's one minor aria in *Acide* with Gluck's "*Che fiero momento*" in *Orfeo* (444).

mannered, are great achievements in a style that Haydn almost at once abandoned. "Taken on their own terms...(they) inspire admiration: they are defected only when measured by the standards of Haydn's later works." Rosen points out that the musical language from the death of J. S. Bach to Haydn's 1770 style had changed significantly:

...the syntax was less fluid, the relation between tonic and dominant more highly polarized. Haydn's style...was not yet able to embrace its full implications. The higher degree of articulation of phrase and polarity of harmony raised problems for continuity that were difficult to solve...The classical ideal of balanced asymmetrical variation within a large period is only dimly foreshadowed.

Rosen summarizes:

There is no 'progress' between Bach and late Haydn, only a change in the musical 'vernacular.' There is, however, a genuine progress in style between early and late Haydn: the younger Haydn is a great master of a style that only imperfectly realizes what the language of his time had to offer, the later is the creator of a style that is an almost perfect instrument for exploiting the resources of that language. (146-147)

Carl Dalhaus addresses the philosophy of *Sturm und Drang* in his discourse on the historical and aesthetic significance of art. Dalhaus interprets the 'doctrine of the affections' found in seventeenth and eighteenth century music as a theory of objective representation rather than expression. Objective representation involves the composer's conveyance of his understanding of a particular human emotion through his music; this, in turn, is recreated through the listener's act of listening, a mutual agreement being reached on its objective contents. Dalhaus contrasts this theory with the aesthetic of 'expression' of the *Sturm und Drang* in which the composer was

the subject expressing his thoughts and the object being the process of understanding music. The focus shifted from what was being represented to the manner of representation. Style evolved from a system or genre utilized for a specific circumstance to an expression of the personality of the composer. The composer was afforded the role of 'aesthetic arbiter' on the basis of being an artist rather than a personality. Dalhaus further explains:

...this did not alter the fact that the aesthetic substance of a work was to be sought in an individual personality: the 'poetic' element that determines music's nature as art was inseparable from the recognisability of a personality behind the work. In the aesthetic of expression the artistic side of music was by no means incompatible with its documentary character, i.e. the view that a musical work is also a piece of evidence about an individual. On the contrary, the documentary and aesthetic aspects interlocked. (21-22)

Summary

In the course of this study of musical *Sturm und Drang*, it becomes apparent that the definitions, theories, and interpretations presented over the last few decades are indeed numerous and diverse. This results in scholarly controversies, the scope of which encompass the theories of the existence of a personal crisis, an artistic crisis, and/or a stylistic crisis in the life of Haydn and his contemporaries versus the non-existence of any or all crises due to the lack of written witness; the theory of *Sturm und Drang* musical works being the product of an isolated phase in the composer's life versus the musical *Sturm und Drang* as a stylistic evolution theory; and the *Sturm und Drang* being the musical counterpart to the literary movement theory versus its rebuttal due to its pre-dating the literary movement. Since the integration of

these theories into one comprehensive definition of musical *Sturm und Drang* proves difficult at the least or impossible at the most, perhaps the most viable approach is a consideration of the various categories of stylistic characteristics and the application of these to particular symphonic works composed during the time period of the late 1760s and the early 1770s.

In the following chapter, the examples of Haydn's Symphony No. 44 in E Minor and Mozart's Symphony No. 25 in G Minor (K.183) have been chosen primarily for their composition dates of 1771 and 1773, respectively, occurring during the height of the German literary movement. These two symphonies will be analyzed from the perspective of the appearance of specific *Sturm und Drang* stylistic characteristics, namely, the employment of the minor mode, the use of unison forte opening subjects, the use of increased dynamics, the use of increased orchestration, the use of syncopation, the use of expressive appoggiaturas, and the use of suspensions. These stylistic traits are chosen on the basis of their frequency of occurrence in the compilation of traits presented earlier in the chapter (12-19) and their uniqueness in musical composition during the time period in question. The prevalence of these traits within the composition of the two symphonies will be considered a determining factor in the appropriate use and application of the term *Sturm und Drang* to these works, as well as establishing validity to their identification as representations of *Sturm und Drang* musical expression.

CHAPTER 3

An Analysis of *Sturm und Drang* Characteristics in Works by Haydn and Mozart

The Use of the Minor Mode

As observed in the previous chapter, perhaps the most widely accepted stylistic characteristic to qualify as *Sturm und Drang* expression is the use of the minor mode. It has been noted that the use of minor keys prior to the late 1760s and early 1770s, as evidenced in the operas of Gluck, the *Empfindsamer Stil* of C. P. E. Bach, and symphonic works of several Mannheim composers, had a substantial influence on both Haydn and Mozart. In categorizing the periods of Haydn's symphonic development,¹⁵ Landon notes that of the symphonies composed between 1771 and 1774, it is the ones in minor keys, Nos. 44, 45, and 52, that are most representative of the composer's new dramatic style.¹⁶ Landon further states that these three symphonies, along with the earlier minor-key symphonies Nos. 26, 39, and 49, exemplify Haydn's *Sturm und Drang* stylistic period from 1768 to 1772 (*Chronicle* 2: 341).¹⁷ Brook observes that of Haydn's 107 symphonies, only ten are in the minor; six of the ten

¹⁵ Landon's classification includes the periods: 1) from the beginning to c. 1761/1762; 2) 1761-1765; 3) 1766-1770; 4) 1771-1774; 5) 1774-1784; 6) 1785-1788; 7) the Salomon symphonies (1791-1795).

¹⁶ Landon refers to the years 1771 and 1772 as "the climax" of the Haydn's *Sturm und Drang* period as evidenced in Symphonies Nos. 44, 45, and 52 and the Op. 20 Quartets.

¹⁷ These dates fall within Geiringer's categories of Haydn's "Phase of Transition" of 1761-1770 and "Romantic Crisis" of 1771-1780, Downs' category of Haydn's "Great Stylistic Break" of 1770-1779, and Gresham's classification of Haydn's "Expansive Period," which coincides with Landon's dates of 1768 to 1772. Landon also notes that most of Vanhal's minor-key symphonies were, like Haydn, composed during the years 1768-72 (*Chronicle* 2: 389).

composed between 1768 and 1773,¹⁸ the peak of the composer's *Sturm und Drang* period, and the other four written between 1783-91.¹⁹ Brook notes a similar concentration of minor-key works in Mozart's output in the early 1770s, almost none in the late 1770s, and a return to minor-key use in the mid to late 1780s (279).

In regard to Mozart's use of the minor mode, aside from the overture to *La Betulia Liberata* (K. 118) of 1771,²⁰ Symphony No. 25 in G Minor (K. 183), completed October 5, 1773 in Salzburg,²¹ was the composer's first minor-key symphony. Landon asserts that this work was possibly inspired by Haydn's Symphony No. 39, composed c. 1766-1767, of the same key setting of G Minor, with which Mozart could have possibly become acquainted while visiting in Vienna with his father earlier in the year of 1773 (Chronicle 2: 286, 390). While Landon attributes Mozart's choice of a minor key to his acquaintance with Haydn's series of minor-key symphonies written around this time (The Mozart Companion 173), Dearling submits that Symphony No. 25 may have been emotionally based on J. C. Bach's Symphony op. 6, No. 6 of 1766 in the same key (131). Of Mozart's first minor-key use, Alfred Einstein observes that

¹⁸ The six mentioned are No. 26 in D Minor "*Lamentazione*," c. 1768; No. 39 in G Minor, c. 1768; No. 44 in E Minor, "*Trauersinfonie*," c. 1771; No. 45 in F# Minor, "*Abschied*," 1772; No. 49 in F Minor, "*La Passione*," 1768; and No. 52 in C Minor, 1771-73.

¹⁹ Nos. 78, 80, 83, and 95.

²⁰ Brook brings attention to this work, composed by the 15 year-old Mozart, as powerfully *Sturm und Drang* in nature. The overture in D minor is scored for oboes, bassoons, trumpets, four horns, and strings, and contains many *Sturm und Drang* characteristics, such as syncopation, imitation, driving climaxes, and strong motivic organization. Brook notes that besides only two symphonies in minor keys, Mozart wrote only two overtures in minor also; to *Don Giovanni* and *Betulia Liberata*.

²¹ This falls into the time period of Pestelli's category of 1773-81, the period of Mozart's maturity up to the break with Salzburg, and Dearling's "Consolidation" period: Symphonies Nos. 15-34 (1772-80).

“the choice of key alone transcends the boundaries of simply ‘social’ music, and even contradicts the nature of such music” and queries:

What purpose of the day can this document of impetuous expression have served? There are Passion symphonies of this period, which are all written in minor; but...this G minor symphony...(has) not to do with pious thoughts of the Mount of Olives and the Crucifixion but rather with quiet personal suffering. (223)

As to the specific use of the minor mode within the individual movements of both symphonies, there appear to be more similarities than differences. Symphony No. 44 in E Minor (“*Trauersinfonie*”) ²² composed at Eszterhaza while Haydn was in his late thirties, c. 1770-1771,²³ uses the key of E Minor throughout, in the first movement *Allegro con brio*, in the second movement’s *Menuetto (Allegretto - Canone in Diapason)*, and in the fourth movement, the *Finale (Presto)*. The only exception is the use of the parallel major for the Trio of the second movement *Minuet* and for the third movement *Adagio*. The use of the parallel major in the Trio provides additional contrast to an already unconventionally placed minor-key minuet of a strict canon at the octave form. Its parallel relation, however, provides a sense of continuity to the composition, as well as a serene respite from the terseness of the minuet. The unifying quality of the parallel setting is also seen in the *Andante*; the key of E is retained but transformed to the major, seemingly offering a sense of solace, albeit momentary, to the relentless intensity of the minor-key prevalence in the composition.

²² Symphony No. 44 is frequently referred to as the “*Trauer*” or “Symphony of Mourning” after Haydn’s request in his later years that its slow movement be played at his funeral. It was indeed performed at a memorial concert in Berlin in 1809, the year of Haydn’s death.

²³ No. 44 was published in the Breitkopf Catalogue in 1772.

Many similarities are evident in the comparison of Haydn's use of the minor mode in Symphony No. 44 and that of Mozart's in Symphony No. 25 in G Minor. As with the first and fourth movements and the minuet of Symphony No. 44, the Allegro con brio first movement and the Allegro Finale, as well as the Minuet, of Symphony No. 25 are also set in the minor.²⁴ The Trio, again like Symphony No. 44, is set in the parallel major in contrast to the minor-key Minuet. However, Mozart's second movement, the Andante, is set in the unrelated E flat Major,²⁵ perhaps weakening the case for echoing the key unity found in Haydn's No. 44. The creation of temporary relief by the Trio's use of the parallel major, albeit less lyrical and expressive than that of the Adagio of Symphony No. 44, is still established, as well as the dominance of the G minor throughout the first and fourth movements. In this way, Symphony No. 25 shares a similar treatment of the minor mode in the context of formal structure as Symphony No. 44.

It is apparent that the use of the minor mode throughout each of these symphonies creates a developmental unity between movements, even in the use of the parallel major; the sole exception to this being Mozart's second movement Andante. In the case of both symphonies, each minor mode movement ends without resolution to the major, creating what can be interpreted as a tone of intensity and despair which parallels literary *Sturm und Drang* themes. This employment of the minor mode, along with the chronological evidence of both composers' experimentation with minor keys

²⁴ Researcher Rita Steblin presents German theorist Johann Mattheson's views on key characteristics from his 1713 treatise *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre*. Mattheson, greatly influenced by Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia universalis* of 1650, depicts the key of G Minor (transposed Dorian) as "...almost the most beautiful key, because it not only combines the rather serious quality of the previous key (d minor) with spirited loveliness, but also brings in an uncommon grace and kindness..." (49).

²⁵ Louise Cuyler refers to the Andante, Minuet and Trio, and the Finale Allegro of Symphony No. 25 as "attractive...genre pieces" (36).

during this particular time period, support the argument that both Haydn's Symphony No. 44 in E Minor and Mozart's Symphony No. 25 in G Minor (K. 183) satisfy this established *Sturm und Drang* stylistic qualification.

The Use of Unison Forte Opening Subjects and the Increased Use of Dynamics

The second stylistic device used in this study to determine musical *Sturm und Drang* character, the use of unison forte opening subjects, is evident primarily in the first movements of both symphonies. Haydn's Symphony No. 44 opens with a four-note motive (m. 1-2) scored for forte unison for full orchestra of strings, oboes, and continuo (harpsichord, cello, and bassoon), with the exception of the horn parts, in which the first horn in E has the first note of the motive only, whereas the horn in G has none. Haydn uses a double announcement of the principal theme featuring the four-note motive (m. 13-14), which is used throughout the movement in what acts as the second subject (m. 42-43), in the beginning of the development (m. 62-63), and in the recapitulation (m. 101-102). The scoring of the four-note motive of the exposition varies somewhat throughout the movement, namely in the omission of the horn in E in the secondary subject (m. 42-43) and omission of oboes and horns in the opening measures of the development (m. 62-63); the recapitulation features the same scoring as the exposition. The use of forte and unison applied to the four-note motive is consistent throughout the movement.

Similar stylistic treatment is seen in the first movement of Symphony No. 25 in Mozart's use of a unison forte opening, also with a four-note motive. This motive is presented in an agogic form of four long whole notes in the

oboes over syncopated quarter notes in the strings against even quarters in the cello and bass (m. 1-4). The only omission in the expository motive is found in the horn part; however, the pairs of horns are included in the first beat of the first measure of the recapitulation (m. 117).

Haydn utilizes the unison forte opening again in the fourth movement, the Finale (Presto), of Symphony No. 44. This is seen in the opening staccato quarter notes of the principal theme in the strings and continuo parts (m. 1-7) and in the opening measures of the development (m. 75-78). This motive is presented again in the strings in forte unison in what appears to be a closing section of the exposition, in lieu of a complete recapitulation (m. 166-174). Mozart also uses a unison opening in the strings in his Allegro fourth movement of No. 25, but uses piano rather than forte for the unison.

In both examples, the use of the stylistic device of forte unison openings establishes a strong opening statement for each work, creating an expressive tone of drama and restlessness, themes undeniably *Sturm und Drang* in nature. The similarities between the first movements of Haydn's Symphony No. 44 and Mozart's Symphony No. 25 in their use of this device are evident and can justifiably be interpreted as equitably exhibiting this *Sturm und Drang* characteristic.

The stylistic feature of the increased use of dynamics, like the use of unison forte openings, is represented most clearly in the first movements of the two symphonies under consideration. In both works, increased dynamics tend to parallel the phrasing established by the unison openings.

In Haydn's Symphony No. 44, after both the opening unison forte four-note motive (m. 1-2) and the double announcement of that unison (m. 13-14), the principal theme in the strings is marked piano from m. 2 to the pianissimo at m. 11 at the half-cadence, and piano again from m. 15 to the strings

fortissimo in m. 20 in what can be interpreted as a substitution of the main theme for a secondary theme or a development of over twenty measures within the exposition. This pattern occurs again in the secondary subject (m. 42-43) with the strong forte unison followed by piano strings up to the use of forzando in the strings and oboes from m. 47 to the deceptive cadence in m. 56, which is followed by piano in the strings and horn parts (m. 57-59) with the exposition ending in pianissimo for solo first violins (m. 60-61). Another example of the contrast of dynamics can be noted in the recapitulation with the use of a subito pianissimo in the strings at the cadence at m. 114. The fugal section in the strings marked piano just after the tenuto half-cadence in m. 140 leads a developing forte and forzando in all parts for the next eleven measures without diminuendo to the conclusion of the movement.

A similar pattern of strong unison forte opening followed by a sharply contrasting subito piano most frequently in the strings is found in the first movement of Mozart's Symphony No. 25. The opening four-note agogic motive and the exposition of the principal theme, as well as the motive's second announcement (m. 13-16), is forte for the first sixteen measures. The motive is then presented subito piano in the oboe part (m. 17) and continues diminuendo to pianissimo to the half-cadence at m. 28, followed by a passage of forte tremoli in the strings. This dynamic pattern of subito piano for the motive in the oboe to subito forte in the string tremoli is seen again in the development in m. 97-109. A crescendo of two measures from piano to forte leads into the recapitulation (m. 117), and the above dynamic patterns are repeated. A secondary theme is introduced toward the end of the exposition in piano strings (m. 59-65). As this theme is repeated with added oboe and horn parts, it is presented subito forte (m. 66-73); there is similar dynamic treatment in the secondary theme's presentation within the recapitulation (m. 177 to Coda).

With the sole exceptions of the use of the diminuendo in m. 25-28 in the exposition, the two-measure crescendo in m. 115-116 which introduces the recapitulation, and the use of the decrescendo in m. 141-143 in the recapitulation, all dynamic markings are forte to piano and vice versa without gradation.

Just as the unison forte openings provide an element of the dramatic to both symphonies, the sharp contrasts of dynamics in these first movements result in a feeling of heightened expressiveness. This can be viewed as reminiscent of the literary *Sturm und Drang* ideal of arousing the emotions from the heights to the depths of human experience. The drama and intensity created by the combination of the two stylistic devices of unison forte openings and increased dynamics, as evidenced in the two symphonies in question, lends further credibility to support the argument that these works possess musical *Sturm und Drang* stylistic elements.

The Use of Increased Orchestration

As a new expressiveness through the experimental use of minor keys and contrasts in dynamics was realized, the use of increased or advanced orchestration was another avenue explored by both Haydn and Mozart during their *Sturm und Drang* compositional time period. As with the aforementioned stylistic traits found in the comparison of the two symphonies, there appear to be more similarities than differences, with greater innovation and experimentation found in Haydn's work and greater imitation found in Mozart's.

Regarding the orchestration of Symphony No. 44, Landon refers to a "new kind of symphony which is neither a chamber work nor a grand one with trumpets and timpani" (Chronicle 2: 297). In the scoring of No. 44, Haydn

uses an orchestra of two oboes, two horns (E and G), strings and continuo of which the harpsichord is no longer a part, its importance now replaced by the bassoon accompanied by cello and bass. This is essentially a perfection of the orchestration Haydn developed throughout the previous decade, with the noticeable absence of the flute, which has no role within this time frame of Haydn's symphonic output. The role of the horns, a favorite of Haydn's, is expanded through innovative experimentation in orchestral color, especially with the instrument's highest register.

This treatment is evident throughout the symphony but most expressively in the E Major Trio of the canonic minor-key Minuet. The placement of the pianissimo horn solo in its highest register (m. 63-72) set against legato thirds in the violins establishes a quality of the ethereal in its lyricism. This treatment and its effect are quite in contrast to the traditional fanfare role of the horns. Likewise, an effective coloristic effect with the horns is created after the strong unison opening in the exposition of the first movement. In great contrast to the drama of the opening, the simplicity of the horns' sustained whole notes and brief counter melody in m. 9-20 lend an atmospheric sense of calm foreboding of what is to come in force and fury as the movement progresses. A similar treatment is seen in the two oboe voices in the recapitulation with their sustained notes and counter melody eerily suspended above the restlessness of the repeated notes in the lower strings and the scale passages that follow (m. 117-126). In both cases, this seemingly simplistic treatment is actually quite significant in its effectiveness in achieving a new coloristic expressiveness.

Another example of orchestral experimentation within Symphony No. 44 is found in the Adagio movement. In this and every slow movement written during this time period, Haydn adopts the employment of muted

strings which adds a delicate grace and sense of calm and balance in contrast to the strong minor-key unisons and dynamics of the other movements. He also employs the oboes, horns, and obbligato bassoon, a practice traditionally confined to *sonata da chiesa* symphonies, using them in a sparingly way. This is evident in the oboe and horn parts, the horns once again at their highest register, in m. 16-20 and m. 36-40, in their presentation of a lyrical melody above the calm but constantly moving triplet action in the strings. This is again presented in the closing section of the binary form movement in m. 57-67 and the final five measures (m. 78-82). This orchestral experimentation, like the aforementioned treatment of the horns and oboes in the first and second movements, results in a depth of expressiveness as well as a moment of beauty in an otherwise stormy and dramatic composition.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Mozart was greatly influenced in the writing of Symphony No. 25 by Haydn's compositional style, structure, and orchestration of his minor-key symphonies, particularly Symphony No. 39 in G Minor. This is especially evident in Mozart's use of the identical scoring as seen in No. 39, that of strings, two oboes, two bassoons, and four horns,²⁶ two in B flat alto and two in G.²⁷ Haydn's influence is also apparent in Mozart's scoring of the second movement Andante, like Haydn's Adagio of Symphony No. 44, for muted strings and winds. The Trio is scored for unaccompanied pairs of oboes, horns, and bassoons, written for *Harmonie*, the popular Austrian

²⁶ Landon notes that Haydn's use of four horns influenced not only Mozart but Vanhal and J. C. Bach, both of whom used this scoring in minor-key symphonies of the same time period (*Chronicle 2*: 286).

²⁷ Dearling suggests that Mozart imitation of Haydn's use of two horns in B flat alto and two in G was to make notes in the tonic and relative minor scales available (133).

wind-band.²⁸ This ensemble of six winds without string accompaniment offers a moment of grace and innocence within the complexity and dark tone of the composition.

A particularly good example of Mozart's creation of orchestral color is his use of the oboes in the first movement of Symphony No. 25. From m. 17 to the half-cadence at m. 28, the oboe echoes the agogic four-note motive of the unison forte opening, in piano over a pedal-tone in the horns sustained over several measures, accompanied solely by single repeated quarter notes in the strings, also piano. The result is a hauntingly soft echo of the drama and tension of the original announcement of the motive. However, without the ornamentation of the strong unison in forte pitted against the relentless unison octave syncopation in the strings, the motive is presented in its purity, seemingly a quiet, soulful voice amidst the storm and stress. This echo is heard again, twice in the development (m. 97-107) and again in the recapitulation (m. 129-140). This style of expressiveness in the writing for the oboes is exhibited only in this first movement; the role of the oboes in the other three movements is more traditional.

In determining the relevance of the *Sturm und Drang* stylistic trait of increased orchestration to the two works under consideration, there is sufficient evidence to support its significance. As noted earlier, Haydn's orchestration during this compositional time period reveals an innovative and experimental approach and end result, while Mozart's appears to be more imitation than innovation. Each orchestral style, however original or borrowed, produces a new dimension of expressiveness and creativity that

²⁸ Austrian wind-bands, sometimes joined by clarinets or English horns and reinforced by contrabassoon or contrabass viol, were popular in Vienna during this time frame and were employed for outdoor social events and serenades (Zaslav 264).

establishes a foundation for both composers' later works, as well as providing support for possessing musical *Sturm und Drang* qualities.

Other Expressive Melodic and Rhythmic Devices

There are other stylistic characteristics represented to a lesser degree in Symphony No. 44 and Symphony No. 25, that nevertheless should be taken into consideration as evidence of musical *Sturm und Drang* qualification. These include the use of syncopation, the use of expressive appoggiaturas, and the use of suspensions.

Haydn uses syncopation in at least two instances in Symphony No. 44, in the outer movements. The first movement syncopation occurs in the violins and oboes toward the end of the exposition in m. 48-51. Here, the second beat of the measure is a half note accented by the use of *forzando*. The fourth movement syncopation occurs in the violins in m. 151-157, again with half notes placed on the second beat along with fourth beat quarter notes tied to the first beat of the next measure; these are without *forzando*.

Mozart's use of syncopation in Symphony No. 25 is more prevalent and more integral to the tone of the composition. The first syncopation occurs in the opening four measures with the strings' syncopated unisons against the even unisons of the continuo, both set against the agogic four-note motive presented in the oboes. The same pattern of syncopation in the strings is reintroduced in the fourth movement first in m. 9-14, along with a new dotted rhythm syncopation commencing in m. 28 in the strings. Both types of syncopation are used throughout the fourth movement, building on the sense of urgency and restlessness initiated by the first movement's syncopation. This use of syncopation in the first and last movements results in the creation

of a driving rhythm and energetic force which not only unifies thematic material but actually seems to propel the composition.

The use of expressive appoggiaturas is another stylistic device utilized in both symphonies but to a much lesser degree than the aforementioned techniques. It is most apparent in the third movement of Haydn's Symphony No. 44, the Adagio. Here, the appoggiatura is structurally integrated within the long, expressive, melodic line of the principal theme in the violins, adding a delicate intricacy to the lyrical phrasing (m. 1, 5). This integration and presentation results in a greater depth of expression and lyricism, which is quite in contrast to Mozart's use of appoggiaturas in the Minuet and Trio of Symphony No. 25. Here, the appoggiatura is used minimally and seemingly with an ornamental function. Haydn's appoggiatura plays a more integral role in the lyricism and expressiveness of the melodic line than solely ornamentation. In this way, only Haydn's Symphony No. 44 can be regarded as exhibiting the *Sturm und Drang* stylistic feature of expressive appoggiaturas.

The remaining *Sturm und Drang* stylistic device to be considered in the analysis of the two symphonies is the use of suspensions which, like the others, is used minimally but must nevertheless be considered. The noteworthy examples of the use of suspensions in Haydn's Symphony No. 44 are found in the fourth movement; in the first section of the binary form movement (m. 29-50) as well as in the second section (m. 121-125, m. 175-181). All suspensions occur in the oboes, primarily in the form of tied whole notes marked forte against a contrapuntal passage in the strings, with the exception of the latter which is found against unisons in the strings.

Mozart's use of suspensions is also minimal in Symphony No. 25; however, the few that are utilized appear throughout three movements of the work. These suspensions are noted in the recapitulation in the first movement

(m. 193-194), in the Andante (m. 16-20, m. 64-68), and in the fourth movement (m. 45-52, m. 159-163). Like those seen in Haydn's No. 44, these suspensions are always placed in the oboes and, in most instances, usually involve whole notes tied over several measures.

In the evaluation of these miscellaneous melodic and rhythmic details and devices within these two symphonies, the employment of syncopation, expressive appoggiaturas, and suspensions is perhaps best considered within the context of their combination with the other stylistic characteristics under consideration rather than their specific and individual use. This unification of stylistic devices can perhaps be interpreted as a synergistic relation, the sum of the parts being greater than the whole, resulting in the development of a unique musical style which is characterized by an intense and dramatic expressiveness, the essence of *Sturm und Drang*.

In conclusion, based on the prevalence of the aforementioned stylistic traits within the compositional style of these two symphonies, it can justifiably be deduced that the term *Sturm und Drang* can appropriately be applied to Haydn's Symphony No. 44 in E Minor and Mozart's Symphony No. 25 in G Minor (K. 183), establishing them as undeniably *Sturm und Drang* in nature, style, and expression.

CHAPTER 4

Conclusion

In this attempt to reach a comprehensive understanding of musical *Sturm und Drang*, it can be concluded that ultimate answers as to exact origin, definition, and consequence of the phenomenon are difficult to discern. It is not known whether Haydn at Eszterhaza or the young Mozart in Salzburg, after his European travels, came into contact with Rousseau's *Héloïse* or Goethe's *Werther*, or if they were even aware of the literary revolution taking place among the young university students at Strasbourg. However, if one subscribes to the notion of a "Commonwealth of Art" existing in Europe around 1770, i.e. a common thread of themes and issues concerning liberation from rationalist thought and finding expression in philosophy and the arts, there appears to be substantial evidence for its occurrence, considering the personalities and dates involved. Barry S. Brook suggests the consideration of such an occurrence in the attempt to trace the lineage and determine the importance of *Sturm und Drang*. It is certainly a curious synchronicity that the leading figures of both literary and musical *Sturm und Drang*, Goethe and Haydn, each endured five-year periods of *Sturm und Drang* creativity within their artistic careers, 1770-75 and 1768-73, respectively, producing styles from which both artists later withdrew.

Brook asserts that the all-encompassing significance of *Sturm und Drang* warrants a "new and truer musical periodization for the years 1750-1850" (284). Certainly there is enough evidence in the opera seria, orchestral and keyboard compositions of the 1750s and 1760s, especially of Gluck and C. P. E. Bach, to claim the beginnings of musical *Sturm und Drang* to be not

successive to, as traditionally viewed, but precedent to the literary movement. Perhaps rather than attempt to strictly define musical *Sturm und Drang* as a personal, artistic, or stylistic crisis, it should be viewed as a great turning point in the stylistic evolution from *galant/rococo* to classical synthesis with its expressiveness establishing the foundation for the transition to Romanticism. Haydn's Symphony No. 44 in E Minor and Mozart's Symphony No. 25 in G Minor (K. 183), by nature of the utilization of unique stylistic characteristics within, stand not only as significant and representative expressions of the quintessence of musical *Sturm und Drang*, but as products of an important phase in the development of the classical symphony and the evolution of Western music.

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VITA

Ann Riesbeck DiClemente was born in Wheeling, West Virginia in 1952. She attended St. Sylvester School and Woodsfield High School in Woodsfield, Ohio, from where she graduated in 1969. She attended Ohio University Eastern, St. Clairsville, Ohio, studying English literature, philosophy, and theatre, and Bethany College, Bethany, West Virginia, studying piano, music history, art history, and journalism. She graduated from Bethany College in 1975 with the Bachelor of Arts in Fine Arts. She has studied piano since 1960 and has taught private lessons for the past twenty years, in her home and as a faculty member of the Music Preparatory Department of Hood College, Frederick, Maryland. She has been a substitute teacher in the arts and humanities in private and public schools in West Virginia, Maryland, and Tennessee. She has performed as a musical director, piano accompanist, and actor in musical theatre and dramatic productions with Oglebay Institute's Towngate Theatre, Wheeling, West Virginia, and as a pianist with the Buckhannon Chamber Orchestra, Buckhannon, West Virginia. She entered the Master's program in Musicology at the University of Tennessee in August, 1994. While there, she studied harpsichord and organ under John P. Brock, was a member of the University of Tennessee Women's Chorale, and was inducted into the national honor society of Phi Kappa Phi. She was awarded the Master's degree in Music with a concentration in Musicology in December, 1996.