UNIVERSITY OF HULL

The Alphorn in Western Art Music:

A Cultural and Historical Study

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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by

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This thesis is dedicated to

Böbs Feuz
of Mürren, Bernese Oberland

when you play the alphorn
it is as if the mountains are singing
Abstract

To the modern audience, the visual and aural qualities of the alphorn are quintessentially evocative of the Swiss Alps. While the alphorn has been used both literally and metaphorically by many Western art composers in works written for the concert hall, the theatre, the church and the salon to evoke this quality, this phenomenon has been neither investigated in critical musicology nor subjected to historical scrutiny. In this thesis, I seek to identify those appearances, discuss their significance and site them in their historical and cultural background.

There will be an introductory examination of the use of the alphorn in both mountainous and non-mountainous landscapes in order to assess to what a composer might refer. This will then inform an exploration of how a composer may have become aware of the acoustic characteristics of the alphorn, why a composer might have chosen to incorporate an alphorn or alphorn-suggestive material in a composition and upon what grounds he may have believed that his audience should understand such a reference.

Many examples of citations will then be discussed and their historical and cultural contexts examined in order to determine the relevance of this material to the anticipated audience. The music examined will span from the eighteenth century to the present day. It is primarily music written in central Europe; in addition there is discussion of the use of the alphorn in the UK and there will be references to alphorn-inspired material across the globe.

The influence of modern experimental music, rock music and brass techniques on both formal composed repertoire for the alphorn and on alphorn playing in Switzerland will be investigated in brief. Finally some assessment is given as to the overall significance of the alphorn in composed repertoire and the cross-fertilisation of influences that have blurred the boundaries between art music and the traditional music of the instrument as it is found in Switzerland today.
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Preface

A number of nineteenth-century composers quote alphorn music in their symphonic and chamber works. The power of such a quotation is unspoken, but unmistakable. The topic of this thesis is prompted by this observation. What lies behind this effect? What is the perceived reason for a knowing reaction?

Why is it, for example, that we expect a reply to the shepherd’s call at the end of the Scène aux Champs in Berlioz’s Symphonie fantastique? How is it that Berlioz can convey such a profound sense of unease, by not writing something? Alternatively, what is Beethoven’s intention when he writes reassuring horn calls at the beginning of the last movement of his ‘Pastoral’ Symphony? How can his music give reassurance that all is in fact well? There is something powerful at work here. Such composers are making use of a rich heritage of extra-musical reference. We, the audience, are led to places of which we may barely be aware, and may indeed have no personal experience, yet the metaphors are so strong that we understand them immediately.

This thesis examines the use of the musical language of the alphorn call to ascertain why and how such references as those of Berlioz or Beethoven can convey so much meaning. I seek out what it is that a composer brings into the concert hall, the theatre, the church or the drawing room by such a quotation, to what heritage he is referring, and upon what basis there are grounds for an assumption that such a reference will be understood by an audience.

I wish to thank many people for their encouragement in the preparation of this thesis: for moral and technical support, my husband Martin; for unstinting help and belief in this project, the staff in the Department of Music at the University of Hull, especially my supervisors, Professor Christopher Wilson and Dr. Alexander Binns; for help with German texts: Elisabeth Byrnes, with Latin texts: Jackie Baines and my sister Elizabeth Rees, and with Czech texts: Tomáš Havelka, Pavel Blazek, James Naughton, David Cairns,
Josepha Collins and Robert Rawson and for insider information and endless encouragement, all my Swiss alphorn-playing colleagues and friends.

With the occasional assistance of those named above, all translations in this thesis are my own, unless otherwise acknowledged. Editions of scores chosen are the earliest that were available for consultation. I have inserted a box over some musical quotations to highlight a motif within a context.

Some elements of this thesis are supplied on a CD inserted at the end of the written text. This contains 1) transcripts of the 25 works discussed in Chapter 2, in Sibelius 6, MP3 and PDF format, 2) photographs of the original manuscripts of these 25 works, and 3) photographs of the six known manuscripts of Leopold Mozart’s *Sinfonia Pastorella*, for reference.
Introduction

The sound of the alphorn is an unmistakable evocation of the Swiss mountains. That composers should use this sound, either literally or metaphorically, in representation of the Alps, is a phenomenon that has not been examined before. This thesis sets out to explore the rationale behind the use of an alphorn or the quotation of an alphorn motif by a composer and to locate such references in a musical and cultural context.

An introductory overview of the uses of the alphorn by the herdsman will inform an exploration of what could lie behind a composer’s decision to incorporate an alphorn or alphorn-suggestive material in a composition. In the course of these discussions, a number of different types of citations will be examined in detail: music composed for the herdsman’s horn for performance in the church and the concert hall in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, for example Leopold Mozart’s *Sinfonia Pastorella* for alphorn and strings; the quotation of alphorn motifs by composers after the turn of the nineteenth century such as those found in the works of Mahler and Strauss, and the use of the alphorn in formal and informal performance today. First of all, though, parameters must be established with regard to what is an alphorn and what is alphorn music.

Terminology

There is a primary issue of terminology upon which this investigation must be founded: what is meant by the word ‘alphorn’. This in turn depends on an understanding of both the word ‘alp’ and the word ‘horn’. Each of these words have multiple meanings in this context.

‘Alp’ is used with two meanings, one specific (upper case A) and one general (lower case a). In specific terms, the word Alps has been in use since Roman times to refer to the mountainous regions of central Europe, for example
in Titus Livius’s descriptions of Hannibal crossing the Alps.¹ This mountain area forms what is today the major part of the northern border of Italy, part of eastern France, southern Switzerland and western Austria. In more general terms, the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines an alp as ‘an area of green pasture on a mountainside, especially one above the tree line and below the snow line, used for summer grazing’.² Thus ‘alp’ is both the name of a specific region of mountains in central Europe and a general descriptive term. It will be seen that both of these meanings will have significance in this investigation.

The word ‘horn’ in musical terminology can be used in the context of an animal horn that can be blown, as is the case for example with the Jewish *shofar* which is often the horn of an African antelope, the kudu. The term ‘horn’ is also used for an instrument made of another substance that generally has similarities with the shape of a natural horn, in other words it has a conical bore and is curved. This contrasts with the category of trumpet, which refers to an instrument that is cylindrical and straight or folded.³

The word ‘alphorn’ exists in many versions today: the German or English form is found written as alphorn, alp-horn, alp horn or alpenhorn; in addition its equivalents in the other Swiss national languages are *cor des Alpes* and *corno alpino*. The use of the word alphorn or its equivalents by the Swiss shows that both of the implications of the word alp, as discussed above, are relevant; moreover it can be seen that over time, the usage has changed. In the sixteenth century, the term referred to the horn that was used by the herdsmen in the mountains. The accounts of the monastery of St. Urban in the canton of Lucerne of 1527 state that two coins were given to a strolling alphorn player from the canton of Valais: ‘*einem Walliser mit einem Alp horn gen 2 Batzen*’.⁴

Franz Schüssele, in his carefully-titled book *Alphorn und Hirtenhorn in Europa* (a title that immediately highlights the question of terminology), states

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that the word ‘alphorn’ is now normally reserved for use in conjunction with the Alps, or with the instruments of emigrants from there. He uses the term *Hirtenhorn* (herdsman’s horn) to describe all similar instruments from other sources.\(^5\) Anthony Baines and Max Peter Baumann, though, state that the word ‘alphorn’ refers not only to the ‘wooden trumpet of pastoral communities in the Alps. The name is also conveniently used to cover similar instruments of Scandinavia, Russia, the western Slav countries, Hungary, Romania and, up to the nineteenth century, some of the highlands of Germany’.\(^6\)

Thus it can be seen that the word alphorn was in use by the Swiss in the sixteenth century to mean the horn that their herdsman used on the high alp, whereas Schüssele’s terminology is probably more indicative of today’s usage, that it is generally reserved for the mountain horn that was formerly used for herding in the Alps or modern models based on those. Herdsman’s horn is probably nowadays a more common term for such instruments in other places.

A number of other names for the instrument are also found, even in Switzerland. For example, in 1030, Ekkehard IV from the monastery of St. Gallen uses the term *tuba Alpina*;\(^7\) in 1555 Conrad Gesner chooses the term *lituu alpinum*,\(^8\) whereas in 1563 a letter from the Governor of the canton of Neuchâtel refers to a herdsman from Schwell who uses a *cornet* to play to his cattle.\(^9\) Praetorius uses the term *Hölzern Trummet* (wooden trumpet) in 1619 for his description and engraving of the long wooden horn of the Swiss herdsman\(^10\) and in 1767 Moritz Capeler describes an *‘alp-horn, cornu alpinum vulgit’,* in his volume about Mount Pilatus which overlooks Lucerne.\(^11\)

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\(^7\) Schüssele, *Alphorn und Hirtenhorn*, 47.

\(^8\) Conrad Gesner, *De Raris et Admirandis Herbis* (Zurich: Gesnarum, 1555), 52.

\(^9\) Brigitte Bachmann-Geiser, *Das Alphorn vom Lock- zum Rockinstrument* (Bern: Haupt, 1999), 25.


\(^11\) Moritz Capeler, *Pilati Montis Historia* (Basel: Rodolphi, 1767), 29. The spelling of the name of this author occurs in many different forms; the most commonly found today is given above.
Other names are given to long wooden horns used in herding communities in other countries, for example the *trembita* in Poland and the *tulnic* or *bucium* in Romania.\(^{12}\) Various names are also used that can be translated into English as herdsman’s horn or pastoral trumpet: *Hirten Horn* is a term used by Leopold Mozart\(^{13}\) and *tuba pastoralis* is the name used in music from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the Czech-speaking regions of eastern Europe.\(^{14}\)

With regard to the instrument in question, there is also a range of issues. Nowadays, the typical alphorn that is depicted on countless Swiss postcards and tourist items has a specific form and dimensions. It appears in the Hornbostel-Sachs system of classification of musical instruments as an end-blown lip-vibrated aerophone, with a conical bore, straight with a flared end, classification number 413.121.\(^{15}\) It has the following features:

- **Material of construction**: wood, bound with rattan
- **Length**: 11½ feet long (*doh* of its harmonic series is F sharp)
- **Shape**: conical; straight apart from a curved flared bell
- **Properties**: uninterrupted bore: no valves, no finger holes
- **Mouthpiece**: French horn type, separate from the main tube
- **Decoration**: painting on the bell that shows the canton flag surrounded with mountain flowers
- **Method of playing**: lip-vibrated (buzz-blown)
- **Position when played**: bell rests on the ground
- **Geographical range**: mainly the mountainous regions of Switzerland
- **Played by**: alphorn enthusiasts

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\(^{12}\) A large variety of these are depicted in Alexander Buchner, *Folk Music Instruments of the World* (Prague: Artia, 1971).

\(^{13}\) In a letter quoted on p. 128.

\(^{14}\) These works are the subject of detailed examination in Chapter 2.

use played for tourists, at Swiss events and at alp horn festivals

music played ‘traditional’ Swiss music regulated by authorities

accompaniment solo, or up to four players. Not traditionally played with any other instrument.

Almost all of these parameters, though, are variable, and the typical Swiss instrument of today has gradually acquired these specific characteristics over a number of centuries. The term will be seen to have been applied to horns anywhere from around four to twelve feet in length, for example, in texts written by nineteenth-century visitors to Switzerland where they describe the alphorns that they saw (see Chapter 5). There has also since 1999 been a type of alphorn made of carbon-fibre that is popular today both in Switzerland and elsewhere.¹⁶

In addition, there are other instruments in Switzerland that could be described as belonging to the alphorn family. A number are given substantial coverage by Brigitte Bachmann-Geiser, both in her seminal book about the alphorn¹⁷ and her other books that discuss the instrument.¹⁸ These include the Büchel which has a folded form like a fanfare trumpet, the Stockbüchel which is slender, the Tiba, sometimes made of metal, and the shorter Litu.

For the purpose of this study, the influence of a long wooden herdsman’s horn upon the music of Western composers is the subject of the investigation irrespective of local nomenclature. Appropriate discussion will ensue with regard to the length, shape, material and place of origin of the horns under consideration. I will mainly use the term *tuba pastoralis* in my investigation of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music written for the herdsman’s horns in the Czech crown lands and ‘alp horn’ elsewhere.

¹⁶ These were invented by the late Swiss player Roger Zanetti. He made around 1,000 carbon-fibre alphorns. His workshop continues under new ownership.


The instrument under consideration in this study is identified according to six primary criteria:

1. it has a conical bore,
2. it is long enough that it can produce a number of different notes from its harmonic series,
3. it is buzz-blown, in other words there is no reed to activate the sound,
4. it is only open at one end, thus excludes tubes played like a flute,
5. it has no lateral holes for fingers to alter its sounding length, unlike the cornett family,
6. it is not altered in length in order to gain access to notes other than those in its natural harmonic series.

Although the alphorn is normally made of wood, it is played in the same way as a brass instrument, thus in subsequent discussion when necessary it will be classed as a brass instrument, rather than woodwind.

Alphorn music
Much has been written about the music played on the alphorn, both in former times and today, in the books that will be outlined in the literature review, below, thus a detailed survey will not be included here. Features will be examined purely in order to throw light on the material that composers used. The discussion herein divides into two parts. Firstly, I examine the relationship between the music of the alphorn and the music of yodel. Secondly, there is a need to differentiate between music chosen by a composer to represent the alphorn from that which reflects the world of, for example, a bugle, a posthorn or a hunting horn.

The roots of the alphorn and yodel are much intertwined. Guy Métraux, whose book documents the history of a particular type of Swiss melody known as the Ranz des Vaches or Kühreien (cow procession melody), states that ‘le ranz des vaches, air de bergers, a toujours été associé au cor des Alpes’ (the
ranz des vaches, the song of the herdsmen, is always associated with the alphorn). Timothy Wise relates that ‘yodelling … is understood by some as the vocal analogue of the alphorn, and many of the traditional melodies of the alphorn are imitated or suggested in yodelling’. Not only does the music of yodel, in its exploitation of the jump in the voice between the chest register and the head register, resemble alphorn figurations and arpeggations based on the harmonic series; even today, Swiss yodel also uses the tuning of the natural harmonics of the alphorn, including notes that are conspicuously ‘out of tune’ in comparison to any version of modern Western temperament. This tuning based on the natural harmonics has been retained because most Swiss yodel repertoire exists solely in the aural tradition and has not undergone the process of being adjusted to fit notation and subsequently been learned afresh from that. A composer’s use as a rustic signifier of notes outside an otherwise defined key in a passage of music is one of the significant factors in the use of alphorn-inspired music that will be discussed later in detail.

Yodel can not only be cheerful and highly athletic: it can also be melancholic and atmospheric. Alphorn music similarly displays a wide variety of styles and character. However, Wise observes a differentiation between the use of yodel material by a composer to convey happiness, whereas alphorn motifs are more commonly of peaceful or possibly melancholic mood. In the material examined in Chapter 2, parts written for the *tuba pastoralis* show a wide variety of styles that possibly reflect the preferences of the player for whom each part was written. However, in the material designed to represent the alps or a related scene that will be examined in Chapter 5, indeed the peaceful or melancholic attributes of alphorn-indicative motifs predominate.

Music reminiscent of the alphorn can be differentiated from other forms of representational brass music by a number of factors. There are at least five

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21 For example, on CD *Suisse Paysages Musicaux*. Various artists. CD Ocora Radio France, C600017 (2002).
22 Personal communication, Rolf Immler, yodeller, St. Gallen, Switzerland, 29 August 2013.
main categories of horn or trumpet music used outside the concert hall: the night-watchman’s horn call, the rousing trumpet or bugle call, the call of the posthorn, the music of the hunt and the music of the alphorn. Music that represents the sound of the night-watchman’s natural horn is typified by quiet single notes. Trumpet or bugle fanfares are designed to attract attention and therefore have arresting rhythms based on a few notes: there is a complex repertoire of such calls used to convey specific messages. Music for the posthorn has features of its own: typically it combines an announcement fanfare with an elaborate flourish to finish. Huntsmen may use a short horn of 8 to 12 inches in length to summon the hounds and send signals to each other, otherwise they carry a long metal horn up to 14 feet in length that is coiled in order that it can be worn when riding. A long horn has many notes available and hunting horn signals can be sophisticated. Hunting groups often play together, as *cors de chasse* ensemble music is one of the peripheral pleasures of a hunting party. There is a substantial body of composed repertoire for groups of hunting horns, which often incorporates echo effects to reflect communication across field and forest.

Typical alphorn music has a number of features that distinguish it from these styles. Alphorn-like melodies share with the trumpet and the long hunting horn the use of repeating motifs and echo effects, but in contrast to fanfares and hunting calls, the music of the alphorn is flowing and peaceful, as sudden sounds frighten cattle. Typically a *Ranz des Vaches* uses repeating short motifs with long held notes at the end of a breath and there is little regularity of

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23 For example, Richard Wagner, *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, end of Act 2.
27 Empirical observation and conversations with farmers. I am not aware that any scientific study has been undertaken concerning the impact of alphorn music on cattle.
pulse and phrasing, as the motifs are improvised as required to call individual animals.28

The music to be examined in this thesis, therefore, is not only identified by its restriction to the notes of the harmonic series. The context and the musical character of a motif will differentiate it from material indicative of other rustic brass instruments. In all the examples examined, it is the combination of a number of factors specific to alphorn music that indicate that it is into the world of this instrument that a composer is leading his audience.

**Literature Review**

There is a small number of books already written about the alphorn. Each takes a slightly different approach to the subject; each is aimed at a specific readership.

**Brigitte Geiser, Das Alphorn in der Schweiz (Bern: Haupt, 1976).** Brigitte Bachmann-Geiser (the double surname appears on her later books) is recognised as the authority on Swiss folk instruments and folk music; she has also written books on folk instruments of Europe, the early violin and the culture of the Amish of Indiana.29 Her first book about the alphorn, a slim volume mostly in German entitled *Das Alphorn in der Schweiz*, was one of a series of *Schweizer Heimatbücher* (Swiss Homeland Books). The fly-leaf lists 180 booklets in the set that describe Swiss cities, regions, landmarks, people and traditions. Her text, which runs to just 15 sides including illustrations, comprises seven sections of two or three pages each: *Die Erneuerung des Alphorns* (The Revival of the Alphorn), *Das Alphorn als Werk- und Spielzeug des Hirten* (The Alphorn as Work tool and Musical Instrument for the Herdsman), *Zur Geschichte des Alphorns* (On the History of the Alphorn), *Die Macharten von Alphorn und Büchel*, (How the Alphorn and Büchel are made),

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28 Many such tunes are quoted in Alfred Leonz Gassmann, *s'Alphornbüechli* (Zürich: Hug, 1938).

Frances Jones  Alphorn

_Vom Alphornklang_ (On the Sound of the Alphorn), _Alphornmusik_ (Alphorn Music) and _Die Alphorn- und Büchelmacher der Schweiz_ (Alphorn and Büchel makers of Switzerland). The text is summarised in four pages in French and another four pages in English. Thereafter there are many illustrations, music examples, sketches of the acoustics of the instrument and photographs that show how the alphorn is made.

The author begins her text with the observation that the alphorn is the Swiss national instrument. It is a feature of every Swiss railway station postcard stall and Swiss festival and it symbolises Switzerland on dairy produce and chocolate boxes, yet little is known about its history; she states that her book is intended to fill that gap.

Geiser lists various forms and sizes for the instrument. She comments that the typical instrument of today was in former times commonly found only in the Bernese Oberland and the canton of Appenzell. She uses the term 'herdsman's horn' for shorter instruments, now obsolete, formerly in use in other parts of the country. She introduces other versions of the instrument: the _Tiba_ of Grisons, the _Stockbüchel_ and the _Büchel_. She notes that at one time the herdsman would make his alphorn himself; at the time of writing she reports around twenty farmers or carpenters who now make alphorns as a side-line, while only one makes alphorns as a living. She explains how a tree of the appropriate shape is cut, sliced in half lengthways, hollowed out and bound back together. The author describes the revival of the instrument at the beginning of the nineteenth century after the Festivals of Unspunnen in 1805 and 1808 and the establishment of alphorn courses in Grindelwald in 1826. She follows this with an exploration of the various pictoral depictions of the use of the instrument, including a Roman mosaic that portrays a herdsman blowing a horn and a picture of 1601 that shows an alphorn being played during milking. She quotes references from Gesner, Capeler and Praetorius. Geiser mentions the dissemination of the awareness of the alphorn abroad through roving herdsmen or Swiss soldiers serving in other countries. She highlights their feelings of homesickness aroused by the sound of the alphorn when heard away
from their homeland and concludes this historical section with reports of the increasing use of the instrument since the 1820s, at Swiss festivals and for the entertainment of tourists.

This book was the first of its kind to provide information about the alphorn in a succinct fashion to a general readership. Although it contained only a basic outline of the history of the instrument, the details of alphorn makers provides useful documentation concerning the amount of interest in the alphorn in the mid-1970s. Geiser was at the beginning of her career as an ethnomusicologist and specialist in Swiss folk music; her subsequent work concerning the background to the alphorn was to come to fruition in the next book.

Brigitte Bachmann-Geiser, *Das Alphorn: vom Lock- zum Rockinstrument* (Bern: Haupt, 1999). 23 years later, the same author, now Professor Dr. Bachmann-Geiser, wrote a seminal book concerning the alphorn, *Das Alphorn: vom Lock- zum Rockinstrument*. This book of 224 pages, entirely in German, expands considerably on the themes included in her first book about the instrument. The first part covers the history of the alphorn, with sections that describe the alphorn before 1500, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, and the change of role for the instrument in the nineteenth century with its increasing use in tourism, competitions and festivals. The second part, which includes contributions from Hans-Jürg Sommer, Res Margot and Rolphe Fehlmann, focusses on details of the acoustic properties of the instrument.

The third section investigates the alphorn’s use with flag throwing, in artwork and in concerts. She provides a brief resumé of references to alphorn music in orchestral repertoire and also outlines the differing attitudes to tradition and innovation. The fourth section deals with terminology used in conjunction with the instrument and the construction of the alphorn and its relatives, the Büchel and the Tiba. There follows a brief section that describes the occurrence of herdsmen’s horns outside Switzerland and the appendices list an extensive bibliography, tutor books, a discography, Swiss alphorn makers
and extant historic instruments that can be seen in museums in Switzerland and abroad. The book includes many photographs, music examples and facsimiles and a detailed set of drawings of how to make an alphorn.

Although Bachmann-Geiser mentions the presence of alphorn-like instruments in a number of other European countries, she does not attempt to examine connections between these instruments and those used in Switzerland, in their use and function, or explore the potential importance of such instruments in non-mountainous regions for animal husbandry. She does mention that Swiss players were known to have wandered the streets in neighbouring countries and were regarded as beggars. She mentions the inclusion of an alphorn motif into the works of a selection of composers, both well-known and lesser known, but does not examine the quotations with regard to any detail of their setting or investigate any possible reason for the inclusion of the material.

The majority of material written about the alphorn since the publication of this book acknowledge that this is the primary source of information about the instrument: each of the further publications examined below expand on a different facet of the instrument and most of them direct the reader to Das Alphorn for a thorough overview of the history of the instrument.

**Franz Schüssele, Alphorn und Hirtenhorn in Europa (Friesenheim, self-published: Gälfiäßler, 2000).** The German alphorn enthusiast Schüssele published his book about the alphorn and the herdsman’s horn in Europe one year after Bachmann-Geiser’s second book, above. Schüssele is an alphorn maker and has composed a large quantity of music for various combinations of alphorns and alphorn with other instruments.

This book probably appeals more to the person who plays or would like to begin to play the alphorn. It opens with discussion concerning the different lengths of alphorn found in Switzerland and their acoustic properties. A section that gives meticulous details for the construction of the alphorn is followed by an exhaustive list of alphorn makers not only in Switzerland but also in a
number of other European countries. Schüssele gives advice concerning the purchase and testing of an alphorn and choices of mouthpiece. He then gives details of how to perform alphorn music and how to compose alphorn music. A section follows that investigates early natural sound-producing objects such as conch shells and the shofar; thereafter he investigates terracotta horns, the lur and the carnyx, and explores depictions of angels with trumpets. The main body of the book then examines herdsman’s horn music in different European countries in turn with photographs, notated music, sound clips on a CD included in a pocket in the inside back cover and discussion about each example given. Much of the Swiss material is understandably similar to that in Bachmann-Geiser’s book, above. The last part of the book includes a couple of pages about the use of the instrument or its music by nineteenth-century composers, then provides an outline of the use of the alphorn in jazz, rock and experimental music. A substantial list of works by many composers for alphorn and orchestra, alphorn and organ, alphorn and piano, alphorn and choir and other combinations follows, as well as details of music for alphorn solo, duo, trio and larger combinations. Schüssele lists the large amount of material that he has composed himself. Throughout the book there are cartoons, caricatures and jokes concerning the instrument; the final section contains photos of alphorns built in a number of amusing shapes and forms.

Schüssele has created a book that does not duplicate much of the material found in Bachmann-Geiser, although because of this, a reader would be recommended to read both books rather than this one alone. It is in essence a collection of associated but independent topics: Schüssele presents a selection of themes in this book that are different from and complementary to those in Das Alphorn. How to make or choose an alphorn, and how to compose for alphorn, support the ethnomusicological central core of the book which reflects a vast amount of meticulous field research into the use of herdsman’s horns in around 50 different European locations. This is an extraordinary undertaking that provides a unique record of outstanding ethnomusicological value in a
readable and informative manner. The title of the book appears to refer primarily to this section of the book.

**Hans-Jürg Sommer, Eine Auswertung und Interpretation historischer Quellen zur Alphornmelodik (Oensingen: self-published, 2010).** The leading Swiss player and composer of alphorn music, Hans-Jürg Sommer, has produced a substantial book entitled *Eine Auswertung und Interpretation historischer Quellen zur Alphornmelodik* (An Examination and Interpretation of Historical Sources of Alphorn Melodies). He opens with an exploration of the acoustics of the instrument, drawing material from Bachmann-Geiser’s *Volksmusikinstrumente der Schweiz* (Zurich: Atlantis, 1981) and others. After a short historical scene-setting section, he examines in detail the relatively few known Swiss compositions written for the alphorn, influenced by the alphorn or possibly influenced by the alphorn, that exist from before the twentieth century. All the pieces are identified in some of the other books named above; here Sommer brings together all the available research on each item alongside a substantial amount of new input. Music examined includes Sequences from the ninth century composed by Notker Balbulus in the monastery of St. Gallen; various *Kühreien* quoted in collections of alphorn music from 1812 to 1836 and a comparison of different versions of the *Kühreien* from Appenzell. Sommer then examines the phrases of alphorn music found in nineteenth-century collections of alphorn melodies and provides detailed comparisons between the different motifs that are found. He explores what is ‘typical’ and what are the characteristic features of the various motifs.

As a composer himself, Sommer includes many examples of how one can combine the various motivic cells into melodies and gives details of the possibilities for accompaniment by other alphorns using lower notes of the harmonic series. Sommer concludes with examples from Gassmann’s collection of alphorn melodies *s’Alphornbüechli* (The Little Alphorn Book) with quotations from its extensive preface and some information about the proliferation of alphorn composers in the twentieth century and their works.
As with the book of Schüssele, this volume is written by a highly respected exponent of the alphorn who has identified subject material that does not overlap with the content of Bachmann-Geiser’s *Das Alphorn*. The quantity of background information that Sommer has found concerning each of the works he has chosen is exhaustive. He reflects painstaking examination and insightful commentary of the available material. Again, this book would be of interest to an alphorn enthusiast who already has *Das Alphorn*.


Grandjean’s book about the alphorn, *Le Cor des Alpes*, is intended to convey the basic history and background of the instrument to a French-speaking readership. The major focus of this large format ‘coffee table’ book is glorious photographs of alphorns and alphorn players in hundreds of different locations. The text is informative. Although Grandjean acknowledges Bachmann-Geiser as the source of much of the historical information, this book does contain a considerable amount of additional information, particularly with regard to festivals in French-speaking Switzerland and the alphorn played in other parts of the world today. Grandjean incorporates information contributed by others (including myself) and includes interviews with many leading alphorn players. The section that concerns music composed for the alphorn is contributed by Hans-Jürg Sommer and the featured alphorn makers are Gérald Pot (wooden instruments) and Roger Zanetti (carbon-fibre instruments).

**Charlotte Vignau, *Modernity, Complex Societies and the Alphorn* (Lexington, MD: Lanham, 2013).** Charlotte Vignau’s book is a distillation of material researched for her PhD thesis of the same title. As an ethnomusicologist, she sets out ‘to present research about contemporary concerns of music making, more specifically about the alphorn phenomenon set in multiple interpretations of modernity.’ Introductory material presents details of terminology and historical background, acknowledged as drawn from the work of Bachmann-Geiser. Thereafter the study focuses on the role of the
alphorn in Swiss culture today and its dissemination as a cultural icon to a
selection of other locations: the Allgäu in southern Germany, the Netherlands
and Japan. The Swiss material is based on interviews with many leading
alphorn players: these throw considerable light on the diversity of opinion
concerning such issues as what is traditional Swiss alphorn music, what is a
Swiss sound, and whether and to what extent Swiss alphorn music should be
allowed to evolve and modernise.

Vignau then elaborates on the phenomenon of alphorn playing in each of
the other localities selected and traces the reasons why the Swiss alphorn is
played there. In the Allgäu, alphorn playing was introduced primarily by a
Swiss immigrant in 1956, whereas in the Netherlands (Vignau’s home) the
playing of the instrument is primarily by brass players who have encountered
the alphorn while on holiday in Switzerland. Interest in Japan began in the
1970s, with the advent of European travel for the Japanese. One Japanese
tourist returned with an instrument, an enterprising Swiss alphorn maker
established a sales outlet in Osaka and the instrument subsequently gained a
remarkable foothold in Japan. A number of Swiss towns are twinned with
towns in the Japanese Alps.

One third of this book deals with the methodology of ethnomusicological
research and the role of filming for such a study. Vignau explores the
theoretical and ethical issues that arise, with questions that include what to
choose to record, whether the subject should have the option to censor any of
the recorded material (in other words what is the role of the subject in how
he/she wishes to be portrayed), and indeed how genuine, normal or selective is
the playing of a subject if he/she knows that he/she is being recorded. These
are factors that will have been encountered by Schüssele in his field recordings.

Each of the above books considers a different aspect of the alphorn,
however none of them discusses in detail the extent to which alphorn music has
influenced composers and been referred to in works written for the concert
hall, opera house, church or salon. A detailed investigation, comparison and
analysis of the music used by a composer, the inclusion of such music, or the background to such use of material, has not been undertaken to date. This is the subject of this thesis.

**Method**

This dissertation will take the form of six chapters and five appendices. Chapter 1 is a brief examination of the heritage of the herdsman’s horn, in order to identify what a composer refers to with an alphorn-inspired motif in a composition. Although the use of the instrument in Switzerland is documented in the books listed above, the use of a horn for herding in other regions of Europe is a vital part of this thesis as it sheds light on the impart of the quotation of a horn motif in a composition for a non-Swiss audience. Thus many other sources have been searched and fieldwork undertaken to ascertain what might be relevant to a particular composition. There will be not only an exploration of the origins and functions of the alphorn, but also consideration of the earliest known visual and written evidence of the use of horns for herding outside Switzerland. An examination of the earliest known repertoire for the alphorn in Switzerland will be included, in particular the genre known as the *Kühreien* or the *Ranz des Vaches*. This provides a context to which the main body of research that follows will refer.

Subsequent chapters examine the inclusion of alphorn-inspired music in composed works in a number of contrasting and complementary ways. Chapter 2 explores the use of the herdsman’s horn in church music in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This music is found in the genre known as the *Pastorella*. The chapter will take the form of a detailed examination of a sample collection of unpublished manuscripts held in the České Muzeum Hudby (Czech Museum of Music) in Prague that include parts written to be played on a herdsman’s horn. In 25 works, the role of the herdsman’s horn among the other instruments and its relevance to the text will be examined. The music written for the herdsmens’ horns will be compared in...
order to see what can be deduced about the players and the herding way of life from which the material appears to be drawn.

Chapter 3 will be in the form of a detailed investigation of one specific *Pastorella* that includes a part for an alphorn in order to reveal its context and its relationship with other works, both those of the period and those written before and after it. The work is Leopold Mozart’s *Sinfonia Pastorella* for alphorn and strings. The intention is to assess the broader significance of the alphorn and rustic material in the mind of the eighteenth-century composer. Six extant manuscript versions and three recent published editions will be examined and compared. The background to the composition of the work will be discussed, alongside comparison between its musical and implied narrative with similar material found in other canonic works, including those from the collection in Prague.

Chapter 4 will draw on the cross-referencing of material by a number of composers as seen in Chapter 3, with an examination of various composers’ use of one particular piece of Swiss alphorn music, the *Kühreien* from Appenzell. It will initially compare some of the diverse versions of this melody and subsequently examine its use by a selection of composers, with particular reference to the association of this music with the decline of the use of the alphorn in Switzerland and the connection of the melody with the feeling of homesickness. It will trace quotations of this *Kühreien* through the centuries and examine its spread beyond the borders of Switzerland, its appropriation by other nationalities and the resonance of this music for the Swiss today.

Chapter 5 will extend the discussion concerning composers’ use of recognisable alphorn music to other motivic material that is played on the instrument. This will be introduced by an outline of the promotion of the alphorn as a national symbol of Switzerland, which plays an important role in the cultivation of the alphorn as a metaphor in the mind of the composer. It will examine the social and political circumstances that may have led to the use of alphorn motifs by composers. A number of contexts will be highlighted where a reference to the alphorn arises: to represent the idyll of the Alps, to depict the
herdsman, the milkmaid and the herd, to convey calm after a storm and to suggest nightfall in the mountains. The chapter will examine the different contexts in which an alphorn motif is presented by a composer and explore composers’ possible motivation. It will highlight signs of composers’ awareness of the material identified in the previous chapters.

Chapter 6 sets out to draw some conclusions as to what this study reveals about the alphorn in the mind of the composer and his public. The findings will be set in the context of an examination of new developments in the use of the alphorn in recent years and include an analysis of the current use of the instrument in the UK.

There are five appendices. Appendix 1 documents experimentation into the musical potential of tubes in order to identify possible dimensions and properties of instruments able to play the herdsman’s horn parts in the works examined in the Prague collection. Appendix 2 is in two parts: the first part contains details of the transcripts of the manuscripts examined in Prague; the second part is the transcriptions (supplied on CD). Appendix 3 compares the different manuscripts of Leopold Mozart’s *Sinfonia Pastorella* and presents a new historically informed edition. Photographs of the manuscripts will also be found on the CD. Appendix 4 gives details of over 200 events at which I have been engaged to play the alphorn which are discussed in general terms in Chapter 6, and Appendix 5 is a compilation of all the quotations of alphorn motifs in composed repertoire that I have found.
Chapter 1. Origins and uses of the alphorn

The first chapter of this investigation sets out the historical background of the alphorn and its function for the herdsman. I examine the role of the instrument in the life of herding communities outside Switzerland and within the country before the rise of tourism in the nineteenth century, in order to assess its symbolism for writers, painters and composers thereafter.

Functions
The alphorn evolved primarily as a tool for the herdsman to use for the management of animals in his care. It was also used as a calling instrument. Its use for purely musical enjoyment is a secondary phenomenon about which there appears to be no documentation before the seventeenth century, thus from what period and to what extent the alphorn may have been part of the rustic music-making scene before that time is not known.

There is written and graphic evidence of the sophisticated use of horns for animal husbandry by Roman times. Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 BC), for example, tells of training young pigs to respond to the horn call. In De Rerum Rustic peace, three volumes which describe Roman farming methods, one section documents the handling of the sow and her new piglets with the training of the young to come to the call of the horn. Events such as the provision of food were associated with a horn call, so that the animals soon learned to recognise the sounds:

\[
\text{A partu decem diebus proximis non producunt ex haris matrem, praeterquam potum. Praeteritis decem diebus sinunt exire pastum in propincum locum villae, ut crebro redivit lacte alere possint porcos. Cum creverunt, patiuntur sequi matrem pastum domique secernunt a matribus ac seorsum pascunt, ut desiderium ferre possint parentis nutricis, quod decem diebus assecuntur. Subulcus debet consuefacere, omnia ut faciant ad bucinam. Primo cum incluserunt, cum bucinatum est, aperiunt, ut exire possint in eum}
\]

1 See details of the horn used by composers as a rustic signifier, p. 243.
Polybius was a Greek chronicler who lived around 203-120 BC. In his *Histories*, he describes how the swineherds of Italy used horns to communicate with pigs on the plains of Tuscany. Families of pigs were taught their own call so that the herdsmen, by blowing their call, could divide up the family groups to take them home at the end of a day, a task which would otherwise be impossible:

They do not follow close behind the animals but keep some distance in front of them, sounding their horn every now and then, and the animals follow behind and run together at the sound. Indeed, the complete familiarity which the animals show with the particular horn to which they belong seems at first astonishing and almost incredible. For owing to the populousness and wealth of the country, the droves of swine are exceedingly large, especially along the sea coast of the Tuscans: for one sow will bring up a thousand pigs, or sometimes even more. They drive them out from their night sties to feed, in the order determined by their litters and ages. If several droves are taken to the same place, they cannot preserve these distinction of litters, and of course they get mixed up with each other as they are being driven out, as they feed, and as they are being brought home. Thus horn-blowing is used to separate them when they have got mixed up together, without effort or difficulty. For as they feed, one swineherd goes in one direction sounding his horn, and another in another: and thus the animals sort themselves, and follow their own horns with such eagerness that it is impossible by any means to stop or hinder them.

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2 Marcus Terenti Varrus, *De Rerum Rusticum* (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1934), 2:364-5: ‘During the first ten days after delivery, the mothers go out of the sty for water and to forage for food, just in nearby parts of the farmstead so that they can come back frequently to feed their piglets. As the piglets grow they are allowed to follow the mother outside; but when they come home they are separated from the mothers and fed apart, so that they get used to the lack of the mother’s milk, a point that they reach after ten days. The swineherd should train them to do everything to the sound of the horn. At first they kept in the pen; and then, when the horn sounds, the sty is opened so that they can come out into a place where barley is spread out in a line. ... The idea to have them gather at the sound of the horn is that they will not become lost when scattered in wooded country’. All translations in this thesis are my own unless otherwise indicated.

A mosaic dating from around the first century at Boscéaz, near Orbe in Switzerland, shows a pastoral scene including a herdsman who blows a horn to lead his cattle to pasture.

By the time of the ancient Greeks and Romans, then, the sounding of a horn had acquired comparatively sophisticated use as a piece of equipment essential to rural life. It is possible that this is a practice alluded to by Richard Strauss, for example, when he writes for three alphorns in his opera *Daphne* of 1936-7 which is set in the world of Greek mythology (see p. 314).

At times the horn blown to attract the attention of people was referred to as a pastoral or herdsman’s horn. The Roman poet Virgil (70-19 BC) wrote in his epic poem *Aeneid* of the taking of Italy by the Trojans. They had the assistance of various goddesses and Furies and in *Aeneid* Book 7, Virgil describes the blowing of a pastoral horn by a goddess to rally the people. The description includes a factor that is a recurring theme in the use of horns for calling: that the horn blower stands on a high vantage point. This may be an
outcrop of rock, the roof or a building, a high tower or some other place from which the sound will be thrown to the maximum:

At saeua e speculis tempus dea nacta nocendi / ardua tecta petit stabuli et de culmine summo / pastorale canit signum cornuque recuruo / Tartaream intendit uocem, qua protinus omne / contremuit nemus et siluae insonuere profundae; / audiit et Triuiae longe lacus, audiit amnis / sulpurea Nar albus aqua fontesque Velini, / et trepidae matres pressere ad pectora natos. / Tum uero ad uocem celeres, qua bucina signum / dira dedit, raptis concurrunt undique telis / indomiti agricolae, nec non et Troia pubes / Ascanio auxilium castris effundit apertis.⁴

After Roman times, written evidence of the use of the horn in animal management is sparse. In 1030, Ekkehard IV, a monk at the monastery of St. Gallen in eastern Switzerland, describes herdsmen in the mountains as they played music on alphorns to their cows with ‘… tuba Alpina, die Hirten zum Locken des Viehs gedient haben soll’ (alphorn, that the herdsmen use to call the cattle.)⁵ In 1555, the Zürich naturalist Conrad Gesner wrote one of the first detailed descriptions of the Alps, a volume entitled Commentariolus de raris et admirandis herbis. In it he describes a scene on Mount Pilatus, above Lucerne, where his party came across a herdsman in a cow byre high on the mountain, who gave them a drink of milk and invited them to blow his alphorn:

In suprema casa uaccaria, postquam delicatissimo pinguissimoque lacte refecti sumus, & lituāl alpinum inflauimus (longum ferè ad pedes undecim [sic.] duobus lignis modicè incuruis & excauatis compactum, & uiminibus scitè obligatā) …⁶

⁴ www.thelatinlibrary.com/vergil/aen7.shtml: ‘... the goddess, on finding those to be harmed, from her vantage-point, in anger seeks out a high stable roof and from the highest point plays a fierce signal on a curved pastoral horn. She directs the infernal sound so that the fields tremble and the deep woods resound. It reverberated in the Trivia Lake for a long time; also in the white sulphurous river of Nar and the fountains of Velinus, and terrified mothers clasped their infants to their bosoms. The horn gave a terrible signal, and at the sound the farmers quickly and wildly ran away like darts and indeed the population of Troy poured out of the open camps to Ascanius for help.’

⁵ Schüssele, Alphorn und Hirtenhorn, 47.

⁶ Gesner, De raris et admirandis herbis, 52: ‘in the highest cow byre, after we had refreshed ourselves with the most delicate and rich milk, we blew an alpine trumpet (nearly eleven feet long, made from two lengths of wood, curved and gouged, and expertly bound with twigs …)’.
A common feature of stock management in the mountains is a method known as transhumance. Cattle spend the winter in the barns in the villages and can graze the high pasture-land only during the summer months. The animals would be collected from the lower villages at the end of June, once the grass on the high pastures had started to grow, and returned in late September when the warmth began to leave the high pastures. These annual transhumance processions can still be seen every summer in the mountains. From the mid-eighteenth century there is a pictoral record of these activities. A Swiss prayer-book compiled by Abraham Kyburtz in 1754, *Theologia Naturalis*, contains an engraving with the caption: ‘Aufarth eines Kühers mit Weib und Kind, Haab und Vieh auf den Berg’ (Ascent of a cowherd with wife and child, belongings and cattle up the mountain). The illustration accompanies the following prayer:

*Der Bergman führt das Vieh auf hoher Berge Wiesen / O daß der Schöpfer wurd von ihm auch hoch gepriesen / O daß der Höchste stäts behüte Hirt und Herd / Bis einst auf Zions Berg ein Hirt und Herde werd.*

7 The mountain man leads the cattle to high mountain meadows / Oh that the Creator be highly praised by him / Oh that the Highest always protects the cowherd and herd / Until some day they become herdsman and herd on Mount Sion.'
Sometimes the stock would remain on the pastures for the duration of the summer; in the high villages the animals would be gathered and returned each day. A description of these journeys widespread throughout the Alps is given by the French writer François-René de Chateaubriand in 1833, when he was staying in Waldmünchen in Bavaria. Every day he witnessed the use of the horn to call the animals:

A six heures du matin un vieux berger, grand et maigre, parcourt le village; à différentes stations, il sonne d’une trompe droite, longue de six pieds qu’on prendrait de loin pour un porte-voix ou une houlette. Il en tire d’abord trois sons métalliques assez harmonieux, puis il fait entendre l’air précipité d’une espèce de galop ou de ranz des vaches, imitant des mugissements de boeufs et des rires de pourceaux. La fanfare finit par une note soutenue et montante en fausset. Soudain débouchent de toutes les portes des vaches, des génisses, des veaux, des taureaux; ils envahissent en beuglant la place du village; ils montent ou descendent de toutes les rues circonvoisines et s’étant formés en colonne, ils prennent le chemin accoutumé pour aller paître ... en un quart d’heure tout a disparu.8

Chateaubriand continued that in the evening at seven o’clock the horn was heard again and the animals returned, to musical accompaniment. The order of the procession was altered: the pigs came first, some ran around randomly or stopped in every corner. The sheep filed by and the cattle ended the procession, while the geese waddled alongside. All the animals returned to their dwellings, each to his own gate, although there were a few who ran around and refused to enter, so the women and children needed to gather the remainder back into their yards.

Johanna Rogers recalls that in the Harz Mountains of central Germany, where she grew up in the 1950s, many rural families would keep a cow, though

8 François-René Chateaubriand, Memoires d’Outre-tombe (1849) Book 25, Chapter 11: ‘At 6am an old tall, lean herdsman goes round the village to various locations; he sounds a straight horn, six feet long, which from a distance looks like a megaphone or a shepherd’s crook. First he sounds three pleasant bright notes, then he blows short notes in a kind of gallop or ranz des vaches, imitating the lowing of cattle and the cries of pigs. The fanfare ends on a sustained note that rises in pitch. Suddenly out of every gate come heifers, cows, calves and bulls; they fill the centre of the village with much commotion; they climb or descend from all the surrounding roads, and, lined up in a procession, they take their usual route to the pasture ... in a quarter of an hour all have vanished.’
did not normally have pasture of their own. The cattle who had been confined to barns throughout the winter were eager to be off to the pastures and the day for the journey, generally the first day of May, would be the scene of much rejoicing, with the children given a day’s holiday from school to join in the celebrations.\(^9\)

Transhumance, however, is not only a mountain phenomenon: well-established cattle-trails in use in Roman times are mentioned by Varro, as he talks of moving his animals along them to the hills for the summer grazing.\(^10\) During the winter they could feed on the fertile coastal plains, but these became infested with malarial mosquitoes when the weather became hotter, so it was necessary to travel inland for the summer months. Alexander Carmichael also describes lowland transhumance in the nineteenth century in the Hebrides:

> Throughout Lewis the crofters of the townland go to the shieling on the same date each year. The sheep and cattle know their day as well as do the men and women, and on that day the scene is striking and touching: all the \(n\) (flocks) are astir and restless to be off … should any event, such as a death or burial, cause the people to postpone the migration, the flocks have to be guarded day and night, or they would be off to their summer pastures by themselves.\(^11\)

Documentation and film archive at the Deutsches Hirtenmuseum (German Museum of Herding) in Hersbruck in central Germany, describe the scene whereby a herdsman would gather the villagers’ cattle daily in this fashion by blowing a long horn, in order to lead them to pastureland outside the village:

> Until the 1960s the cowherd was employed by the local council. In the 1920s he was paid 26 marks a year which meant that he was very poor indeed. In the alpine regions the cows stayed on the pastures for the whole summer. Here in the lowlands, the herdsman drove the cows to the pastures every morning and brought them back in the evening. … Typical for the region around Hersbruck is the so-called “Franconian Longhorn”. This instrument is made of juniper. The shaft is hollowed out and wrapped with cherry tree bark. Every herdsman played his own tune with

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\(^9\) Personal communication, Johanna Rogers from Büntenbock, Lower Saxony, 7 May 2013.
\(^10\) Varro, *De Rerum Rusticum*, 337.
which he called the herd together in the mornings. The cows recognised the call and ran out of their stalls to gather on the square.\textsuperscript{12}

In the museum is the following photograph which depicts a herdsman blowing a ‘longhorn’:

![Fig. 1.3. Photograph of the village herdsman with a horn, no date, Deutsches Hirtenmuseum, Hersbruck.](image)

Thus the alphorn was used to gather the animals together in preparation for the journey to the pastures, to direct them on the journey and back and to attract the attention of the cattle when necessary while grazing. The observance of such routines in non-mountainous areas is a key factor that could be relevant to the recognition of alphorn calls in concert repertoire by audiences who had had no contact with the Alps. Indeed there is an indication that the use of the horn in animal management was known in England through the children’s rhyme that begins:

\begin{quote}
Little Boy Blue, come blow up your horn:  
The sheep’s in the meadow, the cow’s in the corn ...
\end{quote}

The earliest known printed version of this rhyme is found in \textit{The Famous Tommy Thumb’s Little Story Book} of 1760,\textsuperscript{13} but it was familiar before that:

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
  \item Information sheet, Deutsches Hirtenmuseum, Hersbruck, August 2012.
\end{itemize}

\normalsize
150 years earlier it is parodied by Edgar in Shakespeare’s *King Lear* (Act 3 scene 6), written around 1604:

Edgar (sings)  
Sleepest or wakest thou, jolly shepherd?  
Thy sheep be in the corn,  
And for one blast of thy minikin mouth  
Thy sheep will take no harm.  

The horn was also played to the cattle during milking and for their relaxation. It is well-documented and discussed among farmers still today, that soothing music plays a part in good milk production. In 1563 Prince Léonor of Orléans wrote to J. J. de Bonstetten, the Governor of Neuchâtel, to ask for a Swiss alphorn player to work for him. Bonstetten’s reply is preserved in the Neuchâtel Cantonal Archive:

*Monseigneur, suyvant vostre commandement, j’ay mis poyne de trouver un cornet de Schwiss… vous luy pourrez faire dire chansons sur son cornet et autres petites carraces qu’il a accoustumé faire à ses vaches pour leur faire trouver leur desjuné bon…*

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15 For example, in Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, 345: ‘… Nor is it less interesting to observe the manner in which the cows themselves differentiate between the airs sung to them, giving their milk freely with some songs and withholding it with others. Occasionally a cow will withhold her milk till her own favourite lilt is sung to her … These differences are well known to the observant people themselves, who discuss them …’  
16 Bachmann-Geiser, *Das Alphorn*, 25: ‘Sir, further to your request I have found you a horn player from Schwyz … you can get him to play tunes on his horn, and other soothing sounds, which he play to cows to help them digest well.’  
In the Alps, the alphorn was also a vital tool used to communicate with other herdsmen and with those in the valley below, as the sound of the alphorn can carry over a great distance, especially in the silence of the mountains. A melody was played every evening at sunset in order to let the villagers down in the valleys know that all was well. There is a large number of illustrations of such scenes, particularly in the nineteenth century when the romanticism of this daily event was not lost on poets, painters and composers.

Fig. 1.5. A herdsman plays his alphorn across the valley at sunset. Engraving by G. Lory, 1818.

Once the cattle were returned to the safety of the villages for the winter months, the herdsmen found other work to do in the villages or on the farms. They would also play for weddings and celebrations and street musicians were common in the towns. The German musician and scholar Michael Praetorius compiled the first substantial encyclopaedia of music, *Syntagma Musicum*, in 1619. Under the section concerning the trumpet family, he described long wooden herdsmens’ horns and the activity of some of the herdsmen during the winter months:

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18 George Tarenne, *Recherches sur le Ranz des Vaches, ou sur les Chansons Pastorales des Bergers de la Suisse* (Paris: Louis, 1813), 16, reports that the alphorn can be heard more than two leagues away (six miles).
19 Geiser, *Das Alphorn in der Schweiz*, 10.
Chapter 1 Origins

Auch findet man gar lange Trummetten von Past also fest und dichte zusammen ineinander gewunden darmit die Schaper ausm Voigt und Schweizerlande (die Wästerwälder genand) in den Städten herümher lauffen und ihre Nahrung suchen.21

Alphorns were sometimes used for other signalling. In 1212 a herdsman played on his alphorn in the Baldschiedertal in Wallis to warn of the approaching men of Unterwalden, thus alerting his people to resist the enemy.22 In 1653 during an uprising in the Entlebuch region, people were summoned to fight with the sound of an alphorn.23 A more specialised use for the alphorn was to place players at pre-arranged places to relay messages over considerable distances. One such network in the Bernese Oberland in use as late as 1855 is described by Heinrich Szadrowsky in the Jahrbuch des Schweizer Alpenclubs:

In summary, the horn is known to have played a vital part in animal husbandry since records began. The long horn was used to call cattle, to soothe them

21 Michael Praetorius, Syntagma Musicum (Wittenberg: Wolfenbüttel, 1619), Vol. 2, 33: ‘You also find long trumpets bound firmly together with bark, with which the shepherds from the Vosges and Switzerland (those known as the Western Forest people) wander around the cities in search of food.’ The three original Cantons of Switzerland, Uri, Schwyz (normal modern spelling) and Unterwalden, were known as the ‘Forest Cantons’.


23 Geiser, Das Alphorn in der Schweiz, 10.

24 Heinrich Szadrowsky, Die Musik und die tonerzeugenden Instrumente der Alpenbewohner, in Jahrbuch des Schweizer Alpenclubs, Vol. 4, 1867/8, 313, quoted in Peggy de Mers, ‘A Study of Selected Works for Alphorn’ (PhD Diss., Wisconsin, 1993): ‘In the Bernese Oberland there are 12 to 14 stations for alphorn players: near Staubach; above the village of Wengen, near Mettenberg, up on Reichenbach; up on Alpbigel [otherwise known as Alpiglen], opposite the Eiger, on the road between Wengen and Scheidegg, outside Grindelwald; on the road to Grindelwald, on the bank of the Lütschine; between Rosenlaui and Scheidegg; up on the Faulhorn, at the foot of the summit; on the Heimwehfluh near Interlaken, etc’.
during milking, to communicate with other people over long distances and to rally people together.

The instrument

The alphorn referred to by a composer shares certain characteristics with the instrument of today as defined on p. xvi, nevertheless there were many different forms of instrument that were given this name. Of primary importance is that it was longer than an animal horn, because in order to communicate with cows, low notes are most effective.25

On the longest animal horns, such as those of the African kudu at around three feet long, one can play five or six different notes of its harmonic series.26 Only the lowest one of these is below c'; the higher notes are not ‘in tune’ with either this low note or with each other (for an explanation of harmonics, see p. 17). Thus an alphorn needs to be both longer, to enable the production of lower notes, and carefully proportioned if it is to be ‘in tune’ with itself such that a melody could be played on it. A tree can provide a readily available source of

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25 Personal experience.
26 See Appendix 1.
material from which a long horn can be made. Long wooden instruments are found in many regions of the world, from Norway to Ethiopia or the Andes.  

Pictorial and written records show that alphorns even within Switzerland used to be of varying length. For example in 1767 the scientist Moritz Anton Capeler described the instruments he saw on Mount Pilatus, above Lucerne. He states that the instrument can be from four to twelve feet in length. He describes the instrument, the way in which it had been made, the sound it makes and the style of music that it played. Capeler includes both a sketch of an alphorn and notation of some alphorn music:

Alp-horn, Cornu alpinum vulgo audit, est autem longa tuba tota ligno fabrefacta, variae longitudinis a 4 ad 12 quandoque pedum: curvatura lineam illam, quae Geometris Cissoides aemulatur: ab anteriori orificio 3 ad 5 digitorum amplo sensim gracitescit, ita ut quae orì applicatur apertura 1½ pollicis, intere ex tenuibus et longis assulis compaginatum est, quae extus per totam longitudinem lentis viminibus strictum colliguntur: et ut flatui nullae fissurae pateant, pice et cera undique inducta, solicite obturantur. Sonus Tubae gravis & penetrans, & licet in vicinia minus vehemens, tamen a longiore intervallo exauditur, addimus ejus figuram Tab. V. Fig. 2 etenim mihi non constat alibi reperiundam, & ne nihil omisisse videamur, addimus etiam praecipiuum pecuariorum melos, quod illis Vaccarum Chorea Kuh-Reyen dicitur, cui varias illi pastorales cantilenas accommodant.

28 Capeler, Pilati Montis, 29: ‘The alp-horn, as it is generally known, is a long tube made entirely of wood, the length varying between 4 and 12 feet: the curve follows the exact shape of a geometric cissoidal curve: from the bottom opening of 3 to 5 fingers wide it gradually becomes narrower so that where the mouth is placed there is an opening of 1½ thumb widths, internally it is jointed, with long thin lengths, and for its whole length it is tightly bound together externally with flexible twigs: and so that there are no gaps to let air out it is covered all over with pitch and wax. It gives a very deep, penetrating sound, which though not too powerful close by, can be heard a long distance away, and in order to give all information, I add that it is used for calling by the herdsman, in the herdsman’s melody known as the Kuh-reyen, and in the various similar rural songs.’
There is documentation from many sources that demonstrate a variety of lengths and forms for an alphorn: descriptions of alphorns encountered by nineteenth-century visitors to Switzerland also report that instruments were between four and twelve feet in length (see quotations in Chapter 5). Music from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the Czech crown lands to be examined in Chapter 2 involve instruments that play notes in a wide variety of different tonalities: the pitches written for each instrument reflect the length of the instrument for which each work was written (see Fig. 2.32).

The shape is also not standardised. Many alphorns are straight, while others have a gradual flare with no further bell expansion beyond that of the cone itself.

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Fig. 1.7. Alphorn and melody reproduced in Capeler’s *Pilati Montis Historia*, 1767.\(^\text{29}\)

\(^{29}\) *Ibid.*, Appendix table 5.
In the Alps the horn typically takes the natural shape of a tree that grows on a slope, with a curve at the broad end that can project the sound outwards when the instrument rests on the ground. The traditional Swiss alphorn is made from one pine tree of the required shape, halved lengthways, gouged out and bound together again with softened willow shoots, rushes, strips of bark or something similar.

Fig. 1.8. A collection of wooden alphorns between four and six feet in length, undated, at the museum at Illanz, canton of Graubunden, eastern Switzerland. Photo: Frances Jones, 2011.

Fig. 1.9. Trees on mountain slopes naturally grow in the shape required for a typical long alphorn. Photo: Simon Jones, 2009.
Musical potential

The music that can be played on a tube is limited by certain physical factors: its length, its shape and the method by which it is blown. A long horn as specified on p. xiv (i.e. without lateral holes, etc.,) can only sound the notes from its harmonic series; additionally the lowest few notes can be altered by a tone or two downwards. A number of factors, primarily relating to shape, dictate exactly which notes can be produced. A conical tube of about 8 feet long can produce around the first ten notes of its harmonic series, an experienced player can produce upwards of 16 harmonics from the longer alphorns in use today.\(^\text{30}\)

\(^{30}\) Throughout this text, the notes playable on the alphorn will be numbered from the lowest upwards. As they relate to each other according to the intervals found in the harmonic series, their place in the series (which uses the same numbering system) will be referred to when required to convey the relative positions of the notes to each other, as shown in Fig. 1.11. N.B. in the USA the terminology of ‘partials’ is often preferred to ‘harmonics’. As partials are resonances found above a note, the numbering excludes the lowest note; thus the alphorn note / harmonic no. 2 is partial no. 1. The complexity of the sound waves, compound vibrations, resonance frequencies and upper partials or overtones present in each note produced on an alphorn are examined in detail elsewhere and do not form part of this study. These are described for example in general terms by Hermann Helmholtz in *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen als physiologische Grundlage für die Theorie der Musik* (On the Sensations of Tone as a Psychological Basis for the Theory of Music), trans. Alexander Ellis.
Chapter 1  Origins

The typical modern Swiss alphorn is 11½ feet in length. This gives the harmonic series with *doh* as F sharp (or G flat) and the rich, haunting sonority of the pitches thus produced is sometimes retained by composers when music reminiscent of the sound of the Swiss alphorn is required in a concert work.\(^{31}\)

The harmonic series usually quoted, for a tube with *doh* as C, is as follows.\(^{32}\) Note that harmonic no. 7 is slightly flatter than written here and harmonic no. 11 falls halfway between the notes F and F sharp.

![Harmonic Series Diagram]

Fig. 1.11. The harmonic series.

Although the harmonic series quoted above forms the basis of early Western temperaments and key structure, two of the notes are avoided in art music: harmonic no. 7 which is considered to be unpleasantly flat and no. 11 which falls between two notes in standard use. In music composed for trumpets and French horns, these two harmonics are usually avoided. All of the harmonics from about no. 2 to no. 16, however, are used in alphorn music, including these two ‘odd’ notes: when playing to cows, or on a high mountain alone, or even with other alphorns, they cause no problem. To the musically educated, the presence of these unusual notes in alphorn music can create a haunting, evocative effect. Referring to the first harmonic, or fundamental, as *doh*, the note produced at the 11th harmonic falls above the normal note used in

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\(^{31}\) Details of such quotations will be examined in Chapter 5.

\(^{32}\) The octaves of the natural series of notes playable on an open cylindrical tube are not exact and the intermediate notes do not conform to equal temperament, just intonation or any other common Western tuning system. Alphorns, alongside modern Western brass instruments, incorporate a proportion of conical tubing to adjust the majority of the notes to accord with a desired temperament (see Appendix 1). The use in alphorn repertoire of two exceptional pitches which are not in common use in Western music, notes nos. 7 and 11, will be the subject of later examination (for example, pp. 155, 184, 322-4 and 333-4).
equal temperament for fa and in alphorn literature this note is referred to as the ‘alphorn fa’.  

**Alphorn music and the Kühreien**

Alphorn music has distinctive qualities. Because of the instrument’s length in its longest form, its lowest notes are much lower than those of any other rustic instrument and are in the same octave as those of the modern orchestral tuba. In the alphorn’s middle range, the notes available, restricted to open arpeggio notes of the harmonic series only, give the instrument a characteristic repertoire of phrases. As the bore becomes narrow towards the mouthpiece, unlike with the tuba, it has almost a full scale at the top of its playing range, thus more ‘normal’ melodies are possible.

Alphorn music therefore derives specific melodic character from a combination of the above factors:

1. it uses only the notes of the harmonic series,
2. its length allows access to notes both lower and higher on the series than those accessible on shorter horns: it can make use of harmonic no. 11, known as the ‘alphorn fa’,
3. its use as a rustic calling horn, rather than a musical instrument in the usual sense, means that the ‘out of tune’ notes of the series are in common use and not avoided or adjusted as was normally the case for example on an orchestral hand-horn.

The constraints of notation in nineteenth-century printed alphorn music disguise the presence or absence of the ‘alphorn fa’. However, there are two sources of evidence that suggest it has been in common use for many centuries: yodel repertoire and some orchestral repertoire. Firstly, as intimated earlier, Swiss yodel even today uses the scale that includes the exact tuning of the ‘alphorn fa’. Secondly, an examination of concert repertoire of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries provides another possible clue. When the intention was to represent a rustic sound, various musical devices were utilised, for example a
drone effect to suggest bagpipes. Another common signifier was the presence of the raised fourth degree of the scale, sometimes referred to as the lydian fourth, or the augmented fourth.\textsuperscript{33} Comment is often made on this as a reference to rustic music, although I am unaware of an explanation offered for it.\textsuperscript{34} It is possible that its presence is an imitation of the 11th harmonic in the series, which is introduced as ‘too sharp’ in its context: thus it might be a reference to the ‘alphorn fa’, familiar from actual folk repertoire.

Traditional alphorn music is known as the \textit{Kühreien} or \textit{Ranz des Vaches}, a reference to the procession of cows up to the high mountain pastures and back. The word is used both to describe the journey and to describe the music played along the way.

As these journeys could last a few hours, a full \textit{Kühreien} was of necessity extensive, with many different motifs following one another that would vary in metre, style and shape. These would be specific, repeating motifs, as the practice is still in use today whereby cows are taught to recognise their individual calls.\textsuperscript{35} A cowherd would play phrases to call an animal as necessary on the journey or to attract its attention on the mountain. The music in each area was different, with each herdsman playing to the cattle in his care, using motifs of his own or those learned by ear from his associates or predecessors.

The use of the terms ‘melody’ or ‘tune’ applied to the \textit{Kühreien} can therefore be misleading: music from any one herdsman was always improvised, with no extended melody, as such, ever specifically created or repeated. Once collectors began to write such music down, though, there are variants of a basic melody, however this is not a true reflection of the genre. In some collections many versions of the same melodic material are found alongside each other.\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{33} For example, in Leopold Mozart’s \textit{Bauernhochzeit}, 1755.
\textsuperscript{34} For example, in Geoffrey Chew, ‘The Christmas Pastorella in Austria, Bohemia and Moravia’ (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 1968), 107.
\textsuperscript{35} Personal communication, Lena Frischknecht, Appenzell, 20 July 2012.
\textsuperscript{36} Kuhn, ed., \textit{Sammlung} of 1818, quotes at least nine versions of the same melodic material, each with a different title.
Defining features of a Kühreien, therefore, are short repeating motifs, frequent changes of metre and style, phrase-lengths dictated by reasonable breathing with motifs coming to rest on a paused note and the inclusion of the ‘alphorn fa’. Sometimes in a silence a natural echo might rebound off a distant mountainside, or another herdsman may play a response from a distance: this might be added in a transcription.

Traditionally a herdsman would play his alphorn unaccompanied, although sometimes a friend might accompany the herdsman with his cattle and would sing along: indeed most nineteenth-century transcriptions of Kühreien also have words.

A volume was printed in 1812 entitled Sammlung von Schweizer Kühreien und alten Volksliedern, nach ihren bekannten Melodien in Musik gesetzt (Collection of Swiss Kühreien and Old Folksongs, with their Familiar Melody Settings), assembled by Gottlieb Jakob Kuhn. It contains single melody lines for 26 tunes, mostly strophic songs, but also six Kühreien, from Oberhasler, Emmenthal (spelled in its caption Emmethal), Entlebuch, two from Siebenthal and one from Appenzell. Each Kühreien melody is quite different from the next, and, significantly, each has words too. Although each retains the musical features dictated by alphorn technique and the notes available on the instrument, it is by this date also absorbed into the vocal repertoire. All of these Kühreien, to a greater or lesser degree, display the typical features of an alphorn melody, with just the open harmonics, repeating motifs, breath-length phrases ending with paused notes and the inclusion of the ‘alphorn fa’ (see Figs. 1.14-1.17, below). Each is quite different in structure from the regular verse and chorus form of the items in the book that bear the title ‘songs’.

The Preface to this volume, written in Swiss-German, quotes extensive passages from the writing of Johann Gottfried Ebel in his Schilderung der Gebirgsvölker in der Schweiz (Description of the Swiss Mountain People), Vol. 1, which had been published in Leipzig between 1798 and 1802. Although songs and Kühreien appear alongside each other, Ebel is at pains to describe
the special manner in which a Kühreien should be sung, with full voice, in a natural, free manner:

Der Kuhreihen, so wie überhaupt der Gesang unsrer Bauern, will durchaus aus einer gewissen Entsernung gehört senn, die alles Kauhe der mit der ganzen Kraft einer gesunden Lunge erhabenen Stimme wegnimmt. Von der Wirkung eines Kuhreihens aber kann man keine wahre Vorstellung bekommen, wenn man ihn nicht auf den Bergen selbst hört. Wenn der Küherbube sein Vieh von den halden herbenruft, oder wenn er sorgenlos und fröhlich mit der Milchbrente am Kücken hinabsteigt ins Thal, und seine Herzensgefühle sich in solchen Gesang ergiessen, dann machen diese kunstlosen Töne in weiter Ferne gehört, einen Eindruck der unbeschreiblich ist. Die fenerliche Stille der erhabenen Natur von welcher man umgeben ist; die das Herz öffnet und für alles Einfache, Ungekünstelte so empänglich macht, die sanste süßwehmüthige Stimmung, in welche man sich hier unmerklich versezt sieht, diess alles muss daßen senn wenn ein Kuhreihen uns entzücken soll.37

The author of the Preface, G. J. Kuhn, also explains that even with words, the tune is like a theme upon which each singer improvises ad libitum [looking from a slightly inappropriate classical viewpoint – FJ] thus no two cowherds sing it in the same way and for this reason it is very difficult to write something down. He explains that the phrases should be sung very slowly and smoothly, without artifice, and that the final notes of each phrase should be held as long as possible.

At the end of the collection there is a glossary that explains the meaning of many of the dialect words that appear in the lyrics. Kuhn describes the joyful spirit, reflected in the texts, of the cowherd as he returns to the village at the

37 Gottlieb Jakob Kuhn, ed., Sammlung von Schweizer Kühreien und alten Volksliedern (Bern: Burgdorfer, 1812): ‘The Kühreien, and in general the singing of our country people, absolutely must be heard in a certain environment that absorbs what the sounds give, with all the force of a full chest, an unsophisticated voice, almost coarse and hard. You cannot get the right idea of the effect produced by the Kühreien unless you have heard them in the mountains themselves. When the cowherd calls his scattered herd on the hills, when he descends bright and carefree into the valley, his milk churns on his shoulders, he pours these feelings into his singing, and these completely natural feelings produce an impression that it is impossible to express. The solemn silence of nature that surrounds it makes the heart receptive to all that is simple and natural; it proves to be a gentle and melancholy sensation and only heard like this is it possible to appreciate the full merit of the Kühreien’. The following four facsimile extracts are from this volume.
head of his fine herd, with the constant carillon of cowbells as he guides his procession through the mountains.

Fig. 1.12. *Sammlung of 1812: Kühreien der Oberhasler.*

Fig. 1.13. *Sammlung of 1812: Kühreien der Entlebucher.*

Fig. 1.14. *Sammlung of 1812: one of the Kühreien der Siebenthaler,* with a different melody for the verse and the chorus.
The *Kühreien* from Appenzell is a substantial melody that assumed special significance in Switzerland: it will be the subject of Chapter 4.

In summary, the alphorn is unusual as a musical instrument in that it has a vital underlying extra-musical function in the rural community. Its musical potential is a factor in its use in communication with both animals and people and there are indications that besides its sounds being merely recognisable by both groups, it has long been demonstrated empirically that they should also be pleasing to both the bovine and the human ear. That composers should also find the sound of the alphorn evocative is a factor that underlies the essence of this study.

Fig. 1.15. *Sammlung* of 1812: *Kühreien der Emmethaler* [sic].

The *Kühreien* from Appenzell is a substantial melody that assumed special significance in Switzerland: it will be the subject of Chapter 4.

In summary, the alphorn is unusual as a musical instrument in that it has a vital underlying extra-musical function in the rural community. Its musical potential is a factor in its use in communication with both animals and people and there are indications that besides its sounds being merely recognisable by both groups, it has long been demonstrated empirically that they should also be pleasing to both the bovine and the human ear. That composers should also find the sound of the alphorn evocative is a factor that underlies the essence of this study.
Chapter 2. The alphorn in the *Pastorella*

This chapter explores the use of the herdsman’s horn in composed repertoire in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, through the examination of a set of liturgical works from the eastern Austro-Hungarian empire that incorporates parts written for the instrument. The music written for the horns and the context within which these parts occur not only offer insight into the minds of the composers of these works and the use of the herdsman’s horn in the region. They may also go some way towards an explanation of the phenomenon that nineteenth-century urban audiences could understand and empathise with a composer’s reference to a rural herdsman.

Parts for a herdsman’s horn are mainly found in works that belong to a genre known as the *Pastorella*. An introductory outline of the genre and its historical context will be given. This will be followed by detailed exploration of a sample collection of manuscripts of *Pastorella*-type works that include parts for a herdsman’s horn, held in the České Muzeum Hudby in Prague. For each work, the investigation will focus upon the social context in which the instrument is found, the textual relevance of the herdsman’s horn within the work, the musical style of the horn parts and deductions that can be made about the instruments and the players. The chapter will conclude with observations derived from the examination of these examples. The relationship between a herdsman’s horn in the Alps and one in the lowland areas of Europe will be examined and an assessment will be attempted concerning the degree to which the awareness of herdsmen’s horns in differing landscapes could have contributed to the decision of a composer to include a recognisable alphorn motif into a composition.

Geoffrey Chew summarises the genre of the *Pastorella, Pastorale, Pastoral Mass* or similar title (for the sake of this discussion, the single term *Pastorella* will be used) as a work composed for use in church at Christmas,
often during midnight Mass on Christmas night.\(^1\) He remarks that the Pastorella was particularly popular in the Czech-speaking lands throughout the eighteenth century and that it was largely a rural phenomenon. Since music was considered to be a valuable vehicle for the dissemination of the Christian message, the texts used were generally vernacular adaptations of gospel stories. The words in a Pastorella were often in Czech and sometimes in Latin. The narrative was frequently based on scenes described in the gospel of St. Luke, particularly the stories of the shepherds in the fields who received the news of the birth of the Christ child and their visit to the baby Jesus in Bethlehem. The texts were frequently brought to life for the congregation by the insertion into the text of personal names and other local details. A Pastorella could be a multi-movement work and was generally written for soloists or choir with orchestra, although it was occasionally a purely instrumental composition. The music often reflected or included local songs or dance music and sometimes incorporated parts for herdsman’s horn and other rustic instruments.

Mark Germer notes that the Pastorella developed in the Czech-speaking lands largely as a result of two circumstances: in this region musical literacy was widespread from the end of the seventeenth century and education was the remit of the Church.\(^2\) The revival of Habsburg support for Catholicism had led to a proliferation of monastic establishments; to these were delegated responsibility for education. Germer reports that by the second half of the eighteenth century, there were over 200 monasteries, convents and religious houses established by some 40 different religious orders in Bohemia, Moravia and Austrian Silesia. The main orders involved in education were the Piarists and Franciscans for the younger children and the Jesuits for the older scholars. While the Jesuits developed renowned choir-schools, for example in Prague, Brno and Olomouc, the Piarists and Franciscans, in collaboration with wealthy land-owners, had a church built in every village and a school alongside.

Besides theological study, both literacy and music were considered a high priority, so that the Christian message could be better conveyed to the people.

Charles Burney (1726-1814), historian and musician, wrote a graphic description of musical education in Bohemia. He travelled throughout Europe in both 1770 and 1772 in order to gather information for his four volumes entitled *A General History of Music*, published between 1776 and 1789. His two extensive travel journals, however, were published first and offer fascinating insights into the social and musical life of that period. Burney visited a number of village schools in Bohemia in 1772 and was amazed to find that not only was every child literate, but each one played an instrument:

> I crossed the whole kingdom of Bohemia, from south to north; and being very assiduous in my enquiries, how the common people learned music, I found out at length, that, not only in every large town, but in all villages, where there is a reading and writing school, children of both sexes are taught music.

> At Teuchenbrod, Janich, Czaslau, Bömischbrod, and other places, I visited these schools; and at Czaslau, in particular, within the post of Colin, I caught them in the act.

> The organist and cantor, M. Johann Dulsick, and the first violin of the parish church, M. Martin Kruch, who are likewise the two schoolmasters, gave me all the satisfaction I required. I went into the school, which was full of little children of both sexes, from six to ten or eleven years old, who were reading, writing, playing on violins, hautbois, bassoons, and other instruments. The organist had in a small room of his house four clavichords, with little boys practising on them all: his son of nine years old, was a very good performer.

Burney relates that such schools were common throughout Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary and Eastern Austria. Villagers thus formed a musically literate congregation, from whom choirs and orchestras could be drawn to provide music for church services. Indeed the number of musicians from these rural regions who were appointed as performers and composers at most

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3 Charles Burney, *The present State of Music in France and Italy* (London: Becket, 1771) and *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and the United Provinces* (London: Becket, 1773).

4 Burney, *Germany, Netherlands and United Provinces*, 1773, 4-5.
important European courts in the second half of the eighteenth century bears testimony to the remarkable ability fostered in these schools.\(^5\)

A further anecdote is recorded by the elderly Gluck (1714-1787), whose parents moved to Bohemia to work on the estates of Prince Lobkowitz when Gluck was a three-year-old. Speaking about his upbringing as a Bohemian, he told the painter Christian von Mannlich that everyone in Bohemia was a musician and that even in the smallest villages, the inhabitants sang and played different instruments at Mass:

\[Dans\ mon\ pays\ tout\ le\ monde\ est\ musicien;\ on\ enseigne\ la\ musique\ dans\ les\ écoles\ et\ dans\ les\ moindres\ villages\ les\ paysans\ chantent\ et\ jouent\ des\ différents\ instrumens\ pendant\ la\ grand’messe\ dans\ leurs\ églises’.\] \(^6\)

These quotations illustrate not only the significance of music in the lives of ordinary Czech people but also the participation of a congregation in music for worship. Within this context the Pastorella developed and flourished. The late Czech scholar Jiří Berkovec wrote a seminal history of the genre, České Pastorely:\(^7\) the exhaustive appendix lists large collections of unpublished manuscripts of Pastorellas. Berkovec records the contents of major collections of manuscripts found in monastic centres of Central Europe, notably Göttwieg near Vienna, Rajhrad in Bohemia, and Brno and Olomouc in Moravia. He also documents a large body of manuscripts in the České Muzeum Hudby in Prague. This collection of works forms the basis of the sample of Pastorellas to be examined in this chapter.

The museum houses 393 Pastorellas. Within this collection of manuscripts, 28 pieces specify a part for a herdsman’s horn, of which 25 works have an extant horn part.\(^8\) This group of 25 works has been selected for the

\(^5\) Many examples are named by Barbara Renton in ‘The Musical Culture of Eighteenth-century Bohemia’ (PhD diss., New York, 1990), 474.

\(^6\) Joseph Christian von Mannlich, ‘Gluck à Paris en 1774: Memoires sur la musique à Paris à fin du règne de Louis XV’, \textit{La Revue musicale}, Vol. 15 (1934), 260: ‘in my homeland everyone is musical; music is taught in the schools, and in the smallest villages the peasants sing and play different instruments during High Mass in their churches.’

\(^7\) Jiří Berkovec, České Pastorely (Prague: Supraphon, 1987).

\(^8\) Pastorellas by Paus and Stiasni in the museum collection mention a \textit{tuba pastoralis} on the cover but many parts are missing including that of the \textit{tuba pastoralis}; a Pastorella by
following investigation into the use of the herdsman’s horn in this context. It has been necessary to create full score transcripts of these 25 works as part of this investigation; details of the transcriptions are attached as Appendix 2, while photographs of the original manuscripts and the transcripts themselves are supplied on the enclosed CD. Three of the works in the collection are already in score format, apparently of more recent date than the composition of the work, on pre-printed modern style manuscript paper, in twentieth-century handwriting. The rest are sets of parts, without a score.

An investigation of such material has initially to deal with issues of varied nomenclature. Sometimes the title of a work is different on a cover from that on some of the parts and frequently the name of the herdsman’s horn is different in the list of instruments given on the cover from that of its part. Sometimes the first name of the composer is not shown, sometimes it is an abbreviation; sometimes a Czech version is shown whereas the name might appear on another occasion in German or Italian. Something that may appear to be an initial, for example ‘A.’ before a surname, could indicate the first name, or it may be an abbreviation of ‘Aut.’ with the meaning of ‘Author’: examples of each of these occur within the collection. The letter ‘P’ before a surname may be the equivalent of ‘Padre’.

Table 2.1 gives the composer, his first name where given or found from another source, his dates of birth and death where known, the date and place of composition where known and the title of each work. Biographical details reveal that it was not uncommon for the son of a schoolmaster to return to his home village as an adult to take over his father’s position. It was also not unusual for father and son to have the same first name, thus there is in some cases a series of composers with the same name who composed Pastorellas in

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Splichal specifies a part for *tuba pastoralis* in the list of instruments on the cover but there is no part in the set.

Surnames are shown in the spelling given on each cover, or the more common in cases where they vary from one work to another.

For example in these 25 works, this either is known to be or is possibly the case with Daubrawský, Kolovrátek, Milčínský, Nowotný and Ryba.
the same location. Ambiguity with regard to the identity of a family member will be noted in the subsequent examination of the individual works.

Some works have a main title and a substantial subtitle: the presence of a subtitle is shown in the table with an ellipsis (...) and is given in full in the discussion of each individual work. Many works also include the first phrase of the text on the cover as a subtitle; this has not been included here.

Table 2.1. Prague works: dates, provenance and title.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dominico Czerni</td>
<td>1730-1766</td>
<td>1759</td>
<td>Prague</td>
<td>Offertorium Pastorale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferdinand Daubrawský (3 works)</td>
<td>1747-1829</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lomnice nad Popelkou</td>
<td>Pastorella Czeska</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>František Dobravský</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hořice</td>
<td>Pastorella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(?)František Duschek</td>
<td>1731-1799</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pelhřimov</td>
<td>Pastorella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan Augustin Fibiger</td>
<td>1760-1851</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pro Nativitate Domini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>František Václav Haberman(n)</td>
<td>1706-1783</td>
<td></td>
<td>Eger (now Cheb)</td>
<td>Motetto pastoralni II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holetschek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pastorella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>František Václav Jech</td>
<td>b.1776</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rovensko</td>
<td>Mottetto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomáš Norbert Kautník (2 works)</td>
<td>1698-1755</td>
<td></td>
<td>Polička</td>
<td>Pastorella de Nativitate Do; Offertorium Pastorale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomáš Kollovrátek (3 works)</td>
<td>1763-1831</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>Chocen, Holic</td>
<td>Offertorium Pastorale, Offertorium… 2do Pastorella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph (?Damián) Křížek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Offertorium Pastorale…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiří Ignác Linek (2 works)</td>
<td>1725-1791</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bakov nad Jizerou</td>
<td>Pastorella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josef Erasmus Matějka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ústí nad Orlicí</td>
<td>Pastorella</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 These will be referred to as Daubrawský 1, 2 and 3; similar references will be used for the works of Kautník, Kollovrátek and Linek.
The table reveals some useful data. The information in column 2 can be examined in relation to the information found in Berkovec’s book: that the composer of a *Pastorella* was normally the local church choirmaster (cantor) or schoolmaster – in many villages this position was held by the same person. If the assumption is therefore made that a composer began to write for his congregation when he took up employment as the cantor of his church, not before the age of 20, this gives a potential date range for this collection of works as 1718-1856. The table therefore gives an indication of the dates during which this genre flourished. Most works are of unidentified date; the earliest known date is 1759 and the latest is 1833.

Column 4 shows that all of these 25 works for which the source is known emanate from towns, villages or monasteries in the present-day Czech Republic. The collection serves to demonstrate how widespread the presence of herdsmen’s horns was in the eighteenth and nineteenth century in this part of the Austro-Hungarian empire, as shown on the following map:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matiegka</th>
<th>1833</th>
<th>Prague</th>
<th><em>Pastorale</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daniel František</td>
<td>1732-1808</td>
<td>Rožďalovice</td>
<td><em>Offertorium Pastorale</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milčinský</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josef Ondřej Nowotný</td>
<td>1778-1856</td>
<td>Želiv</td>
<td><em>Offertorium Pastorale</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tadeáš Petipeský</td>
<td>1761</td>
<td>Přeštice</td>
<td><em>Motteto de nativitate</em>…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakub Jan Ryba</td>
<td>1765-1815</td>
<td>Rožmitál pod Třemšínem</td>
<td><em>Pastoral Offertorium</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josepho Štietina</td>
<td>c.1700-1750</td>
<td>Ústí nad Orlicí</td>
<td><em>Pastorella Nativitate</em>…</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It should be noted that the region is primarily not mountainous.

The fifth column in the table gives some insights into the occasion for which each work was written and the language that the composer has chosen to use for his work. The title *Offertorium* for eight of these works here reveals the time during midnight Mass for which the work was written. These works would be suitable for performance either as musical background to the offertory procession, or as music to be provided while members of the congregation placed actual gifts at the crib. Those works that do not include *Offertorium* in their title might have been played at another time, either before or after the celebration of the Mass.

One of the works has no text; five are settings of Latin texts and nineteen use texts that are written in dialects of the Czech language, although some of these include Latin phrases such as ‘*Gloria in excelsis Deo*’. It is not surprising that the *Pastorellas* in this collection that were written in a monastic context

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Fig. 2.1. Known sources of the works that include parts for herdsman’s horns in the manuscripts in the České Muzeum Hudby, Prague. Monasteries are shown with an additional ring. Map background showing the present-day Czech Republic: d maps.com.
Frances Jones  Alphorn

have Latin texts. The monasteries where works in this collection have come from are separately identified on the map, above.

Table 2.2, below, compares the instrumentation of the 25 compositions in the collection. The alphorn-like instrument used for herding in Bohemia and Moravia is given various names: *tuba pastoralis*, *pastorellis*, or *pastoritia*, or *tromba pastore*, for example. The instrument will be referred to in this chapter either as a herdsman’s horn, or by the most commonly used local contemporary term, *tuba pastoralis*.  

Table 2.2. Prague works: name of horn and scoring.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer/work</th>
<th>Name of herdsman’s horn</th>
<th>Voices and other instruments used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Czerni</td>
<td><em>Tuba Pastorali / Pastoralis</em></td>
<td>CATB, 14 vn 1, vn 2, va, fundamento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daubrawský (1)</td>
<td><em>Tuba Pastorica / Pastoricia</em></td>
<td>CATB, hn 1, hn 2, vn 1, vn 2, timp, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daubrawský (2)</td>
<td><em>Tromba / Tramba Pastoralis</em></td>
<td>CAB, vn 1, vn 2, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daubrawský (3)</td>
<td><em>Tromba Pastoralis</em></td>
<td>CATB, hn 1, hn 2, vn 1, vn 2, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dobravský</td>
<td><em>Tuba Pastoralis / Pastoralis</em></td>
<td>SCATB,1020:2010,15 bass flugelhorn, vne, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duschek</td>
<td><em>Tuba pastori / pastoricia</em></td>
<td>CATB, chorus, fl, vn 1, vn 2, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fibiger</td>
<td><em>Tuba Pastoricia / Pastoralis</em></td>
<td>clarino 1, clarino 2, princ, march, timp [i.e. 2 high trumpets, principal trumpet, marching drums, timp]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


13 Where the name of the instrument written on the cover or title is different from the name on the part, both are given, the name on the cover or title first. The use of an upper case or lower case initial letter is retained.


15 Orchestral catalogue reference system where each of the first set of four digits represents a woodwind instrument and the second set of four represent the brass as follows: flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon; horn, trumpet, trombone, tuba.

32
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Work Description</th>
<th>Edition Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Habermann</td>
<td>Tuba pastoritia</td>
<td>CATB, vn 1, vn 2, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holetschek</td>
<td>Tuba Pastoralis</td>
<td>CAB, vn 1, vn 2, vne, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jech</td>
<td>Tuba Pastoris / Pastorica</td>
<td>CATB, 0020:2000, clarino 1, clarino 2, vn 1, vn 2, va, vne, timp, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kautník (1)</td>
<td>Tuba Pastore</td>
<td>CATB, 0020:2000, vn 1, vn 2, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kautník (2)</td>
<td>Tuba Pastoralis</td>
<td>CATB, 0020:2000, vn 1, vn 2, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kollovrátek (1)</td>
<td>Tuba Pastoritia</td>
<td>CATB, 0020:2000, clarino 1, clarino 2, timp, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kollovrátek (2)</td>
<td>Tuba Pastoralis</td>
<td>CATB, 0020:2000, vn 1, vn 2, vne, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kollovrátek (3)</td>
<td>Tuba Pastorellis / Principal</td>
<td>CA, 0020:2000, vn 1, vn 2, timp, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Křížek</td>
<td>Tuba Pastoritia / Pastorela</td>
<td>CATB, vn 1, vn 2, va, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linek (1)</td>
<td>Tuba Pastorallis</td>
<td>B, vn 1, vn 2, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linek (2)</td>
<td>Tuba pastoralis</td>
<td>AB, vn 1, vn 2, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matějka</td>
<td>Tuba pastoralis</td>
<td>TB, vn piccolo, vn 1, vn 2, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matiegka</td>
<td>Tuba Pastoralis / Posthorn</td>
<td>CA, hn 1, hn 2, vn 1, vn 2, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milčínský</td>
<td>Tromba Pastore</td>
<td>CATB, vn 1, vn 2, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nowotný</td>
<td>Tromba Pastorale</td>
<td>CATB, 1020:2000, flugelhorn, vn 1, vn 2, va, vne, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petipeský</td>
<td>Tuba Pastoritia</td>
<td>CATB, vn 1, vn 2, cemb, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryba</td>
<td>Tuba Pastoralis</td>
<td>CATB, 0020:2000, vn 1, vn 2, org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Štietina</td>
<td>Tuba Pastoralis</td>
<td>CATB, vn 1, vn 2, vne, org</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The *tuba pastoralis* is by far the most common folk instrument to be incorporated into a *Pastorella*.\(^{17}\) Over 100 examples of *Pastorellas* that include a part for such instruments are known.\(^{18}\) As the rustic instrument that has an important function in the village, the actual presence of this instrument brings a

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\(^{16}\) The spelling of the name on this work is not the same as on the other two, though other evidence indicates that the composer is the same.


\(^{18}\) The appendix of Berkovec’s *České Pastorely* lists 60 works that include parts for herdsman’s horn, and around 40 others appear in the RISM catalogue, online (accessed 15 August 2010).
Frances Jones  Alphorn

wholly appropriate sense of realism to Christmastide scenes with the herdsmen both in the fields and beside the manger.

With regard to the voices and other instruments used, it can be seen that all the works apart from that of Fibiger include both voices and organ. Most works have parts for Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso, although a few do not have all of these. It is generally not specified whether the voice parts were intended to be sung by solo singers or whether they were voice parts for a choir, however in no instance is there more than one copy. In some works the words *tutti* or *coro* are found: again it is not possible to know whether the word *tutti* indicates that the voices sang together, or that there was a separate choir. The work by Fibiger is unique in this collection, with no voice parts and no part for an organ. Its instrumentation of brass and percussion suggests that it may have been composed for an outdoor event.

Instrumental accompaniment in all other cases includes the organ: this conforms to Chew’s statement that the works were largely written for performance in the church. In addition there is generally a string group. It is not clear whether there were individuals or groups of players on each part: in all but one of the works there is only one part for violin 1 and one part for violin 2. In around half of the cases there is some woodwind and occasionally there is use of percussion and other brass instruments besides a *tuba pastoralis*.

Table 2.3 shows initial comparisons between the parts written for the *tuba pastoralis* in this collection of works. The key of the work is the same as the sounding length (key) of the horn in every case.
Table 2.3. Prague works: key, harmonics used and observations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer/work</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Harmonics used</th>
<th>Tuba pastoralis part observations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Czerni</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>3, 4, 5, 6, 8</td>
<td>bugle-like calls, with much florid additional passagework added in pencil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daubrawský (1)</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>3, 4, 5, 6</td>
<td>bugle-like solo calls, alternating with the orchestral horns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daubrawský (2)</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>3, 4, 5, 6</td>
<td>bugle-like part, used among the other instrumental parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daubrawský (3)</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>3, 4, 5, 6</td>
<td>bugle-like calls, alternating with horns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dobravský</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>3, 4, 5, 6</td>
<td>simple bugle-like calls. It doubles, or may be an alternative to, the bass flugelhorn part. At times doubled by horn 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duschek</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>3, 4, 5, 6</td>
<td>some short bugle-like calls within the texture, then a brief florid solo passage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fibiger</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>3, 4, 5, 6, 8</td>
<td>tuba pastoralis the primary and most complex part, with bugle-like calls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habermann</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>3, 4, 5, 6, 8</td>
<td>virtuosic solo part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holetschek</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>3, 4, 5, 6, 8</td>
<td>sounds the tolling bell of midnight, twice. Additional bugle-like solo passages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jech</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>3, 4, 5, 6</td>
<td>mostly silent. Two passages of florid solo writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kautník (1)</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>3, 4, 5, 6 (plus supertonic above 4)</td>
<td>a few separate bars outlining an arpeggio, otherwise long held notes in the manner of an orchestral horn part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kautník (2)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>3, 4, 5, 6</td>
<td>bugle-like calls, sometimes solo, sometimes among the other instruments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kollovrátek (1)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>3, 4, 5, 6</td>
<td>bugle-like solos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kollovrátek (2)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>3, 4, 5, 6, 8</td>
<td>bugle-like solos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolovrátek (3)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10</td>
<td>plays bass or basic horn line, and a few bugle call sections marked ‘solo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krřížek</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>full scale and accidentals</td>
<td>high florid scale parts, interspersed with bugle calls in various keys</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It can be seen that the majority of the *tuba pastoralis* parts in this collection use a specific set of four or five notes. With reference to the harmonic series shown earlier (p. 17), it will be noted that the tonic of a well-proportioned tube occurs at harmonics nos. 1, 2, 4 and 8; a major triad is created with harmonics nos. 4, 5 and 6, and harmonic no. 3 is a lower dominant. Most of these works use just the major triad of harmonics nos. 4, 5 and 6 plus the lower dominant of harmonic no. 3. Occasionally, there is in addition the upper tonic at harmonic no. 8. It can also be seen from
experiments detailed in Appendix 1 (acoustics), that this is the part of a tube’s harmonic series where the intonation is least affected by inconsistency of proportion between a tube’s length and the rate of opening of its bore. Thus a piece of hollowed out branch does not need to be very accurately proportioned to be able to produce acceptable intonation for these five notes; it may indeed have been the effect desired by the composer that the *tuba pastoralis*, as a token rustic instrument, sounds more characterful if its intonation is not as ‘perfect’ as that of the other instruments around it.

There are three examples of *tuba pastoralis* parts in this collection that use notes that do not exist in the harmonic series. Two of the works use the supertonic between harmonic no. 4 and harmonic no. 5, a note that cannot be played on a basic tube. This note appears in the second of the two works by Kautník and that of Matějka. Something close to this note would be possible with the use of hand-stopping on a natural orchestral horn, thus it is feasible that the composer had that instrument in mind when writing his part for the *tuba pastoralis*. The third work with a part that could not be played by a *tuba pastoralis* is that of Křížek. It uses full scales and accidentals and would similarly only be possible on a brass instrument that has access to hand-stopping or some length-changing device such as the slide trumpet used by Bach.\footnote{Elisa Koehler, ‘Bach Trumpet Parts, a Compendium’, *International Trumpet Guild Journal* (January 2008), 17.}

The fourth column of Table 2.3 shows that *tuba pastoralis* parts reflect the music of individual players rather than a consistent recognised compositional style. Since the composers of *Pastorellas* were primarily members of the local community, it seems not unlikely that the parts were written for a friend or a neighbour: each part appears to have been written for an individual herdsman whose playing was known to the man who was writing the work in question.

There now follows information about the setting for each work, its composer, its content and the use of the herdsman’s horn within the work. This
will not only give an insight into the use by each composer of the *tuba pastoralis* in the context of other instruments, voices and text: it may also provide a broader window onto the music played by herdsmen in the region. It would be reasonable to suppose that the notes and rhythms written would reflect the motifs in current use by the individual herdsman for whom each part was written not only because the players and their playing were likely to have been known to the composer, but also because the function of these works was the realistic representation of the herdsmen in the nativity story, as will be seen from the texts. The geographical and social context of each work, where it has been possible to identify these, is thus an integral part of the investigation.
P[adre] Dominico Czerni Minoritta, *Offertorium Pastorale*  

Czerni (1730-1776) was born in Nimburg in Bohemia. He became a Franciscan Minorite priest in Prague and was renowned in his day as a composer and choral director at St. Jakob’s Church in Prague. This work was composed in 1759 and is scored for Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso, with the accompaniment of 2 violins, viola, *fundamento* (continuo) and *tuba pastoralis obligato* [sic.].

There are a number of dates on the manuscript, which is a full score. The source is acknowledged at the end with ‘Partitura jost sestavena se hlarů, Ex rebus Chori Pontensis Ordinis S. P. Francisci Minorum Convent: 1759’ in handwriting that matches that in the rest of the material. The typography appears modern, as does the pre-printed manuscript paper. At the end, in pencil, 28.V.24, *Deo gratias!* is written which suggests that this copy was made in 1924. On the first page, 390/1950 is to be found: 390 might be a catalogue number, while 1950 might be the date on which the material was obtained and catalogued by the museum.

This is a lively one-movement work of 224 bars in the key of D major. The work remains for the most part in D with brief statements of the melodic material in the dominant and subdominant. There is much use of tonic pedals and the rustic signifier, the scale with a raised fourth (see p. 18). The word *fundamento* is written as an identifier for a pair of bracketed staves in the lowest place in the score, although throughout, the stave apparently allocated to the right hand of a keyboard is left blank. The bass line is not figured.

The vocal writing is syllabic and direct in all but 20 bars at the central section of the work, where long, held notes overlap in simple counterpoint. Much of the time, the strings are given the same material as the voice parts. The text, in Latin, is repeated many times by solo voices in turn, interspersed with the same text for *tutti* voices. There are two vocal passages, of 21 bars and 14 bars respectively, where no text is given. There is in addition an unusual feature that is also found in a few other *Pastorella* settings (including the work

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20 České Muzeum Hudby catalogue number MXXVIIIF242.
of Habermann, p. 62): the repeating of the final syllable of one of the words, for example in the third tutti line of the transcription below, Jerusalem, -lem, -lem or later, Betlehem, -hem, -hem. This may be intended to convey the impression of an echo, or represent the stammering of frightened shepherds, the bleating of sheep, or the repeating call notes of the *tuba pastoralis*.  

The narrative is distributed between the voices as follows:  

Alto  *Io Sion consolare*,  
*applaud Jerusalem, lem,*  
*jube Deo resonare,*  
*qui natus in Betlehem,*  
Jerusalem,  

Tutti  *Gaude Jerusalem,*  
*exsulta Betlehem,*  
Jerusalem, Jerusalem, lem, lem,  
*Io Sion consolare,*  
*applaud Jerusalem,*  
*Jube Deo resonare,*  
*qui natus est in Betlehem,* hem,  
*Io consolare,*  
*jube resonare, Jerusalem,*  

(21 bars of vocal parts without text)  

Plaude Jerusalem,  
exulta Betlehem,  
io consolare, Jerusalem  

Canto  *Io Sion consolare,*  
*applaud Jerusalem, lem,*  
*jube Deo resonare,*  
*qui natus in Betlehem,* hem, hem,  
Jerusalem, lem, lem,  

Tutti  *Gaude Jerusalem,*  
*exsulta Betlehem,*  
Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Jerusalem,  

Basso  *Io Sion consolare*  
*applaud Jerusalem, lem,*  

Tenore  *jube Deo resonare,*  
*qui natus in Betlehem,* hem.  

---

22 These last three suggestions are made by Berkovec in *České Pastorely*, 50.  
23 All translations from the Latin have been made with the kind assistance of Elizabeth Rees.
Tutti  
*Io Sion consolare,*  
*applaude Jerusalem, lem,*  
*Gaude Jerusalem,*  
*exsulta Betlehem,*  
*io consolare, Jerusalem*  
*io consolare,*  
*jube resonare Jerusalem,*  
*io Sion consolare,*  
*applaude Jerusalem,*  

(14 bars of vocal parts without text)

*Gaude Jerusalem,*  
*exsulta Betlehem,*  
*io consolare,*  
*jube resonare Jerusalem.*

Although the *tuba pastoralis* is used in the work, there is no specific reference to shepherds in the text. However as the birth of the Christ child is the subject matter, there would be some relevance to Czerni’s use of the instrument, since the shepherds were among the visitors to the stable described in St. Luke’s gospel. There is no tempo indication, although the style of the string and vocal writing implies a feel of *Allegretto* or *Allegro.* The *tuba pastoralis* part displays considerable virtuosity, using the five notes of harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8. The *tuba pastoralis* notes are written in C, as is the custom for natural horn parts, thus the *tuba pastoralis* must be an instrument in D, with notes that sound a tone above those written, although this is not specified.

The music for *tuba pastoralis* is marked *oblig.* which could be interpreted as either ‘optional’ or ‘obligatory’. Whereas the *tuba pastoralis* part is independent of and much of the time supplementary to the vocal and other instrumental parts, there are four passages of three or four bars where the strings are given repeated crotchets on a tonic chord, which form a background for bugle-like calls for the *tuba pastoralis.* This would imply that the reading of ‘obligatory’ is more likely.

While most of the transcription is in black ink, there are a number of additional flourishes added to the *tuba pastoralis* line of the score, in pencil.
These additional notes are shown on the part transcribed as Fig. 2.3 in square brackets. It is possible that these extra notes were present on an alternative original part; they might have been added to enhance a performance for which this manuscript was produced (although the date in pencil at the end records the month of May); they might represent possible suggestions of improvisation-like material for the player, or they may merely imply that such improvisation was expected. As the source of this work is a monastery in the centre of Prague, rather than a village, there may have been some uncertainty as to the availability of a *tuba pastoralis* player for a performance of this work. The part could therefore have been made suitable for performance on a different instrument.
Fig. 2.3. Czerni, *Offertorium Pastorale*, transcription of the *tuba pastoralis* part. Notes added in pencil are shown in square brackets.
Ferdinand Daubrawský, *Pastorella Czeska* (1)

Daubrawský (otherwise Doubravský), 1747-1829, was cantor at Lomnice nad Popelkou, a typical little Czech village. The church of St. Nicholas was built in 1782 and the road that surrounds it is named Doubravského. None of the three *Pastorellas* examined herein by this composer provide any evidence of a date of composition.

This *Pastorella* is scored for Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso, 2 violins, 2 horns in D, timpani in D and A, organ and *tuba pastoricia* (*tuba pastorica* on the cover). The violin 1 part is missing. It is in the key of D. It is 237 bars in length, in one continuous section, marked *Allegro non molto*. The harmonies are simple and the vocal writing homophonic.

The narrative describes the nativity as a contemporary event from the point of view of the shepherds: they must go to worship the baby Jesus and sing and play the violin to him. It is an example of the way in which the Christmas story was brought to life by the composer, to make the narrative relevant for the congregation. The different voice passages are interspersed with instrumental sections. The position of these is indicated by a blank line below. The text is as follows:

*Vzhůru pastuškové,*

*do Betléma půjdeme,*

*co nového pasiruje*

*atť také vidíme.*

Arise, shepherds,

we shall go to Bethlehem,

this new event

let us see.

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24 České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MVIIIID110.
25 Information from the RISM catalogue. Another composer with possibly the same name, František Doubravský (1790-1867) was a later cantor at Lomnice nad Popelkou, with 30 sacred compositions listed in the RISM catalogue.
26 A tour in August 2011 of the Czech villages where this selection of composers lived, as background for this study, revealed a consistent pattern. The villages are typically small, many with no more than a few hundred dwellings even today. There is a grand central square surrounded by buildings reminiscent of those in the centre of Prague or Vienna, but otherwise generally no buildings beyond that have an imposing appearance. In one corner of the square there is normally a remarkably large Baroque church, with an adjacent school.
27 All the Czech manuscript texts for this study have been generously deciphered and transcribed for me by Tomáš Havelka in Prague. For the English translations I have been assisted by Pavel Blazek, James Naughton, David Cairns and Josepha Collins. Punctuation and capitalisation have been rationalised.
Frances Jones  Alphorn

Narodil se tam Spasitel, v hospodě v chlívceku, nemá, kde by pohodlně položil svou hlavičku.

The Saviour has been born, in a small stable, he has nowhere to comfortably lay his little head.

Leží mezi hovádkami, vola a oslička. Jozef starý jej kolébá a jeho matičku.

He lies between the beasts, the ox and the ass. Joseph rocks the cradle and his mother too.

Muzikanti, nemeškejte zahráti Ježíšku, hodně hřímotně a vesele, nějakou novou píštičku.

Musicians, hurry to play to baby Jesus, very loudly and cheerfully, a new song.

Alto

Přestaňte, muzikanti, na housle hráti, nechejte nás Ježíškovi také zaspívati.

Stop, musicians, playing the violin, let us also sing to baby Jesus.

Canto and Alto

Gloria in excelsis Deo, Gloria in excelsis Deo.

Glory to God on high.

Tenore

Co pak to má znamenatí, slyším hráti a spívati, Sláva buď na Východech Bohu a na zemi pokoj lidu.

What will it all mean? We hear music and singing: Glory be to God on high and on earth peace among people.

Basso

Nediv se, bratře milý, nemeškej tuto chvíli malého Ježíška přivítatí, jemu čest a chválu, též díky, vzdávatí.

Do not be surprised, dear brothers, come, hurry, welcome little Jesus, give him honour, praise and thanks.

Tutti (although Tenore is sometimes silent)

Zdráv buď, Mesiášku, zdávna vinšovaný, s přečisté panenky nám narozený.

Hail, Messiah, long awaited, from the Virgin most pure, born to us.

Vítáme tě společně, náš Spasiteli, nebo se nám skrze tebe stalo všem spasení.

We welcome you together, our Saviour, for us all you will be our salvation.

Z nebe si na svět stoupil, (not Tenore) to pro naše spasení, bys nás, hříšné, vykoupi, (not Tenore) Ježíšku přemilý. (twice)

From heaven you came into the world, for our salvation, in order to redeem us sinners, most beloved baby Jesus.

Vzhůru tedy, pastuškové, půjdemo k Betlému, zahráme Ježíškovi, dítěti malému.

Therefore arise, shepherds, go to Bethlehem, let us play to the baby Jesus, the little child.
The *tuba pastoricia* has a sounding length of D and is given four notes, harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6. It has an integral role in the work. It announces the first shepherd (Basso) with 12 bars of flourishes over held tonic chords, then is given an 8-bar passage to introduce the second shepherd (Alto). Thereafter it adds background rhythms on the tonic while the *tutti* voices sing, with further flourishes forming punctuation between phrases. It is the primary voice in the closing instrumental section. Its function is therefore to introduce the shepherds, to support them and to provide a concluding symbolic representation of the joy of music-making to celebrate the birth of the Christ child. The part appears as follows:\(^{28}\)

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\(^{28}\) All reproductions of parts in this chapter are photographs taken by me on 14/15 April 2010 and are reproduced here with the permission of the České Muzeum Hudby, Prague.
This work is also in the key of D, although the scoring is different from the previous work examined: it has three solo voices, Canto, Alto and Basso, a chorus, 2 violins, organ and tromba [sic] pastoralis (tromba pastoralis on the cover). The work is shorter, at 146 bars in length, and is in two sections. First is an introductory Andante in 3/4 time, in which the three voices present their messages in turn, with instrumental interludes. The tromba pastoralis does not appear in this section. The second section is marked ‘Tutti Chorus’, Allegro, and is in common time. Four bars of ornate violin melody are followed by the first appearance of the tromba pastoralis, which introduces the choral section of the composition. The final 16 bars of the organ part are missing. The harmonic palette is more varied than that of the previous work and Daubrawský makes use of the scale with the raised fourth. The string writing doubles the voice parts and is more lyrical and elaborate when the voices are not being used. The vocal writing is again simple and homophonic.

The text is similar in sentiment to the previous work: the shepherds receive the news of the birth of the Christ child. They sing of their intention to go and give the gift of music to the baby Jesus.

Canto  Radostnou novinu zvěstují vám, že jest se narodil Spasitel nám. Z čisté Panny narozený, nám zajisté k potěšení a našim duším k spasení.

Basso  Hej, hej. Poslyšte noviny pastuškové míli, což anjel zvěstoval, radostně prospíval, že se nám narodil náš Spasitel, všeho světa Výkupitel.

Alto  Já, ačkoliv již snad poslední, slyším přeradostné noviny, anjelské spívání, bohu čest vzdávání, Anjelské spívání, chválu, čest vzdávání. Podímež i my spolu a klekněme,

Good news to proclaim to you, that our Saviour is born. Born of the pure Virgin, we truly rejoice that he brings salvation to our souls.

Hey, hey! Listen to the news dear shepherds, this angel has proclaimed in cheerful song that our Saviour is born, Redeemer of the world.

And finally me, I hear the good news in the angel’s song, giving honour to God. Angels sing praise and honour. Let us go together and kneel.

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29 České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MVIIID111.
Chapter 2  *Pastorella*

*Ježíškovi libě zahrajeme.*  and play sweet music to baby Jesus.

*Tutti*  
Tebe Boha chválíme,  
God be praised,
Chorus  
vďěčné díky činíme.  
gratefully we offer our thanks.

Rač nás uslyšeti, Milostivý Králi náš,  
Please hear us, our gracious King,
 kterýž všechno v rukouch máš,  
who hold all in your hands,
 buď nám milostivý.  
be gracious to us.

Popřej tvé božské milosti,  
Give us your grace,
budeme mít na tom dosti.  
that is all we ask.

Dej se k tobě dostati,  
May our praise reach you,
 tebe věčně chváliti.  
praise you forever.

As with the previous work, Daubrawský uses a *tromba pastoralis* in D and gives it harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6. It is again used to add realism to the shepherds’ story. In this work it is used to announce the *tutti* voices, it provides an *obbligato* line at the same time as the singing and it features in the final instrumental section. Overall, though, it has a less substantial part than in the previous *Pastorella*.

![Trumba Pastoralis part](image)

Fig. 2.5. Daubrawský, *Pastorella Czeska* (2), *tramba pastoralis* part.
Ferdinand Daubrawský, *Pastorella Czeska* (3)\(^{30}\)

The third *Pastorella* by Daubrawský to be investigated is divided into two parts, a *Moderato* in 2/4 in the key of D followed by an *Andante* in 3/4 in A. It is scored for Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso, 2 horns in D, 2 violins, organ and *tromba pastoralis* in D. It is the longest of the three works examined, with 244 bars.

The musical content is again cheerful, with a predominance of simple tonic and dominant harmony, with use of the scale with a raised fourth. An instrumental opening leads to extended flourishes (24 bars) on the *tromba pastoralis* over unobtrusive background chords; these announce the first entry of the Alto voice. The Basso, then Tenore, then finally Canto singers take up the melody in turn. An instrumental interlude without *tromba pastoralis* then leads to homophonic passages for *tutti* voices and the section concludes with a further solo section for the *tromba pastoralis*. The *Andante* forms the second 40 bars of the work and comprises instrumental passages that alternate with sections for the *tutti* voices. Neither the orchestral horns nor the *tromba pastoralis* are used in this section. The instruction *da capo* signals a return of the opening *Moderato*.

The text is the most personal and detailed of the three Daubrawský *Pastorellas* with parts for *tromba pastoralis* in this collection. The Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso singers take the parts of four herdsmen, each encouraging the others to come to Bethlehem to see the baby Jesus. The Alto will take two lambs to keep the baby’s feet warm and to protect his hands from being scratched by the straw, the Canto will cook him some porridge to warm him. They sing praises all together to welcome the holy birth and prepare to play for the infant. The subsequent *Andante* section, without the loud instruments, is an invitation to the Christ child to sleep while they play for him. The *tromba pastoralis* does not appear in this section: it has already played its part. It has announced the herdsmen and accompanied them in the fields before their

\(^{30}\)České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MVIIID130.
journey to Bethlehem. The *da capo* intimates that the discussion ensues once again.

The text reads as follows:

**Alto**

Do Betléma půjďeme,

dary sebou vezmeme,

Ježiškovi miláčkovi

je darujeme.

Tuhle máš, můj Ježišku,

dvě ovčičky,

zahrěj s níma tvé malé

outlé nožičky

by ti zíma nebylo,

a seno nepíchal o

rozmilé rucečky.

Go to Bethlehem,
take your gifts,
sweet baby Jesus

is there.

Here for you, my baby Jesus,
two little lambs,
with which you can warm your tiny feet
to keep you warm,
and so that the hay does not scratch your pretty hands.

**Basso**

Já též půjdu k Betlému,

v nově narozeného,

k Ježiškovi, miláčkovi

se podívati.

Nemeškejte pastýři

stáda svého přivítat

Spasitele lidu všeho.

Který jest narozený,

a to s přečisté Panny

nám k potěšení.

I too will go to Bethlehem,
to the new-born child,
to see the baby Jesus,
to see the sweet child.

Hurry, shepherds,
leave your flock to greet the Saviour of all people.

He is born,
and with the Virgin most pure let us all rejoice.

**Tenore**

Já taky, já taky,
půjdu s vámi pastuši

na Ježišku se divati,

jej přivítati,

vítáme té, Ježišku,

náš přemilý miláčku,

neb si se pro nás vtělil,

abys nás vysvobodil.

Me too, me too,
I'll go with you shepherds,
to see Jesus,
welcome him,
we welcome you, baby Jesus,
our sweet dear one,
bring us freedom,
you will free us.

**Canto**

Co pak já dám,

když nic nemám,

malému Ježišku?

Kdybych věděl,

že by jedl,

uvařil bych kašičku,

nakrmil bych outlé dítě

tak sprostným dárečkem,

abych po smrti byl učiněn

jeho miláčkem,

nes bych jej do Betléma

k Ježišku malému,

What then shall I give,
for I have nothing
for the baby Jesus?
If I knew
what he would like to eat,
I would cook porridge,
to feed to the little child,
a simple gift,
so that when it is prepared
for the beloved child,
I would carry it to Bethlehem
to give to baby Jesus,
Frances Jones   Alphorn

The tromba pastoralis is again in D and the harmonics used are nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6. The instrument plays two solo interludes while the strings and organ provide a simple harmonic support. The first of these acts as an introduction to the entry of the first singer, while the second brings the introductory section to a close before the scene changes to the stable in Bethlehem.
The role of the herdsman’s horn in these three works is to enhance the realism of the scene where the herdsmen in the fields discuss the news of the birth of the Christ child; it plays no further part in the narrative once the scene changes and they arrive at the crib. Doubrawský uses individual singers to represent individual herdsmen: there is the possibility, of course, that they may be the actual village herdsmen. The style of writing for the *tromba pastoralis* across the three works is similar, the instrument is of the same length, the same four notes are used and the technical expectations and figurations used are similar. It is reasonable to suppose that the player for whom these parts were written was the same for all three works.
František Dobravský, *Pastorella*31

This work has little in common with the previous three compositions apart from its title, its use of the *tuba pastoralis* and the similarity of the given and family names. The composer’s first name is abbreviated to Fr. but is identified by Berkovec as František. The RISM catalogue provides details of a composer of this name for whom it records dates of 1790-1867 and lists 68 religious works, although this *Pastorella* is not included. With the variety of spellings of names found in the Czech lands, it is feasible that this composer could have been from the same lineage as the composer of the previous works, however the following examination of the material suggests that this musician may be from a later generation. There is no date of composition given.

Berkovec records the provenance of this work as the village of Hořice,32 which is around 20 miles from Lomnice nad Popelkou. Again this is a small village that has a large Baroque church at its centre and a central square lined with splendid buildings.33 The church was built in the 1740s and is dedicated to the Birth of the Virgin Mary.

This *Pastorella* is scored for Soprano, Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso, flute, 2 clarinets in A, 2 horns in D, trombone, violone, organ and *tuba pastoralis* (*tuba pastorallis* on the cover) in D. It is unclear whether the five voice parts sing together in the sections marked *tutti*, or whether a separate chorus is intended.

The work is in the key of D and is marked *Andante*. It takes the form of 16 opening instrumental bars followed by five verses in which the same melody is sung an octave apart by the Soprano and the Tenore. There follows a refrain for all to sing in simple harmony. There is prominent use of the rustic signifier, the raised fourth degree of the scale. The text reads:

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31 České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MVIIIID187.
32 Berkovec, České Pastorely, 235.
33 Visit, August 2011.
Soprano and Tenore (five verses, each followed by the refrain)  

1. **Radostnou novinu**,  
   křesťane milí,  
   zvěstujem vesele v tu chvíli.  
   Joyful news,  
   dear Christians,  
   we bring merry tidings in this time.

2. **Jasná noc pastýře**  
   k pastvě zbudila, zpěv,  
   hudba v povětrí jest byla.  
   On a clear night  
   shepherds in the pastures awoke  
   with music and singing in the skies.

3. **Dvanáctou hodinu**  
   dnes v noci právě,  
   zpívali andelé přeslavně.  
   At the stroke of midnight  
   the angels sang  
   wonderfully.

4. **Všechno se k Betlemu**  
   hrne sú prkem, starší  
   mladí plesají svým zvukem,  
   Everyone is hurrying to Bethlehem,  
   old and young dance  
   to the music,

5. **Protož i my také vesele pějeme,**  
   přišli Mesiáše  
   zvěstujem.  
   And thus we also sing with joy  
   announcing that the new Messiah  
   has come.

Soprano, Canto, Alto and Tenore  

**Refrain:**  

Že se narodil Spasitel,  
všeho světa Vykupitel,  

plus Basso  

v Betlemě městě, věže,  
  to jistě, vězte to jiště.  

Know that the Saviour is born,  
Redeemer of the whole world,  

in the town of Bethlehem,  
believe the truth, believe!

The *tuba pastoralis* in D uses harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6. It plays in bars 8 to 16, a part that is entirely doubled by horn 1, then is silent during the narrative. It joins in the final seven *tutti* bars, where it has an independent bugle-like part. The same music is also written out for bassflugelhorn in C: this may be an alternative in the circumstance that one or the other were not available. It appears that the presence of the *tuba pastoralis* for the performance of this work would have been to enhance the impact of the depiction of nativity, as the part of the story that involves the shepherds is described.
Fig. 2.7. Dobravský, Pastorella, *tuba pastoralis* part.
Duschek, *Pastorella*\(^{34}\)

Although no first name appears on this manuscript, Berkovec records both the German name Franz Xaver and the Czech name František (with a question mark) in respect of the composer of this work.\(^{35}\) The biography of this composer (1731-1799) is outlined by Milan Poštolka: he studied music in Prague where he became an influential teacher, pianist and the most prominent Bohemian composer of his day. Mozart stayed with him during his time in Prague. He was primarily known for his secular compositions.\(^{36}\) However, notes in the RISM catalogue claim that most sacred works thought to be by this composer are of doubtful attribution: they may be by another F. Dušek, by B. Dušek, F. B. Dussek or J. L. Dussek. Detail on the front cover of this manuscript records that this is a copy of material from Pelhřimov, a large town and regional centre, and that it was transcribed on 26 December 1903 by Ondřej Horník.

This *Pastorella* is scored for Canto, Alto, Tenore, Basso and chorus, 2 flutes, 2 violins, organ and *tuba pastoricia* (*tuba pastori* on the cover). It is a multi-sectioned work of 144 bars. The opening 32 bars form an introduction of accompanied recitative, initially in the key of G, then the key signature is changed to D. The first main section of the work is marked *Coro, Andante* and is in A major in 6/8 tempo. A further recitative, in the key of D, leads to an *Aria*, in G, marked *Largo*, for the Canto voice. There follows the text ‘*Gloria in excelsis Deo*’ set as a duet for Canto and Alto; further recitative leads to another chorus, in 3/8, and seven instrumental bars bring the work to a close.

The text describes the shepherds’ reaction to the events of the nativity story in an informal manner and the words and the setting are lively and graphic. The Tenore and Basso represent the voices of shepherds: they express the urgency, maybe even panic, of the shepherds as they wake each other upon the appearance of great light and fire in the sky: perhaps it is the Day of

\(^{34}\) České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MVIIIF23.


Judgement. Duschek particularly brings the story to life by use of the shepherds’ names and repeated exhortations to wake up. Not only that: he also uses informal versions of the names, for example *Matouši, Janeku, Mikši, Vavrouši* and *Bárto* are Matthew, John, Michael, Laurence and Bartholomew, but in versions that would correspond in English to something like Matt, Jack, Micky, Larry and Barty.

The shepherds are reassured by the angel, as the Canto is designated, who sings in an aria of the glad tidings of the birth of the Christ child, with text that is taken from the story in the gospel of St. Luke. Canto and Alto together sing the words of the angels, ‘*Gloria in excelsis Deo*’, and the scenario ends with the shepherds’ arrival in Bethlehem and their greetings to the baby Jesus.

The text reads:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenore</th>
<th>Basso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(recitative)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(recitative)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Zhůru chaso, zhůru chaso,</em></td>
<td><em>Ach, co je to za věci nové,</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zhůru vstávejte,</em></td>
<td><em>snad se přiblížili již poslední dnové.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dvánáctá hodina byla,</em></td>
<td><em>To jsou věci nevídány,</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>stáda shánějte.</em></td>
<td><em>ba nikdy neslýchany.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| *Zhůru chaso, zhůru vstávejte.* | *
| *Stáda dohromady shánějte,* | *
| *divné věci se dnes dějou.* | *

| Instrumental punctuation between some phrases | |
| **Kterak obstojíme,** | **Vstaň Matouši,** |
| *strachy a hrázou,* | *vstaň ty, Janeku,* |
| *nebe celé se otvírá,* | *vstávej brzy Mikši,* |
| *velkým bleskem* | *
| *zem příkrývá* | *
| *město Betlehem* | *
| *celé v ohni plápolá* | *
| *a snad bez soudu* | *
| *spáleno je docela.* | *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenore</th>
<th>Basso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>(recitative)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arise, arise young men,</td>
<td><strong>Oh, what new and strange things,</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wake up,</td>
<td>perhaps the Day of Judgement has come.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the midnight hour is passing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arise, get up,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gather your flocks together,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amazing things are happening today.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As we stand,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in fear and trembling,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the heavens open,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>great lightning strikes the earth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and the town of Bethlehem is ablaze with the fire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and without Divine authority may be burning to the ground.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
nelenuj, Vavrouši, don’t be lazy, Larry,
ty, Bárto ospalej, vzhůru taky vstávej. you, sleepy Barty, wake up too.

_**Tutti** (coro)_

Vespolek všickni vstávejme, Let’s all get up,
k Betlému rychle chvátejme, hurry to Bethlehem,
Vespolek všicky vstávejme, Let’s all get up,
k Betlému rychle chvátejme, hurry to Bethlehem,
Vespolek všicky vstávejme, Let’s all get up,
a dále rychle chvátejme. Let’s go there quickly.

_Canto_ (recitative, with punctuating chords)

*Nebojte se pastýřové,* Fear not, shepherds,
*zvěstují vám věci nové,* I bring glad tidings,
*zvěstují vám radost* I bring news of great joy,
*zdávnou vinšovanou,* long-awaited,
*a nikdy neslýchanou.* of new things, unheard of.

_Canto (Aria)_

Narodil se vám Spasitel, Born for you, a Saviour,
všeho světa Vykupitel, Redeemer of all the world,
narodil se v Betlémě, born in Bethlehem,
leží v chlívě na slámé, lying in a stable in the hay,
narodil se z Panny čisté, born of the pure Virgin,
leží v chlévě, špatném místě, lies in a poor stable,
anjelové jej chválejí, there the angels
jemu vesele spívají: sing to him with praise:

_Canto and Alto_ Gloria, gloria, gloria, Glory
gloria in excelsis Deo. to God on high.

_Tenore_ (recitative) Ach, jak krásně, jak líbezně, Oh, how beautiful, how lovely,
anjelové jemu spívají, the angels sing to him,
jak radostně jak míle how joyfully, how well
jemu posluhují. they serve him.

_Basso_ (recitative) Nuž i my také začněme So let us too
toho velkého mocnáře greet this great King
skroušeným srđcem pozdravme. with a humble heart.

_**Tutti**_ Budiž od nás pozdravený, Let us greet you,
ó děťátko spanilé, oh Child full of grace,
milionkrát zvelebený, a million praises,
ó poupátko rozmilé. oh pretty rosebud.

_**Tutti, repeated**_ Tebe pozdravujem s vroucností, We greet you with devotion
tobě se klaníme s vděčností. we worship you with gratitude.
The *tuba pastoricia* is in D and uses harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6. It appears only in the final chorus, where the text begins ‘*Budiž od nás pozdravený*’ (Let us greet you). Here it has a few bright fanfares, followed by a substantial celebratory flourish to bring the work to a conclusion. In this instance Duschek does not use the instrument at the time when the shepherds are in the fields and visited by the angels, rather it is brought in at the end of the narrative as a device to celebrate the birth of the Christ child. The motifs do not resemble those of Daubrawsky’s parts: these are more virtuosic and call for more technical skill.

![Fig. 2.8. Duschek, Pastorella, tuba pastoricia part.](image)
Jan Augustin Fibiger, *Pro Nativitate Domini* 37

Fibiger (1760-1851) is a composer about whom little information has been identified for this study other than first names and dates.38 Berkovec records that this work *Pro Nativitate Domini* was found in the village of Bakov,39 where Linek (see p. 90) was cantor from the 1750s.

As mentioned earlier, this work is unique in this collection in that there are no vocal parts and there is no part for organ. It has a total of 24 bars: two sections, each of which is repeated. It is in the key of C major and is scored for 2 *clarini, principale*, timpani, march and *tuba pastoralis*, or in modern terminology, two high trumpets, one standard trumpet, timpani, a pair of drums40 and a herdsman’s horn. According to Berkovec it was a style of music that was played on Christmas night. The instrumentation suggests that it was suitable for use out of doors, thus it may have been intended for performance outside the church either before or after midnight Mass.

The *tuba pastoralis* is in C and uses five notes, harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8. It is the most prominent instrument and its music alternates with that of the two *clarini* in bright fanfare-like phrases.

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37 České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXXIXD249.
38 The RISM catalogue mentions three other works transcribed or owned by Fibiger and he is listed as the former owner of four works by Gluck on www.GluckGesamtausgabe, accessed 22 November 2013. One work by Fibiger, *K narízení Pánu* (for the Birth of Christ) appears on CD *České Pastorely*, Harmonia Mundi PR250019, 1992.
40 Berkovec, *České Pastorely*, 177: *dvojice bubnů* (a pair of drums).
František Václav Habermann, *Motetto pastoralni II* 41

Habermann (1706-1783) was born in Eger (now Cheb). After holding musical appointments in Spain, France and Italy he settled in Prague, where he was choirmaster for two monastic churches. He was commissioned to write music to celebrate the coronation of Empress Maria Theresa as Queen of Bohemia in 1743. He was also a renowned teacher; students included F. X. Duschek (see p. 57) and Mysliveček. At the age of 67 he returned to take up the post of cantor at Cheb, where he remained for the rest of his life.42

The date of this work is not known. This manuscript is in full score, in the hand of Ondřej Horník. The copy was made on 20 December 1905 and its provenance is given as Ústí nad Orlicí. On the cover the composer’s name is spelt Habermañ, inside it reads Habermann; the cover gives the work as *Moteto pastoral* and inside it is *Motetto pastoralni II*. The scoring is for Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso, 2 violins, organ and *tuba pastoritia*. It is in the key of D, in a single section marked *Allegro* of 60 bars in length. The violin parts are lively and energetic and weave elaborate figurations around the predominantly tonic harmony.

The text is in Latin. The vocal writing is largely *tutti* and homophonic with syllabic word underlay. It is a simple prayer to the Christ child. A fascinating feature of the work is seen on line 6 in the text below, which was also found in the *Offertorium Pastorale* of Czerni (p. 39): the repetition of the end of the word *optime*, with -me, -me, -me, an idea that recurs here a number of times. It is noted that both of these composers had connections with the monastic traditions in Prague, where one composer may have come into contact with such word painting from the other, or from a common source.

41 České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXIF8.
Tutti  Vive ergo nostuere,  
vive ergo nostuere,  
_bone pastor domine,_  

_nostri semper curam gere_  
vive puer optime,  
vive puer optime -me -me -me  

_vive puer optime,  
vive puer optime,  
_bone Pastor Domine,_  

_nostri semper curam gere_  
vive puer optime, -me -me -me  

_vive puer optime,  
vive puer optime -me -me -me  
vive puer optime, optime!

Living One, look on us  
Good Shepherd, Lord,  
always carry our cares,  
O greatest living Child.  
etc.

The _tuba pastoralis_ is in D and uses the five harmonics of nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8. The part is virtuosic, as energetic as the violin parts, with much semiquaver figuration particularly when the voice parts are given long held notes. The part begins after the initial statement of the text. The reference to the name of the Good Shepherd is the only textual connection with a _tuba pastoralis_.

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63
Fig. 2.10. Habermann, *Motetto pastoralni II*, transcription of the *tuba pastoritia* part.
No information about this composer has been found, nor has the place of composition been identified, but the date 28 December 1839 appears at the end of the organ part. The work is scored for Canto, Alto, Basso, 2 violins, violone, organ and *tuba pastoralis*. It is 109 bars long, in the key of C and is in a number of short sections.

Its text is in both Latin and Czech. The first section is a setting of the opening of the *Gloria* of the Mass, the angel’s words from the gospel of St. Luke, Chapter 2. It is sung by the Canto and Alto in simple harmony, the lines supported by the violins. The next section, marked *Andante*, is a setting of a gentle folk-like melody played on the violin and organ over a tonic drone, while the *tuba pastoralis* plays twelve slow notes on the tonic (harmonic no. 4) with the instruction ‘*Hodiny s’ë býgi neb tráubíji*’ (the clock strikes the hour). After four further bars of solemn *tuba pastoralis* figuration, the key changes to G major and the *tuba pastoralis* plays another twelve slow notes, this time on G (harmonic no. 3). This may represent a different church clock striking the hour of midnight. Replication of the sounding of midnight by the *tuba pastoralis* is also found in this collection in the *Pastorella* of Štietina (p. 117).

The key now changes again, to E flat, and the Czech narrative begins, the Basso taking the role of a shepherd telling his friends to listen – that at the moment of midnight, the Christ child is born. The music reverts to C major when the angels (Canto and Alto) sing ‘*Gloria*’ again and the shepherds encourage each other to go to Bethlehem. The Czech text leads back into the Latin with an invitation to sing the words of praise of the *Gloria* of the Mass, ‘*laudamus te*’, etc. It would therefore appear that this work may have been written to take place not at the Offertory of the Mass, but as an interlude during the *Gloria*.

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43 České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXXB282.
44 The Old Testament Book of Wisdom (ch.18 vv. 14,15) implies that Christ will be born at midnight. Tradition thus places importance on the role of the night watchman to sound the strokes of midnight to announce the moment of the holy birth. The equivalent to midnight Mass in the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches is known as the Watch Night service.
Frances Jones   Alphorn

Canto and Alto  
**Gloria gloria in excelsis Deo**

Glory to God on high

**(the clocks strike)**

Basso  
**Vy milý pastýřové,**

Listen, dear shepherds,

odbila dvanáctá hodina.

the twelfth hour has struck.

**V té době jest Syn Boží**

At this moment the Son of God

narovený z jedné prosté panny,

is born of a simple virgin,

a to v Betlémě v chlévě.

in Bethlehem in a stable.

Canto and Alto  
**Gloria gloria in excelsis Deo**

Alto  
**Slyš, slyš, slyš,**

Hear, hear, hear,

jak anjelé spívají

hear the angels sing

a pastýřům zvěstují,

proclaiming to the shepherds,

jak oni spívají,

as they sing,

čest Bohu jak vzdávají,

giving praise to God,

do Betléma pospíchají

go quickly to Bethlehem

to the newborn.

tobě, Ježíšku.

Tutti  
**Vy milý pastýřové pospěšte,**

You, dear shepherds,

v této době

to welcome this little baby,

to malé děťátko přivítat,

to bring him gifts,

jemu dary obětovat,

give honour and praise,

čest a chválu vzdávat,

tsing to him with the holy words

pobožně jemu spívat

we praise you,

laudamus te,

we bless you,

benedicimus te,

we adore you,

adoramus te,

we glorify you,

glorificamus te,
tobě, Ježíšku.

to you, baby Jesus.

The *tuba pastoralis* in C uses harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6. In this work it is put to imaginative use in the representation of the striking of midnight on what appear to be two different clocks. It also plays slow bugle-like calls in between, which might represent the peaceful watch of the shepherds overnight. Once the narrative begins, the *tuba pastoralis* is played alongside the voices until the end of the work, adding cheerful arpeggio figurations to the texture.
Fig. 2.11. Holetschek, *Pastorella, tuba pastoralis* part.
František Václav Jech, **Mottetto in D, Ofertorium [sic] Pastorale**

Little is known about Jech other than that he was born in Jilemnice in 1776; this work comes from Rovensko which is about 20 miles away. The title page reads *Mottetto in D*; on each part is written *Ofertorium Pastorale* or an abbreviation or variant spelling, sometimes in addition, sometimes instead. The work is 87 bars in length with a *da capo* and is scored for Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso, 2 clarinets in C, 2 clarini in D, 2 horns in D, 2 violins, viola, violone, organ, timpani in D and A and *tuba pastorica* (*tuba pastoris* on the cover).

The orchestration is rich. The instruments are sometimes used all together and at other times in a variety of reduced combinations to provide a number of different sonorities. There is a 19-bar instrumental introduction which is used as a *ritornello* that reappears as interludes in the narrative; it is also used as a *da capo* section that brings the work to a close. Its thematic material is also given to the voices. The opening statements are followed by seven bars for the *tuba pastorica*, accompanied by static chords on the tonic played by the strings and organ. This heralds the arrival of the voices. The *tuba pastorica* is not used again until after the narrative is finished, when similar motifs over held chords return.

The vocal writing is entirely homophonic, and *tutti* except for the central section when Canto and Alto alternate with Tenore and Basso. Much of the material is sung in unison or at the octave and is doubled by the strings and wind instruments where possible as well. The Czech text tells in an informal manner of the desire to greet and honour the arrival of baby Jesus. In this instance, shepherds are not mentioned, but individual musicians are told of the need to wake up and celebrate the arrival of the newborn child: they will play horns and the loud cheerful bass. The use of the familiar name Franto (a pet name for František) gives a personal touch to the story. As the voices primarily sing all together, they do not in this instance take the role of different

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45 České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXF198.
characters in the story, neither does the orchestration highlight the specific instruments when they are named. However, some dramatic enhancement is created with the interplay between the high and the low voices.

The *tuba pastorica* in D uses four notes, harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6. It is played just twice; on each occasion it is given a phrase of seven bars with an up-beat. The part appears to be a collection of calls that a herdsman would play, with phrases quite different from the parts Jech writes for the orchestral horns. Although shepherds are not mentioned in the text, the narrative is presented using informal language in a familiar setting in order to enhance the realism of the nativity story and the *tuba pastorica* adds an extra touch of local colour to the scene.
Fig. 2.12. Jech, *Mottetto Ofertorium Pastorale*, *tuba pastorica* part.
Tomáš Norbert Kautník, *Pastorella de Nativitate Do[mini]*\(^47\)

Kautník, or Koutník, (1698-1775) was born in Choceň. He studied music in the Piarist schools in Litomyšl and later Kroměříž, then returned to take up the post of organist and schoolmaster at Choceň in 1729, where he remained until his death, which apparently occurred while he was playing the organ.\(^48\) There are at least 52 surviving religious compositions by Kautník.

Choceň is a small town; the large Baroque church at one end of the central cobbled square, dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi, was completed in 1703. It is typical of the scale and magnificence of the provincial churches for which these rural *Pastorellas* were written.

Two works composed by Kautník that include a part for a *tuba pastoralis* survive in České Muzeum Hudby in Prague. The manuscript for this first *Pastorella* was found in Polička, 25 miles south of Choceň. The work is

\(^47\) České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXID180.

written for Tenore and Basso, 2 violins, organ and *tuba pastore* (*tuba pastoralis* on the cover). It is 106 bars long. An instrumental introduction is followed by the main musical material: homophonic voice-writing divided into sections interspersed with instrumental interludes, which are used three times to support three verses of text. The violin parts are florid, lively and independent of the voices.

The vocal writing at times uses imitative dialogue between the two voice parts, while in other sections the voices sing together in harmony. The simple narrative is the story of the shepherds who encourage each other to go to Bethlehem to take gifts for the baby Jesus. The text is given below, divided to show the places where instrumental interludes punctuate the narrative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tutti throughout, except a few bars in which Basso echoes Tenore. 3 verses.</th>
<th>Here, shepherds, hurry, come joyfully, boldly go, go, go without fear, go quickly to Bethlehem, a little town.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>1.</em> Sem pastýři, vesele pospěšte a poděte, směle běžte, běžte, běžte čerstvě, potom jděte spěšným krokem k Betlému, městečku malému.</td>
<td>There you will all see the true Messiah who has come to save you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tam spatříte a uzříte všickní pravého Mesiáše, jenž jest, jenž jest Spasení vaše.</td>
<td>There he is lying in a manger, with his mother and father looking on, she covers him in swaddling clothes, the ox and ass keep him warm, small, but mighty Lord.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>2.</em> Tam odpočívá v jeslech, matka, pěstoun opatruje jej, zde jej, zde plenkami přikryvá, vůl, oseľ zahrívá malého, však Pána mocného.</td>
<td>He in humility, is suffering for our salvation, to wash away our sins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On v pokóře, v pokóře nesnáze pro vaše Spasení snáší (pro) vás vář hříchů smazati snaží.</td>
<td>Come to Bethlehem, bring gifts to the Lord, him, him, him, presents. Ask him for mercy our Lord who is always good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>3.</em> Blíž k Betlému přistupte, dary Pánu oběťujte, jemu, jemu, jemu předkládejte. O milost žádejte našeho Pána vždy dobrého.</td>
<td>He will hear, will hear, and will listen to the heart’s call, then give, then give his blessing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On vyslyší, vyslyší, uslyší srce volání, pak dá, pak dá své požehnání.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All the parts, including that of the *tuba pastore*, have the initial 36 bars crossed out in pencil. This may indicate that there was a performance of this work that omitted the opening section and began where the voices enter. This removes around half of the *tuba pastore* part, which otherwise would have opened the work with a lively set of calls. The instrument does not play while the voices sing. At the end of each verse, it accompanies bright violin figurations with some long held notes reminiscent of an orchestral horn part, before a few simple horn calls that bring the music to a close after every verse. The instrument is in D and uses harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6, however another note is written that the *tuba pastore* cannot play, in between harmonic 4 and 5, which has been referred to earlier (see p. 37): the written D in the figure below. In view of the long held notes in orchestral style, it is possible that Kautník had an orchestral hand-horn in mind when he wrote this part.

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Fig. 2.14. Kautník, *Pastorella de Nativitate Do*[mini], *tuba pastoralis* part.
**Tomáš Norbert Kautník, Offertorium Pastorale**

The manuscript of this second *Pastorella* of Kautník in the collection of manuscripts in Prague that includes a part for *tuba pastoralis* exists in the form of a hand-written full score made on 21 April 1944, signed Diblík, which quotes Kautník as the composer and the source as Choceň. No other date is shown. It is 139 bars long, in C major, and scored for Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso, 2 clarinets in C, 2 horns in C, 2 violins, organ and *tuba pastoralis*.

An instrumental introduction of 19 bars that includes flourishes on the *tuba pastoralis* leads to the entry of the voices in a homophonic unaccompanied rendition of the text ‘*Gloria in excelsis Deo*’. After a further instrumental passage the narrative in Czech begins. This is divided into four sections with instrumental interludes in between, shown with a line space in the transcription of the text below. Kautník makes substantial use of the scale with the raised fourth degree.

All the singing is *tutti*. The *Gloria* is in four-part harmony, thereafter all the text is sung in unison, high voices an octave above the low voices, except for the final chord that divides into four parts. The vocal sections are accompanied only by the organ, apart from the *Gloria* which is *a capella* and the final 6 bars when the full orchestra plays with the voices. One simple melody is used for each of the sections in Czech; it is used twice in the key of C and twice in the key of G, then the final text concludes with different music. The shepherds’ story is told in their own words as they encourage each other to go to Bethlehem. They decide to take whistles and bagpipes to play for the baby Jesus.

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Frances Jones   Alphorn

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**Tutti   Gloria, Gloria**

in excelsis Deo,           Glory

in excelsis Deo.           to God on high.

**Nuž tedy pastýřové, všichni poběhnieme,**   Well then, shepherds, let’s run, all of us,

uhlídáme, kde co máme, hodně již hybejme;    collect our things and hurry;

uhlídáme, kde co máme, hodně již hybejme;    collect our things and hurry;

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49 České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXXIXB187.
Chapter 2  *Pastorella*

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*Uvidíme děťátko, prosté pacholátko, což to bude věmte hude našemu Paňátko.*

*We will find the little child, our Lord, we must take our instruments.*

*Všichni honem najednou dary sebou nesme uhlídáme, kde co máme, hodně již hybejme.*

*Hurry all, we must take our gifts collect our things and hurry.*

*Vemte sebou píštály, všelijake dudy najednou začneme tomu novému králi.*

*Let’s take our whistles and various bagpipes we must go now to see the new King.*

*Tobě všichni z ochotnosti dáváme dary a přijmí nás všechny do nebeského království.*

*All of us want to give gifts to you; accept us all into the heavenly kingdom.*

*Amen.*

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The *tuba pastoralis* in C uses harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6 and the part consists of different bugle-like flourishes, sometimes in declamatory style and sometimes in a melodic fashion. Most of the time when the *tuba pastoralis* is used it is accompanied only by strings and organ which hold a tonic chord in support, in the manner of a bagpipe’s drone. The *tuba pastoralis* introduces each of the vocal entries apart from the first one and joins in the climax at the end of the work.
Fig. 2.15. Kautník, *Offertorium Pastorale*, transcription of *tuba pastoralis* part.
Tomáš Kollovrátek, *Offertorium Pastorale*\(^{50}\)

No direct biographical information concerning Tomáš Kollovrátek has been found in this investigation, apart from his date of birth and death (1763-1831).\(^{51}\) According to Berkovec, of the six *Pastorellas* in the Prague collection written by Kollovrátek, five come from Choceň and one is from Holice, around twelve miles away. It is therefore possible that Kollovrátek may have been cantor at Choceň after the death of Kautník.\(^{52}\)

Three of the six works of Kollovrátek in this collection in the style of a *Pastorella* include the *tuba pastoralis*. This *Offertorium Pastorale* has the date 1810, which has been changed to 1820, on the cover. It is written for Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso, 2 clarinets in B flat, *clarino*, 2 horns in C, 2 violins, timpani in C and G, organ and *tuba pastoritia*. It is in the key of C and is 153 bars in length.

A lively instrumental opening of 22 bars leads to eight bars of *tuba pastoralis* solo over held tonic chords played by the rest of the instruments. This heralds the vocal music which is entirely *tutti* and homophonic, although the Tenore and Basso are omitted where the text requires a hushed sound. Much of the instrumental accompaniment doubles the voice parts, although there is more florid writing for the strings at times. There is one instrumental interlude of eight bars, otherwise the singers tell their story continuously. The orchestra brings the work to a close. The piece rarely strays from tonic and dominant tonality.

The text is taken from a collection of Latin vocal music published in 1582 known as *Piae Cantiones* (Pious Songs): it is part of the Gradual used in the Mass for the Epiphany (Twelfth Night).\(^{53}\) Kollovrátek has not used the entire text from *Piae Cantiones*, but made a selection for his setting from the

\(^{50}\) České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXID54.

\(^{51}\) CD La Musica Boema CQ00422131 includes a *Parthia Pastoralis* by Kolovrát (an alternative spelling of this name) and gives his dates.

\(^{52}\) It is also possible that his father was a musician too, as Dlabacz records a young chorister Thomas Kolowrát (around 30 miles from Chocen) who sang with an outstanding soprano voice at the monastery of Olomouc in 1737. Dlabacz, *Künstler-Lexicon*, Vol. 2, col. 104-5.

fourteen verses of the original to suit his needs; he has also added the text ‘*in hoc novo Anno*’ (in this new year) a number of times into the work. It is probable therefore that it was intended not for midnight Mass on Christmas night, but for use in the celebration of Mass on the Feast of the Epiphany, which commemorates the visit of the three kings. It is unusual for a work that includes the *tuba pastoralis* to concentrate not on the story of the shepherds in the fields when they are told of the birth, but on the arrival of the magi at the stable.

A notable moment occurs at the description of the crib: here the music takes on a special reverence. The instruments fall silent, the voices join together in unison or at the octave and the melody they sing is a fifteenth-century Czech Christmas carol that is quoted in other *Pastorellas: Narodil se Kristus Pán* (Christ the Lord is born). The melody is used for the text ‘*Hic jacet in presepio qui regnat sine termino*’ (Here lies in the manger he who reigns without end). The melody uses the minor 3rd of the scale as well as the raised 4th degree, a feature commonly used in compositions that imitate folk repertoire.⁵⁴ There is no hint of this material in the music that precedes it, however the orchestral writing thereafter takes on some of the features of this melody and the tune returns in the voice parts for a second time towards the end of the work, with the words ‘*Laudetur sancta Trinitas*’ (Praised be the Holy Trinity).

Immediate repetitions of words are omitted below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Tutti; Tenore and Basso are omitted in quiet bars</em></th>
<th><em>Puer natus in Betlehem unde gaudet Jerusalem.</em></th>
<th>A child is born in Bethlehem Jerusalem rejoices.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Laetamini in Domino in hoc novo Anno.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Be glad in the Lord in this new year.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hic jacet in presepio qui regnat sine termino</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>Here lies in the manger he who reigns without end.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Laetamini in Domino in hoc novo Anno.</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>Be glad …</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁵⁴ The use of this melody is discussed by Geoffrey Chew in *The Christmas Pastorella*, 207.
The **tuba pastoritia** is in C and uses four notes, harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6. The inclusion of a part for *tuba pastoritia* is not easy to explain in this work, for a few reasons. There is no reference to shepherds in the text and it would appear to be a work written for a service other than Christmas midnight Mass. The fact that the text is in Latin and a setting of a regular part of the words of the Mass also make it an unexpected composition in which to find this instrument: this might not be a dramatic interlude designed to bring the Christmas story to life, but part of a normal sung Mass. The text is formal: it does not introduce the names of individuals or instruments, or make other personal references. The title **Offertorium Pastorale** is the only oblique reference to the rustic. The instrument is used sparingly: it heralds the first vocal entry with a bugle-like call, it has four bars of music while the voices hold the word ‘*Anno*’ and it appears again in the final eight-bar instrumental close.
Fig. 2.16. Kollovrátek, *Offertorium Pastorale*, *tuba pastoritiae* part.
Tomáš Kollovrátek, *Offertorium pro Festis Natalitij*

This work is scored for Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso, 2 clarinets in C, 2 horns in C, 2 violins, violone, organ and *tuba pastoralis*. It is 276 bars long and is in one section in C major, marked *Allegro*.

50 bars of instrumental introduction include two short flourishes for the *tuba pastoralis*. The vocal writing is entirely homophonic, with some antiphonal writing between the high and low voices in simulation of conversation. Almost all of the text is set syllabically, apart from the word ‘*Gloria*’ which attracts flowing semiquaver runs, initially just in the Canto voice with held notes in the other parts and subsequently in all the voice parts in unison or at the octave.

This typical *Pastorella* text includes conversations of the shepherds and uses a personal name in familiar form, *Mikšíčku* (or Micky). It is possible that this is the actual name of the person playing this part in the Christmas story: this would enhance the realism of the scene. The shepherds rejoice at the birth of the Christ child with exhortations to sing ‘*Gloria*’ and hurry to Bethlehem to see the baby. They describe the gifts they will bring: a lamb, a fat calf and a kid; they will take a violin and sing and play to the Christ child. Kollovrátek again uses a variant of the melody of *Narodil se Kristus Pán* in this work (see above, p. 78), for the text ‘*pospěšme my k Betlému, pospěšme Panáčkovi malému hojné dary dejme mu*’ (Let us hurry to Bethlehem, to the wondrous baby boy, let us give him gifts). Repeated lines of text have been omitted below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canto</th>
<th><em>Nuž, my všichni pospolu,</em></th>
<th>Well, let us all together,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>and Alto</td>
<td><em>Panáčkovi malému,</em></td>
<td>to the little Lord,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>chválu vzdejme a plesejme,</em></td>
<td>give thanks and rejoice to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Pánu našemu.</em></td>
<td>our Lord.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuttí</td>
<td><em>Gloria in excelsis Deo, Gloria.</em></td>
<td>Glory to God on high, sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Plesejme.</em></td>
<td><em>Gloria.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Plesej nebe, plesej země,</em></td>
<td>Rejoice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>všecko plémě,</em></td>
<td>Heaven rejoice, all the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>a raduj se,</em></td>
<td>earth, all creatures,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>všecko lidské plémě,</em></td>
<td>and rejoice, all humanity,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>že se narodil nám Spasitel,</em></td>
<td>that our Saviour is born,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>všeho světa Výkupitel,</em></td>
<td>Redeemer of all the world,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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55 České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXID94.
Frances Jones  Alphorn

Gloria, gloria.

Canto and Alto  Nuž, my všichni pospolu, pospěšme my k Betlému, panáčkovi malému hojné
tutti dary dejme mu, nuž, my všickni pospolu, pospěšme my k Betlému, Panáčkovi malému hojné
dary dejme mu.

Já jemu, já jemu
darují to malé jehňátko
i také to tlusté, tlusté telátko,
to kůžlátko.

Mikšíčku, vem sebou
tvoje nové malé housličky,
zahráme Ježíškovi
před těma jesličky,
budem hráti
před těma jesličky.

Canto and Alto  Tedy pospěšme tam, pastýři, stáda našeho vartýři.
Panáčka přivítajme, chválu jemu vzdávejme.
zdráv buď, milý a spanilý, Ježíšku malý.

Tutti  Začneme, začneme všichni pospolu
Gloria, ať se jen všudy rozlíhá, rozlíhá.
Začneme Gloria, ať se všudy jen rozlíhá sláva jeho nestihlá, nestihlá.

Canto and Alto  Spívejme mu Gloria, ať se všudy rozlíhá, rozlíhá, há rozlíhá
sláva jeho nestihlá, ať se

Tenore and Basso  sláva jeho nestihlá, ať se

Tutti  všudy rozlíhá.
Gloria, gloria, gloria,
Amen, amen.

Well, let us all together hurry to Bethlehem,
to the wondrous baby boy

let us give him gifts,
well, all together,
let us hurry to Bethlehem,
to the wondrous baby boy
let us give him gifts.

I shall give him, I shall give him
I shall give a little lamb, and also a fat, fat calf, and a kid.

Micky, take with you
your new little violin, we will play to baby Jesus around the crib,
we will play and sing, around the crib.

So hurry there, shepherds, guardians of our flocks.
Welcome baby Jesus, give praise to him;
hail, dear one full of grace, little baby Jesus.

We’ll start, we’ll start all together with Gloria, let it resound everywhere.
We’ll start with Gloria, which has not been heard before.

Let Gloria resound for ever, resound, resound.

praise his glory,

let it resound everywhere.
Gloria, gloria, gloria,
Amen, amen.
The *tuba pastoralis* in C uses five notes, harmonics no. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8. It is given two short flourishes in the introduction, over held chords in the other instruments; it then joins the final cadence of the introduction before the voices enter. A brief call before the final text ‘Začneme, začneme’ invites the participants to sing ‘*Gloria*’ to the baby Jesus. The *tuba pastoralis* is the main voice in the final twelve bars of the work while the other instruments again hold tonic chords in imitation of a calm drone.

Fig. 2.17. Kollovrátek, *Offertorium pro Festis Natalitijs, tuba pastoralis* part.
Frances Jones   Alphorn

**Kolovrátek, 2do Pastorella**\(^{56}\)

The spelling of the composer’s name is here at variance with the spelling on
the other two works in this investigation and no first name is given. The source
of the manuscript is a different Czech village: Holice, not Chocen, however
Berkovec lists these three works as by the same composer.\(^{57}\) The two villages
lie approximately twelve miles apart.

Within the folio entitled 2do Pastorella is a pair of Pastorellas, scored
for Canto and Alto, 2 clarinets in C, 2 horns in C, 2 violins, timpani in C and
G, organ and tuba pastorellis (tuba principal on the part). The first is marked
Andante, of 87 bars in length; the second is marked Allegro moderato and is 62
bars long. Both are in 3/8 and each consists of an opening introduction
followed by two verses of text, the voices singing syllabically in simple
harmony. The melody of the first Pastorella is different from the melody of the
second.

The text of each verse is divided into parts by instrumental interludes,
shown by line spaces below. Repeated lines have been omitted in this
transcript:

\[Pastorella\text{ 1}\]

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Radostná novina, přešťastná hodina,</td>
<td>Glad tidings, most joyous hour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panenka Maria porodila syna.</td>
<td>The Virgin Mary has borne a son.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plesajme radostí, nastal den milosti.</td>
<td>Sing with joy, the day of grace has come.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dnes Panenka čistá porodila Krista.</td>
<td>Today the pure Virgin has borne Christ for us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Radost nám zvěstují, Boha zvelebují.</td>
<td>We proclaim the joy, magnify God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S nimi se radujme, takto prozpěvujme:</td>
<td>Let us rejoice with them, singing as follows:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sláva na výsosti</td>
<td>Glory on high</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^{56}\) České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXID42.

\(^{57}\) Berkovec, České Pastorely, 242.
Pastorella

1. Sem, sem pastýři, sem, sem vesele, pospěšte vy všichni k Betlému směle, narozenému děťátku malému.
   Chválu děťátku, chválu vzdejte.

   Come, come shepherds come with joy, hurry, let us go bravely to Bethlehem, born there is a little baby.
   Give praise to the baby, let us give thanks.

2. Řešťastná jest tato novina, Maria splodila krásného syna.
   Právě teď, půlnocní půlnocní hodinu, anjelé zvěstují všemu lidu,
   že se narodil Spasitel všeho světa, světa Vykupitel.
   Radost nám zvěstují andělé, že se narodil v Betlémě.

   Oh, rejoice at this news, Mary bore a beautiful son. Now, at midnight the midnight hour, angels proclaim to all the people,
   that the Saviour is born, for the whole world, to redeem the world.
   Let us proclaim with the angels that he was born in Bethlehem.

The *tuba pastorellis* in C is given harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 and 10 (an upper mediant). In both of these *Pastorellas* there is a mix of single notes in the instrumental texture alongside the orchestral horns and independent short herdsmen’s motifs under which the accompanying instruments hold static chords. The *tuba pastorellis* is the dominant voice at the close of this pair of *Pastorellas*. 
Fig. 2.18. Kolovrátek, 2do Pastorella, tuba principal part.
Joseph Da[mián] Křížek, Offertorium Pastorale

Nothing has been identified with regard to the composer of this work, the location of the work before it was deposited in the national music collection in Prague, or its date of composition. Berkovec supplies no more than the complete second name. The title indicates that the piece was written for performance during the Offertory at midnight Mass.

It is 102 bars long, in the key of D and is scored for Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso, 2 violins, viola, organ and tuba pastorela (pastoritia on the cover). The music is in two sections. After a lively instrumental introduction, the Canto and Alto sing a florid ‘Gloria’ together, in harmony. This is followed by a lengthy recitative, as the shepherds tell each other to get up because they can hear the angels singing and discuss the birth of the baby Jesus. The text is informal and conversational, with questions and answers between the different voices. At the words ‘Zdráv budě, náš Ježíšku’ (Hail, baby Jesus) the music changes to a rhythmic Allegro in 2/4. The shepherds, Jakob, Kaspar, Peter and Paul, have brought their bagpipes and a whistle to play to the baby; Sigmund will conduct. This is a detailed, graphic and individual portrayal of the Christmas story. Although the music does not mimic the sounds of the instruments named, there is a section of lively dance-like semiquavers in the violin parts to accompany the descriptive words ‘hejsa hopsasa hejsa hopsasa hopsasa’, equivalent to fa la la, fa la la.

Canto and Alto

\textit{Gloria, Gloria, Gloria in excelsis Deo}
\textit{Gloria in excelsis Deo, Gloria.}

Basso, recit.

\textit{Vstaňte, bratři pastuši,}
\textit{co pak ste hluši?}
\textit{že neslyšte spívání,}
\textit{muzicírování,}
\textit{od anjelů nebeských radostné plesání.}

\textit{Arise brother shepherds,}
\textit{do you hear?}
\textit{we can hear singing,}
\textit{music-making}
\textit{from the heavenly angels,}
\textit{joyful singing, rejoice.}

\textsuperscript{58} České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXIE338.
Frances Jones   Alphorn

Canto and Alto recit. (one phrase is Alto only)  Nech nás spáti, vlastně nám toho nepřeješ, bychom vstali, k tomu hraješ, (Alto only) usni jen, bratře starej, z nás si blázny nedělej.

Basso, recit.  Co pak vy myslíte, že se přemluvit nedáte? Poslechněte anjele, jak spívají vesele

Canto and Alto, recit.  Gloria in excelsis Deo, Gloria.

Alto, recit.  Bratře vstávej vesele.

Basso, recit.  Proč pak?

Alto, recit.  Narodil se Kristus Pán.

Basso, recit.  Kde pak?

Alto, recit.  V Betlémě.

Canto and Alto, recit.  Pod půjdem tam!

Basso, recit.  Podmež.

Tutti  Zdráv bud', náš Ježíšku, tebe sme čekali, bys na svět k nám přišel, toho jsme žádali. Ří, spanilé děťátko, maličké nemluvňátko, spi, spi, usni, spi, Jezulátko.

Alto  Kubo, vem dutky.

Tutti  zapíškej děťátku.

Canto  Kašpare, začni

Tutti  na tu tvou fejfarku,

Canto and Alto  Petr s Pavlem budou hrát, Zikmund bude tak dátav,

Tutti  tak děťátko zahrejme: hejsa hopsasa hejsa

(though some bars Canto and Alto)  hopsasa hopsasa vesele.

Let’s sleep, although we do not want to. Sleep, sleep old brother, We are ready to play, we must take this seriously.

What do you think, do you understand? Listen to the angel, singing with joy

Glory to God on high.

Brother, wake up with joy.

But why?

Christ the Lord is born.

But where?

In Bethlehem.

Come, let us go there!

Come let us go there.

Hail, our baby Jesus, we have been waiting for you, you came into the world for us, we have been waiting for this. Oh, sweet baby, tiny infant, Sleep, sleep, sleep, infant Jesus.

Jacob, take the bagpipes, blow a tune for the child.

Kaspar, start now

with your whistle,

Peter and Paul will play, Sigmund will beat time,

and let’s play for the baby: fa la la, fa la la, fa la la, fa la la with cheer.
| Alto only) | Ö děťátko přemilé,  
| rač nás uslyšeti, (C and A only) | Oh sweetest baby,  
| po smrti k tobě vzítí | please listen to us  
| kdež bychom té (C and A only) chvalili, | and after our death receive us  
| s tebou se vždy (C and A only) těšili | where we will praise you,  
| v nebeské radosti. (C and A only) | and with you always rejoice  
| Ó Ježíšku spanilý, | with joy in heaven.  
| vyslyš naše žádosti. | Oh baby Jesus, full of grace, hear our prayers. |

The *tuba pastorela* is reserved for the 2/4 *Allegro* section. The part presents a problem: the notes written for it are not restricted to the natural harmonics and thus the music is not possible on a herdsman’s horn. Bugle or herdsman’s horn-like figurations are present, but on a variety of triads, interspersed with scale passages.

Fig. 2.19. Křížek, *Offertorium Pastorale*, *tuba pastoritia / pastorela* part.
Jiří Ignác Linek, *Pastorella* (1)\(^{59}\)

Jiří (Georgy on the cover of this work, Georgio on the next work) Linek (or Linka, or Lynka), 1725-1791, was born and died in the small village of Bakov, where he also spent his working life as schoolmaster and cantor.\(^{60}\) The large Gothic church, with its adjacent school, is dedicated to St. Bartholomew and dates from the 1560s. There is a monument to Linek in the churchyard.\(^{61}\) The RISM catalogue lists 44 sacred compositions by Linek.

![Fig. 2.20. Monument to Linek in front of the church in Bakov. Photo: Frances Jones, 2011.](image)

This *Pastorella* is scored for Basso solo, 2 violins, organ and *tuba pastorallis*. It is in the key of C, in 3/4 *Allegro moderato* tempo and is 58 bars in length. The work opens with 12 bars of instrumental introduction, followed by a second section of 46 bars that is repeated to accommodate four verses of text. The instrumental introduction returns at the end in the form of a *da capo*. The word setting is syllabic and the music for the voices is the same as that of

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\(^{59}\) České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MVIB155.

\(^{60}\) Česko Slovenský Hudební Slovník s.v. Linek, Vol. 1, 835.

\(^{61}\) Details from visit, August 2011.
the introduction. Much of the time the line of the Basso is duplicated by the strings or the organ; the voice also mimics the calls of the *tuba pastoralis* at times. Pedal points are used to represent the bagpipes that are mentioned in the narrative.

The text is light-hearted and personal. The shepherd tells his friends to get up quickly and go with him to Bethlehem, with gifts of a ram and a lamb to keep baby Jesus warm. They will take bagpipes and play and sing to the Christ child. Familiar versions of personal names enhance the realistic feel of the text. Each verse is in two sections separated by an instrumental interlude that is indicated below with a blank line; repeated lines of text are also omitted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4 verses</th>
<th>Basso</th>
<th>Arise, brothers, Barty, Micky, get up quickly, hurry with me to Bethlehem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Zhůru bratři, Báro, Mikši, rychle vstávejte, se mnou pospíchejte do Betléma.</td>
<td>Vemte kejdy a gaduchy, budeme spívati, musicírovati u Betléma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arise, brothers, Barty, Micky, get up quickly, hurry with me to Bethlehem.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Take your bagpipes, we’ll sing and play in Bethlehem.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Bárto starý, vezmi dary, jehňátko bílý, by bylo jmilý Ježíškovi.</td>
<td>Old Barty, take gifts, take a white lamb, baby Jesus would like that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Its fleece will keep him warm and protect him from the cold, our Jesus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mikši hloupý, neseš kroupy, berany zapíráš, zubkyňe taky máš, jsi hodný lhář.</td>
<td>Stupid Micky, you are carrying barley instead of a sheep That is wrong, you must take a sheep.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Take a ram on your shoulders, offer it to the Lord, and eat the barley yourself.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Obětujte a darujte, každý dle možnosti panáčku v hojnosti udělujte.</td>
<td>Sacrifice and give, each whatever you have give in abundance to the child.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I am poor, I just have my bagpipes, I will blow a tune as a joyful present for him.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Frances Jones  Alphorn

The *tuba pastoralis* in C is played throughout the piece. It uses harmonics nos. 4, 5, 6, 8, 10 and 12; in addition, five fast notes of a scale are written in ascent up to harmonic 12. This is likely to be an instruction to ‘whoop’ up to the note, as these pitches themselves cannot be played accurately.\(^62\) The instrument is given many figurations while the bass sings and there is antiphonal interplay between the horn and the singer.

Fig. 2.21. Linek, *Pastorella* (1), *tuba pastorallis* part.

\(^{62}\) See similar whoops on p. 192.
Jiří Ignác Linek, *Pastorella* (2)\(^{63}\)

This second *Pastorella* by Linek with a part for a herdsman’s horn in the collection in Prague is scored for Alto and Basso, 2 violins, organ and *tuba pastoralis*.

This work is in the key of D and is 109 bars long. It begins with eight bars of recitative, unaccompanied apart from held notes on the organ. This is followed by an *Andante* in 6/8, although the voice parts retain quasi-improvisatory recitative throughout. At times the strings share lively semiquaver figurations, sometimes they imitate the arpeggiating notes of the *tuba pastoralis* and at other times they play the same as the voices, but overall the string writing forms a cohesive structural framework upon which the narrative is superimposed.

The text is an informal conversation between two shepherds, using familiar names, and is chatty and amusing. While the news of the events of Christmas night is relayed by the Alto, the Basso queries each comment with ‘what?’, ‘who?’ and ‘where?’ in a surprised and uncomprehending manner. There is no record of how these works were performed, but this style of writing might suggest that this was acted as a little music-drama, rather than merely sung in the style of a concert performance. The Basso is not portrayed in this instance as someone who has just woken up, rather as someone who is not particularly intelligent, as he explains that although he heard loud singing of the angel close by, he did not know the meaning of the message ‘*Gloria in excelsis Deo*’ as he does not understand Latin! There follows detailed conversation concerning what gifts to take: they decide on a lamb and a goat. They then discuss what instruments they and each of their fellows should play for the infant: bagpipes, whistle, fiddle and bass. The story ends with ‘good night’ sung to the baby Jesus, followed by an instrumental close.

The text reads:

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\(^{63}\) České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MVIB155.
Basso, **Hej, hej, Jene, co se to děje v Betléme se svít, co co pak to, co co pak to, co pak to má bytí? Běž, běž, nemeškej, běž, běž, běž, nemeškej, oznám a pověž co se tam děje, co nového.**

Hey, hey, Johnny, what is happening in Bethlehem a light is shining, what, what then, what then, what is it, what then is there? Go, go, hurry, go, go, go, hurry, go and say what is happening there, what is the good news.

Alto **Hleď, Kubo, divná věc jest,**

Behold, Jake, this wondrous thing,

Basso **Co pak,**

What?

Alto **Bůh se nám narodil jest,**

God is born for us.

Basso **Kdo pak,**

Who?

Alto **Ted’ v Betlémském chlévu, při anjelském spěvu.**

Now in a stable in Bethlehem, the seraphim are singing.

Basso **Kde pak,**

Where?

Alto **Jak sme jen vyhnali, světlo sme spatřili v Betlémě.**

We’d only just driven the flocks out when we saw the light in Bethlehem.

Basso **Divná věc,**

Where is the wondrous thing?

Alto **Co pak jsi neslyšel anjele spívati překrásně?**

Didn’t you hear angels singing so beautifully?

Basso **Já slyšel spívati, hlasitě volati Gloria in excelsis Deo. Neumím latinsky, nevím co to.**

I heard singing, loud singing *Gloria in excelsis Deo.* I don’t understand Latin, I don’t know what it means.

Alto **I co pak druhých nezavolálš?**

Won’t you call the others?

Basso **I ano.**

But yes, you’re right.

Alto **Musíme mu nésti dary od nás.**

We need to take our gifts to him.

Basso **Máš právo.**

You’re right.

Alto **A co pak to?**

And what else?

Basso **Já nevím co.**

I don’t know.

Alto **Já ti povím.**

I’ll tell you.
Basso  a já již vím,  I know now,
Alto  Co pak to chceš jemu darovat?  What are you going to give to him?
Basso  Já jemu daruji jehňátko.  I will give him a lamb.
Čím pak to chceš jeho obdorovat?  So what do you want to give him?
Alto  Já jemu daruji kuzlátko.  I will give him a young goat.
Alto  Já daruji jemu,  I will give him
robátku malému,  a little kid.
Basso  Cokoliv mám,  That’s what I can do.
Basso  Všecko mu dášm,  That’s all I have,
Alto  věř, bratře, že sobě nic nenechám.  believe me, brother, I won’t keep anything back.
Alto  Co pak ostatní mu mají dáti?  What should the others give him?
Basso  Oni mu musejí zahráti.  They must play to him.
Alto  Ty, Vašku, ty na dudy hrej,  You, Wally, play on the bagpipes,
Basso  a ty, Macku, kejdy drbej,  and you, Macky, play your whistle,
Alto  ty Macku, Kubači,  you Macky, Jake,
Frantochu, Ferdači  Frank, Ferdi
Basso  hodně řezej,  play the fiddle,
Basso  basu řezej  play the bass
Alto  Ježiškaj malému, jen hodně hrej.  to baby Jesus, play out.
Basso  Vinšuj Ježišku dobrou noc,  Wish the baby Jesus good night,
Basso  Měj se dobře, dítě,  Farewell, child,
Bona nox;  Good night,
Alto  Dobrou noc.  Good night.
The *tuba pastoralis* in D uses harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8. This is one extra note, a perfect fourth higher, than in the other *Pastorella* by Linek examined here. If that note had been available for the other work, there is little reason for it not to have been used; it is therefore possible that this more florid part is written for a more skilled player. This player also has a different instrument: this *tuba pastoralis* has a sounding length of D whereas the other *Pastorella* of Linek uses an instrument in C.

The *tuba pastoralis* is the primary instrument in the opening and closing instrumental sections of the *Andante*; it also participates throughout the unfolding story. Often its typical bugle-like figurations are also given to the violins; sometimes its calls are imitated by the voices. The *tuba pastoralis* is also given interjections that are not horn calls, but rather a few notes to add colour, in the style of music for an orchestral horn.
Fig. 2.22. Linek, *Pastorella* (2), *tuba pastoralis* part.
Joseph Erasmus Matějka, Pastorella

Similar composers’ names appear on two works in this collection: Matějka and Matiegka; neither work provides a first name. On a number of occasions, a composer’s name is spelt in different ways, occasionally even on the same piece of music. Such evidence as handwriting or paper type can be an indicator of works potentially by the same composer, however in this instance, this first work by Matějka to be examined is a copy made on pre-printed manuscript paper by Ondřej Horník on 30 December 1905.

The identification of this composer is problematic. Dlabacz’s Lexicon contains entries concerning two different musicians, both named Joseph Matiegka, one who lived from 1728 to 1809 and the other, identified as his son, who lived from 1767 to 1793. Both were famous horn players from Prague and the father was renowned as the teacher of Jan Václav Štich, who under the assumed name of Giovanni Punto became a horn player legendary throughout Europe. Of the four musicians with this surname chosen for inclusion in Česko Slovenský Hudební Slovník, two have the first name Joseph. One is Matějka the elder, described above and the other, Joseph Erasmus Matějka, is recorded as a composer of Pastorellas from Ústí nad Orlicí. No dates are given. This village is recorded by Horník as the source of this manuscript and by Berkovec as the source of another two Pastorellas from this composer. It appears reasonable to suggest that this is the composer of this work, but is not the same as either of the horn players from Prague. However, it is possible that there was a family connection between the composer of Pastorellas from Ústí and the renowned horn players.

The beautiful late Baroque Church of the Assumption in the village of Ústí nad Orlicí was completed in 1776. It is not known where the musicians would have sat or stood to perform a Pastorella, but access to the organ loft of

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64 České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXIIIE149.
66 Česko Slovenský Hudební Slovník s.v. Matějka, Joseph Erasmus, Vol. 2, 66. The fact that Dlabacz is quoted as one of the sources for ČSHS, suggests that this is not the Joseph, son, recorded there, because Dlabacz includes dates for that person. Another Matějka, Jan František, who is not mentioned in either of these sources, is identified by Berkovec (without dates) as Kautník’s son-in-law and cantor at Choceň, ten miles from Ústí.
this church revealed a space large enough for at least 15 or 20 musicians to perform music there as part of the celebration of Mass. The sound of a *tuba pastoralis*, out of sight from the congregation, in a church of this size, would surely have been magnificent.

This work is scored for Tenor and Bas (the spelling used by Horník), *violino piccolo*, 2 violins, organ and *tuba pastoralis*. There are 70 bars of music although the central section is used three times for three verses of text. The work is in the key of F, in 3/4 time and is in a cheerful *Allegro* tempo. The *violino piccolo*, tuned a minor third above the normal violins, has a prominent and elaborate part, often in triplets floating above the other music, and intertwines with the *tuba pastoralis*. The use of these two unusual instruments lends the music a sense of both the ethereal and the earthy.

The vocal parts are syllabic and factual. The text relates the scene where shepherds hear of the Christmas story, wake each other and discuss what to

Fig. 2.23. The organ loft, Church of the Assumption, Ústí nad Orlicí.
Photo: Frances Jones, 2011.
take as gifts to the Christ child in Bethlehem. They decide upon bread, cheese and the ram with big horns, which Jacob must carry on his shoulders. There is also discussion concerning which instruments should be played: violin, bass and cimbalom. The narrative uses familiar versions of first names, for example *Kubo* (Jacob), *Matouši* (Matthew) and *Vavro* (Laurence), thus in the translation, nicknames are given:

3 verses

Bas 1. *Vzhůru pastuši* Get up shepherds

Tenor *Kubo, Matouši,* Jake, Matt,

Bas *vzhůru poustat, nemeškeje,* up you get, don’t delay,

Tenor *ke mně rychle pospícheje,* hurry to me,

Tutti *prvím vám tuto novinu,* I will tell you the news,
 *že teď v půlnoční hodinu,* that at midnight
 *slyšel jsem hlas Hospodinu.* I heard the voice of the Lord.

Andělé sladce zpívali
*gloria opakovali,* Angels sweetly sang
*pokoj lidem zvěstovali.* *Gloria* repeatedly
and they announced peace to mankind.

Bas 2. *To jest mi jistá,* It is clear to me,

Tenor *že panna čistá* that a pure virgin

Bas *porodila Pána Krista.* has borne the Lord Christ.

Tenor *V hospodě neměla místa.* There was no space in the inn.

Tutti *V Betlémě leží na seně,* In Bethlehem she is resting on the hay,
*v jednom tak charitném chlévě.* in a humble cowshed.
*Jest Pán mocný nebe země.* The mighty Lord of heaven and earth is here.

*Protož mu vzdávejme chvály
na housle, basu, cimbály,* Therefore let us praise and worship him
*muži, ženy, děti mali.* on violin, bass and cimbalom,

Bas 3. *Nesme mu dary,* Let us take him gifts,

Tenor *Homolky starý,* some mature cheese,

Bas *vezmí, Vávro, pět homoli* take five blocks of cheese, Larry,
Tenor  
*a Votrubo, chleba krajíc,* and slices of votruba,

*Tutti*

*ty, Kubo, toho berana*  
*s têma vêlkýma rohama,*  
*vložiš si ho na ramena.*  

*Vávro, když mu homolky dás,*  
*budež řikati otčenáš.*  
*Zdráv bud' králi a Pane nás!*  

and you, Jake, that ram  
with the big horns,  
you can carry it on your shoulders.  

Larry, when you give the cheese to him,  
you must say the Lord’s Prayer.  
Hail to our King and Lord!

The *tuba pastoralis* in F uses harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6. The part is straightforward rather than virtuosic. The instrument plays much of the time, alongside the voices and the solo *violino piccolo*. It has both horn calls and some orchestral-style single-note passages, which add to the texture of the accompaniment. It appears to represent the shepherds in the story, while the *violino piccolo* may represent the angels above.

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67 A kind of bread roll local to the Prague area. Personal communication, Josepha Collins, 4 February 2011.
Frances Jones  Alphorn

Matiegka, *Pastorala* 68

The identity of this composer is unresolved: Berkovec does not state that this is the same composer as that of the previous work. The text on the cover reads A. Matiegka, with an omission mark after the ‘A’. Searches have not revealed any composer of similar family name with a given name that begins with A and it is possible, in comparison with other manuscripts, that this letter may be an abbreviation for the word ‘Authore’. 69 The date 7 January 1833 appears on the cover in pencil, in a hand that does not resemble any other writing on the manuscript.

The work, labelled *Pastorala* on the cover, and variously *Pastorale, Pastorela, Pastorala* and *Pastorella* on the eight parts, is in the key of G. It is 94 bars long and is a graceful *Andante*. It is scored for Canto and Alto, 2 horns in G, 2 violins, organ and *tuba pastoralis*. However, the part for herdsman’s horn is labelled *Posthorn* on the part. The violins at times double the voice parts but at times are independent. The orchestral horn parts are simple: they add a little weight to the harmony.

This is the only text in this collection that is a direct setting of verses from the gospel (Luke 2.21). 70 It describes the events commemorated on the Feast of the Circumcision, celebrated on the eighth day of Christmas: this indicates that it was likely to have been composed for Mass on that day rather than for Christmas midnight Mass. Repeated lines of text have been omitted below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canto and Alto</th>
<th>And when he was eight days old, the child was circumcised.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>A když se jest bylo dní osm splnilo,</em></td>
<td><em>He was given the name Jesus,</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dítě, obřezáno bylo.</em></td>
<td><em>the name he was given by an angel before he was conceived in the womb.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Nazváno jest jměno jeho Ježíš,</em></td>
<td><em>kterýmž bylo nazváno od anjela</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kterýmž bylo nazváno od anjela</em></td>
<td><em>prv než se v životě počalo.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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68 České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXIIIE151.
69 For example, on the cover of the work by Kautník, MXID180, the instrumentation is followed by the words *Authore Kautník,* and Kolovrátek’s work MXID42 has *Auth. Kolovrátek* on the cover.
The *tuba pastoralis* in G is given four different notes, harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6. The part is integral to the musical structure of the piece. It joins in the opening, without being a soloist, but sixteen bars before the entry of the voices it has an extended passage of calls over a background of held tonic chords from the other instruments, in simulation of a bagpipe drone. The *tuba pastoralis* is not played while the voices are singing. The closing instrumental section follows a similar form to the introduction: its second half is another extended passage of horn calls over unchanging tonic chords, which brings the work to a close.

The reason for the presence of a *tuba pastoralis* in this work is not clear, as shepherds form no part of the narrative and the text does not describe the events of Christmas night. The designation on the player’s part, *posthorn*, despite the words *tuba pastoralis* on the cover, is even more intriguing. The part is notated at ‘low’ pitch, i.e. an octave below the other *tuba pastoralis* parts in the collection. Notation and its connection with actual sounding pitch will be part of a later general discussion about the instruments in this collection of works.

Fig. 2.25. Matiegka, *Pastorala, tuba pastoralis / posthorn* part.
Daniel František Milčínský, *Offertorium Pastorale*\(^{71}\)

Milčínský (1732-1808) was born in Rožďalovice and worked as cantor there.\(^{72}\)

This little village nestles at the foot of an imposing Baroque castle complex that dominates the landscape for many miles around. The castle includes a large church, completed in 1733, which is dedicated to St. Havel.\(^{73}\)

This work is in the form of two *Pastorellas*. The first is written for Canto 1 and 2, Tenore and Basso, 2 violins, organ and *tromba pastore*; the second replaces the second Canto voice with an Alto voice.

The first *Pastorella* is 58 bars long and in the key of D. In an introductory instrumental section all the instruments play a fanfare-like passage at first in unison with the *tromba pastore*. After four bars the strings and organ provide the herdsman’s horn with a drone accompaniment. The Canto voices, which represent the angels, then announce the Christmas message in syllabic harmony. The Basso assumes the role of the chief shepherd and the Tenore sings detail from the gospel of St. Luke in a cheerful *Arietta* in 2/4. This is brought to a close with a reprise of the opening instrumental material in a *da capo*.

The second *Pastorella*, also in the key of D, is 47 bars in length and is entirely in 2/4. Again an instrumental opening involves the *trombe pastore*. It has a similar structure to *Pastorella 1*: this section is played again at the end as a *da capo*. Each verse begins with the higher voices in conversation with the lower ones, before all sing together. The scene again opens with the shepherds, although this time no journey is undertaken – the text is rather a series of reflections on the wonder of the holy birth.

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\(^{71}\) České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXIIIF124.

\(^{72}\) Česko Slovenský Hudobní Slovník s.v. Milčínský, Vol. 2, 99. There are also entries for two other musicians of the same surname, both from Rožďalovice, with dates that could imply his father (Daniel, 1706-1735) and his son (Jan Florian, 1751-1835). Four religious compositions written by the older Daniel are listed in the RISM catalogue.

\(^{73}\) Visit, August 2011.
Pastorella 1

Canto 1 and 2
Pastuškové, vy slouhové,
zvěstujem vám novinu,
kteráž v tuto hodinu
všemu světu velkou radost vyjevila.
Shepherds, servants,
I bring you tidings,
which at this hour
have brought joy to the whole world.

Basso recit.
Vstaňte bratři, slyšte li pak, co to?
Opatrujte stáda,
neb nevíte, kdo to.
Arise brothers, have you heard?
Take care of your flocks,
we don’t know what is happening.

Tenore 1.
Vstanu, půjdu já směle,
vidím světlo v Betlémě.
I will get up, I will go boldly,
I can see a light in Bethlehem.
Get ready,
we have heard the angel
proclaim the Saviour’s birth.

Arietta, 2 verses
Jen si štěnuje,
slyšeli jste od anjela
zvěstovat Spasitele.
We shepherds rejoice,
we hear the seraphim singing
Christ our Lord is born,
a rose flowers among us.

Pastorella 2

2 verses
Basso 1. Co to nového slyšíme,
všichni se tomu divíme.
What is this news we have heard,
in great wonder?

Canto
My pastýři se z toho těšíme,
anjelskou píseň slyšíme
We shepherds rejoice,
we hear the seraphim singing

Tutti (repeated)
Narodil se nám Kristus Pán,
z růže kvítek vykvet nám.
Christ our Lord is born,
a rose flowers among us.

Basso 2. Budiž za to chvála vděčná,
a tobě, Bože, čest věčná.
We praise God in gratitude,
we give you, God, everlasting honour.

Canto
Ó Jezulátko krásné, spanilé,
uděl nám časy pokojné,
O beautiful Jesus full of grace,
give us a time of peace.

Tutti (repeated)
Za to my tebe prosíme
a tobě se klaníme.
We ask this of you,
and we worship you.
The *tromba pastore* is an instrument in D although this is not written on the part. It is given five notes. These are harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 and a note that cannot be played, a tone above the 6th harmonic: the note A in bar 3 of the first line of the facsimile below. It is not a mistake in the copy, because the same phrase is played, at the same time, by both of the violin parts and the organ. Harmonic no. 7 falls halfway between this pitch and the next semitone above. Either Milčínský wanted the effect of this ‘out of tune’ note, or he was unaware of the properties of a herdsman’s horn; otherwise he required the part to be played by an instrument that is not restricted to the notes of the harmonic series. The part uses both bugle-like calls and, at the end of the second *Pastorella*, trumpet-like rhythms on a single note, thus the effect is closer to that of a military or marching instrument than a pastoral one.

Fig. 2.26. Milčínský, *Offertorium Pastorale, tromba pastore* part.
Josef Ondřej Nowotný, *Offertorium Pastorale*\(^\text{74}\)

Of the eleven different musicians with this surname who are given biographies in the Česko Slovenský Hudební Slovník, the composer of this work, who lived from 1778 to 1856, is the only one noted as a composer of *Pastorellas*. The source of this composition is the Premonstratensian monastery at Želiv. The magnificent church there is dedicated to the Nativity of Our Lady.

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\(^{74}\) České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXLA157.
This work is 104 bars in length, in one section and strays little from the key of G major. It is scored for Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso, flute, 2 clarinets in C, 2 horns in G, 2 violins, viola, violone, organ and tromba pastorale (tramba pastorale on the cover). There is also a part for a flugelhorn in G. This is given all the material of the tromba pastorale and much additional music which at times is a decorated version of the tromba pastorale part, and at times the line of the uppermost voice or violin part. Thus it would appear to be an alternative part to that of the tromba pastorale that includes additional material possible on a flugelhorn that cannot be played on a herdsman’s horn.

The description Moteto is written at the beginning and the tempo is an Allegretto in 6/8. A richly scored orchestral introduction alternates elaborate string figuration with calls on the tromba pastorale (or flugelhorn): these are played over held drone-like chords for the strings and orchestral horns. After 24 bars the Canto enters, with a simple 16-bar melody. Four bars of tromba solo then lead to a repeat of the music and text; this time the Alto sings the melody heard before, while the Canto is given a harmonising upper part and the strings a more elaborate accompaniment. A further four-bar tromba interlude leads to the same material again; this time the Tenore has the melody, the Alto the upper harmony part and the Canto an elaborate additional decorative line with semiquavers and demi-semiquavers. After a third tromba passage, all four voices sing the opening melody once more, to a new text, in simple four part harmony, while the strings are given complex figures in accompaniment. Thus the sense of increasing excitement builds gradually throughout the work. In the final four bars, though, when the voices have fallen silent, the calls of the tromba, over a drone backdrop, bring the work to a pianissimo close. Nowotný incorporates the scale with the raised fourth degree in this work.

The text describes the birth of Christ. It is appropriate for use in a monastery: it is in Latin, in the form of a metrical, rhyming hymn or motet and uses theological, prayer-like language.
Chapter 2  Pastorella

Canto

Ave Jesu novo nate
filii unigenite
The same text is used three times: qui in mundum hunc venisti
ad salvandos homines,
the second time fac ut benedicit nos
pater tuus omnipotens,
the Alto is added; the third time et ut per te salvatorem
Salva sit humana gens.
Tenore as well.

Tutti

Alleluja de cantate
Alleluja canite
Jesu Salvatori nostri.
Devote obvenite
ut per illum
dignissimum
intrare celestia
ubi infinita
canunt angeli Alleluja.

The tromba pastorale in G uses harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6. It is involved only as a solo voice. In the repeating section with the text ‘Ave Jesu’, before the tutti voices are used, it is given four-bar or eight-bar interludes; at each of these, orchestral detail is suspended in order to create a bagpipe-like drone effect. In the Alleluia section, the tromba calls are superimposed upon the tutti texture. The presence of the tromba in this work could be seen as formal and symbolic, rather as Bach might use a trumpet fanfare, unlike its use in the Pastorellas in the vernacular where it appears in association with the shepherds in the nativity story, to heighten the sense of realism.
Fig. 2.28. Nowotný, *Offertorium Pastorale*, *tramba / tromba pastorale* part.
Tadeáš Petipeský, *Motteto de Nativitate pro Sacro die Certatio pastoralis*\(^{75}\)

Biographical information about Petipeský is scant, however Berkovec mentions nine surviving works composed by him, of which three, including this work, were written in Přeštice.\(^{76}\) The dates of composition of these works range from 1758 to 1771; this Motetto was written on 16 December 1761. The imposing Baroque church in Přeštice for which it was composed is dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and stands on rising ground above the central square of this otherwise typical small Czech town.\(^{77}\)

This work has two covers. The outer one, which has more modern handwriting, gives the title *Motetto*; the inner one, the original, has the organ part on the reverse, with the spelling *Motteto*. The work comprises 132 bars and is in the key of G, in a gentle 3/8 with the tempo indication *Affetuose*. The scoring is for Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso, 2 violins, *cembalo*, organ and *tuba pastoritia*. The *cembalo* only plays the voice parts during the sections for *tutti* voices.

A 26-bar instrumental introduction is based entirely on horn-call motifs shared between the *tuba pastoritia* and violin 1, over a bagpipe-like drone. Thereafter the work is organised into a refrain ‘*Ach usní, děťátko, paňátko*’ (Oh sleep, little baby), sung to a horn-call phrase by the Tenore, answered by the rest of the voices with a simple verse setting. The Basso repeats ‘*Ach usní, děťátko, paňátko*’ before the second verse. This refrain does not precede the third verse: instead, the strings provide a brief interlude based on the horn motif before the final stanza. The *tuba pastoritia* returns for the final instrumental coda, with music similar to that of the introduction, where held chords provide a backdrop to elaborate horn figurations that are echoed by violin 1. The verses are each set to the same melody, the first and the third in the tonic and the second in the dominant key.

The text uses a repeating refrain as if to hush the baby Jesus to sleep. The verses recount that the singers (there is no specific mention of shepherds) must

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\(^{75}\) České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MIHA146.


\(^{77}\) Visit, August 2011.
hurry to the manger to give praise to the Christ child. The singers enumerate various instruments that they will play to give cheer to the infant: cimbalom, zither, flute and organ, although the music does not reflect these sounds. There is also an invitation to nightingales to sing to the holy child.

Tenore

Ach usni, děťátko, paňátko. Oh sleep, little baby.

Canto, Alto, Basso

1. Nynej, rozkošné, nynej rozmilé pacholátko, nynej, nynej, polož nožičky, vzdáhni ručičky, budem ti hráti na cimbálky; Sleep, lovely one, sleep, pretty babe, sleep, sleep, rest your feet, stretch out your hands, we will play the cimbalom,

Basso

Ach usni, děťátko, paňátko. Oh sleep, little baby.

Alto, Tenore, Basso

2. K jeslem pospěšme, dítě vítějme, čest a chvalu jemu vzdvájejme; Ježíšku malý, kvítku spanilý, o Pane nad pány, Ježíšku. Let us hurry to the manger, let us greet the child, honour and praise let us give to him, little baby Jesus O graceful flower, O Lord of lords, little Jesus.

Canto, Alto, Basso

3. Nástroje vzhůru, cythary vzhůru at’ jsou, at’ zni flétny, varhany, spívejte ptáčkové, libí slavíčkové, Ježíška vesele vítějte. Raise your instruments, make the zither ready, sound the flutes and the organ, sing, birds, sing, sweet nightingales, to give a cheerful welcome to Jesus.

The part for the *tuba pastoritía* in G uses harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6 and is, unusually, written in concert pitch. It is virtuosic and repetitive. The two motifs given to the instrument are both taken up by the violins, thus they are an integral part of the thematic structure of the composition. The *tuba pastoritía* plays only in the instrumental introduction and the closing coda. The final bar is unusual: as the work comes to a peaceful close, the cadence complete, a final high note is given to the *tuba pastoritía* on the last beat of the bar. This is a phenomenon seen occasionally elsewhere. For example, the *tuba pastoralis* has a similar final ‘flicked’ notes Leopold Mozart’s *Sinfonia Pastorella* for *tuba pastoralis* and strings (see p. 156), and it is seen in a number of transcriptions of the Appenzell *Kühreien*, e.g. that of Zwinger (p. 185), Rousseau (p. 187), 78

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78 For example, the *tuba pastoralis* has a similar final ‘flicked’ notes Leopold Mozart’s *Sinfonia Pastorella* for *tuba pastoralis* and strings (see p. 156), and it is seen in a number of transcriptions of the Appenzell *Kühreien*, e.g. that of Zwinger (p. 185), Rousseau (p. 187),
individual style of the material used and from this end note characteristic of herdsman’s horn playing, that Petipeský has notated material actually played by the herdsman for which the part is written.

Fig. 2.29. Petipeský, *Motteto de Nativitate, tuba pastoritia* part.
Jakob Jan Ryba, Pastoral Offertorium

Ryba (1765-1815) is probably the best-known exponent of the Pastorella. He was born in Přeštice, the source of a number of Petipeský’s Pastorella manuscripts. Ryba’s father held positions as schoolmaster and organist at a number of small towns in the area. The young Ryba initially learned singing, violin and keyboard skills from his father, before furthering his musical studies in Prague. He then in turn took up a career as schoolmaster, choirmaster, organist and composer in various towns and settled from 1788 in Rožmitál pod Třemšínem where he remained for the rest of his life. Ryba’s best-known work is Missa Pastoralis, Hej, mistře, written in 1796. There are manuscripts of 33 Pastorellas by Ryba in the České Muzeum Hudby in Prague, of which only this one has a part for a herdsman’s horn.

The work comes from Polička, one of many sources where Ryba’s Pastorellas are found. The manuscript in the Prague collection that bears the catalogue number MXIVG79 includes two of Ryba’s Pastorellas. Pastorella 1 is scored for Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso, flute, 2 horns in G, 2 violins, organ and posthorn in G. This work is in the key of G. The instrumentation is different for Pastorella 2: the horn parts are for instruments set up in the key of F and there is neither flute nor posthorn, instead there are parts for two clarinets in C and a tuba pastoralis in F: the work is therefore written in the key of F. Pastorella 2, with the part for a tuba pastoralis, is the work to be examined here.

The composition is 82 bars in length. It is unsophisticated and has a restricted harmonic framework, rarely straying from the tonic key. It opens in declamatory style, with the tuba pastoralis given prominent and sometimes florid interjections. The strings then introduce the opening strains of the popular Czech Christmas carol Narodil Kristus Pán which was also incorporated into two of Kollovrátek’s Pastorellas examined earlier (p. 78 and p. 81). In common with many other quotations of this melody in the Pastorella genre, it is presented in

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79 České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXIVG79.
unison and an octave apart. Harmony returns after the two-bar motif has been stated. The Basso is the first voice to enter, with new material. Through the first sung section, it appears solo, answered by the other three voices together in harmony. In the next vocal section the Tenore is the voice that sings alone, answered by the other parts. The voices return to the Narodil melody towards the end of the piece, with the words ‘Laudetur sancta Trinitas’, which was also the case in one of Kollovrátek’s settings (see p. 78). The melody is highlighted because only here do the voices once again sing in unison and at the octave. Ryba’s Pastoral Offertorium makes prominent use of the scale with the raised fourth degree, which is a feature of the Narodil melody.

The Latin text, which describes the events surrounding the birth of Christ, is derived from the text in Piae Cantiones that was also used in Pastorella by Kollovrátek, one in which the Narodil melody was similarly incorporated (see p. 77). The original text has 14 verses, each comprising a rhyming couplet followed by the word Alleluia; Ryba has selected five for this work. With repeated lines or words omitted, it reads here as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Puer natus in Betlehem</td>
<td>A child is born in Bethlehem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unde gaudet Jerusalem</td>
<td>therefore Jerusalem rejoices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleluia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hic jacet in praesaepio</td>
<td>Here lies in the manger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qui regnat sine termino</td>
<td>he that reigns without end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleluia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reges de Saba veniunt</td>
<td>Kings come from Saba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aurum thus myrrham offerunt</td>
<td>offering gold, frankincense and myrrh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in hoc natali gaudio</td>
<td>In this joyful day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>benedicamus Domino.</td>
<td>let us bless the Lord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleluia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laudetur Sancta Trinitas</td>
<td>May the Holy Trinity be praised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deo dicamus gratias</td>
<td>let us give thanks to God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleluia.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The *tuba pastoralis* is in F and uses harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6. The instrument is used a number of times throughout the work, although not while
the voices are singing. At each appearance of the *tuba pastoralis*, the other instrumental parts mark the pulse on tonic harmony in replication of the rhythmic drone accompaniment of a hurdy-gurdy. The *tuba pastoralis* is given bugle-like flourishes, some stately, others quite athletic. In general the figurations are not imitated by any other part, except on one occasion when the clarinet is given similar motifs where Ryba has modulated into a key in which neither the *tuba pastoralis* nor the horns can be played.

Fig. 2.30. Ryba, *Pastoral Offertorium*, *tuba pastoralis* part.

Berkovec notes that Štietina was schoolmaster at Ústí nad Orlicí from about 1741 to 1754. \(^{82}\) This is the village where Matějka worked (see p. 98) and also was the provenance of the work by Habermann (see p. 62), however no dates have been forthcoming with regard to when these other works may have been written.

This work is written for Canto, Alto, Tenore and Basso, 2 violins, violone, organ, *tuba nocturna* and *tuba pastoralis*. It is 97 bars long and in the key of D major. The work falls into two sections. After four introductory bars at *moderato* tempo for the strings with organ, the *tuba nocturna* intones twelve slow crotchets on the same note to mark the moment of midnight, a device seen earlier in the *Pastorella* of Holetschek (p. 65). This is followed by the Canto (marked ‘Angel’) who wakens the shepherds with the words ‘*Gloria in excelsis Deo*’. The *tuba nocturna* then sounds the twelve notes again.

The narrative is thereafter shared between the voices, with instrumental interjections. Appropriate tempo changes are used as the text is handed from one character to the next. Once the discussions with the angel are finished, the music settles into a new section with the heading *Pastorella*, which features the entry of the *tuba pastoralis*. 17 bars of horn calls with lively string accompaniment lead into this second part of the work, in which the shepherds decide upon their plans.

The text is a graphic conversation both between the shepherds and the angel, and among the shepherds themselves. It relates the Christmas story in a lively manner. The shepherds decide to play some music for the Christ child and they discuss what food they will take for him: porridge and cream. They will also take presents of a lamb to keep him warm with a tinkling bell to amuse him and their own blankets stripped off the bed.

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\(^{81}\) České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXVA202.

\(^{82}\) Berkovec, *České Pastorely*, 99.
Frances Jones   Alphorn

Canto    Gloria in excelsis Deo.    Glory be to God on high.
(Angel)  Velkou radost zvěstují    I proclaim great joy to you
této pálnoční hodiny, at this hour of midnight,
pastýři, vzhůru povstaňte, shepherds, arise,
šťastné noviny poslyšte. listen to happy news.

Alto     Kdo pak nás to volá a spáti nám nedě?    Who calls us that we cannot sleep?
Kdo pak to zde hraje a nás probuzuje?    Who plays and wakens us?

Canto    Vzhůru, vzhůru!    Awake, awake!
Pastýři ospalý.    You sleepy shepherd.

Alto     Kdo pak mi to praví?    Who is that talking to me?

Canto    Otevři tvé oči,    Open your eyes,
vidiš divné věci.    you can see wonderful things.

Alto     Ř poslíčku nebeský,    Oh heavenly messenger,
oznám mi hned vše ti,    tell me these things,
ať já mý bratří zbudím    so I can waken my brothers at once
a jim to vše oznámím.    and tell them everything.

Canto    Narodilo se děťátko,    A baby is born
vínované pacholátko,    longed for little child,
ó pastýři, déle nelez,    O shepherd, do not sleep any more,
ostaň a nelez,    get up and sleep no more,
ostaň a do Betléma    get up and go to Bethlehem
hned běž, běž, běž.    off you go, now, go, go, go.

Alto     Vstaň, vstaň, milej bratře, vstaň,    Get up, get up, dear brother, stand up,
ňěco povědět mám,    I have things to tell you,
vstaň bez meškání, vstaň,    be quick, get up, get up,
narodil se v Betléma Špasitel,    Our Saviour is born in Bethlehem,
a to v chlévě, podš mnou,    in a stable, come with me,
pod ř Tam, podť tam.    come there, come there.

Basso    Co, co pak a kdo pak tobě to pověděl,    What, what and who has told you this?
dyť bych snad já také něco podobného věděl.    Why, perhaps I might hear about it too.

Alto     Anjel v krásném blesku    The angel in splendour
mně se jest ukázal,    has shown himself to me,
bych vám to všechno    and has told me
vyjevil příšně jest rozkázal.    to reveal everything to you.

Tenore   Jestli tomu tak jest,    If this is so,
šťastný jsi, ach šťastný,    and you are very lucky,
zanechám já mé stádo,    I will leave my flock,
půjdu s tebou taky.    and go with you too.
Alto  
*Pod'*, pod', pod',  
nechatěj meškat dlouho,  
nechme pásti stádo,  
nezdržuj se, dlouho,  
dokud mně mysli hnete vidět  
to svaté dítě  
mám kuráže z toho.

Tenore  
Půjdeme my hnedky s tebou teď  
do Betléma,  
and  
Basso  
podíváme se na něho,  
co pak tam dělá,  
máli pak co jísti,  
musíme mu nýstí.  
Nejprv však zahrajem,  
pak dary odvedem.

Tenore  
Již jsme odbyli muziku,  
vynědejme dary,  
pod přijímat a odhýbat,  
Jozef starý.  
Já mu dámu krupičku,  
pěknou na kašičku,  
též smetánku mu naleju  
hned do hrníčku.

Alto  
Já mám jehnátko běloúčky,  
pěkný k pohledu,  
má zvoneček velmi líbý, to mu povedu,  
vždycky když chodí, ustavičně zvoní  
klík, klík, klík, klík, klík,  
obveselím ho s ním,  
klík, klík, klík, klík, klík, klík,  
obveselím ho s ním.

Basso  
Co pak já dámu nebo  
ostávám již naposledy.  
Něco vidím, to já sklidím  
tam na posteli,  
pěkný dvě peřínky,  
by zahrál nožičky,  
neb se hnete, zimou třese,  
dítě malíčky.

Tutti  
Přijím o nás odevzdaný tobě, Ježíši,  
po smrti pak duše  
nasů uved v tvou říši,  
kdež by tě chvalily,  
věčně velebily,  
a na tvou přejasnou  
tvář na věky patřily.

Come, come, come,  
do hurry up,  
the flock can feed itself,  
no time to lose,  
I want to see the holy child  
I have a strong desire  
to do just that.

We will go at once  
to Bethlehem  
to see him,  
and what he is doing,  
we must take him some food,  
in case he needs some.  
But first we will play to him,  
then give our gifts.

Now that we have played some music,  
let’s get out the presents,  
put them somewhere safe,  
old Joseph,  
I have some nice food,  
porridge for him,  
also some cream  
that I’ll pour into his cup.

I have a pretty white lamb,  
to give him,  
it has a sweet tinkling bell,  
it rings all the time, a pretty tinkling.  
ting-a-ling, ting-a-ling, ting-a-ling,  
he can have fun with it,  
ting-a-ling, ting-a-ling, ting-a-ling,  
he can have fun with it.

What can I give him,  
as the last person?  
I see something,  
I will strip the bed,  
two nice blankets  
to warm his feet,  
for the baby is feeling the cold,  
is shivering.

Accept these gifts we bring you, Jesus,  
after our death  
bring our souls into your realm,  
where they will praise you  
and glorify you for ever  
and behold you  
in your everlasting glory.
The *tuba nocturna* plays just one low note, a written G, twelve times; then after the angel has sung, it has the same again. There is no mention of the key of the instrument or whether the intended pitch is a sounding G. Thereafter there are 62 bars rest before the *tuba pastoralis* is used. The music for both instruments appears on one sheet of paper with the bars enumerated in between, which suggests that the intention was that one player would play the *tuba nocturna* first and then take up the *tuba pastoralis*. This might imply that Štietina wrote the music with a specific player in mind, who was maybe a herdsman who also held the post of night watchman in the village. This could

Fig. 2.31. Štietina, *Pastorella Nativitate*, *tuba nocturna* and *tuba pastoralis* part.
be supported by the fact that the *tuba pastoralis* part uses just three notes, harmonics nos. 4, 5 and 6. These figurations were possibly those used by the player, transcribed by Štietina for inclusion in this composition. The *tuba pastoralis* music is for an instrument in D although this is not marked on the part.

**Observations**

The incorporation of the *tuba pastoralis* in these 25 works provides a number of insights into the cultural and social context of the instrument in this region in the second half of the eighteenth and first part of the nineteenth centuries. These will be discussed next; thereafter some comment will be made on the possible relevance of lowland herding practice to composers’ use of alphorn motifs as a representation of an Alpine landscape.

Observations on the above 25 works can be divided into a number of areas. Information can be deduced about the instruments and the roles of the instrument in the community. We may also have learned some details about the players in each locality for whom the parts were written and could even have discovered transcriptions of actual herdsmen’s calls played to the animals.

The approximate length of the instrument can be deduced because the length determines the pitches of the harmonics for any tube. All these *tuba pastoralis* parts are written for an instrument where harmonic no. 4 is the tonic of the key of the work, because only then do harmonics nos. 3, 5, 6 and 8 give the intervals written. Table 2.4 shows the tonic of each of the instruments used in this collection, excluding the three compositions that use notes not obtainable on the harmonic series: the first of the Kautník works, that of Křížek and that of Matějka. Column 3 gives the approximate length of a tube that would produce each series. It is not known in which octave the *tuba pastoralis* parts were expected to sound, so possible alternative lengths are shown.

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83 The reason why it can only be an approximation is examined on p. 122.
84 This is because the parts are not written at their sounding pitch, but to be transposed from C, as was the custom for natural horn parts. For horns in C, the notes are normally expected to sound an octave below what is written.
Table 2.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tonic</th>
<th>Composer/work</th>
<th>Approximate length$^{85}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Ryba</td>
<td>12ft or 6ft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Matiegka, Nowotný, Petipeský</td>
<td>10ft or 5ft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Fibiger, Holetschek, Kautník 2, Kollovrátek (all 3 works), Linek 1</td>
<td>8ft or 4ft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Czerni, Daubrawský (all 3 works), Dobravský, Duschek, Habermann, Jech, Linek 2, Milčinský, Štietina</td>
<td>7ft or 3½ft</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are a number of reasons why it is only possible to gauge an approximate length for a *tuba pastoralis*:

1. as ‘concert pitch’ was not standardised in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the sounds produced by a *tuba pastoralis* specified as in a certain key could actually be around a tone above or below modern concert pitch,$^{86}$
2. the pitch of a tube is slightly altered if there is a flare at the end, thus the tonic of a *tuba pastoralis* depends not only on the length of the piece of wood from which it has been made but also on how much and how suddenly it opens out at the end,
3. temperature affects pitch: how cold it was at midnight in December in a church in central Europe in the eighteenth century and to what extent this was taken into account, cannot be known.

The sounding pitches of the instruments used in the 25 works are shown in Fig. 2.32: the notes for the F instrument at approximately 12ft, the G instrument at 10ft, the C instrument at 8ft and the D instrument at 7ft. Instruments of half these lengths produce notes one octave higher.

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$^{85}$ Experiments conducted on 1 May 2011 using sections of carbon-fibre alphorn. Full details of the results of these experiments is presented in Appendix 1.

$^{86}$ Peter Cooke, ‘Pitch’, *Grove Music Online*, gives details of many different pitches used during these times (accessed 25 April 2014).
Chapter 2  *Pastorella*

The herdsman’s horn in the *Pastorella* is generally seen to have been reserved for the parts of the nativity narrative that include the shepherds. These scenes reflect their wonder at receiving news from the angel, their discussions in their fields and their desire to go to Bethlehem to worship the baby Jesus. These are texts for which the inclusion of the herdsman’s horn is particularly relevant. At times the role of the horn in the narrative is specific; at times it is general. It is used to introduce the shepherds, to summon them to go to Bethlehem and to represent the tolling of the midnight bell. Sometimes its calls are given a background of quiet held chords which might represent the landscape at night, with a gentle bagpipe drone; sometimes the horn calls have a rhythmically pulsed drone accompaniment in the manner of a hurdy-gurdy. Sometimes the horn appears merely as a cheerful sound in the musical texture, present because the herdsman who plays it is there and the story is that of the herdsmen from the gospel. In addition, there are times when the horn itself is silent and horn motifs are given to the vocal or other instrumental parts.

The relationship between the herdsman and his animals, his village and his landscape is fundamental to the use of the *tuba pastoralis* in the *Pastorella*. It is possible to extract some information about village life from this examination of the music that includes parts for the *tuba pastoralis*. For example, it is unlikely that parts would have been written for such an unusual instrument but for the fact that herdsmen who played calls on a rustic horn were present in each location. That around 100 works including a part for a
*tuba pastoralis* are known (see p. 33) suggests that a herdsman was a traditional figure in village life and that playing on his pastoral horn was part of his regular routine. The Deutsches Hirtenmuseum at Hersbruck, described earlier (see p. 8) is but 70 miles from the Czech border: here the routine in which the village herdsman collected the animals daily to take them to pasture is described, whereby he called them from their stalls in the mornings by blowing his horn in the various corners of the village square and also signalled his return of the animals to their owners at the end the day in the same way. It is not unlikely that this daily routine might have been normal in the Czech lands too. The painting reproduced below, from 1835, shows a Czech herdsman with a horn.

![Herdsman blows a horn](image)

Fig. 2.33. Herdsman blows a horn (detail). Adrian Ludwig Richter *Der Schreckstein bei Aussig* (now Ústí nad Labem, Czech Republic), 1835.
With regard to the motifs that the herdsmen played to the animals in their care, it has been seen that a number of the *tuba pastoralis* parts written here are unlike music written for orchestral horns. Many involve just one or two specific and individual motifs, repeated a number of times: these sound like the motifs that an individual herdsman might repeat as he wanders around the village square to gather the animals together in the mornings. If a part for a herdsman’s horn is incorporated into a Christmas work, this implies that the herdsman would be the person asked to play it; if a specific herdsman plays on his horn in the church on Christmas night, it would be wholly appropriate that it should be his own personal motifs that he would be asked to play. The key of the composition would also have to be selected to accommodate the key of the herdsman’s instrument.

Thus the boundary between the participants in the *Pastorella* and the characters portrayed from the Christmas story is blurred. It is not possible to say whether the people who assumed the roles of the shepherds in the *Pastorella* were also the village herdsmen. However, in that the underlying intent with these works was to make the Christmas story relevant to the lives of the worshippers using realistic and familiar references, it would seem appropriate. A number of personal names occur in these texts and many of these are in the familiar form. Some of the comments are so personal that they could be specific references to known characters in the village: ‘Wake up, Old Barty,’ or ‘Hey, hey, Johnny, what is happening?’ or ‘Stupid Micky, you are carrying barley instead of a sheep,’ or ‘Jacob, take the bagpipes, blow a tune for the child; Kaspar, start now with your whistle, Peter and Paul will play, Sigmund will beat time.’ In that the singers were from the local community and the work was written specifically for them by one of their number, it would be particularly realistic if these were the actual names of the people taking part, thus the effect upon the rest of the congregation would be most heightened. The same names occur in many sources: they may merely be names commonly found; even if these are not the specific named individuals in the villages.
concerned, the texts do give some insight into the personalities of the inhabitants.

It is important to note that these works are written by country people for and about their own kind. Any amusement in the narrative is laughing with, not laughing at, the rustic scenario. This is in stark contrast to music composed for the enjoyment of the nobility at court in the eighteenth century, in which ‘rustic’ often implied uncouth, something to be looked down upon and ridiculed, where peasants were depicted as beggars and drunkards.87

As an example of the cultural and historical importance of the herdsman’s horn in regions of Europe outside the Alps, this brief study has the potential not only to give samples of the sort of motifs played by herdsmen in this period and location and the use of such music by local composers. It may also provide a subtle clue to the effectiveness of alphorn motifs when quoted by composers in mainstream nineteenth-century repertoire, which will be the subject of Chapter 5. It is possible that when a composer chose to use an alphorn motif in a composition as a representation of an Alpine landscape, he was in part, consciously or unconsciously, calling upon the memory in his audience of a backdrop of local herding routines that stretched back many centuries in many parts of the continent. By the nineteenth century, high art music was no longer composed and published for the nobility: it reached a wide public. With the rapid growth of urban industrial centres, the new audiences would have included those who had moved into the cities from the villages. A reference to a herdsman in the Alps would thus be seen not as the representation of a vagabond, of a despised lower class. For both the composers and for their audiences, there may have been the subconscious feeling that a herdsman was one of them, someone to whose music they would respond with the warmth of filial familiarity. In addition to the magnificence of mountain scenery, the music of the alphorn could be heard even by lowland dwellers as a symbol of the freedom of a lost idyllic and idealised rural past.

Chapter 3. Leopold Mozart’s *Sinfonia Pastorella* in context

The genre of the *Pastorella* will now be set into a broader context, that of Christmas music on the wider European stage, through a detailed examination of one work, Leopold Mozart’s *Sinfonia Pastorella* in G for alphorn or *corno pastoricio* and strings. This work has much in common with the genre of the Czech *Pastorella*, but much that is different too. Examination of this work will reveal many connections with other works by well-known composers. The music used in this work also displays much in common with motifs associated with the Italian term *pastorella*, the *pastorale* and the *Kindelwiegen* (the practice of crib-rocking). This will inform an investigation into the broader implications and symbolism of the material used.

Leopold Mozart (1719-1787) grew up in Augsburg in Bavaria. Although he studied philosophy and law at the Benedictine university in Salzburg, his employment throughout his life was in the field of music, as a violinist, violin teacher and composer.¹ His primary legacy, though, was the role of musical mentor for his son, Wolfgang, born in January 1756.

Leopold² wrote a number of works that included parts for unusual instruments in the autumn of 1755. In October he sent a *Musikalische Schlittenfahrt* (Musical Sleigh Ride) which included parts for five sleigh-bells and a whip to his Augsburg publisher, Johann Jakob Lotter. He followed this in November with *Die Bauernhochzeit* (Peasant Wedding) which included parts for bagpipes, hurdy-gurdy and hackbrett (cimbalom).³ Then in December of the same year, a month before Wolfgang’s birth, Leopold wrote a Christmas *Pastorella* scored for alphant, two flutes and strings. He wrote to Lotter to complain that it was difficult to find enough time to respond to a request for a

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² I have chosen to refer to this composer throughout this study by his first name, as the use of the surname alone normally carries the implication of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.
few new pastoral symphonies, although he did have one ready, that pleased him:


Unfortunately no work with this instrumentation has been found. Leopold’s letter mentions a request for ‘a few new Pastorell Synfonien’ and although there are references to three such works in his letters to Lotter written in 1755, it is unclear whether these works each included a part for an alphorn.

However, one _Sinfonia Pastorella_ by Leopold with an alphorn part has survived. There are at least nine extant copies of this composition, although despite the fact that Lotter published a number of Leopold’s works (notably his _Violinschule_ which first appeared in 1756) and the letter to this publisher quoted above, no contemporary printed version of this _Sinfonia Pastorella_ has been located. There are six manuscripts and three modern editions which were published in 1978, 1979 and 2001. It is possible that the work did not reach print format in Leopold’s day because the expectation of its widespread use

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4 _Ibid.,_ 31: ‘Monsieur Gignox wants a couple of new Pastorell Synfonien? He seems to think that it’s as easy to produce them as it is to put bread on the table, but there’s no way I have time to compose them. He does know this because he accused me of not even having enough time to read a letter he sent me. But, you know, I have a brand new Pastorell Synfonie, but I’m telling you I don’t want to give it to him. I’d intended to send it to Wallerstein along with some other works. It’s a really good piece. It is for obbligato herdsman’s horn and two flutes. Shall I send this then? Alright, I will send it in the next post, but above all, please don’t tell anyone, or Wagner will get to hear about it and will certainly gossip about it to [Hans von] Rehling. You know my circumstances.’
was substantially less than would have been the case for works with more conventional instrumentation.

Of the six manuscript copies, each version differs from the others with regard to paper, layout and handwriting. Each set is consistent within itself in these aspects, apart from the set from Öttingen where the violin parts are in a different hand from the rest of the set. None of the versions is in Leopold’s own handwriting. There is a variety of title, name of the solo instrument and even instrumentation (see Table 3.1 and Table 3.2). All specify the composer as Leopold Mozart, although the manuscript in Vienna has the forename Wolfgang crossed out and replaced with Leopold. The manuscript from Öttingen shows the surname as Mozhart; the ‘h’ has been subsequently crossed through.

Table 3.1 below shows basic details of the six manuscript versions; Table 3.2 gives details of the three recent published editions.

Table 3.1. Leopold Mozart, *Sinfonia Pastorella*, manuscript versions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Format</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Instrumentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. Mus.ms15328.</td>
<td>ms score</td>
<td><em>Divertimento/Sinfonia Pastorale</em></td>
<td>Violino I, Violino II, Viola, Basso, Corno pastoralicio in G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Wien. ms.XI29298(H26029).</td>
<td>ms score</td>
<td><em>Pastorale für Streichquartett und Corno Pastoriccio</em></td>
<td>Violino Primo, Violino Secondo, Viola, Basso, Corno pastoricio (spelling different on part from cover)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chor-Stift Lambach, now at the Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg. ms.MGII42.</td>
<td>ms set of parts</td>
<td><em>Sinfonia Pastorella</em></td>
<td>2 Violini, Viola obligato e Basso, con un Corno Pastoritio ma non obligato benché d’effetto assai buono</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A comparison has been made with regard to such details as clefs, rests, the flourish of the pen at a final double bar, the handwriting for the instrument and tempo markings, etc. in manuscripts in Leopold’s hand, for example <opac.rism.info/search?id=450113697&db=251&View=rism>, a work of Wolfgang’s known to be in Leopold’s handwriting. Manuscript references were kindly supplied on request by Armin Brinzing, Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg, May 2014.
A detailed comparison of these six versions will be shown in Appendix 3.

Table 3.2. Leopold Mozart, Sinfonia Pastorella, published versions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Format</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Instrumentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ed. Marvin McCoy (self-published, Minneapolis, 1978)</td>
<td>score, parts and piano reduction</td>
<td>Sinfonia Concerto for Alphorn and Strings</td>
<td>Alphorn, Violins 1 and 2, Viola, Cello/Bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ed. Kurt Janetzky (Zürich: Kunzelmann, 1979)</td>
<td>score</td>
<td>Sinfonia Pastorale G Dur</td>
<td>Corno pastoricció (Alpoder Hirtenhorn, Jagdhorn, Wald- oder Ventilhorn) und Streicher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are a large number of copyists’ inconsistencies between the manuscripts. Of the modern editions, the publication by McCoy includes much more material for the solo alphorn than is present in any of the manuscript versions: this additional material is discussed later, in footnote 38. McCoy issued three sets of orchestral parts, to provide accompaniment for alphorn in
F, alphorn in F sharp or alphorn in G. The two later publications of Janetzky and Broy seek to reproduce a more historically authentic version, although as they are issued in score format only, they are not available for performance. A new historically informed performing edition is in preparation as a part of this research and will be attached hereto as part of Appendix 3.

No information has been forthcoming concerning the exact date of composition for this work. None of the surviving manuscripts bears a date, although there are three indications that arise from the details available. Firstly, it might be one of the Pastorellas referred to in Leopold’s letters of December 1755. Secondly, the watermark on the paper of the copy from Öttingen dates from 1751. This copy could thus not have been made before that date; there is, however, no indication as to how long the paper might have been stored before it was used. Thirdly, as the version in Vienna originally showed Wolfgang’s name on the cover, this copy must date from a time after Wolfgang had become the more famous composer with this surname.

With regard to the question of the time of year when it might have been written, a link between the Sinfonia Pastorella under investigation here and Christmastide is confirmed primarily by examination of the musical content of this work: the majority of its themes are derived from Christmas carols familiar at the time. Secondly, the date of the letters to Lotter could be of significance: they mention that three Pastorellas were written just before Christmas. Thirdly, the presence of a resident herdsman who used a horn in the yearly rural cycle, in both mountainous and non-mountainous regions of Europe, has been noted already (see p. 7): he would not be in the fields with the cattle during the winter months. The herdsman of a village or a country estate would therefore be available to play ‘shepherds’ music’ during the Christmas festivities. A number of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writers report that in the winter months, Alpine herdsmen played their horns for entertainment in the streets of towns and cities (for example, see p. 11).

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6 Christian Broy, Leopold Mozart Sinfonie in D (D11) und Sinfonia Pastorale in G (G3) (Augsburg: Wißner, 2001), 57.
The scoring for this *Sinfonia Pastorella* is in most of the sources pastoral horn in G, two violins, viola and bass. The copies from Lambach and Bartenstein state that the viola is optional; the Bartenstein manuscript uses the term *fundamento* instead of basso, which could imply a keyboard continuo part although there are no figures. The Berlin catalogue reference gives the accompaniment as *Streichquartett*; the other versions do not specify whether the string parts were intended for single players or for orchestra. The Lambach manuscript shows the comment: *Corno Pastoritio ma non obligato benché d’effetto assai buono* (the herdsman’s horn is not essential but adds greatly to the effect), which may reflect that there was some doubt as to the availability of a pastoral horn or player there. The most prominent difference, however, is that the version from the collection of Prince Öttingen-Wallerstein includes two additional orchestral horn parts that specify horn in G in the outer movements and horn in D in the central movement. This instrumentation is also found in the score from Munich and is replicated in the modern Broy publication. Thus it appears that the forces may have been altered to suit what was available for a particular performance or ensemble.

In every manuscript the solo horn specified is the rustic instrument: Leopold uses the term *Hirten Horn* (herding horn) in his discussions with Lotter and in each of the six manuscripts the solo instrument is referred to by some variant of the Italian term *corno pastoricio* (pastoral horn), with the alternative of *Kühe Horn* (horn for cows) in the Öttingen manuscript and that in Munich. The part could be played on a normal orchestral horn in G; there is no contemporary comment, however, to suggest that this was expected as an alternative.

The alphorn music written by Leopold in this work is much more varied than that generally found in the parts for herdsmen’s horns in the Czech village *Pastorellas*. Whereas those parts were generally restricted to just one or occasionally two different repeating calls that a herdsman might use in the village square to gather the cattle together each morning in order to lead them to pasture, here Leopold presents a different scenario. The close proximity of
Salzburg to the high Alps is such that Alpine herdsmen are likely to have been regular street entertainers around the city during the winter months. An alphorn player busking in a town for a human audience would need to play more than just a single call that his cattle would recognise. He would have to play a variety of melodies in order to entertain and earn a few coins; indeed there is scope for considerable virtuosity on an alphorn despite the constraint of the natural harmonics. The variety of motifs included in Leopold’s work might thus be a reflection of the range of alphorn music heard on the streets of Salzburg, alternatively Leopold may have composed his own alphorn-like motifs to use in this work. Here, functional herding calls have developed into art music; indeed, the first alphorn theme of Leopold’s 3rd movement in this work is a pre-existing Christmas carol.

There is no record as to whether Leopold’s Sinfonia Pastorella was written for a specific player, or whether the alphorn part is a transcription of one player’s music. The work could have been intended either for the player who used these different calls, or for someone who could learn them from Leopold’s score. This work provides evidence not only that composers such as Leopold were familiar with a range of music that alphorn players could play, but also that there was the expectation that an alphorn player was available, prepared and able to perform on his instrument with other musicians.

Leopold demonstrated his familiarity with the difficulties that could arise when a rustic player is included in a performance with experienced musicians, when he wrote in his directions for a different work that a player who may have difficulty playing from written music should stand alongside an experienced musician for assistance.7 The part for the alphorn in Leopold’s Sinfonia Pastorella is mostly doubled by another voice. This could help an alphorn player who might be less familiar with the skills required to keep with an accompaniment. It also allows for there to be no alphorn player at all: the

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7 Sieffert, ed. Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst, 30: ‘Es wären gut, wenn sie auch ein Hackbrettl oder Cymbal darbey hätten, solches müsste der, so es spielt aus der Violinstimme exerciren, und wenn es gut machen will, die Violine und den Bass unter einander setzen …’ (It would be good if they also had a little hackbrett or cimbalom so that it could be played from the violin part, and it could be good if the violin and the bass sat together …’
Frances Jones  Alphorn

The manuscript from Lambach notes that the work can be performed without the solo horn part.

There is an indication that the parts from Öttingen were used, as there are pencil annotations in the parts for the orchestral horn 1 and horn 2. The score from Munich also includes pencil annotations. There are no players’ markings in the parts from Lambach or Bartenstein. The copies from Berlin and Vienna are full scores and thus archive material or conductors’ scores, rather than parts from which a performance could be given.

The locations of the manuscripts of Leopold’s Sinfonia Pastorella show a wide distribution. Two copies are from the private collections of residences of the nobility, that of the Prince of Hohenlohe-Bartenstein (around 300 miles north-west of Salzburg) and that of Prince Öttingen-Wallerstein (around 200 miles north-west of Salzburg). The Lambach manuscript is from the Benedictine monastery there. The copies in the municipal archives of Berlin, Munich and Vienna do not record their original source.

The work is written for an alphorn in G. The Lambach, Bartenstein and Öttingen versions do not specify the key of the solo part, written in C as is usual for a natural horn, nevertheless they must be transposed for an alphorn that plays in G in order to fit with the string parts. It is interesting to consider that in order for a performance of this work to have taken place with a herdsman’s horn, there would need to have been a horn of the correct pitch available in that location. A tube that sounds the harmonic series of G produces the four notes used here, in ascending order G, C, E and G: these are harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6 of a tube of approximately 5ft in length. Alternatively these pitches can be played on a tube of approximately 10ft, using harmonics nos. 6, 8, 10 and 12, although if a horn of this length had been intended, there would have been no reason not to use the intermediate harmonics, some of which are reasonably ‘in tune’. A third option is that the notes intended are harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6 on a 10ft horn, in which case they would sound an octave

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8 More detail concerning the specific lengths is explained in Appendix 1.
below those of a 5ft horn. It is customary for natural horn in G parts to be written in C with the notes intended to sound a perfect fourth lower: Fig. 3.1 shows the four written notes of the alphorn part and the sounding pitch of these harmonics for a 5ft horn.

With regard to the relationship of this work to the genre of the Czech Christmas *Pastorella*, this composition is one of just a handful of *Pastorella*-type works that include a part for a herdsman’s horn that have been found outside the Czech lands. The title *Sinfonia Pastorella* (or the other equivalents found in Table 3.1) does suggest a familiarity with the genre of *Pastorella* so prevalent in Czech culture in the mid-eighteenth century and a glance over the musical material herein confirms that this is indeed the case, as Leopold’s thematic material is based on melodic ideas that are also found in the Czech *Pastorella*. Examination of these links will form a substantial part of this chapter.

There are two significant differences, however, between this work and the majority of the Czech *Pastorellas* examined in the previous chapter. Firstly there is no text: its Christmas message is transmitted by means of purely instrumental allusions. Secondly, there are a number of extant manuscript copies of the work. Most of the Czech *Pastorellas* discussed in Chapter 2 were written for local village use, by the resident cantor, with unique texts of a

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9 The McCoy version can only be played on a 10ft instrument because it includes an extra note only available at this length, harmonic No. 11, a printed (though known to be out-of-tune) F sharp, which would sound halfway between C and C sharp. Possible reasons behind McCoy’s extra material are examined later (see footnote 38).

10 The RISM catalogue identifies one such work in Poland, one in Hungary, three in Germany and one other in Austria (accessed 12 September 2011).
personal nature. Examination of the musical material in Leopold’s work will show that it was inspired not so much by these (there is no record that he ever visited a Czech village) but by the type of Christmas Pastorella that was used in monasteries, houses of the nobility and city cathedrals. These were more formal and if there was a text, it was in Latin (for example that of Habermann, examined on p. 62, or Nowotný, p. 107). A work without text can convey its narrative in a different way and to a wider range of potential audiences, unlike the Czech village Pastorella with its highly personalised text in a local dialect. The Pastorella of the courts, monasteries and cathedrals of central Europe are more often purely instrumental and tell their story by means of a specific collection of recognised Christmas melodies and motifs; they are written for a more musically sophisticated audience.

There are three carols that occur many times in these pan-European Christmas Pastorellas. They are identified by their opening texts as 1) Nězabudka pri potôčku or Parvule pupule, 2) Hajej můj synačko, a crib-rocking melody and 3) Joseph adstabit or Es hat sich halt eröffnet. These carol melodies occur as references to Christmas in the instrumental works of many mainstream Baroque composers including Johann Sebastian Bach, Heinrich Biber, Arcangelo Corelli, Gottfried Finger, Johann Fux, George Frideric Handel and Antonio Vivaldi and elements of these melodies are found in the works of later composers such as Josef Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Ludwig van Beethoven. These three Christmas carols form the principal thematic material for each of the movements in Leopold’s composition.

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12 See previous footnote.
Leopold’s *Sinfonia Pastorella* displays other influences besides Czech melodies that had been adopted for use in the European instrumental *Pastorella*. There are two further sources of inspiration, both of which come from Italy. One derives from the *Pastorale* tradition, which has specific connotations and musical implications, as will become clear during this chapter; indeed one of the alternative titles for this work includes the word *Pastorale*. A second influence that will be examined is the practice of *Kindelwiegen* (rocking the Christmas crib) that is associated with the carol *Hajej můj synačko*.

In form, Leopold’s *Sinfonia Pastorella* has three independent movements, which immediately sets it apart from the rural Czech *Pastorellas* examined earlier. There is no implication here that it was written to be an integral part of the celebration of midnight Mass on Christmas night: a three movement instrumental composition has more in common with a work for non-liturgical performance. Each movement, nevertheless, forms part of a whole that can be seen to represent three principal scenes of the Christmas narrative. The first movement appears to be a reflection of the shepherds in the fields, the second movement a lullaby for the baby Jesus in the crib and the third movement the visit of the shepherds to the Holy Family in the stable.

The first movement opens with a theme commonly used to begin a European *Pastorella*. The melody is a carol from Bohemia and Poland, *Nězabudka pri potôčku*, whose Latin text begins *Parvule pupule dormi Jesule* (Sleep, baby Jesus). Fig. 3.2 shows a comparison between the opening of the carol and the opening motifs of four other Christmas *Pastorellas*; there follows Leopold’s version of the motif.
This motif was also popular in Italy. There was a potential for word-play between the Italian term *la pastorella*, which means ‘the shepherdess’, and the word *Pastorella* with its connotation of Christmas. The frolics of Arcadian shepherds and shepherdesses were a common subject in Italian literature and music (see below, footnote 15); nevertheless from the seventeenth century, when the word ‘shepherdess’ appeared in the title of an Italian composition, the music would sometimes feature this Christmas *Pastorella* theme, despite an otherwise apparently secular context. As an example, Antonio Vivaldi (1675-1741) wrote a Concerto in D for flute, oboe, violin, bassoon and continuo entitled *La Pastorella*: the presence of the definite article in the title gives it the translation of ‘The Shepherdess’. However, its first movement uses a version of the Christmas *Pastorella* motif given above:

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A further potential for play on words, alongside the double meaning for the word *pastorella*, appears in compositions inspired by Battista Guarini’s *Il Pastor Fido* (The Faithful Shepherd). Vivaldi’s catalogue includes a set of six sonatas Op. 13, which bear the title *Il Pastor Fido*; they are scored for musette, vielle, flute, oboe, violin and continuo. However, the set is now generally attributed to the French composer and musette player, Nicholas Chédeville (1705-1782). It appears likely that the composer was aware of the sacred meaning of this title, as the Christmas *Pastorella* opening motif quoted above is also used here to open three of the movements in Vivaldi/Chédeville’s *Il Pastor Fido* sonatas:


15 Guarini’s text derives from the sixteenth-century Italian revival of interest in Classical pastoral literature, in which such authors as Virgil and Theocritus wrote pastoral idylls involving nymphs and shepherds. The shepherd came to symbolise the innocent and the good. The publication in Naples in 1504 of *Arcadia* by Jacopo Sannazaro, a pastoral romance in the Classical style, began a widespread interest in this mythology. *Il Pastor Fido* (The Faithful Shepherd), a pastoral tragicomedy written by the Italian poet Battista Guarini, was published in Ferrara in 1590: this drama was a popular source of inspiration for many composers including Handel, Marenzio, Monteverdi and Schütz. Although Guarini’s text is a typical story of love between shepherds and nymphs, the title *Il Pastor Fido* may also be used for *The Devotional Shepherd* who is always, even today, an essential figure in a Christmas crib on mainland Europe. Information from ‘Guarini’, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, online (accessed 15 December 2013), and Raymond Monelle *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military and Pastoral* (Bloomington IL: Indiana University Press, 2006), 185-189.

In Leopold’s work, initial statements of the Nězabudka pri potôčku theme by the strings are followed by lively arpeggations for the alphorn, typical horn calls that could be intended to symbolise the herdsmen calling to one another to go to Bethlehem. The calls are accompanied by static tonic chords from the strings, in the styles of both the bagpipe (long held notes) and the hurdy-gurdy (rhythmically pulsed). A second theme from the strings is followed by scurrying triplet figures and harmony in the dominant key; the strings then echo the alphorn’s arpeggiation figures. A brief development of the material follows before the return of the initial music.

The second movement of Leopold’s Sinfonia Pastorella appears to depict Mary’s gentle lullaby as she rocks her newborn child in the manger. It is scored for strings alone and the absence of the loud alphorn in this central movement highlights the tranquility and wonder of the scene. It is as if this is the most important picture at the centre of a triptych. The alphorn frames the scenario by appearing only in the side panels, remaining at a reverential distance from the sacred scene at the heart of the work. On a structural level, Leopold is able to

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retain the usual concerto expectation to write this movement in the dominant key, the primary notes of which are not available on the alphorn.

This movement is formed of two melodic components that are commonly found in other nativity Pastorellas. Leopold’s opening phrase, in particular, is widely used in other music with the title Pastorale. This motif originates from Italian Christmas traditions, where the local bagpipes (zampogna) and flute or double flute (piffaro) were commonly played around the crib by the local herdsmen. The motif, with thirds rising from the mediant to the dominant and falling back, set in triple or compound time and either unaccompanied or supported by a drone bass, is found in many other Christmas works that will be examined below. The opening phrases of Leopold’s second movement typically rock to and fro, in the manner of a lullaby. The motif, two violin parts in thirds, is echoed an octave lower by the viola and basso:

![Musical notation](image)

Fig. 3.5. Leopold Mozart, *Sinfonia Pastorella*: bars 1-2 of the second movement: violins 1 and 2, viola, basso. Edition: Frances Jones.

Italian composers in particular used this Pastorale motif in their Christmas compositions. Similar music is written by Corelli in his Concerto Grosso Op. 6, No. 8, composed around 1690. This work is generally known as his ‘Christmas’ Concerto because of its subheading *fatto per la notte di Natale* (composed for Christmas night). The work culminates in a gentle final

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movement that is given the title *Pastorale*. The music, characteristically in compound time, consists of rocking thirds that move back and forth from the mediant to the dominant over a drone bass:

![Pastorale ad libitum](image)

Fig. 3.6. Corelli, ‘Christmas’ Concerto: final movement, entitled *Pastorale*, bars 1-5. Solo concertino parts for two violins and cello.¹⁹

Vivaldi’s Concerto *Primavera* (Spring) from *Le Quattro Stagione* (The Four Seasons) composed in 1723 perhaps reflects the scene at the beginning of the year when the herdsmen are at home in their villages. Vivaldi incorporates various pastoral motifs in this concerto and includes a movement in compound time that is based on these rocking thirds, set above a *zampogna* drone bass given to the cellos and basses, to which he gives the significant title *Danza Pastorale*. The sub-heading, ‘Di pastoral zampogna al suon festante Danzan Ninfe e Pastor nel tet’ (the pastoral bagpipes give a cheerful sound to the dance of the nymphs and shepherds) describes the scene. An ethereal atmosphere is created by the use of muted violins.

Bach also wrote a similar peaceful movement in compound time in his *Weihnachts-Oratorium* (Christmas Oratorio) of 1734. In keeping with the tradition of the instrumental *Pastorale*, it is the only purely instrumental movement in the work. It is possible that Bach uses the effect of the singers’ devotional silence to highlight the moment of the birth of Christ and he perhaps reminds his audience that the *Pastorale* music itself tells the story of rocking the crib, irrespective of the presence of text. Rocking thirds are set over a drone accompaniment. The sound of the bagpipes is captured with the remarkable scoring of four large members of the oboe family: two oboes d’amore and two oboes da caccia.

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The second phrase used by Leopold Mozart in the second movement of his *Sinfonia Pastorella* is a quotation of a carol common in the Czech-speaking lands, a lullaby with the words *Hajej můj synačko* (Hush, my dear) which is also frequently quoted in European *Pastorella* works.

By the mid-1750s this melody was familiar as a Christmas tune in Salzburg: it was one of the seasonal melodies played daily each December from 1753 on a mechanical organ at the foot of Salzburg castle. The carol had been arranged for this purpose by J. E. Eberlin and was subsequently published by Leopold Mozart in 1759 in a collection of all the melodies played by that organ, entitled *Der Morgen und der Abend der Innwohnern der hochfürstl.*

Leopold gives this melody the title *Das Wiegenlied* (The Cradle Song) and the designation of the month of Christ’s birth, *Für den Christmonat*. The description *Das Wiegenlied* is significant. This melody had long been associated with the widespread practice of crib-rocking, *Kindelwiegen*, where rustic musicians performed around the crib in church at Christmas while worshippers came to rock a representation of the baby Jesus in its crib. The practice apparently originated in Italy.\(^\text{24}\)

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart used this music in his Symphony No. 19, K. 132, written in Salzburg in July 1772 when he was 16 years old. The crib-rocking lullaby phrases appear repeatedly in the second violin part, which at times are followed in thirds by the viola part. There are phrases from *Nězabudka pri potôčku*, motifs that resemble horn calls and repeated bass notes reminiscent of a hurdy-gurdy drone. It is not known why Wolfgang should appear to quote these Christmas motifs in a work written in mid-summer: it might have been a lullaby for a child in a different context, or intended for a later Christmas performance.

\(^{23}\) Leopold Mozart, ‘*Der Morgen ... gespielt wird*’: ‘Morning and evening melodic and harmonic performances from the precincts of the Salzburg Residential Palace, or: Twelve Pieces for the Piano, of which one is played daily on the so-called musical organ, morning and evening, at Salzburg Castle’ (Augsburg: Lotter, 1759).

\(^{24}\) Chew, in ‘The Christmas Pastorella’ deals extensively with this topic, pp. 53-74.
Handel also used the crib-rocking lullaby theme in his opera *Il Pastor Fido* (1712), based on Guarini’s text. Here Handel indulges in the word-play of The Faithful Shepherd with musical reference to the Christmas nativity scene although the narrative has no connection with Christmas. In the celebrations at the end of the opera, the final dance, which is in simple ABA form, uses as its B theme a quotation of this peaceful lullaby (Fig. 3.13, system 2); it may have been intended to be recognised by his audience as the gentle pastoral

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25 In this and subsequent quotations of music where a score shows a phrase within a context, a box has been superimposed to highlight the motif under discussion.
shepherds’ melody. It is in fact a separate permutation of the melody from the examples seen so far: in this instance, the cells of the motif are reversed and it begins with the rising scale, followed by the falling one. In this opera it appears to have become the musical equivalent of ‘and they all lived happily ever after’:

Fig. 3.13. The crib-rocking lullaby theme used in the final dance of Handel’s *Il Pastor Fido*.  

It is not only Leopold Mozart in this *Sinfonia Pastorella* who juxtaposed the rocking *piffero* music in thirds with the crib-rocking melody. J. S. Bach wrote just one work entitled *Pastorale*: a four-movement piece for organ, BWV 590. The circumstances of its composition are not known. Bach incorporates a number of recognisable *Pastorale* elements into this work. Its first movement is in compound time and the first ten bars are supported by a

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Frances Jones   Alphorn

double bass note drone, with passages in rocking thirds (Fig. 3.14); the fourth movement begins with the crib-rocking melody (Fig. 3.15).

Handel’s *Messiah*, first performed in Dublin in 1741, includes an instrumental *Pastoral Symphony* to highlight the moment of the birth of the Christ child. The movement includes a number of the different signifiers mentioned above. It is ironic that the title *Pastoral Symphony* carries none of the connotations to the audience of today that would have been the case in the 1740s. It is in fact unclear at what stage this title first began to be used, as only the title *Pifa* appears above this movement in the edition of The Handel Society of 1850 and in the 1892 facsimile edition reproduced by Chrysander. However, in the second edition of Grove’s *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, issued around that time in 1890, the movement is given two columns under the heading ‘Pastoral Symphony’, which indicates that the title must have been in popular use by then.²⁹ The contents page of the 1892 facsimile describes the

movement thus: ‘Eine Symphonie zur Einleitung der folgenden Verkündigung des Engels, überschrieben “Pifa”, das ist Pifferari, als Nachahmung der Musik, mit welcher Kalabrische Hirten zur Weihnachtszeit in Rom die Geburt des Heilands feiern’ (A symphony to prepare for the following annunciation by the Angel, marked ‘Pifa’, i.e. *pifferari*, in imitation of the music with which at Christmas Calabrian shepherds in Rome celebrated the birth of the Saviour).³⁰

Handel uses the rise and fall of the crib-rocking lullaby melody here, beginning with the rising scale as he does in *Il Pastor Fido*. He adds to the pastoral allusions with accompaniment in thirds, a compound time signature, a quiet tonic bagpipe-style drone and the reduced orchestral palette of strings alone. In addition, in direct reference to the instrumental *Pastorella* tradition, this is the only purely instrumental movement in the oratorio after the Overture. The reverent silence of the voices directs full aural attention onto the special moment of Christ’s birth, an atmosphere similarly created by Bach in his *Weihnachts-Oratorium* eight years previously.

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³⁰ Georg Frideric Handel, *Messiah*, facsimile, ed. Chrysander (Hamburg: Strumper, 1892), 10. Where there is a choice of edition, the earliest has been chosen for extracts that illustrate the works under discussion in this thesis.
A number of these signifiers – the melodic shape of the *Wiegenlied*, the rocking thirds, the compound time signatures, the *zampogna*-like drone – appear in other situations where shepherds are mentioned, even if the scene is not that of the birth of Christ. Examples are found in Handel’s setting of other texts that refer to shepherds in *Messiah*, for example in the soprano aria ‘He shall feed his flock like a shepherd’. Handel also uses some of these motifs in his *Ode for the Birthday of Queen Anne* (1713) when the text alludes to flocks of sheep and they are also found for example in Bach’s Cantata BWV 175 *Er rufet sein Schafen mit Namen* (He calls his Sheep by Name).

These gentle melodic gestures at the central scene of Leopold’s *Sinfonia Pastorella* create an atmosphere of reverential repose. Although Leopold chose not to use the loud alphorn in his ‘lullaby’ movement, the alphorn player is nevertheless not only standing quietly among the players during the performance: his symbolic silent presence at the side of the crib is possibly also signified in the music, in two ways. Leopold surrounds his *Pastorale* motifs and crib-rocking melody with gentle horn-call triadic motifs given to the strings throughout this movement, almost as if the alphorn player is present in the stable, but not intruding, just looking on in wonder. In addition, the crib rocking melody appears in a different form. According to Chew’s extensive survey of *Kindelwiegen* and the music associated with it (see footnote 24), two versions of the crib-rocking melody were commonly used in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Alongside the flowing melody described above, a second version often occurs, which opens with the text *Resonet in Laudibus* or *Joseph Lieber, Joseph mein*. This follows the same contours as the melody already seen, but is triadic:

![Fig. 3.17. Two permutations of the crib-rocking melody, the flowing form and the triadic form.](image.png)
Although Chew considers these to be versions of the same tune, the fundamental difference is clear: one can be played on an alphorn and the other cannot. When a piffaro or flute player is at the crib, the flowing version could be played; when a herdsman with a horn is present, he could only play the triadic version. Leopold’s alphorn player stands quietly by while the gentle version of his melody is played by others.

For the third movement of this Sinfonia Pastorella, Leopold uses as his main motif a joyful Christmas carol that has the opening text Joseph adstabit (Joseph stands by), otherwise Es hat sich halt eröffnet, a carol which originates from Swabia (now part of southern Germany). Leopold gives the melody an anacrusis and uses it as a recurring rondo theme played on the alphorn, with a pulsed drone-like accompaniment reminiscent of a hurdy-gurdy. This melody resembles a horn call and it features in other Christmas Pastorellas:

Fig. 3.18. Extract from an anonymous Polish Pastorella, (F.L.), 1699 PL-Wtm 17.ii, bars 30-37. Its text is translated: 'Joseph will stand by and rock the cradle, heaven will smile and the sun will banish the coldness'.

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32 Rawson, ‘Finger’s Pastorellas’, 599.
In J. S. Bach’s organ *Pastorale* BWV 590 mentioned above, in which he uses rocking thirds of the *Pastorale* and the flowing crib-rocking lullaby, the first section opens with similar cheerful horn calls, one voice echoing the other, set above a bagpipe-like drone bass held on the pedal.

Leopold’s third movement is an extensive lively dance with a strong pulse, in triple time. Towards the close of the work, the dynamics for the whole ensemble are brought down to *piano* and then *pianissimo*, which could perhaps represent the baby Jesus falling asleep, or the musicians’ retreat from the stable to leave the Holy Family in peace.

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There are a number of rustic features that Leopold incorporates into his *Sinfonia Pastorella* for alphorn and strings, besides his use of recognised Christmas melodic material. Some of these are general allusions to folk traditions and some are specific to the alphorn. Features of folk music are perhaps not unexpected: Christmastide is still today a time when people from the community who play instruments might be likely to participate in the annual festivities. The involvement of other folk players, alongside that of the actual herdsman, the alphorn player, might be expected. Leopold makes some musical references to this.

He decorates many of his motifs in this work with the exuberant rhythm now referred to as the Scotch snap, or the Lombard rhythm (see Fig. 3.2 (f) on p. 138). He uses this idea many times in both the first and second movements. It is a rhythmic motif that was particularly associated with the rustic and therefore with Christmas music: it features in similar vein in one of the Christmas melodies played daily each December from 1753 on the mechanical organ at the foot of Salzburg castle, mentioned earlier (p. 145). This piece is given the title *Für den Wintermonat* (for the Winter Month, i.e. December) and includes the Scotch snap in bars 3 and 6:

![Fig. 3.21. Menueto, Für den Wintermonat. No. 11 from Leopold Mozart, Der Morgen und der Abend ... It features the Scotch snap in bars 3 and 6.](image)

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35 Leopold Mozart, *Der Morgen ... gespielt wird.*
Leopold enjoyed the rural associations of this rhythm so much that in a letter concerning another of his rustic-style compositions, he explained that the exuberance of this motif should be heightened with a vocal cry too:

\textit{Anfangs ist der Marche, welchem man bei 19ten und 21ten Takte des ersten Theils, und beim 27ten und 29ten des zweyten Theiles a tempo nach diesen Noten jauchzen muss …}

The style of accompaniment for the solo passages in this work is also of interest. There is much use of static tonic or dominant harmony that reproduces the effect of the drone of either a set of bagpipes or a hurdy-gurdy. Leopold uses the two different effects here. The first movement opens with a rhythmic \textit{tutti} for strings. When the alphorn player begins, while one part plays along with the alphorn figuration, the other string parts comprise long held notes. This drone effect could represent the fact that most bagpipes have no means of rhythmic articulation; it may otherwise represent the sudden suspense of movement when the shepherds hear the alphorn call, or it could be a reminder of a peaceful pastoral landscape as the shepherds watch their sheep before hurrying to Bethlehem.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig322.png}
\end{figure}

\footnote{Sieffert, ed. \textit{Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst}, 30: ‘At the beginning is the March, where at bars 19 and 21 of the first section, and bars 27 and 29 of the second section, they must shout in tempo after these notes.’ It is still usual today in the Alpine folk tradition for a virtuoso performance to be rounded off with a vocal whoop.}
In other sections of the work, Leopold’s drone effect pulsates on each beat, in replication of the rhythmic playing of the drone strings of a hurdy-gurdy. The repeated use of the pulsed drone in the last movement gives momentum and energy to the dance-like rhythms.

Two characteristics specific to the alphorn are enjoyed in this work: the ‘alphorn fa’ and the short high note added at the end of a performance. There are many references in this work to the ‘alphorn fa’, the out-of-tune 11th harmonic that lies halfway between a perfect fourth and an augmented fourth above the tonic on a natural horn. As noted earlier, Geoffrey Chew states that the use of the scale with the raised fourth (which he calls a ‘lydian fourth’) is a common signifier for rustic music (see p. 18). Here it appears in the first bar of the work (see Fig. 3.2 (f), p. 138), where Leopold not only writes the raised fourth degree of the scale but follows this with the lowered version in close proximity, which highlights the feature. Leopold uses both the scale with the raised fourth and the close juxtaposition of the raised note with the lowered one many times in each movement of this Sinfonia Pastorella. In the third movement, for example, he writes a number of passages for the orchestra where the strings repeatedly mimic the ‘strange’ note, adjusting it both upwards (Fig. 3.23, marked y) and downwards (marked z) for maximum effect:

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37 For details of this phenomenon, see p. 17.
A further unusual phenomenon appears at the end of the alphorn part in both the first and the third movements of Leopold’s *Sinfonia Pastorella*: a final flick up to the dominant as a grace note after the last main note.

American horn enthusiast Marvin McCoy’s 1978 version of this work includes an interesting interpretation of this particular passage. This movement was performed by Dennis Brain on a 10ft hosepipe with a French horn mouthpiece in 1956 in one of Gerard Hoffnung’s famous London concerts. The performance was recorded on an LP that was released after the concert (Hoffnung’s Music Festivals, EMI SLS870). With the availability of the intermediate harmonics on this length of tubing, Brain played the lower octave version of the passage quoted in Fig. 3.23, sounding the ‘alphorn fa’ (harmonic no. 11) simultaneously with the notes marked y and z. McCoy notates these intermediate harmonics in his publication exactly as Brain played them. They are not present on any of the European manuscripts found in this investigation. It is likely that McCoy’s transcription was made by ear from a sound recording, because he selected the wrong note values for the first and second movements (in both cases he wrote the notes as double their original length). However, Brain played only the third movement in the Hoffnung concert. This suggests that McCoy’s source is not the Hoffnung recording, but another, that was in some way (as yet unidentified) connected with Brain’s 1956 performance. Further information is unlikely to be forthcoming as Marvin McCoy died in 2008.
This additional note is consistently present at the end of the alphorn part in both of the alphorn movements in all six of the *Sinfonia Pastorella* manuscripts. In two instances, though, the note written is not the dominant but the mediant (the Berlin copy at the end of the first movement and the Vienna copy at the end of the third movement), which might suggest that it was merely intended to be an unspecified higher harmonic. These flicked notes have been omitted in the modern editions of McCoy and Janetzky; the version edited by Broy has omitted the one at the end of the first movement and altered the one in the last movement to a written high C, an octave above the main final note, with the marking *sic* despite the clear G in the Öttingen version upon which this version is purportedly based. The feature has also been noted in the *Pastorella* of Petipeský (see p. 111). It is such an unusual phenomenon that McCoy and Janetzky omitted it and Broy had a problem with it too. There can be no doubt that Leopold included it because he heard it played by itinerant alphorn players and that he wished to convey its rustic energy at the end of each movement of this work; to my knowledge it is not found elsewhere in the canon of Western notated repertoire other than in direct transcriptions of alphorn music.

The significance of Leopold Mozart’s *Sinfonia Pastorella* for alphorn and strings is ambivalent. It is invaluable as documentation of the characteristic features and style of the music played on an alphorn in the vicinity of Salzburg in the middle of the eighteenth century. Whether it directly influenced the output of other composers is questionable. An influence might be identifiable in a work written by his son Wolfgang, at the age of ten, that includes a number of the rustic references found in Leopold’s composition. *Galimathias Musicum*, K. 32, is a light-hearted collection of 18 movements based on popular music of the time. It was composed in response to a commission to write some music for performance at the celebrations for the accession of

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39 It is also not uncommon in collections and transcriptions of Swiss alphorn music. See detail in footnote 78 on pp. 112-3 of other instances included in this study.
William V at The Hague in 1766. Wolfgang included two *Pastorellas*, each set over a drone bass. The first uses the flowing crib-rocking lullaby, with which he was familiar from its daily appearance played on the mechanical organ every December in Salzburg, noted earlier; the second makes prominent use of references to the ‘alphorn fa’ with both the scale with the raised fourth and the juxtaposition of the raised fourth with the lowered one. He uses the same melody, *Joseph adstabit*, that is used in the third movement of his father’s *Sinfonia Pastorella* and much of the motivic content is similar to that used in both the first and the third movements of Leopold’s composition. Here can be seen again the strong rustic dance pulse in triple time, the arpeggiating horn calls, the underlying pulsed drones of the hurdy-gurdy and the final fade to *piano*, then *pianissimo* as the music perhaps drifts off into the distance.

![Fig. 3.25. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Galimathias Musicum*, fourth movement, *Pastorella*, bars 19-38, scored for 2 oboes and strings.](image)

This repertoire of musical allusions in the *Pastorella* had become a significant element in the eighteenth-century composer’s palette. Two later works are mentioned here as examples of the importance, not specifically of Leopold’s work, but of the genre of which it is a classic example.

Allusions to the countryside are well-recognised in Beethoven’s ‘Pastoral’ Symphony (*Pastoral-Sinfonie oder Erinnerung an das Landleben*) of 1808, with its bird calls, the murmuring brook and the storm, peasants’ gatherings, bagpipe-like drone effects and rustic horn calls. Scholarship has additionally revealed Beethoven’s use of actual folk melodies in the work. A look below the surface, though, reveals something more fundamental than these. His initial idea for a title was *Sinfonia Pastorella*, however this title was rejected because of its direct connotations with the Church. This is highly significant: Beethoven creates a full symphony with material drawn from the *Pastorella* tradition. For example, he opens the third movement, *Lustiges Zusammensein in der Landleute*, (Peasants’ Merrymaking) with the notes of *Nězabudka pri potôčku* using a version with an up-beat:

![Fig. 3.26. Beethoven ‘Pastoral’ Symphony, opening phrase of the third movement.](image)

Beethoven uses this motif eleven times, interspersed with an arpeggio phrase that resembles a pastoral horn call.

Although Beethoven’s fourth movement, *Gewitter. Sturm* (Thunderstorm) remains one of the most remarkable depictions of a storm in

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44 Nothing has been found in published material concerning the extensive use of *Pastorella* motifs in Beethoven’s ‘Pastoral’ Symphony. An article by the author on this subject has been commissioned for publication in 2016 in *The Consort*; a selection of material is included here. Beethoven’s use of alphorn motifs in this symphony will however be discussed later (see p. 252).
music, much of its effect is lost on audiences of today who do not recognise that the thematic material of the entire movement is the gentle Pastorella crib-rocking lullaby *Hajej můj synačko* (see Fig. 3.9). Beethoven’s choice of this material thus made his storm all the more unsettling for contemporary audiences. He begins the movement by placing the melody above a menacing bass. He changes its usual metre and accentuation and gives it a dark key. Its later mutation into the minor, with wild distorted outbursts, becomes the nightmare music of his great, swirling storm. The alphorn’s interval of an augmented fourth, also known as the devil’s interval, appears alongside in the violins with sinister effect.

![Fig. 3.27. Beethoven, ‘Pastoral’ Symphony, fourth movement, bars 1-6, beginning of the storm. The *Hajej* melody is given to violin 2.](image)

Once his storm is spent, Beethoven transforms his Pastorella lullaby theme into a beautiful prayer-like chorale given to the oboe with scoring reminiscent of an organ. While the melody is worked through to rest on its tonic, at the same time Beethoven extends the rising line on the flute to soar up into the heavens taking all troubles with it:

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45 Ludwig van Beethoven, *Symphony No. 6* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, c.1826), and the following two extracts.
As the *Hajej můj synačko* melody is thus brought to rest, Beethoven introduces the third the *Pastorella* motif used as the theme for the final movement in Leopold’s *Sinfonia Pastorella*: the lively *Joseph adstabat* melody (Fig. 3.18). Once again, however, Beethoven reverses the mood of this theme. Instead of an energetic joy, it has the character of peace and reflection. It is played on a lone clarinet and given an answering call played on horn.
Thus Beethoven’s movements 3, 4 and 5 use Pastorella quotations seen in the three movements of Leopold’s Sinfonia Pastorella. Whereas Leopold structured his work in concerto form, Beethoven gives the same material, in the same sequence, full symphonic treatment.

A different example was composed at a later date as the result of the upsurge of interest in music from previous eras that began towards the end of the nineteenth century. The German composer Carl Orff (1895-1982) had a deep fascination for both the music and the literature of earlier centuries. He drew upon the heritage of the Pastorella in his Carmina Burana, a setting of a collection of mediaeval poems of the same title. Orff chose the characteristic Pastorella carol motifs, along with other Pastorella signifiers, as the thematic material for the movement that celebrates the arrival of springtime that begins with the text Ecce Gratum (Behold the pleasant and long-awaited spring). True to the Pastorella tradition, he opens the movement with a bold statement of the Nězabudka pri potôčku theme that opens Leopold’s first movement; it is then repeated in hushed tones. This is followed by a variant of the flowing crib-rocking melody. All is set over a zampogna drone.

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Fig. 3.30. Orff, *Carmina Burana*: *Ecce Gratum*, quotation of the *Nězabudka pri potůčku* theme and the flowing crib-rocking melody, set over a bagpipe-like drone.  

\[47\] Carl Orff, *Carmina Burana* (Mainz: Schott, 1937), 28-9, voice, pianos and string parts.
At the time when it was written, Leopold’s *Sinfonia Pastorella* constituted an imaginative step in the use of the alphorn. It was a work in which the realism of the shepherds’ role in the nativity was brought into a more refined performance space than was commonly found in the *Pastorellas* of the Czech lands. It invited an audience or congregation into the Christmas scene by giving an actual herdsman a participatory role in telling the Christmas story. Unlike in a Czech village, however, this setting is on a different cultural level, more sophisticated, designed for an audience of higher social standing who may have been personally less in touch with the pastoral way of life. The rustic realism of the music is also more refined than that of the Czech *Pastorella*, the alphorn is given more sophisticated music and the work has more substance.

To an eighteenth-century audience, the *Pastorella* was a recognised part of the annual musical calendar. Today it is being rediscovered, but is still familiar to few. Likewise, Leopold Mozart’s *Sinfonia Pastorella* for alphorn and strings is known nowadays only by a few: for alphorn players it is familiar, because it is the only substantial eighteenth-century concert work available for performance with orchestra. On the modern concert platform it is regarded as a pleasant novelty item and it appears on a number of recordings of alphorn music.48

Its allusions to the Christmas narrative pass largely unnoticed, because the host of references to the nativity immediately recognised by an eighteenth-century audience are no longer part of the modern listener’s aural experience. In the context of the *Pastorella* this work is a typical example of the widespread use of specific material that composers utilised in the genre. It provides an unusual link between the Czech village *Pastorella* and the more widespread version, by bringing a folk instrument into the forum of the upper class, non-liturgical performance arena. It displays considerably higher quality of invention and compositional artistry than many other eighteenth-century

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48 For example, on *Zur Ehre des Alphorns* (Claves; Thun, 1989) LC3369 played by Jozef Brejza; *Das Alphorn in allen Facetten* Vol. 2 (Tell Music, Dübendorf, 2004) CD 51 1276-2 played by Lucas Christinat; and *Alphorn Concertos* (Naxos, 1988) 8.555978 played by Jozsef Molnar.
works in this genre and it illustrates how such Christmas material could be effectively moulded into a work of lasting appeal.
Chapter 4. ‘That Air’: The Appenzell Kühreien

‘…That air, which instantly and irresistibly excites the Swiss, when in a foreign land, the maladie du pays …’

The incorporation of a herdsman’s horn in the formal performance space has been the focus of this study so far. The next two chapters will examine the use by composers of alphorn-derived motifs in a metaphorical fashion, as representation of the horn or the world from which it emanates. It will be seen that the connection between the herding way of life and religious faith will remain significant, at least in the eighteenth century; this link lessens in later composed music although instances where the Church is referred to will still be noticed.

This chapter explores the evolution and use by composers of one Swiss alphorn melody. This is the Kühreien from Appenzell, a sparsely-populated, mountainous canton in the east of Switzerland. Above all other alphorn music this has been the most widely documented. It is the most known and discussed by the Swiss, by tourists to their country and by those who have heard about the melody elsewhere; it is therefore the one alphorn melody that has been the most widely quoted by composers.

There will be discussion of its roots, the evolution of various versions within Switzerland, its relationship with the Church and with the voice, and the effect it had upon the Swiss abroad. This material will then inform an examination of a selection of works in which composers have quoted the melody since the end of the eighteenth century. There will be an attempt to identify the reasons behind the development of a number of specific roles that this melody assumed, both within Switzerland, across neighbouring European countries, in England and in the United States of America. Some conclusions will then be drawn as to why this melody may have exerted such an extraordinary influence across the world.

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Although almost every written version of the Appenzell *Kühreien* is different, there are a number of features that define this melody. Three early printed examples will be compared. Fig. 4.1 shows the earliest known printed version of this *Kühreien*, in Georg Rhau’s collection of music *Bicinia Gallica, Latina, Germanica et Quaedam Fugae* (Gallic, Latin and German Duets and Four Fugues), published in Wittenberg, Germany, in 1545. Rhau was a music teacher, performer, composer and publisher. He was one of J. S. Bach’s predecessors as Kantor at St. Thomas’s, Leipzig, and like Bach, he was also Music Master at the Thomasschule.\(^2\) Thus his connection with the church was close; indeed he was a friend of Martin Luther, who wrote in the Preface to one of Rhau’s publications that music serves theology and stands next to theology as the highest art.\(^3\)

Rhau’s work that includes the Appenzell *Kühreien* is a collection of traditional and specially composed music compiled for his students, according to its preface, to assist with teaching the art of polyphonic writing. It takes the form of two part-books, an upper voice book and a lower voice book. The music from Appenzell quoted by Rhau runs for three pages. He uses it as the lower voice in a two-part composition and writes a florid upper line based on the Appenzell material to create an elaborate polyphonic work. Fig. 4.1 shows this lower voice part.

Even at this date, there is indication that the Kühreien had an associated text. It is not known at what period this assimilation of the Kühreien into repertoire for the voice became commonplace, but the counter-melody set above the Appenzell Kühreien in Rhau’s collection of 1545 (Fig. 4.2) is given the description ‘lobelobe’ (c.f. German Lobe: praise, rejoice). This is a word that not only appears in other transcriptions of this Kühreien: it also features in the texts of many Kühreien from other parts of Switzerland (see p. 192).

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4 There is a variety of spellings for this word. Even today there is no standardised spelling of Swiss-German, which in itself is a term that refers to hundreds of different dialects. Local speech is transcribed phonetically whenever it is required. In the general text, I have chosen to use the spelling Kühreien which is the one most commonly used today, but have retained original spelling in individual quotations.

5 Georg Rhau, Bicinia Gallica, Latina, Germanica et Quaedam Fugae (Wittenberg, self-published, 1545).
Rhau’s addition of this word indicates that such lyrics were already associated with this melody at that time. It is also interesting to note that Rhau’s choice of spelling for the word *Kühreien* is different in the upper voice book (*Kureien*) from the lower voice book (*Kureyen*): this may be an error, or merely a reflection that spelling was not standardised at that time.

[Image]

Fig. 4.2. Opening of the *Superior Vox* part written in counterpoint to the alphorn melody from Appenzell in Rhau’s *Bicinia Gallica, Latina, Germanica et Quaedam Fugae*. It bears the descriptive heading *Der Appenzeller Kureien Lobelobe*.

The earliest known copy of the Appenzell *Kühreien* to appear with text occurs in a handwritten volume of 60 songs, the personal songbook of Maria Josepha Barbara Brogerin of Appenzell, dated 1730. Maria Brogerin was a Franciscan sister in the convent of St. Mary of the Angels in Appenzell, a Capuchin foundation established in 1420. Maria (1704-c.1775) was one of seventeen children; she came from the local village of Rapisau (now Flucht) and was professed in 1722. One of her younger sisters also entered the convent and served a number of terms as its mother superior.

All but one of the pieces in Brogerin’s *Liederbüchlein* (Little Songbook) are simple song tunes with many verses, some solo and some in two parts, both sacred and secular. The final melody, though, is the local *Kühreien*, with similar musical contours to the version quoted by Rhau 185 years previously.

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7 The book is on permanent loan from the Brogerin family to the Zentrum für Appenzellische Volksmusik, Gonten, in the canton of Appenzell.
Fig. 4.3. Appenzell Küh Reien with text in Maria Josepha Barbara Brogerin’s *Liederbüchlein* of 1730.\(^9\)

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Weder ia, loba!
Gotts nama alsama,
die junga, die alta,
die äna, alsama, loba
Köda Gotts nama alsama, loba

Weni era fä a pfiffä a,
so köd alsama zua a schlicha,
wohlf zua, do zua,
trib ia Gotts nama,
wohlf zua, beser zua,
höbsch sönds und frey,
holdseelig dor zua loba,
b’ hüets Gott alsama, loba.

Wäss wohl, wen mir singa vergoth,
wen zwo wiega i der stuba stoth,
wen der ma mit fiesta drischlot,
und der wend zuo
alla löhra ia blost. loba.

Trib ia, Gotts nama:
die hinckat, die stineckat,
die g’scheget, die g’fleckhet,
die glazet, die blazet,
schwantzeri, tantzeri,
glintzeri, b linteri,
d’lehneri, d’freneri,
d’bosseri, d’mosleri,
d’horeri, d’schoreri,
s’halb örli unds mörüli,
s’ä äugli, s’tüfüngli,
die erst galt und die alt,
s’kromba und die ä,
der gross bauch und die rauch,
d’läng bänleri,
d’hag läneri,
trib ia, wohl zua, wohl zua, bas zua,
loba.

Sed das i g’weibet ha,
ha i kä brodt me ka,
 sed das i g’weibet ha,
ha i kä glückh me ka.

I am walking, loba! [rejoice!]
in God’s name, all together,
the young, the old,
the rest, all together, loba
come in God’s name all together, loba

When I go with my pipe
all together they are charmed by the call,
for their wellbeing,
I drive them in God’s name,
their well-being, a better time,
lovely and free
full of joy to be there, loba,
to the summer chalets, in God’s name, loba.

I sing through the long journey
to the meadows from the cowshed,
no more is the wind blowing
through all the holes
in your draughty stalls. loba.

I will guide you, in God’s name:
lame one, smelly one,
dappled one, speckled one,
one without a top-knot, the two-coloured one,
wavy tail, dancer,
glistening one, blinker,
leaning one, disfigured one,
the one from Hossler, the one from Mosler,
the hairy one, the one that scratches,
the one with half an ear, the black one,
the one-eyed one, the one with a weeping eye,
the one not yet milked and the old one,
the crooked one and the other,
the big belly and the smoky one,
the long-boned one,
the one that rubs against the post,
I will guide and look after you all,
loba.

Since I married
I have bread with me,
Since I married
I am happy.

Translated by the author with the help of Joe Manser, curator, Zentrum für Appenzellische Volksmusik, 21 July 2009.
Trib mer ia
die g’schiltata vier,
si schlichet hüna noa mit am stier.
Wohl zua, do zua, bas zua
loba.

Wens ada wohl gott
und nimer stil stoth,
so ist jo grota, grota, loba.
Ist kōna lätha bas as ösra kūa,
sie trinckhit us dem bach
und möget trúa.

Following me
I have the four blotchy ones,
and at the back is the bull.
I will guide you all
loba.

Under God’s guidance
we do not stand still,
but keep moving, loba.
And for the well-being of our cows,
they drink from the brook
and gain life.

Another transcription of the Appenzell Kühreien appeared in the second edition of a collection of Swiss music entitled Sammlung von Schweizer Kühreien und alten Volksliedern published more than 80 years later in Bern in 1812 under the editorship of Gottlieb Jakob Kuhn.
A comparison of the 1730 text with that of 1812 reveals that the second is largely a transcription of the first, although a number of significant alterations have been made that will be discussed below.

Fig. 4.4. The Kühreihen of the Appenzellers, *Sammlung von Schweizer Kühreihen und alten Volksliedern*, second edition, 1812.\(^{11}\)

\(^{11}\) Kuhn, ed. *Sammlung* of 1812, 17-19.
Chapter 4  Appenzell Kühreien

Brogerin text of 1730

Weder ia, loba!
Gotts nama alsama,
die junga, die alta, die änä,
alsama, loba
Köda Gotts nama alsama, loba
Weni era fä a pfiffa a,
so kód alsama zu a schlica,
wohl zua, do zua, trib ia Gotts nama,
wohl zua, beser zua,
höbsch sönds und frey,
holdseelig dor zua loba,
b’hüets Gott alsama, loba.

Wäss wohl, wen mir singa vergoth,
wen zwo wiega i der stuba stoth,
wen der ma mit fästa drischlot,
und der wend
zuo alla löchra ia blost. loba.

Trib mer ia, Gotts nama:
die hinkat, die stinckat,
die g’scheget, die g’fleckhet,
die glazet, die blazet,
schantzeri, tanzeri,
blintzeri, blintzeri,
d'lehneri, d'freneri,
d'hossleri, d'moseri,
’shalb örli unds mörli,
s’ää gügli, s'trüfügügli,
die erst galt und die alt,
s’krombä und die ä,
der gross bauch und die rauch,
d’läng bänneri, d’hag läneri,
trib ia, wohl zua,
wohl zua, bas zua, loba.

Sed das i g’weibet ha,
ha i kä brodt me ka,
sed das i g’weibet ha,
ha i kä glückh me ka.

Trib mer ia die g’schiltata vier,
si schlichet hüna noa mit am stier.
Wohl zua, do zua, bas zua loba.

Kuhn text of 1812

Wänder iha, Loba!
Allsamma mit Namma,
die Alten, die Jungen, die Alten
Alssama, Loba!
Chönd allesamma, Loba!
Wenn anem be ha pfiffa!
So chönd allsamma zuha schlica.
Wol zuha, da zuha; t
ryb iha allsamma,
wohl zuha, beb’r zuha,
hüsch sinds, und fry,
holdselig dazu, Loba!

Wäs‘ wohl, wenn mer singa vergoth,
wen zwo Wiega i der Stubä stoaht,
wen der Ma mit Fäusta dri schlath
und der Wind
zu alla Löchra inna blost, Loba!

Trub iha, iha allsamma,
die Hinket, die Stinket,
die Bläzet, die G’scheket,
die Blasset, die G’flecket,
die Schwanzere, Tänzeri,
Glintzeri, Blinzerei,
d’Lehnerei, d’Fehnerei,
d’Hasleri, d’Schmalzerei,
d’Mosere,
d’Halbörli, s’Mörli,
Sääügli, s’Trofüügli,
die erst Gäl,
und die Alchtrombä
und die Ä der Großbuch, und die Rauch,
d’Längbänderi, d’Haglehuere;
Tryb iha, wol zuha,
da zuha, bas zuha, Loba!

Seit daß i g’wybet ha,
ha i kä Brod me g’ha,
seit daß i g’wybet ha,
ha i kä Glück me g’ha! Loba!

Wenns a so wohl gaht,
und niena stillstaht,
so isch ja grotha,
These three examples of the Appenzell *Kühreien* reveal a number of similarities and a number of differences in both the music and the texts. A comparison of the music will first be made; a comparison of the texts will follow. Many further transcriptions will be examined later in this chapter but these features will not be the subject of comment at that stage.

There are a number of elements that the various transcriptions of the Appenzell material have in common and the title refers to this material, rather than to a definitive fixed piece of music. As noted earlier (see p. 19), any written version of a *Kühreien* was originally just one transcription of an improvised set of motifs, whereby after an initial call to collect the cattle from their stalls, there is a free collection of motifs that were used to call individual cows on the journey from the villages in the valleys to the high summer pastures as required. The variety of music and text found in the transcriptions of this single *Kühreien* is a reflection of the function of this style of music and it is not surprising that the material presented as the Appenzell *Kühreien* may differ substantially from one version to another.  

With regard to the musical content, these three examples show that the opening phrase of this *Kühreien* has two different versions, in that the rising line from tonic to dominant sometimes includes the supertonic and sometimes does not. Both of these permutations recur in the various transcriptions of this melody. The consistent features of the opening are the initial tonic, the mediant, the subdominant and the dominant. The rhythm is variable: Rhau’s version lingers on the initial note where the other two examples given here do not. Other rhythms will be encountered in subsequent examples. Indeed

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12 Max Peter Baumann, in *Musikfolklore und Musikfolklorismus* (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1976), 133-134, compares 24 different transcriptions of this *Kühreien*. 
freedom from rhythmic constraint is a fundamental feature of the music that a
herdsman plays to his cattle.\textsuperscript{13}

The second element to be examined is the material that appears after this
rising motif. In Rhau’s version the dominant note is repeated, with longer and
shorter notes, before the music descends to the tonic again by way of a number
of half-closes on the supertonic and the lower dominant. The first section
settles back on the tonic in Fig. 4.1 on line 4, with a short repeated closing
phrase. In the two later versions given here, there is some immediate
elaboration of the upper dominant before the descent concludes the phrase in a
much shorter time-span than in Rhau’s version. The amount and style of
elaboration at this point in the various transcriptions of this \textit{Kühreien} is very
varied; indeed in some cases there is none. Time spent on or around the
dominant, after an initial rising passage, could reflect that at times the cattle
can be assembled for the journey quickly, while sometimes this is a more
lengthy process.

The beginning of the next part of this music reflects that the cattle have
gathered and the journey into the mountains is about to begin. This is marked
with a double bar in the transcriptions of Brogerin and Kuhn (Fig. 4.3 line 2,
and Fig. 4.4 at the end of line 1) but is not so clearly identified by Rhau. It is
the start of a series of repeating motivic cells used to call the animals on the
journey. The choice of motif, the number of different cells included and the
number of times each cell is repeated is different in almost every transcription.
Some of these motifs appear in many transcriptions; some are unique to one
version. One that is common is the three-note motif seen after the first double
bar in both the Brogerin and the Kuhn transcriptions. It often appears either
with the rhythm shown by Brogerin, with all notes of equal length, or with the
rhythm shown by Kuhn, with the first note of the three-note cells elongated
each time. A section normally ends with a paused note; a new motif is
sometimes in a new pulse and in the two later transcriptions above, is signalled
with a double bar. Sometimes the opening idea returns in between the motivic

\textsuperscript{13} This freedom from pulse is eloquently described by Viotti in his letter quoted on p. 199.
sections, sometimes it appears just at the end, sometimes it does not return. In some instances a recurrence is identical to the opening version, on other occasions it is a variation of that.

The relationship between the text of the Appenzell Kühreien and the alphorn is intriguing. The alphorn evolved in order that the herdsman could carry out his work: the alphorn’s call is much louder than that of a human voice and thus it can be used for communication over a substantially greater distance. For this, the words are not relevant. Yet the music here fits the words perfectly. Moreover, the notes to which the text is set are restricted to those playable on an alphorn and when the Kühreien is sung, the voice uses the unique intonation of the ‘alphorn fa’. This creates a fascinating symbiosis that has been noted by Timothy Wise, Geoffrey Chew and others (see p. xix), and gives rise to the question as to which came first. Perhaps the herdsman was accompanied on his journey by a companion who sang along; alternatively a vocal version could have been created in imitation of the alphorn’s music and sung by those left behind in the village when the herdsman was away, to pass the time or while otherwise occupied.

The texts provide valuable information about the process of the Kühreien. An examination of the words in the Brogerin Liederbüchlein reveals a number of separate features, which follow the sections in the music. Initially the text describes how the herdsman will gather the animals, to lead them to the mountains where, after spending the winter confined to their stalls, they will enjoy the freedom of the mountain pastures. He expresses his pleasure to be free in the mountains again. It is noticeable that he repeatedly calls upon God in thanks and praise.

After the opening section, the passages of repeating motifs use three textual elements that are also commonly found in Kühreien from other regions of Switzerland. Firstly the repeated ‘lo, lo, lo’ etc. is a wordless vocalisation, much as ‘la, la, la’ is found in English, which might be considered as the vocal

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14 Audio/visual footage, Appenzeller Brauchtumsmuseum, Urnäsch, canton of Appenzell, July 2010.
equivalent of a nonchalant whistle. Secondly, the word ‘loba’ is particularly associated with a Kühreien and can be seen in most transcriptions that occur with text, indeed its association with this type of music has been noted earlier, with the use of the word by Rhau in 1545 to identify his Appenzell transcription as a Kühreien (see p. 169). The word occurs with a variety of spellings including Lobe!, Loba!, Lioba!, Lhoba!, lobela! or Liauba! It is a common call used by a Swiss cowherd when looking after his animals.¹⁵

Thirdly, Kühreien texts often include a list of the animals in the care of the herdsman. This may well be merely a checklist so that he can be sure that no animals go missing on the journey or in the mountain pastures. Often in the Kühreien, as here, though, it is not a list of the actual names of the animals. Names are found recorded in other places, for example on a painting reproduced as a postcard in the Appenzell region.¹⁶

Fig. 4.5. Late nineteenth-century postcard from Appenzell that shows the cows as they descend from the high pastures at the end of the summer, with their names. The style of clothing, the farmhouse and the white goats are all typical of the Appenzell region.¹⁷

¹⁵ Empirical evidence.
¹⁶ Milking cows, like dogs, are given names by their owners as they are kept for many years. Goats, pigs or geese, which are only reared for slaughter, generally are not given names.
¹⁷ Personal communication, Lena Frischknecht, Appenzell, July 2010.
Appenzeller Brauchtumsmuseum, Urnäsch, Canton Appenzell.
The names of cattle used by a herdsman while walking on the journey up or down from the mountains, for example those found in the text of the Appenzell Kühreien, invite three different considerations. The rhythmic use of motifs may reflect the rhythm of walking, or they may appear in a rhyming pattern to help the herdsman to remember which animals he must look after. Most colourfully, though, in the Brogerin text the herdsman enumerates the animals in his care with his own descriptions of the cows, like ‘smelly one’, ‘lame one’, the one that scratches’, ‘the one with a weeping eye’ etc, rather than with their actual names, presumably either for his own amusement, or as a more practical aide memoire.

To what extent the list of animals in the Brogerin version of the Appenzell Kühreien is a list of the specific animals taken up to the mountain pastures in one particular year cannot be known. It might be so, or it might be a version sung to a young child on a grandfather’s knee, in recollection of the old man’s favourite animals and choice descriptions from his former days as a herdsman. It is possible to imagine an element of collation in such a scenario and that the repeat of the rhythmic litany of amusing descriptions of the animals could delight a young child many times over. Thus might such a text evolve from something merely functional into an item of folklore. That this may have become the case here is suggested by the similarity of the text in the Brogerin version with that of 82 years later, in the version of this Kühreien in the Sammlung von Schweizer Kühreien und alten Volksliedern of 1812. The similarity between the two versions of the text indicates that it had at some stage evolved from its free improvisatory origins into a fairly fixed version: this may indeed have happened even before the Brogerin version was written down.

It is important to note, however, a number of small but significant differences between the Brogerin and Kuhn texts (see the direct comparison on p. 175). Firstly, the words are rewritten in a Bernese version of Swiss German, with revised spellings and some vowels adjusted from those that reflect the Appenzell accent. As had become normal for German script, upper case letters
are now inserted for the nouns and the ß is incorporated. Secondly, a difficulty
has arisen in that a number of Appenzell dialect words have been mis-
translated by the author who was not familiar with the local linguistic nuances.
For example, ‘die erst Galt’, which in the Appenzell dialect means the young
cow before she has produced her first milk, has been translated as ‘die erste
Gäl’ which has no such meaning. In the list of individual cows, ‘die alt,
s’krombå’ (the old one, the crooked legged one) has been combined into a
word with no meaning ‘die Altschrombå’.  

A third category of alterations is a political one. In an attempt to avoid
conflicting religious sensitivities, the text has been altered to exclude all the
references to God that appear in the 1730 version. ‘Gotts nama alsama’ (in
God’s name, all together) has been replaced with ‘Allsamma, mit Namma’ (all
together, with their names). Similar phrases replace every other reference to
God in the earlier text. It is not known whether these alterations were made by
Kuhn, or whether a secular version existed before 1812.

This Kühreien, then, was known not only in Appenzell: it was also
familiar to a composer in Leipzig in 1545 and it was included in a collection of
Swiss music published in Bern in 1812. A version of the Appenzell Kühreien
was requested by Princess Anne, later Queen Anne of England (1665-1714),
with whom it was apparently a great favourite: it was said to have been used in
services in the Queen’s Chapel.

18 Information from Joe Manser, Curator, Zentrum für Appenzellische Volksmusik, July 2009.
19 Louis and Philippe-Sirice Bridel, Conservateur Suisse ou Receuil Complet des Étrennes
Helvétienes (Lausanne: Knab, 1813), 429 and Alexander Hyatt King, ‘Mountains, Music
and Musicians,’ The Musical Quarterly Vol. 31, No. 4, (1945), 400.
Other sources indicate not only that this music was known elsewhere, but also that it had acquired a special status in the minds of the Swiss. In 1710, the German physician and medical writer Theodor Zwinger wrote in his *Dissertationem Medicarum Selectorum* a detailed account of the illness of *pothopatidaecia* (homesickness), a serious condition which, he stated, could cause death in severe cases. Zwinger observed that Swiss mercenaries working

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in foreign lands could be overcome by this condition when hearing the Appenzell *Kühreien* and he records that for this reason the playing or singing of the melody among the troops was banned.

... audientes, qui recenter e Patria advenerunt, Milites, refricata patriarum deliciarum memoria protinus hoc Morbo corripiuntur, praesertim si jam alteratum alias sanguinem adepti, vel tristitiae cuidam naturaliter obnoxii fuerint. Cumque Tribuni Militum vidissent, plures hac ratione ad repetendae Patriae desiderium stimulari, aliquos etiam impetrata hinc Febri ardente mortuos esse, severa lege prohibere coacti sunt, ne quis amplius Cantilenam istam, quam vernacula lingua den Kühe-Reyen nuncupare consuerunt, sive Ore sibilando, sive Fistulam inflando canere sustineret. Curiosis vero heic sistere voluimus Lectoribus Cantilenam notis musicis expressam, quo ipsimet de effectu ejus in Mentes Helvetiorum judicare, si velint, queant.  

Zwinger reproduced in the book a version of this *Kühreien*, so that the reader could judge for himself whether the tune had peculiar properties or whether its power lay purely in the minds of those for whom it had special associations. Thus, even before the time of Brogerin, the melody appears to have acquired the status of the Swiss national tune. Although the original purpose of the music was still referred to by the title *Kühreien*, it was the melody, independent of its text and its association with the alphorn, that was for the Swiss a symbol of their identity. Zwinger reports as a separate observation that the alphorn invoked an equally powerful response as a reminder of the Swiss homeland such that it was forbidden too.

The opening phrase in Zwinger’s transcription (see Fig. 4.7) reveals its origins with the presence of the ‘alphorn fa’. It has been noted on p. 17 that in

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21 Theodorus Zwinger, *Dissertationem Medicarum Selectorum* (Basel: Koenig, 1710), 102-106: ‘... those who hear it, while away from home, soldiers, reminded of the delights of their homelands, are immediately afflicted with this illness, especially when among others of their countrymen, to whom it is naturally very painful. When brought before a Military Tribunal, some are so affected by the longing for their home that they may die of a burning fever. In order to prevent this happening any more, it was forbidden by a strict law to sing this song, known in the local speech as the *Kuh-Reyen*, or to play the alphorn. For those who are curious, it is reproduced here, in musical notation, so that the reader can judge for himself whether this is an effect intrinsic to the music, or whether it is something that rests in the minds of the Swiss’.
the ‘scale’ played by an alphorn on the natural harmonics nos. 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12, the ‘alphorn fa’ (no. 11) is sharper than a perfect fourth above its tonic (harmonic no. 8). Thus this alphorn scale has a characteristic sound that is dictated by the fact that it is the natural acoustic product a long tube. The sharp fourth degree of the scale is not a feature of other instruments and it has been seen that composers choose to incorporate the scale with an augmented fourth as a signifier of this rustic sound (see p. 18). Western notation has until recently found no easy way to represent this note.22

It will also be noticed that Zwinger includes in his transcription the final ‘flicked’ high note with which an alphorn player sometimes ends a performance. This has been seen in transcriptions of alphorn music in other contexts (for example, p. 112 and p. 156), but it does not appear in the versions of the Appenzell Kühreien of Rhau, Brogerin or Kuhn; Zwinger’s source must therefore have been a live performance or another written version of the melody.

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22 There is now notation for quarter-tones, but this is not used in alphorn music. It is the norm today that in music for alphorn sometimes the lower version is written and sometimes the higher, for example in s’Alphornbüechli, the seminal collection of alphorn music compiled by Gassmann.
Fig. 4.7. *Cantilena Helvetica der Kühe-Reyen dicta*, the Appenzell *Kühreien*, quoted under ‘Homesickness’ in Zwinger’s *Dissertationem Medicarum Selectorum*, 1710.
The Swiss writer Jean-Jacques Rousseau in his *Dictionnaire de Musique* (1768) also commented on the phenomenon of homesickness caused among the Swiss abroad upon hearing ‘the celebrated Rans des Vaches’: here he uses the French term for the *Kühreien* (procession or row of cows). Rousseau too reported that when Swiss mercenaries were employed abroad, it was forbidden on pain of death to play, whistle or sing the tune because it caused those who heard it to burst into tears, to desert or even die, so much did it arouse in them a longing to see their country again.

J’ai ajouté dans la même Planche le célèbre Rans-des-Vaches, cet Air si chéri des Suisses qu’il fut défend sous peine de mort de le jouer dans leurs Troupes, parce qu’il faisait fondre en larmes, désérer ou mourir ceux qui l’entendaient, tant il excitait en eux l’ardent désir de revoir leur pays. On chercheroit en vain dans cet Air les accens énergiques capables de produire de si étonnants effets. Ces effets, qui n’ont aucun lieu sur les étrangers, ne viennent que de l’habitude, des souvenirs, de mille circonstances qui, retracées par cet Air à ceux qui l’entendent, & leur rappellant leur pays, leurs anciens plaisirs, leur jeunesse, & toutes leurs façons de vivre, excitent en eux une douleur amère d’avoir perdu tout cela. La musique alors n’agie point précisément comme musique, mais comme signe mémoratif. Cet Air, quoique toujours le même, ne produit plus aujourd’hui les mêmes effets qu’il produisait ci-devant sur les Suisses; parce qu’ayant perdu le goût de leur première simplicité, ils ne la regrettent plus quand on la leur rappelle.  

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23 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de Musique* (Paris: Duchesne, 1768), 315: ‘I have attached here the celebrated Rans-des-Vaches, this Air so loved by the Swiss that it was forbidden on pain of death to play it among the soldiers, because it caused them to give up their arms, desert or die when they heard it, arousing in them such desire to see their homeland again. One searches in vain in this tune for the strong energy capable of producing such astonishing effects. These reactions, which do not affect others, arise only in those used to the way of life, the memories, the thousand circumstances recalled by this tune in those who hear it, and their memory of their country, their former pleasures, their youth, and all the facets of their lives, provokes in them a deep sadness at what they have lost. Thus the music does not bring them to this circumstance as music, but as a signal to the memory. This Air, although still the same one, does not produce the same effect any more as it used to among the Swiss, because they are no longer familiar with that simple way of life, and they are not reminded of something that they have lost’. 
The *Ranz des Vaches*\textsuperscript{24} music reproduced in Rousseau’s *Dictionnaire de Musique* is similar to, but not exactly the same as, that quoted by Zwinger 58 years earlier. It is a different version presumably drawn from a different source. It is interesting that although the music printed is undoubtedly a rendition of the Appenzell *Kühreien* and retains all the characteristics of alphorn music, Rousseau gives it the French Swiss version of its title and describes it as a melody played on a *cornemuse* (old French for horn and bag, in other words the bagpipe). Thus it is no longer defined either by its canton, its linguistic roots or its origin as an alphorn melody. However, like Zwinger, Rousseau does reproduce the final high ‘flicked note’ that is characteristic of alphorn playing.

Rousseau’s comments about this music, though, reflect a markedly different situation from that of Zwinger. It is written two generations later and Rousseau’s text speaks of this effect of homesickness as one in the past: he observes that the melody no longer holds the power that it used to with Swiss

\textsuperscript{24} This too appears with a number of variants of spelling.
mercenaries fighting abroad. A profound change had occurred in the use of the alphorn and indeed the entire musical world in a large part of Switzerland in the period between the writing of Zwinger and that of Rousseau.

Switzerland had come under the influence of the Protestant Reformation. Until the middle of the sixteenth century, the herdsman in the mountains was, of necessity, an alphorn player. In large tracts of the country there then followed a gradual change of fortune for the alphorn and the way of life that was dependent upon it. The Reformation, under the leadership of Zwingli (1484-1531) in the east of the country and Calvin (1509-1564) in the west, took hold in Switzerland and the reformers declared that musical instruments were tools of the devil. Following decisions made at a number of Synods towards the end of the sixteenth century, instruments, including church organs, were systematically destroyed. As with many other areas of Europe, around two-thirds of Switzerland was eventually to become Protestant and in these regions the alphorn died out. Only in areas that remained Roman Catholic did the instrument survive: the high mountain regions of central Switzerland, Ticino and part of Appenzell.

The writings of Zwinger and Rousseau thus reflect the state of the alphorn in Swiss culture both before and after this new situation. Zwinger wrote at a poignant time: alphorns were no longer heard in many regions of Switzerland, but older people would still have remembered its sound from their childhood. The effect of knowing that this music was no longer played in their mountains and the memory of the heartbreak caused by the destruction of the instruments then, could easily have made it unbearable for Swiss abroad to hear the famous Appenzell Kühreien. By the time of Rousseau’s publication, it appears that this effect was no longer felt so deeply by subsequent

26 Appenzell was divided into two half-cantons in 1597: Appenzell Innerrhoden remains Catholic, while Appenzell Ausserrhoden became Protestant.
27 No documentation of the impact of this movement on the farming communities in Switzerland has been found, but a graphic description of the distress in the Hebrides caused by the Calvinist destruction of instruments and the way of life of which they were a fundamental part, is given in Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, 29.
generations of Swiss who had grown up under the influence of the Reformation.

The decline of the alphorn in the Swiss psyche was also the result of the increasing urbanisation and industrialisation of the Swiss Confederation. Farming practices were forced to change and during the course of the eighteenth century more and more Swiss either emigrated or moved into the fast-growing towns and cities. In the past it had been a daily routine in mountain communities to listen out for the signal ‘all is well’ from the herdsman at nightfall; this ceased to be part of the lives of successive generations of Swiss for whom a pastoral way of life was no longer familiar.

Sometimes, non-Swiss were at a loss to fully understand the reported power of the Kühreien in the minds of the Swiss. Learned British travellers were acquainted with reports of the phenomenon, for example James Boswell and Samuel Johnson referred to Rousseau’s comments about homesickness caused among Swiss soldiers by the sound of the Appenzell melody. Boswell mused over this in his diary of their travels (1777) and attempts to find parallels in his own experience:

Much of the effect of musick, I am satisfied, is owing to the association of ideas. That air, † [the footnote contains a translation of Rousseau’s text] which instantly and irresistibly excites the Swiss, when in a foreign land, the maladie du pais, has, I am told, no intrinsick power of sound. And I know from my own experience, that Scotch reels, though brisk, make me melancholy, because I used to hear them in my early years, at a time when Mr. Pitt called for soldiers “from the mountains of the north,” and numbers of brave Highlanders were going abroad, never to return. Whereas airs in “The Beggar’s Opera,” many of which are soft, never fail to render me gay, because they are associated with the warm sensations and high spirits of London.28

William Wordsworth wrote a sonnet on the subject in 1820, in an anthology of poetry entitled Memorials of a Tour on the Continent. Being unaware of the true depth of resonance of this melody in the history of the

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Swiss people, he expresses more scepticism about the reported profundity of the effect of this music on them:

On hearing the *Ranz des Vaches* on the top of the Pass of St Gothard.

I listen – but no faculty of mine
Avails those modulations to detect,
Which, heard in foreign lands, the Swiss affect
With tenderest passion; leaving him to pine
(So fame reports) and die, his sweet-breathed kine
Remembering, and green Alpine pastures decked
With vernal flowers. Yet may we not reject
The tale as fabulous. Here while I recline,
Mindful how others by this simple Strain
Are moved, for me – upon this Mountain named
Of God himself from dread pre-eminence –
Aspiring thoughts, by memory reclaimed,
Yield to the Music’s touching influence;
And joys of distant home my heart enchain.29

It was perhaps inevitable that at some stage, new words would be given to this melody to reflect the emotion of homesickness. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Appenzell *Kühreien* was becoming known with just such a text, in French. Benjamin Laborde, in *L’essai sur la Musique Ancienne et Moderne* written in Paris in 1780, quoted the Appenzell melody with the following lyric:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quand reverrai-je en un jour</th>
<th>When will I see again one day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tous les objets de mon amour:</td>
<td>All the objects of my love:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nos claire ruisseaux,</td>
<td>Our clear streams,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nos coteaux,</td>
<td>Our hills,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nos hameaux,</td>
<td>Our villages,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nos montagnes?</td>
<td>Our mountains?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Et l’ornement des nos compagnes?</td>
<td>And the beauty of our countryside?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La si gentil le sabeau</td>
<td>The gentle touch of our shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A l’ombre d’un ormeau,</td>
<td>In the shade of an elm,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quand danserai-je</td>
<td>When I will dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au son du chalumeau?</td>
<td>to the sound of the pipe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon pere,</td>
<td>My father,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma mere,</td>
<td>My mother,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon frere,</td>
<td>My brother,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ma soeur,  
Mes agneaux,  
Mes troupeaux,  
Ma bergere,  
Quand reverrai-je en un jour,  
Tous les objets de mon amour.

My sister,  
My lambs,  
My herds,  
My shepherdess,  
When will I see again one day  
All the objects of my love.

Fig. 4.9. The Appenzell melody, with text that begins ‘Quand reverrai-je’ in Laborde’s L’essai sur la Musique Ancienne et Moderne written in Paris in 1780, bars 1-5.\(^{30}\)

This version is included, alongside that of Kuhn described earlier (p. 173) in the Sammlung von Schweizer Kühreien und alten Volksliedern of 1812. Kuhn provides the information ‘tire de L’essai sur la Musique Ancienne et Moderne par Laborde’ (taken from the essay on ancient and modern music by Laborde) but there was some discussion at the time as to whether Laborde was in fact the author of these lyrics.\(^{31}\)

The circumstances that led to such a text were described by Robert John Thornton in Philosophy of Medicine, or Medical Extracts on the Nature of Health in 1797. He describes the music not with reference to its origins, but as an observer who recognises its evocative simplicity:

That the passion for one’s country is increased by absence, is particularly manifested by the natives of Switzerland. They were so affected by a little air, expressive of their situation, that it is affirmed by several, that it once excited so exquisite a solicitude, that it was therefore prohibited to played in France upon pain of death. … [the above lyrics are quoted] … In this air the images are all rural and simple, and in the highest degree affecting. The music is also remarkable for its simplicity, and sudden transition of measure, varying frequently from Allegro to Andante. When this little air was played or sung to the Swiss soldiers, they would express sighs and tears, and would not unfrequently [sic] desert in the impulse of the moment; and such as shewed silent


\(^{31}\) For example, Tarenne, Recherches, 16.
dejection, and scorned so base a procedure, fell martyrs to their own feelings, by a disease called Nostalgia.\(^\text{32}\)

Within Switzerland, however, the Appenzell Kühreien had also been reinvented. Alongside its inclusion in the Sammlung of 1812 in two versions, the one closely related to that of Brogerin and the setting with the text ‘Quand reverrai-je’ from Laborde, there is a third version with a further new text, given the title ‘Ran [sic] de Vaches des Ormonts.’ Despite this caption that gives its source as a region in the west of Switzerland (far from Appenzell which is the eastern-most canton), the music of this too is recognisable as that from Appenzell. However, it has yet another text that tells a story based in the hills of Colombettes, in the region of Ormont, on the edge of the Gruyère mountains in the canton of Fribourg. The text is in the local French patois.

![Musical notation](image)

**Fig. 4.10. Ran de Vaches des Ormonts, in Sammlung von Schweizer Kühreien und alten Volksliedern, second edition, 1812.\(^\text{33}\)**

The text of the song opens with material similar in sentiment to that of its Appenzell counterpart:

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\(^{32}\) Robert John Thornton, *Philosophy of Medicine, or Medical Extracts on the Nature of Health* (London: Johnson, 1797), Vol. 4, 860-1.

\(^{33}\) Kuhn, ed. *Sammlung* of 1812, 47.
Les Armaillis dé Colombetta

De bon matin sé sont leva,
Ah! Ah! Lioba, Lioba, portaria.
Lioba, Lioba, portaria.
Veni dé tote, petite, grozze,
E blianç é néré,
d’zou véné autré,
Dezo stou tzano,
yio, yie, tarío,
Dezo stou trimblo,
yio, yie, trinzo!
Lioba, lioba portaria.
Lioba, lioba portaria.

The herdsmen of Colombette
Rise early in the morning
Ah! Ah! Rejoice, rejoice, milking.
Rejoice, rejoice, milking.
Come all of you, little, big.
The white and black,
all you others come,
Come under the oak tree,
you, you, wait,
Come under the rustling leaves,
you, you to be milked.
Rejoice, rejoice, milking.
Rejoice, rejoice, milking.

It continues with 19 verses. The music is formalised into two repeating refrains based on two versions of the opening rising music and verses set to the motivic passages. It tells the story of a cowherd, a priest and a pretty young girl. *Armaillis* is a local Swiss French dialect word for cowherds (Latin: *armentum*, herd). In the subsequent edition of the *Sammlung von Schweizer Kühreien und alten Volksliedern* of 1818, the title of the song reads *Ranz des Vaches des Alpes de Gruyère ou du Canton de Frybourg*, a reflection of some of the variety of descriptions of the location in which it is set.

This song, with some alteration to spellings and minor melodic detail, appeared in a number of contemporary sources. In a publication by brothers Louis and Philippe-Sirice Bridel, *La Conservateur Suisse ou Receuil Complet des Étrennes Helvéticiennes* (1813), for example, it appears thus:

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34 Author’s translation, from the French version provided by Louis and Philippe-Sirice Bridel in *Conservateur Suisse ou Receuil Complet des Étrennes Helvéticiennes* (Lausanne: Knab, 1813), 425-7.
Similar music is also found with the source given as the Jura mountains in the canton of Vaud and Simplon in the canton of Valais. Thus the music of the German-speaking, easternmost canton of the Swiss Confederation had become adopted by the inhabitants of the French-speaking western part. The French term *Ranz des Vaches* for this music was to become as common as the German term *Kühreien*.

Through this song, the old Appenzell alphorn calls were popularised in an unusual circumstance. At the annual wine festival of 1819 in Vevey, some 20 miles from Colombettes, the herdsmen mounted a small dramatic interlude, together with their cattle:

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La troupe arrêtée, les figurants ôteront leurs chapeaux qu’ils remplaceront par la barrette de cuir; après avoir retroussé leurs manches, ils s’occuperont à traire les vaches et à imiter l’opération de faire le fromage, tout cela en chantant en chœur quelques couplets du Ranz des vaches.37

Following its first appearance at the Vevey wine festival of 1819, the singing of this Ranz became an annual ritual there. The American writer James Fenimore Cooper, author of the novel Last of the Mohicans, wrote a moving account of the Vevey Festival of 1833. The programme for the festival included the text of Les Armaillis de Colombettes and the communal singing of the melody assumed an aura of solemnity and deep-felt rootedness in the land and the country:

Les pâtres et les laitières n’eurent pas plutôt dit les deux premiers versets, qu’un profond silence se fit dans la foule; puis, à mesure que les strophes du chœur s’élevaient dans l’air, de nombreux échos partant de la foule répétaient les notes sauvages; et à l’exclamation Liauba! Liauba!, des milliers de voix partirent simultanément comme pour adresser aux montagnes les voeux de leurs enfants. Les derniers vers se confondirent dans un élan général d’enthousiasme.38

Today in Switzerland this version of the music has acquired the status of an anthem to be sung at national festivals and private celebrations, at formal events and casual gatherings, sung either by massed crowds or as a solo, in unison or harmony, sometimes with instrumental or even orchestral accompaniment. It features on many CD recordings of Swiss music.39

37 Description de la Fête des Vignerons Célébrée à Vevey, le 5 août 1819 (Vevey: Loertscher, 1819): ‘The herd stopped, the farmers removed their caps and replaced them with berets made of leather; after rolling up their sleeves they milked the cows and imitated the process of making cheese, all the time singing in chorus some verses of the Ranz des Vaches.’

38 James Fenimore Cooper, Le Bourreau de Berne, ou L’Abbaye des Vignerons (Paris: Gosselin, 1839), 25: ‘No sooner had the herdsmen and milkmaids sung the first two stanzas, than a deep silence descended on the crowd; then, as the verses of the singers rose in the air, numerous echoes mounted in the crowd as they repeated the simple music; and the cry Liauba! Liauba! rang out simultaneously from thousands of voices as if directing child-like vows to the mountains. The final verses united in a general outburst of exuberant enthusiasm.’

39 For example, Suisse Paysages Musicaux, Ocora Radio France, CD C600017.
Thus the old Appenzell Kühreien had taken on two different roles. Within Switzerland, it became, and to some extent still is, the best loved national song. Its text tells a story of life and love in a typical Swiss mountain setting. Outside Switzerland, it has different lyrics: those of homesickness for the Swiss landscape and way of life.

The melody was still played on the alphorn too. In 1840 the anonymous author of an article entitled ‘On the National Songs and Music of Switzerland’ in the London journal The New Monthly Magazine and Humorist not only describes his experience of the alphorn and the ‘alphorn fa’. He also gives a quotation of the opening of the famous Swiss melody:

Its sound resembles that of a muffled trumpet; but it is much more powerful, rude, and penetrating, especially in the higher notes of the scale, which scale in an Alp-horn of five feet would be nearly that of a B flat trumpet; and of ten feet that of the common French-horn in B flat basso; the upper F of both the trumpet and the French-horn being rather sharper than the fourth of the scale should be; but the F of the Alp-horn is even more imperfect, being, in fact, almost an F sharp. It is, indeed, to this very imperfection in the formation of the natural and the sharp notes, that the very peculiar and highly-characteristic effect of the instrument (when heard under its appropriate circumstance of time and place) is in great measure attributable. In the following passage, for instance, in which the notes marked with an asterisk would in strictness be F natural, the effect of the peculiar melody requires that the F’s should be sharp or very nearly so.

… As a termination to his “Kühreihe,” the performer usually selects this plaintive and peculiar note, on which he dwells with long and expressive emphasis, and its effect on the hearers is indescribably singular and impressive, more especially when heard from afar, as it breaks upon the silence of the evening, and is reverberated in softened and varied tones from the surrounding hills. Towards sunset, in the summer months, these “Kühreien” may be heard, sounding from different points of the higher lands, on which the chalets* [a footnote describes the mountain huts
where the herdsman and his cattle slept and where cheese was made] or extensive sheds for the shelter of the cattle at night, are situated …

The author further comments on the ability of the cows to recognise their own *Kühreien*:

… it is not a little curious to observe the sagacity with which the leaders, or *Dreichalkühe* of the various herds, which during the day have been indiscriminately scattered over the pasturages of the lower plain, recognise and obey this signal of recall; each particular herd dividing from the rest, and slowly filing off in the direction of its own herdsman, the sound of whose horn, or perhaps his particular method of instrumentation, they appear to be capable of distinguishing. Such at least was the effect produced on our minds by this Alpestral scene, which we have frequently witnessed in mountain districts.

In contrast to the musings of James Boswell quoted earlier (see p. 189), this detailed description demonstrates that visitors from abroad could indeed be profoundly affected by this melody when it was heard in an appropriate context.

The next phase of the development of the Appenzell *Kühreien* was its increasing incorporation into formal, composed music as a recognisable melodic signifier, by non-Swiss composers who came into contact either with the melody, or with its effect on Swiss people abroad, or both. The second half of this chapter will examine a selection of examples in which composers outside Switzerland have made use of the music of the Appenzell *Kühreien*, or *Les Armaillis de Colombettes*, or indeed new permutations of this material. In some cases the music is simply a transcription for piano, or voice and piano, while in others it is used as the basis of a Fantasie or a set of variations. Sometimes the characteristic melodic shapes are quoted for a specific reason in larger works. Comments upon the relationship between the music and its historical background will be made, where appropriate.

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41 Ibid.
Muzio Clementi (1752-1832) was a key figure in the development of a technique specific to the piano in contrast to that of the harpsichord and much of his output as a composer was designed as teaching material for this new instrument that incorporated an exploration of its tonal capabilities. Clementi travelled widely throughout Europe and stayed in Switzerland on a number of occasions. He lived in London for much of his life where he developed a successful publishing and piano-building business. Here in 1797 he published his Six Sonatinas, Op. 36; the second movement of Sonatina No. 5 has the title *Air Suisse* and is a decorative version of the Appenzell *Kühreien*. The main rising theme is preceded and followed with sections based on the familiar three-note repeating motifs. Clementi incorporates typical *Kühreien* echo effects and a *rallentando* to a pause; his simple folk-like accompaniment in places times resembles a rustic drone.

![Fig. 4.12. Clementi, Six Sonatinas No. 5: Air Suisse, bars 23-34.](image)

Alongside Clementi, fellow Italian Giovanni Battista Viotti (1755-1824) was also an active figure in the musical life of London at this time. Clementi and Viotti were together instrumental in the foundation of the Philharmonic Society and the Royal Academy of Music. In the same year as the publication

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Chapter 4  Appenzell Kühreien

of Clementi’s Sonatinas, above, Viotti spent some time in Switzerland. While walking in the canton of Vaud, he was so struck by the sound of an alphorn playing the famous *Ranz des Vaches* that he wrote the following letter to his London landlady, Mrs Chinnery. He describes the magical effect of the music and its setting, its form and its impact.

I was walking alone, towards the end of the day… I descended the valleys and traversed the heights. At length chance brought me to a valley which, on arousing from my waking dream, I discovered to be full of delight. It reminded me of one of those wonderful retreats so beautifully described by Gesner: flowers, meadows, small streams, all united to form a picture of perfect harmony. There, without being tired, I sat against a rock … While thus sitting, wrapped in this slumber of the soul, sounds broke upon my ear which were sometimes hurried, sometimes prolonged and sustained, and which were softly repeated by the echoes around. I found they came from a mountain-horn, and their effect was heightened by a plaintive female voice … and a procession of cows was descending calmly down the mountain. Struck as if by enchantment, I started from my reverie, listened with breathless attention, and learnt, or rather engraved upon my memory, the *Ranz des Vaches* which I enclose … in order to understand all its beauties, you ought to be transported to the scene in which I heard it, and to feel all the excitement that such a moment inspired.⁴⁶

Viotti described the experience more than once: in another letter, after a description of the occasion on which he heard the music, he elaborated on the music itself, with the explanation that the music must not be structured or be given any pulse, if it is to be authentic and retain its charm and character:

*Ce Rans des vaches n’est ni celui que notre ami J. Jaques nous a fait connaitre … J’ai crû devoir les notes sans rhitme, c’est a dire sans mesure. Il est des cas ou la mélodie veut être sans gêne pour être elle, elle seule; la moindre mesure derangissit son effet; cela est ci vrai, que les sons prolongeant dans l’espace, on ne sauroit déterminer le temps qui leur faut pour arriver d’une montagne à l’autre. C’est donc le sentiment et la pensée qui doivent plutôt ne transporter à la verité de son exécution que le rhitme et une cadence mesurée. Ce Rans des Vaches en mesure servit dénaturé et perdroit de sa simplicité; Ainsi pour le rendre dans son veritable sens et tel que je l’ai entendu, il faut que l’imagination vous transporte là où il est né, et tout en l’exécutant en Angleterre reuinir*

toutes ses facultés pour le sentir en Suisse. C’est ainsi que dans quelques moments ravissans, je l’ai exécuté sur mon violon, la meilleur des Amis l’entendait.⁴⁷

This melody bears the recognisable contours and phrases of the Appenzell Kühreien, but is sufficiently different from it that Viotti composed two quite different works that reflect the two versions:

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⁴⁷ Manuscript in the Collection of papers of or relating to Giovanni Battista Viotti, Royal College of Music Library, London, ms. 41 18, 26 June 1792: ‘This Rans des Vaches is not the one that we know from our friend Jean-Jaques [Rousseau] ... I transcribed the notes without pulse, in other words without bars. The melody needs to be without structure in order to be its authentic self; the least pulse distorts its effect: it is more accurate to leave the sounds hanging in the air, as you cannot determine the time it takes for them to resound from one mountain to another. This is the feeling and the thought that brings authenticity, not pulse and rhythmic phrases. This Rans des Vaches put into bars becomes unnatural and loses its simplicity; therefore, to play it as I heard it, your imagination must take you to where it was born, and those in England must direct all their mental powers to being in Switzerland. This is how in some ravishing moments I have played it on my violin, so that people can hear it well’.

⁴⁸ Reproduced in La Décade Philosophique, Littéraire et Politique (Paris: Décade, 1798), opposite p. 534.
While Clementi and Viotti were working in London, Paris was embroiled in the turmoil of the French Revolution (1789-1799). Two substantial works that incorporate the Appenzell *Kühreien* were written in Paris during this time. Although both tell a significant story within the context of that political struggle, each work uses the Swiss melody for a different purpose.

André Grétry (1741-1813) set a French version of the story of William Tell in 1791. The libretto was created by Michel-Jean Sedaine, based on a play *Guillaume Tell* by Paris dramatist Antoine-Marin Lemierre. Those responsible for the Nouveau Regime were determined to turn the nation away from the frivolity and artifice of the operas of the former aristocracy. They established a new set of musical styles with such themes as military pride, heroism against tyranny or celebration of peasant life. The story of the Swiss hero William Tell, who reputedly outwitted oppressors from the House of Habsburg in 1307, provided an ideal script. Two operas were written in Paris after the abolition of the monarchy based on this story, that of André Grétry, and another by Gioachino Rossini in 1829 (examined below, p. 262). Grétry’s score opens with instructions that the stage should be set to show the son of William Tell playing a *Ranz des Vaches* as he stands on a rocky outcrop at sunrise. A procession of cattle should be visible in the distance:

50 *Ibid*.
Acte Premier. Scene Premiere. Le Théâtre Représente les montagnes de la Suisse, le lever de l’aurore; un petit Pâtre; le fils de Guillaume Tell, est vu sur la pointe d’un rocher dans le lointain il joue le Rhans des Vaches: On voit dans les entre deux des montagnes des Pâtres des Vaches qui passent.\textsuperscript{52}

The music begins in Scene 2, with 40 bars of the Appenzell Kühreien to establish the pastoral scene. The melody is given to the clarinet. Grétry uses the opening rising phrase, marked Adagio, which he alternates with interjections of the three-note motivic cells, in Allegro tempo in reflection of the character of the early versions of the Appenzell Kühreien. Grétry varies the accompaniment for each section. Rippling string semiquavers support the opening phrase whereas short flourishes and held notes accompany the first triple-time passage. The subsequent sections are similarly marked by changes in the style of the accompaniment. The final triple metre section is accompanied with the imaginative instrumentation of a long bass note held on the violas, while the basso is given a quiet dominant marked sottoline (flautando). Each section ends with an atmospheric paused note. The motifs are supported by notes on a cow-horn in C: there are three differently pitched cows’ horns required in the work. The typical alphorn final high ‘flicked’ note is present at the end of a number of the sections.

\textsuperscript{52} ‘Act 1. Scene 1. The theatre represents the Swiss mountains at sunrise; a small meadow; in the distance William Tell’s son is seen on a crag playing a Ranz des Vaches: one can see in the gap in the mountains the pastures of the cows that are passing by.’
GUILLAUME TELL.

ACTE PREMIER.

Scene Première.

Le Théâtre Reprisente les montagnes de la Suisse, le lever de l'aurore; un petit Pâtre; le fils de Guillaume Tell, est vu sur la pointe d'un rocher dans le lointain il joue le Rhans des Vaches:
On voit dans les entre deux des montagnes des Pâtres des Vaches qui passent.

Scene II.

Adagio

Clarinette seule

Violons

Basses

Cornet ou Corne de Vache il genat tous dediffrents sons dans le courant de la Pièce.
Fig. 4.16. Music of the Appenzell Kühreien in the opening pages from the score of Grétry’s opera *Guillaume Tell*, 1791.\textsuperscript{53}

A second work written in Paris three years later that quotes the Kühreien from Appenzell is a one-act opera entitled *La Triomphe de la République, ou Le Camp de Grand Pré*, composed by François-Joseph Gossec (1734-1829). He had arrived in Paris in 1751 at the age of 17, where he became a student of Rameau. By his early twenties he was already a key figure in Paris as a conductor, composer and teacher. As conductor of the Garde Nationale, he was an important musical figure in the French Revolution. Gossec’s opera, written in 1794, celebrated a major victory during the Revolution. His original title was *Le Triomphe de la Liberté et La Trêve Interrompue* (The Triumph of Liberty and the Broken Truce), but this title was altered following the defeat of the monarchy in September 1792 to *Le Triomphe de la République, ou Le Camp de Grand Pré*. The libretto by Marie-Joseph Chénier describes the events at what proved to be a decisive battle at Grand Pré in 1792: fighting, waiting for news and the celebration of victory. Many foreign mercenaries fought in the Revolution, both for the King and for the revolutionaries; Swiss soldiers were particularly renowned for their bravery and skill. The final scene of Gossec’s opera depicts the nations as they unite in celebration, through a series of melodies and dances from the various homelands of the soldiers: *Air pour les Polonois, Anglaise ou Bostoniene, Air pour les Suisses ‘Rans des Vaches’, Grivois, Valsque, Air pour les Negres* and *Air pour les Savoisiens*, followed by a Vielle and a final Contre Danse.

Gossec’s *Rans des Vaches* here quotes the opening rise and fall of the Appenzell melody in three different versions. These are presented very slowly (marked Adagio) with a smooth accompaniment that creates an atmosphere of solemnity and reflective calm. In contrast, these alternate with bright arpeggiating phrases in 3/8, marked Allegro, which are based on the contrasting three-note motifs commonly seen in other versions of the Kühreien. The clarinet is again chosen for the main motif, with the violins given faster

dance-like interludes. Gossec imitates the music of the alphorn with the raised fourth, irregular phrase-lengths and the inclusion of a final high ‘flicked’ note.
As various versions of the Appenzell Kühreien melody became more widely known across western Europe, it became fashionable for composers to write their own settings of the music. A fine example of the incorporation of

the Appenzell Kühreien into a work for piano is a work by the Hungarian composer Franz Liszt (1811-1886). He was well-travelled and wrote much music in which he reflected his feelings about the places he visited. In his preface to *Tagebuch eines Wanderers* (Diary of a Traveller), written in 1836 at the age of 25, Liszt writes eloquently about his motivation for the composition of the work. He explains that he visited many places celebrated for their history or their poetry, but they did not just pass meaninglessly before his eyes – they penetrated his soul. This relationship between him and the places he visited is what he has tried to depict in these compositions. As he began to compose, the images intensified in his mind and organised themselves naturally.

Nachdem ich in der letzten Zeit viele neue Länder neue und verschiedenartige Gegenden, viele durch die Geschichte und die Dichtkunst verklärte Orte kennen gelernte, nachdem ich empfunden habe, dass die mannigfaltigen Erscheinungen der Natur und die Vorgänge in derselben nicht wie eindrucklose Bilder an meinen Augen vorüberzogen, sondern dass sie in meiner Seele tiefe Empfindungen hervorrufen – entstanden zwischen ihnen und mir zwar undeutliche aber doch unmittelbare Beziehungen, ein unbestimmtes aber doch vorhandenes Verhältnis, eine unerklärliche aber vorhandene Verbindung. Ich versuch dann, in Töneneinige meiner stärksten Empfindungen, meiner lebhaftesten Eindrücke wiederzugeben.

Nachdem ich diese Arbeit begonnen hatte, verdichteten sich die Erinnerungen mehr und mehr, verbanden und ordneten sich naturgemäß die Bilder und die Ideen …

*Tagebuch eines Wanderers* comprises 18 piano pieces, a number of which were written in Switzerland. They include many references to both alphorn music and yodelling. Alphorn music provides the main thematic

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57 Franz Liszt, *Pianofortewerke*, Vol. 4 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1916), Vorwort. ‘I recently came to know a number of new regions and places, many renowned for their history and their poetry. I felt the various natural forces and the associated events, not as meaningless images that passed before my eyes, rather as resonances deep within my soul; there arose between them and myself an undoubted and immediate relationship, an indefinable but clear connection, an inexplicable but definite bond. I tried then to create my strongest sensations, my most vivid impressions, in sound. After I started this work, the memories became more and more intense and they formed their own combinations and order …’
material in five of the movements: Die Tellskapelle, two of the Melodieenblüten von den Alpen, Kuhreigen and Ein Abend in den Bergen.\textsuperscript{58}

The sixth in the set of Melodieenblüten von den Alpen comprises an expressive selection of alphorn-like motifs, followed by a solemn rendition of the Appenzell Kühreien. This is reminiscent not only of the music’s early prayer-like connotations, but also of its reverential use at the Vevey Festivals. Liszt marks the statement of the opening phrases Adagio molto espressivo, semplice and gives each motif an appropriate pause at the end. The second theme from the Kühreien then appears in the tenor voice in 3/8, set with a drone underneath and against an elaboration of the melody in 1/4 in the right hand. After a number of other sections, the prayer-like Adagio section returns to close the movement.

\textsuperscript{58} Quotations of other alphorn motifs in Tagebuch eines Wanderers will be examined in Chapter 5.
It was also not uncommon to write Fantasies or sets of variations based on the Appenzell material. A number of examples appear in keyboard music and the melody is used in settings for other instruments too. One example of an extensive Fantasie that includes the Appenzell music was written for the harp.

Fig. 4.18. Liszt, Tagebuch eines Wanderers. Appenzell Kühreien material is the basis of the sixth of his Melodieenblüten von den Alpen. Bars 49-80.\(^59\)

\(^{59}\) Liszt, Pianofortewerke, Vol. 4, 97.
by Gustavus von Holst (1799-1871). His father Matthias had been a harp player in the Imperial Russian court in St. Petersburg before moving to London as a music teacher; his grandson was the more famous composer Gustav Holst. Gustavus, like Matthias, was also a renowned harp player and teacher who composed much music for his instrument. He extended the family surname to ‘von Holst’ reputedly to improve his perceived social status in the eyes of his harp and piano students\textsuperscript{60} and settled in Cheltenham, where grandson Gustav was raised.\textsuperscript{61}

Gustavus wrote a set of variations for the harp based on music of the Alps, of which the opening pages use material from the Appenzell \textit{Kühreien}. He called the work \textit{Fantasia Tirolese, in which is introduced Tyrolean [sic] Airs and Ranz de Vaches, for the Harp}. The harp is popular in the Tyrol where it is the most common instrument used for accompaniment; it features in paintings on farmhouses and appears frequently still today in Austrian folk music groups. Despite the fact that Tyrol is in Austria (and part of northern Italy) and that the \textit{Ranz des Vaches} is a Swiss phenomenon, Gustavus von Holst treats both the location and the melody as a unified ‘Alpine’ source of inspiration. He had the work published privately in London around 1826 and it is dedicated to the harpist Miss Speid.

Gustavus demonstrates his detailed understanding of the harp by his provision of pedal changes and fingerings. He makes use of a number of special effects that he knew could be achieved on the harp, for example with the marking ‘near the sounding board’. He also included instructions to use swell-box louvres (\textit{soupapes}) in the pillar of the harp, newly invented by the Parisian harp-maker Erard, with the indication ‘From this mark \# until this *, the swell pedal should be opened and closed after each note, so as to produce a reverberation of sound, or echo’. The final two long notes in the excerpt below also have the marking that the louvres should be opened and closed a number of times to create an atmospheric impression of reverberation for the \textit{Ranz des

\textsuperscript{60} Michael Short, \textit{Gustav Holst} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 9-10.
\textsuperscript{61} By a strange quirk of history Gustav Holst chose to remove the ‘von’ by deed poll in 1918 to anglicise his name in response to anti-German sentiment. \textit{Ibid.}, 159.
Vaches theme. It may be significant that this section is given the subtitle Pastorale.

Fig. 4.19. The opening page of Gustavus von Holst’s Fantasia Tirolese for the harp.\textsuperscript{62}

\textsuperscript{62} Gustavus von Holst, Fantasia Tirolese, in which is introduced Tyrolean Airs and Ranz de Vaches, for the Harp (London: self-published, c.1826).
Many salon pieces based on the now popular *Ranz des Vaches* were published with elaborate illustrations on the cover, although occasionally the artist employed to produce the drawing had little knowledge of the background to the music. For example, a *Fantaisie sur le Ranz des Vaches* for solo piano by Louis Niedermeyer is printed by Pacini, the publisher of Rossini’s operas in Paris. The illustration, by Parisian lithographer Langlamé, shows an amusing depiction of a herdsman with an alphorn: it would appear that his familiarity with the flamboyant world of Italian opera, rather than any awareness of realism, is reflected in the stance and attire of the herdsman!

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Vocal settings of the famous Swiss melody sometimes had new lyrics that reflected the music’s origins in new ways. One such song is from the pen of Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791-1864), who travelled and studied throughout Europe and eventually settled in Paris. Meyerbeer used alphorn motifs in a number of his works and he wrote a setting of the Ranz des Vaches d’Appenzell for soprano and piano in 1840. The title is Chanson Suisse: Fais Sonner la Clochette: Ranz des Vaches d’Appenzell (Swiss Song: Sound your Little Bell: Kühreien from Appenzell). The chorus carries the subheading Cri pour rapeller le troupeau (Cry for calling the herd). This is a strain of lyrics independent of the surge of interest in the melody at the Vevey wine festivals in the west of Switzerland: the text here is by the French dramatist Eugène Scribe who wrote libretti for Verdi and Rossini. It tells of a stranger who tries to entice a herdsman away from his rural way of life in Appenzell to earn his fortune elsewhere. Meyerbeer sets the chorus to the melody of the Appenzell Kühreien, against static or slow-moving harmony. He uses the version of the opening phrase with the raised fourth degree of the scale.

**Le Berger:**
Voici donc le soir,
je vais la revoir,
Mes vaches chéries
Quittons les prairies,
On m’attend déjà!

**Herdman:**
Here in the evening
I make my return,
My lovely cows
leave the meadows,
They wait for me already!

**Ah! Fais sonner ta clochette**
mon gentil troupeau,
afin que Jeannette
m’entende plûtôt.

**Ah! Sound your little bell**
my gentle herd,
so that Jeannette
Will hear me soon.

**Mais de ce rocher**
Qui vois-je approcher?
Étranger, sans doute,
Tu cherches ta route?
Jean te conduira!
Ah! Fais sonner . .

**But by that rock**
Who do I see approaching?
A stranger, undoubtedly,
Are you looking for your way?
Jean will lead you.
Ah! Sound your little bell . . .

**L’étranger:**
Voudrais-tu, berger,
de destin changer?
Si tu veux me suivre
Gaiment tu peux vivre.

**Herdman, would you like**
to change your destiny?
If you wish to follow me
You could have a gay life.
Le Berger:
Moi quitter cela?
Ah! Fais sonner . . .
Voi donc ce beau ciel,
Le ciel d’Appenzell!
Là c’est ma patrie,
Là ma douce amie
Souvent me chanta.
Ah! Fais sonner . . .

L’étranger:
Tu peux au retour
L’enrichir un jour,
Tiens voici d’avance
Cent écus de France.

Le berger:
Eh! Quoi les voilà?
Ah! notre fortune est faite,
Quittons le hameau,
Adieu mon Jeannette,
Adieu mon troupeau.

L’étranger:
Les voilà
Quittons le hameau
partons . . .

Le berger:
Mais, quel bruit
dont mon coeur frémit,
j’entends leur clochettes
dont le son répète,
tu nous fuis, ingrat!
Tiens, reprends ta richesse.
Je reste au hameau
avec ma maîtresse
avec mon troupeau.

L’étranger:
Tu restes au hameau?
Eh, quoi, tu restes?
Partons, viens!
Si tu veux me suivre
Gaïment tu peux vivre,
Eh quoi! eh quoi!
Tu restes au hameau?

L’étranger:
Tu peux au retour
L’enrichir un jour,
Tiens voici d’avance
Cent écus de France.

Le berger:
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Ah! notre fortune est faite,
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Je reste au hameau
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L’étranger:
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Eh, quoi, tu restes?
Partons, viens!
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Gaïment tu peux vivre,
Eh quoi! eh quoi!
Tu restes au hameau?

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L’étranger:
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Eh, quoi, tu restes?
Partons, viens!
Si tu veux me suivre
Gaïment tu peux vivre,
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Tu peux au retour
L’enrichir un jour,
Tiens voici d’avance
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avec ma maîtresse
avec mon troupeau.

L’étranger:
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Eh, quoi, tu restes?
Partons, viens!
Si tu veux me suivre
Gaïment tu peux vivre,
Eh quoi! eh quoi!
Tu restes au hameau?

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L’étranger:
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Eh, quoi, tu restes?
Partons, viens!
Si tu veux me suivre
Gaïment tu peux vivre,
Eh quoi! eh quoi!
Tu restes au hameau?

Le berger:
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L’étranger:
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Eh, quoi, tu restes?
Partons, viens!
Si tu veux me suivre
Gaïment tu peux vivre,
Eh quoi! eh quoi!
Tu restes au hameau?

Le berger:
Eh! Quoi les voilà?
Ah! notre fortune est faite,
Quittons le hameau,
Adieu mon Jeannette,
Adieu mon troupeau.
An example of the Appenzell music used in a song setting where the text focusses on the source of the material, the alphorn, is a work by Richard Strauss (1864-1949). He was steeped in the world of the French horn throughout his early life, as his father Franz was for 50 years the leading horn player in Germany. Richard wrote most evocatively for the horn and was particularly skilled in the use of instrument as a symbol of the landscape.\textsuperscript{65} The subject matter of this song, entitled \textit{Alphorn}, Op. 16, for soprano, French horn and piano, is highlighted by the use of both the \textit{Kühreien} from Appenzell and by the inclusion of a part for \textit{obbligato} French horn. It was written in 1876 when Richard was twelve years old and is dedicated to his father.

The text, by the poet and psychologist Justinus Kerner, reflects on the haunting qualities of the sound of the alphorn. Strauss gives many alphorn-like

\textsuperscript{64} Giacomo Meyerbeer, \textit{Ranz des Vaches d’Appenzell} (London: Cramer, Addison and Beale), no date.

\textsuperscript{65} Other works in which Strauss incorporates alphorn motifs will be examined in Chapter 5.
phrases to the French horn and opens with the characteristic strains of the Appenzell Kühreien, set over a still, quiet backdrop.

Ein Alphorn hör' ich schallen,  
Das mich von hinnen ruft,  
Tönt es aus wald'gen Hallen?  
Tönt es aus blauer Luft?  
Tönt es von Bergeshöhe,  
Aus blumenreichen Thal?  
Wo ich nur geh' und stehe,  
Hör ich'sin süßer Qual.

I hear an alphorn calling  
But know not whence its sound:  
From crag or woodland falling,  
From azure skies around,  
From peak or flower-strewn hollow  
Whence comes the haunting strain?  
I walk and stand and follow  
And feel the sweetest pain.

Bei Spiel und frohem Reigen,  
Einsam mit mir allein,  
Tönt's, ohne je zu schweigen,  
Tönt tief ins Herz hinein.

For I am called up yonder  
To paths and meadows high,  
And as alone I wander  
The endless sound seems nigh.

The Kühreien from Appenzell was to experience a further transformation, one that would have a dramatic impact on the English-speaking world. This was its reincarnation with a text on the subject of homesickness in the English language, as the now much-loved song *Home, Sweet Home*. The song sold 100,000 copies in its first year of publication.68

It was the work of composer Sir Henry Rowley Bishop (1786-1855). He was asked by a London publisher to compile a collection of *Melodies of Various Nations* which was completed in 1821. Bishop wrote piano accompaniments and Thomas Bayly added lyrics to each of the melodies. Switzerland was represented by the Appenzell Kühreien, but there is an anomaly. Although Bishop’s melody has the characteristic opening rising and falling phrase of the Appenzell tune and is given a poignant text that reflects the sentiments of nostalgia for the homeland, it has the appellation ‘Sicilian’. It will become clear from its music, its text and from Bishop’s later reference to the melody as the *Ranz des Vaches* (see below, p. 221) that it is likely that the handwriting was misread by the printer and the original designation was ‘Swiss’ or ‘Switzerland’.

It is interesting to notice that Bishop uses both versions of the opening phrase of the Appenzell Kühreien: the climb from tonic to dominant without the supertonic opens the piano introduction, whereas the full rising line from tonic to dominant opens the vocal line. The first line of the lyric ‘To the home of my childhood’, used as its title in the collection, immediately sets the stage for the emotional content of the rest of the song. Bishop is meticulous in his instruction as to the required mood for the piece, providing five indications *Larghetto, Sostenuto, Affettuoso, Soave e legatissimo* at the beginning.

67 Translation by Robert Baker-Glenn / Frances Jones.
Fig. 4.23. Bishop, *Melodies of Various Nations*: ‘Sicilian’ melody that opens with the shape of the Appenzell Kühreien.\(^69\)

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There are four verses; the first gives an indication of the sentiment throughout:

To the home of my childhood in sorrow I came,
And I fondly expected to find it the same –
Full of sunshine and joy, as I thought it to be
In the days when the world was all sunshine to me:
Those scenes were unalter’d by time, and I stood
Looking down on the village half hid by the wood;
That happy abode, where I us’d to possess
A father’s affection, a mother’s caress.

Two years later, Bishop arranged the song for inclusion in his opera *Clari, or The Maid of Milan*, which was performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. The libretto for the opera was a play written by the American actor and dramatist John Payne and the entire plot revolves around the theme of homesickness. Alongside the new title for this melody, *Home, Sweet Home*, Bishop adds the information that it was ‘adapted from a national melody and arranged by Henry R. Bishop, 1823’.

Its lyrics now transfer the connotations of homesickness, with which the Swiss melody was associated, to the American hearth and the song reappears at telling moments throughout the work. John Payne’s version of the text reads:

Mid pleasures and palaces though we may roam,
Be it ever so humble, there’s no place like home.
A charm from the skies seems to hallow us there,
Which seek thro’ the world, is ne’er met with elsewhere.
Home, home, sweet sweet home,
There’s no place like home, there’s no place like home.

I gaze on the moon as I tread the drear wild,
And feel that my mother now thinks of her child;
As she looks on that moon from our own cottage door,
Thro’ the woodbine whose fragrance shall cheer me no more.
Home, home, sweet sweet home,
There’s no place like home, there’s no place like home.

An exile from home, splendour dazzles in vain,
Oh, give me my lowly thatched cottage again;
The birds singing gaily that came at my call:
Give me them and that peace of mind, dearer than all.
Home, home, sweet sweet home,
There’s no place like home, there’s no place like home.\(^{70}\)

The song became so popular that Bishop used it again in a sequel to *Clari*, another opera actually entitled *Home, Sweet Home or the Ranz des Vaches*, which was produced at Covent Garden and in New York in 1829.

The song now exists in a number of slightly different versions, both in musical detail and in its lyrics. It is interesting to note that as with the old *Kühreien* and the version in Bishop’s collection of *Melodies of Various Nations*, the opening is heard today both with the supertonic present and without.

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\begin{align*}
\text{Fig. 4.24. The opening of the melody} & \text{Home, Sweet Home by Henry Rowley Bishop, based on the Appenzell Kühreien.}
\end{align*}
\]

Despite its roots as a Swiss melody, it was quickly embraced both as a quintessential English song by the English and as an American song by Americans. It was to become the most widely sung and reproduced tune of its time. In particular it was adopted both by soldiers while away from home and by their families left behind. The number of stitchwork pictures of English cottages, with the accompanying text *Home, Sweet Home*, hanging above living-room fireplaces throughout England and the Americas a century ago, pays homage to the widespread popularity of this melody in the English-speaking world and its adoption into our ‘folk’ tradition.

Irwin Silber, in *Songs of the Civil War*, describes the extraordinary effect that this song had upon soldiers on both sides of the American Civil War (1861-1865): that the opposing armies stopped fighting each other in order to join in singing this song together, with its sentiment of homesickness deeply felt by everyone present. He writes:

\(^{70}\) Duncan, ‘Home Sweet Home’. 
On a clear, starlit night along the banks of the Potomac River, while two mighty armies faced each other in the darkness from opposite sides of the river, the loneliness and heartaches and suffering of men at war overflowed into song. There were martial songs and patriotic songs and sentimental songs, first from one side and then from the other. And then, one of the armies took up the yearning refrain of “Home, Sweet Home,” and suddenly the sweet strains of the melody familiar to all Americans came drifting through the air from both sides of the Potomac. The two armies, locked in fierce and mortal combat, had stopped their killing for the length of a song, to share a common emotion.

It was only proper and appropriate that this musical unity should be achieved with one of the most popular songs ever written … “Home, Sweet Home” quickly became the first genuine American “hit” – American despite its British composer because of the widespread popularity and commercial success which it enjoyed in the United States.  

In a remarkable repetition of events, this melody had become so widely loved that, as in Europe 150 years earlier, when it was forbidden for Swiss mercenary soldiers serving abroad to play or sing the Appenzell Kühreien lest the soldiers desert or die of nostalgia, now under the title of ‘Home Sweet Home’ it was once again to become the subject of the same restriction. It is recorded in documents pertaining to the American Civil War that in fear of mass desertion from the Union Army in the winter of 1862-63, orders were given to forbid Federal bands from playing the melody, such was its power to induce homesickness among the troops.  

The old Appenzell Kühreien was to be the subject of one further bizarre twist of fortune: the return of Home, Sweet Home to the French language in the form of an English melody. The popularity in nineteenth-century Paris of transcriptions and Fantasies based on the famous Swiss Ranz des Vaches, both those identified by the text that opens ‘Les Armaillis de Colombettes’ and that which begins ‘Quand reverrai-je’ has been noted. Alongside these, though, Fantasies and sets of variations subsequently appear that are based on the melody of Home, Sweet Home, now cited as an English melody. An example is

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72 Wayne Erbsen, Rousing Songs and True Tales of the Civil War (Asheville, NC: Native Ground Books, 1999), 42.
an extensive set of Variations entitled ‘Hom! Sweet Hom! [sic], Melodie Anglaise, Variée pour le hautbois avec l’accompagnement du piano’ by Gustav Vogt (1781-1870). He was professor of oboe for 52 years at the Conservatoire National de Musique in Paris. It was customary for the professor to compose an annual Morceau de Concours, the work to be performed successfully in order for a student to graduate: Hom! Sweet Hom! was the work written for the oboe for this purpose in 1865.  

Thus the humble music played on an alphorn at some distant and now forgotten time by a herdsman to his cows in the mountains in the secluded Swiss canton of Appenzell has evolved and developed in a remarkable manner. The beauty of the Appenzell landscape, captured in the music, endowed its strains with such powerful feelings of nostalgia that those innocent motifs have

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74 The manuscript for this work is held in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms. No. 14098.
Frances Jones   Alphorn

come to represent these feelings across the globe and still creates the same effect today. Removed from its source instrument, the alphorn, its text that describes the joy of the herdsman, free at last to take his cattle into the mountains after their winter confinement, the amusing descriptions of the animals in his care, the repeated calls to God to protect them in the summer pastures – removed from the mountains, from Switzerland, from the Alps and even from Europe, this innocent melody has taken on many new meanings and new connotations. That it has become an unofficial Swiss national song and that it brings tears to the eyes of Swiss in the UK when I play it on the alphorn at Swiss events is not so remarkable. That it should have appeared in a German counterpoint exercise book, in a medical dictionary, in services in Queen Anne’s Chapel and been quoted by numerous composers in order to represent an Alpine landscape, is more surprising. That its connotations of homesickness have been absorbed into other cultures, though, is an extraordinary tribute to the power and longevity of these simple Swiss herdsman’s calls played long ago in the remote mountains and valleys of Appenzell.
Chapter 5. The alphorn as metaphor

This chapter expands on the theme of the use of alphorn calls in concert works by canonic Western composers beyond the quotations of the Appenzell Kühreien. It examines a variety of other types of alphorn motif used in music for the concert hall, the theatre, the church or the salon. Tourism was deliberately promoted by the Swiss in the nineteenth century and the alphorn played an important part in this endeavour. The role of improvements in methods of travel, topical literature, guide-books, interest disseminated by the press and the emergence of package tours will be assessed. The types of occasions during which tourists heard the instrument played and a selection of their responses to the sound of the alphorn in the mountains will be reviewed.

The second part of the chapter will consider the characteristics of the instruments that the visitors to Switzerland heard and what music was played. An outline of the socio-political conditions from the turn of the nineteenth century and their effect on composers will inform an assessment of what might cause a composer to incorporate an alphorn-derived motif into a work. There follows an examination of what defines an alphorn motif in a concert work, what accompaniments and contexts are typically provided for it and which orchestral instrument a composer might choose for an alphorn call.

The third section presents a selection of works composed for the drawing room, the concert hall or the theatre that incorporate an alphorn call as a metaphor for its natural landscape. Critical commentary will be offered with regard to the relevant background of each composition, the associations with the alphorn’s musical heritage and connections with other quotations of alphorn motifs. References to the traditions of the Pastorella and the Pastorale, to the music used by Leopold Mozart in his Sinfonia Pastorella and to the style of material found in the Kühreien will be noted. Finally some conclusions will be offered concerning the significance of the world of the alphorn as a metaphor in composed repertoire.
There will not be a survey of all concert works that include music reminiscent of the alphorn. Rather, this is intended as exploration of a representative sample of the ways in which a composer uses alphorn-based material. It would be impossible to create a complete list of all such compositions, but a compilation as comprehensive as possible is attached, as Appendix 5. Detail concerning the large amount of music composed to be played on the alphorn is not included:¹ lists of typical repertoire are found in the books of Brigitte Bachmann-Geiser, Franz Schüssele and Hans-Jürg Sommer.²

**Tourism in the Alps**

Tourism until the end of the eighteenth century was a pastime for the rich. The Grand Tour evolved in the latter part of the seventeenth century, whereby young northern-European aristocrats spent months, or even years, in exploration of the Classical heritage of Italy and the culture of other major European centres. In general, the Alps were regarded merely as a barrier to be negotiated *en route* to the Mediterranean: an alternative to an equally feared sea journey.³ These sentiments are expressed, for example, by Walter Scott who wrote in 1829 in his novel *Anna of Geierstein or the Maiden of the Mist* of the fears of travellers who crossed the mountains:

> It was not an age in which the beauties or grandeur of a landscape made much impression either on the minds of those who travelled through the country, or who resided in it. To the latter, the objects, however dignified, were familiar, and associated with daily habits and with daily toil; and the former saw, perhaps, more terror than beauty in the wild region through which they passed, and were rather solicitous to get safe to their night’s quarters, than to comment on the grandeur of the scenes which lay between them and their place of rest.⁴

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¹ One work will be included in this chapter that has parts for alphorns: Strauss’s opera *Daphne*.
⁴ Walter Scott, *Anna of Geierstein or the Maiden of the Mist* (Boston, MA: Sanborn, Carter and Bazin, 1855), 22.
A gradual change of attitude towards the mountains and their inhabitants developed during the eighteenth century, partly in the wake of the publication of a text written by Swiss scientist and author Albrecht von Haller (1708-1777). At the age of 21, Haller spent some time in the high Alps to undertake a survey of the plants to be found there and was inspired by his visits to write an epic poem, *Die Alpen*, which was published in 1732. Through 490 verses, he describes the beauty of the mountain landscape and the simple honesty of its people. He includes a description of the herdsman with his alphorn leading his cows to the pastures and contrasts these rural scenes with the corruption and decadence of city dwellers. The poem was widely read: it ran to nine reprints during Haller’s lifetime and was translated into English, French, Italian and Latin.\(^5\) The Alps might no longer be seen as a difficult region to be tolerated: it could be a source of delight, where one might experience the wild and absorb the beauty and wonder of nature.

As a result of the industrial revolution, a new middle class was emerging in Europe, with a redistribution of wealth that was not dependent upon heredity or noble birth. The successful entrepreneur could amass personal fortune and was increasingly able to support a life-style that included leisure time and financial independence. A new type of gentleman, educated and with time on his hands, might be interested in travelling and exploring the world around him. There was now an opportunity for a visit to the Alps and a tourist could come across the sound of the alphorn played by herdsmen during daily routines in the mountains.

The British were among the earliest and the most intrepid in their excursions into the Alpine wilderness. An account of one such experience in 1741 in the region around Chamonix at the foot of Mont Blanc was given by Thomas Roscoe in 1830:

Near St. Maurice [sic] is the celebrated valley of Chamouni [sic], which, with Mont Blanc and its glaciers, and the still more wonderful Mer de

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Glace, are the most surprising natural curiosities ever witnessed in this or any other country. This extraordinary valley, strange as it may appear, was wholly unknown to the inhabitants of the country till the year 1741, when it was discovered [original italics] by two adventurous English travellers, who explored the valley, ascended the Montanvert [sic] to the Mer de Glace, penetrating those recesses where human voice was never before heard, and treading paths before unvisited, except by the chamois and by the goat of the rocks. It was a singular instance of enterprise, and it deserves to be recorded, that although within eighteen leagues of the city of Geneva, it was reserved for the adventure and courage of Englishmen to disclose to the world the hidden wonders of the Alps. An immense block of granite on the Montanvert, on which the adventurous travellers dined, is called, to this day, “la pierre des Anglais”.6

Lack of knowledge of the dangers of their surroundings, though, at first caused considerable problems not only for the visitors but also for the local guides that they employed to assist them. Walter Scott is one of a number of writers who gives graphic descriptions of the dangerous situations in which early explorers placed themselves and their guides through recklessness, arrogance, bravura and inexperience of mountain conditions.7

Independent travel across Europe was greatly assisted at the beginning of the nineteenth century by developments in road and rail transport. A substantial project of European road-building was launched on the instructions of Napoleon and soon the ‘diligence’, or public stage-coach, provided a new level of convenience and relative comfort for a traveller.8 In addition, the emergence of a Europe-wide system of railways that began in the 1820s was to have a further major impact on travel.9 Three primary regions of Switzerland were now opened up to tourism: the area around Chamonix and Mont Blanc in the south-west, the Jungfrau region in the heart of the Alps known as the Bernese Oberland and the picturesque northern city of Lucerne with its surrounding lakes and peaks.

6 Thomas Roscoe, The Tourist in Switzerland and Italy (London: Jennings, 1830), 55-56.
7 Walter Scott, Anne of Geierstein or the Maiden of the Mist (Boston, MA: Sanborn, Carter and Bazin, 1855), 33-42.
The educated classes were able to read about the travels of others in published material. Descriptions of people and experiences in the mountains, often including references to the alphorn, began to appear in articles, newspapers, published diaries, poems and novels. For example, the French traveller George Tarenne, in a volume written in 1813, described his impressions of an alphorn that he heard played on Mount Pilatus which rises to the west of Lucerne:

*L’air du bergers du mont Pilate, dans le canton de Lucerne, également sans paroles, les pasteurs de cette contrée, peuplée des hommes les moins civilisés de toute la Suisse, ont coutume de le jouer sur la grande trompe des Alpes, nommée Alphorn, dont la courbure cissoidale grossit et prolongu telement les sons, qu’on les entend quelquefois de plus de deux lieues. Cet air sert aussi de signal pour répeindre l’alarme contre les ennemis intérieurs et extérieurs. Il est extrêmement beau sur le cor pendant la nuit: ses modulations plaintives et languissantes vont jusqu’à l’âme.*

Two British poets, Lord Byron and Percy Bysshe Shelley, both wrote about the sound of the alphorn after spending the summer of 1816 together with friends in Switzerland. Byron recorded in his diaries that they came across *Ranz des Vaches* both in the mountains and at informal entertainments. Byron set an epic three-act poem *Manfred* in the high Alps around the Jungfrau: the descriptions of Alpine scenes in Acts 1 and 2 resemble those found in his Alpine journal of September 1816. He explained in a letter: ‘I wrote a sort of mad drama, for the sake of introducing Alpine scenery and descriptions’. One scene describes the protagonist’s feelings on hearing the herdsman’s horn:

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10 Tarenne, *Recherches*, 16-17: ‘The herdsmen of Mount Pilatus in the canton of Lucerne, the least civilised people in the whole of Switzerland, usually played the melody, without words, on a large trumpet of the Alps, called an alphorn, with a long conical curved shape which magnifies and prolongs the sound, so that you can sometimes hear it more than two leagues away. This melody is also used to sound the alarm against local and foreign enemies. It is extremely beautiful on the horn during the night: its plaintive languishing phrases penetrate the soul.’


Hark! the note,

[The Shepherd’s pipe in the distance is heard.]  
The natural music of the mountain reed  
(For here the patriarchal days are not  
A pastoral fable) pipes in the liberal air,  
Mix’d with the sweet bells of the sauntering herd;  
My soul would drink those echoes.  

Shelley also recalled the Swiss landscape and the herdsman’s horn in his poem *Adonais*, written in 1821 upon receipt of the news of the death of their friend and fellow poet John Keats:

… Lost Echo sits amid the voiceless mountains,  
And feeds her grief with his remembered lay,  
And will no more reply to winds or fountains,  
Or amorous birds perched on the young green spray,  
Or herdsman’s horn, or bell at closing day; …

The English writer John Murray published *A Glance at some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland* in 1829. He includes a description of the delight he felt on hearing a herdsman with an alphorn on the road to Chamonix:

On the main road our delighted ear was charmed with a fine musical echo, produced from the blowing of a horn, composed of pieces of common wood, roughly put together, with five iron hoops: this musical instrument was from three to four feet long, the mouth-piece about four inches circumference, and the opening at the further extremity eight to ten inches. This rude horn was employed by one of the shepherds of the Alps to collect together his wandering flock, and summon them from the mountains. The sound, at first loud and full, vibrated from rock to rock, until its tones were so softened as to be heard only as a distant murmur, that gradually died away upon the astonished but delighted ear, though, in its last sigh, the tone and note were perfect and distinct.

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Chapter 5  Alphorn as metaphor

Murray also describes the use of the alphorn at sunset. This might have been for one of two reasons. As noted earlier (p. 10), it was a fundamental part of the daily summer routine that the herdsman would play a melody on his alphorn each evening at nightfall, in order to let the people in the valley below know that all was well.\textsuperscript{16} However, it appears that Murray may also have known about the Alpsegen or Betraf, which is still heard in Catholic cantons today. This is a prayer, sung at nightfall from a high place in the mountains at full voice, with amplification provided by the funnel that was used in milking. The lyrics and melody, unique to every occasion, are personal and heartfelt. An Alpsegen calls to God, to Mary, to Jesus and generally to some of the relevant or local saints, to protect the mountain people and their animals through the night.\textsuperscript{17} Murray records that he heard the sound of the alphorn as if in evening prayer:

There was a wild romance in its notes, which was characteristic in a very high degree all round. This instrument is about eight feet long and its farther extremity rests on the ground. It is used among the mountains not merely for the herdsman’s call, but as an invocation for the solemnities of religion. As soon as the sun has shed his last ray on the snowy summit of the loftiest range, the Alpine shepherd from some elevated point, trumpets forth ‘Praise God the Lord,’ while the echoes in the coves of the everlasting hills, roused from their slumbers at the sacred name of God, repeat ‘Praise God the Lord.’ Distant horns on lower plains now catch the watch-word, and distant mountains ring again with the solemn sound ‘Praise God the Lord,’ and other echoes bounding from other rocks, reply ‘God the Lord.’ A solemn pause succeeds; with uncovered head and on bended knee, the shepherd’s prayer ascends on high. At the close of this evening sacrifice, offered in the temple not made with hands, the Alpine horn sounds long and loud and shrill, ‘good night,’ repeated by other horns; while a thousand ‘good nights’ are reverberated around, and the curtain of Heaven closes on the shepherds and their flocks.\textsuperscript{18}

A new facility was to appear in the 1830s: the travellers’ guide-book. This was written for those with the desire and the time to explore new places, but on a more moderate budget than the aristocratic travellers of earlier times.

\textsuperscript{16} Geiser, \textit{Das Alphorn in der Schweiz}, 10.
\textsuperscript{17} The text of an Alpsegen heard on Mount Pilatus is reproduced in Capeler, \textit{Pilati Montis}, 11.
\textsuperscript{18} Murray, \textit{A Glance}, 1829, 218-9.
John Murray produced the first comprehensive guide-book to Switzerland for the English-speaking traveller, *A Hand-Book for Travellers in Switzerland, Savoy and Piedmont*, which he published in 1838. According to the Preface, its content was based on the experience of four separate visits to the country. In his introduction, he explains the phenomenon of the *Ranz des Vaches* to his readers. He mentions that it caused homesickness among the Swiss abroad and that ‘almost every valley has an air of its own, but the original air is said to be that of Appenzell’. His references to both yodel and the alphorn reflect his own encounters in his visits to the mountains. He writes of the *Kühreien* and describes the instrument, its echoes and its use at evening-time:

The name *Ranz des Vaches* (Germ. *Kuh-reihen*), literally *cow-rows*, is obviously derived from the order in which the cows march home at milking-time, in obedience to the shepherd’s call, communicated by the voice, or through the *Alp-horn*, a simple tube of wood, wound round with bark 5 or 6 feet long, admitting of but slight modulation, yet very melodious when caught up and prolonged by the mountain echoes … The traveller in the Alps will have frequent opportunities of hearing both the music of the horn and the songs of the cow-herds and dairy-maids; … In some of the remoter pastoral districts of Switzerland, from which the ancient simplicity of manners is not altogether banished, the Alp-horn supplies, on the higher pastures, where no church is near, the place of the vesper-bell. The cow-herd, posted on the highest peak, as soon as the sun has set, pours forth the 4 or 5 first notes of the Psalm “Praise God the Lord;” the same notes are repeated from distant Alps, and all within hearing, uncovering their heads and bending their knees, repeat their evening orison, after which the cattle are penned in their stalls, and the shepherds betake themselves to rest.

Interest in Switzerland was cultivated by the English press. It has already been noted (see p. 196) that in 1840 an article appeared in *The New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, a publication that flourished in London between 1814 and 1884. The anonymous article entitled ‘On National Songs and Music of

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20 Ibid., 34.
21 Ibid., 36.
Switzerland’ gives a contemporary view of the impact of Swiss music, in particular the *Ranz des Vaches*, on the visitor:

To those amongst our readers who have chanced to hear the Ranz-des-Vaches in its native glory – in the wild passes of Appenzell, or the sylvan seclusion of the Emmental, how many a scene of grandeur and sublimity – of sweetness and tranquillity – of soul-stirring excitement, and overpowering but delicious melancholy – will its very name conjure back to recollection: the far-spreading gloom of the Alpine forest – the foam and roar of the mountain torrent – the many-tinted glacier sparkling in the last rays of sunset, like glow-worms in darkened foliage – the distant thunder of the avalanche – the deep-toned carillon of the grave leader of the struggling herd, in contrast with the silvery tinkling of the lively and sportive goat – the joyous “*Hoh hoh*” of the herdsman echoing afar, its well-known sound greeted by the loud bellow and the shrill bleat – such are amongst the recollections which vibrate at the mention of the “*Küh-reihe*”.

Karl Baedeker (1801-1859) and his heirs expanded on Murray’s concept of guide-books and with numerous reprints and updates, the Baedeker guide-books are still in use today. After tackling Holland, Belgium and his native Germany, Baedeker first produced a guide-book for Switzerland in 1844, for German readers, based entirely on his own journeys and experiences. It was first printed in English in 1863 and has since run to 39 revised editions. The Preface to the first English edition of Baedeker’s guide-book to Switzerland provides a snapshot of the state of tourism and travel at the time and includes advice about how to make a journey without an entourage of servants:

… to render the traveller as independent as possible of the extraneous services of guides, domestiques de place, voituriers and inn-keepers, and enable him to realize to the fullest extent the exquisite and rational enjoyment of which this magnificent country is a fruitful source. Since the great increase of late years in the facilities for travel afforded by the wide extension of railways, the number of travellers on the Continent

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generally has enormously increased, of which no country has been the witness in a more marked degree than Switzerland.\textsuperscript{23}

A serialised diary was another way in which a literate public could taste the wonder of the Alpine experience. In 1874, a London weekly newspaper \textit{The Graphic} ran an 11-part serialised diary column of a trip taken by newly-weds John and Nelly Wood, entitled ‘An Autumn Tour of Switzerland’. Detailed sketches illustrated the scenes in all but one of the issues. The couple wrote with enthusiasm about their travels, their wonder at the dramatic scenery and the people they met, their impressions of the hospitality they found and a range of new experiences they encountered, including the sounding of the alphorn.\textsuperscript{24}

These extracts demonstrate that a visitor might hear an alphorn played by a herdsman going about his daily tasks. Increasingly during the nineteenth century, however, the instrument came to be played specifically for tourists, as Switzerland rose to the challenge of creating unusual experiences for its new visitors. Part of this cultivated image was a performance on an alphorn for travellers at prominent tourist locations and it will be seen that this was often how composers became aware of the instrument. The metaphorical inclusion of an alphorn motif in a composed concert work in the nineteenth or twentieth century was therefore in no small part due to the deliberate promotion of the instrument by the Swiss, with the sound of the alphorn used by a composer to conjure up an image of the mountains that it had been commandeered to represent.

The presence of the alphorn played specifically for tourists is noted by many writers. At the Giessbach Falls, on Lake Brienz below the Jungfrau massif, Murray describes performances of traditional Swiss music given to


\textsuperscript{24} John and Nelly Wood, ‘An Autumn Tour in Switzerland’, serialised in \textit{The Graphic} (September to November 1874).
tourists by the local schoolmaster and his family, renowned for their musical ability, with singing and alphorn playing:

The cottage opposite the Falls is inhabited by the schoolmaster of Brienz, whose family and himself are celebrated as the best choristers of native airs in Switzerland. He is now a patriarch of 64 and most of his children are married; but he is training his grand-children to the same profession of songsters. The concert, accompanied by the Alpine horn, with which travellers are saluted on their departure, is very sweet.²⁵

Fig. 5.1. Johann Kehrli and his family Bäbi, Hansi, Gritli, Köbi and Heinz, entertain tourists at the Giessbach Falls, near Brienz. Engraving by Geysler, c.1825.²⁶

In his description of the area around the foot of the Wetterhorn, a steep-faced peak alongside the Jungfrau, Murray prepares the readers of his Hand-

²⁶ Reproduced in Bachmann-Geiser, *Das Alphorn*, 52 and other sources.
Book for the experience of the alphorn player and the extraordinary qualities of the echoes that rebound off the cliffs:

Upon the slope in front of the Wetterhorn is usually stationed one who blows the alpine horn, a rude tube of wood, 6 or 8 feet long. The traveller should on no account omit to stop and listen. A few seconds after the horn has ceased, the few and simple notes of the instrument are caught up and repeated by the echoes of the vast cliff of the Wetterhorn, and return to the ear refined and softened, yet perfectly distinct, as it were an aerial concert warbling among the crags.27

Baedeker also enjoyed the sounds of the alphorn at the foot of the Wetterhorn and describes the beauty of its echoes for his readers:

The Alphorn (an instrument from 6ft. to 8ft. in length, of bark or wood) is often sounded from the opposite slope while tourists are passing. Its simple notes are re-echoed a few seconds later from the precipices of the Wetterhorn, the effect of which is extremely pleasing.28

At the foot of the Jungfrau is the dramatic flat-bottomed valley of Lauterbrunnen, with vertical limestone cliffs that face each other for four miles along its entire length. It is a place renowned for alphorn echoes: these were described by the Victorian diarist Jemima Morrell, in her account of a visit there on the first tour of Switzerland to be organised by Thomas Cook in 1863:

In the sward was stationed a man and some boys with a horn. It is a wooden tube from five to six feet long bound round with split withies of willow. This he rested on a wedge-shaped hollow trough, and blew as we approached. He must have practised long to emit such a flow of mellow, sonorous sounds from so unmusical-looking an instrument. The notes died away in softest cadence, which notes were taken up by the mountains and reverberated by them again and again. We had scarcely a moment’s interval to remark on their sweetness, when the rocks echoed the notes in fainter strains, another pause and we heard their vibrations still lingering among the cliffs till they expired in but a musical sigh.29

27 Murray, Hand-Book, 1838, 80.
28 Baedeker, Switzerland, 1863, 81.
29 Jemima Morrell, Miss Jemima’s Swiss Journal: The first conducted tour of Switzerland, 1863 (facsimile reprint, London: Routledge, 1998), 64.
Travellers often described a peak that rises to the east of Lucerne, the Rigi. Many comments are made about the use of the alphorn there and the visitors of various nationalities who gathered at the top to view the sunrise. There was an opportunity to spend the night in lodgings near the summit in order to watch the dawn and a wooden belvedere was built at the top that could be climbed for an even higher viewpoint. Carl Maria von Weber wrote in a letter of a visit to the Rigi Kulm (summit) in September 1811:

30 Reproduced in Ernst Gertsch, Der Schönste Platz der Welt (Interlaken: Schlaefli, 1997), 169. No further detail given.
Den 7. früh 3 Uhr auf und den Kulm besteigen … Ich erstieg den Kulm in ¾ Stunden und kam höchst erhitzt oben an wo eine ziemliche Kälte herrschte so daß das vom Führer angemachte Feuer sehr erfreulich war. Um halb sechs Uhr erschien die Sonne in ihrem Glanze nachdem sie vorher die Spitzen der Gletscher vergoldet hatte und reichlich war ich für meine Mühe belohnt. Beschreiben muss man so etwas nicht.  

In 1816 a hotel was built at the top of the peak and there are a number of accounts that tell that the alphorn was used to waken the guests in time to see the sunrise. For example, Alexandre Dumas (1802-1870), French novelist and dramatist famed for Les Trois Mousquetaires (The Three Musketeers), journeyed throughout Europe and wrote extensively about his experiences. In his Impressions de Voyage: Suisse of 1835 he too describes a visit to the Rigi Kulm. To mingle with the international tourists at the hotel was, he felt, like walking into the Tower of Babel: there were 27 visitors of 11 different nationalities, all gathered to view the sunrise from the summit. He wrote that the proprietor played them a Ranz des Vaches on the alphorn and explained how it caused homesickness when played to the Swiss abroad.  

John Murray in his Hand-Book of 1838 ensured that his readers were prepared for the use of the alphorn in the Rigikulm Hotel to waken the guests in time to venture out to watch the sunrise from the belvedere:

… whether the inmate have slept or not, he, together with the whole household, is roused about an hour before sunrise, by the strange sounds of a long wooden horn, which is played until every particle of sleep is dispelled from the household. Then commences a general stir and everybody hastens out with shivering limbs and half-open eyes to gaze at the glorious prospect of a sunrise from the Righi [sic].

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31 Max Maria von Weber, Carl Maria von Weber, Ein Lebensbild, Vol. 1 (Leipzig: Keil, 1864), 292: ‘7th. I got up at 3am in order to climb the Kulm … I reached the summit in ¾ hour and was very hot when I got there, although it was cold, so the fire that was made by our guide was very welcome. At 5.30 there was a glorious sunrise, at first the sun appeared above one peak and the glacier had a golden glow; it was a wonderful reward for my exertions. It was indescribable.’  
32 Alexandre Dumas, Impressions de Voyage: Suisse (Bruxelles: Méline, 1835), 549-50.  
33 Murray, Hand-Book, 1838, 49.
A new 130-bed hotel was built on the Kulm in 1848 and porters were provided to carry not only luggage but sedan chairs for the visitors up to the summit. By the last third of the century, British engineers had begun to construct a series of funicular and cog railways in Switzerland to assist with access to high vantage points and to satisfy a thirst for the ultimate Alpine holiday experience. The first of these to be completed, in 1871, ascends to the summit of the Rigi. By 1875 a new hotel which could accommodate 300 guests was built there and the continued use of the alphorn to waken the guests was by now considered an integral part of the Rigi experience.

An author who wrote about the alphorn on the Rigi in a novel was the American writer Samuel Langhorne Clemens (1835-1910), who used the pseudonym Mark Twain. He travelled through much of central and southern Europe and drew on these experiences for his novel *A Tramp Abroad* which he

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34 Reproduced in Métraux, *Le Ranz des Vaches*, 81, and other sources.
published in 1880. Having decided to walk up to the top of the Rigi, the protagonist in the novel also describes the sounding of the alphorn to rouse the guests of the Rigikulm Hotel from their sleep in time to see the sunrise:

We found by this guide-book that in the hotels on the summit the tourist is not left to trust to luck for his sunrise, but is roused betimes by a man who goes through the halls with a great Alpine horn, blowing blasts that would raise the dead ... We were so sodden with fatigue that we never stirred nor turned over till the blooming blasts of the Alpine horn aroused us.\textsuperscript{35}

Alphorn players were not only employed by the hotel to waken its guests. They also positioned themselves to perform from the peak at dusk: a good player would presumably create an unforgettable experience as the sounds echoed over the lakes and mountains that fan out all around the Rigi. He would expect a few coins in return.\textsuperscript{36} The illustration in the first edition of Twain’s \textit{A Tramp Abroad} shows an interesting amplification box through which the bell of the alphorn was played.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{fig54.png}
\caption{Illustration of the alphorn player at the top of the Rigi by W. Fr. Brown in the first edition of Mark Twain’s \textit{A Tramp Abroad}.}
\end{figure}

It would appear, though, that the player at the Rigikulm was having a bad day when Baedeker made his visit in preparation for the 1863 edition of his guide-book. He comments on the playing of the instrument at sunset: ‘An

\textsuperscript{35} Mark Twain, \textit{A Tramp Abroad} (London: Chatto and Windus, 1880), 299-300.
\textsuperscript{36} Wood, ‘An Autumn Tour in Switzerland’, 274.
indifferent performer on the Alpine Horn awakens the echoes and sorely tries the temper by his ill-timed exertions’. However by the time of the 1889 version of the guide-book, Baedeker’s sons did not write unfavourably of the evening performance. They describe the scene at the Rigikulm thus:

The Kulm almost always presents a busy scene, but is most thronged in the morning and the evening. The sunset is always the chief attraction. A performer on the Alpine Horn blows the ‘retreat’ of the orb of day, after which the belvedere is soon deserted. Half-an-hour before sunrise, the Alphorn sounds the reveille. All is again noise and bustle; the crowded hotels are for the nonce without a tenant; and the summit is thronged with an eager multitude, enveloped in all manner of cloaks and mantles …

This exploration of the sort of occasions during which a traveller to Switzerland experienced the sound of an alphorn in the mountains gives an overview of the range of opportunities, locations and scenarios in which the instrument was heard.

**The properties of the instrument**

The word ‘alphorn’ has been used in the texts quoted above to describe instruments that vary considerably from one to another and also from the typical alphorn of today as described on p. xvi. Nevertheless, the term is consistently used for an instrument that is fundamentally a simple tube of wood, wound round with bark, split willow or metal hoops, between four and eight feet long. An examination of nineteenth-century paintings, etchings and drawings of alphorns in Switzerland also leads to the conclusion that the normal length for the alphorn was between four and eight feet: this is the case in artwork produced both by the Swiss and by visitors.

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37 Baedeker, *Switzerland*, 1863, 74.
39 An examination of my personal collection of 74 reproductions of artwork that depicts an alphorn produced before the end of the nineteenth century reveals the following data: with an estimate that the average height of a player is around 5ft 10ins, a rough calculation of the lengths of the instruments depicted shows 3-4ft: 6 examples; 4-5ft: 26 examples; 5-6ft: 21 examples, and 6-8ft: 21 examples.
The length of the instrument has an effect on the music that could be played: a tube of this sort of length is restricted to half a dozen bugle-like arpeggio notes and does not have easy access to the higher harmonics that include the ‘alphorn fa’ (harmonic no. 11). To play the Kühreien from Appenzell, for example, a longer horn is needed. It will be noticed that many of the compositions based on the Appenzell material, examined in Chapter 4, refer to vocal versions of the music. An alphorn upon which one could play the Appenzell Kühreien would need to have been longer than those generally in use in Switzerland by the nineteenth century. Music heard by nineteenth-century tourists therefore normally used the arpeggio notes of harmonics nos. 3 to 6, and not the scale-like range found in the Appenzell Kühreien.

The social background
In an investigation into the use of an alphorn motif in a concert work, two preliminary and interlinked questions arise: why should a composer wish to incorporate an alphorn motif into a work for the concert hall, and why is this a desire that matured during the nineteenth century? The answers lie in the two fundamental changes that had swept across Europe: the industrial revolution and the French Revolution. These were to reorganise forever western European social structure and distribution of wealth and each played a significant part in the change in the role of the arts and the life of composers from the beginning of the nineteenth century.40

The music of the herdsman’s horn had little impact on art music before the French Revolution. Until this time, the arts in western Europe were primarily either a diversion for the ruling classes or a medium for the dissemination of religion. Raymond Monelle compares the different pastoral and rural references to be found in music composed before the end of the

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40 Much detail with regard to the social and political background of nineteenth-century composers’ work can be found in Roger Cardinal, German Romantics in Context (London: Studio Vista, 1975), or Michael Ferber, Romanticism, A Very Short Introduction (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
Chapter 5  Alphorn as metaphor

eighteenth century with that thereafter.\textsuperscript{41} He observes that during the age of patronage, instrumental sounds replicated in art music as rustic signifiers were those of the musette and the vielle or hurdy-gurdy, with allusions to the flute, the chalumeau and the bagpipes. Barry Tuckwell notes that horns were first introduced into art music to play fanfares in Italian opera in the 1630s and that for the next 150 years their use in a descriptive context was largely restricted to the depiction of hunting scenes.\textsuperscript{42} Unusual situations where the music of herdsmen’s horns had been used before the nineteenth century have been examined in the previous chapters: the particular context of Czech Christmas herdsmen’s music, the rare empathy with rustic musicians shown by a very few composers as exemplified by Leopold Mozart and the allusions to the Kühreien of Appenzell, probably perpetuated largely because this melody had been transferred to the medium of the voice.

The changes in European social structure that began around the turn of the nineteenth century created new living conditions that brought both advantages and disadvantages. The rapid growth of cities in the wake of industrialisation meant that for an increasing proportion of the European population, individuals had less and less contact in their daily lives with the natural world. Although the newly emerging middle classes now had disposable income, they often lived in a dirty, noisy or pressured urban environment.

The political turbulences of the nineteenth century affected the lives of many composers, writers and artists, whose works often reflect troubled times, censorship and deep personal and political struggle. The arts assumed two important roles: the maintenance of public morale through entertainment and the indirect voicing of political beliefs. These new intentions were particularly marked in Paris during and immediately after the Revolution,\textsuperscript{43} however such

\textsuperscript{41} Monelle, The Musical Topic.
\textsuperscript{42} Barry Tuckwell, Horn (New York: Schirmer, 1983), 13.
sentiments will also be seen reflected in a number of the works of German and Austrian composers examined later in this chapter.

Those who could afford it could take time to have a holiday in a new or unusual place as already outlined, alternatively they could go to a concert or the theatre, as the writer, the actor, the painter and the composer increasingly sought to bring the flavour of the natural world into the urban environment. Of all forms of art, music was considered pre-eminent in this endeavour. As Roger Cardinal observes: ‘The ultimate medium of Romantic art is music. Above all other arts, it is able to express forces in conflict, to externalise inwardness, to articulate the infinite and the invisible, and to describe emotions beyond the range of poetry and painting’.  

Although public or ‘subscription’ concerts had been enjoyed from time to time in a number of regions since the 1740s, the arts now played a major part in city life for a much larger sector of society. The representation of an alternative way of life both provided escapism and allowed artists to ask deep questions of their audiences. Music, literature, drama or art that reflected the world of nature could portray many things. It could represent a place of calm, peace, serenity and tranquility. It could describe an idealised, lost world of innocence, where the heart was once free. The artist could convey remoteness, strangeness, the fleeting or the intangible. The natural landscape could be a setting for myths and legends, the transcendental and the metaphysical, powerful wild forces, supernatural terror or evil spirits. Donald Jay Grout succinctly observes that the nineteenth century was time when the composer might seek to remind his audience of ‘something far-off, legendary, fictitious, fantastic and marvelous, an imaginary or ideal world that was contrasted with the actual world of the present’.  

The Alps provided a suitably dramatic setting for stories set in an alternative place and these would particularly attract references to the alphorn in paintings, in literature, in drama and in music. The sound of the alphorn

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44 Cardinal, German Romantics, 43.
Chapter 5  Alphorn as metaphor

could provide a perfect symbol of a mountain landscape for the nineteenth-century composer. It could carry the implication of simple beauty, it might represent other-worldliness, or it could have overtones of independence and freedom that resonated deeply with those at the mercy of changing political forces.

Nineteenth-century composers, writers and artists worked together. Some composers, such as Mendelssohn, were also accomplished painters; some, for example Schumann and Wagner, were actively involved in political writing. Poets such as Goethe, Schiller and Byron created epic dramas that could comment on social and political matters when a more direct voice was not possible. Many texts, full of deep personal emotion, raised profound questions; such texts were eagerly set to music that could echo and enhance these sentiments. Composers wrote music with an implied narrative that drew on pre-existing scripts, the work of contemporary writers or ideas of their own. The music of the alphorn features in a number of such works.

**Characteristics of an alphorn motif in a concert work**

Various kinds of extra-musical scenes that a composer may wish to portray, for example that of the hunting horn, posthorn or military bugle, etc, were considered on p. xx. All these rustic brass instruments are restricted to the notes found in the harmonic series. The trumpet, bugle or posthorn fanfare is rhythmic and arresting. Hunting horn calls are generally energetic: a composer will normally utilise the ‘horse-riding’ rhythm of 6/8 and music that depicts hunting horns in the concert hall is often written for two, three or four horns playing together in harmony as in a *cor de chasse* ensemble: the Trio section of Beethoven’s ‘Eroica’ Symphony is a typical example.

Music that represents an alphorn call has different characteristics that will be seen in the selection of works that will be examined below. Some identifying features will first be highlighted. An alphorn figure is typically formed from a gently turning major arpeggio-based motif that may include a leap of an octave, in this manner:
In evocation of the music of a Kühreien, alphorn motifs are free from regular pulse, in contrast to rhythmic or energetic music for the hunting horn or military bugle. An alphorn motif is often slow and peaceful. Phrases are often built from repeating cells, of an irregular number of bars, and usually end with a paused note. The melody that represents an alphorn in the orchestra or on the piano is generally a lone voice: it will be presented either unaccompanied, or against a peaceful backdrop of held chords. Sometimes this will be the open fifths of a bagpipe-like drone. Occasionally a composer will provide an echo or simulate a response from another alphorn player in the distance; sometimes there will be a chorus of overlapping echoes as the calls might reverberate and re-echo in the solitude of the mountains. In the examples that follow, such features immediately identify the scene to be portrayed as that of an alphorn, alone in a mountain landscape.

The position of an alphorn motif in relation to preceding and subsequent material is also important: it will be seen that this can be a reflection of the role of the alphorn in the management of cattle in the mountains. As previously noted, for the herdsman tending his animals in the high Alpine pastures, the alphorn was a necessary means of communication to fellow herdsmen and to those in the villages below: the herdsman would play a melody to let others know that ‘all was well’, for example after a mountain storm and at the end of each day. Thus an alphorn motif in an orchestral work is often found after a stormy passage, in the context of eveningtide, or as an evening prayer. These scenarios have engendered some of the most beautiful alphorn-like writing in the canon of nineteenth-century orchestral and piano music, where reassuring calls of ‘all is well’ are used to create a particularly profound resonance in the representation of peace after turmoil.
In contrast, a composer may give his alphorn motif a more light-hearted setting, reminiscent of a tourist’s simple delight on holiday in a glorious landscape: a carefree spirit of relaxation that the Swiss wished the alphorn to represent. This is more often found in the accompaniment for a song or in piano music with an Alpine setting and in music written by visitors to the mountains. Here, both alphorn motifs and yodel melodies may be used merely as token symbols of the mountain landscape, to lend a touch of ‘authentic’ colour to a scene. Music designed to replicate yodel contains scale-based melodic lines alongside the characteristic repeated leaps across the break in the voice, while a typical alphorn motif is restricted to the notes of the arpeggio.

Some composers quote authentic alphorn phrases, others use a melodic style that resembles music played on an alphorn. Some references may well have been quotations of phrases heard in the mountains by the composer, but which are now no longer recognised. Some might be genuine herding motifs, while others may be alphorn melodies created for tourists to enhance their Swiss holiday experience. It is remarkable that in each case, the composer felt that he could use this imagery as a metaphor and that his audience would understand the landscape or feelings to which he was referring.

Normally an alphorn motif will be given to the French horn. Many of the composers who included alphorn music in their writing were horn players, or the sons of horn players, factors that will be noted later. These composers appear to have been especially aware of the sound of the horn in countryside, well-attuned to the use of the horn in the orchestra and particularly interested in the evocative impact of the incorporation of a rustic horn motif in works written for an urban audience. In addition, though, the use of the French horn in itself can be enough of a reference, with an allusion that is subliminal rather than explicit: a reference to the alphorn that derives from its sound as a concept. Schumann described what could be considered as the ‘essence of the alphorn’ in a comment concerning notes played on horns in the second movement of Schubert’s ‘Great’ C Major Symphony. Despite the extremely quiet sound required, Schubert creates an echo-like resonance with the specification that
two French horns be played in unison. The horns do not play a melody, but single notes, *pianissimo* with *diminuendo*. The choice of horns for these notes is evocative and although no connotations are explicit either in context or in melodic content, Schumann voices a general awareness of the implications of the use of the horn in this context. An alphorn motif is not used: the choice of the horn is enough to create this inference.

*In Ihm findet sich auch eine Stelle, da, wo ein Horn wie aus der Ferne ruft, das scheint mir aus anderer Sphäre herabgekommen zu sein. Hier lauscht auch alles, als ob ein himmelischer Gast im Orchester herumschlichte.*

Often, though, the quotation of an alphorn motif on a French horn is explicit. There are occasions when a distant echo will be given to an oboe, *cor anglais* or clarinet, with the player occasionally actually placed offstage. However, if a composer wished to elaborate on the motif, orchestral hand-horns in use before the adoption of valves in the second half of the nineteenth century were unable to give the composer a full range of notes. Alphorn motifs

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46 Robert Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig: Wigand, 1854), 464: ‘There is also a place there [in the second movement] where a horn calls as if from a distance, that appears to come from another sphere. Here everyone listens with rapt attention, as if a gust from heaven has enveloped the orchestra.’

are therefore not uncommonly allocated to a different instrument. The qualities of an alphorn motif are so distinctive that a reference to its origins is clear even when the motif is not given to an orchestral horn. Many representations of alphorn music occur in music written for the piano, or for voice and piano: the motifs themselves are sufficiently distinctive that the allusion is clear.

Alphorn motifs feature primarily in music written to represent the Swiss Alps: as has been demonstrated, the instrument was promoted as a national symbol of the Confederation since the rise of tourism there. Works that include an alphorn-like motif in reference to the Swiss Alps came from three groups of composer: those who were Swiss, those who spent a substantial period of time in Switzerland and those who visited the country upon whom the scenery and its culture left an unforgettable impression. Primary sources of inspiration for the composer are texts related to Switzerland or the Swiss, which include the story of William Tell, Byron’s drama *Manfred* and tales that relate to Swiss mercenary soldiers. Further music with alphorn motifs describes the Swiss landscape, without a narrative.

Alphorn music is, however, not only found in relation to depictions of Switzerland. Some of the examples below reflect alphorn-inspired music from Austria, Bavaria and possibly the French and Italian Alps too: instances will be examined where alphorn-like motifs used by composers from these areas are recognisably different from those found in quotations with a connection to Switzerland. In addition, tourists can view the Alps as a region not defined by national borders, thus works use alphorn-like motifs although they do not refer specifically to Switzerland (for example in the *Fantasie* for harp examined earlier, on p. 211).

Although the alphorn is generally associated with a mountain landscape, alphorn motifs fundamentally represent the life of the herdsman. It has been noted in earlier chapters that the instrument was used by herdsmen beyond the confines of the Alps and examples will be given in the works below where the metaphor of the alphorn is used although a mountain setting is not implied.
A selection of alphorn-inspired motifs in art music after 1800

The oratorio *Die Jahrzeiten* by Josef Haydn (1732-1809), was completed in 1801. Haydn had already referred to Austria’s critical political situation in his *Paukenmesse* of 1796, written when Napoleon’s armies invaded Styria. He subsequently expressed his feelings in two large-scale oratorios that portrayed two fundamental aspects of life: *Die Schöpfung* (The Creation), completed in 1798, a religious celebration of life, and *Die Jahrzeiten* (The Seasons), a secular celebration of country people, three years later. This second work poignantly describes rural life and the timelessness of annual farming routines. It is not only a celebration of human labour: it is also perhaps a statement of Haydn’s belief that mankind must not destroy the very things that sustain life. We shape the landscape, but we also need it and are refreshed by it.

H. C. Robbins Landon reflects that Haydn’s strength lay in describing nature through the impression it made upon people.

Haydn’s text is based on extracts from a set of four poems ‘The Seasons’ published by the Scottish writer James Thomson in 1730. One of Thomson’s themes was that the earth not only rewards the honest farmer for his labours: it also provides leisure and pleasure, a place of respite and renewal. The inhabitants of Haydn’s text are neither looked down upon nor idealised: rather they are both the custodians and the product of the countryside. The characters’ response to and interaction with their landscape is at the heart of the work. It does not appear to be a problem for Haydn to relocate the setting of this text from the British countryside to a small Alpine village: Stephen Groves points out that Haydn was drawn to ‘the universal aesthetics of natural landscapes and scenes of nature’.

*Die Jahrzeiten* tells the story of the yearly cycle of farming life. Aria No. 11 is the song that describes the tradition of the *Kühreien*, where the herdsman leads his cattle to pasture at the beginning of summer. Haydn gives

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Lucas, the herdsman, an *obbligato* solo French horn as an accompanying voice to represent his alphorn. Haydn writes simple alphorn calls that are very similar to those used by Leopold Mozart in his *Sinfonia Pastorella*. As Haydn had been brought up in rural eastern Austria, like Leopold it is possible that he quoted alphorn motifs that he may have heard played by an Austrian herdsman.

This movement is set in compound time typical of a *Pastorale*, with a simple accompaniment reminiscent of a rustic drone. Haydn uses irregular phrase-lengths and reflective pauses. The lyrics describe the scene where the herdsman collects the animals at sunrise, ready for the journey to the pastures:

*Der muntre Hirt versammelt nun die frohen Herden um sich her; zur fetten Weid’auf grünen Höh’n treibet er sie langsam fort. Nach Osten blickend steht er dann, auf sienem Stabe hingelehnt, zu dehn den ersten Sonnenstrahl, welchem er entgegen haart.*

The cheerful herdsman now gathers the happy herds around him; to lead them slowly on their journey to the rich green pastures up above. He gazes eastwards and leans on his staff, as the sunrise sends forth its first rays and gives cheer to his heart.
Seven years later, in 1808, a fellow resident of Vienna, Beethoven (1770-1827), wrote his own depiction of the natural landscape, his Symphony No. 6, Pastoral-Sinfonie. The extensive use of Pastorella material by Beethoven in this symphony has already been examined (see p. 159).

Beethoven was at pains to explain that the symphony conveyed feelings aroused when in the countryside, rather than sound paintings of country scenes. He was fond of taking long walks in the country and Richard Will notes that Beethoven refers in his letters to his escape from the city [Vienna] for rural retreats and observes that ‘there is no mistaking the effort to conjure [in the ‘Pastoral’ Symphony] a world protected from violence, degradation, human

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51 Josef Haydn, Die Jahrzeiten (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1802), 142.
foible – a desire to transport listeners into a haven of calm …’. Not only was the work written at a time of intense political and social turmoil: Beethoven was also struggling with the personal torment of increasing deafness. His feelings when walking in the countryside were possibly intensified by the fact that the region’s peace was now in question and also because he could no longer hear many of nature’s delights.

Like Haydn, Beethoven too was keen to depict real people in the countryside, rather than describe mythical idylls of nymphs and shepherds as had been common before this time. Beethoven includes representations of people, landscapes and the weather in this work. He gave a descriptive title to each movement:

Erwachen heiterer Empfindungen bei der Ankunft dem Lande
(Awakening of cheerful feelings on arrival in the countryside);
Szene am Bach (Scene by the brook);
Lustiges Zusammensein in der Landleute (Peasants’ merrymaking);
Gewitter. Sturm (Thunderstorm);
Hirtengesang. Frohe und dankbare Gefühle nach dem Sturm
(Herdsman’s Song. Joyful and thankful feelings after the storm).

Beethoven was not the first composer to write a substantial orchestral work on the theme of nature: there were a number of such works written before his ‘Pastoral’ Symphony. 20 years earlier, a symphony was published by Justin Heinrich Knecht (1752-1817), an organist, theorist and composer working in Württemberg in Germany, entitled Le Portrait Musical de la Nature, ou Grande Sinfonie (Pastoralsymphonie) (A Musical Portrait of Nature, or Grand Symphony (Pastoral Symphony)). Each movement of this symphony carries a

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descriptive title not unlike those used by Beethoven and both compositions have five movements.⁵³

Despite his assertions to the contrary, the music does contain graphic musical descriptions of the scenes specified in his headings, none more so than his representation of a storm. Once Beethoven’s storm is spent, he writes peaceful and reflective alphorn-like calls for the horn, which grow out of the Pastorella theme of Joseph adstabit played on the clarinet. The new movement, which follows attacca from the previous extract, is called Hirtengesang. Frohe und dankbare Gefühle nach dem Sturm (Herdsmen’s Song, Joyful and thankful feelings after the storm) and Beethoven uses the combination of the Joseph adstabit theme and typical peaceful horn-call music in alphorn-like tranquil mood, to create a wonderful epilogue, evocative of the herdsmen playing to reassure everyone that all was well after a storm in the mountains (see Fig. 3.29 on p. 162).

Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847) showed prodigious musical talent from early childhood and at times he reflected his experiences in his compositions. At the age of 13, in August 1822, he spent two nights with his family on the Rigi mountain above Lucerne. His mother, Lea, wrote in a letter that halfway up to the Kulm they had to seek shelter from a storm and when they finally arrived they were surrounded by low cloud for an entire day. On the second evening, though, they witnessed a wonderful sunset and were woken the following morning in time to see the sunrise by a call on an alphorn:

... the fog dispersed, and we enjoyed the most beautiful sunset in this heavenly region; only the southern mountains continued to be veiled. To wake up on Rigikulm on a lovely morning is striking and highly moving. An hour before sunrise, when the heaven is clear, the alphorn sounds, rousing all the residents of the house with its sharp, piercing tone. Now amid the darkness stirs the liveliest bustle in the narrow quarters … ⁵⁴

The young Mendelssohn wrote 12 Sinfonie for strings at this time. In the slow movement of his Sinfonia No. 9, composed the year after this visit, he includes gentle alphorn calls. He provides echoes, a quiet drone accompaniment and a pastorale 6/8 time signature. The passages appear three times and each ends with an atmospheric pause.

Mendelssohn returned to the summit of the Rigi in August 1831 and wrote of the cheerful alphorn, the magnificent views and his happy memories of his previous visit with his family. On this occasion he stayed at the viewing platform for six hours to absorb the beauty of the scenery:

Dafür ist der Rigi aber auch ganz offenbar unserer Familie zugethan, und hat mir aus Anhänglichkeit heut wieder einen so herrlichen, reinen Sonnenaufgang bescheert, wie damals. Der abnehmende Mond, das lustige Alphorn, die lange dauernde Morgenröthe, die sich erst um die kalten, schattigen Schneeberge legte, die weißen Wölkchen über dem Zuger See, die Klarheit und Schärfe der Zacken, die sich in allen Richtungen gegen einander neigen, das Licht, das sich nach und nach auf den Höhen zeigte, die trippelnden, frierenden Leute in ihren Bettdecken, die Mönche aus Maria zum Schnee, – nichts hat gefehlt. Ich konnte mich nicht von dem Anblick trennen, und blieb noch sechs Stunden fortwährend auf der Spitze, und sah den Bergen zu. Ich dachte mir, wenn wir uns einmal wiedersehen,

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so müßte doch manches anders geworden sein, und wollte mir gern den Anblick so recht fest einprägen.\textsuperscript{56}

Mendelssohn included in his diary a transcription of a \textit{Ranz des Chèvres} by Ferdinand Huber that appears in the \textit{Sammlung von Schweizer Kühreien und alten Volksliedern} of 1812.\textsuperscript{57}

Franz Schubert (1797-1828) was, like Beethoven and Haydn, a resident of Vienna in his final years. He composed one of his last works, \textit{Der Hirt auf den Felsen} for voice, clarinet and piano in 1828, the year after Beethoven’s death. The work has become known in English as \textit{The Shepherd on the Rock}, although \textit{Hirt} means ‘herdsman’ in German. In this setting the world of the alphorn and the yodel are intertwined, which could suggest an alphorn played by a herdsman in the high pastures alongside a companion who sings. The scene depicted by Schubert was a common romantic subject. It was described by Viotti, for example (p. 199), and was portrayed in a number of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century paintings, drawings, etchings and engravings.

\textsuperscript{56} Felix Mendelssohn, \textit{Reisebriefe von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1832} ed. Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1861), 261: ‘For our family, the Rigi is also clearly very special, and again today it has aroused in me a devotion so wonderful, with its pure sunrise, just as it did then. The waning moon, the cheerful alphorn, the long lasting dawn which allayed the cold, the shadows on the snowy mountains, the white clouds above the Lake of Zug, the clarity and sharpness of the peaks, the slopes in all directions one behind another, the light that emerged gradually on the peaks, the huddled, cold people in their blankets, the Mönch and the Jungfrau - nothing was missing. I could not tear myself away from the sight, and remained a full six hours at the peak, absorbing the mountain views. I thought that if I come again, something might not be the same, and I wanted to engrave the sight indelibly on my memory.’

\textsuperscript{57} Original in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, collection MSS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn, Diaries and Accounts: pocket books, 1829-47.
The first four stanzas of Schubert’s text are a poem *Der Berghirt* (The Mountain Herdsman) by Wilhelm Müller, author of the poems that Schubert had used in *Die Schöne Müllerin* and *Winterreise*. Müller had also died the previous year, aged only 32. The second half of the text is written by another poet, Wilhelmina Christiane von Chézy: this gives the overall song a different tone. The carefree world of yodel and the alphorn is transformed into a scene of loneliness and grief, although at the end of the song, the herdsman looks forward to the joy of freedom from pain. This is a poignant work, written so soon after the deaths of Beethoven and Müller and when Schubert, at the age of 30, had received the news that he himself had not much longer to live.

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58 Kuhn, ed. *Sammlung* of 1812, frontispiece.
Wenn auf dem höchsten Fels ich steh',
ins tiefe Thal hernieder seh',
und singe,

Fern aus dem tiefen dunkeln Thal,
schwingt sich empor der Wiederhall
der Klüfte.

Je wieter meine Stimme dringt,
je heller sie mir wieder klingt,
von unten.

Mein Liebchen wohnt so weit von mir,
drum sehn' ich mich so heiss nach
ihr hinüber.

In tiefem Gram verzehr ich
mich mir ist die Freude hin,
auf Erden mir die Hoffnung
wicb ich hier so einsam bin.

So sehnd klang im Wald das Lied,
so sehnd klang es durch die Nacht,
die Herzen es zum Himmel zieht
mit wunderbarer Macht.

Der Frühling will kommen,
der Frühling meine Freud',
nun mach' ich mich fertig
zum Wandern bereit.

When on the highest rock I stand,
And down into the valley gaze,
And sing.

Far from the deep and misty vale,
There soars aloft re-echoing sound
of ravines.

My voice, the more it penetrates
The clearer it resounds to me
From down below.

My darling lives so far from me,
Thus ardently I long for her,
Far away.

In deepest grief I waste away
All joy from me has fled;
On earth for me all hope is dead
So lonely here am I.

So ardent sounded forth my song,
So ardent sounded in the night,
Our hearts it draws to Heaven,
With wonder-working might.

The springtime is coming,
The spring my delight,
I prepare myself
For wandering.59

59 translation by J. S. Shedlock and Frances Jones.
Fig. 5.10. Schubert, *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen*, bars 37-56. The opening phrases of voice part use notes of the harmonic series in an alphorn-like fashion, with echoes played by the clarinet.\(^60\)

The herdsman on a crag was present in the opening scene of Grétry’s opera *Guillaume Tell* (William Tell) of 1791 (see p. 201). Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) wrote an opera based on the same story, *Il Guglielmo Tell*, also for a Parisian audience, 38 years after that of Grétry, in 1829. Rossini’s opera, and in particular its overture, has achieved greater popularity. The celebration of the exploits of its Swiss peasant hero was a theme in keeping with the post-Revolutionary spirit. Anselm Gerhard notes that despite this republican philosophy, though, the appeal of a princess was irresistible: Rossini gives Matilde, the Habsburg princess in the tale, more arias than any other character.\(^{61}\)

Richard Osborne notes that Rossini was very close to his father. He reports a conversation that Rossini had with Wagner in which he explains that in this he found inspiration for the close relationship between the father and son at the heart of the tale of *Il Guglielmo Tell*.\(^{62}\) Rossini took his version of the text from the German poet and philosopher Friedrich von Schiller, who had written a substantial drama entitled *Wilhelm Tell* in 1804. The Kühreien plays an intrinsic role in Schiller’s text: he introduces his first three characters singing to a Kühreien melody. The opening of the play is set on the shores of Lake Lucerne and the stage directions specify the mountain scene, with cowbells and the singing of the Kühreien.

... Noch ehe der Vorhang aufgeht, hört man den Kuhreihen und das harmonische Geläut der Herdenglocken, welches sich auch bei eröffneter Szene noch eine Zeitlang fortfreßt.

*Fischernabe, singt im Rahn, Melodie des Kuhreihens,*

*Es lächelt der See, er ladet zum Bade,*

*Der Knabe schließt ein am grünen Gestade,*

*Da hört er ein Klingen,*

*Wie Flöten so süß,*

*Wie Stimmen der Engel*

... The Kühreien, and the harmonious tinkling of cowbells, continue for some while after the rising of the curtain.

*Fisher boy, sings in his boat,*

*the melody of the Kühreien,*

*The merry lake invites him to swim,*

*The boy sleeps on its green shore,*

*He heard a melody,*

*Drifting sweetly,*

*Like the voice of an angel*

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Im Paradies.
Und wie er erwacht in seliger Lust,
Da spülen die Wasser ihm um die Brust,
Und es ruft aus den Tiefen:
Lieb Knabe, bist mein;
Ich locke den Schläfer,
Ich zieh’ ihn herein.

Hirte, auf dem Berge,
Variation des Kuhreihens.

Ihr Matten, lebt wohl!
Ihr sonnigen Weiden!
Der Senne muß scheiden,
Der Sommer ist hin.
Wir fahren zu Berg, wir kommen wieder,
Wenn der Kuckuck ruft,
Wenn erwachen die Lieder,
Wenn mit Blumen die Erde sich kleidet neu,
Wenn die Brünnlein fließen im lieblichen Mai.
Ihr Matten, lebt wohl!
Ihr sonnigen Weiden!
Der Senne muß scheiden,
Der Sommer ist hin.

Alpenjäger, erscheint gegenüber auf der Höhe
des Felsen, zweite Variation

Es donnern die Höhen,
Es zittert der Steg,
Nicht grauet dem Schüßen
Auf Schwindlichtem Weg.
Er Schreitet verwegen auf Feldern von Eis,
Da pranget kein Frühling,
Da grünet kein Reis:
Und unter den Füßen ein neblichtes Meer,
Erkennt er die Städte der Menschen nicht mehr;
Durch den Riß nur der Wolken
Erblickt er die Welt,
Tief unter den Wassern
Das grünernde Feld.63

In paradise.
And he wakens with pleasure,
The waters ripple over his chest;
And a voice from the deep cries:
Dear boy, you are mine;
I call the shepherd,
I draw him in.

Herdsman, on the mountain,
Variation of the Kühreien.

Your meadows come alive!
Your sunny pastures!
The herdsman must leave,
The summer is here.
We go to the hills, we are coming again,
When the cuckoo calls,
When the birds sing.
When the flowers clothe the earth anew,
When the brooks flow in lovely May.
Your meadows come alive!
Your sunny pastures!
The herdsman must leave,
The summer is here.

Hunter, appearing on the top of a cliff,
Second variation of the Kühreien

There is thunder above,
It shakes the bridge,
There is no grip
On the dangerous path.
He calls across the ice fields,
Where Spring never blossoms,
Where nothing green will grow;
And under his feet a sea of mist,
He cannot see the towns any more;
Through the parting clouds
He can glimpse the world,
Deep under the water
Of the green meadows.

63 Friedrich von Schiller, Wilhelm Tell (London: Macmillan, 1898), 5-6.
Rossini was generous in his use of alphorn themes in Il Guglielmo Tell to portray the Swiss landscape, possibly because both he and his father played the horn.\(^{64}\) It is significant that Rossini chose turning arpeggio motifs to represent the alphorn, unlike Gréty’s choice of the Appenzell Kühreien. This might suggest that Rossini considered that motifs played on the alphorn to visitors to the Alps were widely enough recognised as a symbol of Switzerland by the time this work was written.

The end of the second part of this opera features a storm. In the section that follows, Rossini restores the peace of the pastoral scene with a passage entitled Ranz des Vaches that opens with an expansive alphorn melody based on a turning arpeggio motif. These phrases, also featured in the overture, were originally given to the tenoroon or alto-fagotto,\(^{65}\) but by the time that the score was published the following year (Fig. 5.11), Rossini had re-allocated the tenoroon phrases to the cor anglais. However, he had not yet had the part rewritten in cor anglais notation: despite the words Corno Inglese, the music still appears in bass clef to sound an octave higher, as for the tenoroon. It becomes an extensive herdsman’s duet, with each phrase echoed an octave higher by the flute. These motifs are typical Kühreien repeating three-note cells. Five-bar phrases give the impression of a pause at the end of each statement. Yodel figures are introduced later to enhance the rustic scene and the whole passage has a bagpipe-style drone accompaniment. It is quoted extensively in the overture to the opera.

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\(^{64}\) Denise P. Gallo, Gioachino Rossini (New York: Routledge, 2002), xxi.

A year after the first performance of Rossini’s *Il Guglielmo Tell*, another composer working in Paris at that time, Hector Berlioz (1803-1869), completed his *Symphonie fantastique*. According to Berlioz’s *Memoires*, before the composition of this work he had been wholly absorbed in reading Goethe’s *Faust*. He immediately wrote *Huit Scenes de Faust* (Eight Scenes from Faust), which he later withdrew and refashioned into *Le Damnation de Faust* (The Damnation of Faust) eighteen years later. He recorded that while still under the influence of *Faust*, he wrote his *Symphonie fantastique*, in which the protagonist, after taking opium, experiences a series of visions of his beloved.67

At the opening of the third movement of *Symphonie fantastique*, entitled *Scène aux Champs*, the cor anglais plays *Ranz des Vaches* phrases with distant answering calls provided by an offstage oboe. At the end of the movement the cor anglais phrases are heard again but receive no response. Berlioz interprets the absence of the reply of another herdsman as a statement of loneliness and

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abandonment. Again, the world of the alphorn and the yodel come together, with vocal calls implied by instrumental arpeggio material. In his own description of this movement in the preface to the symphony, Berlioz refers to this music as a *Ranz des Vaches*, although he does not specify whether the herdsmen are calling to each other with voices or with instruments.

He explains that he is using the sounds of the *Ranz des Vaches* at evening time:

> Un soir d’été à la campagne, il entend deux pâtres qui dialoguent un Ranz des Vaches; ce duo pastoral, le lieu de la scène, le léger brusissement des arbres doucement agités par le vent, quelques motifs d’espoir qu’il a conçus depuis peu, tout concourt à rendre à son coeur un calme inaccoutumé, à donner à ses idées une couleur plus riante; mais elle apparaît de nouveau, son coeur se serre, des douloureux pressentiments l’agitent, si elle le trompait ... L’un des pâtres reprend sa naïve mélodie, l’autre ne répond plus. Le soleil se couche ... bruit éloigné du tonnerre ... solitude ... silence ...

It is possible that Berlioz may have come across these alphorn phrases in his childhood. He had grown up in the foothills of the French Alps near Grenoble and the music of the herdsmen in the nearby Chartreuse mountains could have been the source of Berlioz’s motifs, as they bear little resemblance to those found in a Swiss, Bavarian or Austrian context. He uses notes found on horns longer than those typically seen elsewhere.

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68 ‘One summer evening in the countryside, a Ranz des Vaches is heard from two herdsmen; the pastoral duet, the gentle rustling of the trees gently shaken by the wind, some recent signs of hope, all combined to fill his heart with an unaccustomed calm to lift his spirits, but she appears once more. His heart is filled with foreboding, what if she deceived him ... One of the shepherds resumes his simple melody, but the other answers him no more. The sun sets ... distant rolling of thunder ... solitude ... silence …’
In his renowned treatise on instrumentation and orchestration of 1843, *Grand Traité d’Instrumentation et d’Orchestration Moderne*, Berlioz quotes this example to demonstrate the evocative use of the cor anglais in an echo passage to create a pastoral dialogue:

_Dans l’Adagio d’une de mes Symphonies, le Cor anglais, après avoir répété à l’octave Basse les phrases d’un hautbois, comme ferait dans un dialogue pastoral la voix d’un adolescent répondant a celle d’une jeune fille, en redit les fragments (à la fin du morceau) avec un sourd accompagnement de quatre timbales, pendant le silence de tout le reste de l’orchestre. Les sentiments d’absence, d’oubli, d’isolement douloureux qui naissent dans l’aime de certains auditeurs à l’évocation de cette mélodie abandonnée, n’auraient pas le quart de leur force si elle était chantée par un autre instrument que le cor Anglais._

The alphorn phrases used by Berlioz in his *Symphonie fantastique* also appear in *Prélude à l’Après-Midi d’un Faune* by fellow Frenchman Claude Debussy (1862-1918). This work composed in 1894 has a pastoral setting reminiscent of the backdrop to Berlioz’s *Scène aux Champs*. It is based on a poem by Stéphane Mallarmé set in ancient Greece that describes the sensuous

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70 Hector Berlioz, *Grand Traité d’Instrumentation et d’Orchestration Modernes* (Paris: Schonenberger, 1843), 124: ‘In the Adagio of one of my symphonies, the cor anglais, having repeated the phrases of an oboe an octave lower, as if it were a pastoral dialogue, the voice of a youth and the response of a girl, it restates the phrases (at the end of the movement) with a soft accompaniment of four quiet timpani, and the silence of the rest of the orchestra. The feelings of absence, of being forgotten, of painful solitude which arouse in the souls of some listeners the memory of this forlorn melody, would have only a quarter of its effect if it were played on any instrument other than the cor anglais.’
feelings of a faun (a rural deity with a goat’s horns, body and tail but a human head). He plays on his pan-pipes, unsuccessfully chases nymphs, falls asleep and then pursues them in his dreams. Mallarmé disapproved of Debussy’s intention to set his poem to music as he felt that his words created their own music in the reader’s imagination; however when Debussy played a piano reduction of his score to the poet, the response, after a prolonged silence, was delight at the way in which the composer had captured and enhanced the spirit of the text.\footnote{Jessica Wiskus, \textit{The Rhythm of Thought: Art, Literature and Music after Merleau-Ponty} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 39-40.} Debussy sets the scene in this delicate masterpiece of orchestration with a gentle unaccompanied flute passage that opens with two typical musical references to the pastoral landscape: a repeated flowing panpipe-like phrase, followed by an alphorn motif that closely resembles that heard in Berlioz’s work (Fig. 5.12).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig513.png}
\caption{Debussy’s \textit{Prélude à l’Après-Midi d’un Faune}, bars 1-4. After a repeated panpipe-like phrase, bar 3 is similar to the alphorn call used by Berlioz in his \textit{Symphonie fantastique}.}
\end{figure}

Berlioz’s collection of five pastoral songs, Op. 13, entitled \textit{Fleurs des Landes} (Flowers of the Countryside) was completed three years after his \textit{Symphonie fantastique}, in 1833. The fourth song, \textit{Le Jeune Pâtre Breton} (The young Breton Herdsman), is a trio for voice, French horn and piano; it was later published in a version for voice and orchestra. Berlioz’s piano writing here is more complex and multi-layered than that found in Schubert’s \textit{Der Hirt auf den Felsen}: perhaps already in this version of the composition Berlioz was thinking of the possibilities that the full orchestra could offer.

Although it has been noted that herdsmen’s horns were in use in non-mountainous locations, the scene described in the text bears little relation to
Brittany, since the lyrics talk of mountains and valleys and high cliffs that divide them. Nevertheless, the vocal part, horn part and piano accompanying figurations are all based on arpeggiations that a herdsman would play to his animals: almost every bar of the piece contains such alphorn-like motifs. The verses tell of a young cowherd, Luc, who yearns for the company of Anna who tends the goats. The horn *obbligato* begins at verse 2, where the mountains are first described.

*Dès que la grive est éveillée,*
*Sur cette lande encor mouillée*
*Je viens m’asseoir*
*Jusques au soir;*
*Grand’mère de qui je me cache,*
*Dit: Loïc aime trop sa vache.*
*Oh! Nenni da!*
*Mais j’aime la petite Anna.*

As soon as the thrush wakens,
Upon this damp ground
I sit down
Until the evening;
Grandmother from whom I hide
Says: Luc loves his cow too much.
It’s not that,
But I love little Anna.

*A son tour Anna, ma compagne,*
*Conduit derrière la montagne,*
*Près des sureaux,*
*Ses noirs chevreaux;*
*Si la montagne où je m’égare,*
*Ainsi qu’un grand mur, nous sépare,*
*Sa douce voix*
*Sa voix m’appelle au fond du bois.*

In her turn, Anna, my companion,
Leads behind the mountain,
Near the elder trees,
Her black goats;
If the mountain, where I wander,
Separates us like a great wall,
Her sweet voice
Calls me from deep in the woods.

*Oh! Sur un air plaintif et tendre,*
*Qu’il est doux au loin de s’entendre,*
*Sans même avoir*
*L’heure de se voir!*
*De la montagne à la vallée*
*La voix par la voix appelée*
*Semble un soupir*
*Mêlé d’ennuis et de plaisir.*

Oh! A plaintive and tender song
Although sweet when heard from afar,
Isn’t the same
As when I can see you!
From the mountain to the valley
One voice called by another
Is like a sigh
A mix of care and joy.

*Ah! retenez bien votre haleine,*
*Brise étourdie, et dans la plaine,*
*Parmi les blés*
*Courez, volez!*
*Dieu! la méchante a sur son aile*
*Emporté la voix douce et frêle,*
*La douce voix*
*Qui m’appelait au fond du bois.*

Ah! keep on blowing,
Heedless wind, and in the fields,
Among the corn
Hasten, soar!
God! the cruel wind beats on its wings
The soft delicate voice,
The sweet voice
That calls me from deep in the woods.
While in *Faust* Goethe took his readers on a deep psychological journey, his libretto for an operetta or *Singspiel* entitled *Jery und Bütely* was a more light-hearted text. The narrative, set in Switzerland, became a source of inspiration for a number of composers and it gained considerable popularity on the operatic stage in Paris in the nineteenth century. Goethe wrote the story at

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the end of 1779 after travels in Switzerland during the autumn of that year. He demonstrated his familiarity with the employment of Swiss soldiers in foreign lands in that a leading character in the narrative is a Swiss mercenary, at home on leave with his fellow servicemen from duties abroad. The story of love and intrigue is set in a dairy farm in the Swiss canton of Appenzell.

Goethe’s comments about this story give an insight into visitors’ attitudes towards Switzerland at that time, in that he expressed concerns about ongoing interest in the country and wished to take an active role in the promulgation of its picturesque rural delights. He hoped that this text would be set as an opera as quickly as possible, ‘at a time when interest in Swiss stories is not yet extinguished ...’ and intended it essentially as a diversion where ‘actors wear Swiss clothing and speak of cheese and milk’. His crusade was worthwhile and his intention far-reaching: at least ten composers wrote settings of this libretto during the 60 years after it was written. One of these, *Le Chalet* with music by Parisian composer Alphonse Adam, became one of the most widely performed operas of its time. Completed in 1834, using a French translation of Goethe’s text created by Eugène Scribe and Mélesville, it was performed for Queen Victoria at Windsor castle and by the 1920s attained 1,500 performances at the Opéra-Comique in Paris.

Adam’s musical allusions focus on the military connotations of the story rather than its Swiss pastoral setting; however, another setting of the story, by Gaetano Donizetti (1797-1848), does use alphorn-like music to enhance its Swiss flavour. His *Betly, o la Cabanna Svizzera* (*Betly, or The Swiss Chalet*), uses his own Italian translation of the French libretto and the work was first performed in Naples in 1836. Although the story is set in Appenzell, Donizetti does not quote the local *Kühreien*. Rather, he sets the opening chorus in a gentle *Pastorale* 6/8 rhythm. Many turning arpeggio alphorn-like calls are included in the accompaniment throughout the opening number. They are

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Frances Jones  Alphorn

initially presented on a lone clarinet, with a silent backdrop. They are to be played free from strict pulse (marked *a piacere*) and draw to a close under two atmospheric pauses. Meanwhile, the shy herdsman, Daniale, is instructed to hide (*Daniele di dentro*). The initial alphorn-like music comes to rest before the marking *a tempo* heralds the introduction of the chorus and strings.

These alphorn motifs are not unlike those used by Rossini in his opera *Il Guglielmo Tell*, above. In that both composers are Italian, there is a possibility that this style of alphorn motif, not replicated in the work of German, Swiss or Austrian composers, may derive from Italian herdsmen.

Alongside material based on Swiss narratives and references to Alpine scenes or herdsmen, many composers also sought to recreate the effect of a visit to the Alps for their audiences. As mentioned earlier, (p. 208) Franz Liszt (1811-1886) wrote three sets of piano pieces entitled *Tagebuch eines Wanderers* (Diary of a Traveller), published in 1842, which include many alphorn-like motifs. He subsequently reworked many of the pieces and re-issued them as the first book of *Années de Pèlerinage* (Years of Pilgrimage), thus many of the titles of these pieces apply to two quite different versions of Liszt’s thoughts. The original versions are discussed here. Liszt’s reverential quotation of the Appenzell *Kühreien* in this collection was described on p. 209; four other instances of alphorn material in this work will be considered below, as each shows a different way in which Liszt makes use of alphorn music. The following pieces from *Tagebuch eines Wanderers* will be examined:

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75 Gaetano Donizetti, *Betly, o La Capanna Svizzera*, ms c.1840, 10.
Die Tellskapelle. William Tell’s chapel is to be found on the edge of Lake Lucerne, reputedly at the place where Tell landed after his escape from his captors during a storm on the lake. Liszt contrasts two aspects of the warrior’s character in his portrayal: his military skills and his pride in his mountain homeland. The opening of Liszt’s representation of Die Tellskapelle reflects the military connotations of the story, with trumpet-like fanfare motifs marked marziale; then Liszt writes the word Alphorn in the score and supplies bright alphorn-like figurations in triple metre, marked $f$ and energico. Liszt develops the two motifs throughout the work, exploiting their similarities and their differences. As in Le Jeune Pâtre Breton by Berlioz, described above, Liszt uses a complex interplay of ideas in his writing for the piano. He not only attempts to tell a story and recreate scenes of the Alps on the keyboard: he also brings the sound palette of a range of other instruments and orchestral colours into the drawing-room in his piano writing.

Fig. 5.16. Liszt, Tagebuch eines Wanderers, Die Tellskapelle, bars 1-12.\textsuperscript{77}

\textsuperscript{77} Liszt, Pianofortewerke, Vol. 4, 62.
**Ein Abend in den Bergen.** In this piece, Liszt returns to the solemnity that he created in his composition based on the *Kühreien* of Appenzell, *Melodieenblüten von Alpen*, No. 6, described earlier. In *Ein Abend in den Bergen* he gives the pianist the instructions *dolce religiosamente* and *dolce espressivo*. He creates a beautiful evening stillness with repeating high octave Gs, reminiscent of a shimmering *tremolando* of orchestral violins, then brings in a simple turning arpeggio alphorn motif in the register at which it would be played on an alphorn. He builds the motifs into a tender prayer-like melody reminiscent of the *Alpsegen* or *Betruf*, with the instruction *dolce con sentimento*.

![Fig. 5.17. Liszt, Tagebuch eines Wanderers, Ein Abend in den Bergen, bars 1-17.](image)

**Melodieenblüten von den Alpen**, No. 1. There are many alphorn motifs in the nine pieces included under the title *Melodieenblüten von den Alpen*. A complex example is shown below. An alphorn-like arpeggio pattern is established at the

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top of the left-hand chords. Out of these, rising call figures emerge, which Liszt develops into a cheerful melody.

Fig. 5.18. Liszt, Tagebuch eines Wanderers. Alphorn motifs open the first of the Melodieenblüten von den Alpen.\textsuperscript{79}

\textbf{Kuhreigen. Aufzug auf die Alp.} The third section of Liszt’s Tagebuch eines Wanderers bears the title Paraphrasen. It opens with a piece entitled Kuhreigen. Aufzug auf die Alp, which is built around an alphorn-style motif that is the opening phrase of a song written by Ferdinand Huber entitled Kuhreihen [sic] im Fruehling zum Aufzug auf die Alp (Departure of the Cattle Procession in Spring for the Alp) which had appeared in Les Déllices de la Suisse, a collection of Swiss songs and Kühreien published three years previously in 1835. After a cadenza-like introduction, Liszt quotes Huber’s melody in its entirety and then builds a series of variations upon it. It contains short phrases in triple time that end with a paused note. The opening, marked \textit{ff}, is repeated as an extended atmospheric echo, marked \textit{ppp}, before the music moves into a series of rhapsodic elaborations of the material.

\textsuperscript{79}Liszt, Pianofortewerke, Vol. 4, 70.
Fig. 5.19. Liszt, *Tagebuch eines Wanderers, Kuhreigen. Aufzug auf die Alp*, bars 1-27. The piece is based on Huber’s *Kuhreihen im Frühling zum Aufzug auf die Alp.*

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Liszt also wrote song settings based on scenes from Schiller’s Wilhelm Tell. In 1845 he set the three Kühreien texts from the opening of the drama under the title Drei Lieder aus Schillers Wilhelm Tell. The songs form one continuous work. It is dedicated to the Dutch artist Ary Scheffer, who painted a number of portraits of leading nineteenth-century intellectuals, including

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Dickens, Lamartine and Chopin, and completed a painting of Liszt in 1837. The portrait depicts Liszt as one of the magi; thus the much-fêted composer is elevated to the hierarchy of kings of legendary biblical status.\textsuperscript{82}

No. 2 of the set bears the title \textit{Der Hirt}. The text describes the \textit{Kühreien}, or departure of the herdsman with his cattle to the summer pastures. The words are given by Schiller to William Tell’s son.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{Ihr Matten, lebt wohl}, & Your meadows come alive! \\
\textit{Ihr sonnigen wieden!} & Your sunny pastures! \\
\textit{Der Senne muss scheiden}, & The herdsman must leave, \\
\textit{Der Sommer ist hin.} & The summer is here. \\
\textit{Wir fahren zu Berg,} & We go to the hills, \\
\textit{wir kommen wieder,} & we are coming again, \\
\textit{wenn der Kukkuck ruft,} & when the cuckoo calls, \\
\textit{wen erwachen die Lieder,} & when the birds sing, \\
\textit{wen mit Blumen die Erde} & when the flowers \\
\textit{sich kleidet neu,} & clothe the earth anew, \\
\textit{wenn die Brünnelein fliessen} & when the brooks flow \\
\textit{in lieblichen Mai.} & in lovely May.
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Liszt’s setting for voice and piano of the herdsman’s song from \textit{Wilhelm Tell} is almost operatic in its complexity, sonorities and approach. James Parsons describes these songs as ‘so declamatory as to verge on the melodrama’.\textsuperscript{83} The vocal part and the piano accompaniment form an integrated whole reminiscent of a substantial orchestral score, with many different types of textures. At times the piano is in conversation with the voice, at times it takes prominence; indeed Liszt includes an extensive piano cadenza. It may be significant that he gives his setting the tempo indication \textit{Andante Pastorale}, possibly a reference to the earlier \textit{Pastorale} tradition. He uses a variety of alphorn motifs, each one a number of times, and highlights the initial alphorn-like call with the marking \textit{quasi Corno}.


Besides using alphorn-inspired material in his salon pieces, Liszt also incorporated alphorn references in his orchestral music. He creates a beautiful representation of calm after a storm in *Les Préludes*, originally composed in 1848. In contrast to the quotations of alphorn material in the works examined above, here Liszt’s awareness of the more substantial range of the longer alphorn, rather than the shorter instrument played to tourists, can be found. He uses harmonics beyond the usual nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6: in this instance nos. 6, 8, 9, 10, 12 and 13. Thus this alphorn-type motif has more of a pentatonic feel, where most of the degrees of the scale are available (for an explanation of the harmonic series, see p. 17).

The work was written as the introduction to a cantata *Les Quatre Elemens*, with words by the poet Joseph Autran. The music subsequently underwent several transformations including an association with writings of Alphonse de Lamartine instead, however the piece has no specific narrative.

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rather it reflects concepts and ideas. Liszt uses many images drawn from nature in this work and a section that describes the storms of life (*allegro tempestuoso*) is returned to calm with a passage that reflects rural innocence, in replication of an alphorn being played in the mountains after a storm to signal that all is well. Significantly, this section is also headed *Allegretto Pastorale* and the passage has a typical *Pastorale* compound time signature. Liszt provides a carefree alphorn-like melody for the horn that is repeated and extended by the oboe and then the clarinet. It is set over a *pianissimo* rustic drone.

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A third narrative set in Switzerland, alongside that of William Tell and 
_Jery und Bätley_, attracted the interest of composers: Byron’s epic poem _Manfred_. The text is partly autobiographical and partly rooted in ideas found in 
Goethe’s _Faust_ (concerning which Byron was accused of plagiarism).  
Andrew Rutherford identifies parallels with a number of other literary works

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including Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*. Despite Byron’s insistence that it was not intended for stage performance, Robert Schumann (1810-1856) was one of a number of composers inspired to write incidental music to the poem after a holiday with his family in Switzerland in 1848. It has been suggested that Schumann felt much affinity with the character of Manfred, as Joan Chissell comments: ‘possibly Schumann’s own secret fears in times of illness were those of the “restless, wandering, distracted man, tormented by fearful thoughts” that Byron portrays’. Laura Tunbridge relates that while reading the poem to some friends, Schumann’s voice suddenly faltered and he broke down in tears, so that he could read no further.

In the resulting three-act work, for which Schumann retained the title *Manfred*, Scene No. 4 of Act 1 is a recitative with the descriptive title *Alpenkühreigen*. The protagonist contemplates suicide at the top of the Jungfrau. He hears distant alphorn music and reflects on his desire to be freed from his mortal self and become just the pure spirit of music itself:

Horch, der Ton!
Hark! the note!

Des Alpenrohrs
The natural music

natürliche Musik –
of the mountain reed –
denn hier ward nicht
for here the days are not

to blosser Hirntendichtung
of the pastoral poets

die Patriarchenzeit –
and our forefathers –
in freien Lüften
the fresh mountain air

vermählt dem Klinggeläute
mingles with the sweet bells
muntrer Heerden;
of the herd;
die Töne trinkt mein Geist.
my soul would drink those echoes.
O wür’ ich doch
Oh, that I were
solk’sansten Klanges
the sightless spirit
ungesch’ner Geist,
of a lovely sound,
lebend’ge Stimme,
a living voice,
athmende Harmonie,
a breathing harmony,
leiblose Wonne,
a bodiless desire
sterbend wie geboren
born and dying
im sel’gen Tone,
with the blessed tone
der mich zeugte!91
which made me!

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88 Ibid.
In Schumann’s setting, Manfred’s spoken musings appear against the backdrop of a lone cor anglais playing typical alphorn figures. The scene is introduced with the text: Man hört eine Hirtenschalmei in die Ferne und später Heerdengeläute (You can hear a herdsman’s pipe in the distance and later, a herd on the move). The cor anglais is given slow phrases, then fast ones, then the slow ones return, as in a Kühreien. There are motifs marked echo and many repeating cells. The score shows how the text is declaimed while the music is played:

Fig. 5.23. Schumann, Manfred, Scene 4: Alpenkühreigen.  

Schumann was not only wrestling with problems of mental health. In May 1849 fighting in the vicinity of his home in Dresden forced Robert and

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92 Schumann, Manfred, 71.
Clara to flee from the neighbourhood. His *Liederalbum für die Jugend* (Album for the young) Op. 79, written around that time, has been described as ‘highly political’. In some cases, the choice of poet was a political statement in itself, whereby Schumann expressed his views by setting texts written by those critical of the German state. Eric Sams observes that ‘there is some incongruity in his writing a song-book for children while his political ideals were being bloodily suppressed’, although it could be argued that Schumann used his art either as a means to escape from the violence and political turmoil that dominated daily life, or as a means to express his feelings without attracting the attention of the censors. He conjures up scenes of dream-like innocence, but also of freedom, independence and the search for a better life.

Song No. 9 bears the title *Des Knaben Berglied* (The Mountain Boy’s Song) with a text by Johann Ludwig Uhland who wrote the version of the Tannhauser legend upon which Wagner based his music-drama. *Des Knaben Berglied* celebrates the courage of the herding boy, although the text is far from merely a description of the joys of life in the high pastures: the underlying theme is that he is brave and strong and will challenge the storms that threaten his home.

*Ich bin vom Berg der Hirtenknab,*  
*seh’ auf die Schlösser all’ herab.*  
*Die Sonne strahlt am ersten hier,*  
am längsten weilet sie bei mir,  
*Ich bin der Knab’ vom Berge,*  
vom Berg der Hirtenknab!  

*Der berg, der ist mein Eigenthum,*  
da zieh’n die Stürme rings herum,*  
und heulen sie von Nord und Süd,*  
so überschallt sie doch mein Lied:*  
*Ich bin der Knab’ vom Berge,*  
vom Berg der Hirtenknab!  

*Sind Blitz und Donner unter mir,*  
so steh’ ich hoch im Blauen hier;  
ich kenne sie und rufe zu:  

Chapter 5  Alphorn as metaphor

_‘lasst meines Vaters Haus in Ruh’!
Ich bin der Knab’ vom Berge,
vom Berg der Hirtenknab!’_

leave my father’s house in peace!
I am the boy from the mountains,
I am the mountain boy!

_Und wann die Sturmglock’ einst erschallt,
manch’ Feuer auf den Bergen wallt,
dann steig’ ich nieder, tret’ in’s Glied
und schwing’ mein Schwert und sing’ mein Lied;
Ich bin der Knab’ vom Berge,
vom Berg der Hirtenknab!’_

And when the storm warning first appears,
with fire in the mountains,
then I climb down, striding out,
and swing my sword and sing my song:
I am the boy from the mountains,
I am the mountain boy!

Schumann’s approach to piano accompaniments contrasts with that of Liszt. Whereas it has been seen that Liszt often treated his piano-writing as a salon representation of an orchestral score, it was fundamentally as a pianist that Schumann wrote for the instrument. He had composed little for orchestra before he embarked on his ‘year of song’, 1840, and he retained this stylistic integrity in his second period of song-writing (1849-50) as demonstrated in this piece.

Schumann’s piano introduction to _Des Knaben Berglied_ consists of simple alphorn-like turning arpeggio calls. A repeating arpeggio refrain is given to the voice at the end of each verse; this is interspersed with alphorn-like motifs on the piano, which also bring each verse to a close.
Fig. 5.24. Schumann, *Des Knaben Berglied*.\(^{95}\)

Schumann also included a setting of the Kühreien from Schiller’s Wilhelm Tell in his Liederalbum für die Jungend, as song No. 23. He gave the Kühreien text the title Des Sennen Abschied (The Herdsman’s Departure). He again writes alphorn-like interjections between the vocal phrases, although of a different character from those in Des Knaben Berglied: these are more haunting and wistful.

In his setting of another text, Die Sennin (The Milkmaid), the following year, Schumann chooses a different way to feature alphorn music and gives his alphorn motifs a different character. He begins the vocal line with a typical alphorn motif and adopts a persistent, almost menacing alphorn-like figuration for the piano accompaniment.

The text that inspired Schumann here draws both cheerful and then sinister meaning from alphorn-like calls. The text of Die Sennin was written by Nicolaus Franz Niembsch, eight years older than Schumann, who wrote under the pseudonym of Nicolaus Lenau. With striking similarity to the latter part of Schumann’s life, Lenau suffered from persistent depression and ended his days in a mental asylum.⁹⁷

Die Sennin is one of a set of six of Lenau’s texts that Schumann set as his Opus 90 as a tribute following the poet’s death. Schumann added a short Requiem and they were published with an unusually elaborate cover including

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a depiction of a cross and a funeral wreath. The text initially describes the joyful milkmaid’s song as it echoes off the cliffs, such as might be heard in the valley of Lauterbrunnen, at the foot of the Jungfrau (see Fig. 5.2), the setting for Byron’s drama *Manfred*. The second half the text dwells on the effect of death which saddens and silences the grey cliffs:

**Schöne Sennin, noch einmal** 
singe deinen Ruf in’s Thal,  
dass die frohe Felsensprache  
dinem hellen Ruf erwache!  

Beautiful milkmaid, once again  
sing your call in the valley,  
that the cheerful voice of the rocks  
may resonate with your light voice!

**Horch, o Sennin, wie dein Sang** 
in die Brust den Bergen drang,  
wie dein Wort die Felsenseelen  
Freudig fort und fort erzählen!  

Hear, oh milkmaid, how your song  
penetrates the heart of the mountains,  
how with your words the mountain’s soul  
tells of stronger and stronger joy!

**Aber einst, wie Alles flieht,** 
scheidest du mit deinem Lied,  
wen dich Liebe fortbewogen,  
oder dich der Tod entzogen.  

But then when you depart with your song,  
everything disappears,  
when love has moved you on,  
or when death has taken you away.

**Und verlassen werden stehn,**  
Traurig stumm herüber sehn  
dort die graunen Felsenzinnen,  
und auf deine Lieder sinnen.  

And there, standing deserted,  
sad and mute,  
the grey crag pinnacles will look across,  
and reflect on your songs.

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**Die Sennin.**

Fig. 5.26. Schumann, *Die Sennin*, bars 1-3.  

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A second composer who had to flee from Dresden in 1849 was Richard Wagner (1813-1883).\(^{99}\) He found refuge in Switzerland: this was the first of two extended stays in the country. Here Wagner was inspired to incorporate typical alphorn motifs into his herdsman’s melody at the beginning of Act 3 of his opera *Tristan und Isolde*. There are, however, two conflicting accounts of the origin of these calls.

One of these reports that in 1859 Wagner transcribed alphorn music that he heard on an excursion to the top of the Rigi above Lucerne where he stayed overnight in order to watch the sunrise. He wrote to his wife Minna of the source of the melody:

*Früh um 4 Uhr weckte der Knecht mit dem Alphorn. Ich fuhr auf, sah, daß es regnete und bleib liegen um weiter zu schlafen. Doch ging mir das drollige Geblase im Kopf herum, und daraus entstand eine sehr lustige Melodie, die jetzt der Hirt aussen bläat, wenn er Isoldes Schiff ankündigt, was eine überraschend heiterer und naïve Wirkung macht.*\(^{100}\)

Wagner was so delighted with the phrases he heard that he wrote some of them thus in a telegram to Minna: gg gde cde gde cde gef df gfe de. However, the Postal Officer refused to accept the telegram, fearful that it was some secret code.\(^{101}\)

Peter Bassett, though, notes that Wagner’s second wife Cosima recorded in her diary that Richard also enjoyed listening to an alphorn player in the market square in Lucerne. He likened the sound to the call of a wild goose. Wagner attempted to transcribe some of the music but the player was too reticent to enter into conversation with him. A few years later, when Wagner

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\(^{100}\) Letter reproduced in Edwin Lindner, *Richard Wagner über Tristan und Isolde* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1912), 101-2: ‘At four in the morning we were woken by the guide with an Alphorn – I jumped up, and saw that it was raining, so went back to bed to try to sleep again; but the droll call went round and round in my head and out of it came a very cheerful melody which the herdsman now blows to call Isolde’s ship, making a surprisingly merry and naïve effect’.

\(^{101}\) *Ibid.*, 255.
Frances Jones   Alphorn

returned to listen again, he learned that the player had died. Wagner commented that he would do the best he could for him in Tristan.102

Wagner gave his herdsman’s alphorn melody to the cor anglais, to be played offstage. His meticulous instructions in the score specify the following:

Der Vortrag des Hirtenreigens auf dem Englischen Horn erfordert einen so vollendeten Künstler, daß er jedenfalls von deselben Bläser übernommen und hinter der Szene ausgeführt muß, welcher im Verlaufe des ganzen Abends das Englische Horn im Orchester bläst. Da das Englische Horn erst für die zweite Szene wieder im Orchester angewandt ist, wird der Bläser genügige Zeit haben bis dahin seinen Platz daselbst wieder einzunehmen … 103

At the place in the score where the melody appears, Wagner comments that the cor anglais should resemble a very strong natural instrument, such as an alphorn. He suggests that the sound might be reinforced with other woodwind if necessary, but also gives the alternative of using a natural instrument made of wood. However, although the melody draws upon alphorn calls for its inspiration, most of it is an elaboration of such motifs, using notes which could not be played on an alphorn. If an alphorn-like instrument were to be constructed to play the solo passage, it would need some mechanism or holes to enable it to play the notes that are outside the harmonic series.

102 Peter Bassett, Richard Wagner’s Tristan und Isolde (Adelaide: Wakefield, 2006), 146, quoted in English, no translator given.
103 Richard Wagner, Tristan und Isolde (Leipzig: Peters, 1912), Vorwort, 6: ‘The performance of the herdsman’s dance on the cor anglais requires such an accomplished artist that it must be undertaken and played behind the scenes by the same musician who plays the cor anglais in the orchestra during the whole evening. As the cor anglais is not used again until Scene two, the player has enough time to resume his place in the orchestra by then …’
Wagner’s second extended stay in Switzerland, from 1866, was in a splendid villa at Tribschen outside Lucerne as guest of its owner, King Ludwig II of Bavaria, who was Wagner’s patron. He composed Siegfried-Idyll for thirteen solo players and conducted it on the stairwell of the villa on Christmas morning in 1870, Cosima’s 33rd birthday, when their son Siegfried was a year old. The original title for the work was Tribschener Idyll mit Fidi-Vogelsang und Orange-Sonnenaufgang, als Symphonischer Geburtstagsgruss (Tribschen Idyll with Fidi’s Birdsong and the orange Sunrise, Symphonic Birthday)

104 Ibid., Act 3, 306.
Greetings). Fidi was their nickname for one-year-old Siegfried and the ‘orange sunrise’ is a reference to an orange-coloured bedroom wall that was lit up by the morning sun. Both bird calls and the morning calls of the alphorn are clearly represented in the music.

Three of the themes, including the horn call, also appear in the love duet at the end of Act 3 of Siegfried which Wagner was writing around the same time. Mark Anson-Cartwright comments on Wagner’s principal key centres used in the Idyll, C major and E major, as having particular significance for Wagner: ‘C major symbolises a triumphant world of heroes … ; E major, on the other hand, represents a quiet world of repose’.\(^\text{105}\)

Patterns of falling fourths and fifths played by the horn settle into familiar turning arpeggio figurations so commonly played on the alphorn. Wagner sets them alongside bird-like calls played on the clarinet and the flute, over a still drone held by horn 2. Cosima loved the music so much that she asked for the twenty-minute piece to be immediately repeated. She wrote in her diary:

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\text{Wie ich aufwachte, vernahm mein Ohr einen Klang, immer voller}
\text{schwoll er an, nicht mehr im Traum durfte ich mich wähnen, Musik}
\text{erschallte, und welche Musik! Als sie verklungen, trat R. mit den fünf}
\text{Kindern zu mir ein und überreichte mir die Partitur des ‘Symphonischen}
\text{Geburtstagsgrusses’, in Tränen war ich, aber auch das ganze Haus. Auf}
\text{der Treppe hatte R. sein Orchester gestellt und so unser Tribschen auf}
\text{ewig geweiht! Die ‘Tribscher Idylle’ so heisst das Werk ... Nach dem}
\text{Frühstück stellte das Orchester sich wieder ein, und in der unteren}
\text{Wohnung ertönte nun die Idylle wieder, zu unserer aller Erschütterung,}
\text{darauf Lohengrin’s Brautzug, das Septett von Beethoven, und zum}
\text{Schluss noch einmal die nie genug Gehörte! Nun begriff ich R.’s}
\text{heimliches Arbeiten, nun auch des guten Richter’s Trompete (er}
\text{schmetterte das Siegfried-Thema prachtvoll und hatte eigens dazu}
\text{Trompete gelernte).}^{\text{106}}
\]

\(^{\text{105}}\)Mark Anson-Cartwright, ‘Chord as Motif: The Augmented-Triad Matrix in Wagner’s

\(^{\text{106}}\)Cosima Wagner, Cosima Wagner’s Diaries: an abridgement, Geoffrey Skelton, ed. (London: Random, 1994), 84: ‘I was awakened by sounds that reached my ears, that continually grew louder. I wasn’t dreaming any more, music was being played, and what music! As the music played R. came to me with the five children and handed me the score of the symphonic birthday greetings, I was moved to tears; so was the whole household. R. had arranged his orchestra on the stairs and thus immortalised our Tribschen! The work is
Johannes Brahms (1833-1897) was inspired by his visits to Switzerland to include alphorn motifs in his compositions. He grew up in Hamburg; thereafter he spent most of his professional life in Vienna and his diaries mention his love of walking holidays with his father in the mountains. His father was a horn player and Brahms’s deep affinity with the instrument is apparent in his horn writing; thus with his affection for his father, the instrument and the mountains, although he did not write overtly descriptive music in his orchestral works it is not unexpected that references to alphorn-like music are found in some of his compositions. Two contrasting examples of Brahms’s alphorn-like music will be considered.

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called the ‘Tribschen Idyll’ ... After we had breakfast, the orchestra re-assembled on the lower floor and played the Idyll again; to everyone’s astonishment they also played Lohengrin’s Bridal March and Beethoven’s Septet; and to finish, the piece that we couldn’t hear enough once more! Now I understood the work R. was doing at home, now also of the good Richter’s trumpet (he played the Siegfried theme beautifully and had just learned the trumpet for that purpose)’. 107

A particularly lovely example occurs in the second movement of his dramatic Piano Concerto No. 1. This composition was conceived as a work for two pianos, sketched out in 1854. It was gradually expanded into a work on the scale of a full symphony, although Brahms worked on it in two-piano score for subsequent orchestration, since at that time he felt inexperienced in writing for the orchestra. 108 Its final form as a piano concerto was realised in 1858.

A turbulent, powerful first movement of symphonic proportions is followed by a serene, lyrical slow movement. Documentation suggests that the work was a tribute to Brahms’s close friend and mentor, Robert Schumann. At the start of Robert’s final illness, Brahms pledged his ongoing support to Clara and her family. Following Robert’s death at the end of July 1856, Brahms took Clara to Switzerland for a month, together with two of her sons, and his own sister. The calm reassurance of the alphorn-like horn writing in this slow movement, after the storms of the first, may have reflected this period of recuperation in the Swiss Alps that followed the trauma of Robert’s last years. Malcolm MacDonald describes the second movement as ‘certainly a peaceful contrast, but there is something almost numbed about its lyricism, as if the experience of the first movement had left it in shock … It stands as one of his profoundest evocations of a withdrawn, almost mystical spirit’. 109

The alphorn-like horn solo, with its typical peaceful figurations, is marked marcato, ma dolce. It is set over quiet piano arpeggios while the rest of the orchestra is silent. Echoes are provided by the timpani.

A second, more specific quotation of alphorn music by Brahms is widely documented. In 1868 Brahms was again in Switzerland, taking a walking holiday in the Bernese Oberland with his father. He wrote to Clara on her wedding anniversary, 12 September, which was the day before her birthday, noting down a melody that he heard played on an alphorn in the valley of Lauterbrunnen (see Fig. 5.2).\footnote{Mention of this manuscript occurs in most texts that refer in detail to this symphony. Many erroneously state that it is on a card, e.g. Malcolm MacDonald, *Brahms* (New York: Schirmer, 1990), 246; or a postcard, e.g. David Lee Brodbeck, *Brahms: Symphony No. 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997), 15; and Bachmann-Geiser, *Das Alphorn*, 111. Styra Avins, in *Johannes Brahms: Life and Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 225, even states that the ‘postcard’ was sent to Clara ‘in a painted box from Johannes Brahms, *Piano Concerto No. 1* (London: Eulenburg, 1945), 66.}

![Fig. 5.29. Alphorn-like horn solo in Brahms’s Piano Concerto No. 1, bars 432-438.](image)
Brahms wrote the accompanying text: ‘Also blus das Alphorn heut: Hoch auf’m Berg, tief im Tal, grüß ich dich viel tausendmal!’ (Thus the alphorn blew today: from high in the mountains and deep in the valley, I send you many thousand greetings!) The music that he transcribed bears only moderate similarity to the usual turning arpeggio motifs: perhaps it is the music of a herdsman at work, in contrast to the more stylised phrases generally played for tourists. Significantly, it also incorporates the ‘alphorn fa’, thus it must have been played on an horn of sufficient length to produce this note. This is the second note of the second stave in Brahms’s transcription:

Fig. 5.30. Music sent by Brahms to Clara Schumann, an alphorn melody that he heard in the Bernese Oberland.112

Eight years later, Brahms used the melody in the fourth movement of his Symphony No. 1. There are a number of slight alterations: the first note and its acciaccatura are not included, and the rhythm in the third bar and the

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Switzerland’. Enquiry at the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin where it is now kept reveals that there is no knowledge of a box and it is not a postcard but part of a sheet of paper, blank on the reverse. It was donated to the library by Clara’s youngest daughter Eugenie in 1936, before which it had been kept in a picture frame (email from curator, Roland Schmidt-Hensel, July 2012). Many sources also state that it was sent from the Rigi, however the Brahms’s accompanying text does not describe the open landscape of that area. Residents of Lauterbrunnen are familiar with the details of Brahms’ holidays in this popular walkers’ destination and this visit to the valley and the quotation are recorded in a book about Lauterbrunnen: Ernst Gertsch, Der Schönste Platz der Welt (Interlaken: Schaeffli, 1997), 31.

penultimate bar have been altered. In accordance with the traditions of the eighteenth century, the rustic connotations of the ‘alphorn fa’ are represented by the raised fourth (the written F sharp, which is the last horn note on the first stave of the extract below). As with the previous quotation, the theme follows a turbulent, stormy movement and thus recalls the alhorn’s calming, reassuring effect after a storm in the mountains.

Brahms sets the melody over peaceful string chords and gives the theme to horn 1; in addition each semibreve is doubled by the second player. This is not only a practical consideration that allows the first player to take another full breath for each successive phrase with no break in the sound: the richness of two horns in unison also gives an echo-like resonance to the sound, a subtle technique seen earlier in Schubert’s ‘Great’ C major Symphony (Fig. 5.6).

Fig. 5.31. Brahms, Symphony No. 1, fourth movement, bars 28-43: introduction of the main theme on the horn. Brass parts, with horns in C on stave 1.

113 Johannes Brahms, Symphony No. 1 (Berlin: Simrock, 1877), 49-50.
The fame of this quotation is such that when in 1972 an East German five-mark nickel commemorative coin was issued 75 years after Brahms’s death, the opening of this melody was chosen for the reverse side of the coin. Unfortunately the quotation is incorrect: the third note reproduced on the coin is not the note that Brahms wrote, nor is it possible to play on an alphorn.

![Fig. 5.32. East German five-mark commemorative coin with an erroneous quotation of Brahms’s alphorn melody.](image)

The foremost Swiss composer of the nineteenth-century was Joachim Raff (1822-1882). He was born and brought up beside Lake Zürich and became assistant to Franz Liszt at Weimar. Raff’s stated intention as a composer was to ‘infuse traditional genres and forms with programmatic elements’, and of his 11 symphonies, nine have descriptive titles: No. 1 is ‘An das Vaterland’, No. 3 is ‘Im Walde’, No. 7 ‘In den Alpen’ and Nos. 8 to 11 are named after the four seasons. Peter Höyng comments that Raff’s descriptive symphonies ‘were of significance for the development of that genre and the symphonic poem in the later nineteenth century’.

Symphony No. 7, ‘In den Alpen’, was completed in 1875 when Raff was 53. He does not tell a narrative in this symphony, rather he creates atmospheres, describes landscapes and depicts Swiss scenes. He demonstrates his familiarity with ‘tourist’ alphorn motifs; the inclusion of such elements

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114 Author’s personal collection.
116 Peter Höyng, ‘Leaving the Summit Behind’ in Heights of Reflection: Mountains in the German Imagination from the Middle Ages to the Twenty-first Century ed. Sean Moore Ireton and Caroline Schaumann (Elizabethtown, NY: Camden, 2012), 244.
presupposes that Raff had some expectation that his audience would recognise this music as symbolic of the mountains. The first movement, entitled *Wanderung im Hochgebirge* (Excursion in the High Mountains), opens with a grandeur reminiscent of a broad mountain vista, but soon grows gentler in a second subject based on the sound of alphorns echoing across lakes and peaks, with turning arpeggio motifs introduced by the horn and echoed on the oboe, set over a quiet backdrop provided by the strings. The alphorn motifs gradually become the main thematic material for the development section and indeed dominate the rest of the movement.

The second and third movements bear the titles *In der Herberge* (At the Inn) and *Am See* (On the Lake). The final movement, *Beim Schwingfest – Abschied* (At the Wrestling Contest – Farewell), recapitulates themes heard previously, including the alphorn music.
Fig. 5.33. Raff, Symphony No. 7: *In den Alpen*, first movement: *Wanderung im Hochgebirge*, bars 177-207, the first appearance of alphorn phrases.\textsuperscript{117}

\textsuperscript{117}Joachim Raff, *Symphony No. 7* (Leipzig: Seitz, 1876), 38.
An Austrian composer who was greatly influenced by his natural surroundings was Gustav Mahler (1860-1911). Alphorn motifs feature in his music for voice and piano and also in his orchestral scores. His setting of the poem *Zu Strassburg auf der Schanz’* (In Strasbourg on the Ramparts) is a typical example of his use of alphorn music in his piano writing. Its text is found in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (The Youth’s Magic Horn), a collection of German folk poems edited by Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, dedicated to Goethe and published in Heidelberg between 1805 and 1808. Most of the poems were drawn from oral tradition although some were freely modified and transcribed into High German and a few were especially written by the editors, both of whom were poets in their own right. The collection was a source of inspiration for many composers, including Brahms, Mahler, Mendelssohn, Schumann and Weber. Mahler was drawn to the collection throughout his life and in 1888 he published a setting of 12 songs under the title *Lieder aus Des Knaben Wunderhorn*; altogether he wrote 24 settings of poems from the collection, including music that he was to use again in his Second, Third and Fourth Symphonies.

Both Mahler and Brahms set the poem *Zu Strassburg auf der Schanz’* for voice and piano. Its theme is the desperation of a homesick Swiss soldier who is about to be shot for attempted desertion by firing squad: he had been caught swimming across the Rhine after hearing a distant alphorn. Brahms’s setting, WoO Posth. 37, No. 13, is in simple, homophonic, strophic form with no musical reference to the content of the lyrics. Mahler’s setting, which dates from c.1880-83, is more sophisticated. As with the piano writing seen in the song settings of Berlioz and Liszt, Mahler appears to use the piano as a reduction of an orchestral score. Donald Mitchell notes that as a mature symphonist, Mahler’s piano accompaniments at this time ‘derive their unique characteristics from the nature and process of Mahler’s symphonic art …

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Already, in some of these earlier songs, the orchestra is there, locked within the piano accompaniments and struggling to get out’.  

Mahler enhances the themes of the text with a haunting juxtaposition of music typical of the military bugle and the pastoral free-rhythm of the call of the alphorn. There is a recurring dichotomy between F major, which symbolises the mountains for which the soldier yearns, and F minor which returns him to the distress of his present situation. The initial vocal phrase is in military style, with the instruction In gemessenem Marschtempo (in strict march tempo), while the mention of the alphorn is prepared with a slowing of the tempo (ritardando) and the music has the instruction ein wenig zurückhaltend (a little held back): this contrasts the military scene with the more tranquil world of the alphorn. Mahler gives the instruction that the sustain pedal should be in use throughout the alphorn motifs, to provide increased resonance in imitation of the sound of the alphorn as it reverberates in the mountains. The text reads:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Zu Strassburg auf der Schanz'},
da ging mein Trauern an;
das Alphorn hört' ich drüben wohl anstimmen,
ins Vaterland mußt ich hinüberschwimmen,
das ging ja nicht an.

\textit{Ein Stunde in der Nacht}
sie haben mich gebracht;
sie führten mich gleich vor des Hauptmanns Haus,
ach Gott, sie fischten mich im Strome auf;
mit mir ist's aus.

\textit{Frühmorgens um zehn Uhr}
stelln man mich vor das Regiment;
ich soll da bitten um Pardon,
und ich bekomm doch meinen Lohn,
das weiß ich schon.

\textit{Ihr Brüder allzumal,}
\textit{Heut' seht ihr mich zum letztenmal;}
der Hirtenbub ist nur schuld daran.
\textit{Das Alphorn hat mir's angetan},
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
In Strasburg on the ramparts,
there I was troubled;
I heard the distant alphorn calling.
I had to swim to my homeland,
that was not permitted.

One hour into the night
they caught me;
they took me directly to the Captain’s house,
ah God, they’d fished me out of the river,
everything is over for me.

In the morning at ten o’clock
they will put me before the regiment;
I am supposed to beg for pardon,
and I will take what is due to me,
well do I know that.

You, all my brothers,
today you see me for the last time;
the shepherd boy alone is to blame.
The alphorn did this to me –
\end{quote}

\footnote{Donald Mitchell, \textit{Gustav Mahler: The Wunderhorn Years: Chronicles and Commentaries} (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 144.}
das klag ich an.

Ihr Brüder alle drei, was ich euch bitt, erschießt mich gleich; verschont mein junges Leben nicht, schießt zu, daß das Blut rausspritzt, das bitt ich euch.

O Himmelskönig, Herr! Nimm du meine arme Seele dahin, nimm sie zu dir in den Himmel ein, laß sie ewig bei dir sein und vergiß nicht mein!

the blame belongs there.
You, my brothers, all three, this I ask: shoot straight at me; do not spare my young life, shoot so the blood splashes out: this I beg you.

O King of heaven, Lord! Take my poor soul away, take it to you in Heaven, let it be forever with you and do not forget me!

Fig. 5.34. Mahler’s setting of Zu Strassburg auf der Schanz’ from Des Knaben Wunderhorn, bars 1-13.\textsuperscript{120}

The mountains were a substantial source of inspiration for Mahler. Julian Johnson comments on the composer’s belief that ‘the city is unhealthy, inhuman, hectic and alienating, whereas the peace of the countryside offers a genuine Heimat [homeland] in which one is restored physically and spiritually to a true “self”’. Mahler often stayed in the mountains. He spent the summer of 1893 in Steinbach on the Attersee near Salzburg and here he devised a routine that he was to follow for the rest of his life: to compose in the mountains in the summer and return to conducting and city duties for the rest of the year. He had a hut built where he could compose undisturbed: the windows afforded uninterrupted views of the lake and the mountains beyond.

Mahler’s clarity of orchestral colour has been said to show the influence of Berlioz, especially the drama and depictions of natural scenes in Symphonie fantastique, a work which Mahler conducted many times. In particular, Mahler’s writing for the French horn in his orchestral output is highly characterful and his awareness of the use of the horn in the countryside greatly influenced his use of the instrument in an orchestral context, his evocative writing displaying many moods ranging from the deeply profound to the unrestrainedly joyous. The First Symphony’s exuberant whoops, the offstage echo effects in the Second, the posthorn calls in the Third, the haunting alphorn-like elegy for obbligato horn with the rest of the horns used as an echo in the Fifth and the extensive alphorn-style music in both of the Nachtmusik movements of his Seventh Symphony each demonstrate different facets of Mahler’s use of the horn as a metaphor in his symphonic writing. In his depictions of the natural world and our relationship with it, the horn was fundamental to the fabric of his musical language.

Mahler’s music often depicts life or scenes in the Alps and he draws on the heritage of the alphorn on such occasions. Two contrasting examples of his

123 Donald Mitchell, Gustav Mahler, the Wunderhorn Years (London: Faber, 1968), 333-337.
use of alphorn motifs in an orchestral setting will be given: one a representation of carefree delight in the mountains in his Symphony No. 4 and the other a moving representation of nightfall in Symphony No. 7.

Mahler commented that his Fourth Symphony formed a conclusion to his first three symphonies, all of which used motivic material from songs from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*.\(^{124}\) In its simplicity and innocence, however, it was something of a reaction against the monumental scale of the Second and the persistent symbolism of the Third.\(^{125}\) With reference to this symphony he wrote in a letter to the soprano Anna von Mildenburg: ‘*Nun aber denke Dir so ein großes Werk, in welchem sich in der Tat die ganze Welt spiegelt – man ist, sozusagen, selbst nur ein Instrument, auf dem das Universum spielt*’. (Imagine such a mighty work that it reflects the entire world – one is, as it were, just an instrument, upon which the universe can play).\(^{126}\) When the conductor Bruno Walter visited Mahler at his composing hut in 1895 and stopped to admire the panoramic mountain views, Mahler said, ‘*Sie brauchen gar nicht mehr hinzusehen – Das habe ich schon alles wegkomponiert*’. (You don’t need to look: I have already composed all that).\(^{127}\) By bar 3 in the opening movement, Mahler has already introduced the jingling bells of horses’ harnesses and alphorn calls:


\(^{126}\) Quoted in Paul Bekker, *Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1921), 108.

Mahler’s Seventh Symphony was completed in 1905. Both the second and the fourth movements bear the title Nachtmusik and between them is a waltz-like Scherzo marked Schattenhaft (Shadowy). Although programmatic detail was not supplied, Constantin Floros notes that Mahler compared the first Nachtmusik movement with Rembrandt’s painting The Night Watch: his repeating juxtaposition of major and minor in this movement could reflect Rembrandt’s interplay between light and shade. Floros observes that a walk at night was a favourite subject in nineteenth-century poetry: it was a topic dwelt on in Nietzsche’s Also Sprach Zarathustra, for example. The opening of Mahler’s first Nachtmusik movement is reminiscent of alphorn calls and echoes, as he may have heard them in the mountains at eveningtime. A horn call, with an echo provided by a muted horn, establishes the scene, before alphorn-like motifs played by many different woodwind instruments reverberate in the night air. This material is developed throughout the movement.

128 Gustav Mahler, Symphony No. 4 (London: Eulenburg, 1943), 1.
129 Constantin Floros, Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies (Huddersfield: Amadeus, 2003), 190-199.
Fig. 5.36. Mahler, Symphony No. 7, second movement, Nachtmusik, bars 1-22: alphorn music, with echoes.\textsuperscript{130}

\textsuperscript{130} Gustav Mahler, Symphony No. 7 (Leipzig: Eulenburg, 1909), 81.
A Bavarian composer who was also strongly influenced by both the mountains and the horn was Richard Strauss (1864-1949). As his father Franz Strauss was the foremost horn player of the mid-nineteenth century, Richard was well-acquainted with the potential of the instrument in an orchestral context. He reproduced the sound of the alphorn in many of his compositions, even when the connection was tenuous. For example he uses alphorn material in Don Quixote, sub-titled Phantastische Variationen über ein Thema ritterlichen Charakters (Fantasy variations on a Theme of Knightly Character) of 1897. This work contains vivid juxtapositions of profound emotion and delightful fantasy. Charles Youmans suggests that word ritter (knight) in the title may be a clue to its composition, a tribute composed on the death of Strauss’s close friend and mentor Alexander Ritter, whose philosophies and later life are paralleled in the tale of Don Quixote which recounts the adventures of an elderly disillusioned idealist.131

Strauss uses repeating and overlapping alphorn calls with telling effect in one of the pastoral episodes, despite the fact that it is set in the Spanish countryside. As he depicts the Don’s bizarre wanderings, Strauss includes echoing alphorn motifs mingled with the bleating of sheep, which are represented by tremolo notes for the strings and trills for the woodwind. Perhaps Strauss’s awareness of the Pastorale tradition led him to break into a gentle triple movement at this point. Percy Grainger asks of this passage: ‘Is not this one of the most soothing, mesmeric, opalescent acoustical achievements in musical history?’132

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In contrast, a second example of Strauss’s use of alphorn-inspired music is seen in his extensive peaceful alphorn-style solo for the cor anglais, completed by the horn, towards the end of his epic symphonic poem of 1899, *Ein Heldenleben* (A Hero’s Life). He gave subheadings to the various sections of the work, although he later withdrew them. After agitated music that describes his battles with critics, he originally wrote the heading *Des Helden Weltflucht und Vollendun* (The Hero’s Retreat from the World and his Fulfilment) and the music depicts the hero’s relaxation in peaceful retirement. Although the work is taken to be largely autobiographical, he was not at this time planning to retire (he was a healthy 35-year-old). Mark-Daniel Schmid suggests that the music is symbolic of final acceptance of the world as it is, ‘where the hero turns his back on the world, but in truth, that is more of a

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gesture of retiring from the world than of renouncing it’. Michael Kennedy, however, has suggested that the episode may represent his 77-year-old father, recently retired from his long, and at times turbulent, career as a horn player and conductor. This could explain the sound of the alphorn here: 23 bars of calm alphorn-like melody are given to the cor anglais over quiet sustained chords in C major. This introduces a reflective coda in which the protagonist finally finds inner peace. It beautifully captures the atmosphere of serenity after turbulent times. Again Strauss introduces *pastorale* triplets for these gentle alphorn motifs.

![Fig. 5.38. Strauss, *Ein Heldenleben*, wind parts from rehearsal figure 99; the opening of the section reminiscent of the alphorn playing at twilight.](image)

In 1908 Strauss had a house built in Garmisch with panoramic views over the Bavarian Alps. Here he completed his evocative work *Eine Alpensinfonie* (An Alpine Symphony) in 1915, although he had written to his parents in 1900 of an idea formulating in his mind for a symphony that would open with a depiction of sunrise over the Swiss mountains. He had a lifelong

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affinity with the Alps where he spent many summers with his family as a child. His sister Johanna recalled that from early childhood he also had a deep love of nature: mountains, forests, meadows, flowers and animals. She tells of his desire to capture this delight in writing and in music. In 1879, at the age of 15, Strauss had written a detailed account in a letter to a school friend, Ludwig Thuille, of an excursion he had made around the Heimgarten, a dramatic peak not far from his childhood home of Munich. He describes the magnificent scenery and the adventures that the party experienced. These bear a striking resemblance to scenes that he depicts in *Eine Alpensinfonie* 36 years later. At the end of the letter he tells Thuille that he wrote it all down at the piano which indicates that even then, he strove to capture his experiences in sound:


Strauß’s composition *Eine Alpensinfonie* recalls many of the events of this teenage excursion. He begins with a haunting representation of the stillness of night, followed by sunrise and an ascent up the mountain. The listener is taken through a forest that echoes with hunting horns, past a mountain torrent and a waterfall, and eventually reaches the high Alpine pastures, portrayed by cowbells and typical alp horn phrases introduced by the cor anglais, bassoons and bass clarinet. The alphorn motifs reverberate and echo some 36 times on a variety of wind instruments. There is a depiction of the mountaineer lost, and in danger. After time spent at the summit where Strauss depicts an apparition, there is a dramatic thunderstorm. A quick descent forms a recapitulation in which Strauss revisits themes from the ascent in reverse order. Finally there is sunset and stillness at the end of the day. The headings read as follows:


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139 Alfons Ott, ‘Richard Strauss und Ludwig Thuille: Briefe der Freundschaft 1877-1907’, *Münchener Musikgeschichte*, Vol. 4 (1969), 185-6: ‘At 2am we rode in a hand-cart to the village that lies at the foot of the mountain. Then we set off by lantern light in total darkness and after 5 hours’ climb we arrived at the summit. We had a wonderful view there. The lakes of Staffel (Murnau), Rieg, Ammer, Würm, Kochel and Walchensee. Then the Isarthal with mountains around, the Ötzthal and Stubai glaciers, the Innsbruck mountains, Zugspitze, etc. Then we climbed round the other side, to Walchensee, although we lost our way and clambered around for 3 hours in the midday heat without finding a path. Walchensee is a beautiful lake, but it gives a feeling of sadness, surrounded by woods and high mountains. It has wonderful sparkling pale green water. Then we went above the lake to Uhrfelden, below the Herzogstand, a peak near the Heimgarten. From there an hour over the Kösselberg and an hour to Kochelsee (Kösselberg Inn). On the way there we had a terrible storm that uprooted trees and tossed stones in our faces. As we reached the shelter the storm started. The Kochelsee is a very romantic, beautiful lake but the waves were so big that a crossing over to Schlehdorf, where our hand-cart was waiting, was out of the question. When the storm died down, we had no choice but to walk right round the whole of Kochelsee (2 hours). On the way it started to rain again and we walked briskly (without stopping for a minute), tired, wet through, to Schlehdorf where we stayed the night, and went on next morning much more comfortably in a cart to Murnau. The excursion was extremely interesting, different and original. The next day I wrote down the whole trip at the piano. Naturally it resembles Wagner’s huge sound-painting rubbish.’
dem Sturm – Gewitter und Sturm, Abstieg – Sonnenuntergang – Ausklang – Nacht.\textsuperscript{140}

Although Strauss was to declare after the first rehearsal: ‘Jetzt endlich habe ich zu instrumentieren gelernt’ (Now at last I have learnt to orchestrate), he described the creation of the work: ‘Einmal so komponieren wollen, wie die Kuh die Milch gibt’ (I wanted for once to compose just as a cow gives milk) and stated that ‘sittliche Reinigung aus eigener Kraft, Befreiung durch die Arbeit, Anbetung der ewigen herrlichen Natur’ (in this there is moral purification through one’s own strength, deliverance through labour, and worship of nature, eternal and magnificent).\textsuperscript{141} Michael Kennedy suggests that Strauss, deeply depressed by the political events that were to lead to the Great War and by what he saw as the inevitability of the destruction of the world as he knew it, wrote the work as a homage to nature: ‘… Strauss must have known that the world after the war would be a leaner, less extravagant place. So he brought down the curtain on his chief orchestral works not with a character-study of a rogue or a hero but with a celebration of elemental and unchanging nature’.\textsuperscript{142}

Strauss felt a close connection with the thinking of Nietzsche, who decried Christian faith as weakness and cowardice. Although Charles Youmans’s research into Strauss’s beliefs concludes that ‘the evidence from his private materials implies a conscious determination to keep his philosophical speculations out of the public forum’, he notes that Strauss’s compositions ‘confirm that Nietzsche’s vision of a post-Schopenhauerian artistic landscape figured centrally in Strauss’s musical coming of age’.\textsuperscript{143}

Strauss described this symphony as a celebration of nature in contrast to


\textsuperscript{141} Michael Kennedy, \textit{Richard Strauss} (London: Dent, 1976), 140.

\textsuperscript{142} \textit{Ibid.}

Christian faith and initially echoed *Der Antichrist*, the title of a book by Nietzsche, in the title for this symphony, as *Der Antichrist: eine Alpensinfonie*, although he withdrew this reference before he published the work. His conviction that nature is a fundamental truth, in contrast to a product of man, is the basis of the work. Strauss does nevertheless convey a deep-seated awareness of faith on two occasions: it is notable that there is a substantial prayer-like section both when the mountaineer reaches the summit and also as an epilogue. He describes an other-worldly vision at the top of the mountain, with trills reminiscent of the fluttering of angels’ wings, and he introduces the organ at this point. The epilogue, with its religious feel, is possibly a reminder of the *Alpsegen* or evening prayer of thanksgiving for protection from dangers on the mountain: in this non-religious work, Strauss was nevertheless drawn to choose to colour this epilogue with an extended meditative organ solo. The presence of the organ here cannot be insignificant. It may be a deep realisation that whatever one’s personal beliefs, the consecrated ground of the Church was in Strauss’s day still one’s ultimate resting place.

It is perhaps also significant that unlike in Haydn’s *Die Jahrzeiten*, Beethoven’s ‘Pastoral’ Symphony and Raff’s *In den Alpen*, Strauss includes no interaction with the inhabitants of his landscape. Although hunters and herdsmen are encountered, this is not a shared celebration of life, but a solitary journey: it may reflect Strauss’s own journey through depression and its ultimate solitude. Beethoven’s work ends in celebration and joyful thanksgiving, while that of Strauss finishes in darkness and stillness.

His musical depictions of the 23 scenes are extraordinarily graphic. He uses an orchestra of 150 players and includes cow-bells and a wind machine. His key structure is designed to give the horns in the forest scene the normal key for the hunting horn, E flat, and it can be no coincidence that at the depiction of sunset, the orchestra plays long sustained background chords in the key of G flat, the natural key of the alphorn. He reserves recognisable alphorn calls for the scene when the mountaineer arrives at the open mountain pastures.
Richard Strauss is, however, one of only two leading nineteenth- and twentieth-century composers who did include actual parts for alphorns in an orchestral score. Strauss wrote parts for three alphorns in his pastoral tragedy *Daphne*, subtitled *Bukolische Tragödie in einem Aufzug* (Bucolic Tragedy in one Act) completed in 1936. In this drama he harks back to the world of the pastoral idylls of the ancient Greek dramatic tradition with a setting of a story from Ovid. Perhaps for Strauss this too was a form of escape from a troubled world, using nature as a setting for the unreal. *Daphne* is a

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146 The other was Wagner, who included a part for alphorn in his contribution to a vaudeville drama *La Descent de la Courtille*, written in Paris around 1841. The music is thought to be lost.
Chapter 5 Alphorn as metaphor

story of love, longing and intrigue between shepherds, shepherdesses and gods. Strauss uses the sound of the alphorn to represent two different things. First, in the opening scene, he specifies that the stage should be set as a mythological mountain landscape with a herdsman playing an alphorn on stage as the curtain rises, while a short melody for an alphorn in G is written in the score.


The phrase is repeated twice by offstage alphorns, once in A flat and then in A. After four bars the alphorn call is sounded again, in altered rhythm.

Later in the scene, Strauss uses the alphorn to represent the powerful voice of the gods, when the herdsmen cry ‘Furchtbar Getön! Eines Gottes Stimme!’ (Fearful sounds! The voice of a god!). Here Strauss adds in a footnote that the notes of the alphorn player onstage should be doubled by a pair of trombones, in the orchestra, for strength: ‘Alphorn auf der Bühne durch 2 Posaunen zu verstärken!’ The final call of the alphorn again represents the pastoral idyll as it accompanies movement of a flock of sheep. It is intriguing, however, that Strauss has written phrases for the alphorns that are not playable on the instrument. No investigation for this study has revealed what lies behind this. The part is normally played on a trombone or a Wagner tuba.148

147 Richard Strauss, Daphne (Vienna: self-published, 1938), 7: ‘Stony river bank, picturesque groups of olive trees. Last sunshine. On the right the ground rises to the house of the fisherman Peneios. In the background is the impression of the river. The backdrop represents the formidable Mount Olympus. You can hear the movement of a large flock of sheep. Calls, running, shoving and pushing, dogs barking. Amid the noise the sound of a mighty alphorn can be heard. Curtain.’

Fig. 5.41. Alphorn part for Strauss’s opera *Daphne*.\(^{149}\)

\(^{149}\) Reproduced in Bachmann-Geiser, *Das Alphorn*, 113.
The remaining four works to be examined in this chapter are by English composers: these works have been chosen because they demonstrate a variety of responses to the sound of the alphorn when heard by tourists. The alphorn as the voice of the Alps rarely represents a deep personal statement for English composers, as the instrument does not belong to their world. The English are merely guests in the Alps; the alphorn is generally experienced as part of this beautiful landscape and its music is used a metaphorical voice in the representation of this.

For a number of years from 1893, Edward Elgar (1857-1934) took summer holidays in the Bavarian town of Garmisch. There he and his wife Alice met Richard Strauss and attended performances conducted by him. Elgar was inspired by these visits to compose six choral songs, From the Bavarian Highlands, Op. 27. Their melodies and words are based on traditional Bavarian folksongs; the English versions of the lyrics were provided by Alice. The set of songs is dedicated to the Slingsby-Bethell family, English proprietors of the guest house in Garmisch where the Elgars stayed. The work was originally scored for mixed chorus with piano accompaniment and was first performed by the Worcester Festival Choral Society under Elgar’s direction in April 1896. That year Elgar orchestrated the accompaniment and in 1897 he created a version for orchestra alone comprising the first, third and sixth songs, published under the title Three Bavarian Dances.

Each song is connected with the region around Garmisch. Although none of the melodies of the songs include alphorn or yodel motifs, Elgar includes alphorn phrases in the introduction to song No. 2, entitled False Love, in order to establish an appropriate mountain setting. Robin Holloway observes that much of Elgar’s music of this period shows the influence of the folk-like character of Dvořák’s music and that this melody in particular has the quality of a Czech Ländler. It is the first of the collection in a peaceful tempo and

the lyrics reflect the joyful sight of flower-strewn meadows in the springtime. It is not surprising that Elgar’s alphorn motifs here are typical of those played to tourists. Alice’s text begins:

Now we hear the Spring’s sweet voice
Singing gladly through the world
Bidding all the earth rejoice.

All is merry in the field,
Flowers grow amidst the grass,
Blossoms blue, red, white they yield.

Fig. 5.42. Elgar, *From the Bavarian Highlands*, No. 2: *False Love*, bars 1-10. The piano introduction sets the scene with alphorn-like figurations.\(^{152}\)

Another English composer, William Walton (1902-1983), paid tribute to the Alps and the alphorn in *Façade*, in which he quotes the alphorn motifs from the overture to *Il Guglielmo Tell* by Rossini. *Façade* is an unusual work

\(^{152}\) Edward Elgar, *From the Bavarian Highlands* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1901), 13.
in that a narrative is declaimed while music, an integral part of the
performance, is played.

The text is by Edith Sitwell. Her series of poems bearing the title \textit{Façade}
appeared in print from 1918 onwards in the literary magazine \textit{Wheels}, an
annual publication of the writings of Edith and her two brothers, Osbert and
Sacheverell. Edith described her texts as ‘abstract poems – that is, they are
patterns in sound ... My experiments in \textit{Façade} are in the nature of enquiries
into the effect on rhythm, and on speed, of the use of rhymes, assonances and
dissonances, placed outwardly and inwardly (at different places in the line) and
in most elaborate patterns. There are experiments, also, in texture, in the subtle
variations of thickness and thinness brought about by the changing of a
consonant or labial, from word to word ...’.\textsuperscript{153} Thus, although the meaning of
the words follows a train of thought, deeper significance is not necessarily
intended.

Walton was a close friend of the Sitwells. The \textit{Façade} poems became the
inspiration for an inventive set of musical accompaniments to many of the
poems: in all there are 43 different poems for which Walton wrote music.
Some of the pieces were performed privately in the home of Edith’s brother
Osbert in 1922 and had their first public hearing in 1923. They received an
unfavourable response from the critics.\textsuperscript{154} Many were first scored for flute,
clarinet, trumpet, saxophone and cello, although Walton and others later
gathered selections of the numbers into various Suites for full orchestra.

Walton responded not only to the abstract spoken sounds, but also to the
meaning of the words. The poem \textit{We bear velvet} inspired him to write \textit{The
Swiss Yodelling Song}, although no singing is actually intended. The Swiss
connotation presumably arose from the fact that the poetry refers in one stanza
to William Tell and Mrs. Cow and in another two to chamois, edelweiss,
mountain streams and cowbells. It would seem appropriate, therefore, for
Walton to set a text with such references to be declaimed over an instrumental

\textsuperscript{153} Edith Sitwell’s text on a record sleeve for \textit{Façade}, Decca Eclipse ECS560, 1970.
Swiss Yodelling Song. Yodel figurations open the piece; then in verse 3, which refers to the Swiss hero William Tell, Walton quotes eight bars of the famous Ranz des Vaches from Rossini’s opera Il Guglielmo Tell. Walton included the quotation in homage to Rossini, a composer he revered throughout his life above all others.\(^\text{155}\) He gives the theme to the flute, with trills on each long note. In Walton’s later version of Façade for full orchestra, his orchestration includes further subtle details: the oboe is given the theme, the piccolo adds sparkle and the flute retains the decorative trills.

1. We bear velvet cream
   Green and babyish,
   Small leaves seem; each stream
   Horses’ tails that swish,

2. And the chimes remind
   Us of sweet birds singing,
   Like the jangling bells
   On rose trees ringing.

3. Man must say farewells
   To parents now,
   And to William Tell
   And Mrs. Cow.

4. Man must say farewells
   To storks and Bettes,
   And to roses’ bells
   And statuettes.

5. Forests white and black
   In spring are blue
   With forget-me-nots,
   And to lovers true.

6. Still the sweet bird begs
   And tries to cozen
   Them: “Buy angels’ eggs
   Sold by the dozen.”

7. Gone are clouds like inns
   On the gardens’ brinks,
   And the mountain djinns, –
   Ganymede sells drinks;

8. While the days seem grey,
   And his heart of ice,
   Grey as chamois, or
   The edelweiss,

9. And the mountain streams
   Like cowbells sound –
   Tirra lirra, drowned
   In the water’s dreams

10. Who has gone beyond
    The forest waves,
    While his true and fond
    Ones seek their graves.

A song-cycle by Benjamin Britten (1913-1976) includes alphorn material: his *Serenade for Tenor, Horn and Strings*, composed during the dark days of the Second World War in 1943. The *Serenade* is a setting of six poems about the night by different authors, in which the character of each of the poems is enhanced with evocative *obbligato* horn writing. The group of songs is framed with an instrumental Prologue and Epilogue. Britten demonstrates his awareness of the tradition of listening for the alphorn as night falls by writing the Prologue for the lone French horn; this music is repeated offstage at the end.

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of the group of songs as an Epilogue, with calm and peaceful effect.

In the Prologue and Epilogue, Britten gives the French horn free-flowing music not constrained by pulse, with breath-length phrases each ending with a pause in the style of a Kühreien. He restricts the motifs to the open harmonic series. He not only specifies that the slightly ‘out-of-tune’ notes must be used (‘to be played on natural harmonics’); he goes one step further: he includes the harmonic that is most different from equal temperament, the 11th harmonic, or ‘alphorn fa’. It might be that these decisions derived from the intent that the music should not be wholly comfortable, that the listener should be unsettled by these unfamiliar sounds, as an invitation to face sinister reality rather than hide in the picturesque.

The use of the natural harmonics and the ‘alphorn fa’ were the suggestion of Dennis Brain, for whom the horn part was written, a suggestion which Brain later regretted. It was a radical decision and the work provides a telling example of the effect of these notes on a public unaccustomed to them. Eleven years after the composition of the work, a review of a recording on the Decca label of a performance given by Peter Pears and Dennis Brain appeared in the quarterly music journal *Tempo* in autumn 1954, which stated:

The same artists [Pears and The New Symphony Orchestra under Eugene Goossens] but this time with Dennis Brain performing the Serenade. The only disappointments here lie in the opening and closing horn solos; a curiously faulty intonation is apparent here and there which jars the magic of both the Prologue and the Epilogue. Fortunately this disappears in the first song and from then on Dennis Brain’s customary musicianship and brilliance are very much in evidence.

Eric Thompson.

This prompted Britten to respond in the following issue:

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157 Stephen Pettitt, *Dennis Brain: A Biography* (London: Hale, 1989), 71: ‘Dennis confided to a friend after a few performances that he wished he had never suggested that the two solos should be played on the natural harmonics. It was his idea originally and Britten thought it a good one. However, Dennis said it was a nuisance to have to explain, in programme notes or personally afterwards, why it sounded out of tune.’

Sir,
Your review of the new Decca recording of my Serenade for Tenor, Horn and Strings has recently been shown to me. I should like, if you will allow me, to make a comment on it.

In the Prologue and Epilogue the horn is directed to play on the natural harmonics of the instrument; this causes the apparent ‘out-of-tuneness’ of which your reviewer complains, and which is, in fact, exactly the effect I intend.

In the many brilliant performances of his part that Dennis Brain has given he has always, I am sure, played it as I have marked it in the score. Anyone, therefore, who plays it ‘in tune’ is going directly against my wishes!

If the critics do not like this effect they should blame me and not Mr. Brain.

Yours etc.,
Benjamin Britten

With this work, Britten and Brain shouldered the response feared by the *Eidgenössischer Jodlerverband* (Swiss Federal Yodel Association). This was an organisation set up in 1910 to promote yodelling and the alphorn as part of the Swiss image. It dictated that music played to tourists should be in a major key, uplifting and gently evocative of the pastoral idyll that it was intended to represent. In the interests of creating music that was both ‘pleasing’ and ‘normal’, the ‘alphorn fa’ was not permitted as to hear this note, when one is not familiar with the heritage of the alphorn, was likely to be interpreted as lack of skill on the part of the player: this was not in keeping with the image of their country that the Swiss wished to present.

It is not possible to gauge to what extent the general musical public is aware even today of the specific connection between Britten’s choice to use the 11th harmonic and the alphorn. Horn players are sometimes aware: Barry Tuckwell writes that ‘these out-of-tune harmonics create a mysterious pastoral

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160 Attitudes held by the EJV are discussed in Charlotte Vignau, ‘Modernity, Complex Societies and the Alphorn’ (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2008), 109. As recently as 1997 pieces that included the ‘alphorn fa’ were still routinely disqualified from some Swiss alphorn competitions. Further detail in Hans Schild, *75 Jahre Eidgenössischer Jodlerverband, 1910-1985* (Bern: Schaub, 1985).
161 In my personal conversations and in texts that I have read, very little.
atmosphere similar to that evoked by the Swiss Alphorn’. 162 David Matthews, writing in 2003, regards Britten’s use of the natural harmonics here as a general rustic reference when he describes them as ‘… like a Mahlerian Naturlaut, a “sound of nature”’, 163 while Lloyd Moore describes the impact of the sound of natural harmonics on the trained musical ear: ‘The Serenade opens with a Prologue for solo horn played on the instrument’s ‘natural’ harmonics (causing some notes to sound deliberately out-of-tune), evoking an atmosphere of “natural,” primeval innocence’. 164

Closer investigation of the Prologue (Fig. 5.44) reveals not only Britten’s use of the controversial 11th harmonic, the ‘alphorn fa’ (the printed high F shown here). A subtle use of the natural 7th harmonic, the written note B flat here, which sounds noticeably lower than it would in equal temperament, is particularly effective when used in the context of a minor third (bar 7). 165 Although Britten had given the instruction ‘to be played on the natural harmonics’, he did not indicate whether the horn player should adjust the intonation where possible, to better conform with equal temperament. A recording of Brain playing the work at the Proms in 1953 displays a degree of subtle ‘tempering’ commonly achieved by horn players by alteration of the position of the hand in the bell of the horn. 166

For the highest note, the written A in the third bar from the end, there is a choice of harmonics, no. 13 (too low) or no. 14 (too high). This has also been the subject of discussion. Jonathan Penny, in an extensively researched article that appeared in 2012 in the journal of the International Horn Society, The Horn Call, and also in the journal of the British Horn Society, The Horn, explores the views of many horn players on this subject, both those contemporary with Brain and those who have recorded the work since then. Penny reports that on the narrow bore French model horn that Brain used at

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165 As this part is written for Horn in F, the notes sound a fifth lower than printed. All comments herein refer to the printed pitches.
this time, made by Raoux-Millereau, the 14th harmonic sounds lower than it
does on modern instruments, thus this is the one Britten intended, closer to B
flat, although he wrote an A in the score.  

Barry Tuckwell, who recorded the
work with Britten and Pears, observes that the A is ‘incorrectly notated and
does not represent the composer’s intention’.  

The higher pitched
14th harmonic is normally played today, although the score was never altered.

Serenade

Horn in F

PROLOGUE

* The Prologue to be played on natural harmonics.

Fig. 5.44. Britten, Serenade for Tenor, Horn and Strings: Prologue, for
unaccompanied French horn, ‘to be played on natural harmonics’.

As an epilogue to this selection of works that include alphorn-inspired
material as a metaphor for its landscape, one more type of quotation will be
cited. Benjamin Britten takes this journey of exploration from one extreme to
the other: alongside the profoundly evocative use of alphorn material explored
above, he also wrote the musical equivalent of the typical ‘tourist’ image of
alphorn, moments of pure, innocent Alpine cliché. In February 1955, now
psychologically free from the dark shadow of the war years, Britten, Peter
Pears, Mary Potter and some other friends took a skiing holiday in Zermatt.
Mary Potter was a close friend of Britten and an artist who painted a number of

167 Ibid.
169 Benjamin Britten, Serenade for Tenor, Horn and Strings, Op. 31 (London: Boosey and
Hawkes, 1944), 1.
portraits of him. They were neighbours in Aldeburgh. Mary sustained an injury on the first day of the holiday, so Britten composed a six-movement work entitled *Alpine Suite* for three recorders, to provide her with something to play while the rest of the party were out on the slopes. The work is dedicated to Mary and the movements are *Arrival at Zermatt, Swiss Clock (Romance), Nursery Slopes, Alpine Scene, Moto perpetuo: Down the Piste* and *Farewell to Zermatt*. In the fourth movement, *Alpine Scene*, Britten gives the instruction ‘very slow’ and chooses alphorn-like arpeggio calls for the second and third players, with a peaceful accompaniment, marked ‘sustained’. Perhaps it was the relaxed atmosphere of a holiday in the Swiss mountains that drew from him a ‘picture postcard’ alphorn tune, with a touch of yodel too.

4. Alpine Scene

![Fig. 5.45. Britten, Alpine Suite for three recorders. Fourth movement, Alpine Scene, bars 1-8: both the second player and later the third player are given classic alphorn and yodel motifs.](image)


[171]Ibid., footnote 1.

Chapter 5 Alphorn as metaphor

Conclusion
In this selection of works that include musical material evocative of the alphorn, the intention has been to examine a range of circumstances in which this has been used to bring the sound of the instrument into a formal performance situation, to consider the types of material chosen, to reflect on the reasons why the alphorn motifs may have been included and to offer an assessment of the ways in which various composers used such material to enhance the realism of the scenes that they intended to portray. In each example, the sound of the alphorn has had the function of a metaphor. On no occasion has an alphorn motif been found in a composed work without an obvious reason for it to have been used; on the contrary, allusions to the sound of the alphorn have been noted where an actual motif has not been included.

The sound of the alphorn has sometimes been used to represent nothing more subtle than the Swiss landscape or carefree enjoyment of a mountain scene; in contrast it has been used with solemnity and as the voice of a heavenly presence. It has been used to signify many feelings, from unease to reassurance, from sorrow to joy. A substantial range of styles, moods and settings has been seen, from the end of the eighteenth century when Haydn’s alphorn motifs accompanied the herdsman on his journey into the mountains, to the disturbance caused among critics by Britten’s use of alphorn material that was too realistic for comfort.

Two great pillars of the orchestral repertoire that depict the natural landscape, Beethoven’s ‘Pastoral’ Symphony and Strauss’s Eine Alpensinfonie, both appear to have sprung from a profound fear that political forces were bringing cataclysmic changes to the world, one at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the other a century later. In both of these works the composer attempted to capture in sound something permanent and unchanging, something beyond human destruction. For both Beethoven and Strauss a depiction of the natural landscape represented the unspoilt, the untainted, the timeless. For both it also symbolised a place of personal quietude, where man could attempt to escape from the stresses and fears that were engulfing daily
life; both through their music sought to bring this peace to their audiences. In both works the quotation of an alphorn motif was an iconic metaphor for that natural world.

Within the arch of time that spans these two pillars, the mountain landscape has been seen to have been depicted with the inclusion of an alphorn motif for many other reasons. Raff’s Symphony *In den Alpen* which appeared during the middle part of the century does not convey feelings of angst or escapism. It is perhaps the most straightforward, innocent narrative examined here. There are no storms or ‘dangerous moments’: Raff enjoys his own landscape with his friends.

Thus a reference to the voice of the alphorn, whether by metaphor or by the inclusion of an actual instrument, is demonstrated to have had a deep resonance in the canon of Western art music. The use of an alphorn motif by a composer had a powerful symbolic function. It was an archetypal reference that a composer could use to refer to the Alps as a place; it could also be an evocation of freedom, of natural strength, of peace, of a simple life – of many different things that were of importance to the composer and his audience.

Alongside the possibility that urban audiences had a memory of herding routines from their past rural heritage, now a significant factor reflected in the works examined was the development in European transport systems and the improved access to the mountains that Switzerland provided for its visitors. Travel to and within the mountain wilderness, rare in the time of Beethoven, was much more feasible by the time of Strauss. Texts were widely available that contained eloquent descriptions of the effect of hearing the instrument in its mountain setting. With the assimilation of the sound of the instrument into the experience that was presented to visitors to Switzerland, the alphorn had become a known phenomenon again. Composers were able increasingly to assume that the inclusion of an alphorn motif would be recognised as a symbol of the mountains.

Britten and Brain, though, perhaps took the assumption too far: the subtlety of their allusions was not recognised. The confrontation between the
‘alphorn fa’ and the English musical establishment was, nevertheless, a landmark event. Two factors, a greater awareness of the idiosyncrasies of the alphorn, and a general broadening of the spectrum of what is ‘acceptable’ in concert music in the twentieth century, have paved the way for the potential of the use of the instrument itself in more recent concert works. This subject will be considered in the concluding chapter of this thesis.
This final chapter demonstrates different facets of the use of the alphorn today. Influence can be seen in two directions. Not only is this folk instrument increasingly used by the modern composer; Western art music has also had an impact on the music that is now played on the alphorn in Switzerland. It will be seen that with the use of the alphorn in popular genres, film music, rock and jazz, the boundaries around various categories of music are becoming blurred.

The material presented in this chapter falls into four sections. Firstly, an examination of the types of music played on the alphorn in Switzerland, in traditional, progressive and concert situations, will include exploration of the cross-fertilisation of ideas that has enabled the incorporation into Swiss alphorn music of techniques that originate in other brass repertoire. Secondly, as an example of new trends in alphorn music outside Switzerland, four contrasting examples of recent works composed for the alphorn by British composers will then be examined. The circumstances of their composition will be explored and their relationship with Swiss alphorn music will be noted. Thirdly, there is an assessment of the use of the instrument in the UK. This will take the form of a sample analysis of over 200 public and private performances that I have given over the past nine years. Finally some conclusions will be offered concerning the changes and developments in the position of the alphorn as a musical instrument and its relationship with Western art music that have become apparent through this research.

There are now thousands of alphorn players, mostly in Switzerland but also outside its borders. Through the summer months there are annual courses, festivals and competitions for alphorn playing, primarily in Switzerland but also in Austria and Germany, in Canada, the USA and Japan. The seminal collection of classic melodies used by alphorn players is Gassmann’s *s‘Alphornbüechli* which has remained in print in its original form, including its text in old German script, since its initial publication in 1938. Gassmann quotes
many of the old Kühreien, but the main body of music comprises 90 transcriptions of ‘tourist’-type melodies and works that Gassmann composed in this style. Two examples of pieces from this collection that show different approaches to the alphorn tradition are reproduced below: *Am Brienzersee* (Beside Lake Brienz), Fig. 6.1, and *De Neu Melchthaler* (The New Melody from Melchthal), Fig. 6.2. These demonstrate the way in which the notes of the harmonic series are used, the breath-length phrases that end with a paused note, the freedom from strict pulse or rhythm, the repeating motifs, the contrasting slower and faster sections and the use of the echo. The written instructions also reiterate the stylistic requirements with such comments in *Am Brienzersee* as *Kräftig und bestimmt* (strong and clear), *steigernd* (crescendo), *etwas bewegter* (somewhat moving forward), *echo*, *rit.*, and *ten.*, many pauses, commas, copious dynamic markings and the comment below the music ‘*Während der I. und III. Teil in majestätischer Größe erstehen, soll der II. Teil leicht beschwingt erklingen*’ (While the first and third sections should rise in great majesty, the second part should have a light, swinging sound). In *De Neu Melchthaler* the instructions *In voller Rundung* (full and round), *Langsam*, *getragen* (slow, held back) and *etwas schneller* (somewhat faster) are given.

![Fig. 6.1. Gassmann, s’Alphornbüechli: Am Brienzersee.](image-url)
There is also no shortage of new music to play: many alphorn enthusiasts compose, producing collections of ‘typical’ alphorn pieces for solo, duo, trio or quartet. Surprisingly, considering the restrictions of the notes available (and allowed) and what is considered ‘normal’ with regard to rhythms, shapes, tonality and phrase structure, all are unique. Many pieces have a place name as a title and herein lies a possible clue to the individual characteristics of each composition: the mountain skyline as viewed from the place in the title is often used as the shape of the melody. Thus a melody is rooted in its location and connected to its landscape in a unique way which reinforces the feeling of nostalgia that can result from hearing a piece named after one’s home village.

There is, however, a deep division among Swiss alphorn players between those who believe that stereotypical music as it is still played for tourists today should not be diluted and those who wish to explore the full potential of the instrument. This is a complex situation. In 1977 the song ‘Swiss Lady’ was awarded sixth place in the Eurovision Song Contest, the highest position ever.
achieved by a Swiss entry. The ‘lady’ in the lyrics is the alphorn and the instrument plays a ‘cheesy-pop’ refrain. It was very popular in Switzerland, but the traditional alphorn establishment was rocked. In 1980 it was challenged again when renowned Swiss alphorn specialist Hans-Jürg Sommer composed an atmospheric piece for two alphorns named *Moos-Ruef* (*Call over the Moorland*). Instead of using harmonic no. 4 as its tonic, upon which the major arpeggio is built with the addition of harmonics no. 5 and no. 6, the tonic of this piece is the 6th harmonic. This produces a minor triad when harmonics no. 7 (a rather flat minor 3rd above) and no. 9 (the dominant) are added. The resulting intonation is extraordinary, as the low tuning of harmonic no. 7 emphasises its minor character and produces a haunting quality that is unavailable in equal temperament. Sommer also used harmonic no. 11, the ‘alphorn fa’ in this melody (written as F in Fig. 6.3), which sounds a quarter tone above the note written. The melody of the first section makes prominent use of the ‘alphorn fa’, the second section is reminiscent of the traditional evening prayer or *Betruf* and the third is a mischievous *Tanz der Geister* (*Dance of the Ghosts*). Sommer and a colleague played *Moos-Ruef* in a Swiss Federal Yodel Association alphorn competition in 1980. The performance was disqualified. Comments were made by the adjudicators that the playing of such pieces is ‘provocative’ and marks are not awarded.¹

Fig. 6.3. Hans-Jürg Sommer, *Moos-Ruef*. Unpublished, 1980.
During research for her PhD thesis ‘Modernity, Complex Societies and the Alphorn’, Charlotte Vignau encountered a considerable degree of conflict and even vitriol when she attempted to probe the thinking behind differences of opinion over progressive versus traditional attitudes in Switzerland to the music that should be played on the instrument.\(^2\)

As an outsider, it is possible to take an overview of the situation. Without doubt, the ‘postcard’ melodies are beautiful and symbolise the mountain landscape, in accordance with the guidelines of the Swiss Federal Yodel Association. When I am engaged to play for a Swiss wedding or another Swiss-related event either in the UK or abroad, this style of playing is what is expected and the joy that such music brings particularly to Swiss living abroad is immeasurable. It is equally understandable, however, that players and composers should wish to explore different facets of the instrument and demonstrate that the alphorn has more to offer than this. Its unique sonority does not need to be tied to this role: there is a vast range of possibility of different types of music and sounds that can be played on this instrument.

‘Swiss Lady’ and Moos-ruef are examples that demonstrate new approaches to the instrument, both of which have now taken root in Switzerland. Young female performers such as Eliana Burki and Lisa Stoll have continued to popularise the instrument in the world of jazz, rock and other related idioms; many beautiful works have been written in the wake of Moos-ruef that use the minor tonality and the ‘alphorn fa’.

Two further new styles are now found. Much of the music of Balthasar Streiff is exploratory: he uses multiphonics, didgeridoo techniques, vocalisation and electronic loop effects to create innovative, powerful music, often atmospheric or even mystical. Another direction arises from the situation that many who now take up the alphorn are already proficient players of the trumpet, French horn or trombone. The relaxation of attitudes in Swiss alphorn competitions has now progressed to the stage that the use of advanced techniques from the repertoire of these instruments, such as flutter tonguing, lip

\(^2\) Ibid., 100-125.
trills or the playing of chords, is something that is now not only allowed: performers of works that include such techniques can win an alphorn competition. As an example, the winner of the solo performance category at the International Alphorn Festival in Nendaz in the canton of Valais in 2009, played a haunting work shown in Fig. 6.4 that includes some of these techniques: a lip trill in bar 19 and chords in the final three bars. Thus the tables have finally turned: Western art music now influences the development of alphorn playing in Switzerland.

\[\text{If a player, while playing a low note, also sings a higher note, for example the tenth above or the twelfth above, not only are the two notes heard, but intermediate harmonics also resonate to make a three or four part chord. It is a technique found in Weber's Concertino for horn, Op. 45.}\]
Fig. 6.4. The work played by the winner in the solo category of the alphorn competition at Nendaz, 2009 that includes a lip trill and chords. Composer unknown. Transcription: Martin Jones.
A unique situation has led to the use of bitonality in alphorn music. As noted earlier (p. xiv), the instrument played in Switzerland today uses the harmonic series of F sharp, which, it is agreed among Swiss players, is the alphorn’s most resonant length. In other countries, however, there is an increasing amount of repertoire composed for an instrument of 12ft in length, which produces harmonics based on F, because in this key it can more easily be accompanied by a keyboard, strings or winds. Many players nowadays, therefore, have the facility to play either in F sharp or in F and there are now a few fascinating and often beautiful works that combine these two tonalities. An example is *Firnfern 1* (Distant Horizon 1), composed by Balthasar Streiff in 1997, an evocative piece in which the melody is shared between the two instruments. Often the F alphorn plays a phrase and the F sharp instrument, labelled as *Ges* (G flat) on the part, responds with the echo a semitone higher:

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4 This is achieved in one of four ways: a pair of instruments, an alternative longer upper section (most alphorns are made in three sections), a short additional section that can be inserted at the first joint, or use of a carbon-fibre instrument that can be set up in six different lengths, to provide a range of harmonic series from G down to D.
Fig. 6.5. Balthasar Streiff, *Firnfern 1*. Unpublished, 1997. The notes on stave 1 sound a semitone higher than the notes on stave 2.
The alphorn itself is now found to an increasing degree in the concert hall. There are a number of significant works that have been composed for the instrument for both formal and semi-formal performance. There are twentieth-century concertos, notably that of Swiss composer Jean Daetwyler (1970) and Hungarian Ferenc Farkas (1977); there are also a large number of smaller-scale works for alphorn with organ, alphorn with choir, alphorn with piano and other combinations, in addition to hundreds of new compositions for alphorn solo, duo, trio and quartet. Although there are still many alphorn players in Switzerland who do not read music, increasingly players are often experienced performers on other instruments.

The role of the alphorn outside Switzerland will now be examined, taking as an example its use in the UK. Both the traditional role of the alphorn as a representative of the Swiss landscape and the incorporation of the instrument in art music will be explored. Four contrasting examples of music written for me by British composers will be examined; thereafter, the occasions on which the instrument is played will be analysed.

*Alarum for a Warmer World* was written by my husband, Martin Jones, for performance at the opening of the first World Conference on Climate Change in Exeter in 2005. There were a number of reasons for the choice of the alphorn for this *Alarum (quasi-Shakespeare)*. It signified a wake-up call to scientists who had gathered from across the globe and a warning of the potential dangers in store if we do not address what we might be doing to our planet. Documents record the use of the alphorn in the Alps as a call to arms and to sound the alarm in times of conflict. The alphorn was also an appropriate choice of instrument because of its simplicity, its strength and its position as a symbol of the landscape, particularly that of Switzerland, a country so visibly affected by climate change with the dramatic retreat of its glaciers.

Martin Jones is aware of the heritage of the alphorn and its ‘typical’ music and is also familiar with its unique intonation, tone and range of expression. Certain features found in Swiss alphorn music are therefore

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5 Bachmann-Geiser, *Das Alphorn*, 16.
apparent in this piece: echo effects, a freedom from regular pulse, breath-length phrases that end with paused notes and repeating short motifs. It is restricted to the notes of the harmonic series. Nevertheless *Alarum for a Warmer World* is not 'typical’ Swiss music: there is little to connect it with such melodies in its motifs, effect or character. There is effective use of the unique intonation of the alphorn’s natural harmonics, with interplay between the tonic major and the dominant minor as chord centres. As in *Moos-Ruef* and other works that use the 7th harmonic to supply a particularly flat rendition of a minor third, this feature adds depth to the colour of the tonality.

The music opens with an arresting call, followed by its echo. It proceeds with many motivic statements, perhaps questioning, perhaps answers or comments, in a multi-sectioned Shakespearian declamatory monologue. The call to action returns as a final reprise: a plan to protect the planet must be established before the close of the conference. The composer uses modern quarter-tone notation to indicate the flat 7th harmonic (written B) and the high 11th harmonic, the ‘alphorn fa’ (written F). The music is for unaccompanied alphorn in G flat, which will sound an augmented fourth lower than written.
Alarum for a Warmer World

Frances Jones  Alphorn

Alphorn in G flat

Fig. 6.6. Martin Jones, Alarum for a Warmer World. Unpublished, 2005.
An Englyn for Frances by Welsh composer Gareth Peredur Churchill was written for a concert of newly-composed music held at the University of Aberystwyth in 2005. An englyn is a form of Welsh poetry. There are at least 11 different types of englyn, each with a specific syntax, number of lines, number of syllables in each line and an individual rhyming pattern. Thus, this piece follows a pre-determined formal literary structure: it is in the form named unodl union. Musical features include freedom from pulse, breath-length phrases, contrasting sections and an echo, but similarities with Swiss alphorn music go no further. As with Moos-Ruef, the work centres around the minor triad produced from harmonics nos. 6, 7 and 9. It has no bar lines and is a meticulously written score with extremes of dynamic range, detailed articulation, grace notes and glissandi. Based on the minor tonality, it is a piece that reflects the gentle, misty Welsh landscape. The sound of the natural harmonics, the rich tone and the freedom from rhythm give the work a primeval, timeless atmosphere. Thus, this alphorn work is also a reflection of a landscape, but one very different from that of Switzerland. It is extraordinary that a Welsh composer chose the voice of the alphorn to represent his own natural world and that he has been able to convey an equally haunting impression with this instrument, although it is a world so different from the landscape of the Alps.
Fig. 6.7. Gareth Peredur Churchill, An Englyn for Frances. Unpublished, 2005.
Tree of Light was the result of a commission from the London 2012 Olympic Committee for a composition by Orlando Gough to be performed on three occasions at ceremonies to welcome the arrival of the Olympic torch on its journey around the UK in July 2012. The torch-bearer lit a fire in a cauldron where the flame remained overnight in 70 locations and Tree of Light was written for the ceremonies in Oxford, Henley-on-Thames and in Reading’s Madejski Stadium. Each performance was to include 1,000 local schoolchildren, a local choir of 200 and a group of disabled adults who played percussion instruments. The professional band comprised saxophones, French horn, oboe, steel pans, bass guitar, drums and alphorn. Tree of Light was a multi-media work that described our interaction with the environment, mistakes made and lessons learned. The work consisted of 14 musical numbers that followed the life-story of a tree in the forest. It told of its primeval growth and of the habitat it provided for animal life, the use of the forest for timber, its depletion, plunder and burning, its rebirth and finally its conservation. Each performance was in the open air and began at dusk: the increasing darkness was an integral part of the setting. The children, dressed in white, danced in front of the forest backdrop in vast formations that represented trees, different types of animals, men felling the forest and other scenes in the course of the narrative.

The alphorn was the voice of the tree: the spokesman for the forest. It was given substantial solos at three points during the 45-minute production. It is rare to find the alphorn used not because it is Swiss, but because it is a tree. Gough’s music for the alphorn was primeval and powerful, majestic and proud. In the first solo, ‘The Singing Heart of the Tree’, quoted below (Fig. 6.8), the accompaniment for the first 16 bars was a low tremolo played on the bass guitar which was gradually joined by rolls on steel pans from bar 196 to enhance the impact of the crescendo. From bar 200, a soprano saxophone sometimes echoed the alphorn line and sometimes played a third above it. Gradually the accompaniment died away as the number came to a close. The thousand children stood still; each child slowly waved a long stick with an
LED light at the tip, to create pre-arranged patterns in the darkness like fireflies.

Fig. 6.8. Orlando Gough, first alphorn solo from *Tree of Light*. Unpublished, 2012.
A new direction in composition for the alphorn was encountered in the film score for *The Grand Budapest Hotel*. The composer of the scores for *The King’s Speech* and some of the *Harry Potter* films, Alexandre Desplat, recorded the sound track for his next film, *The Grand Budapest Hotel*, in May 2013. The hotel is set in an imaginary mountainous region of eastern Europe, reached by a funicular railway. There are snow scenes, cable car rides, a chase on skis and sledges and a ‘cliff-hanger’ scene over the end of a glacier. The score includes music for yodel quartet and a part for alphorn and the sound track won a BAFTA award for Best Original Film Music. It is a new phenomenon, however, that a composer can encounter the timbre of an ‘alphorn’ on a computer-generated sound palette and incorporate that sound into a film score regardless of the fact that an alphorn can only play the notes of the harmonic series. Thus throughout the score it is given melodies that cannot be played on one instrument.

The solution for the recording was to use a mixture of wooden and carbon-fibre alphorns that were set up at a variety of different lengths as required for each number. There were four alphorns, four microphones, three alphorn players and a spacious recording studio. I marked up three copies of the part for each number with the notes colour-coded to indicate on which instrument each note would be played, while a chart showed which player should play which instrument or instruments in each number. Notation raised interesting questions, but I advised that the part should be written as if for a French horn in F and that we would make the further transpositions as required. Melodic flow and shape were difficult to achieve, as was the balance between the timbre of the different instruments and the tone of each player.
These examples show a selection of the types of music now being composed for the alphorn, both in Switzerland and beyond its borders. They demonstrate a blurring of the boundaries between art music and other genres. Whereas in the eighteenth-century, Czech composers incorporated the herdsman’s horn played by musically literate herdsmen, in formal
performances, nowadays music is written to be played by musicians trained on other instruments, to be performed on an alphorn in a non-formal space.

There follows an overview of the use of the alphorn in the UK today which shows a wide variety of situations where the instrument is required. It demonstrates the cultural status of the instrument in the minds of both the British and the Swiss abroad. The added dimension of the attitude of the Swiss towards an English alphorn player will be discussed in this context.

Appendix 5 gives data concerning 200 performances given in the UK between 1 January 2005 and 30 September 2014. A summary, below, gives an overview. Formal performances fall into five categories, as follows:

1. concerto performance with orchestra,
2. soloist with concert band / silver band / wind ensemble,
3. guest performer in a concert,
4. lecture recital,
5. presentation and workshop for a school / university / festival.

In the second category of engagement, the alphorn is invariably requested as a representative of the ‘voice of Switzerland’. These events fall into three groups: personal, promotional and cultural.

Personal:
1. Swiss person’s wedding,
2. Swiss person’s birthday / wedding anniversary etc.,
3. Swiss person’s funeral,
4. Swiss National Day party (1 August).

Promotional:
1. events organised by the Swiss Embassy,
2. events organised by Swiss Tourism, London,
3. events organised by Swiss businesses,
4. events organised by other Swiss organisations.
Cultural:
1. for a Swiss cultural event,
2. for a Swiss-themed event,
3. for the launch of a Swiss-related product,
4. for an Alpine-themed event,
5. for an international cultural event.

A third category comprises performances that bear no relation to Switzerland. They occur outside the formal concert situation and can broadly be divided into entertainment and association with nature.

Entertainment:
1. street / party entertainment,
2. workshops for festivals,
3. TV science show / entertainment show.

The natural:
1. events related to the natural environment,
2. events related to a location or date (a mountain, a solstice).

This information presents some interesting findings. Although there are a number of concerto performances, the unusualness of the instrument is the reason behind the majority of these engagements. Much more interest has been shown in the lecture recital, which indicates that people are interested to learn about the instrument and its Swiss heritage. These engagements are requested by Swiss organisations, music festivals, concert-promoting societies, adult education organisations and general interest groups. Those for Swiss organisations are not unexpected; others are often arranged by Swiss people involved in the promoting organisation who wish to introduce colleagues to their own national heritage. Some engagements are initiated by those in search of an unusual subject.

The alphorn performances at personal events, such as weddings, arise because those central to the event are Swiss, for example the family of the
bride or groom. As the event is held in the UK, the presence of their homeland is represented by the alphorn. At such events traditional ‘postcard’ music is expected, as typified by the melodies from Gassmann’s collection reproduced as Fig. 6.1 and Fig. 6.2. In addition, for a personal celebration such as a wedding, there may be older Swiss people present. When asked whether they are familiar with the melody of Les Armaillis de Colombettes, the version of the Appenzell Kühreien that is best-known today, invariably the answer is in the affirmative. This melody, that features the ‘alphorn fa’, always brings about a deeply emotional response.

Thus the familiar repertoire as dictated by the Swiss Federal Yodel Association is still broadly what people expect to hear. For the Swiss, the alphorn remains unchallenged as the voice of their homeland and the power of the instrument to provoke feelings of nostalgia among the Swiss abroad is as strong as ever. For the English, it symbolises the Alps, the timeless majesty of the natural beauty of the mountains, serenity, life in the fresh air and the other delights of a stress-free holiday in a wonderful mountain setting.6

It is somewhat unexpected that the alphorn is requested for events which have no connection with Switzerland. To perform at a party with a winter or snow theme is understandable; less so has been the appeal of the alphorn’s natural, ur-instrument qualities. This has led to invitations to perform in stone circles, at solstice events, for a hillfort festival, an annual torchlight procession up a mountain and for the Tree of Light multi-media production described above (see p. 345). These natural qualities have, however, been noted earlier: Schumann remarked that a horn call ‘appears to come from another sphere’ (see p. 248), and descriptions of the Prologue and Epilogue in Britten’s Serenade for Tenor, Horn and Strings referred to the horn calls as ‘a sound of nature’ which ‘evoked an atmosphere of “natural,” primeval innocence’ (see p. 324). This primitive, primeval or other-worldly voice is evidently a feature of the alphorn that exerts an ongoing appeal.

6 During all my engagements to perform on the alphorn both in the UK and abroad, these reactions are always in evidence.
It is invariably of interest to Swiss people both in the UK and in their homeland to know why an English musician has chosen to play their instrument. They are touched that a foreigner shows such respect for the alphorn, an instrument that means so much to them. It is possible that the air of superiority displayed by aristocratic British travellers in the past still underlies some Swiss fears that the alphorn may be dismissed as an inferior instrument because it cannot play in tune and only has a few notes, as exemplified by the concerns of the Swiss Federal Yodel Association. That a non-Swiss person takes the alphorn and its heritage seriously is a reminder to the Swiss that English people have long enjoyed the beauty, hospitality and culture of their country, both as visitors, and in our imagination, particularly through the well-loved story of Heidi, one of the best-selling books ever written. The continued use of the instrument to promote Switzerland, on postcards, chocolate boxes, by Swiss tourism organisations in many countries and by the media ensures that its role as the voice of Switzerland abroad remains as strong as ever.

In summary, this overview of examples of the use of the alphorn in the UK today demonstrates that the instrument remains a powerful symbol for the Swiss living away from their homeland: as in the past, it still triggers deep feelings of nostalgia and even homesickness. An analysis of performances in the UK also highlights a strong cultural link with the Alps that the English have enjoyed since the days of the Grand Tour. This documentation also demonstrates a continuing fascination with the alphorn and its heritage, both by musicians and by the general public. While it is unusual to hear an English musician play the alphorn, it is nevertheless a reminder to the Swiss of our delight in their country. An investigation into performances by a single player over a nine-year period demonstrates the cultural significance of the alphorn as the voice of the Alps outside Swiss borders. In addition, the alphorn’s

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8 Johanna Spyri, Heidi (Gotha: Perthes, originally published in two volumes in 1880 and 1881).
simplicity, powerful voice and closeness to its natural form give it an appeal beyond its national roots.

Conclusion

Viewed from a purely historical perspective, this study has revealed that the humble herdsman’s instrument played an important role in animal management and farming routines. This led to its use in the portrayal of shepherds in the annual retelling of the Christmas story in many Czech villages in the eighteenth century. It has shown that an unsophisticated work by Leopold Mozart is not a strange anomaly but belongs to genre not uncommon at the time of its composition. This study has further revealed that simple alphorn calls from the Swiss canton of Appenzell were known in many parts of Europe by the eighteenth century and were to become not only the basis for the favourite Swiss song, still much loved today, but were also transformed into the popular song *Home, sweet home*. It has found that a large number of nineteenth- and twentieth-century composers were moved by the sound of the alphorn to incorporate its motifs into their works at significant moments and that the instrument has enjoyed a noticeable revival in recent times.

The study has also revealed many unexpected things. The opportunity to get to know what may have been the motifs played by eighteenth-century Czech herdsmen is remarkable. Examination of the material used in a seven-minute work by Leopold Mozart in relation to its cultural context has shed light on the use of a repertoire of musical references to the *Pastorella* tradition that are not generally recognised by audiences of today. That so many nineteenth-century composers used alphorn motifs that they heard in the Alps is an indication of the impact made on them by the sound of the instrument then, an impact that is still felt by visitors to the mountains today.

A nineteenth-century composer included an alphorn motif in a work in the expectation that it would be recognised by his audience. This indicates the degree to which awareness of the sound of the alphorn was assumed even then. This awareness has evolved and changed. Audiences of the eighteenth century
may still have been familiar with the use of the horn by a local herdsman; audiences of the nineteenth century may have become aware of the instrument through literature, whereas contemporary audiences are more normally aware of the alphorn because of visits to the Alps, Swiss events or through the media.

Ground-breaking compositions that used the natural harmonics, such as Britten’s *Serenade for Tenor, Horn and Strings*, or on a smaller platform Sommer’s *Moos-ruef*, created shock-waves at the time but both in their way have opened people’s eyes and prepared the way for progress, new understandings and new concepts.

Looking back, it is interesting that from the time of Haydn until the present day, composers rarely included the alphorn in art music; instead, they referred to it obliquely using its motifs as a metaphor instead. Despite this, the power of alphorn figurations to represent the natural world in works for formal performance is substantially demonstrated by the quotations selected for examination in this study.

Whereas in the Czech examples, where villagers were musically literate and parts for the herdsman were included in the works written for the community’s Christmas celebrations, in the nineteenth century, alphorn players rarely entered the world of the professional composer and the formal performance. More recently, however, the circle has become complete: not only is there a substantial body of works written for the concert platform that use the alphorn; in addition, many experienced brass players play the instrument and sophisticated brass instrument techniques are used in alphorn repertoire.

Nowadays, the instrument itself is increasingly incorporated into music of diverse styles. The restrictions placed on the music that was acceptable to the Swiss Federal Yodel Association have been loosened and the instrument is emancipated, its repertoire free to grow in a multitude of different directions. Works such as *Moos-ruef* and *Firnfern 1*, once seen as a threat to the image of the instrument, are now much-loved contributions to the repertoire for the alphorn, not only because they are evocative and beautiful, but also because
such music is unique to the alphorn. Nevertheless, it has been clearly demonstrated that the carefully contrived image of the alphorn as the ambassador of the Alps remains as strong as it was in the nineteenth century, deeply ingrained as it is in the hearts of the Swiss and those who visit the Alps. The two worlds not only coexist: the potential for a new sort of alphorn music using experimental techniques adds considerably to the exploration of the unique potential of the instrument. Even the world of popular music has embraced the special voice of the alphorn.

More people than ever play the instrument; more people than ever come into contact with the instrument during holidays in Switzerland as travel has become increasingly easier. Not only do enthusiastic players from all over the world congregate in their hundreds at numerous alphorn festivals held every summer in Switzerland. Many thousands of visitors also come and enjoy the events too.

Although the alphorn is no longer used in the Alps as a herding instrument, its connection to the Swiss landscape is maintained in other ways, by the composition of pieces based on particular skylines. The association of the instrument with landscape has now been extended to places and contexts outside the Alps: in works such as *Alarum for a Warmer World*, *An Englyn for Frances* and *Tree of Light* the alphorn represents the natural world, although not the picturesque mountains of Switzerland. The alphorn is, after all, a hollowed-out tree. It retains the form of a tree; furthermore it also retains its purity in that it has none of the man-made additions or alterations that are found on all other musical instruments. The use of the natural harmonic series reinforces its status as an unsophisticated, natural instrument, while its size and the strength of its tone emphasise its earthy character.

This study has demonstrated that the alphorn has had a noticeable impact on the musical world on many levels of society for many centuries. There has been an attempt to unravel some of the complexities of this relationship. It is to be hoped that the outstanding beauty and unique voice of the alphorn will ensure that it will continue to be enjoyed long into the future.
Appendix 1. Experiments in acoustics

This appendix explores what an instrument would need to have been like to be able to play the *tuba pastoralis* parts in the Czech *pastorellas* examined in Chapter 2 and the alphorn part for Leopold Mozart’s *Sinfonia Pastorella* in Chapter 3. How accurately would the instrument need to have been made with regard to its acoustic potential? Features that will be investigated include length, shape and the effect of a flared bell, through a series of experiments and an examination of the data produced.¹

A brass instrument is a stopped tube. The issue in question with a herdsman’s horn is whether it is cylindrical, conical or a combination of the two, and whether this is relevant to the sounds produced.

The pattern of harmonics available on a stopped cylindrical tube differs from that of an open cylindrical tube in two ways: the lowest harmonic (fundamental) sounds an octave lower than on an open cylindrical tube of the same length and the tube cannot produce the even-numbered harmonics. As the interval between the lowest two possible harmonics is therefore not an octave but a twelfth, a stopped cylindrical tube is described as one that overblows at the twelfth. However, if a stopped tube is made not with a cylindrical bore but with a conical bore, the air column is constricted at the narrower end and able to spread at the wider end, which alters the harmonics that can be played. Indeed they can be adjusted by this process to give the full ‘normal’ harmonic series of an open tube. The ratio of the length to the opening out of the cone must be perfectly calculated both to produce this series of harmonics and to produce them ‘in tune’ with each other. While the predominant shape determines the harmonics available, a small proportion of tubing of the alternative form appears to be tolerable.

¹ All practical experiments were carried out on 1 May 2011.
Comparison between cylindrical and conical tubes

In order to ascertain the relevance of the shape of the tube to the harmonics available on a *tuba pastoralis*, experimentation was undertaken to examine what pitches can be produced from a selection of tubes of various lengths on

1. a cylindrical tube (lengths of garden hose).
2. a conical tube (sections of carbon-fibre alphorn, without bell).

Results are shown in the following tables. Lengths tested and compared were 4ft, 6ft, 8ft, 10ft and 12ft. All tests were made using the same alphorn mouthpiece. The hose is ½ inch in diameter; dimensions at the mouthpiece end of the carbon-fibre horn at each setting were kept close to that: exact diameters are shown on each stave in App. 1 Fig. 2. Documentation of minutiae of details of pitch, such as cents above and below, were considered unnecessary for the purpose for which this study has been undertaken.

The following parameters were adopted in recording the data:

1. pitches were compared with those on a piano (A=440),
2. where a harmonic was only marginally flat or sharp, this is stated,
3. where the pitch of a harmonic was variable within a specific range, both the lower and the upper note is shown,
4. where the variation was more than an octave, the highest note before it jumped to the next harmonic upwards is given and the flexibility of pitch downwards is marked with an arrow,
5. *doh* for each tube setting, harmonic no. 4, is indicated in red.
App. 1 Fig. 1. Harmonics of a half-inch diameter cylindrical tube (garden hose) of different lengths.
Appendix 1  Acoustics

Observations

1. The fundamental is never a fixed pitch on the cylindrical tube, whereas the low harmonics on the conical tube used here stabilises to overblow at the octave from around 6ft and longer,

2. in comparison with a cylindrical tube, the conical tube raises the lower harmonics and lowers the higher harmonics,

3. doh is very similar (within a semitone) whether a tube is cylindrical or conical,

App. 1 Fig. 2. Harmonics of a conical tube (lengths of carbon-fibre alphorn) of different lengths.
4. each of the tubes from 4ft in length and longer produces notes moderately ‘in tune’ at harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6.

5. although *doh* is identified as the root of the lowest major triad produced, which begins at harmonic no. 4, on an open cylindrical tube it is additionally found at harmonics nos. 1, 2, 8 and 16. These experiments show that unless the cone is accurately made to do so, these other harmonics do not produce *doh*.

Thus all the tubes from 4ft in length and longer could be played reasonably in tune with themselves between harmonics nos. 3 and 6, whether they were cylindrical or conical in shape. If the outer notes of the harmonic series are required, a conical tube must be designed accurately to make these notes in tune.

**End effect and flared bell**

When a sound wave reaches the open end of the tube, the effect on the air particles continues a little beyond the end of the tube, as the energy gradually dissipates. This has the effect of increasing the active wave length of the air column beyond the actual tube length, known as the ‘end effect’. A flared bell serves to contain and focus this dissipating air movement, which affects the volume and tone of the sound produced without adding to its sounding length. As the end of the bell matches the point a little way out from the end of a tube with no flare, a note from an instrument with a well-shaped bell is the same as that from a slightly shorter tube with no flare.

**Width of tube**

Further experiments showed that two tubes of the same length, although with different diameters or cross-sections, produce the same fundamental.
Conclusion

For the alphorn music in his Sinfonia Pastorella, Leopold Mozart uses only harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6, that is, the major triad plus the dominant below, in common with most of the composers of the tuba pastoralis works examined. According to this investigation, on any narrow tube of at least 4ft in length, cylindrical or conical, in most instances these harmonics are reasonably in tune with each other. Only an accurately-calculated and constructed conical stopped tube will produce harmonics outside this range that are completely in tune: it may be that the occasional appearance of harmonics nos. 8 and 10 in the Czech collection reflected that these additional notes were available on those occasions too. The presence of a flare at the end of a tuba pastoralis affects both its overall pitch and the quality of its tone.
Appendix 2. Transcriptions of works that include parts for \textit{tuba pastoralis} housed in the České Muzeum Hudby, Prague

This Appendix is in two parts. The first part, below, comprises notes concerning the transcriptions. The second part is appended as a CD that contains the transcriptions in Sibelius, MP3 and PDF format, and JPG reproductions of all the manuscripts.

**Notes on transcription procedure.**
A set of notes is provided for each work. These mostly comprise two tables for each work: one of general comments and one of alterations required.

Abbreviations used:

The following method has been applied in making the transcriptions from the manuscripts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>missing text</th>
<th>list any issues in notes, insert in score marked with brackets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hyphens</td>
<td>split syllables with hyphens: comment in notes if needed, insert without comment in score</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td>rationalise to slurs over notes shared by one syllable: comment in notes if needed, insert without comment in score</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>word underlay</td>
<td>list any issues in notes, alter without comment in score</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>comment in notes if adjustment needed, alter without comment in score</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix 2  Prague works

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>dynamics</strong></th>
<th>alterations and additions</th>
<th>rationalisation between parts where necessary: comment in notes if needed, additions shown in brackets in score; where there are none, add suggestions, shown in brackets in score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>relocate to modern positions (above in vocal parts, below in instrumental parts); comment in notes if needed, alter without comment in score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>notes</td>
<td>slurs and ties</td>
<td>rationalise between parts, or where motifs recur; detail in notes if needed, insert as slashed lines in score</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other articulation</td>
<td>rationalise between parts, or where motifs recur; detail in notes if needed, insert in brackets in score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>accidentals</td>
<td>ones that duplicate key signature omit without comment in score; cautionary ones insert without comment in score; specify additions in notes if needed, alter without comment in score</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alterations</td>
<td>list obviously miswritten notes (pitch or length) in notes, alter without comment in score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beams</td>
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<td></td>
<td>stem direction</td>
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<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>tempo</td>
<td>detail in notes if needed; add suggestion if none in brackets in score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>clefs</td>
<td>transcribe Soprano, Canto, Alto and Tenore parts into modern clefs; detail in notes if needed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rests</td>
<td>modernise without comment in score; list errors in notes if needed, alter without comment in score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shorthand marks</td>
<td>write out in full if needed, detail in notes, unusual markings accompanied by a facsimile clip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>abbreviatons</td>
<td>alter to modern terminology. Detail in notes if needed, alter without comment in score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>repeats / DC / DS / Fine</td>
<td>rationalise if required; detail in notes if needed, alter without comment in score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>figured bass</td>
<td>retain original positions and format; list alterations in notes if needed, alter without comment in score</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dominico Czerni Minoritta, *Offertorium Pastorale*

| text          | missing text | many of the vocal sections have no text: bars 33, 35-37, 47-8, 55-6, 74-94, 105, 141-2, 145-6, 166-8, 190-203. Something likely added in brackets. Alterations needed: bar 167 Tenore semibreve requires change to 2 minims, bar 176 Alto tie added, bar 195 Basso semibreve changed to 2 minims |
| text          | spelling     | retained Czech spelling of Betlehem |
| text          | hyphens      | some; remainder added |
| text          | syllable slurs | some; remainder added |
| text          | punctuation and capitals | rationalised |
| dynamics      | opening      | none: suggestion inserted in brackets |
| dynamics      | alterations and additions | inconsistencies rationalised; overall very little: further suggestions inserted in brackets |
| notes         | articulation | none |
| notes         | accidentals  | unnecessary accidentals omitted, cautionary ones added; additions listed below |
| other         | tempo        | no tempo indication at start. Allegretto inserted in brackets |
| other         | clefs        | Canto and Alto share a stave in soprano clef; Tenore and Basso share a stave in bass clef: changed to modern clefs |
| other         | shorthand marks | ‘unis. col Viol.1’ written out |
| other         | other comments | additions to TP and va in pencil, listed below: included in score unmarked |

Notes added in pencil in original score:

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<td>79-92</td>
<td>all</td>
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<td></td>
<td>175-8</td>
<td>all</td>
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<td>vn 1</td>
<td>41</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>99</td>
<td>last note A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>last crotchet A</td>
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</table>
Appendix 2  Prague works

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<th>all</th>
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</thead>
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<td>161-2</td>
<td>all</td>
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Alterations

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<th>Notes</th>
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<td>81</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alto</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>minim and crotchet changed to dotted minim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenore</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>F needs ³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>159</td>
<td>C needs ³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basso</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>B changed to D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>E changed to G</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>173-187</td>
<td>notes do not fit with harmony: section omitted from last crotchet of 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP pencil</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>D changed to E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>C needs ³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>G needs ³</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
<td>2nd half of bar crotchet and two quavers changed to dotted crotchet and two semiquavers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>57</td>
<td>tie removed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73</td>
<td>3rd note: use pencil correction F³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>155, 156</td>
<td>Cs need ³s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>158</td>
<td>C needs ³, F needs ³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>159</td>
<td>C needs ³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>160</td>
<td>1st C needs ³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1st C needs ³, 2nd needs ³</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>C needs ³</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>G needs ³</td>
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<td></td>
<td>56</td>
<td>2nd half of bar crotchet and two quavers changed to dotted crotchet and two semiquavers</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>63</td>
<td>last note C# changed to B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>157</td>
<td>C needs ³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>158</td>
<td>C needs ³, F needs ³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td></td>
<td>C needs ♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162, 163</td>
<td>F♯s changed to Es</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>G needs ♯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td></td>
<td>F needs ♭</td>
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<tr>
<td>va pencil</td>
<td>45-48</td>
<td>B F♯s changed to D As</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162, 163</td>
<td>F♯s changed to As</td>
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<tr>
<td>fundamento</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Gs need ♯s</td>
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<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td></td>
<td>C needs ♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td></td>
<td>1st C needs ♭</td>
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<tr>
<td>text</td>
<td>hyphens</td>
<td>none: added</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td>some: remainder added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>rationalised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dynamics</td>
<td>opening</td>
<td>none: suggestion inserted in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alterations and additions</td>
<td>inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>abbreviations</td>
<td>piano and pio = ( p ); forts and for = ( f )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>position</td>
<td>changed to modern positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>notes</td>
<td>articulation</td>
<td>bar 135 vn 2 slurs added to match same figuration 4 bars earlier, shown with slashed line, bar 151 hn 1 articulation copied from hn 2, bar 203 hn 2 articulation copied from hn 1, shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>accidentals</td>
<td>unnecessary accidentals omitted, cautionary ones added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beams</td>
<td>modernised in instrumental parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stems</td>
<td>opposing stems in vn 2 and organo retained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>clefs</td>
<td>Canto, A tto and Tenore changed to modern clefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shorthand marks</td>
<td>slashed minims, double slashed crotchets and semiquavers with minim head written out; vn 2 bar 154-160 not possible: may be ( divisi ), or shorthand, see clip below; also bars 216, 224; bars 212 and 220 probably the same shorthand, although playable as written: changed to match the other bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>repeats</td>
<td>repeats in some parts but not in others: all written out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other comments</td>
<td>vn 1 missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>blue pencil marks in organ part</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Frances Jones  Alphorn

App. 2 Fig. 1. Daubrawský (1), violin 2, bars 154-160 (shorthand).

Alterations

<p>| | | |</p>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alto</td>
<td>100, 103, 111</td>
<td>Cs need ⋆s</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tenore</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>C needs ⋆</td>
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<tr>
<td>hn 2</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>crotchet changed to quaver plus rest</td>
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<tr>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>68, 76</td>
<td>second note F# changed to E</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100, 111, 124, 127, 129, 132, 136</td>
<td>Cs need ⋆s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>115-121, 129, 131-138</td>
<td>Cs need ⋆s</td>
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Ferdinand Daubravský, *Pastorella Czeska* (2)

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<td>none: added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td>none: added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>rationalised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dynamics</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>opening</td>
<td>none: suggestion inserted in brackets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alterations and additions</td>
<td>inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abbreviations</td>
<td>piano = p; for = f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>position</td>
<td>changed to modern positions</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>note changes</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>articulation</td>
<td>bar 48 vn 2 slurs added to match vn 1, shown with brackets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accidentals</td>
<td>unnecessary accidentals omitted, cautionary ones added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stems</td>
<td>organo part inconsistent with regard to chords written with stems in same or opposing direction. Left as original.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>other</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tempo</td>
<td>some parts 1st section <em>Andante</em>, some <em>Allegro non Molto</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clefs</td>
<td>Canto, Alto and Tenore changed to modern clefs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other comments</td>
<td>organ part last 16 bars missing: suggested completion inserted FJ</td>
<td></td>
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**Alterations**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alto</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>last note F# changed to E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basso</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>minim changed to crotchet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>27, 44, 46, 48, 56, 58, 63</td>
<td>Gs need #s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organo</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>2nd note E changed to D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>127</td>
<td>D needs #</td>
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</table>
Ferdinand Daubrawský, *Pastorella Czeska* (3)

<table>
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<th>hyphens</th>
<th>none: added</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td>none: added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>rationalised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dynamics</td>
<td>additions</td>
<td>additions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>abbreviations</td>
<td>pia, piano = ( p ); for = ( f )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>position</td>
<td>changed to modern positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>notes</td>
<td>articulation</td>
<td>organ part wedges begin one bar earlier than other parts: omitted; vn 1 some slurs added for consistency of phrasing; vn 2 slurs added to match parallel passages in vn 1, shown as slashed lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>accidentals</td>
<td>inserted where missing, listed below; unnecessary accidentals omitted, cautionary ones added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beams</td>
<td>some anomalies rectified in voice parts; modernised in instrumental parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>clefs</td>
<td>Canto, Alto and Tenore changed to modern clefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shorthand marks</td>
<td>vn 2 bar 84 quavers with minim beneath must be all quavers: changed to modern notation, see clip below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>repeats</td>
<td>repeats present only in some parts written out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other comments</td>
<td>chords generally but not always have stems in opposite directions in string parts, mixed use in organ, see clip below; rationalised to all opposing as this is the more frequent</td>
</tr>
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</table>

App. 2 Fig. 2. Daubrawský (3), violin 2, bars 83-85 (shorthand).
Alterations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alto</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>G needs #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>237</td>
<td>3rd note G# changed to F#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenore</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Cs need ½s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>214</td>
<td>4th note D changed to C#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>235, 236</td>
<td>2nd crotchet F#s changed to Es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basso</td>
<td>73-75</td>
<td>Cs need ½s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>206, 212</td>
<td>second note D changed to A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>229</td>
<td>last note B changed to D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clt 1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1st F# changed to F#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>lower note E changed to F#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organo</td>
<td>81-108</td>
<td>Cs need ½s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

App. 2 Fig. 3. Daubrawský (3), organo, bars 39-54 (inconsistent stem direction).
František Dobravský, *Pastorella*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>missing text</th>
<th>verse 5 Tenore part words have been altered in red to match those on the Soprano part</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hyphens</td>
<td>some: remainder added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>rationalised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dynamics</strong></td>
<td>alterations and additions</td>
<td>no dynamics in voice parts: inserted in brackets; inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abbreviations</td>
<td>po = p; mfo = mf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>position</td>
<td>changed to modern positions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>notes</strong></td>
<td>articulation</td>
<td>inconsistencies rationalised, additions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>accidentals</td>
<td>cautionary accidentals added, list of other additions below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beams</td>
<td>modernised in instrumental parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>other</strong></td>
<td>clefs</td>
<td>Soprano, Alto and Tenore changed to modern clefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shorthand marks</td>
<td>minim with quaver beams written out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC / DS / Fine</td>
<td>Da capo as written gives the upbeats twice: altered to DS with <em>segno</em> inserted at beginning of the first full bar; <em>Fine</em> in bar 8 needs to be a quaver earlier to avoid upbeats into the following section. In some parts it is correct; ‘5 krát’ translated into ‘5 times’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other comments</td>
<td>Tenore first section marked solo, though <em>tutti</em> section has conflicting instructions: <em>tutti</em> assumed; some alternative text in Tenore part; organo part has additional writing in red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Alterations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenore</th>
<th>27, 31</th>
<th>Gs need #s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>clt 1</td>
<td>1, 5</td>
<td>ties removed to match flute and organ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>D needs #</td>
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</table>
### Duschek, *Pastorella*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>text</strong></th>
<th>hyphens</th>
<th>none: added</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td>none: added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>rationalised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>dynamics</strong></th>
<th>alterations and additions</th>
<th>inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets; vn 1 bars 48, 80, 84 f moved to match vn 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abbreviations</td>
<td>piano, po = p; fo, for = f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>position</td>
<td>changed to modern positions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>notes</strong></th>
<th>articulation</th>
<th>inconsistencies rationalised, additions shown in brackets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>accidentals</td>
<td>omitted where not necessary; other alterations listed below</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>other</strong></th>
<th>clefs</th>
<th>upper voice part clefs modernised</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rests</td>
<td>modernised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shorthand marks</td>
<td>double slash dotted crotchets written out as semiquavers; slashed minim written out as quavers</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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#### Alterations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenore</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>C needs †</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>4 bars rest changed to 5 bars rest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| fl 1 | 24 | quaver rest changed to semiquaver rest |
| 52   | quaver A changed to crotchet |

| vn 1 | 16 | omit dot |
| 24   | dot removed and rest inserted to match other parts |

| vn 2 | 62 | 1st G needs # |
| 68   | 2 quavers changed to semiquavers |

| organo | 16 | omit dot |
| 43     | last two quavers omitted: do not fit harmony |
| 62     | 1st G needs # |

| 76, 83 | Cs need #s |
| 98     | 2nd note A changed to G |
| 116, 120, 124 | 3rd note D changed to E |
Frances Jones    Alphorn

**Jan Augustin Fibiger, *Pro Nativitate Domini***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dynamics</th>
<th>opening</th>
<th>none: suggestion inserted in brackets</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TP bar 8 has <em>f</em>, other parts <em>p</em>: changed TP to <em>p</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>abbreviations</td>
<td>po = <em>p</em>; for = <em>f</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>position</td>
<td>changed to modern positions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Alterations**

| March and Principale and TP | 10 | crotchet changed to minim |
František Václav Habermann, *Motetto pastoralni II*

| text | word underlay | repeat syllable marks written out; at the end of the word *optime* the following 15 bars repeat the syllable *me*; the syllable is also repeated each bar under 5 successive tied notes; also bar 34, 40-55 and 57-8; retained as shown |
| missing ties | Canto and Alto bar 19-20: inserted, shown as slashed lines |
| hyphens | very few: remainder added |
| syllable slurs | none: added |
| punctuation and capitals | rationalised |
| spelling | *cura* – changed to *curam*; *nostuere* – changed to *nos tuere* |
| dynamics | additions | none: suggestions inserted in brackets |
| abbreviations | pno = *p*; for = *f* |
| position | most dynamics marked in score just once, between top two staves: inserted for each part |
| notes | beams | vocal beaming inconsistent, e.g. bars 11-12, or 35: rationalised; also rationalised in violin parts |
| other | clefs | original Canto and Alto share treble stave, Tenore and Basso share bass; Tenore rewritten in modern tenor |
| | figured bass | 43 written together: moved 3 to the following note |

Alterations

| vn 2 | 5, 6 | dots replaced with ties |
| 16 | | As changed to F♯s |
| organo | 11 | last 2 quavers changed to dotted quaver and semiquaver |
Frances Jones   Alphorn

Holetschek, *Pastorella*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>hyphens</td>
<td>very few: remainder added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar 65 Canto slur changed to match Alto</td>
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<tr>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>rationalised</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dynamics</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>alterations and additions</td>
<td>inconsistencies rationalised, additions shown in brackets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abbreviations</td>
<td>po = p; fo = f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>position</td>
<td>changed to modern positions</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>notes</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>articulation</td>
<td>inconsistencies rationalised, additions shown in brackets</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>accidentals</td>
<td>omitted where unnecessary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beams</td>
<td>modernised in instrumental parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>other</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clefs</td>
<td>C and A changed to modern clefs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shorthand marks</td>
<td>repeat text marks written out</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>other comments</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>pauses marked in some parts have been added to the others, shown in brackets</td>
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Alterations

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<th>Canto</th>
<th>from 44</th>
<th>22 bars rest should be 19</th>
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<tr>
<td>Alto</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>needs to be a tone higher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>from 44</td>
<td>22 bars rest should be 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>needs to be a tone lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>84</td>
<td>2nd semiquaver A changed to G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>needs to be a tone lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vne</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>1st notes C D changed to D Eb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organo</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>omit first crotchet low C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>pause added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1st quaver G changed to B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>74</td>
<td>needs key signature change to C major</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
František Václav Jech, *Mottetto in D, Ofertorium Pastorale*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>word underlay</th>
<th>bar 66 and 70 word setting inconsistent between parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hyphens</td>
<td>few: remainder added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td>none: added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>rationalised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dynamics</td>
<td>alterations and additions</td>
<td>much inconsistency: hn 1 opening <em>f</em> added instead of <em>sfp</em> on second bar; bars 5-11 va changed to match vns; bar 6, 10 org <em>pf</em> changed to <em>f</em>; bars 9, 11 vne <em>fp</em> changed to <em>p</em> with accent to match other string parts; bar 10 brass <em>p</em> changed to <em>f</em> to match other parts; bar 12 TP <em>f</em> changed to <em>p</em>; bars 7, 9, 11 clt 1, bar 7 clt 2 and bars 72 and 76 hn 1 and 2: <em>pf</em> changed to <em>fp</em>; bar 34 organo <em>p</em> changed to <em>f</em>; bar 38 vn 1 <em>f</em> changed to <em>fp</em>; bar 70 Basso <em>f</em> moved to 71 to match others; bar 72 upper strings <em>f</em> changed to <em>fp</em>; bar 79 TP <em>f</em> changed to <em>p</em>. All alterations shown with brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abbreviations</td>
<td>po = <em>p</em>; fe = <em>f</em>; ffmo = <em>ff</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>position</td>
<td>changed to modern positions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>notes</td>
<td>articulation</td>
<td>retained wedges but alteration where inconsistent with other parts shown in brackets; inconsistencies in slurs rationalised, alterations shown as slashed lines; generally vn 1 taken as template for other parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accidental</td>
<td>unnatural accidentals omitted, cautionary ones added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beaming</td>
<td>opposing stems retained on string chords: small inconsistencies rectified: bar 71 vn 2 changed to match vn 1, bar 72 vn 2 changed to match other occasions, bar 87 va changed to match vn 1, bar 79 organ changed to match va</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grace notes</td>
<td>some inconsistency between acciaccatura / appoggiatura: vn 1 taken as template and others altered to match where necessary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>clefs</td>
<td>C, A and T changed to modern clefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shorthand marks</td>
<td>slashed minimos written out as quavers; 8 under notes in organ written out in full</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>repeats</td>
<td>some parts have repeated sections, some are written out: all written out</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Frances Jones  Alphorn

Alterations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>Note Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alto</td>
<td>29, 33</td>
<td>2nd note G# changed to B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
<td>1st A changed to B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basso</td>
<td>29, 33</td>
<td>2nd note E changed to D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clt 2</td>
<td>2, 73, 77</td>
<td>7th quaver E changed to D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hn 1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2nd note F changed to E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2nd beat Ds changed to Es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hn 2</td>
<td>21, 59, 67, 71</td>
<td>1st beat changed from G to D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>7th note B changed to C#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>last note D changed to C#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3rd beat quavers E D changed to crotchet E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tomáš Norbert Kautník, *Pastorella de Nativitate Domini*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>word underlay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>word setting Tenore verse 2 bars 67-8 does not work; Basso 70 to end text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>different from Tenore: copied from Tenore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyphens</td>
<td>none: added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td>some: remainder added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>rationalised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dynamics</td>
<td>opening none: suggestion inserted in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alterations and additions additional dynamics for consistency and interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>added, shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>notes</td>
<td>articulation inconsistencies rationalised, additions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>accidentals cautionary accidentals added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beams modernised in instrumental parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>clefs Tenore changed to modern clef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shorthand marks repeat text marks written out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other comments 1st section crossed out in pencil on instrumental parts voices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>are <em>tacet</em> for that section</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alterations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TP</th>
<th>vn 1</th>
<th>vn 2</th>
<th>organo</th>
<th>15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18, 19</td>
<td>40, 53, 57, 76, 96</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99, 101</td>
<td>106</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>106</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cs changed to Gs
D changed to C
add final quaver rest
triplet markings added
add final quaver rest
2nd note B changed to A
last note B changed to A
figured bass on 1st note 3/# changed to 5/"
Tomáš Norbert Kautník, *Offertorium Pastorale*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>word underlay</th>
<th>Canto bars 24-5 changed to match the other voice parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hyphens</td>
<td>none: added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td>few: remainder added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>rationalised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dynamics</td>
<td>alterations and additions</td>
<td>initial dynamics added to voice parts, shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>notes</td>
<td>beams</td>
<td>modernised in instrumental parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stems</td>
<td>opposing directions in organ chords inconsistent: rationalised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>clefs</td>
<td>Canto and Alto share stave, Tenore and Basso share stave: Tenore given separate stave with appropriate clef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bowings</td>
<td>adjusted for consistency, alterations shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shorthand marks</td>
<td>repeat bar marks written out; single and double slashed minims and crotchets written out; vn 2 bar 29, 31 probable shorthand seen in other works, see clip below: not possible for one player as written, <em>divisi</em> not marked, only one rest: shorthand assumed, dotted crotchet replaced with quavers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

App. 2 Fig. 4. Kautník (2), violin 2, bars 28-30 (shorthand).

Alterations

| all orchestral parts | 26, 27 | 1st note quaver changed to semiquaver |
| vn 2 | 15, 17 | lower note semibreve changed to minim |
Tomáš Kollovrátek, *Offertorium Pastorale*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>word underlay</th>
<th>bar 85 Canto, Alto, Tenore and bar 103 Tenore, Basso single syllable on repeated notes: changed to long notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>missing ties</td>
<td>inserted in bars 66-67, 68-69, 109-111, 132-133, 134-5, shown as slashed lines</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyphens</td>
<td>a few: remainder added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td>none: added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>rationalised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dynamics</td>
<td>alterations and additions</td>
<td>inserted where needed, shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>abbreviations</td>
<td>po = p; for = f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>position</td>
<td>changed to modern positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>notes</td>
<td>articulation</td>
<td>slurring not specific: see clip below; rationalised, additions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>accidentals</td>
<td>altered for consistency, cautionary ones added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beaming</td>
<td>left as original in voice parts though occasionally altered to show syllable setting, modernised in instrumental parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>clefs</td>
<td>Canto, Alto and Tenore changed to modern clefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shorthand marks</td>
<td>repeat bar and repeat figuration written out; slashed minim written out as quavers; <em>Tas</em> and <em>Tast</em> = <em>tasto</em>; quavers with minim beneath: assume shorthand for the same figuration as 2 bars earlier: see clip below, rewritten as 2 bars earlier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other comments</td>
<td>voices all have final barline 8 bars before instruments</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
App. 2 Fig. 6. Kollovrátek (1), violin 2, bars 112-116 (shorthand).

### Alterations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Bar Numbers</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canto</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>crotchets changed to minim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>109-111</td>
<td>ties added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>135</td>
<td>crotchets changed to minim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>145</td>
<td>crotchets changed to minim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alto</td>
<td>65, 85</td>
<td>crotchets changed to minim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>102</td>
<td>last note quaver changed to crotchet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>132, 134</td>
<td>1st G changed to A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>133, 135, 145</td>
<td>minim G changed to 2 crotchets A G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>144</td>
<td>Gs changed to As</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenore</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>crotchets changed to minim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>101</td>
<td>quavers changed to dotted crotchet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>107</td>
<td>1st two quavers changed to crotchet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basso</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>1st G changed to F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hn 1</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>crotchet changed to quaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>66, 68</td>
<td>minim changed to 2 crotchets D E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hn 2</td>
<td>133, 135, 145</td>
<td>minim C changed to 2 crotchets C G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>138, 140</td>
<td>E changed to G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>omit Ds 1st half of bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>133</td>
<td>omit Gs 1st half of bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organo</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>add 5/3 at beginning of bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44, 45, 59 etc</td>
<td>align 5/3 at beginning of bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6, 37, 90</td>
<td>last note B changed to A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix 2 Prague works

**Tomáš Kollovrátek, Offertorium pro Festis Natalitijis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>text</th>
<th>word underlay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not clear in places; repeated notes with one syllable e.g. bars 234-240 left as original; bars 59-61 Alto changed to match Canto; bars 103-114 Tenore changed to match other voices; bar 216 Tenore dy added to match Basso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>missing ties</td>
<td>ties added bars 213-216 to Canto and Alto, bars 213-215 Tenore and Basso, bars 82-87 Alto, Tenore and Basso, bars 97-99 all voice parts: additions shown as slashed lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hyphens</td>
<td>few: remainder added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td>none: added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>punctuation rationalised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dynamics</strong></td>
<td>alterations and additions</td>
<td>inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>abbreviations</td>
<td>po, pia = p; for = f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>position</td>
<td>changed to modern positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>notes</strong></td>
<td>articulation</td>
<td>unclear whether wedges or staccatos: staccatos chosen throughout, unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>accidentals</td>
<td>unnecessary accidentals omitted, cautionary ones added; other additions noted below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beams</td>
<td>occasionally quavers joined or split to match other parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>other</strong></td>
<td>clefs</td>
<td>Canto, Alto and Tenore changed to modern clefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shorthand marks</td>
<td>double slashed crotchets written out as semiquavers, slashed mimins as quavers; repeat bar symbol used for repeated text written out; quavers with minim beneath written out: vn 2 bars 11-17, 45-49,74-78, 82-86, 122-128, 165, 181-183, 198-202, 217, 274, also vn 1 between bars 122 and 130: see clip below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>solo / soli</td>
<td>solo in wind parts changed to soli where it is both players</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other comments</td>
<td>2 copies of organo part with very slight differences: elements that match other parts chosen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Alterations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Bar(s)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alto, Tenore and Basso</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>minim changed to dotted crotchet and quaver to accommodate text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canto</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>C needs ♯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>89, 113, 168, 233</td>
<td>Fs need ♯s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>115</td>
<td>5 bars rest should read 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alto</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>should be the same as 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>91, 94-101</td>
<td>Fs need ♯s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>103</td>
<td>second half written a note too high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>104</td>
<td>bar written a note too high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>105</td>
<td>1st beat written a note too high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>106</td>
<td>C needs ♯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>109, 113</td>
<td>Fs need ♯s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>164</td>
<td>B needs b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>166</td>
<td>F needs ♯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>169</td>
<td>As changed to Gs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>170-173</td>
<td>all written a note too high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenore</td>
<td>74, 78</td>
<td>all Ds changed to Cs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>77</td>
<td>1st note A changed to C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
<td>D C B A changed to F E D C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>103</td>
<td>crotchet changed to 2 quavers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>106</td>
<td>C needs ♯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>109, 113</td>
<td>Fs need ♯s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix 2 Prague works

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>E changed to G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>last note G changed to D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141, 143</td>
<td>Es changed to Ds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>D changed to E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>G changed to C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>quaver changed to crotchet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199</td>
<td>rhythm changed to match other parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>F needs #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Basso</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>2nd note quaver changed to semiquaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>C needs #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109, 113</td>
<td>Fs need #s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>last note A changed to G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>1st note C changed to B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>B needs b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>1st note G changed to D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198, 200</td>
<td>1st note quaver changed to crotchet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>middle 2 quavers changed to semiquavers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>F needs #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235, 239</td>
<td>written a note too high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247</td>
<td>2 crotchets changed to minim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>clt 1</strong></td>
<td>98-102, 113, 126 Fs need #s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>clt 2</strong></td>
<td>91-95, 113 Fs need #s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>crotchet changed to 2 quavers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>1st note quaver changed to crotchet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hn 1</strong></td>
<td>148 2nd note D changed to E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hn 2</strong></td>
<td>253, 259 1st note G changed to D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>vn 1</strong></td>
<td>14 4th note D changed to C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89, 97-100, 109, 113</td>
<td>Fs need #s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168, 182, 184</td>
<td>Fs need #s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213, 215</td>
<td>dotted quavers changed to dotted crotchets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>Fs need #s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>253</td>
<td>1st half of bar Es changed to Ds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>last 2 bars</td>
<td>top note As changed to Cs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>2nd note E changed to C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Fs need #s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97-102</td>
<td>Fs need #s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Cs need #s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109, 113</td>
<td>Fs need #s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>semiquavers changed to appoggiaturas to match other parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>F needs #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organo</td>
<td>crotchet changed to quaver and quaver rest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Kolovrátek, 2do Pastorella

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>hyphens</th>
<th>a few: remainder added</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td>some: remainder added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>rationalised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dynamics</td>
<td>alterations and additions</td>
<td>inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>abbreviations</td>
<td>po = p; fe = f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>position</td>
<td>changed to modern positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>notes</td>
<td>articulation</td>
<td>some slurs added for consistency, shown with a slashed line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>accidentals</td>
<td>unnecessary accidentals omitted, cautionary ones added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beams</td>
<td>some in vocal parts altered for consistency; modernised in instrumental parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>clefs</td>
<td>Canto and Alto changed to modern clefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shorthand marks</td>
<td>slashed dotted crotchets written out as quavers; double slashed crotchets written out as semiquavers; 3 quavers with dotted crotchet beneath written out: vn 2 bars 18-21, 44, 82-85, 88-92, 108, 125, 146-8: see clip below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>solo / soli</td>
<td>solo changed to soli where it is both players</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

App. 2 Fig. 8. Kolovrátek (3), violin 2, bars 18-25 (shorthand).
Alterations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canto</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>crotchet changed to quaver and rest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clt 1</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>last note G changed to F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>111</td>
<td>last 2 notes E C changed to D F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clt 2</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>quaver rest changed to semiquaver rest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hn 1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>last note C changed to D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>crotchet changed to quaver and rest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
<td>D changed to E D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>111</td>
<td>2nd quaver rest changed to semiquaver rest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>115</td>
<td>last note E changed to D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hn 2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Omit G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
<td>C changed to C D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73</td>
<td>C E G changed to G G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>77</td>
<td>C E E changed to G G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>115</td>
<td>last note E changed to D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>crotchet changed to quaver and rest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timp</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>G changed to C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>94</td>
<td>quaver rest changed to semiquaver rest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>crotchets changed to quavers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>omit dot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>124</td>
<td>F needs #</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>139</td>
<td>2nd beat quavers changed to semiquavers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>upper 1st note E changed to D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90, 91</td>
<td>double slash changed to quavers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organo</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>omit dot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Joseph Damián Křížek, *Offertorium Pastorale*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>word underlay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unclear at times; bar 90 Canto and Alto word underlay does not match Tenore and Basso: retained as original; repeated notes with one syllable e.g. bars 9, 10, left as original; bar 9 beams changed to suit assumed word underlay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyphens</td>
<td>none: added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td>some: remainder added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>rationalised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dynamics</td>
<td>additions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>additions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abbreviations</td>
<td>po = p; fo = f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>position</td>
<td>changed to modern positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>notes</td>
<td>articulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inconsistencies rectified, additions shown with brackets or slashed lines; bar 3-5, 77, 78 vn 1 slurs changed because what is given is not possible; organ part wedges or staccato unclear: wedges put in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>accidentals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unnecessary accidentals omitted, additions listed below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>modernised in instrumental parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>clefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Canto, Alto and Tenore changed to modern clefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shorthand marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>repeat text marks written out; t. = <em>tasto</em> in organ part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pause on final note in some parts added to all with additions shown in brackets; bar 6 vn 1 triplets instead of sextuplet to match vn 2; many unmarked triplets given a mark</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Alterations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canto</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>1st C needs ½, 2nd C needs #</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>semiquavers changed to demi-semiquavers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alto</td>
<td>15, 16</td>
<td>semiquavers changed to demi-semiquavers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1st dotted quaver changed to dotted crotchet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>assume last 3 notes triplet: mark added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>G needs #</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>2nd note B changed to F#</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>A needs #</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>quavers changed to crotchets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>E changed to D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>D changed to C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>crotchet changed to minim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>1st C needs †, C at end of bar needs #</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3rd note B changed to A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 29</td>
<td>2 semiquavers C# changed to D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>3rd note B changed to A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>D changed to E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>A needs #</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>G needs #</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>3rd F# changed to E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>lower notes F#s changed to Es</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Gs need #s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48, 50</td>
<td>2 semiquavers and quaver changed to quaver and 2 semiquavers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>F#s should be Es</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>D changed to E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>dotted quaver and semiquaver changed to 2 quavers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va</td>
<td>C# changed to B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>F# changed to G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>B changed to A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organo</td>
<td>6/3 changed to 5/3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>G needs #</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>1st C# changed to G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Jiří (Georgy) Ignác Linek, *Pastorella (1)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>text</strong></th>
<th>word underlay</th>
<th>bars 22-24 and 48-50 unclear whether last syllable held, or words repeated: added repeat words, shown in brackets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>hyphens</strong></td>
<td>none: added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>syllable slurs</strong></td>
<td>some: remainder added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>punctuation and capitals</strong></td>
<td>rationalised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dynamics</strong></td>
<td>opening</td>
<td>none: suggestions inserted in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>alterations and additions</strong></td>
<td>inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>abbreviations</strong></td>
<td>pia, piano = <em>p</em>; pianiss = <em>pp</em>; for = <em>f</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>position</strong></td>
<td>changed to modern positions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>notes</strong></td>
<td>articulation</td>
<td>inconsistencies rationalised, additions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>beams</strong></td>
<td>split according to syllable in voice part</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>other</strong></td>
<td>shorthand marks</td>
<td>slashed dotted minims and dotted minim with quaver beam written out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>repeats / DC / DS / Fine</strong></td>
<td><em>da capo al segno</em> changed to modern <em>da capo al fine</em>; repeat for the 4 verses not indicated in instrumental parts: inserted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Jiří (Georgy) Ignác Linek, *Pastorella* (2)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>text</strong></th>
<th>altered text</th>
<th>bars 81ff Alto has alterations to the names of the people therein</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>word underlay</td>
<td>bar 42 unclear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyphens</td>
<td>a few: remainder added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td>some: remainder added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>rationalised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dynamics</strong></td>
<td>alterations and additions</td>
<td>inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abbreviations</td>
<td>piano = p; for, forte = f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>position</td>
<td>changed to modern positions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>notes</strong></td>
<td>articulation</td>
<td>unclear differentiation between wedges and staccato: normally forte, so wedges chosen; discrepancies in articulation rationalised, shown with brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accidentals</td>
<td>some cautionary accidentals present, others inserted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beams</td>
<td>modernised in instrumental parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rests</td>
<td>modernised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>other</strong></td>
<td>clefs</td>
<td>Alto changed to modern clef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other comments</td>
<td>bar 26 etc. ‘organ’ on organ part: either a specific organ instruction or may indicate violone <em>tacet</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Alterations**

| **TP** | has an extra bar: suggest omit bar 23 and reinstate later bar crossed out in original |
Appendix 2   Prague works

Joseph Erasmus Matějka, *Pastorella*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>hyphens</th>
<th>some: remainder added</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td>none: added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>rationalised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dynamics</td>
<td>additions</td>
<td>none: suggestions inserted in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>notes</td>
<td>articulation</td>
<td>very few slurs, general not specific, see clip below: rationalised; bar 22 vn. picc. tie inconsistent with other music: additions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beams</td>
<td>modernised in instrumental parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>clefs</td>
<td>Tenore changed to modern clef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>figured bass</td>
<td>some figures difficult to read: rationalised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>triplets</td>
<td>some not marked: marking added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
<td>bar 29 TP unclear number of bars rest; unclear where some phrases are intended to fit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

App. 2 Fig. 9. Matějka, violin 2, bars 7, 8 (unspecific slurs).

Alterations

<p>| Bas  | 30 | 2nd note G changed to F |
| TP   | 29 | omit bar rest before start of section |
| 47, 48 | remove notes: they do not fit |
| 51   | Es changed to Cs |
| vn picc | 7 | 5th note C# changed to D |
| 12   | 5th note B changed to C# |
| 23   | 1st note B changed to C# |
| 51   | triplet quavers changed to quaver and 2 semiquavers |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>another note needed: repeat A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>D changed to E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>crotchet B changed to A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>must be triplets: triplet marks added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>B needs ¾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>9, 10</td>
<td>Bs need ¾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>58, 59</td>
<td>Gs changed to As</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1st note F changed to G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>63</td>
<td>1st note G changed to C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>67, 68</td>
<td>1st notes D changed to Cs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organo</td>
<td>11, 16, 49</td>
<td>needs an extra bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>B♭s changed to F♭s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37, 40, 44</td>
<td>Es need b♭s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
<td>initial crotchet changed to quaver</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Matiegka, *Pastorala*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>choice of texts</th>
<th>text written out twice: different spellings / dialect / script</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>word underlay</td>
<td>bar 66 Alto one syllable and repeated notes: changed to single note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyphens</td>
<td>just one: remainder added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td>some: remainder added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>rationalised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dynamics</th>
<th>additions</th>
<th>none: suggestions inserted in brackets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>notes</td>
<td>beams</td>
<td>modernised in instrumental parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>clefs</td>
<td>Alto changed to modern clef</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| shorthand marks | repeat text marks written out; slashed dotted crotchet written out as quavers; vn 2 shorthand bars 3, 7, 13, 143: quavers with dotted crotchet beneath; converted to modern notation: see clip below |

**Alterations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>66</th>
<th>67</th>
<th>2, 6</th>
<th>78</th>
<th>2, 6</th>
<th>78</th>
<th>67</th>
<th>78</th>
<th>52</th>
<th>57</th>
<th>94</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alto</td>
<td>2 crotchets changed to minim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd note F changed to E</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>G changed to C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hn 2</td>
<td>1st 2 Gs changed to Ds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>Ds changed to Es</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st 3 notes changed from D C B to C B C</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>1st note G changed to A</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st 3 notes changed from B A G to A G A</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organo and Basso</td>
<td>As changed to Gs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd G♯ changed to ♫</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C, A, hn 1, 2, TP</td>
<td>final dot or rest in error</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

App. 2 Fig. 10. Matiegka, violin 2, bars 2-7 (shorthand).
### Daniel František Milčinský, *Offertorium Pastorale*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>text</strong></th>
<th>hyphens</th>
<th>some: remainder added</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td>some: remainder added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>rationalised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dynamics</strong></td>
<td>opening</td>
<td>none: suggestions inserted in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>additions</td>
<td>additions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>abbreviations</td>
<td>for. = f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>position</td>
<td>changed to modern positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>notes</strong></td>
<td>articulation</td>
<td>inconsistencies rationalised, additions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>accidentals</td>
<td>unnecessary accidentals omitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beams</td>
<td>modernised in instrumental parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>other</strong></td>
<td>clefs</td>
<td>Canto, A ltoand Tenore given modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>clefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shorthand marks</td>
<td>slashed minimis and double slashed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>crotchets written out; shorthand octaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in organo bar 5 and 6 written out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other comments</td>
<td><em>da capo</em> not in all parts; repeat for verse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 not marked; short repeats (bars 30-33,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bars 99-106) written out in some parts;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>no Fine</em> marked: suggestion inserted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pastorella 1 bar 7, Pastorella 2 bar 74;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TP Pastorella 1 in 2/4 while other parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>all in 4/4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Alterations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>opening</th>
<th>rests do not include 3 repeated bars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canto 1</td>
<td>opening</td>
<td>rests do not include 3 repeated bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>96, 104</td>
<td>leave blank: move notes into following bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>G needs #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4th note B changed to E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organo</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>G needs #</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Josef Ondřej Nowotný, *Offertorium Pastorale*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>text</strong></th>
<th><strong>word underlay</strong></th>
<th><strong>bar 70 Canto word underlay changed to match beams</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hyphens</td>
<td>few: remainder added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td>some: remainder added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dynamics</strong></td>
<td>alterations and additions</td>
<td>inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abbreviations</td>
<td>po = p; ppo = pp; for = f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>position</td>
<td>changed to modern positions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>notes</strong></td>
<td>articulation</td>
<td>slurs and staccatos in string parts altered to match each other and same material in other bars; horn parts inconsistent: rationalised, changes shown in brackets or by slashed lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ornaments</td>
<td>vocal parts have appoggiaturas, instrumental parts have acciaccaturas in the same material: rationalised to all acciaccaturas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accidentals</td>
<td>unnecessary accidentals omitted, cautionary ones added</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beams</td>
<td>inconsistencies rectified, modernised in instrumental parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rests</td>
<td>modernised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>other</strong></td>
<td>clefs</td>
<td>Alto and Tenore changed to modern clefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shorthand marks</td>
<td>repeat bars written out; slashed notes written out; string shorthand put into modern fully written out; see clip below, bars thus changed: vn 1 bars 9-12, 21-23, 41-43, 61-63, 81-83, 101-104, organo 101-103</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other comments</td>
<td>vn 1 bar 3 symbol + inserted as +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Alterations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>instrument</th>
<th>bars</th>
<th>alteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>clt 2</td>
<td>94, 95</td>
<td>rhythm changed to match other bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>94</td>
<td>Ds need #s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>95, 96</td>
<td>Cs need #s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>96</td>
<td>3rd note B changed to D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>97</td>
<td>1st note C changed to B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hn 1</td>
<td>95, 96-7</td>
<td>ties removed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hn 2</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>2nd note E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1st beat dotted crotchet changed to 3 quavers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
<td>1st A semiquavers changed to Bs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
<td>1st 2 semiquavers changed to demi-semiquavers, and in 2nd half of bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>85-100</td>
<td>incorrect number of bars: assume intended unison with vn 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>85-95, 97-100</td>
<td>incorrect number of beats in each bar: assume intended unison with vn 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>2nd half lower note crotchet changed to semiquaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vne</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>insert crotchet G 2nd half of bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25, 37</td>
<td>remove tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
<td>insert bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>dotted rhythm needed to match all other parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
<td>4th note B changed to A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

App. 2 Fig. 11. Nowotný, violin 1, bars 99-104 (shorthand).
Tadeáš Petipeský, *Motteto de Nativitate pro Sacro die Certatio pastoralis*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>hyphens</th>
<th>some: remainder added</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td>none:</td>
<td>added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td></td>
<td>rationalised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dynamics</strong></td>
<td>alterations and additions</td>
<td>inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abbreviations</td>
<td>piano = p; pianissimo = pp; for, forte = f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>notes</strong></td>
<td>articulation</td>
<td>accent marks rationalised between parts; additions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beams</td>
<td>modernised in instrumental parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>other</strong></td>
<td>clefs</td>
<td>Canto, Alto and Tenore changed to modern clefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shorthand marks</td>
<td></td>
<td>some triplets unmarked: all put in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other comments</td>
<td></td>
<td>organo has sections in voice clefs where it doubles voice parts bars 36-50, 60-75, 84-99; organo and vn 2 have sporadic ties within a repeating figuration, or ties at the first few instances and then not: interpreted as to continue throughout that figuration, insertions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Alterations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenore</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>appoggiatura F♯ changed to A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>9 bars rest should be 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>9, 18, 43, 108, 117</td>
<td>lower note crotchet changed to quaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
<td>B A changed to E D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>lower note crotchet changed to quaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cembalo</td>
<td>68-75</td>
<td>in wrong key: altered to match 44-51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Jakob Jan Ryba, *Pastoral Offertorium*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>text</th>
<th>hyphens</th>
<th>some: remainder added</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td></td>
<td>some: remainder added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td></td>
<td>rationalised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dynamics</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alterations and additions</td>
<td></td>
<td>inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abbreviations</td>
<td></td>
<td>po = p; for = f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>position</td>
<td></td>
<td>changed to modern positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>notes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>articulation</td>
<td></td>
<td>slurring unspecific, see clip below: rationalised, additions shown as slashed lines; accents inconsistent: additions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accidentals</td>
<td></td>
<td>unnecessary accidentals omitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beams</td>
<td></td>
<td>retained in vocal parts, occasionally altered to fit word underlay, modernised in instrumental parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stems</td>
<td></td>
<td>inconsistent use of split or joined stems in violin parts: rationalised all to joined stems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>other</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clefs</td>
<td></td>
<td>Canto, A lto and Tenore changed to modern clefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shorthand marks</td>
<td></td>
<td>repeat bar and repeat figuration written out; single and double slashed minims written out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other comments</td>
<td></td>
<td>acciaccaturas and appoggiaturas inconsistent: left where possible, changed where clashes occur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

App. 2 Fig. 12. Ryba, violin 1, bars 28-30 (unspecific slurs).
Alterations

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alto</td>
<td>25, 41</td>
<td>beams and underlay changed to match Canto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenore</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>F changed to E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>beams changed to match Canto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basso</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>B needs ²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>crotchet B♭ replaced with 2 quavers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>A replaced with C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hn 1</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>add dot to minim, change minim rest to crotchet rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>omit dot on minims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>last note D replaced with C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>crotchet B needs ²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>last note B needs ²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organo</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>minim changed to dotted minim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>dotted minim changed to minim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Frances Jones   Alphorn

**Josepho Štietina, Pastorella Nativitate**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>text</td>
<td>hyphens</td>
<td>very few; remainder added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>syllable slurs</td>
<td>some, remainder added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>punctuation and capitals</td>
<td>rationalised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dynamics</td>
<td>opening</td>
<td>none: suggestion inserted in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alterations and additions</td>
<td>inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>abbreviations</td>
<td>po = p; fo = f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>position</td>
<td>changed to modern positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>notes</td>
<td>articulation</td>
<td>inconsistencies rationalised, additions shown with slashed lines or in brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>accidentals</td>
<td>unnecessary accidentals omitted, cautionary ones added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ornamentation</td>
<td>acciaccaturas and appoggiaturas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>inconsistent between parallel figurations in different parts: left as found where feasible, otherwise rationalised to acciaccaturas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beams</td>
<td>modernised in instrumental parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>clefs</td>
<td>Canto, Alto and Tenore changed to modern clefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shorthand marks</td>
<td>vn parts have minimas alongside moving notes: interpreted as shorthand in other works, however most here are playable as written if a slur on the upper notes is assumed except vn 2 bars 85 and 176, 178, 179, 180, see clip below: left as printed where playable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other comments</td>
<td>2 copies of organo part with very slight differences in articulation: one is more consistent with vne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2 Prague works

Alterations

| Alto | 39   | 1st D quaver needs dot |
|      | 74   | 8 bars rest should be 9 |
|      | 176  | 1st note E changed to F♯ |
| vn 1 | 1, 3 | assume triplet semiquavers: mark inserted |
|      | 83ff; 171-2 | assume triplet semiquavers: mark inserted |
|      | 85   | 1st semiquaver G changed to F♯ |
|      | 129, 143 | G needs ♯ |
|      | 150  | C needs ♭ |
|      | 160-167 | Cs need ♪s |
|      | 176  | 1st semiquaver E changed to D |
| vn 2 | 85   | 1st semiquaver E changed to D |
|      | 103  | last note F♯ changed to E |
|      | 134, 138 | Gs need ♪s |
|      | 154, 158 | Cs need ♪s |
|      | 176  | 1st semiquaver G changed to F♯ |
|      | 186-7 | assume triplet semiquavers: mark inserted |
| vne  | 60   | 4th quaver C♯ changed to E |
|      | 176  | F♯ changed to G |
| organo | 57   | 1st G needs ♯ |
|      | 176  | F♯ changed to G |

App. 2 Fig. 13. Štietina, violin 2, bars 170-186 (shorthand).
The attached CD contains transcripts of each of the above 25 works. These are provided in Sibelius 6, MP3 and PDF format; the photographs of the manuscripts are also included.

The content is arranged as follows:
Folder 1. ‘Prague’
   Subfolder 1. ‘Prague Photos’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Prague catalogue number</th>
<th>Photograph labels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Czerni</td>
<td>MXXVIIIF242</td>
<td>Cz 1 - 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daubrawský</td>
<td>MVIIID110</td>
<td>Dau 110 1 - 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daubrawský</td>
<td>MVIIID111</td>
<td>Dau 111 1 - 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daubrawský</td>
<td>MVIIID130</td>
<td>Dau 130 1 - 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dobravský</td>
<td>MVIIID187</td>
<td>Dob 1 - 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duschek</td>
<td>MVIIIF23</td>
<td>Du 1 - 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fibiger</td>
<td>MXXIXD249</td>
<td>Fib 1 - 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habermann</td>
<td>MXIF8</td>
<td>Hab 1 - 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holetschek</td>
<td>MXXB282</td>
<td>Hol 1 - 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jech</td>
<td>MXF198</td>
<td>Jech 1 - 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kautník</td>
<td>MXID180</td>
<td>Kau 180 1 - 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kautník</td>
<td>MXXIXB187</td>
<td>Kau 187 1 - 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kollovrátek</td>
<td>MXID54</td>
<td>Kol 54 1 - 24</td>
</tr>
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<td>Kollovrátek</td>
<td>MXID94</td>
<td>Kol 94 1 - 26</td>
</tr>
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<td>Kolovrátek</td>
<td>MXID42</td>
<td>Kol 42 1 - 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Křížek</td>
<td>MXIE338</td>
<td>Kri 1 - 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linek</td>
<td>MVIB155</td>
<td>Lin 155 1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linek</td>
<td>MXVF342</td>
<td>Lin 342 1 - 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matějka</td>
<td>MXIEE149</td>
<td>Mat 149 1 - 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matiegka</td>
<td>MXIEE151</td>
<td>Mat 151 1 - 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milčínský</td>
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<td>Mil 1 - 16</td>
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Appendix 2  Prague works

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nowotný</th>
<th>MXLA157</th>
<th>Now</th>
<th>1 - 24</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Petipeský</td>
<td>MIII A146</td>
<td>Pet</td>
<td>1 - 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryba</td>
<td>MXIVG79 no.2</td>
<td>Ryba</td>
<td>1 - 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Štietina</td>
<td>MXVA202</td>
<td>Stie</td>
<td>1 - 24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Subfolder 2.**

Subfolder 2.1. ‘Prague transcripts as PDF’ (each work named)
Subfolder 2.2. ‘Prague transcripts as Sibelius 6’ (each work named)
Subfolder 2.3. ‘Prague transcripts as MP3’ (each work named)
Appendix 3. Comparison of manuscripts of Leopold Mozart

Sinfonia Pastorella

This appendix is in a number of sections: 1) detail of inconsistencies within each version, 2) discrepancies between the six manuscript versions, 3) inferences and conclusions with regard to possible chronological order, the search for the most authentic version and the decisions required to produce a new historically informed version and 4) a new edition. The appended CD contains JPG reproductions of the six manuscript versions discussed below.

Observations on inconsistencies within each version

All the handwriting is clear and neat and there are no ambiguities with regard to what is written. There are, however, a large number of inconsistencies, both within and between the various manuscripts, which will be documented in the tables below. There are noticeably fewer inconsistencies in the full scores (Berlin, Munich and Vienna) than in the sets of parts (Bartenstein, Lambach and Öttingen), presumably because errors or omissions are easier to see, compare and rectify in a score. Inconsistencies found fall into two categories: those that appear to be copyists’ errors and those that arise from inexact notational practice.

1. Inconsistencies that appear to be copyists’ errors. This refers to:
   a. Errors in notes, rhythms and accidentals (excluding those that arise from inexact notational practice, see below).
   b. Omission of articulation, ties, grace notes, dynamics, tempo indications and pauses. It has been assumed that a copyist’s omission is more likely than an addition. Thus, for example, when there in an accidental present in one part but not in a parallel part, the omission of the accidental, rather than the addition of the accidental, is assumed to be the error (reference is also made to the other versions where necessary). The use of the word ‘missing’ in the tables refer to these cases.
2. Inconsistencies that arise from inexact notational practice. This gives rise to the following:
   a. Ties.
      i. Sometimes a series of tied notes is shown as such; sometimes a tie is given only to the first pair of a series of identical note groups. In comparison with other instances, it appears that the implication is that this continues for the remainder. The word ‘missing’ will be used in the table to indicate the subsequent ties.
      ii. Sometimes a tie is given to the top note of a chord only, although it must apply to a lower note as well. The use of the word ‘missing’ indicates what would be shown in modern practice.
   b. Accidentals.
      i. In contrast to modern practice, normally an accidental applies to one note only and not to a recurrence of the same note in the same bar, although occasionally a cancellation is shown on a subsequent note and occasionally the continuation of the accidental is implied. In cases of ambiguity, the word ‘needed’ will be used.
      ii. Sometimes an accidental applies to a recurrence of the same note within the same phrase in a subsequent bar. In cases of ambiguity, the word ‘needed’ will be used.

Other issues of notation
1. Appoggiaturas / acciaccaturas: the use of these marks is inconsistent and varied sometimes from one part to another.¹
2. Vertical lines: these are interpreted in the version in Vienna as staccatos, although this appears inappropriate. They will be referred to as weight marks.
3. Copyists: of the sets of parts, just one has two different types of handwriting: that of Öttingen has the violin parts written in a different hand. This appears to bear little relation to the number of inconsistencies present.

¹ Some of the versions described herein appear to be more recent than the date of composition, thus there may have been some degree of ‘modernisation’. Instances will be noted.
**Inconsistencies within a set**

Inconsistencies within each set are noted in Table 1. An assimilation of the information in Table 1 will then be presented for each copy for comparison with the other versions, in subsequent tables. Each inconsistent item found is shown on a separate row in the tables, with the following exceptions:

1. some inconsistencies recur within a bar (e.g. missing articulation) and are shown on one row;
2. some inconsistencies last a few bars and are shown on one row;
3. in some instances the inconsistency is between one part and another and the comparison is given on one row.

Each row will subsequently be referred to as one item of inconsistency. The number of inconsistencies found in each manuscript is as follows:

- Bartenstein: 112
- Berlin: 36
- Lambach: 76
- Munich: 41
- Öttingen: 80
- Vienna: 31
Table 1. Inconsistencies within a set

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar</th>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Inconsistency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>½ needed on note 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 2</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>rhythm incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>weight mark missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>weight mark missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>½ needed on note 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>slurs missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>p missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>f missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>no other part has these slurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>weight marks do not match vn 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>1st note G is D in all other versions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>f missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>slurs missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-13</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slurs missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>second beat rhythm incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>♩ missing on acciaccatura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>½ needed on notes 8 and 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>p is in this part only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>dot missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>acciaccatura missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>♩ needed on acciaccatura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>½ needed on notes 8 and 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slurs missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>second acciaccatura missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>♩ missing on acciaccatura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>½ needed on note 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>p is in this part only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24, 25</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>some slurs missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slur in vn 1 part missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>f is in the following bar in the other parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slurs missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>rhythm incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>slurs missing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Bartenstein

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>inconsistency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>½ needed on note 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>p missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>rhythm incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>slurs missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-33</td>
<td>all strings</td>
<td>dynamics inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37-39</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>f missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>f missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>dot on crotchet surplus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>½ needed on note 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>acciaccatura missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>dot on quaver surplus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>½ missing on acciaccatura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>5th note C should be D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>rhythm incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>p missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>f missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>½ missing on acciaccatura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>½ needed on note 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>f is half bar earlier than other parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>rhythm incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48, 49</td>
<td>all strings</td>
<td>dynamics inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>weight marks missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slurs missing</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### 2nd movement  Andante

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>only vn 1 and vn 2 parts marked <em>sempre piano</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 2</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2, va</td>
<td>basso has the articulation, missing elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>some articulation missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>rhythm incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>slurs missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>rhythm incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>second acciaccatura missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slurs missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>rhythm incorrect</td>
</tr>
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</table>
## Appendix 3  L. Mozart comparisons

### Bartenstein

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<th>part</th>
<th>inconsistency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>1st note G should be F♯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12, 13</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2 va</td>
<td>basso has the slurs, missing elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slur incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>weight mark missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>weight marks missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>rhythm incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22-26</td>
<td>all strings</td>
<td>dynamics inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>1st note E should be D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>slurs missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>rhythm incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2 va</td>
<td>basso has the slurs, missing elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2, b</td>
<td>va has the slur, missing elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>some articulation missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>articulation missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2, va</td>
<td>pause on basso only</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3rd movement  Presto

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>inconsistency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>ties inconsistent. No ties in other versions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>B is G in all other versions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>p missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-12</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>additional B in all other versions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-12</td>
<td>vn 2, va b</td>
<td>ties inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>f missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>p missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-23</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Gs are Bs in all other versions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-23</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>f missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32-33</td>
<td>vn 1, va, b</td>
<td>vn 2 has a tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>p missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34-38</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>ties inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>f missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>vn 2, va</td>
<td>articulation missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>articulation missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-48</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>slurs missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64-72</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties inconsistent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Bartenstein

<table>
<thead>
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<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>inconsistency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>( p ) missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-87</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>rhythm incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>( \natural ) is ( # ) in all other versions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>( f ) missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>( f ) surplus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>vn 2, b</td>
<td>articulation missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>vn 2, b</td>
<td>articulation missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103-end</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113, 114</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>articulation missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115-end</td>
<td>vn 2, b</td>
<td>dynamics missing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Berlin

**1st movement Allegro**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>inconsistency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>( \natural ) needed on second C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>( \natural ) needed on second C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2, b</td>
<td>( p ) missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>( p ) missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>note 10 should be D (cf other versions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>( f ) missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>( p ) missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>( f ) missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>( \natural ) missing on first note, ( \natural ) needed on notes 8 and 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>( \natural ) needed on notes 8 and 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>( \natural ) missing on note 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>( \natural ) needed on note 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>acciaccatura instead of appoggiatura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>( f ) missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>( \natural ) needed on note 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>( \natural ) needed on note 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>( \natural ) needed on note 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>( \natural ) needed on note 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Berlin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>C# not present any other time that this bar appears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>acciaccatura missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>p missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>∇ needed on note 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>note 3 should be G (cf bar 20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>$ missing on note 1, ∇ needed on note 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>f missing</td>
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</tbody>
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### 2nd movement  Andante

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>articulation missing (cf bar 17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>C# not needed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>second ∇ not needed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>articulation missing</td>
</tr>
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### 3rd movement  Presto

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
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<td>slurs missing (cf bar 15)</td>
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<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2, va</td>
<td>weight mark missing on quaver</td>
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<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>$ incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2, va</td>
<td>f missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57-60</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>slurs inconsistent with vn 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-71</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>articulation missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-102</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>articulation missing (cf bar 39)</td>
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</table>

## Lambach

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>inconsistency</th>
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### 1st movement  Allegro

<table>
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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>∇ needed on note 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slurs inconsistent with vn 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>∇ needed on note 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slurs inconsistent with vn 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>f missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>note 10 should be D (cf other versions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>slurs to continue?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, 12, 13</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>rhythms incorrect</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Lambach

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>inconsistency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11-13</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>slurs inconsistent with vn 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>♯ needed on notes 8 and 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>all strings</td>
<td>dynamics inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>♯ needed on notes 8 and 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>acciaccatura missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>♯ needed on acciaccatura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slurs inconsistent with vn 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>tie not in any other version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>f not in any other part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>♯ needed on note 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-31</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slurs inconsistent with vn 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-8</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>f half a bar different from vns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>♯ needed on note 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32-35</td>
<td>all strings</td>
<td>dynamics inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>f missing at half bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>vn 2, va</td>
<td>dynamics inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-43</td>
<td>vn 1, alphorn</td>
<td>articulation does not match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>vn 1, alphorn</td>
<td>rhythm of last crotchet beat does not match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>vn 1, alphorn</td>
<td>rhythm of 3rd crotchet beat does not match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>♯ needed on note 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>1st note an octave too low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>E has ♯ in error</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>♯ missing on acciaccatura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>♯ needed on note 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>f half a bar earlier than other parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>vn 2, va</td>
<td>p missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50, 51</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slurs inconsistent with vn 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>p not in any other parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>alphorn</td>
<td>pause not in any other parts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2nd movement  Andante

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>all parts marked <em>sempre piano</em> except basso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>incorrect tie. Should be a slur on following two notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 8</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slurs inconsistent with vn 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>last two notes should be dotted rhythm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>rhythm incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>slur inconsistent with basso</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Lamback

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>inconsistency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>weight mark missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>$f$ missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>slur inconsistent with basso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>slur inconsistent with vn 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>$p$ missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23, 24</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>slur inconsistent with vn 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24, 25</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>rhythm incorrect, second half of bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>rhythm incorrect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3rd movement  Presto

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>inconsistency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>only this part has $f$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22-23</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>tie missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>$D$ and $B$ should be $F^#$ and $A$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>ties missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>$f$ missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>articulation inconsistent with vn 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>$f$ should be in bar 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>ties missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34-5</td>
<td>all strings</td>
<td>dynamics inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-38</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>ties missing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37-39</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>articulation missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>$f$ missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>articulation missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42-48</td>
<td>all strings</td>
<td>ties inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57-60</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>articulation inconsistent with vn 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64-65</td>
<td>all strings</td>
<td>dynamics inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64-72</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>$p$ missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89-90</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>tie missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>$C \sharp$ mark should be $#$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>$f$ not in any other part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96-98</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>ties not present in any other version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>articulation missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101-2</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>articulation missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103-end</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>vn 1, b</td>
<td>dot incorrect</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Munich

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>416</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>2 additional orchestral horns, in G for the 1st and 3rd movement and D for the 2nd movement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Has annotations in pencil.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st movement Allegro

| 1   | vn 1 | ½ needed on note 9 (added in pencil) |
| 3   | vn 1 | ½ needed on note 9 (added in pencil) |
| 19  | vn 1, vn 2 | ½ needed on notes 6, 8 and 9 |
| 21  | vn 1, vn 2 | ½ needed on notes 8 and 9 |
| 26  | vn 1 | ½ needed on note 10 |
| 26-29 | vn 2 | slurs inconsistent with vn 1 |
| 27  | vn 1 | ½ needed on note 10 |
| 27-28 | vn 1 | f inconsistent with other parts |
| 28  | vn 1 | ½ needed on second C (added in pencil) |
| 29  | vn 2 | slur inconsistent with vn 1 |
| 41  | vn 1, alphorn | subdivision of rhythm does not agree |
| 45  | vn 1, vn 2 | acciaccatura missing |
| 47  | vn 1, vn 2 | ½ missing on acciaccatura |
| 49  | b | f inconsistent with other parts |
| 52  | b | p refers to b not va |
| 53  | alphorn | final ‘flicked note’ in other versions missing |

2nd movement Andante

| 2   | b | articulation inconsistent with other parts |
| 11  | vn 1, vn 2 | rhythm incorrect |
| 17  | b | articulation inconsistent with other parts |
| 17-26 | b | dynamics missing |
| 24, 25 | vn 1, vn 2 | rhythm incorrect |
| 24  | va, b | dot missing note 5 |
| 28  | va, b | dot missing final note |

3rd movement Presto

| 12-13 | b | f inconsistent with other parts |
| 35-37 | va | ties missing |
| 35, 37 | vn 1, vn 2 | articulation inconsistent |
| 41  | vn 1, vn 2, va | final note weight mark missing |
| 43-44 | va | ties missing |
### Munich

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46, 47</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>dynamics missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>dot in error</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>weight mark missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58-60</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>slurs inconsistent with vn 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>vn 2, va</td>
<td>p missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>p missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82ff</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>ties missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84-87</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2, va</td>
<td>ties missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84-86</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>ties missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93-94</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>tie in other parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>vn</td>
<td>weight mark missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>weight mark missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105-end</td>
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<td>ties missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
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### Öttingen

<table>
<thead>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 additional orchestral horns, in G for the 1st and 3rd movement and D for the 2nd movement.</td>
</tr>
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#### 1st movement  Allegro (alphorn and basso: Allegro moderato)

<table>
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<tbody>
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<td>1, 2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>½ needed on note 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>F# unnecessary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>½ needed on note 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slur inconsistent with vn 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slurs missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>pp should be p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Bs should be F#s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>weight marks missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td># missing on acciaccatura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>½ needed on note 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slur inconsistent with vn 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>½ needed on note 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Frances Jones   Alphorn

Öttingen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>inconsistency</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>f missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>♭ needed on note 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slur inconsistent with vn 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>♭ needed on note 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>F♯ unnecessary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>vn 2, va</td>
<td>f missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37-8</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>f half bar earlier than other parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>f missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>vn 1, alphorn</td>
<td>rhythm of last crotchet beat does not match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>vn 1, alphorn</td>
<td>rhythm of 3rd crotchet beat does not match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>dot on 1st note incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>E has incorrect #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>p missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>♭ missing on acciaccatura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>f half bar earlier than other parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2, va</td>
<td>f missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>p appears in this part only</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2nd movement  Andante

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>inconsistency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>vn 1, va, b</td>
<td>only the vn 2 part marked sempre piano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>weight mark missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 8</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>articulation inconsistent with vn 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>1st note C♯ should be D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>6th note B should be C♯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>slur missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>articulation missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>weight mark missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>f missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>rhythm incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23-26</td>
<td>all strings</td>
<td>dynamics inconsistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24, 25</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>rhythms incorrect</td>
</tr>
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<td>24</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slur inconsistent with vn 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>slurs missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>rhythm incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slur inconsistent with vn 1</td>
</tr>
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### Öttingen

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<td>5</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>only this part has $f$</td>
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<td>va</td>
<td>lower note Bs should be Gs</td>
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<td>17-23</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties inconsistent</td>
</tr>
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<td>24</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>D and B should be $F#$ and $A$</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>$f$ missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>$f$ surplus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32-33</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>tie missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>$p$ should be in previous bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34-38</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>ties inconsistent</td>
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<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>$f$ should be a bar later</td>
</tr>
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<td>39</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>$f$ missing</td>
</tr>
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<td>41</td>
<td>va</td>
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</tr>
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<td>43-44</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>tie missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>$p$ missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>$pp$ missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>dot incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57-60</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>weight marks missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>$p$ missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>$p$ missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67-70</td>
<td>alphorn</td>
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<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>$p$ missing</td>
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<tr>
<td>80-87</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties inconsistent</td>
</tr>
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<td>88</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>the only part with $p$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89-90</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>tie missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>$f$ missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93-94</td>
<td>vn 2, b</td>
<td>ties not present in any other version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>$p$ missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>$p$ missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>$f$ missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103-end</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties inconsistent</td>
</tr>
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<td>116</td>
<td>vn 2, b</td>
<td>$p$ missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>dot incorrect</td>
</tr>
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<td>part</td>
<td>inconsistency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>♭ needed on note 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>♭ needed on note 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slurs missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>f missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>♭ missing on acciaccatura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>♭ needed on notes 8 and 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>♭ needed on notes 8 and 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>slurs missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>♭ needed on note 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>f missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>♭ missing on note 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>♭ needed on note 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>slurs missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>♭ missing on acciaccatura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>♭ needed on note 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>f missing</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>inconsistency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>weight mark missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>weight mark missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>rhythm incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>rhythm incorrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>articulation missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>dot missing on crotchet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>slurs missing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>inconsistency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>slurs missing (cf bar 15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>G has ♭ in error</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2, va</td>
<td>f missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>F♯ B A should be F♯ A G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57-60</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>slurs missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70, 71</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>articulation missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>last note B should be D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Comparison of versions**

This will take the form of the following tables, with commentary, and some subsequent paragraphs of observations and analysis.

Table 2 a. Discrepancies between versions, excluding ties.
   b. Discrepancies between versions: ties.

Table 3. Comparison of the versions in Berlin and Vienna.

Table 4. Comparison of the versions in Munich and Öttingen.

Table 5. Berlin / Vienna in comparison with Munich / Öttingen.

Table 6 a. Berlin / Vienna and Munich / Öttingen in comparison with the other versions, excluding ties.
   b. Berlin / Vienna and Munich / Öttingen in comparison with the other versions: ties.

Table 7 a. Bartenstein: items the same as Berlin / Vienna.
   b. Bartenstein: items the same as Lambach.
   c. Bartenstein: items different from all others.

Table 8 a. Lambach: items the same as Berlin.
   b. Lambach: items the same as Bartenstein.
   c. Lambach: items different from all others.

These tables exclude the following:

1. most inconsistencies found within one version. These are all noted in Table 1, ‘Inconsistencies within a set’; nevertheless, a few items will be repeated below where significant questions arise (e.g. tied notes, the rhythm in the first movement bar 41, etc.).

2. tempo indications and pauses: those omitted are assumed and not included below,

3. slurs: these are so varied that their detail is not included below,

4. weight marks: these are so varied that their detail is not included below,

5. dynamics: these are so varied that their detail is not included below,

6. grace notes: notation is so varied that differences are not included below.
Variance of ties within a set are noted in Table 1; variance between sets will be noted in separate tables where they are frequent. Each of the remaining discrepancies is shown on a separate row, except the following:

1. some discrepancies last a few bars and are shown on one row,
2. in some instances the discrepancy is between one part and another and the comparison is given on one row.

Each row will subsequently be referred to as one item of discrepancy. Table 1 shows 37 rows. NB. The Munich and Öttingen versions have in addition parts for 2 orchestral horns: the horn parts from Munich are identical to those from Öttingen.
### Table 2a. Discrepancy between sets, excluding ties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>discrepancy</th>
<th>Bartenstein</th>
<th>Berlin</th>
<th>Lambach</th>
<th>Munich</th>
<th>Öttingen</th>
<th>Vienna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>chord includes low G</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>no, no</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>no, no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>chord includes low G</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>notes 2,4,8,10</td>
<td>DDDD</td>
<td>DGDG</td>
<td>DDD D</td>
<td>DDD D</td>
<td>DDD D</td>
<td>DGD G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>notes 2,4,8,10</td>
<td>DGDG</td>
<td>DGDG</td>
<td>DDD D</td>
<td>DDD D</td>
<td>DDD D</td>
<td>DGD G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>a 3rd above vn 1</td>
<td>no (start on F#)</td>
<td>yes (start on A)</td>
<td>no (start on F#)</td>
<td>no (start on F#)</td>
<td>no (start on F#)</td>
<td>yes (start on A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12, 13</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>acciacatura</td>
<td>EE</td>
<td>E E</td>
<td>C# C#</td>
<td>C# C#</td>
<td>C# C#</td>
<td>E E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>notes 2,3</td>
<td>A A</td>
<td>F# F#</td>
<td>A A</td>
<td>A A</td>
<td>A A</td>
<td>F# F#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>a 3rd above vn 1</td>
<td>yes (start on A)</td>
<td>no (start on F#)</td>
<td>yes (start on A)</td>
<td>yes (start on A)</td>
<td>yes (start on A)</td>
<td>no (start on F#)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>chord includes low G</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>no, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>no, yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>chord includes low G</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>no, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>no, yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>vn 1, alhorn</td>
<td>same rhythm on 4th</td>
<td>no: 3/4; 3/4</td>
<td>yes: both 3/4</td>
<td>no: 3/4; 3/4</td>
<td>no: 3/4; 3/4</td>
<td>yes: both 3/4</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>rhythm on 3rd</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>acciacatura</td>
<td>no, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>no, no</td>
<td>no, no</td>
<td>no, no</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>2nd C # or $</td>
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<td>vn 2</td>
<td>chord includes low G</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>notes</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D and B</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D and B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>alhorn</td>
<td>trill</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
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<td>discrepancy</td>
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<td>Berlin</td>
<td>Lambach</td>
<td>Munich</td>
<td>Öttingen</td>
<td>Vienna</td>
</tr>
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<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>dotted rhythm</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>acciaccatura on 2nd</td>
<td>yes, no</td>
<td>no, no</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>no, no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10, 11</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>rhythms</td>
<td>.vn 1 3/8; others 3/8</td>
<td>all 3/8</td>
<td>vn 2 3/8; others 3/8</td>
<td>vns 3/8; va, b 3/8</td>
<td>vn 1 3/8; others 3/8</td>
<td>all 3/8</td>
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<td>all strings</td>
<td>rhythm</td>
<td>vn 1 3/8; others 3/8</td>
<td>all 3/8</td>
<td>vn 2 3/8; others 3/8</td>
<td>vns 3/8; va, b 3/8</td>
<td>vn 1 3/8; others 3/8</td>
<td>all 3/8</td>
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<td>vn 1</td>
<td>trill how many notes</td>
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<td>1st note only</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1st note only</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>crotchet or 2 quavers</td>
<td>2 quavers</td>
<td>2 quavers</td>
<td>crotchet</td>
<td>crotchet</td>
<td>crotchet</td>
<td>2 quavers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, 32</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>trill how many notes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>on 2nd only</td>
<td>on 2nd only</td>
<td>4</td>
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### 3rd movement

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<th>notes</th>
<th>Ds and Gs</th>
<th>Ds and Bs</th>
<th>Ds and Gs</th>
<th>Ds and Gs</th>
<th>Ds and Gs</th>
<th>Ds and Bs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>13-15</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>notes</td>
<td>Ds and Gs</td>
<td>Ds and Bs</td>
<td>Ds and Gs</td>
<td>Ds and Gs</td>
<td>Ds and Gs</td>
<td>Ds and Bs</td>
</tr>
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<td>24</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>notes</td>
<td>F# and A</td>
<td>D and B (error)</td>
<td>F# and A</td>
<td>F# and A</td>
<td>F# and A</td>
<td>D and B (error)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58, 59</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>rhythm</td>
<td>crotchet and rest</td>
<td>crotchet and rest</td>
<td>crotchet and rest</td>
<td>dotted crotchet</td>
<td>dotted crotchet</td>
<td>crotchet and rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>notes</td>
<td>D and G</td>
<td>D and B</td>
<td>D and G</td>
<td>D and G</td>
<td>D and G</td>
<td>D and B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>notes</td>
<td>dotted crotchet G</td>
<td>3 quavers G D B</td>
<td>dotted crotchet G</td>
<td>dotted crotchet G</td>
<td>dotted crotchet G</td>
<td>3 quavers G D B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84-87</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>notes</td>
<td>just Bs</td>
<td>just Bs</td>
<td>just Bs</td>
<td>just Bs</td>
<td>just Bs</td>
<td>just Bs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>rhythm</td>
<td>dotted crotchet</td>
<td>crotchet and rest</td>
<td>dotted crotchet</td>
<td>dotted crotchet</td>
<td>dotted crotchet</td>
<td>crotchet and rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>rhythm</td>
<td>dotted crotchet</td>
<td>crotchet and rest</td>
<td>dotted crotchet</td>
<td>dotted crotchet</td>
<td>dotted crotchet</td>
<td>crotchet and rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>notes</td>
<td>dotted crotchet G</td>
<td>dotted crotchet G</td>
<td>3 quavers G D B</td>
<td>3 quavers G D B</td>
<td>3 quavers G D B</td>
<td>dotted crotchet G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>notes</td>
<td>D and B</td>
<td>D and G</td>
<td>D and G</td>
<td>D and B</td>
<td>D and B</td>
<td>D and G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116-8</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>trills</td>
<td>yes, all</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes, all</td>
<td>yes, all</td>
<td>yes, all</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>althorn</td>
<td>final flicked note</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2b: Discrepancy between sets: ties. The following 20 occasions of discrepancy with ties occur

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>discrepancy</th>
<th>Bartenstein</th>
<th>Berlin</th>
<th>Lambach</th>
<th>Munich</th>
<th>Öttingen</th>
<th>Vienna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st movement</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32-34</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>no, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>ro, yes</td>
<td>no, yes</td>
<td>no, yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37-39</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>no, no, yes</td>
<td>yes, no, no</td>
<td>yes, no, no</td>
<td>yes, no, no</td>
<td>yes, no, no</td>
<td>yes, no, no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd movement</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>tie</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>tie</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>tie</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>no, no</td>
<td>no, no</td>
<td>no, no</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>no, no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, 32</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>yes, no</td>
<td>no, no</td>
<td>no, no</td>
<td>yes, no</td>
<td>yes, no</td>
<td>no, no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd movement</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-12</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>yes, no, no</td>
<td>no, no, no</td>
<td>no, no, yes</td>
<td>no, no, yes</td>
<td>no, no, yes</td>
<td>no, no, no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>yes, no, yes</td>
<td>no, no, no</td>
<td>yes, yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes, no</td>
<td>1st only, yes, no</td>
<td>no, no, no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-30</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no, yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32-33</td>
<td>all strings</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>no, yes, no</td>
<td>yes, yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes, no</td>
<td>yes, yes, no</td>
<td>yes, yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes, yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34-38</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>yes, no</td>
<td>no, yes</td>
<td>some, yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42-48</td>
<td>all strings</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>no, yes, no</td>
<td>no, no, yes</td>
<td>no, some, no, yes</td>
<td>no, some, some, some</td>
<td>no, some, 1st, some</td>
<td>no, no, no, yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>tie</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64-72</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>yes, no, no</td>
<td>no, no, no</td>
<td>some, some, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes, yes</td>
<td>no, no, no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-87</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>yes, no, no</td>
<td>no, no, no</td>
<td>most, yes, no</td>
<td>some, no, some</td>
<td>some, no, some</td>
<td>no, no, no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83-84</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>tie</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88-89</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>no, yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no, yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88-90</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103-end</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>yes, no, yes</td>
<td>no, no, no</td>
<td>no, no, yes</td>
<td>yes, no, yes</td>
<td>yes, no, yes</td>
<td>no, no, no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Observations on the material in Tables 2a and 2b
All material in the tables in the remainder of this Appendix is drawn from that shown in Tables 2a and 2b. Tables 3 to 8 are extrapolations of cells from Tables 2a and 2b, with the content juxtaposed in different ways to enable comparisons of information to be viewed. Original row designations are retained.

Comparison between the versions in Berlin and Vienna
This is the most similar pair of versions. Both are in score format. Two factors are noticeable that suggest that one is a copy of the other:
1. the presence, absence and inconsistency of ties is identical,
2. there are identical errors in both sets (e.g. the same wrong notes in the 3rd movement, vn 2 bar 24).
The clefs in the score in Vienna are more modern. Thus this may be a more recent copy of the Berlin score. The scores are identical apart from the following:

Table 3a. Comparison between the versions in Berlin and Vienna

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>discrepancy</th>
<th>柏林</th>
<th>维也纳</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>第二乐章</td>
<td></td>
<td>number of trills</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, 32</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison between the versions in Munich and Öttingen
This is the second most similar pair of copies. Both have identical parts for 2 horns, in addition to strings. Two factors suggest that the Munich copy is a score made from the pre-existing Öttingen parts:

1. the Munich score is in relatively modern handwriting on pre-printed manuscript paper,
2. the Munich score has additional ties in every case. This may suggest that omissions noticed have been remedied by the later copyist.
They are identical apart from the following:

Table 4. Comparison between the versions in Munich and Öttingen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>discrepancy</th>
<th>Munich</th>
<th>Öttingen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd movement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>all strings</td>
<td>rhythm</td>
<td>vns, va, b</td>
<td>vn 1, others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd movement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>yes, yes, no</td>
<td>1st only, yes, no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42-48</td>
<td>all strings</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>no,some,some,some</td>
<td>no,some,1st,some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83-84</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>tie</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88-89</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>no, yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Berlin / Vienna in comparison with Munich / Öttingen

27 items found in the Berlin / Vienna versions are different from those found in the Munich / Öttingen versions. Just one of these is a discrepancy of a tie.

Table 5. Berlin / Vienna in comparison with Munich / Öttingen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>discrepancy</th>
<th>Berlin / Vienna</th>
<th>Munich / Öttingen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st movement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>chord includes low G</td>
<td>no, no</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>chord includes low G</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>what notes 2,4,8,10</td>
<td>D G D G</td>
<td>D D D D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>what notes 2,4,8,10</td>
<td>D G D G</td>
<td>D D D D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>a 3rd above vn 1</td>
<td>yes (start on A)</td>
<td>no: as vn 1 (start on F♯)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>notes 2,3</td>
<td>F♯ F♯</td>
<td>A A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>a 3rd above vn 1</td>
<td>no: as vn 1 (start on F♯)</td>
<td>yes (start on A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>chord includes low G</td>
<td>no, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>chord includes low G</td>
<td>no, no</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>vn 1, alphorn</td>
<td>same rhythm on 4th</td>
<td>yes: both</td>
<td>no:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Frances Jones  Alphorn

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>discrepancy</th>
<th>Berlin / Vienna</th>
<th>Munich / Öttingen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>rhythm on 3rd ↓</td>
<td>⍙ ⍙ ⍙</td>
<td>⍙ ⍙ ⍙</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>2nd C # or ½</td>
<td>½, ½</td>
<td>½, ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>chord includes low G</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>what notes</td>
<td>D and B</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>alphorn</td>
<td>trill</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2nd movement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>vn 2</th>
<th>dotted rhythm</th>
<th></th>
<th>no</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>how many trills</td>
<td>1st note only</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3rd movement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>va</th>
<th>what notes</th>
<th>Ds and Bs</th>
<th>Ds and Gs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13-15</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>what notes</td>
<td>Ds and Bs</td>
<td>Ds and Gs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>what notes</td>
<td>D and B (error)</td>
<td>F# and A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58,59</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>rhythm</td>
<td>crotchet and rest</td>
<td>dotted crotchet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>what notes</td>
<td>D and B</td>
<td>D and G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>what notes</td>
<td>3 quavers G D B</td>
<td>dotted crotchet G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>rhythm</td>
<td>crotchet and rest</td>
<td>dotted crotchet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>rhythm</td>
<td>crotchet and rest</td>
<td>dotted crotchet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116-8</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>trills</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>alphorn</td>
<td>final flicked note</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Berlin / Vienna, and Munich / Öttingen, in comparison with the other sets

A comparison between these two main versions follows, and between these and the sets at Bartenstein and Lambach. Coloured cells will be used in Tables 6a and 6b to show items that concur with other sets, thus:

Berlin / Vienna: pink cells denote where items concur;
Munich / Öttingen: blue cells denote where items concur;
Where Berlin / Vienna and Munich / Öttingen all concur: green.
For the Bartenstein and Lambach material, colour denotes with which version they concur. An anomaly that does not concur with Berlin / Vienna or Munich / Öttingen will be shown in a cell left uncoloured.

NB. Munich / Öttingen are the only sets with orchestral horn parts.

Inconsistency with ties are numerous: these are shown separately (Table 6b).
Table 6a. Berlin / Vienna, and Munich / Öttingen, in comparison with the other sets, excluding ties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>discrepancy</th>
<th>Berlin / Vienna</th>
<th>Munich / Öttingen</th>
<th>Bartenstein</th>
<th>Lambach</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>chord includes low G</td>
<td>no, no</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>chord includes low G</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>notes 2, 4, 8, 10</td>
<td>D G D G</td>
<td>D D D D</td>
<td>D D D D</td>
<td>D D D D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>notes 2, 4, 8, 10</td>
<td>D G D G</td>
<td>D D D D</td>
<td>D G D G</td>
<td>D D D D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>a 3rd above vn 1</td>
<td>yes (start on A)</td>
<td>no (start on F#)</td>
<td>no (start on F#)</td>
<td>no (start on F#)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12, 13</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>acciacusaturo</td>
<td>E, E</td>
<td>C#, C#</td>
<td>E, E</td>
<td>C#, C#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>notes 2, 3</td>
<td>F# F#</td>
<td>A A</td>
<td>A A</td>
<td>A A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>a 3rd above vn 1</td>
<td>no (start on F#)</td>
<td>yes (start on A)</td>
<td>yes (start on A)</td>
<td>yes (start on A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>chord includes low G</td>
<td>no, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>chord includes low G</td>
<td>no, no</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
<td>yes, yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>vn 1, alphorn</td>
<td>same rhythm on 4th</td>
<td>yes, both</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>rhythm on 3rd</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
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</tr>
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<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>notes</td>
<td>D and B</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>53</td>
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<td>trill</td>
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2nd movement

<table>
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<th>Munich / Öttingen</th>
<th>Bartenstein</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>dotted rhythm</td>
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<td>no</td>
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<td>Munich / Öttingen</td>
<td>Bartenstein</td>
<td>Lambach</td>
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<td>rhythms</td>
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<td>rhythm on 6th quaver</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>how many notes have trills</td>
<td>1st note only</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>vn 1</td>
<td>how many notes have trills</td>
<td>Berlin 3, Vienna 4</td>
<td>2nd only</td>
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**3rd movement**

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<td>Bs and Ds</td>
<td>just Bs</td>
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<td>3 quavers G D B</td>
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</table>
An examination of the Bartenstein and Lambach versions produces the following data.

**Bartenstein**

This is mainly the same as the Öttingen version, though without the orchestral horns: agreement with the Öttingen set runs to 34 out of the 57 items of discrepancy that exist between all the copies. Of the 23 items that are different from the Öttingen set, ties form over half (12 out of 23) of the discrepancies. Nine of these are unique to this copy, two concur with those in the Berlin copy and one is the same as Lambach. Of the remaining 11 items that differ from Öttingen, six agree with Berlin, one with Vienna and four are unique to this version. The 23 items that are different from the Öttingen set are examined in Tables 7a, 7b and 7c.

**Table 7a. Bartenstein: items the same as Berlin / Vienna**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bar</th>
<th>part</th>
<th>discrepancy</th>
<th>Bartenstein</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>1st movement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>what notes 2,4,8,10</td>
<td>D G D G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12, 13</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>acciaccatura</td>
<td>E, E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd movement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>tie</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>tie</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>crotchet or 2 quavers</td>
<td>2 quavers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, 32</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>trills</td>
<td>4 (as Vienna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd movement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58,59</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>rhythm</td>
<td>crotchet and rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84-87</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>what notes</td>
<td>just Bs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88-90</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>what notes</td>
<td>dotted crotchet G</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7b. Bartenstein: items the same as Lambach

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st movement</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32-34</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7c. Bartenstein: items different from all other versions

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37-39</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>no, no, yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>acciaccatura</td>
<td>no, yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>2nd C # or ‰</td>
<td>‰, ‰</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2nd movement</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10, 11</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>rhythms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>acciaccatura on 2nd ′</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd movement</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9-12</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>yes, no, no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>yes, no, yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-30</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>no, no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32-33</td>
<td>all strings</td>
<td>tie</td>
<td>no, yes, no, no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42-48</td>
<td>all strings</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>no, yes, no, no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64-72</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>yes, no, no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-87</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>yes, no, no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lambach

This version is also mainly the same as Öttingen and also without orchestral horns. Agreement with the Öttingen set is higher than with the Bartenstein manuscript, at 42 out of the 57 items of discrepancy. Of the 15 items that are different from the Öttingen set, ties form two-thirds (10 out of 15) of the discrepancies. Six are unique to this copy, three concur with those in the Berlin copy and one is the same as Bartenstein. Of the remaining five items that differ from Öttingen, two agree with Berlin and three are unique to this version. The 15
items that are different from the Öttingen set are examined in Tables 8a, 8b and 8c.

Table 8a. Lambach, items the same as Berlin / Vienna

<table>
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<th>discrepancy</th>
<th>Lambach</th>
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<td>2nd movement</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>vn 2</td>
<td>tie</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, 32</td>
<td>vn 1, vn 2</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td>no, no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd movement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58, 59</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>rhythm</td>
<td>crotchet and rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83-84</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>tie</td>
<td>no</td>
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<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>what notes</td>
<td>D and G</td>
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</table>

Table 8b. Lambach: items the same as Bartenstein

1st movement

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<th>part</th>
<th>discrepancy</th>
<th>Lambach</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32-34</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
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</table>

Table 8c. Lambach: items different from all other versions

2nd movement

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<td>vn 2</td>
<td>rhythms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>all strings</td>
<td>rhythm</td>
<td>vn 2 &gt; , others &gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, 32</td>
<td>vn 1</td>
<td>trills</td>
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3rd movement

<table>
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<td>16-24</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
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<tr>
<td>34-38</td>
<td>va, b</td>
<td>ties</td>
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<td>42-48</td>
<td>all strings</td>
<td>ties</td>
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<td>64-72</td>
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<td>80-87</td>
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<td>ties</td>
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<td>103-end</td>
<td>vn 2, va, b</td>
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Observations on the correlation of the sets

The presence of orchestral horn parts in the Öttingen set

It has already been noted that Leopold was in contact with Count Wallerstein, resident at Öttingen (see p. 128). It could be reasonable therefore to conclude that the Öttingen set is his most authentic version (or would be once the large number of copyist’s errors are remedied) and although no version is in his own hand, the other versions have less direct known authenticity. It is a matter for closer investigation, therefore, that this version has parts for orchestral horns, while the copies in Berlin / Vienna, Bartenstein and Lambach do not. It is of particular interest that the versions from Bartenstein and Lambach, which much more closely resemble the Öttingen version than that of Berlin, do not include its orchestral horn parts. The following observations arise.

1. There is no evidence that horn parts were formerly present in the Bartenstein and Lambach sets and have subsequently been lost: the title pages, which are consistent in paper type and handwriting with the parts therein, provide instrumentation lists that do not mention orchestral horns.

2. There are no sections in the versions without orchestral horns where essential musical content is obviously missing, which implies that the work was designed as a complete entity without orchestral horns.

3. The Öttingen orchestral horn parts are in the same hand and on the same paper as the rest of the parts, which suggests that they date from the origin of that set and are not a later addition.

4. That the work is feasible without the orchestral horn parts suggests that either the work was originally conceived without orchestral horns, or that they were intended to be optional. There is nothing written on the Öttingen orchestral horn parts or cover that implies they are optional.

5. The presence of orchestral horn parts in the Öttingen set does not have any noticeable effect on discrepancies between this version and the others. There
is no evidence that notes are altered, for example, because there are orchestral horns either present or absent.

6. Of all the copyists’ errors, omission of a pair of parts is surely not a likely accidental oversight.

7. It is theoretically possible that if the version with orchestral horns was the original version, but a new set of parts was created for a specific performance where horns were not available, copies of the horn parts were not made. Thus the alternatives are:
   a. both the person who prepared the Bartenstein set and the person who prepared the Lambach set took the decision that the orchestral horns could be omitted,
   b. both copies were made thus on the instruction of Leopold himself,
   c. one is a copy of the other.

**Conclusion**

In the absence of more direct information, conjecture must be the guide. It appears most likely that Leopold initially wrote the work without orchestral horns and later had a version made with additional horn parts for use at Öttingen. If this is the case, then the Bartenstein / Lambach versions are the most accurate pre-horns version as, apart from the lack orchestral horns, they most closely resemble the Öttingen set. Excluding discrepancies of ties and articulation, the set at Lambach has only five items that differ from the Öttingen set thus this could be considered the most accurate original manuscript. Each version of these items of discrepancy appear equally likely to be correct: Leopold may have corrected errors found in the Lambach set, or the Öttingen copyist may have introduced new errors.

The Bartenstein set has more discrepancies with the Öttingen set than the Lambach, thus appears to be a slightly less accurate copy. Of the 11 discrepancies between the Bartenstein and the Öttingen set, one concurs with an item in the Lambach set. It could therefore be that the Bartenstein set is a copy of the Lambach parts, with nine errors inadvertently introduced. That six of these Bartenstein discrepancies are reproduced in the Berlin version, alongside another
51 differences, leads to the inference that Berlin is a copy of Bartenstein. All but one of these 51 differences have been faithfully transcribed into the Vienna copy. The Vienna copyist has replaced all the small vertical lines above or below a note (weight or emphasis marks) with staccato dots.

A number of the differences between the Berlin version and Öttingen / Lambach / Bartenstein / Munich group are corrections, particularly to discrepancies with regard to inconsistencies of articulation. For example, a passage where 1st and 2nd violins are rhythmically identical, playing a 3rd apart, has notes slurred in pairs in the 1st violin part, and sometimes in fours in the 2nd violin part: this inconsistency has been retained from Lambach to Öttingen and meticulously reproduced too in the more recent Munich score, despite the inconsistency:

![Musical notation](image)

App. 3 Fig. 1. Leopold Mozart, *Sinfonia Pastorella*, score from Munich, first movement bars 26-29, violin 1 and 2, Inconsistent slurs copied from the Öttingen and the Lambach sets.

This rhythmic motif occurs many times in this movement. As the paired slurs are much more commonly applied to this phrase, the Berlin copy makes the correction and both parts show slurs over the pairs of notes. For comparison, the Bartenstein set has very few slurs: in these bars the 1st violin has the first slur then no more and there are none in the 2nd violin part.

In conclusion, the balance of probability appears to suggest that the most likely original version is that at Lambach and that Leopold may have composed additional orchestral horn parts for the version written for use at the Court of Öttingen, because there was a pair of horn players there. It cannot be deduced
whether this might have been a later idea, or an alternative conceived in parallel in Leopold’s mind; what is clear is that the work is complete without the horn parts and versions were distributed as such. The presence of many corrections in the Berlin version to inconsistencies present in the Öttingen / Lambach parts, though, raises an interesting added dimension. If these corrections and possibly other alterations were made on Leopold’s instruction, their alterations could imply that the Berlin version is to be preferred.

A new edition

In view of the available material, there cannot be one new definitive version. Decisions for a new edition will be made based on the interpretation that the orchestral horn parts in the Öttingen set appear to be an addition, made specifically for that set, to an otherwise complete instrumentation. As the new edition attempts to reproduce Leopold’s original intentions, it will therefore be based on the string parts from Lambach and Öttingen, but without the orchestral horn parts. However, many inconsistencies exist in these versions (noted in Table 1) that require rationalisation. In such cases the Berlin version will be consulted and all inconsistencies will be resolved, using the following criteria:

1. discrepancies of grace notes, lengths of notes and rhythms will be resolved by comparison with parallel passages in the work,
2. issues of articulation and ties will be resolved by the same process, thereafter by comparison with the Berlin version. Further editorial marks required for consistency that are not present in any of the copies will be shown thus: ties and slurs as slashed lines, weight marks in square brackets,
3. it is a matter of conjecture whether recurring similar phrases should have the same articulation: it is possible that Leopold may have intended contrasting articulation. Interference has been minimal in this respect: others may choose to add more than inserted here,
4. ties shown only on the top note of a chord will be added to the lower note, shown with a slash,
5. issues of inconsistent dynamics will be resolved by comparison with all versions. Dynamics missing in all sources will be added in square brackets. Further editorial suggestions will be provided where there is nothing given, for example at the beginning. These will be marked with square brackets,

6. some accidentals and cancellations thereof will be added to avoid ambiguity. In the interests of legibility, instead of putting these items in brackets, the list is given here. They occur in the following bars in the first movement: 1, 3 (both these are shown in pencil in the Munich score), 19, 21, 24, 26, 30, 45 and 47.
La sorpresa dell'Allegro

Leopold Mozart, c.1755
edited by Frances Jones

Sinfonia Pastorella
Photographs of the original manuscripts are provided on the attached CD. They are labelled as follows:

Folder: ‘Leopold Mozart’

Subfolders:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Photograph labels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bartenstein</td>
<td>LM Bartenstein 1 - 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin</td>
<td>LM Berlin 1 - 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambach</td>
<td>LM Lambach 1 - 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munich</td>
<td>LM Munich 1 - 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottingen</td>
<td>LM Ottingen 1 - 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vienna</td>
<td>LM Vienna 1 - 23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 4. Personal UK performance data

Performances in the UK in a formal setting.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of event</th>
<th>Number of occasions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lecture recital</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guest performer in a concert</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentation and workshop for a school / university / festival</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concerto performance with orchestra</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soloist with concert band / silver band / wind ensemble</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The alphorn requested as a representative of the ‘voice of Switzerland’: personal, promotional, and cultural.

1. Those organised by Swiss individuals

| Swiss person’s wedding                                      | 18                  |
| Swiss person’s birthday / wedding anniversary etc.          | 17                  |
| Swiss National Day party (1st August)                       | 5                   |
| Swiss person’s funeral                                      | 2                   |

2. Those organised by official or commercial Swiss organisations

| Events organised by Swiss Tourism, London                    | 9                   |
| Events organised by Swiss businesses in the UK               | 5                   |
| Events organised by the Swiss Embassy                        | 2                   |
| Events organised by other Swiss organisations                | 2                   |
3. Those organised by businesses that require a Swiss flavour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event Description</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For an international cultural event</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For an Alpine-themed event</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For a Swiss-themed event</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For a Swiss cultural event</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the launch of a Swiss-related product</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Performances that bear no relation to Switzerland: novelty and 'the natural'.

1. Those for whom the alphorn is a musical novelty item

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event Description</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Street / party entertainment</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workshops for festivals</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV science show / entertainment show</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Those for whom the alphorn represents the primeval, mother earth, nature or the environment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event Description</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Events related to a location or date</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Events related to the natural environment</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 5. Works that include alphorn-like motifs

This Appendix is a comprehensive list of published works that I have found that include a quotation of a motif reminiscent of material played on an alphorn. However, a number of factors prevent it from being a complete list:

1. it is not possible to locate every piece that has a quotation of an alphorn motif, indeed new works will continue to be written,
2. it is not always possible to be certain that a composer has used an alphorn motif in a composition: this is a personal interpretation,
3. material written for the alphorn is not included.


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**Recordings**


**Scores**


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