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

in the University of Hull

by

Frances Anne Jones, BA (University of Reading)

October 2014

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.

Contents

Illustrations

Tables in the appendices

The 52 tables in Appendix 2, the 41 tables in Appendix 3 and the 4 tables in Appendix 4 are self-explanatory. The tables in Appendix 5 have single numbers and are cross-referenced within that appendix only.

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.

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

---

[1] Titus Livius, *The History of Rome* (reprinted Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, trans. B. O. Forster, 1929) Book 21, 30.
[2] *Oxford English Dictionary*, online (accessed 25 April 2014).
[3] Anthony Baines, *Musical Instruments through the Ages* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966), 278.
[4] Brigitte Geiser, *Das Alphorn in der Schweiz* (Bern: Haupt, 1976), 10. Subsequent books published by this author appear with her married surname, Bachmann-Geiser.

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 Schwiss 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]

---

[5] Franz Schüssele, *Alphorn und Hirtenhorn in Europa* (Friesenheim: Gälfiässler, 2000).

[6] Anthony Baines and Max Peter Baumann, 'Alphorn', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 18 July 2014).

[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.

[10] Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum* (Wittenberg: Wolfenbüttel, 1619), Vol. 2, 33.

[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 ratten
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

---

[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.

[15] Genevieve Dournon, 'Organology', in *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction,* ed. Helen Myers (New York: Norton, 1992), 285.

use	played for tourists, at Swiss events and at alphorn 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 alphorn[17] 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 'alphorn' 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.

[17] Brigitte Bachmann-Geiser, *Das Alphorn vom Lock- zum Rockinstrument* (Bern: Haupt, 1999).

[18] For example Brigitte Geiser, *Das Alphorn in die Schweiz* (Bern: Haupt, 1976); Brigitte Bachmann-Geiser, *Die Volksmusikinstrumente der Schweiz* (Zürich: Atlantis, 1981) and *Volksmusik in der Schweiz* (Zürich: Ringier, 1985).

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).[19] 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'.[20] 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 arpeggiations 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.[21] 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.[22] 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

---

[19] Guy Métraux, *Le Ranz des Vaches* (Lausanne: Edition 24 Heures, 1984).
[20] Timothy Wise 'Yodelling in American Popular Music' (PhD diss., University of Liverpool, 2005), 79.
[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.[23] 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.[24] Music for the posthorn has features of its own: typically it combines an announcement fanfare with an elaborate flourish to finish.[25] 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.[26]

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.[27] 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

---

[23] For example, Richard Wagner, *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, end of Act 2.

[24] For example, John Philip Sousa, *67 Bugle Calls as practised by the Army and Navy of the United States* (1886, reprint New York: Carl Fischer, 1998).

[25] Timothy Freeze, 'The Topicality of Nostalgia: Multiplicity of reference in the Posthorn Solos of Mahler's Third' (paper, Gustav Mahler Centenary Conference, University of Surrey, 9 July 2011).

[26] For example, Pierre Chambry, *Trompe de Chasse. Fanfares de Circonstances et d'Animaux* (Bruxelles: Gerfaut, 1994).

[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),

---

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

[29] Biographical detail given in *Das Alphorn, von Lock- zum Rockinstrument* (Bern: Haupt, 1999).

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 herdsmen'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 herdsmen'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*.

Pierre Grandjean, *Le Cor des Alpes* (Lausanne: Edition Favre, 2011). 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,[1] 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 Rusticum*, 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:

> *A partu decem diebus proximis non producunt ex haris matrem, praeterquam potum. Praeteritis decem diebus sinunt exire pastum in propincum locum villae, ut crebro reditu 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.

locum, ubi hordeum fusum in longitudine. ... Ideo ad bucinam convenire dicuntur, ut silvestri loco dispersi ne dispereant.[2]

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.[3]

---

[2] Marcus Terentius Varro, *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.

[3] Polybius, *Histories*, trans. Evelyn Shuckburgh (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1927), 12:313-4.

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.
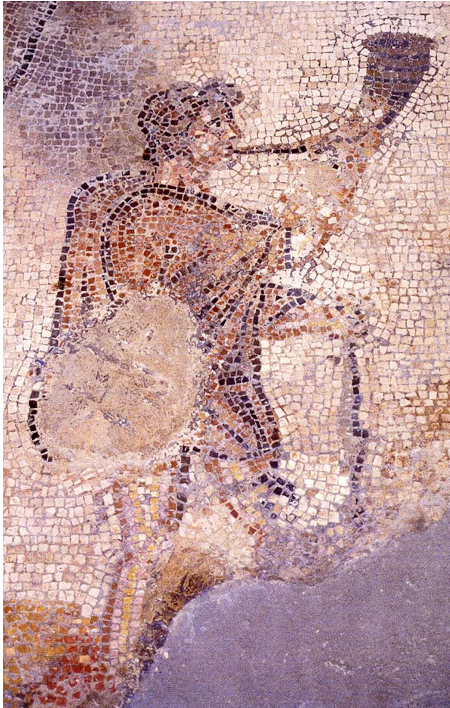
Fig. 1.1. Herdsman plays a horn in one of a series of rural scenes depicted in the Roman mosaics at Boscéaz, Switzerland. Photo: Frances Jones.

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, & lituū alpinum inflauimus (longum ferè ad pedes undecim [sic.] duobus lignis modicè incuruis & excauatis compactum, & uiminibus scitè obligatū)* …[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]

Fig. 1.2. An alphorn player leads his animals to the high pastures in a mid-eighteenth-century prayer book. The text beneath is a prayer for his safe-keeping. Abraham Kyburtz, *Theologia Naturalis*, Bern, 1754.

---

[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 *ni* (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

---

[9]   Personal communication, Johanna Rogers from Büntenbock, Lower Saxony, 7 May 2013.
[10] Varro, *De Rerum Rusticum*, 337.
[11] Alexander Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica, Hymns and Incantations collected in the
      Highlands of Scotland in the Last Century* (1899, reprinted Edinburgh: Floris, 1994), 335.

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.[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.

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:

> Little Boy Blue, come blow up your horn:
> The sheep's in the meadow, the cow's in the corn ...

The earliest known printed version of this rhyme is found in *The Famous Tommy Thumb's Little Story Book* of 1760,[13] but it was familiar before that:

---

[12] Information sheet, Deutsches Hirtenmuseum, Hersbruck, August 2012.

[13] Iona and Peter Opie, *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 99.

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.[14]

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.[15] 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 feire trouver leur desjuné bon...* [16]
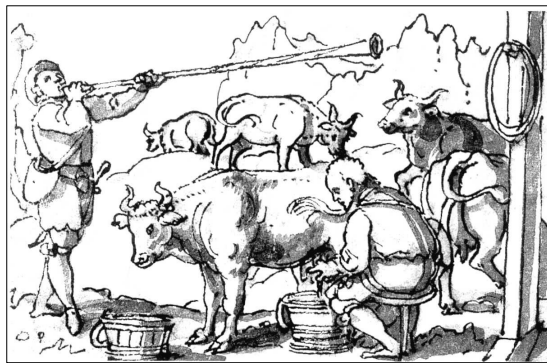
Fig. 1.4. A herdsman plays to the cows during milking. One of a set of tableaux that depict the life of the herdsmen, by Daniel Lindtmayer, 1601.[17]

---

[14] William Shakespeare, *The Complete Works*, eds. S. Wells and G. Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 928.

[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.'

[17] Franz Schüssele, *Alphorn und Hirtenhorn in Europa* (Friesenheim: Gälfiäßler, 2000), 49.

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.[18] A melody was played every evening at sunset in order to let the villagers down in the valleys know that all was well.[19] 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.[20]

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:

---

[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.

[20] Gottlieb Jakob Kuhn, ed., *Sammlung von Schweizer Kühreien und alten Volkliedern* (Bern: Burgdorfer, 1818), copper engraving, title page.

Auch findet man gar lange Trummetten von Past also fest und dichte zusammen ineinander gewunden darmit die Schaper aussm Voigt und Schweizerlande (die Wästerwälder genand) in den Städten herümbher 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 Berner Oberland befinden sich ungefähr 12 bis 14 Stationen für Alphornbläser: beim Staubbach; oberhalb Dorf Wengen, gegenüber Mettenberg; oben am Reichenbach; oben am Alpbigel, gegenüber dem Eiger, auf dem Wege nach Wengen-Scheidegg, von Grindelwald aus; an der Strasse nach Grindelwald, direct am Ufer der Lütschine; zwischen der Rosenlaui und Scheidegg; oben auf dem Faulhorn, am Fusse des Gipfels; auf der Heimwehfluh, bei Interlaken, u.s.w.[24]

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'.

[22] Hans-Jürg Sommer, *Eine Auswertung und Interpretation historischer Quellen zur Alphornmelodik* (Oensingen: self-published, 2010), 31.

[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]
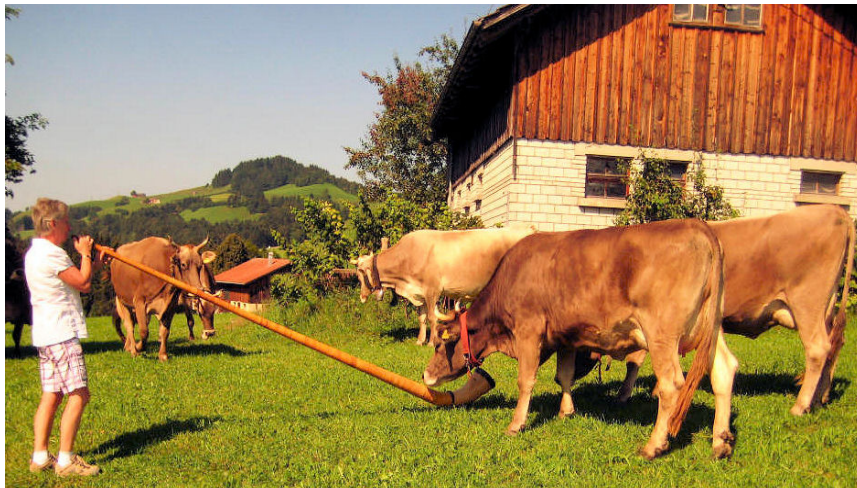
Fig. 1.6. Swiss cows are attracted when low notes are played on an alphorn.
The author, Appenzell, Switzerland. Photo: Lena Frischknecht, July 2009.

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

---

[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.[27]

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 ori applicatur apertura 1½ pollicis, interne 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 accomodant.*[28]

---

[27] Kurt Janetzky and Bernhard Brüchle, *The Horn* (London: Batsford, 1977), 21.

[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.'

Fig. 1.7. Alphorn and melody reproduced in Capeler's
Pilati Montis Historia, 1767.[29]

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.

---

[29] *Ibid.*, Appendix table 5.

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.

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

Fig. 1.10. A postcard of unknown date from the French Alps
shows how a tree is sawn to make an alphorn.

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.[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

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.
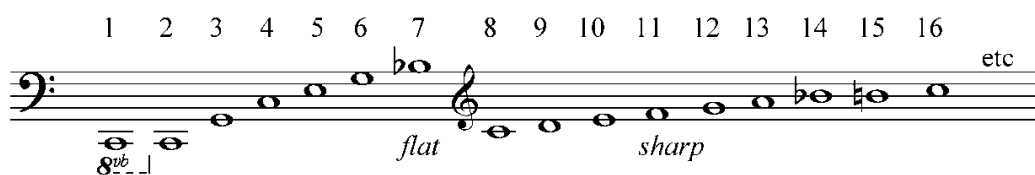
Fig. 1.11. The harmonic series.

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

(London: Longmans, 1895), 21-25 and for the alphorn by Sommer in *Quellen zur Alphornmelodik*, 10-21.

[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.[33] Comment is often made on this as a reference to rustic music, although I am unaware of an explanation offered for it.[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 *Kühreien* or *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 *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.[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 *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 what are described as 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.[36]

---

[33] For example, in Leopold Mozart's *Bauernhochzeit*, 1755.
[34] For example, in Geoffrey Chew, 'The Christmas Pastorella in Austria, Bohemia and Moravia' (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 1968), 107.
[35] Personal communication, Lena Frischknecht, Appenzell, 20 July 2012.
[36] Kuhn, ed., *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 Volkliedern, 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 Schweiss* (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 empsänglich 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 Volkliedern* (Bern:
Burgdorfer, 1812): 'The *Kühreihen*, 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 *Kühreihen* 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
Kühreihen'. 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.

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.

---

[1] Geoffrey Chew, 'Pastorella', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 9 November 2013).
[2] Mark Germer, 'The Austro-Hungarian Pastorella and Pastoral Mass to *c*.1780' (PhD diss., New York, 1989), 64-5.

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.[3] 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 school-masters, 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.[4]

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

---

[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', *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 *tuba pastoralis* on the cover but many parts are missing including that of the *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,[9] 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.[10] 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

---

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

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

[10] For example in these 25 works, this either is known to be or is possibly the case with Daubrawský, Kollovrátek, 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.

Composer	Dates	Work	Provenance	Title
Dominico Czerni	1730-1766	1759	Prague	*Offertorium Pastorale*
Ferdinand Daubrawský (3 works)[11]	1747-1829		Lomnice nad Popelkou	*Pastorella Czeska*
František Dobravský			Hořice	*Pastorella*
(?František) Duschek	?1731-1799		Pelhřimov	*Pastorella*
Jan Augustin Fibiger	1760-1851			*Pro Nativitate Domini*
František Václav Haberman(n)	1706-1783		Eger (now Cheb)	*Motetto pastoralni II*
Holetschek				*Pastorella*
František Václav Jech	b.1776		Rovensko	*Mottetto*
Tomáš Norbert Kautník (2 works)	1698-1755		Polička	*Pastorella de Nativitate Do; Offertorium Pastorale*
Tomáš Kollovrátek (3 works)	1763-1831	1810	Choceň, Holice	*Offertorium Pastorale, Offertorium… 2do Pastorella*
Joseph (?Damián) Křížek				*Offertorium Pastorale…*
Jiři Ignác Linek (2 works)	1725-1791		Bakov nad Jizerou	*Pastorella*
Josef Erasmus Matějka			Ústí nad Orlicí	*Pastorella*

---

[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.

Matiegka		1833	Prague	*Pastorala*
Daniel František Milčínský	1732-1808		Rožďalovice	*Offertorium Pastorale*
Josef Ondřej Nowotný	1778-1856		Želiv	*Offertorium Pastorale*
Tadeáš Petipeský		1761	Přeštice	*Motteto de nativitate…*
Jakub Jan Ryba	1765-1815		Rožmitál pod Třemšínem	*Pastoral Offertorium*
Josepho Štietina	*c.*1700-1750		Ústí nad Orlicí	*Pastorella Nativitate…*

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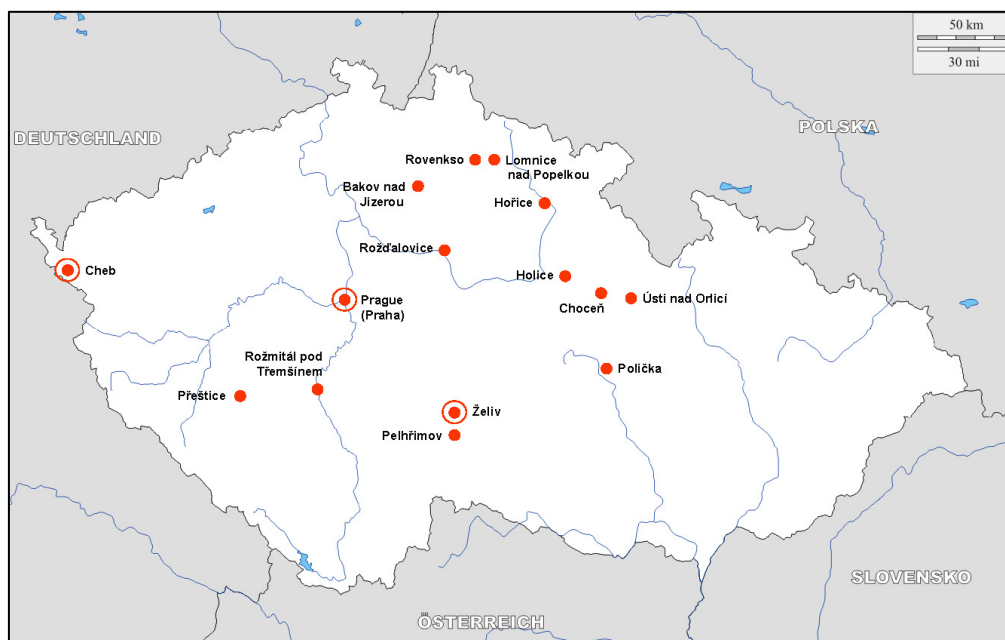
Fig. 2.1. Known sources of the works that include parts for herdsmen's horns in the manuscripts in the České Muzeum Hudby, Prague. Monasteries are shown with an additional ring. Map background showing the present-day Czech Republic: d maps.com.

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

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*.[12]

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

Composer/work	Name of herdsman's horn[13]	Voices and other instruments used
Czerni	*Tuba Pastorali / Pastoralis*	CATB,[14] vn 1, vn 2, va, fundamento
Daubrawský (1)	*Tuba Pastorica / Pastoricia*	CATB, hn 1, hn 2, vn 1, vn 2, timp, org
Daubrawský (2)	*Tromba / Tramba Pastoralis*	CAB, vn 1, vn 2, org
Daubrawský (3)	*Tromba Pastoralis*	CATB, hn 1, hn 2, vn 1, vn 2, org
Dobravský	*Tuba Pastorallis / Pastoralis*	SCATB,1020:2010,[15] bass flugelhorn, vne, org
Duschek	*Tuba pastori / pastoricia*	CATB, chorus, fl, vn 1, vn 2, org
Fibiger	*Tuba Pastoricia / Pastoralis*	clarino 1, clarino 2, princ, march, timp [i.e. 2 high trumpets, principal trumpet, marching drums, timp]

---

[12] Geoffrey Chew, in *Grove Music Online*, *s.v.* 'Pastorella', uses the phrase 'tuba pastoralis or alphorn' (accessed 2 March 2012).

[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.

[14] Voices: S: Soprano, C: Canto, A: Alto, T: Tenore, B: Basso. Strings: vn: violin, va: viola, vne: violone. Other: org: organ, cemb: cembalo, fundamento: continuo (original spellings are 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.

Habermann	*Tuba pastoritia*	CATB, vn 1, vn 2, org
Holetschek	*Tuba Pastoralis*	CAB, vn 1, vn 2, vne, org
Jech	*Tuba Pastoris / Pastorica*	CATB, 0020:2000, clarino 1, clarino 2, vn 1, vn 2, va, vne, timp, org
Kautník (1)	*Tuba Pastore*	CATB, 0020:2000, vn 1, vn 2, org
Kautník (2)	*Tuba Pastoralis*	CATB, 0020:2000, vn 1, vn 2, org
Kollovrátek (1)	*Tuba Pastoritia*	CATB, 0020:2000, clarino 1, clarino 2, timp, org
Kollovrátek (2)	*Tuba Pastoralis*	CATB, 0020:2000, vn 1, vn 2, vne, org
Kolovrátek[16] (3)	*Tuba Pastorellis / Principal*	CA, 0020:2000, vn 1, vn 2, timp, org
Křížek	*Tuba Pastoritia / Pastorela*	CATB, vn 1, vn 2, va, org
Linek (1)	*Tuba Pastorallis*	B, vn 1, vn 2, org
Linek (2)	*Tuba pastoralis*	AB, vn 1, vn 2, org
Matějka	*Tuba pastoralis*	TB, vn piccolo, vn 1, vn 2, org
Matiegka	*Tuba Pastoralis / Posthorn*	CA, hn 1, hn 2, vn 1, vn 2, org
Milčínský	*Tromba Pastore*	CATB, vn 1, vn 2, org
Nowotný	*Tromba Pastorale*	CATB, 1020:2000, flugelhorn, vn 1, vn 2, va, vne, org
Petipeský	*Tuba Pastoritia*	CATB, vn 1, vn 2, cemb, org
Ryba	*Tuba Pastoralis*	CATB, 0020:2000, vn 1, vn 2, org
Štietina	*Tuba Pastoralis*	CATB, vn 1, vn 2, vne, org

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

---

[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.

[17] Chew, 'The Christmas Pastorella', 218.

[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).

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

Composer/ work	Key	Harmonics used	*Tuba pastoralis* part observations
Czerni	D	3, 4, 5, 6, 8	bugle-like calls, with much florid additional passagework added in pencil
Daubrawský (1)	D	3, 4, 5, 6	bugle-like solo calls, alternating with the orchestral horns
Daubrawský (2)	D	3, 4, 5, 6	bugle-like part, used among the other instrumental parts
Daubrawský (3)	D	3, 4, 5, 6	bugle-like calls, alternating with horns
Dobravský	D	3, 4, 5, 6	simple bugle-like calls. It doubles, or may be an alternative to, the bass flugelhorn part. At times doubled by horn 1
Duschek	D	3, 4, 5, 6	some short bugle-like calls within the texture, then a brief florid solo passage
Fibiger	C	3, 4, 5, 6, 8	*tuba pastoralis* the primary and most complex part, with bugle-like calls
Habermann	D	3, 4, 5, 6, 8	virtuosic solo part
Holetschek	C	3, 4, 5, 6, 8	sounds the tolling bell of midnight, twice. Additional bugle-like solo passages
Jech	D	3, 4, 5, 6	mostly silent. Two passages of florid solo writing
Kautník (1)	D	3, 4, 5, 6 (plus supertonic above 4)	a few separate bars outlining an arpeggio, otherwise long held notes in the manner of an orchestral horn part
Kautník (2)	C	3, 4, 5, 6	bugle-like calls, sometimes solo, sometimes among the other instruments
Kollovrátek (1)	C	3, 4, 5, 6	bugle-like solos
Kollovrátek (2)	C	3, 4, 5, 6, 8	bugle-like solos
Kolovrátek (3)	C	3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10	plays bass or basic horn line, and a few bugle call sections marked 'solo'
Křížek	D	full scale and accidentals	high florid scale parts, interspersed with bugle calls in various keys

Linek (1)	C	4, 5, 6 plus 8-12	florid solo phrases interspersed with harmony notes within the instrumental texture
Linek (2)	D	3, 4, 5, 6, 8	bugle-like florid fanfare passages, replicated in the other instrumental parts
Matějka	F	3, 4, 5, 6 (plus supertonic above 4)	normal arpeggiating orchestral horn part
Matiegka	G	3, 4, 5, 6	bugle-like solos
Milčínský	D	3, 4, 5, 6, 7	bugle-like solos
Nowotný	G	3, 4, 5, 6	elaborate melodic solos, some within the texture. Alternative part written for flugelhorn
Petipeský	G	3, 4, 5, 6	virtuosic arpeggio writing, replicated in the other instrumental parts
Ryba	F	3, 4, 5, 6	substantial virtuosic bugle-like solos
Štietina	D	4, 5, 6	bugle-like solos, also a representation of the midnight bell

Fig. 2.2. *Pastýřskâ trouba*, Czech, nineteenth century. Approx. 3ft long. České Muzeum Hudby, Prague. Photo: Frances Jones, 2011.

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.[19]

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

---

[19] Elisa Koehler, 'Bach Trumpet Parts, a Compendium', *International Trumpet Guild Journal* (January 2008), 17.

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*[20]

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.[21] 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

---

[20] České Muzeum Hudby catalogue number MXXVIIIF242.
[21] Gottfried Johann Dlabacz, *Künstler-Lexicon für Böhmen* (Prague: Haase, 1815) *s.v.* Czerni, Vol. 1 col. 309.

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*.[22]

The narrative is distributed between the voices as follows:[23]

Alto	*Io Sion consolare,*	O Sion [i.e. Christians] be comforted!
	applaude Jerusalem, lem,	applaud, Jerusalem
	jube Deo resonare,	resound to God
	qui natus in Betlehem,	who is born in Bethlehem
	Jerusalem,	Jerusalem
Tutti	*Gaude Jerusalem,*	Rejoice, Jerusalem!
	exsulta Betlehem,	Praise, Bethlehem!
	Jerusalem, Jerusalem, lem, lem,	Jerusalem
	Io Sion consolare,	(etc.)
	applaude 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,*	
	applaude 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*	
	applaude 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.

Tuba pastoralis

Offertorium Pastorale

Dominico Czerni
Transcription Frances Jones

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)[24]

Daubrawský (otherwise Doubravský), 1747-1829, was cantor at Lomnice nad Popelkou,[25] a typical little Czech village.[26] 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: [27]

Basso	*Vzhůru pastuškové,*	Arise, shepherds,
	do Betléma půjdeme,	we shall go to Bethlehem,
	co nového pasiruje	this new event
	ať také vidíme.	let us see.

---

[24] České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MVIIID110.

[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.

	Narodil se tam Spasitel,	The Saviour has been born,
	v hospodě v chlivečku,	in a small stable,
	nemá, kde by pohodlně	he has nowhere to comfortably
	položil svou hlavičku.	lay his little head.
	Leží mezi hovádkami,	He lies between the beasts,
	vola a oslička.	the ox and the ass.
	Jozef starý jej kolébá	Joseph rocks the cradle
	a jeho matička.	and his mother too.
	Muzikanti, nemeškejte	Musicians, hurry
	zahráti Ježíšku,	to play to baby Jesus,
	hodně hřmotně a vesele,	very loudly and cheerfully,
	nějakou novou písničku.	a new song.
Alto	*Přestaňte, muzikanti, na housle hráti,*	Stop, musicians, playing the violin,
	nechejte nás Ježíškovi také zaspívati.	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 znamenati,*	What will it all mean?
	slyším hráti a spívati,	We hear music and singing:
	Sláva buď na Výsostech Bohu	Glory be to God on high
	a na zemi pokoj lidu.	and on earth peace among people.
Basso	*Nediv se, bratře milý,*	Do not be surprised, dear brothers,
	nemeškej tuto chvíli	come, hurry,
	malého Ježíška přivítati,	welcome little Jesus,
	jemu čest a chválu, též díky, vzdávati.	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,	We welcome you together,
	náš Spasiteli,	our Saviour,
	neb se nám skrze tebe	for us all
	stalo všem spasení.	you will be our salvation.
	Z nebe si na svět stoupil, (not Tenore)	From heaven you came into the world,
	to pro naše spasení,	for our salvation,
	bys nás, hříšné, vykoupil, (not Tenore)	in order to redeem us sinners,
	Ježíšku přemilý.	most beloved baby Jesus.
	(twice)	
	Vzhůru tedy, pastuškové,	Therefore arise, shepherds,
	půjdeme k Betlému,	go to Bethlehem,
	zahrajeme Ježíškovi,	let us play to the baby Jesus,
	dítěti malému.	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]

Fig. 2.4. Daubrawský, *Pastorella Czeska* (1), *tuba pastoricia* part.

---

[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.

Ferdinand Daubrawský, *Pastorella Czeska* (2)[29]

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 *tramba* [*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 zvěstuji vám,*	Good news to proclaim to you,
	že jest se narodil Spasitel nám.	that our Saviour is born.
	Z čisté Panny narozený,	Born of the pure Virgin,
	nám zajisté k potěšení	we truly rejoice that he
	a našim duším k spasení.	brings salvation to our souls.
Basso	*Hej, hej. Poslyšte noviny*	Hey, hey! Listen to the news
	pastuškové milí,	dear shepherds,
	což anjel zvěstoval,	this angel has proclaimed
	radostně prospíval,	in cheerful song
	že se nám narodil náš Spasitel,	that our Saviour is born,
	všeho světa Vykupitel.	Redeemer of the world.
Alto	*Já, ačkoliv již snad poslední,*	And finally me,
	slyším přeradostné noviny, anjelské spívání,	I hear the good news in the angel's song,
	bohu čest vzdávání.	giving honour to God.
	Anjelské spívání, chválu, čest vzdávání.	Angels sing praise and honour.
	Poďmež i my spolu a klekněme,	Let us go together and kneel,

[29] České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MVIIID111.

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

Tutti	*Tebe Boha chválíme,*	God be praised,
Chorus	*vděčně 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*.

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 půjdeme,*	Go to Bethlehem,
	dary sebou vezmeme,	take your gifts,
	Ježíškovi miláčkovi	sweet baby Jesus
	je darujeme.	is there.
	Tuhle máš, můj Ježíšku,	Here for you, my baby Jesus,
	dvě ovčičky,	two little lambs,
	zahřej s níma tvé malé	with which you can warm
	outlé nožičky	your tiny feet
	by ti zima nebylo,	to keep you warm,
	a seno nepíchalo	and so that the hay
	rozmilé ručičky.	does not scratch your pretty hands.

Basso	*Já též půjdu k Betlému,*	I too will go to Bethlehem,
	v nově narozeného,	to the new-born child,
	k Ježíškovi, miláčkovi	to see the baby Jesus,
	se podívati.	to see the sweet child.
	Nemeškejte pastýři	Hurry, shepherds,
	stáda svého přivítat	leave your flock to greet
	Spasitele lidu všeho.	the Saviour of all people.
	Který jest narozený,	He is born,
	a to s přečisté Panny	and with the Virgin most pure
	nám k potěšení.	let us all rejoice.

Tenore	*Já taky, já taky,*	Me too, me too,
	půjdu s vámi pastuši	I'll go with you shepherds,
	na Ježíška se divati,	to see Jesus,
	jej přivítati,	welcome him,
	vítáme tě, Ježíšku,	we welcome you, baby Jesus,
	náš přemilý miláčku,	our sweet dear one,
	neb si se pro nás vtělil,	bring us freedom,
	abys nás vysvobodil.	you will free us.

Canto	*Co pak já dám,*	What then shall I give,
	když nic nemám,	for I have nothing
	malému Ježíšku?	for the baby Jesus?
	Kdybych věděl,	If I knew
	že by jedl,	what he would like to eat,
	uvařil bych kašičku,	I would cook porridge,
	nakrmil bych outlé dítě	to feed to the little child,
	tak sprostným dárečkem,	a simple gift,
	abych po smrti byl učiněn	so that when it is prepared
	jeho miláčkem,	for the beloved child,
	nes bych jej do Betléma	I would carry it to Bethlehem
	k Ježíšku malému,	to give to baby Jesus,

	abych spatřil a vyzdvěděl	to see whether
	zdaž zima jemu.	he is cold.
Tutti	*Narodil se Spasitel,*	The Saviour is born,
	radujme se,	let us rejoice,
	všeho světa Vykupitel,	Redeemer of the world,
	radujme se.	let us rejoice.
	Spívejme mu vesele	Let us sing
	s ochotností.	with cheerfulness.
	Slušnou chválu vzdávejme,	We gladly praise you
	vší radostí.	with all joy.
	Zdráv buď, náš Spasiteli	Hail, our Saviour,
	který si narozený	he is born
	z přečisté Panny.	of the Virgin most pure.
	Vzhůru pastuškové	Arise, shepherds,
	k Betlému,	to go to Bethlehem,
	zahrejte Ježíšku	to play to baby Jesus,
	malému.	the infant.
Tutti (though occasionally Tenore and Basso are silent)	*Usni, usni, náš Ježíšku,*	Sleep, sleep, our baby Jesus,
	polož tvou malou	rest your little head
	všechnu rozmilou	most holy one,
	a přesvatou hlavičku.	sleep well.
	Usni libě, náš poklade,	Sleep well, our treasure,
	Ježíšku nejkrásnější.	beautiful baby Jesus.
	Matička tě kolébá,	Your mother rocks you,
	tobě líbezně spívá,	singing sweetly,
(no T, B)	*usni libě, můj poklade,*	Sleep well, our treasure,
	synáčku nejmilejší.	most beloved son.
	Přijmi od nás letošní čas,	Accept from us now
(no T, B)	*od nás všech konanou musicu,*	this music we play together,
	tu tobě darujem	we give to you
	i lásky obětujem,	in love and sacrifice,
	nejmilejší, nejkrásnější,	sweetest, most beautiful,
	narozený Ježíšku.	new-born baby Jesus.

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.

Fig. 2.6. Daubrawský, *Pastorella Czeska* (3), *tromba pastoralis* part.

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:

---

[31] České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MVIIID187.
[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 povětří 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, staří mladí plesaj' svým zvukem,*	Everyone is hurrying to Bethlehem, old and young dance to the music,
	5.	*Protož i my také vesele pějem, příští 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,*	Know that the Saviour is born, Redeemer of the whole world,
plus Basso		*v Betlemě městě, vězte, to jistě, vězte to jiště.*	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.
[35] Berkovec in *České Pastorely* gives Franz Xaver, p. 116 and František, with a question mark, p. 235.
[36] Milan Poštolka, 'Dušek, František Xaver', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 22 November 2013).

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:

Tenore (recitative, with chords and short instrumental punctuation between some phrases)	*Zhůru chaso, zhůru chaso, zhůru vstávejte, dvanáctá hodina byla, stáda shánějte. Zhůru chaso, zhůru vstávejte. Stáda dohromady shánějte, divné věci se dnes dějou.*	Arise, arise young men, wake up, the midnight hour is passing. Arise, get up. Gather your flocks together, amazing things are happening today.
	Kterak obstojíme, strachy a hrůzou, nebe celé se otvírá, velkým bleskem zem přikrývá město Betlehem celé v ohni plápolá a snad bez soudu spáleno je docela.	As we stand, in fear and trembling, the heavens open, great lightning strikes the earth and the town of Bethlehem is ablaze with the fire and without Divine authority may be burning to the ground.
Basso (recitative)	*Ach, co je to za věci nové, snad se přiblížili již poslední dnové.*	Oh, what new and strange things, perhaps the Day of Judgement has come.
Tenore (recitative)	*To jsou věci nevídaný, ba nikdy neslýchaný.*	These are unprecedented things, never seen before.
Basso (recitative)	*Vstaň Matouši, vstaň ty, Janeku, vstávej brzy Mikši,*	Arise Matt, you too, Jack, get up quickly Micky,

58

	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,
	zvěstuji vám věci nové,	I bring glad tidings,
	zvěstuji vám radost	I bring news of great joy,
	zdávna 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 slámě,	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 srdcem 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 Daubrawský's parts: these are more virtuosic and call for more technical skill.

Fig. 2.8. Duschek, *Pastorella*, *tuba pastoricia* part.

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 drums[40] 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.

Fig. 2.9. Fibiger, *Pro Nativitate Domini*, *tuba pastoricia / pastoralis* part.

---

[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 narizení Páně* (for the Birth of Christ) appears on CD *Czech Pastorellas*, Harmonia Mundi PR250019, 1992.

[39] Berkovec, *České Pastorely*, 114.

[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] Česke Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXIF8.
[42] *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2007) Vol. 8, 354.

Tutti	*Vive ergo nostuere,*	Living One, look on us
	vive ergo nostuere,	
	bone pastor domine,	Good Shepherd, Lord,
	nostri semper curam gere	always carry our cares,
	vive puer optime,	O greatest living Child.
	vive puer optime -me -me -me	etc.
	nostri semper curam gere,	
	vive puer optime,	
	vive puer optime -me -me -me	
	vive puer optime,	
	vive puer nostuere,	
	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!	

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*.

Motetto pastoralni II

Tuba pastoritia in D

Frant. Vac. Haberman(n)
transcribed Frances Jones

Fig. 2.10. Habermann, *Motetto pastoralni II*,
transcription of the *tuba pastoritia* part.

Holetschek, *Pastorella*[43]

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'e bjgi neb traubigj*' (the clock strikes the
hour).[44] 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*.

---

[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.

Canto and Alto	*Gloria gloria in excelsis Deo* *Gloria gloria in excelsis Deo* *et in terra pax hominibus* *bonae voluntatis.* *Gloria gloria in excelsis Deo*	Glory to God on high and on earth, peace to all men of good will.
	(the clocks strike)	
Basso	*Vy milý pastýřové,* *odbila dvanáctá hodina.* *V té době jest Syn Boží* *narozený z jedné prosté panny,* *a to v Betlémě v chlévě.*	Listen, dear shepherds, the twelfth hour has struck. At this moment the Son of God is born of a simple virgin, in Bethlehem in a stable.
Canto and Alto	*Gloria gloria in excelsis Deo*	
Alto	*Slyš, slyš, slyš,* *jak anjelé spívají* *a pastýřům zvěstují,* *jak oni spívají,* *čest Bohu jak vzdávají,* *do Betléma pospíchají* *k nově narozenému.*	Hear, hear, hear, hear the angels sing proclaiming to the shepherds, as they sing, giving praise to God, go quickly to Bethlehem to the newborn.
Tutti	*Vy milý pastýřové pospěšte,* *v této době* *to malé děťátko přivítat,* *jemu dary obětovat,* *čest a chválu vzdávat,* *pobožně jemu spívat* *laudamus te,* *benedicimus te,* *adoramus te,* *glorificamus te,* *tobě, Ježíšku.*	You, dear shepherds, hurry at this time to welcome this little baby, to bring him gifts, give honour and praise, sing to him with the holy words we praise you, we bless you, we adore you, we glorify you, 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*[45]

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.[46] 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

---

[45] České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXF198.
[46] *Česko Slovenský Hudební Slovník* (Praha: Státní Hudební Vydavatelství, 1963) *s.v.* Jech, Vol. 1, 584.

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.

Tutti	*Ježíšku, náš rozmilý Spasiteli,*	Jesus, our beloved Saviour,
	k tobě my přicházíme v tuto chvíli,	we come to you at this time,
	chceme čest, chválu vzdávati,	we want to give you praise,
	z příští tvého radost míti,	and rejoice in your coming;
	přijmi od nás dary malé,	accept our small gifts,
	které v musice konáme,	that we give you in music,
	tak tebe, dítě spanilé,	to you, baby full of grace,
	srdcem i ústy chválíme.	may our hearts and mouths give praise.
	Vzhůru, vy muzikanti, hodně hrejte,	Arise, musicians, make music,
	na všecky inštrumenty chválu vzdejte.	give praise on all the instruments.
Canto and Alto	*Franto, ty hodně hřmotně a vesele drbej basu,*	Franto, on the loud and cheerful bass,
Tenore and Basso	*Valdhorny, hlas vydejte a vzbuďte ospalou chasu.*	Horns, start playing, and wake up the sleepy lot!
Canto and Alto	*Tak půjdeme Ježíškovi čest, chválu prospěvovat.*	They will give honour to the baby Jesus.
Tenore and Basso	*Srdce naše, též i duši budeme obětovat*	Our hearts and souls we will also offer.
Tutti	*Přijmi od nás, Ježíšku, letošní čas,*	Accept now from us, baby Jesus,
	až víc umět budeme, přijdeme zas.	our humble but sincere offerings.
	Buď tisíckrát pozdravený,	Be greeted a thousand times,
	že ses ráčil z čisté panny	that you have deigned to be born
	pro nás, hříšné, naroditi,	of a pure virgin,
	bys mohl všechny spasiti.	for us sinners, for our salvation.

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.

Fig. 2.13. Church of St. Francis of Assisi, Choceň,
where Kautník was organist for 46 years. Photo: Frances Jones, 2011.

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.
[48] Claire Novak, 'Thomáš Norbert Koutník' (MA thesis, University of Masaryk, Brno, 2008).

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.

Tutti throughout, except a few bars in which Basso echoes Tenore. 3 verses.	1. *Sem pastýři, vesele pospěšte a poďte, směle běžte, běžte, běžte čerstvě, potom jděte spěšným krokem k Betlému, městečku malému.*	Here, shepherds, hurry, come joyfully, boldly go, go, go without fear, go quickly to Bethlehem, a little town.
	Tam spatříte a uzříte všickni pravého Mesiáše jenž jest, jenž jest Spasení vaše.	There you will all see the true Messiah who has come to save you.
	2. *Tam odpočívá v jeslech, matka, pěstoun opatruje jej, zde jej, zde plenkami přikrývá, vůl, osel zahřívá malého, však Pána mocného.*	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.
	On v pokoře, v pokoře nesnáze pro vaše Spasení snáší (pro) vás váš hřích smazati snaží.	He in humility, is suffering for our salvation, to wash away our sins.
	3. *Blíž k Betlému přistupte, dary Pánu obětujte, jemu, jemu, jemu předkládejte. O milost žádejte našeho Pána vždy dobrého.*	Come to Bethlehem, bring gifts to the Lord, him, him, him, presents. Ask him for mercy our Lord who is always good.
	On vyslyší, vyslyší, uslyší srdce volání, pak dá, pak dá své požehnání.	He will hear, will hear, and will listen to the heart's call, then give, then give his blessing.

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.

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

Tomáš Norbert Kautník, *Offertorium Pastorale*[49]

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.

Tutti	*Gloria, Gloria*	Glory
	in excelsis Deo,	to God on high.
	in excelsis Deo.	
	Nuž tedy pastýřové, všichni poběhněme,	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;

---

[49] Česke Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXXIXB187.

Uvidíme děťátko, prosté pacholátko, We will find the little child, our Lord,
což to bude vemte hude našemu Paňátko. we must take our instruments,
což to bude vemte hude našemu Paňátko. we must take our instruments.

Všichni honem najednou dary sebou nesme Hurry all, we must take our gifts
uhlídáme, kde co máme, hodně již hybejme, collect our things and hurry,
uhlídáme, kde co máme, hodně již hybejme. collect our things and hurry.

Vemte sebou píšťăly, všelijake dudy Let's take our whistles and various bagpipes
najednou začneme tomu novému králi. we must go now to see the new King.
Tobě všichni z ochotnosti All of us want to give gifts to you;
dáváme dary a příjmi nás všechny accept us all
do nebeského království. into the heavenly kingdom.
Amen. *Amen.*

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.

Offertorium Pastorale

Tuba pastoralis

Tomas Norbert Kautník
transcribed Frances Jones

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 Kolovrátek (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 Kolowratek from Meziříčí (around 30 miles from Choceň) who sang with an outstanding soprano voice at the monastery of Olomouc in 1737. Dlabacz, *Künstler-Lexicon,* Vol. 2, col. 104-5.

[53] Alexander Jones, ed. *Jerusalem Bible*. (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1966).

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:

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

---

[54] The use of this melody is discussed by Geoffrey Chew in 'The Christmas Pastorella', 207.

Cognovit bos et asinus	The ox and the ass knew
quod puer erat Dominus.	that this child was the Lord.
Reges de Saba veniunt,	Kings come from Sheba,
aurum thus mirham offerunt.	offering gold, frankincense and myrrh.
Alleluja.	*Alleluia.*
In hoc natali (not T, B)	On this joyful birthday
natali gaudio.	praise to the birth.
Laetamini in Domino,	Be glad …
in hoc novo Anno.	
Laudetur Sancta Trinitas	Praised be the Holy Trinity
benedicamus Domino.	let us bless the Lord.
Laetamini in Domino	Be glad …
in hoc novo Anno.	

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 pastoritia* part.

Tomáš Kollovrátek, *Offertorium pro Festis Natalitijs*[55]

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, pospěžme 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:

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

---

[55] České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXID94.

Frances Jones   Alphorn

Gloria, gloria.

Gloria, gloria.

Canto
and
Alto

Nuž, my všichni pospolu,
pospěšme my k Betlému,
panáčkovi malému hojné

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

Tutti

dary dejme mu,
nuž, my všickni pospolu,
pospěšme my k Betlému,
Panáčkovi malému hojné
dary dejme mu.

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

Já jemu, já jemu
daruji to malé jehňátko
i také to tlusté, tlusté telátko,
to kůzlátko.

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

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

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.

Canto
and
Alto

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

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

Tutti

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

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.

Canto
and
Alto

Spívejme mu Gloria, ať se všudy rozlihá,
rozlíhá, há rozlíhá

Let *Gloria* resound for ever,
resound, resound.

Tenore
and
Basso

sláva jeho nestihlá, ať se

praise his glory,

Tutti

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

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.

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 Choceň, 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 1

	1.	*Radostná novina,*	Glad tidings,
2 verses,		*přešťastná hodina,*	most joyous hour.
Canto and Alto		*Panenka Maria*	The Virgin Mary
		porodila syna.	has borne a son.

Plesejme radostí, — Sing with joy,
nastal den milosti. — the day of grace has come.
Dnes Panenka čistá — Today the pure Virgin
porodila Krista. — has borne Christ for us.

2. *Nebeští anjelé* — Angel from heaven
zpívají vesele. — sing merrily.
Radost nám zvěstují, — We proclaim the joy,
Boha zvelebují. — magnify God.

S nimi se radujme, — Let us rejoice with them,
takto prozpěvujme: — singing as follows:
Sláva na výsosti — Glory on high

---

[56] České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXID42.
[57] Berkovec, *České Pastorely*, 242.

božské velebnosti.   to the divine Majesty.
Bůh jest narozený.   Christ is born.

Pastorella 2

1.   *Sem, sem pastýři,*   Come, come shepherds
2 verses,   *sem, sem vesele,*   come with joy,
Canto and Alto   *pospěšte vy všichni*   hurry, let us go bravely
k Betlému směle,   to Bethlehem,
narozenému   born there
děťátku malému.   is a little baby.
Chválu děťátku,   Give praise to the baby,
chválu vzdejte.   let us give thanks.

Sem, sem pastýři,   Come, come shepherds
sem vesele,   come with joy,
pospěšte vy všichni   hurry all
jen směle,   be brave,
děťátku malému   to the little baby
chválu vzdejte.   let us give thanks.

2.   *Ó přešťastná jest*   Oh, rejoice
tato novina,   at this news,
Maria splodila   Mary bore
krásného syna.   a beautiful son.
Právě teď, půlnoční   Now, at midnight
půlnoční hodinu,   the midnight hour,
anjelé zvěstují   angels proclaim
všemu lidu,   to all the people,

že se narodil Spasitel   that the Saviour is born,
všeho světa,   for the whole world,
světa Vykupitel.   to redeem the world.
Radost nám   Let us proclaim
zvěstují andělé,   with the angels
že se narodil   that he was born
v Betlémě.   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*

pro Sacra Nocte Nativitatis D[omini] N[ostri] J[esu] C[hristi][58]

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 buď, 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	*Gloria, Gloria, Gloria in excelsis Deo*	Glory to God on high.
	Gloria in excelsis Deo, Gloria.	
Basso, recit.	*Vstaňte, bratři pastuší,*	Arise brother shepherds,
	co pak ste hluší?	do you hear?
	že neslyšíte spívání,	we can hear singing,
	muzicírování,	music-making
	od anjelů nebeských	from the heavenly angels,
	radostné plesání.	joyful singing, rejoice.

---

[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.*	Let's sleep, although we do not want to. Sleep, sleep old brother, We are ready to play, we must take this seriously.
Basso, recit.	*Co pak vy myslíte,* *že se přemluvit nedáte?* *Poslechněte anjele,* *jak spívají vesele*	What do you think, do you understand? Listen to the angel, singing with joy
Canto and Alto, recit.	*Gloria in excelsis Deo, Gloria.*	Glory to God on high.
Alto, recit.	*Bratře vstávej vesele.*	Brother, wake up with joy.
Basso, recit.	*Proč pak?*	But why?
Alto, recit.	*Narodil se Kristus Pán.*	Christ the Lord is born.
Basso, recit.	*Kde pak?*	But where?
Alto, recit.	*V Betlémě.*	In Bethlehem.
Canto and Alto, recit.	*Poď půjdem tam!*	Come, let us go there!
Basso, recit.	*Poďmež.*	Come let us go there.
Tutti	*Zdráv buď, náš Ježíšku,* *tebe sme čekali,* *bys na svět k nám přišel,* *toho jsme žádali.* *Ó, spanilé děťátko,* *maličké nemluvňátko,* *spi, spi, usni, spi, Jezulátko.*	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.
Alto	*Kubo, vem dutky,*	Jacob, take the bagpipes,
Tutti	*zapískej děťátku.*	blow a tune for the child.
Canto	*Kašpare, začni*	Kaspar, start now
Tutti	*na tu tvou fejfarku,*	with your whistle,
Canto and Alto	*Petr s Pavlem budou hrát,* *Zikmund bude takt dávat,*	Peter and Paul will play, Sigmund will beat time,
Tutti (though some bars Canto and	*tak děťátku zahrejme:* *hejsa hopsasa hejsa* *hopsasa hopsasa vesele.*	and let's play for the baby: fa la la, fa la la, fa la la, fa la la with cheer.

Alto only)	*Ó děťátko přemilé,*	Oh sweetest baby,
	rač nás uslyšeti, (C and A only)	please listen to us
	po smrti k tobě vzíti	and after our death
	kdež bychom tě (C and A only)	receive us
	chválili,	where we will praise you,
	s tebou se vždy (C and A only)	and with you always
	těšili	rejoice
	v nebeské radosti. (C and A only)	with joy in heaven,
	Ó Ježíšku spanilý,	Oh baby Jesus, full of grace,
	vyslyš naše žádosti.	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.

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

---

[59] Česke 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:

4 verses 1. *Zhůru bratři, Bárto, Mikši,*   Arise, brothers, Barty, Micky,
Basso   *rychle vstávejte,*   get up quickly,
        se mnou pospíchejte do Betléma.   hurry with me to Bethlehem.

        Vemte kejdy a gaduchy,   Take your bagpipes,
        budeme spívati,   we'll sing
        musicírovati u Betléma.   and play in Bethlehem.

2. *Bárto starý, vezmi dary,*   Old Barty, take gifts,
   jehňátko bílý,   take a white lamb,
   by bylo jmilý Ježíškovi.   baby Jesus would like that.

   K tomu plíšek, neb kožíšek,   Its fleece will keep him warm
   by se moch zahříti,   and protect him
   před zimou ukrýti, náš Ježíšek.   from the cold, our Jesus.

3. *Mikši hloupý, neseš kroupy,*   Stupid Micky, you are carrying barley
   berany zapíráš,   instead of a sheep
   zubkyně taky máš, jsi hodný lhář. That is wrong, you must take a sheep.

   Vem berana na ramena,   Take a ram on your shoulders,
   Pánu jej obětuj,   offer it to the Lord,
   krup se sám napěchuj notně doma, and eat the barley yourself.

4. *Obětujte a darujte,*   Sacrifice and give,
   každý dle možnosti   each whatever you have
   panáčku v hojnosti udělujte.   give in abundance to the child.

   Já jsem chudý, jdu jen z dudy,   I am poor, I just have my bagpipes,
   pěkně mu zapískám, milost u něj   I will blow a tune
   zejskám, pak zavejskám.   as a joyful present for him.

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:

---

[63] České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MVIB155.

Basso, recit.	*Hej, hej, Jene, co se to děje* *v Betlémě se svíti,* *co co pak to, co co pak to,* *co pak to má býti?* *Běž, běž, nemeškej,* *bež, běž, běž, nemeškej,* *oznam a pověz* *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	*Teď 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 nezavoláš?*	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 obdarovat?	So what do you want to give him?
Alto	*Já jemu daruji kuzlátko.*	I will give him a young goat.
Alto and Basso	*Já daruji jemu,* *robátku malému,*	I will give him a little kid.
Alto	*Cokoliv mám,*	That's what I can do.
Basso	*Všecko mu dám,*	That's all I have,
Alto and Basso	*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 and Basso	*ty Macku, Kubači,* *Frantochu, Ferdači*	you Macky, Jake, Frank, Ferdi
Alto	*hodně řezej,*	play the fiddle,
Basso	*basu řezej*	play the bass
Alto and Basso	*Ježíškoj malému, jen hodně hrej.*	to baby Jesus, play out.
Alto	*Vinšuj Ježíšku dobrou noc,*	Wish the baby Jesus good night,
Basso	*Měj se dobře, dítě,* *Bona nox,*	Farewell, child, Good night,
Alto and Basso	*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*[64]

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.[65] 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.[66] 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 Ústi 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

---

[64] České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXIIE149.
[65] Dlabacz, *Künstler-Lexicon für Böhmen* Vol. 2, col. 277-279.
[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 Ústi.

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.

Fig. 2.23. The organ loft, Church of the Assumption, Ústí nad Orlicí.
Photo: Frances Jones, 2011.

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

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, nemeškejte,*	up you get, don't delay,
Tenor		*ke mně rychle pospíchejte,*	hurry to me,
Tutti		*pvrím vám tuto novinu,* *že teď v půlnoční hodinu* *slyšel jsem hlas Hospodinu.*	I will tell you the news, that at midnight I heard the voice of the Lord.
		Andělé sladce zpívali *gloria opakovali* *pokoj lidem zvěstovali.*	Angels sweetly sang *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,* *v jednom tak chatrném chlévě.* *Jest Pán mocný nebe země.*	In Bethlehem she is resting on the hay, in a humble cowshed. The mighty Lord of heaven and earth is here.
		Protož mu vzdávejme chvály *na housle, basu, cimbály,* *muži, ženy, děti mali.*	Therefore let us praise and worship him on violin, bass and cimbalom, men, women and little children.
Bas	3.	*Nesme mu dary,*	Let us take him gifts,
Tenor		*Homolky starý,*	some mature cheese,
Bas		*vezmi, Vávro, pět homoli*	take five blocks of cheese, Larry,

Tenor	*a Votrubo, chleba krajíc,*	and slices of votruba,[67]
Tutti	*ty, Kubo, toho berana*	and you, Jake, that ram
	s těma vélkýma rohama,	with the big horns,
	vložíš si ho na ramena.	you can carry it on your shoulders.
	Vávro, když mu homolky dáš,	Larry, when you give the cheese to him,
	budež říkati otčenáš.	you must say the Lord's Prayer.
	Zdráv bud' králi a Pane náš!	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.
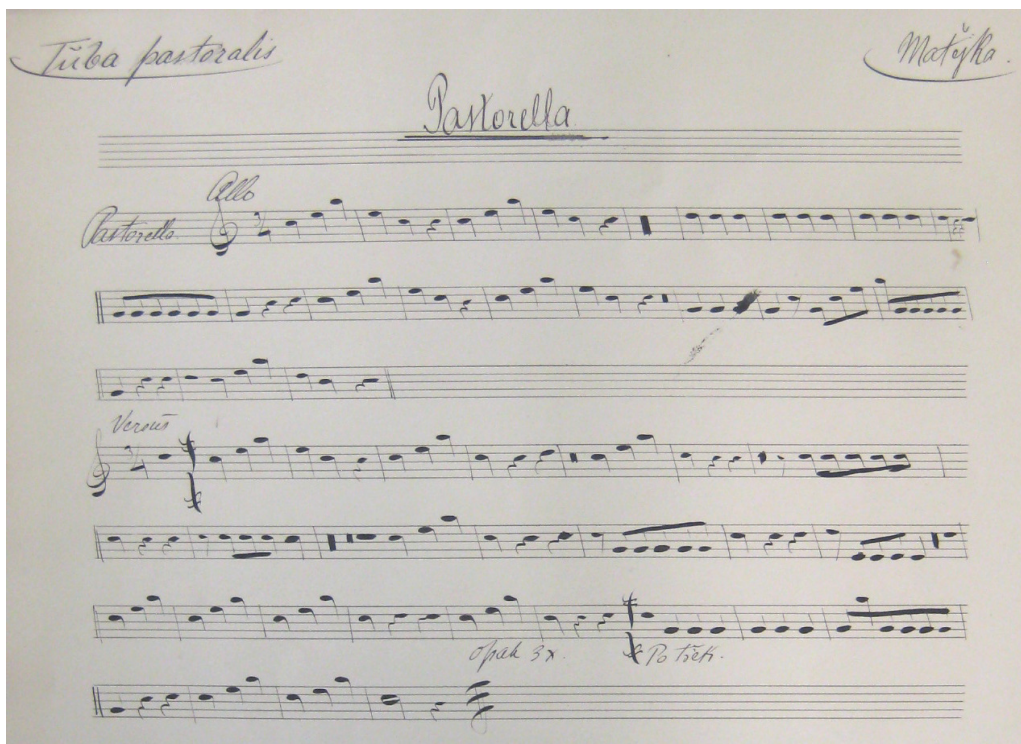
Fig. 2.24. Matějka, *Pastorella*, *tuba pastoralis* part.

[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:

Canto and Alto	*A když se jest bylo dní osm splnilo, dítě, obřezáno bylo. Nazváno jest jméno jeho Ježíš, kterýmž bylo nazváno od anjela prv než se v životě počalo.*	And when he was eight days old, the child was circumcised. He was given the name Jesus, the name he was given by an angel before he was conceived in the womb.

---

[68] České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXIIE151.
[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 *Aut.
Kolovrátek* on the cover.
[70] Alexander Jones, ed. *Jerusalem Bible* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1982).

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.
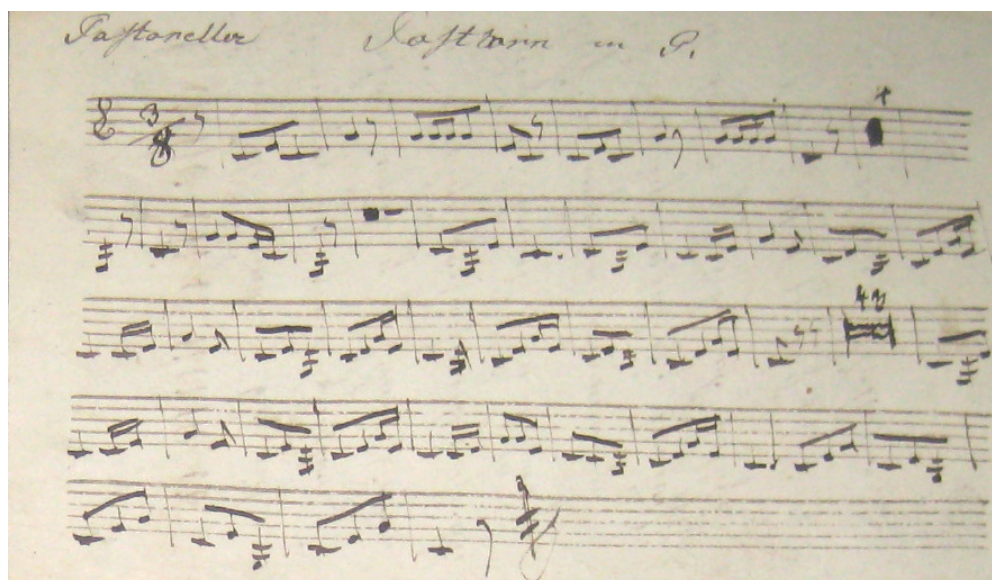
Fig. 2.25. Matiegka, *Pastorala*, *tuba pastoralis* / posthorn part.

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.

---

[71] České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXIIF124.
[72] *Česko Slovenský Hudební 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, slyšíte 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 Arietta, 2 verses	1.	*Vstanu, půjdu já směle,* *vidím světlo v Betlémě.* *Jen si štemujte,* *slyšeli jste od anjela* *zvěstovat Spasitele.*	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.
	2.	*Panna jej porodila,* *nám milost působila.* *Buď Bohu sláva* *a na zemi pokoj lidem,* *tobě, Ježíšku, chvála.*	A Virgin gave birth to him, a gift for us. Glory be to God and on earth peace to all men, All praise to you, baby Jesus.

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*[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.

Fig. 2.27. The monastery church at Želiv, for which Nowotný's *Offertorium Pastorale* was written. Photo: Frances Jones, 2011.

---

[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.

Canto	*Ave Jesu novo nate*	Hail Jesus newborn
	fili unijenite	the only Son [of the Father]
The same text is	*qui in mundum hunc venisti*	who has come into this world
used three times:	*ad salvandos homines,*	to save mankind,
the second time	*fac ut benedicat nos*	grant that he may bless us
the Alto is added;	*pater tuus omnipotens,*	heavenly Father
the third time the	*et ut per te salvatorem*	and through you the Saviour
Tenore as well.	*Salva sit humana gens.*	may the human race be saved.
Tutti	*Alleluja de cantate*	*Alleluia*
	Alleluja canite	sing *Alleluia*
	Jesu Salvatori nostri.	to Jesus our Saviour.
	Devote obvenite	Come with devotion
	ut per illum	that through him
	dignissimum	[we may be] most worthy
	intrare celestia	to enter into heaven
	ubi infinite	where for ever
	canunt angeli Alleluja.	angels sing *Alleluia.*

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 usni, 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 usni,
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

---

[75] České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MIIIA146.
[76] Berkovec, *České Pastorely*, 258-9.
[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,* *vztáhni 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 vítejme,* *čest a chválu* *jemu vzdávejme;* *Ježíšku malý,* *kvítku spanilý,* *ó 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 ať jsou,* *ať zní flétny, varhany,* *spívejte ptáčkové,* *libí slavíčkové,* *Ježíška vesele vítejte.*	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 pastoritia* 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 pastoritia* 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 pastoritia* on the last beat of the bar. This is a phenomenon seen occasionally elsewhere.[78] It would appear both from the

---

[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.
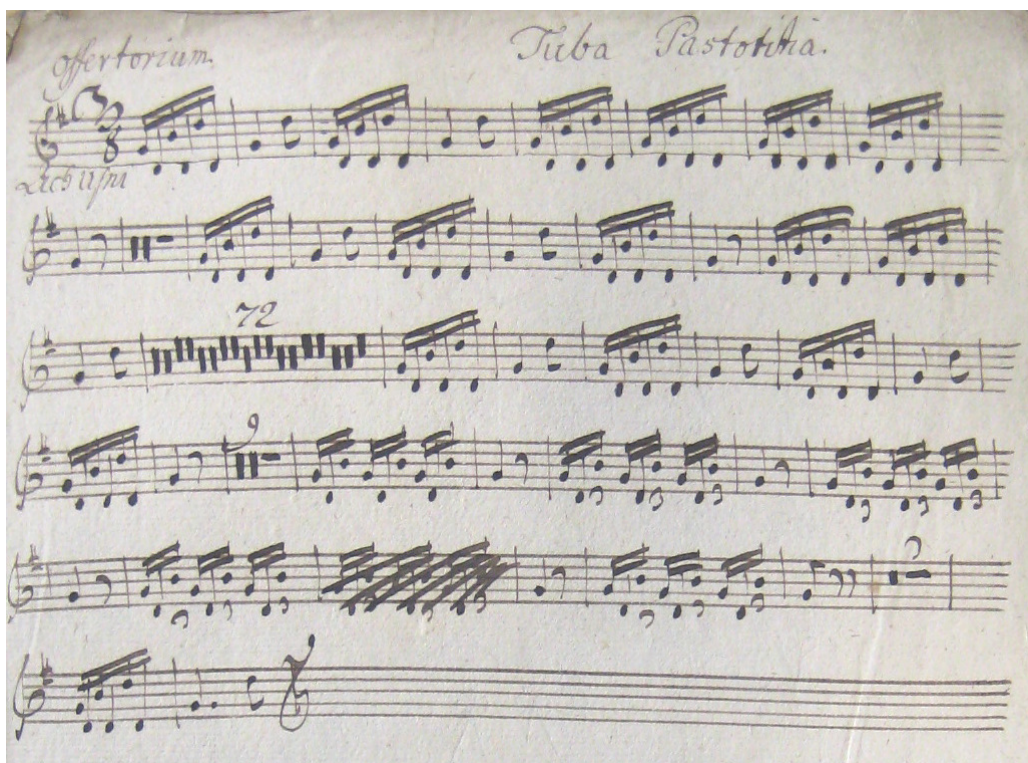
Fig. 2.29. Petipeský, *Motteto de Nativitate*, *tuba pastoritia* part.

Grétry (p. 204) and Gossec (p. 207). It can also be seen in other *Kühreien* quoted on p. 22. The extra note is normally notated as a fifth above the final tonic. It is not uncommon that a player today adds such a note at the end of a piece.

Jakob Jan Ryba, *Pastoral Offertorium*[79]

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
Třemšinem where he remained for the rest of his life. Ryba's best-known work
is *Missa Pastoralis*, *Hej, mistře*, written in 1796.[80] 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

---

[79] České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXIVG79.
[80] Milan Poštolka, 'Ryba', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 12 September 2012).

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:

Puer natus in Betlehem   A child is born in Bethlehem
unde gaudet Jerusalem   therefore Jerusalem rejoices
Alleluja   *Alleluia*

Hic jacet in praesaepio   Here lies in the manger
qui regnat sine termino   he that reigns without end
Alleluja   *Alleluia*

Reges de Saba veniunt   Kings come from Saba
aurum thus myrham offerunt   offering gold, frankincense and myrrh

in hoc natali gaudio   In this joyful day
benedicamus Domino.   let us bless the Lord.
Alleluja   *Alleluia*

Laudetur Sancta Trinitas   May the Holy Trinity be praised
Deo dicamus gratias   let us give thanks to God
Alleluja.   *Alleluia.*

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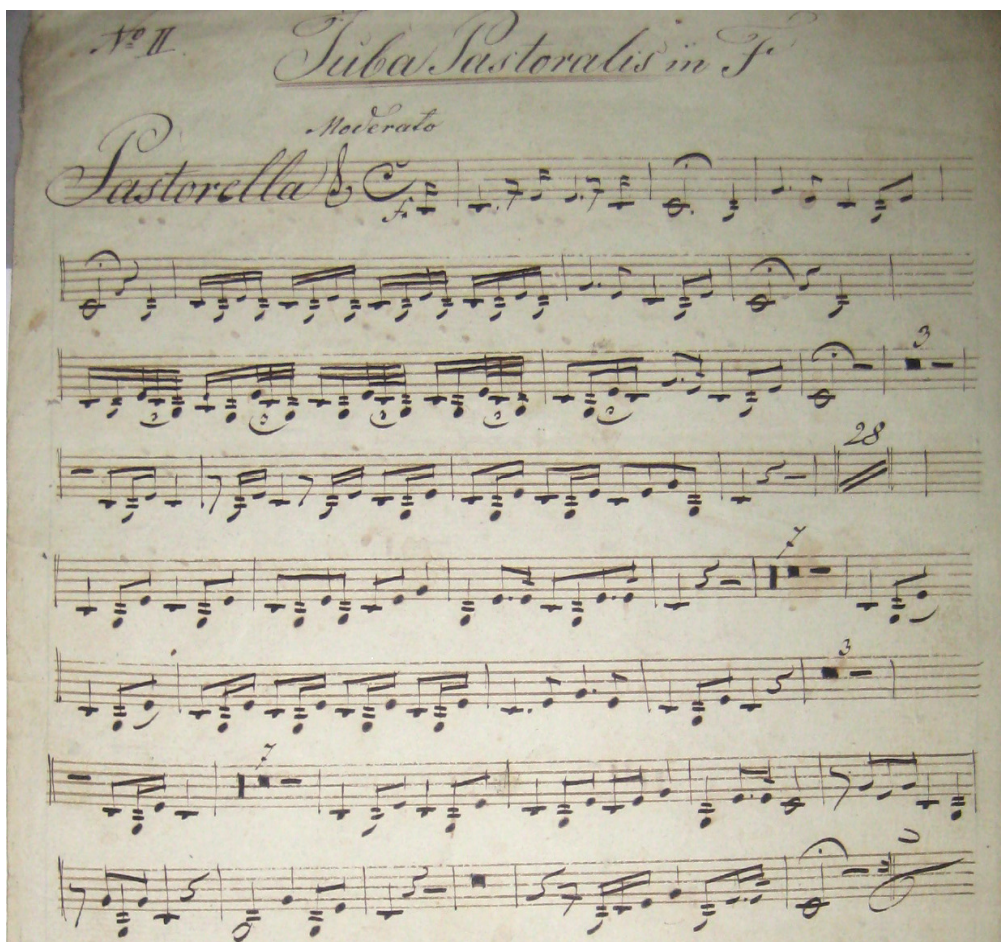
Fig. 2.30. Ryba, *Pastoral Offertorium*, *tuba pastoralis* part.

Josepho Štietina, *Pastorella Nativitate D[omini] N[ostri] J[esu] Christi*[81]
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.

---

[81] České Muzeum Hudby Prague catalogue number MXVA202.
[82] Berkovec, *České Pastorely*, 99.

Canto (Angel)	*Gloria in excelsis Deo.* *Velkou radost zvěstuji* *této půlnoční hodiny,* *pastýři, vzhůru povstaňte,* *šťastné noviny poslyšte.*	Glory be to God on high. I proclaim great joy to you at this hour of midnight, shepherds, arise, listen to happy news.
Alto	*Kdo pak nás to volá a spáti nám nedá?* *Kdo pak to zde hraje a nás probuzuje?*	Who calls us that we cannot sleep? Who plays and wakens us?
Canto	*Vzhůru, vzhůru!* *Pastýři ospalý.*	Awake, awake! You sleepy shepherd.
Alto	*Kdo pak mi to praví?*	Who is that talking to me?
Canto	*Otevři tvé oči,* *vidíš divné věci.*	Open your eyes, you can see wonderful things.
Alto	*Ó poslíčku nebeský,* *oznam mi hned věci ty,* *ať já mý bratří zbudím* *a jim to vše oznámím.*	Oh heavenly messenger, tell me these things, so I can waken my brothers at once and tell them everything.
Canto	*Narodilo se děťátko,* *vinšované pacholátko,* *ó pastýři, déle nelež,* *vstaň a nelež,* *vstaň a do Betléma* *hned běž, běž, běž.*	A baby is born longed for little child, O shepherd, do not sleep any more, get up and sleep no more, get up and go to Bethlehem off you go, now, go, go, go.
Alto	*Vstaň, vstaň, milej bratře, vstaň,* *nětco povědít mám,* *vstaň bez meškání, vstaň,* *narodil se v Betlémě Spasitel,* *a to v chlévě, poď se mnou,* *poď tam, poď tam.*	Get up, get up, dear brother, stand up, I have things to tell you, be quick, get up, get up, Our Saviour is born in Bethlehem, in a stable, come with me, come there, come there.
Basso	*Co, co pak a kdo pak tobě to pověděl,* *dyť bych snad já také něco podobného věděl.*	What, what and who has told you this? Why, perhaps I might hear about it too.
Alto	*Anjel v krásném blesku* *mně se jest ukázal,* *bych vám to všechno* *vyjevil přísně jest rozkázal.*	The angel in splendour has shown himself to me, and has told me to reveal everything to you.
Tenore	*Jestli tomu tak jest,* *šťastný jsi, ach šťastný,* *zanechám já mé stádo,* *půjdu s tebou taky.*	If this is so, and you are very lucky, I will leave my flock, and go with you too.

118

Alto	*Poď, poď, poď,*	Come, come, come,
	nechtěj meškat dlouho,	do hurry up,
	nechme pásti stádo,	the flock can feed itself,
	nezdržuj se, dlouho,	no time to lose,
	dokud mně mysl hněte vidět	I want to see the holy child
	to svaté dítě	I have a strong desire
	mám kuráže z toho.	to do just that.
Tenore	*Půjdeme my hnedky s tebou teď*	We will go at once
and	*do Betléma,*	to Bethlehem
Basso	*podíváme se na něho,*	to see him,
	co pak tam dělá,	and what he is doing,
	máli pak co jísti,	we must take him some food,
	musíme mu nýsti.	in case he needs some.
	Nejprv však zahrajem,	But first we will play to him,
	pak dary odvedem.	then give our gifts.
Tenore	*Již jsme odbyli muziku,*	Now that we have played some music,
	vyndejme dary,	let's get out the presents,
	poď přijímat a odbývat,	put them somewhere safe,
	Jozefe starý.	old Joseph,
	Já mu dám krupičku,	I have some nice food,
	pěknou na kašičku,	porridge for him,
	též smetánku mu naleju	also some cream
	hned do hrníčku.	that I'll pour into his cup.
Alto	*Já mám jehňátko běloučký,*	I have a pretty white lamb,
	pěkný k pohledu,	to give him,
	má zvoneček velmi libý, to mu povedu,	it has a sweet tinkling bell,
	vždycky kudy chodí, ustavičně zvoní	it rings all the time, a pretty tinkling.
	klink, klink, klink, klink, klink, klink,	ting-a-ling, ting-a-ling, ting-a-ling,
	obveselím ho s ním,	he can have fun with it,
	klink, klink, klink, klink, klink, klink,	ting-a-ling, ting-a-ling, ting-a-ling,
	obveselím ho s ním.	he can have fun with it.
Basso	*Co pak já dám neb*	What can I give him,
	ostávám již naposledy.	as the last person?
	Něco vidím, to já sklidím	I see something,
	tam na posteli,	I will strip the bed,
	pěkný dvě peřinky,	two nice blankets
	by zahřál nožičky,	to warm his feet,
	neb se hněte, zimou třese,	for the baby is feeling the cold,
	dítě maličký.	is shivering.
Tutti	*Přijmi od nás odevzdaný tobě, Ježíši,*	Accept these gifts we bring you, Jesus,
	po smrti pak duše	after our death
	naše uveď v tvou říši,	bring our souls into your realm,
	kdež by tě chválily,	where they will praise you
	věčně velebily,	and glorify you for ever
	a na tvou přejasnou	and behold you
	tvář na věky patřily.	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
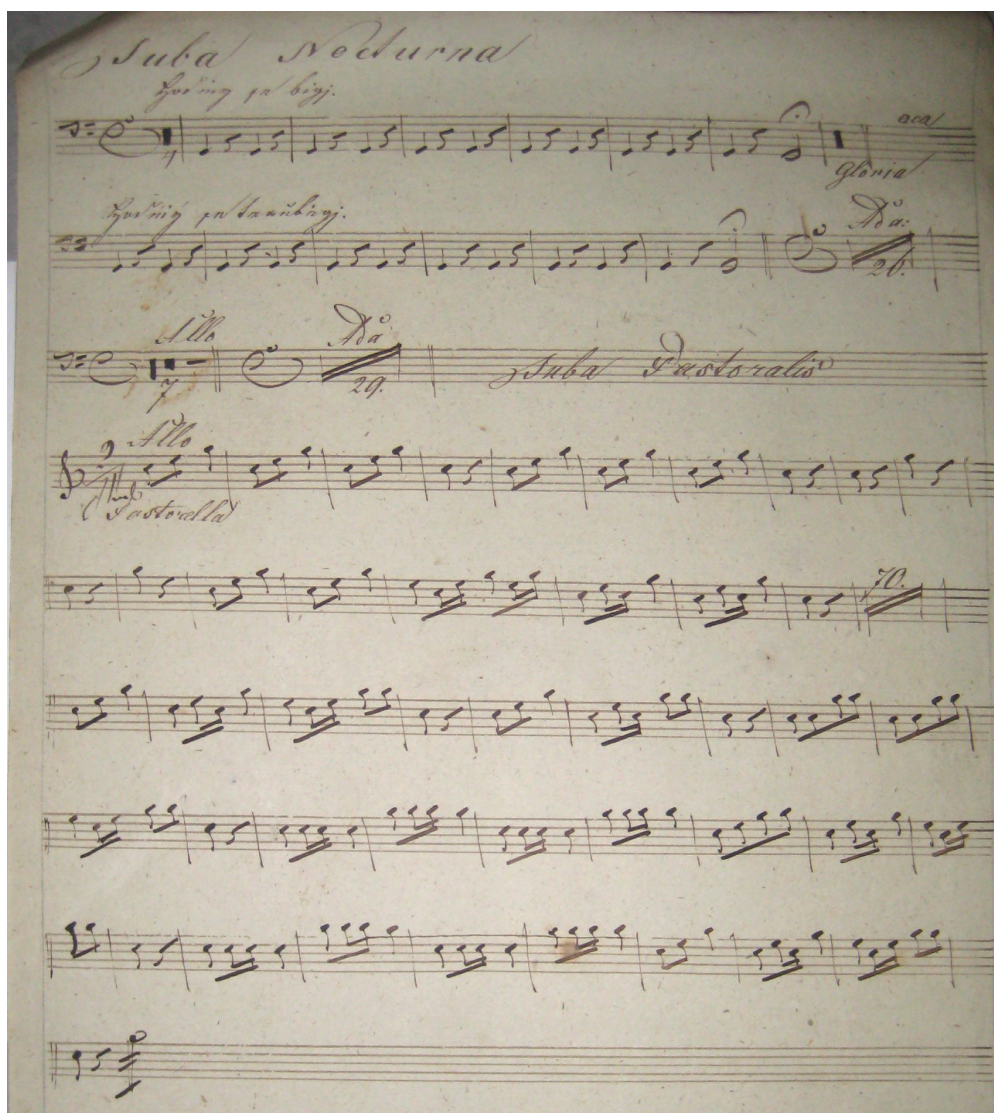
Fig. 2.31. Štietina, *Pastorella Nativitate*, *tuba nocturna* and *tuba pastoralis* part.

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.[83] 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.[84]

---

[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.

Tonic	Composer/work	Approximate length[85]
F	Ryba	12ft or 6ft
G	Matiegka, Nowotný, Petipeský	10ft or 5ft
C	Fibiger, Holetschek, Kautník 2, Kollovrátek (all 3 works), Linek 1	8ft or 4ft
D	Czerni, Daubrawský (all 3 works), Dobravský, Duschek, Habermann, Jech, Linek 2, Milčínský, Štietina	7ft or 3½ft

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.

---

[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).
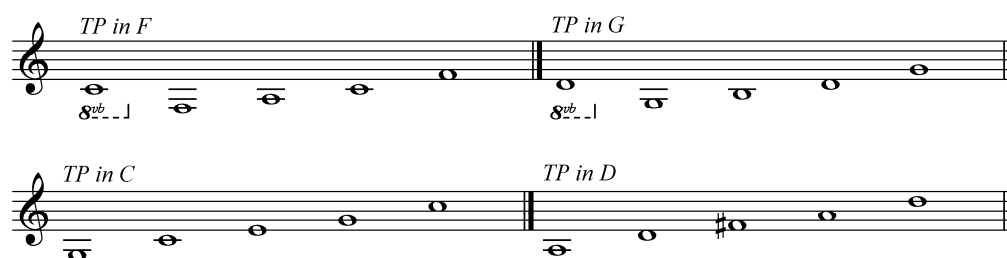
Fig. 2.32. Sounding pitch of harmonics nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8 for the *tuba pastoralis* in F at around 12ft, in G at 10ft, in C at 8ft and in D at 7ft in length.

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.

Fig. 2.33. Herdsman blows a horn (detail). Adrian Ludwig Richter
Der Schreckstein bei Aussig (now Ústi 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.

---

[87] Robert Rawson, *Bohemian Baroque: Czech Musical Culture and Style, 1600-1750* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 147-155.

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.

Leopold[2] 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 alphorn, 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

---

[1] Erich Valentin, *Leopold Mozart* (Frankfurt: Insel, 1998).
[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.
[3] Max Sieffert, ed. *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst*, Vol. 2: *Leopold Mozart Ausgewählte Werke* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1908), 30.

few new pastoral symphonies, although he did have one ready, that pleased him:

> *Monsieur Gignox will ein paar neue Pastorell Synfonien? Ich glaub er meint sie sind immer so fertig, wie das Brod auf dem Laden liegt, denn itzt geschwind solche zu machen hab ich nicht allemal Zeit. Und diess muss er selbst glauben, weil er meint ich hätte nicht einmal Zeit einen Brief von ihm durchzulesen, wissen sie, ich hab zwar eine nagelneue Pastorell Synfonie: allein, ich sage es aufrichtig, ich gieb sie nicht gerne her; denn ich dachte sie nach Wallerstein nebst anderen Stücken zuschicken. Ich dachte sie also recht wohl anzubringen. Es ist ein Hirten Horn und 2 Flauto traversi obligat dabey. Soll ich es denn schicken? Basta! Ich will es mit nächster Post schikken; nur bitte um alles nichts zu melden, dassich es geschickt habe: denn sonst ist es bei dem Wagner, und durch sein Geschwätze beym H.v.Rheling aus. Sie wissen meine Umstände.*[4]

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

---

[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.[5] 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.

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

---

[5] 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.

Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Bartensteinisches Archiv, Schloss Neuenstein, now at the Staatsarchiv, Ludwigsburg. ms.Ba120Bü161.	ms set of parts	*Sinfonia Pastorale* (*Sinphonia Pastorale* on the Violin 1 part)	*Violino Primo e Secondo, Viola Obligato, Fundamento con Corno Pastoricio*
Fürstlich Öttingen-Wallersteinischen Bibliothek, now at the University of Augsburg. ms.D-HR/III41/24/o.	ms set of parts	*Sinfonia Pastorale ex G* (cover), *Sinfonia / Sinfonia Pastorella* (parts)	*Violino Primo, Violino Secondo, Corno Primo, Corno Secondo, Alto Viola, Basso Corno di Pastore/ Kühe Horn* (*Corno Pastoricio* on part)
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München. Mus.ms.6218D-R,540.	ms score	*Sinfonia Pastorale ex G*	*Violino Primo, Violino Secondo, Corno Primo, Corno Secondo, Alto Viola, Basso Corno di Pastore/ Küh-Horn*

A detailed comparison of these six versions will be shown in Appendix 3.

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

Publication	**Format**	**Title**	**Instrumentation**
ed. Marvin McCoy (self-published, Minneapolis, 1978)	score, parts and piano reduction	*Sinfonia Concerto for Alphorn and Strings*	Alphorn, Violins 1 and 2, Viola, Cello/Bass
ed. Kurt Janetzky (Zürich: Kunzelmann, 1979)	score	*Sinfonia Pastorale G Dur*	*Corno pastoriccio (Alp- oder Hirtenhorn, Jagdhorn, Wald- oder Ventilhorn) und Streicher*
ed. Christian Broy (Augsburg: Wißner, 2001)	score	*Sinfonia Pastorale G-Dur*	*Corno pastoriccio, Corno I and II in G, Violino I and II, Viola, Basso*

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.[6] 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).

---

[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

---

[7] Sieffert, ed. *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst*, 30: '*Es wären gut, wenn sie auch ein Hackbrettl oder Cymbal darbey hätten, solches müsste der, so es spielet 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 …'

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.[8] 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

---

[8] More detail concerning the specific lengths is explained in Appendix 1.

below those of a 5ft horn.[9] 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.

Written pitches   Sounding pitches

Fig. 3.1. Written pitches and sounding pitches of the alphorn part in Leopold Mozart's *Sinfonia Pastorella.* Alphorn in G, approximately 5ft in length.

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.[10] 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

---

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) *Nĕzabudka pri potôčku* or *Parvule pupule*, 2) *Hajej můj synačko*, a crib-rocking melody and 3) *Joseph adstabit* or *Es hat sich halt eröffnet*.[11] 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[12] 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.

---

[11] These three melodies are often referred to as Austro-Bohemian melodies associated with Christmas, for example by Peter Holman in *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in the UK from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), 25; by Stephen Zohn in *Music for a Mixed Taste: Style, Genre and Meaning in Telemann's Instrumental Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 97; by Robert Rawson in 'Gottfried Finger's Christmas Pastorellas', *Early Music* Vol. 23, No. 4 (2005), 594-601; by Mark Germer in 'The Austro-Bohemian Pastorella and Pastoral Mass to c1780'. PhD diss., New York, 1989, 137-155; by Charles Brewer in *The Instrumental Music of Schmelzer, Biber, Muffat and their Contemporaries* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 96-105, etc.

[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 *Pastorella*s 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.
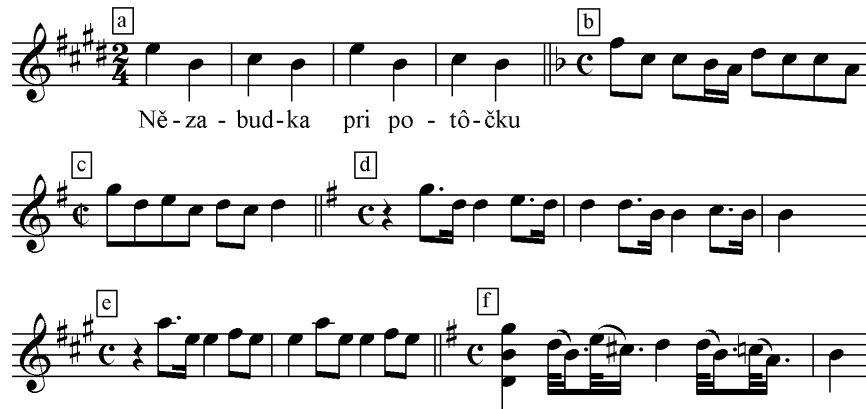
Fig. 3.2. (a) is the carol *Nězabudka pri potôčku* which was frequently used as the opening motif in a *Pastorella*; (b) to (e) are the opening bars of four such works;[13] (f) is the opening of Leopold Mozart's *Sinfonia Pastorella*. Each of these settings, including the example by Leopold Mozart, appears over a tonic drone bass.

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:

---

[13] Rawson, 'Finger's Pastorellas', 595, 602: a) Transcription of Kyselkova's 1909 phonograph recording from the Topol'čany region of Slovakia; b) Linek, *Missa Pastoralis*, CZ-Pnm18 f.61; c) Finger, *Pastorelle*, Durham Cathedral Library MS M197; d) Anon (F.L.), *Pastorella*, Lowicz, 1699, PL-Wtfc 17.ii; e) Biber, *Pastorella*, A-Wm Cod.726, ff.160v-161v.

Fig. 3.3. Vivaldi, Concerto in D *La Pastorella*: first movement,
flute and oboe parts, bars 7-8.[14]

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).[15] 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
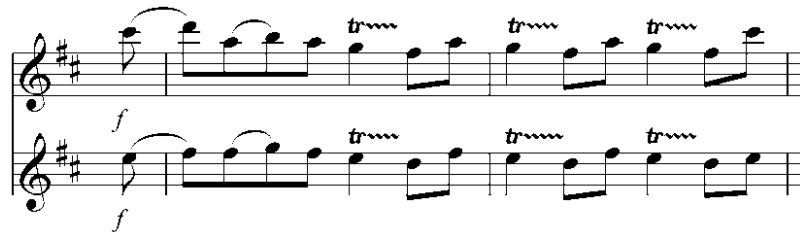attributed to the French composer and musette player, Nicholas Chédeville
(1705-1782).[16] It appears likely that the composer was aware of the sacred
meaning of this title, as the Christmas *Pastorella* opening motif quoted above
is also used here to open three of the movements in Vivaldi/Chédeville's
Il Pastor Fido sonatas:

---

[14] Antonio Vivaldi, Concerto in D *La Pastorella* F12, No. 29. ed. Malipiero (Milan: Ricordi, 1953), 1.

[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.

[16] Paul Everett, *Vivaldi: The Four Seasons and Other Concertos Op. 8* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 4.

Fig. 3.4. Vivaldi/Chédeville, *Il Pastor Fido*. The opening bars of the flute parts of (a) Sonata No. 1, second movement, (b) Sonata No. 1, fourth movement, and (c) Sonata No. 5, third movement.[17]

In Leopold's work, initial statements of the *Nězabudka pri potôčku* theme by the strings are followed by lively arpeggiations 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

---

[17] Vivaldi (Chédeville), *Six Sonatas Il Pastor Fido*, Op. 13, ed. Rampal (New York: International Music Company, 1965), Vol. 1, No. 4, Vol. 1, No. 7 and Vol. 2, No. 14.

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.[18] 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:

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

---

[18] Hector Berlioz describes watching these scenes in his *Memoires*, trans. David Cairns (London: Golancz, 1969), 186-7.

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:

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.

---

[19] Arcangelo Corelli, *12 Concerti Grossi Op. 6* (Leipzig: Peters, 1937), 141.

Fig. 3.7. Vivaldi, Concerto *Primavera* from *Le Quattro Stagione*: second movement: *Danza Pastorale*, bars 1-3.[20]

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.

---

[20] Antonio Vivaldi, 'Le Quattro Stagione', Vol. 76, f.1 No. 22, ed. Malipiero (Milan: Ricordi, 1950), 16.

Fig. 3.8. J. S. Bach, *Weihnachts-Oratorium* No. 10 *Sinfonia*,
parts for 2 oboes d'amore and 2 oboes da caccia, bars 9-14.[21]

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.

Fig. 3.9. Šimon Brixi, *Pastorella*, CZ-Pnm VM421, canto solo bars 35-8.[22]

Fig. 3.10. Leopold Mozart, *Sinfonia Pastorella*: second
movement, violin 1, bars 8 and 9.

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.*

---

[21] Johann Sebastian Bach, *Weihnachts-Oratorium* (London: Eulenburg, 1961), 54-55.
[22] Rawson, 'Finger's Pastorellas', 601.

144

Residenz-Stadt Salzburg melodisch und harmonisch angekündigt. Oder: Zwölf Musikstücke für das Clavier, davon eine täglich in der Vestung Hohensalzburg auf dem sogenannten Hornnwerke Morgens und Abends gespielt wird.[23] 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.[24]

Fig. 3.11. Leopold Mozart, *Der Morgen und der Abend … No. 12: Das Wiegenlied*: *für den Christmonat*, bars 1-6.

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.

Fig. 3.12. W. A. Mozart, Symphony No. 19, second movement, *Andante*, bars 34-51.The crib-rocking lullaby is quoted in the second violin part, among a number of other *Pastorella* features.[25] It is scored for 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings.[26]

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

---

[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.

[26] *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* Series IV:II:3 (Basel: Bärenreiter, 1970), 52.

146

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*.[27]

It is not only Leopold Mozart in this *Sinfonia Pastorella* who juxtaposed the rocking *piffaro* 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

---

[27] Georg Frideric Handel, *Il Pastor Fido* in *Collected Works*, ed. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1892), Vol. 30, 84.

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

Fig. 3.14. J. S. Bach, *Pastorale* BWV 590 for organ: first movement, bars 8-10 that includes movement in rocking thirds.[28]

Fig. 3.15. J. S. Bach, *Pastorale* BWV 590 for organ: fourth movement, bars 1-2, right hand, the crib-rocking melody.

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

---

[28] J. S. Bach, *Pastorale* in F major, BWV 590, *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1891), Vol. 38, 135.

[29] George Grove, ed. *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition (London: Macmillan, 1890), Vol. 2, 670.

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.
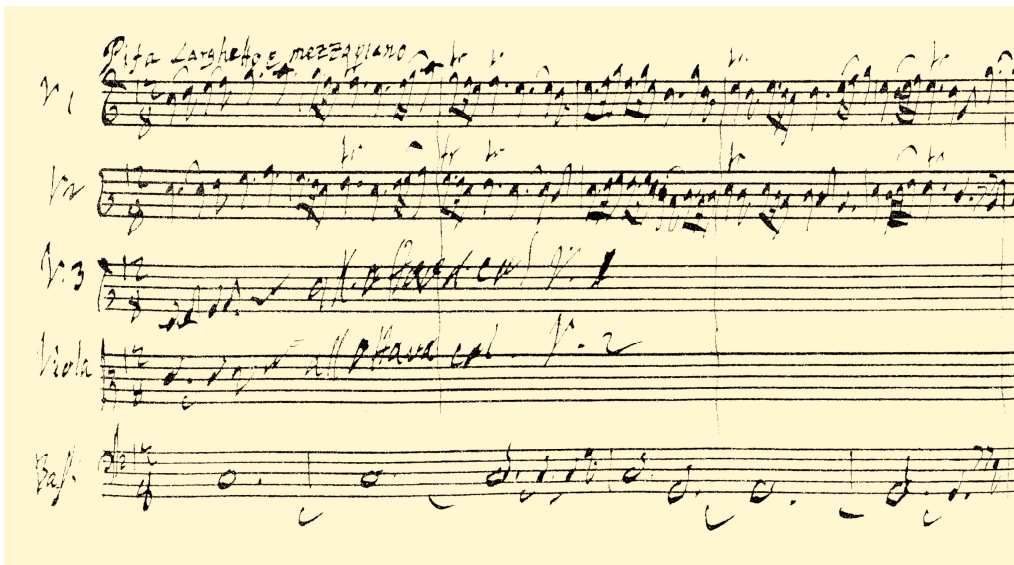

Fig. 3.16. Facsimile of Handel's *Messiah*, No. 13:
'Pastoral Symphony' (*Pifa*), bars 1-3.[31]

---

[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.

[31] *Ibid.*, 69.

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:
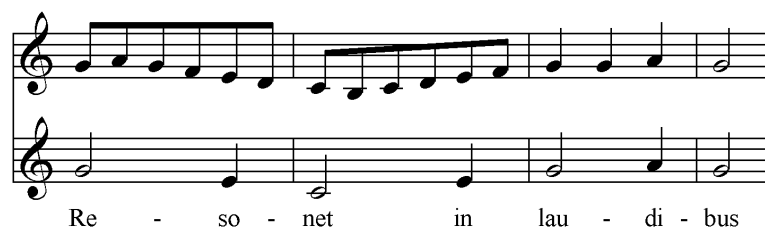
Fig. 3.17. Two permutations of the crib-rocking
melody, the flowing form and the triadic form.

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'.[32]

---

[32] Rawson, 'Finger's Pastorellas', 599.

Fig. 3.19. Leopold Mozart, *Sinfonia Pastorella*: third movement, bars 64-72. Alphorn in G, violins 1 and 2, viola, basso. Edition: Frances Jones.

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.

Fig. 3.20. J. S. Bach's *Pastorale*, BWV 590, bars 1-2.[33]

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.

---

[33] J. S. Bach, *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1891), Vol. 38, 135.

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[34] 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:
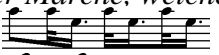
Fig. 3.21. *Menueto*, *Für den Wintermonat*. No. 11 from Leopold Mozart, *Der Morgen und der Abend* … It features the Scotch snap in bars 3 and 6.[35]

---

[34] David Johnson, 'Scotch snap', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 17 December 2013).
[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:

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 …*[36]

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 *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.
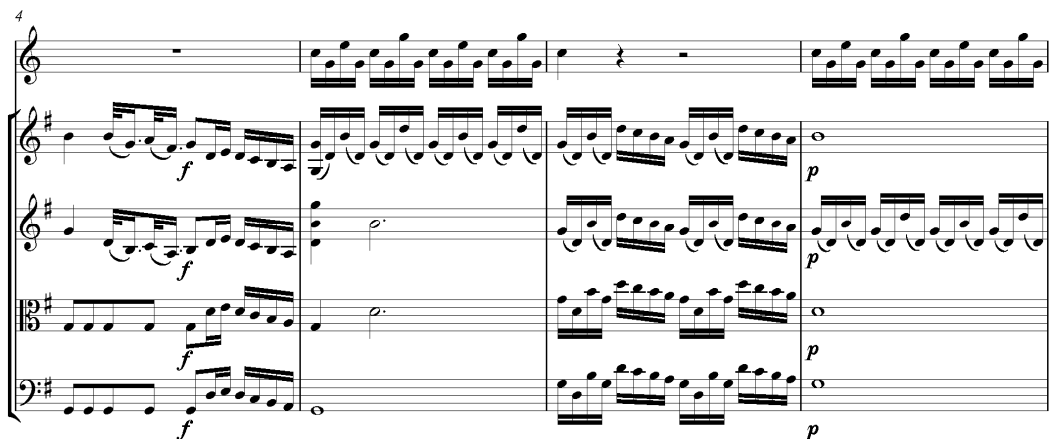
Fig. 3.22. Leopold Mozart, *Sinfonia Pastorella*, first movement, bars 4-7. Alphorn in G, violins 1 and 2, viola, basso. Edition: Frances Jones.

---

[36] Sieffert, ed. *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.[37] 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:

---

[37] For details of this phenomenon, see p. 17.

Fig. 3.23. Leopold Mozart, *Sinfonia Pastorella*: third movement, bars 94-103, string parts. The unusual 'alphorn *fa*' is imitated by violins 1, 2 and basso with the juxtaposition of two different notes at *y* and *z*. Edition: Frances Jones.[38]

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.

Fig. 3.24. The end of the first movement of Leopold Mozart's *Sinfonia Pastorella*, alphorn part, copy from Stift Lambach.

---

[38] 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).[39] 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

---

[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.

Frances Jones   Alphorn

William V at The Hague in 1766.[40] 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.[41]

[40] Hermann Abert, *W. A. Mozart*, reprint, ed. Cliff Eisen (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 49.
[41] W. A. Mozart, *Galimathias Musicum*, *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* IV Vol. 12, No. 1 (Basel, 1970), 6.

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.[42] 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.[43] This is highly significant: Beethoven creates a full symphony with material drawn from the *Pastorella* tradition.[44] 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.

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

---

[42] For example, in Béla Bartók, *The Relationship of Folk Song to the Development of the Art Music of our Time*, *Béla Bartók Essays* ed. Benjamin Suchoff, (London: Faber, 1992), 327-8.

[43] David Wyn Jones, *Beethoven Pastoral Symphony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 31-32.

[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.[45]

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:

---

[45] Ludwig van Beethoven, *Symphony No. 6* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, *c*.1826), and the following two extracts.

Fig. 3.28. Beethoven 'Pastoral' Symphony, fourth movement bars 142-155, the end of the storm.

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 adstabit* 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.

Fig. 3.29. Beethoven, 'Pastoral' Symphony,
final movement, bars 1-9.

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.[46] 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 *Nĕzabudka 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.

---

[46] Thomas B. Payne, 'Carmina Burana', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 22 December 2013).

Fig. 3.30. Orff, *Carmina Burana*: *Ecce Gratum*, quotation of the *Nĕzabudka pri potôčku* theme and the flowing crib-rocking melody, set over a bagpipe-like drone.[47]

---

[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

---

[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 pais* …'[1]

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.

---

[1] James Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson* (Dublin: Cross, 1792), Vol. 3, 198.

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.

_____

[2] Victor H. Mattfeld, 'Rhau', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 18 January 2014).

[3] Martin Luther, Preface to Georg Rhau's *Symphoniae Iucundae.* Quoted in J. J. Pelikan, H. C. Oswald and H. T. Lehmann, eds. *Luther's Works, Liturgy and Hymns* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1999), Vol. 53, 320.

Frances Jones   Alphorn

Fig. 4.1. *Der Appenzeller Kureyen*[4] reproduced in Rhau's *Bicinia Gallica, Latina, Germanica et Quaedam Fugae, Inferior Vox*.[5]

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).

---

[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.

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*.[6]

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.[7] 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.[8]

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.

---

[6] *Ibid*.

[7] The book is on permanent loan from the Brogerin family to the Zentrum für Appenzellische Volksmusik, Gonten, in the canton of Appenzell.

[8] Joe Manser and Urs Klauser, *Mit wass freüden soll man Singen* (Appenzell: Innerrhoder Schriften, 2003), 33.

Fig. 4.3. Appenzell *Küh Reien* with text in Maria Josepha
Barbara Brogerin's *Liederbüchlein* of 1730.[9]

Frances Jones   Alphorn

The text, with repeated words or syllables omitted, reads as follows:[10]

Weder ia, loba!	I am walking, *loba*! [rejoice!]
Gotts nama alsama,	in God's name, all together,
die junga, die alta,	the young, the old,
die äna, alsama, loba	the rest, all together, *loba*
Köda Gotts nama alsama, loba	come in God's name all together, *loba*
Weni era fä a pfiffa a,	When I go with my pipe
so köd alsama zua a schlicha,	all together they are charmed by the call,
wohl zua, do zua,	for their wellbeing,
trib ia Gotts nama,	I drive them in God's name,
wohl zua, beser zua,	their well-being, a better time,
höbsch sönds und frey,	lovely and free
holdseelig dor zua loba,	full of joy to be there, *loba*,
b'hüets Gott alsama, loba.	to the summer chalets, in God's name, *loba*.
Wäss wohl, wen mir singa vergoth,	I sing through the long journey
wen zwo wiega i der stuba stoth,	to the meadows from the cowshed,
wen der ma mit füsta drischlot,	no more is the wind blowing
und der wend zuo	through all the holes
alla löchra ia blost. loba.	in your draughty stalls. *loba*.
Trib mer ia, Gotts nama:	I will guide you, in God's name:
die hinckat, die stinckat,	lame one, smelly one,
die g'scheget, die g'fleckhet,	dappled one, speckled one,
die glazet, die blatzet,	one without a top-knot, the two-coloured one,
schwantzeri, tantzeri,	wavy tail, dancer,
glintzeri, blintzeri,	glistening one, blinker,
d'lehneri, d'freneri,	leaning one, disfigured one,
d'hossleri, d'mosleri,	the one from Hossler, the one from Mosler,
d'horeri, d'schoreri,	the hairy one, the one that scratches,
s'halb örli unds mörli,	the one with half an ear, the black one,
s'ä äugli, s'trüfäugli,	the one-eyed one, the one with a weeping eye,
die erst galt und die alt,	the one not yet milked and the old one,
s'krombä und die ä,	the crooked one and the other,
der gross bauch und die rauch,	the big belly and the smoky one,
d'läng bäneri,	the long-boned one,
d'hag läneri,	the one that rubs against the post,
trib ia, wohl zua, wohl zua, bas zua,	I will guide and look after you all,
loba.	*loba*.
Sed das i g'weibet ha,	Since I married
ha i kä brodt me ka,	I have bread with me,
sed das i g'weibet ha,	Since I married
ha i kä glückh me ka.	I am happy.

---

[10] Translated by the author with the help of Joe Manser, curator, Zentrum für Appenzellische Volksmusik, 21 July 2009.

Trib mer ia   Following me
die g'schiltata vier,   I have the four blotchy ones,
si schlichet hüna noa mit am stier. and at the back is the bull.
Wohl zua, do zua, bas zua   I will guide you all
loba.   *loba*.

Wens ada wohl gott   Under God's guidance
und nimer stil stoth,   we do not stand still,
so ist jo grota, grota, loba.   but keep moving, *loba*.
Ist käna lütha bas as ösra küa,   And for the well-being of our cows,
sie trinckhit us dem bach   they drink from the brook
und möget trüa.   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.

173

Fig. 4.4. The *Kühreihen* of the Appenzellers, *Sammlung von Schweizer Kühreien und alten Volkliedern*, second edition, 1812.[11]

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.

---

[11] Kuhn, ed. *Sammlung* of 1812, 17-19.

Brogerin text of 1730

Weder ia, loba!
Gotts nama alsama,
die junga, die alta, die äna,
alsama, loba
Köda Gotts nama alsama, loba
Weni era fä a pfiffa a,
so köd alsama zua a schlicha,
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 füsta drischlot,
und der wend
zuo alla löchra ia blost. loba.

Trib mer ia, Gotts nama:
die hinckat, die stinckat,
die g'scheget, die g'fleckhet,
die glazet, die blatzet,
schwantzeri, tantzeri,
glintzeri, blintzeri,
d'lehneri, d'freneri,
d'hossleri, d'mosleri,
d'horeri, d'schoreri,
s'halb örli unds mörli,
s'ä äugli, s'trüfäugli,
die erst galt und die alt,
s'krombä und die ä,
der gross bauch und die rauch,
d'läng bäneri, 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.

Wens ada wohl gott
und nimer stil stoth,
so ist jo grota,

Kuhn text of 1812

Wänder iha, Loba!
Allsamma mit Namma,
die Alten, die Jungen, die Alten
Alsamma, Loba!
Chönd allesamma, Loba!
Wenne anem be ha pfiffa!
So chönd allsamma zuha schlicha.
Wol zuha, da zuha; t
ryb iha allsamma,
wohl zuha, beß'r zuha,
hüsch sinds, und fry,
holdselig dazu, Loba!

Wäß wohl wemmer z'singa vergaht,
wenn zwo Wiega i der Stuba staht,
wenn 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'fleket,
die Schwanzere, Tanzere,
Glintzere, Blinzere,
d'Lehnere, d'Fehnere,
d'Haslere, d'Schmalzere,
d'Mosere,
d'Halbörli, s'Mörli,
Sääugli, s'Tröfäugli,
die erst Gäl,
und die Altchrombä
und die ä der Großbuch, und die Rauch,
d'Längbänere, 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,

grota, loba.   *grotha Loba!*

Ist käna lütha bas   *Sist käne Lütha bas*
as ösra küa,   *als üsra Küha;*
sie trinckhit us dem bach   *Sie trinket ußem Bach,*
und möget trüa.   *und möget trüjah!*

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.[12]

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

---

[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.[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 *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

---

[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*'.[14] 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

---

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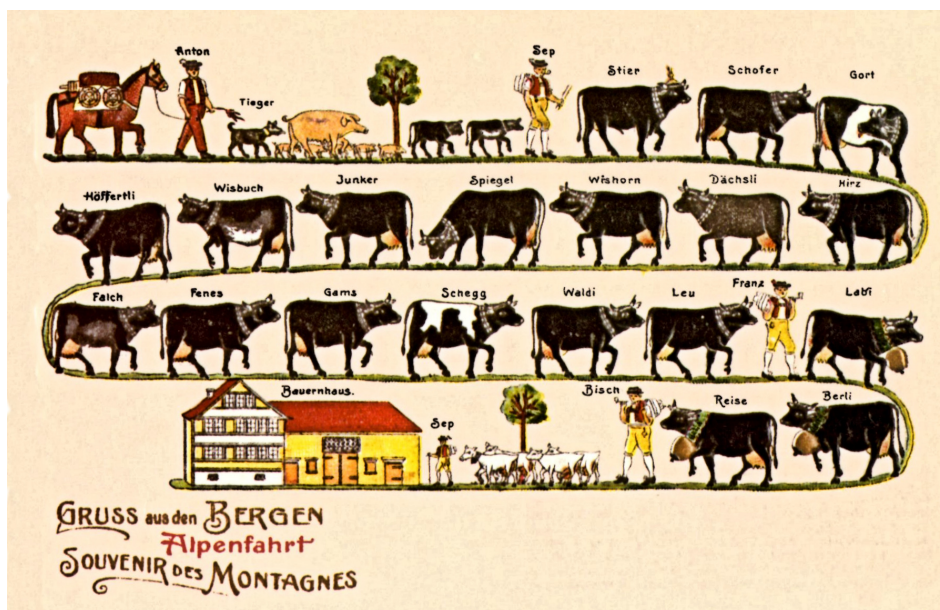
Fig. 4.5. Late nineteenth-century postcard from Appenzell that shows the cows as they descend from the high pastures at the end of the summer, with their names. The style of clothing, the farmhouse and the white goats are all typical of the Appenzell region.[17]

---

[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. Personal communication, Lena Frischknecht, Appenzell, July 2010.

[17] 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'krombä*' (the old one, the crooked legged one) has been combined into a word with no meaning '*die Altschrombä*'.[18]

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.[19]

---

[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 Helvétiennes* (Lausanne: Knab, 1813), 429 and Alexander Hyatt King, 'Mountains, Music and Musicians,' *The Musical Quarterly* Vol. 31, No. 4, (1945), 400.

Fig. 4.6. Transcript of the copy of the Appenzell *Kühreien* that was sent to
Princess Anne of England in the late seventeenth century.[20]

　　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
pothopatridaecia (homesickness), a serious condition which, he stated, could
cause death in severe cases. Zwinger observed that Swiss mercenaries working

---

[20] Transcription in 'Ranz des Vaches', *The Music Box* Vol. 4, No. 1 (1969), 57. No author or
further source recorded.

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 consueverunt, 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.*[21]

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

---

[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.

---

[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 ajoûté dans la même Planche le célèbre Rans-des-Vaches, cet Air si chéri des Suisses qu'il fut defend sous peine de mort de le jouer dans leurs Troupes, parce qu'il faisoit fondre en larmes, deserter ou mourir ceux qui l'entendoient, tant il excitoit en eux l'ardent desir de revoir leur pays. On chercheroit en vain dans cet Air les accens énergiques capables de produire de si étonnans 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 amere 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 produisoit 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.*[23]

---

[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'.

Fig. 4.8. *Air Suisse appellé le Rans des Vaches*, the Appenzell *Kühreien* reproduced in Rousseau's *Dictionnaire de Musique*, 1768.

The *Ranz des Vaches*[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

---

[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.[25] 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.[26]

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*.[27] By the time of Rousseau's publication, it appears that this effect was no longer felt so deeply by subsequent

---

[25] Andrew Pettigree, *Calvinism in Europe 1540-1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 19.

[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

---

[28] James Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson* (Dublin: Cross, 1792), Vol. 3, 198.

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:

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

---

[29] William Wordsworth, *Memorials of a Tour on the Continent*, Sonnet 21 (London: Longman, 1822).

Ma soeur,	My sister,
Mes agneaux,	My lambs,
Mes troupeaux,	My herds,
Ma bergere,	My shepherdess,
Quand reverrai-je en un jour,	When will I see again one day
Tous les objets de mon amour.	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 Volkliedern* 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 be 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

---

[30] Benjamin Laborde, *L'essai sur la Musique Ancienne et Moderne* (Paris: Pierre, 1780), Vol. 4, 106.

[31] For example, Tarenne, *Recherches*, 16.

dejection, and scorned so base a procedure, fell martyrs to their own feelings, by a disease called Nostalgia.[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.

Fig. 4.10. *Ran de Vaches des Ormonts*, in *Sammlung von Schweizer Kühreien und alten Volkliedern*, second edition, 1812.[33]

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

---

[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	The herdsmen of Colombette
De bon matin sé sont leva,	Rise early in the morning
Ah! Ah! Lioba, Lioba, portaria.	Ah! Ah! Rejoice, rejoice, milking.
Lioba, Lioba, portaria.	Rejoice, rejoice, milking.
Veni dé tote, petite, grozze,	Come all of you, little, big,
E blianz é néré,	The white and black,
d'zou véné autré,	all you others come,
Dezo stou tzano,	Come under the oak tree,
yio, yie, tario,	you, you, wait,
Dezo stou trimblio,	Come under the rustling leaves,
yio, yie, trinzo!	you, you to be milked.
Lioba, lioba portaria.	Rejoice, rejoice, milking.
Lioba, lioba portaria.	Rejoice, rejoice, milking.[34]

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 Helvétiennes* (1813), for example, it appears thus:

---

[34] Author's translation, from the French version provided by Louis and Philippe-Sirice Bridel in *Conservateur Suisse ou Receuil Complet des Étrennes Helvétiennes* (Lausanne: Knab, 1813), 425-7.

Fig. 4.11. Opening refrain and first verse of the *Ranz des Vaches des Ormonds* [*sic*], as reproduced in *La Conservateur Suisse ou Receuil Complet des Étrennes Helvétiennes*.[35]

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.[36] 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:

---

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] Johann Rudolf Wyss, ed. *Sammlung von Schweizer Kühreien und Volksliedern*, fourth edition (Bern: Burgdorfer, 1826), 91, 99.

194

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'operation de faire le fromage, tout cela en chantant en chour 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 choeur 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

196

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 …[40]

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.[41]

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.

---

[40] 'On the National Songs and Music of Switzerland', *The New Monthly Magazine and Humorist* ed. Theodore Hook (London: Colburn, 1840), Vol. 59, 369-70, no author given.
[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.[42] He lived in London for much of his life where he developed a successful publishing and piano-building business.[43] 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.[44]

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.[45] In the same year as the publication

---

[42] Margaret Cranmer and Peter Ward Jones, 'Clementi', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 18 January 2014).

[43] Alan Tyson, *Muzio Clementi, Thematic Catalogue* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1967), 18-20.

[44] Muzio Clementi, *Six Sonatinas* Op. 36 (New York: Achirmer, 1904), 22.

[45] Muzio Clementi, *The Correspondence of Muzio Clementi*, ed. David Rowland (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2010), 48-52.

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 éffet; cela est ci vrai, que les sons prolongeant dans l'éspace, 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 éxécution 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 entendù, il faut que l'imagination vous transporte là ou il est né, et tout en l'éxécutant en Angleterre reunir*

---

[46] English text quoted in *The Music Box* Vol. 4, No. 1, 1969, 55-6. No translator acknowledged.

*toutes ses facultés pour le sentir en Suisse. C'est ainsi que dans quelques
moments ravissans, je l'ai éxécuté sur mon violon, la meilleur des Amis
l'entendoit.*[47]

Fig. 4.13. *Rans des Vaches* written down by Viotti in the canton of Vaud.[48]

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:

---

[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.

Fig. 4.14. Viotti, Violin Concerto No. 9, bars 1-2, which show influence from the *Ranz des Vaches* from Vaud.[49]

Fig. 4.15. Viotti, Serenade for piano with violin obbligato and cello, bars 1-5, which more closely resembles the opening phrases of the Appenzell *Kühreien*.[50]

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.[51] 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:

---

[49] Chappell White, *Viotti, Thematic Catalogue* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1985).
[50] *Ibid.*
[51] Barry S. Brook, David E. Campbell, Monica H. Cohn and Michael Fend, 'Gossec', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 18 January 2014).

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.[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 *sontflute* (flautando). Each section ends with an atmospheric paused note. The motifs are supported by notes on a cowhorn 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.

---

[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 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.

SCENE II.

Fig. 4.16. Music of the Appenzell *Kühreien* in the opening pages
from the score of Grétry's opera *Guillaume Tell*, 1791.[53]

---

[53] André Grétry, *Guillaume Tell* (Paris: Huguet, 1791), 1-2.

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.[54] 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.[55] 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

---

[54] Barry S. Brook, David E. Campbell, Monica H. Cohn and Michael Fend, 'Gossec', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 18 January 2014).

[55] Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution: A History* (Boston, MA: Little and Brown, 1838), Vol. 2, Chapter 7: The Swiss, 143-150.

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.

Fig. 4.17. Gossec, *Air pour les Suisse Rans des Vaches*. Part of the final scene of *Le Triomphe de la République, ou Le Camp de Grand Pré*.[56]

    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

---

[56] François-Joseph Gossec, *Le Triomphe de la République, ou Le Camp de Grand Pré* (Paris: Huguet, 1794), 191-3.

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 eindruckslose Bilder an meinen Augen vorüberzogen, sondern dass sie in meiner Seele tiefe Empfindungen hervorreifen – 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 naturgemass die Bilder und die Ideen …*[57]

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

---

[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.*[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.

---

[58] Quotations of other alphorn motifs in *Tagebuch eines Wanderers* will be examined in
Chapter 5.

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]

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

---

[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[60] and settled in Cheltenham, where grandson Gustav was raised.[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 *Kühreien.* He called the work *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 *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 (*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 *Ranz des*

---

[60] Michael Short, *Gustav Holst* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 9-10.

[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. *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.[62]

---

[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!

Fig. 4.20. *Fantaisie sur le Ranz des Vaches* for piano, by Louis Niedermeyer, lithograph on the cover.[63]

---

[63] Louis Niedermeyer, *Fantaisie sur le Ranz des Vaches* (Paris: Pacini, no date).

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:	Herdsman:
Voici donc le soir,	Here in the evening
je vais la revoir,	I make my return,
Mes vaches chéries	My lovely cows
Quittons les prairies,	leave the meadows,
On m'attend déjà!	They wait for me already!
Ah! Fais sonner ta clochette	Ah! Sound your little bell
mon gentil troupeau,	my gentle herd,
afin que Jeannette	so that Jeannette
m'entende plûstôt.	Will hear me soon.
Mais de ce rocher	But by that rock
Qui vois-je approcher?	Who do I see approaching?
Étranger, sans doute,	A stranger, undoubtedly,
Tu cherches ta route?	Are you looking for your way?
Jean te conduira!	Jean will lead you.
Ah! Fais sonner . .	Ah! Sound your little bell . . .
L'étranger:	Stranger:
Voudrais-tu, berger,	Herdsman, would you like
de destin changer?	to change your destiny?
Si tu veux me suivre	If you wish to follow me
Gaiment tu peux vivre.	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
  Gaiment tu peux vivre,
  Eh quoi! eh quoi!
  Tu restes au hameau?

Herdsman:
  Me leave this?

  Ah! Sound your little bell . . .

  Look at the beautiful sky,
  The sky of Appenzell!
  Here is my homeland,
  Here my gentle friend
  Who often sings to me.

  Ah! Sound your little bell . . .

Stranger:
  You could return
  Rich, one day,
  Take here an advance
  of a hundred French *écus*.

Herdsman:
  Hey! What are these?
  Ah! Our fortune is made,
  We will leave the village,
  Goodbye my Jeannette,
  Goodbye my herd.

Stranger:
  Here we are
  We will leave the village
  Let us go . . .

Herdsman:
  But what is this sound
  That beats in my heart,
  I hear the cowbells
  and the sound repeats,
  you flee away, ungrateful!
  Come, take back your riches.
  I will stay in the village
  with my sweetheart
  with my herds.

Stranger:
  You are staying in the village?
  Hey, why do you stay?
  Leave! Come!
  If you follow me
  Gay your life can be,
  Hey what? What?
  You are staying in the village?

215

Fig. 4.21. Meyerbeer, Chorus to *Chanson Suisse: Fais Sonner la Clochette: Ranz des Vaches d'Appenzell*. Chorus, bars 1-9.[64]

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.[65] The subject matter of this song, entitled *Alphorn*, Op. 16, for soprano, French horn and piano, is highlighted by the use of both the *Kühreien* from Appenzell and by the inclusion of a part for *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

---

[64] Giacomo Meyerbeer, *Ranz des Vaches d'Appenzell* (London: Cramer, Addison and Beale), no date.

[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.

„ seinem lieben Papa gewidmet"

Alphorn
(Justinus Kerner)

Richard Strauss

Fig. 4.22. The Appenzell motif opens Strauss's
setting of Kerner's text *Alphorn*, Op. 16. Bars 1-11.[66]

Ein Alphorn hör' ich schallen,	I hear an alphorn calling
Das mich von hinnen ruft,	But know not whence its sound:
Tönt es aus wald'gen Hallen?	From crag or woodland falling,
Tönt es aus blauer Luft?	From azure skies around,
Tönt es von Bergeshöhe,	From peak or flower-strewn hollow
Aus blumenreichen Thal?	Whence comes the haunting strain?
Wo ich nur geh' und stehe,	I walk and stand and follow
Hör ich'sin süßer Qual.	And feel the sweetest pain.
Bei Spiel und frohem Reigen,	For I am called up yonder
Einsam mit mir allein,	To paths and meadows high,
Tönt's, ohne je zu schweigen,	And as alone I wander
Tönt tief ins Herz hinein.	The endless sound seems nigh.

---

[66] Richard Strauss, *Alphorn* (Mainz: Schott, 1995).

Noch nie hab'ich gefunden	For ever I'm enraptured
Den Ort, woher es schallt,	By such sweet music made,
Und nimmer wird gesunden	A homesick heart is captured:
Dies Herz, bis es verhallt.	Those echoes never fade.[67]

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.
[68] Barbara Duncan, 'Home Sweet Home', *University of Rochester Bulletin* Vol. 4, No. 2, Winter 1949.

Fig. 4.23. Bishop, *Melodies of Various Nations*: 'Sicilian' melody that opens with the shape of the Appenzell *Kühreien*.[69]

---

[69] Henry Rowley Bishop, *Melodies of Various Nations* (London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co, 1921), 69.

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.

Fig. 4.24. The opening of the melody *Home, Sweet Home* by
Henry Rowley Bishop, based on the Appenzell *Kühreien*.

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.[71]

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.[72]

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

---

[71] Irwin Silber, *Songs of the Civil War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 120-1.
[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.[73]

Fig. 4.25. Title page of *Hom! Sweet Hom!*, with the sub-title
Melodie Anglaise, for oboe and piano by Gustav Vogt.[74]

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

---

[73] Frances Jones, 'Morceaux de Concours: Rediscovering the Treasures of the Paris
Conservatoire', *Double Reed News*, *Journal of the British Double Reed Society*, 1997, 33-36.
A list of most of the works for the annual *Concours* for every instrument taught there
appears in Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation:
Documents Historiques et Administratifs* (Paris: Imprimateur Nationale, 1900).
[74] The manuscript for this work is held in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms. No. 14098.

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 herdsmen'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]

---

[1] One work will be included in this chapter that has parts for alphorns: Strauss's opera *Daphne*.
[2] Bachmann-Geiser, *Das Alphorn*, 117-122; Schüssele, *Alphorn und Hirtenhorn*, 250-253; Sommer, *Quellen zur Alphornmelodik*, 128-130.
[3] Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London: Routledge, 2010), 36-38.
[4] Walter Scott, *Anne 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

---

[5] Caroline Schaumann, 'From Meadows to Mountaintops: Albrecht von Haller's Die Alpen', *Heights of Reflection, Mountains in the German Imagination from the Middle Ages to the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Caroline Schaumann (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2012), 57.

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.
[8] Edward Mendelson, 'Baedeker's Universe', *Yale Review* No. 74 (Spring 1985), 387.
[9] Rolf Rath and Marie-Noëlle Polino, eds. *The City and the Railway in Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 3.

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 cissoïdale 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 extrèmement beau sur le cor pendant la nuit: ses modulations plaintives et languissantes vont jusqu'à l'âme.* [10]

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. [11] 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'. [12] One scene describes the protagonist's feelings on hearing the herdsman's horn:

---

[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.'

[11] Thomas Moore, *The Works of Lord Byron*, Vol. 11 (London: Murray, 1832), 21.

[12] Quoted in Philip W. Martin, *Byron: A poet before his Public* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 111.

> 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.[13]

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; …[14]

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.[15]

---

[13] George Gordon Byron, *Complete Works* (Paris: Baudry, 1837), 339.

[14] Percy Byssche Shelley, *The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (Paris: Galiagni, 1841), 288.

[15] Murray, *A Glance at some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland* (London: Murray, 1829), 81-82.

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.[16] However, it appears that Murray may also have known about the *Alpsegen* or *Betruf*, 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.[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 herdsmen'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 caves 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.[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.

---

[16] Geiser, *Das Alphorn in der Schweiz*, 10.
[17] The text of an *Alpsegen* heard on Mount Pilatus is reproduced in Capeler, *Pilati Montis*, 11.
[18] Murray, *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.[19] 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'.[20] 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.[21]

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

---

[19] John Murray, *A Hand-Book for Travellers in Switzerland, Savoy and Piedmont* (London: Murray, 1838), Preface i.
[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 Emmenthal, 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*".[22]

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

---

[22] 'On the National Songs and Music of Switzerland', *The New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, Vol. 59 (1840), 367. No author given.

generally has enormously increased, of which no country has been the witness in a more marked degree than Switzerland.[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 *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.[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

---

[23] Karl Baedeker, *Switzerland, with neighbouring Lakes of Northern Italy, Savoy, and the adjacent districts of Piedmont, Lombardy and the Tyrol. Handbook for Travellers* (Koblenz: Baedeker, 1863), Preface iii.

[24] John and Nelly Wood, 'An Autumn Tour in Switzerland', serialised in *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]
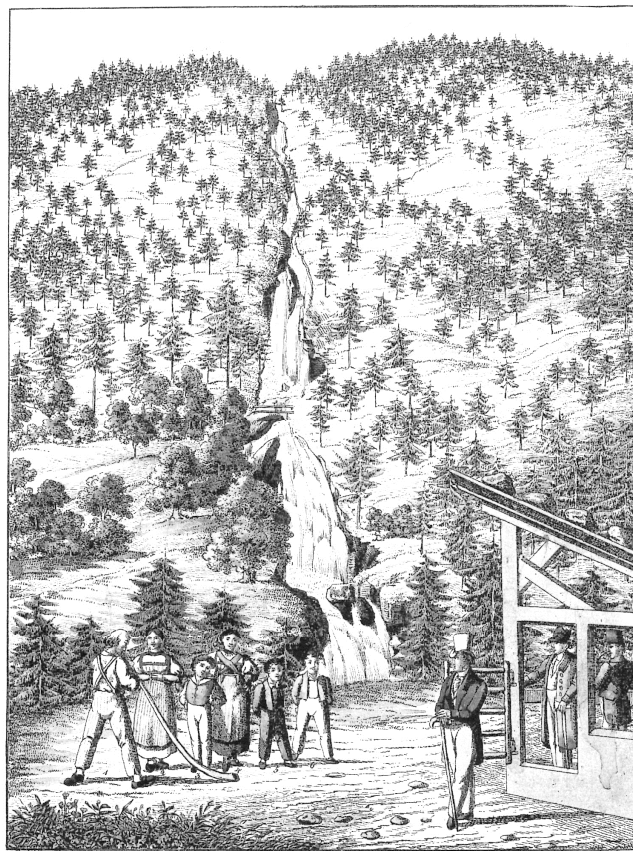
Fig. 5.1. Johann Kehrli and his family Bäbi, Hansi, Gritli, Köbi and Heinz, entertain
tourists at the Giessbach Falls, near Brienz. Engraving by Geysler, *c*.1825.[26]

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-*

---

[25] Murray, *Hand-Book*, 1838, 83.
[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.
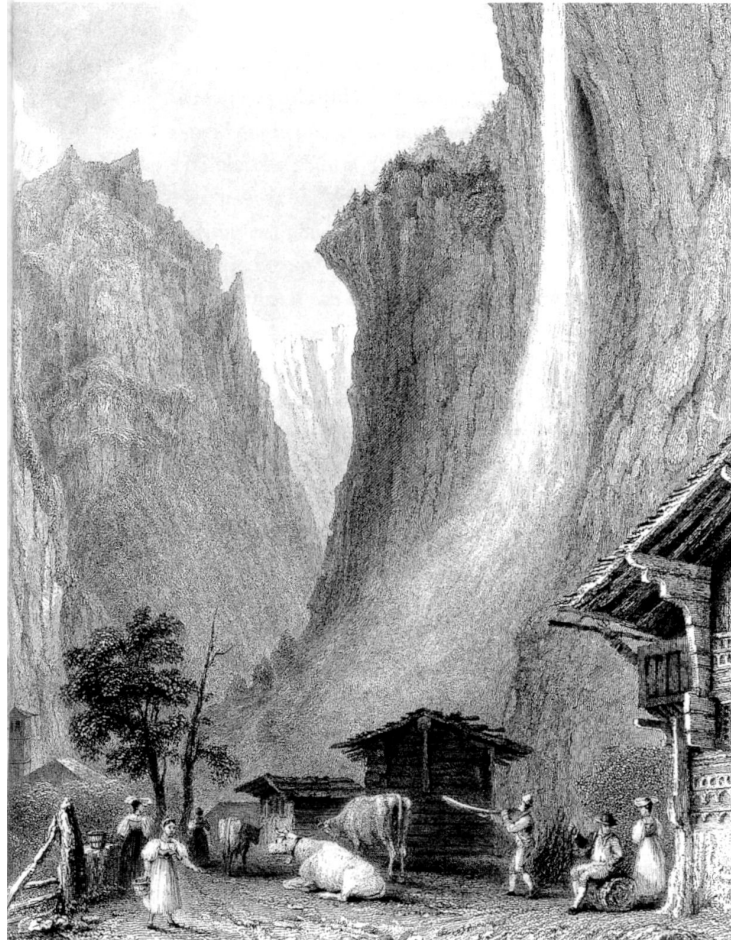
Fig. 5.2. Alphorn player by the Staubbach waterfall,
Lauterbrunnen. Etching, English, 1834.[30]

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.[31]

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.[32]

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*].[33]

---

[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.

Fig. 5.3. *Sonnenaufgang auf der Rigi* showing the viewing platform and an alphorn player, centre. F. N. König, *c*.1810. Kunstmuseum, Bern.[34]

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

---

[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.[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.[36] The illustration in the first edition of Twain's *A Tramp Abroad* shows an interesting amplification box through which the bell of the alphorn was played.

WHAT AWAKENED US.

Fig. 5.4. Illustration of the alphorn player at the top of the Rigi by
W. Fr. Brown in the first edition of Mark Twain's *A Tramp Abroad*.

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

---

[35] Mark Twain, *A Tramp Abroad* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1880), 299-300.
[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'.[37] 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 …[38]

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.[39]

---

[37] Baedeker, *Switzerland*, 1863, 74.

[38] Karl Baedeker, *Switzerland, and the adjacent districts of Italy, Savoy, and the Tyrol. Handbook for Travellers* (Leipzig: Baedeker, 1889), 88.

[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

---

[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).

eighteenth century with that thereafter.[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.[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,[43] however such

---

[41] Monelle, *The Musical Topic*.
[42] Barry Tuckwell, *Horn* (New York: Schirmer, 1983), 13.
[43] For example, as documented in M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet, 'The new repertory at the Opéra during the Reign of Terror: Revolutionary rhetoric and operatic consequences', *Music and the French Revolution*, ed. Malcolm Boyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 107-156.

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'.[44]

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'.[45]

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

---

[44] Cardinal, *German Romantics*, 43.
[45] Donald Jay Grout, *A History of Western Music* (London: Dent, 1973), 538.

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:
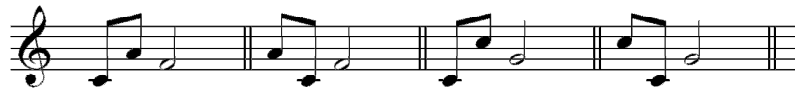
Fig. 5.5. Typical 'turning arpeggio' alphorn motifs.

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.*[46]

Fig. 5.6. Schubert, Symphony No. 9, second movement, bar 148-158: interplay of string parts with horn calls referred to by Schumann.[47]

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

---

[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.'

[47] Franz Schubert, *Symphony No. 7* [now No. 9] (Paris: Heugel, 1952), 105.

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.[48] 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.[49]

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'.[50]

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

---

[48] Rosemary Hughes, *Haydn* (London: Dent, 1974), 97.
[49] Howard Chandler Robbins Landon, *Haydn Chronicle and Works: the Late Years 1801-1809* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1977), 30-31.
[50] Stephen Groves, 'The Picturesque Oratorio: Haydn's Art in Nature's Clothing', *Music and Letters*, Vol. 93, No. 4 (November 2012), 479.

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	The cheerful herdsman now gathers
die frohen Herden um sich her;	the happy herds around him;
zur fetten Weid'auf grünen Höh'n	to lead them slowly on their journey
treibet er sie langsam fort.	to the rich green pastures up above.
Nach Osten blikkend steht er dann,	He gazes eastwards
auf sienem Stabe hingelehnt,	and leans on his staff,
zu dehn den ersten Sonnenstrahl,	as the sunrise sends forth its first rays
welchem er entgegen haart.	and gives cheer to his heart.

Fig. 5.7. Haydn, *Die Jahrzeiten*, Aria No. 11, in which the herdsman, Lucas, sings of taking his animals up to the high pastures, bars 1-6. A substantial *obbligato* part for solo French horn is given alphorn-like motifs.[51]

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

---

[51] Josef Haydn, *Die Jahrzeiten* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1802), 142.

foible – a desire to transport listeners into a haven of calm …'.[52] 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 Würtemberg 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

---

[52] Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 156.

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* (Herdsman'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 herdsman 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]

---

[53] Michael Steinberg, *The Symphony: A Listener's Guide* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 35.

[54] R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 99; however in his book *Fanny Hensel: The Other Mendelssohn* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 64, Larry Todd attributes this quotation to a letter written by Felix's sister Fanny.

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.

Fig. 5.8. Mendelssohn, *Sinfonia No. 9*, second movement bars 45-51. The staves are for violin 1, violin 2, viola 1, viola 2, cello and bass.[55]

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,*

---

[55] Felix Mendelssohn, *Sinfonie, No. 9* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1967), 25.

> *so müßte doch manches anders geworden sein, und wollte mir gern den Anblick so recht fest einprägen.*[56]

Mendelssohn included in his diary a transcription of a *Ranz des Chèvres* by Ferdinand Huber that appears in the *Sammlung von Schweizer Kühreien und alten Volksliedern* of 1812.[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, *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 *The Shepherd on the Rock*, although *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.

---

[56] Felix Mendelssohn, *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.'

[57] Original in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, collection MSS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn, Diaries and Accounts: pocket books, 1829-47.

Fig. 5.9. Title page from the 1812 edition of *Sammlung von Schweizer Kühreien und alten Volksliedern*, which shows a typical scene of the *Hirt auf dem Felsen*. This is a view in the Bernese Oberland of the Rosenlaui Glacier, the Wellhorn and the Wetterhorn.[58]

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.

---

[58] Kuhn, ed. *Sammlung* of 1812, frontispiece.

Frances Jones   Alphorn

Wenn auf dem höchsten Fels ich steh',
ins tiefe Thal hernieder seh',
und singe,

When on the highest rock I stand,
And down into the valley gaze,
And sing,

Fern aus dem tiefen dunkeln Thal,
schwingt sich empor der Wiederhall
der Klüfte.

Far from the deep and misty vale,
There soars aloft re-echoing sound
of ravines.

Je wieter meine Stimme dringt,
je heller sie mir wieder klingt,
von unten.

My voice, the more it penetrates
The clearer it resounds to me
From down below.

Mein Liebchen wohnt so weit von mir,
drum sehn' ich mich so heiss nach
ihr hinüber.

My darling lives so far from me,
Thus ardently I long for her,
Far away.

In tiefem Gram verzehr ich
mich mir ist die Freude hin,
auf Erden mir die Hoffnung
wich ich hier so einsam bin.

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 sehnend klang im Wald das Lied,
so sehnend klang es durch die Nacht,
die Herzen es zum Himmel zieht
mit wunderbarer Macht.

So ardent sounded forth my song,
So ardent sounded in the night,
Our hearts it draws to Heaven,
With wonder-working might.

Der Frühling will kommen,
der Frühling meine Freud',
nun mach' ich mich fertig
zum Wandern bereit.

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]

---

[60] Franz Schubert, *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen*, Op. 129 (Berlin: Lienau, *c*.1960), 5.

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 fortseßt.	... The *Kühreien*, and the harmonious tinkling of cowbells, continue for some while after the rising of the curtain.
Fischerknabe, singt im Rahn, *Melodie des Kuhreihens,*	Fisher boy, sings in his boat, the melody of the *Kühreien*,
Es lächelt der See, er ladet zum Bade, *Der Knabe schlief ein am grünen Gestade,* *Da hört er ein Klingen,* *Wie Flöten so süß,* *Wie Stimmen der Engel*	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

---

[61] Anselm Gerhard, *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 105.

[62] Richard Osborne, *Rossini* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 5.

Im Paradies.	In paradise.
Und wie er erwachet in seliger Lust,	And he wakens with pleasure,
Da spülen die Wasser ihm um die Brust,	The waters ripple over his chest;
Und es ruft aus den Tiefen:	And a voice from the deep cries:
Lieb Knabe, bist mein;	Dear boy, you are mine;
Ich locke den Schläfer,	I call the shepherd,
Ich zieh' ihn herein.	I draw him in.
Hirte, auf dem Berge,	Herdsman, on the mountain,
Variation des Kuhreihens.	Variation of the *Kühreien.*
Ihr Matten, lebt wohl!	Your meadows come alive!
Ihr sonnigen Weiden!	Your sunny pastures!
Der Senne muß scheiden,	The herdsman must leave,
Der Sommer ist hin.	The summer is here.
Wir fahren zu Berg, wir kommen wieder,	We go to the hills, we are coming again,
Wenn der Kuckuck ruft,	When the cuckoo calls,
Wenn erwachen die Lieder,	When the birds sing,
Wenn mit Blumen die Erde sich kleidet neu,	When the flowers clothe the earth anew,
Wenn die Brünnlein fließen im lieblichen Mai.	When the brooks flow in lovely May.
Ihr Matten, lebt wohl!	Your meadows come alive!
Ihr sonnigen Weiden!	Your sunny pastures!
Der Senne muß scheiden,	The herdsman must leave,
Der Sommer ist hin.	The summer is here.
Alpenjäger, erscheint gegenüber auf der Höhe	Hunter, appearing on the top of a cliff,
des Felsen, zweite Variation	Second variation of the *Kühreien*
Es donnern die Höhen,	There is thunder above,
Es zittert der Steg,	It shakes the bridge,
Nicht grauet dem Schüßen	There is no grip
Auf Schwindlichtem Weg.	On the dangerous path.
Er Schreitet verwegen auf Feldern von Eis,	He calls across the ice fields,
Da pranget kein Frühling,	Where Spring never blossoms,
Da grünet kein Reis;	Where nothing green will grow;
Und unter den Füßen ein neblichtes Meer,	And under his feet a sea of mist,
Erkennt er die Städte der Menschen nicht mehr;	He cannot see the towns any more;
Durch den Riß nur der Wolken	Through the parting clouds
Erblickt er die Welt,	He can glimpse the world,
Tief unter den Wassern	Deep under the water
Das grünende Feld.[63]	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 Grétry'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.

---

[64] Denise P. Gallo, *Gioachino Rossini* (New York: Routledge, 2002), xxi.
[65] George Grove, ed. *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1889), Vol. 1, 56. This information does not appear in later editions.

Fig. 5.11. Rossini, overture to the opera *Il Guglielmo Tell*, bars 176-185.
The tenoroon / cor anglais part is on stave 7, echoed by the flute (stave 1).
A drone effect is provided by horns, clarinets and bassoons.[66]

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

---

[66] Gioachino Rossini, *Il Guglielmo Tell* (Rome: Ralti, 1830), 19.
[67] Hector Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, trans. David Cairns (London: Gollancz, 1969), 125-6.

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 bruissement des arbres doucement agités par le vent, quelques motifs d'espoir qu'il a conçus depuis peu, tout concourt a render à son coeur un calme inaccoutumé, à donner à ses idées une couleur plus riante; mais elle apparait 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 ...*[68]

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.

---

[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 ...'

Fig. 5.12. Berlioz, *Symphonie fantastique*, third movement bars 1-6.[69]

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 répète 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 abandonee, n'auraient pas le quart de leur force si elle était chantée par un autre instrument que le cor Anglais.[70]*

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

---

[69] Hector Berlioz, *Symphonie fantastique* (Paris: Schlesinger, 1845), 51.

[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.[71] 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).

Fig. 5.13. Debussy's *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 *Symphonie fantastique*.

Berlioz's collection of five pastoral songs, Op. 13, entitled *Fleurs des Landes* (Flowers of the Countryside) was completed three years after his *Symphonie fantastique*, in 1833. The fourth song, *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 *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

---

[71] Jessica Wiskus, *The Rhythm of Thought: Art, Literature and Music after Merleau-Ponty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 39-40.

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,	As soon as the thrush wakens,
Sur cette lande encor mouillée	Upon this damp ground
Je viens m'asseoir	I sit down
Jusques au soir;	Until the evening;
Grand'mère de qui je me cache,	Grandmother from whom I hide
Dit: Loïc aime trop sa vache.	Says: Luc loves his cow too much.
Oh! Nenni da!	It's not that,
Mais j'aime la petite Anna.	But I love little Anna.
A son tour Anna, ma compagne,	In her turn, Anna, my companion,
Conduit derrière la montagne,	Leads behind the mountain,
Près des sureaux,	Near the elder trees,
Ses noirs chevreaux;	Her black goats;
Si la montagne où je m'égare,	If the mountain, where I wander,
Ainsi qu'un grand mur, nous sépare,	Separates us like a great wall,
Sa douce voix	Her sweet voice
Sa voix m'appelle au fond du bois.	Calls me from deep in the woods.
Oh! Sur un air plaintif et tendre,	Oh! A plaintive and tender song
Qu'il est doux au loin de s'entendre,	Although sweet when heard from afar,
Sans même avoir	Isn't the same
L'heure de se voir!	As when I can see you!
De la montagne à la vallée	From the mountain to the valley
La voix par la voix appelée	One voice called by another
Semble un soupir	Is like a sigh
Mêlé d'ennuis et de plaisir.	A mix of care and joy.
Ah! retenez bien votre haleine,	Ah! keep on blowing,
Brise étourdie, et dans la plaine,	Heedless wind, and in the fields,
Parmi les blés	Among the corn
Courez, volez!	Hasten, soar!
Dieu! la méchante a sur son aile	God! the cruel wind beats on its wings
Emporté la voix douce et frêle,	The soft delicate voice,
La douce voix	The sweet voice
Qui m'appelait au fond du bois.	That calls me from deep in the woods.

Fig. 5.14. Berlioz, *Le Jeune Pâtre Breton* for French horn in
E flat (stave 1), soprano and piano, bars 27-40.[72]

While in *Faust* Goethe took his readers on a deep psychological journey,

his libretto for an operetta or *Singspiel* entitled *Jery und Bätely* 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

---

[72] Hector Berlioz, *Le Jeune Pâtre Breton*, Op. 13, No. 4 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, *c*.1903), 3.

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'.[73] 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.[74]

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

---

[73] Karin Pendle, 'The Transformation of a Libretto: Goethe's 'Jery und Bätely', *Music and Letters*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (January 1974), 77-78. The extracts from Goethe's letters are quoted in English, with no translator acknowledged.

[74] *Ibid.*

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 (*Daniale 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.
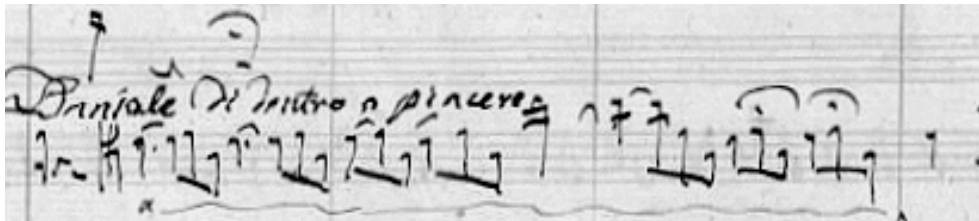
Fig. 5.15. Donizetti, *Betly, o La Capanna Svizzera*, Alphorn-like calls punctuate and accompany the opening chorus. Introduction, bars 102-105, clarinet in A.[75]

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.[76] 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:

---

[75] Gaetano Donizetti, *Betly, o La Capanna Svizzera*, ms *c*.1840, 10.
[76] Ben Arnold, ed., *The Liszt Companion* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 75.

Eindrücke und Poesien: 5. *Die Tellskapelle*;
                                    11. *Ein Abend in den Bergen*;

Melodieenblüten von den Alpen: 1;

Paraphrasen: 1. *Kuhreigen. Aufzug auf die Alp.*

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.
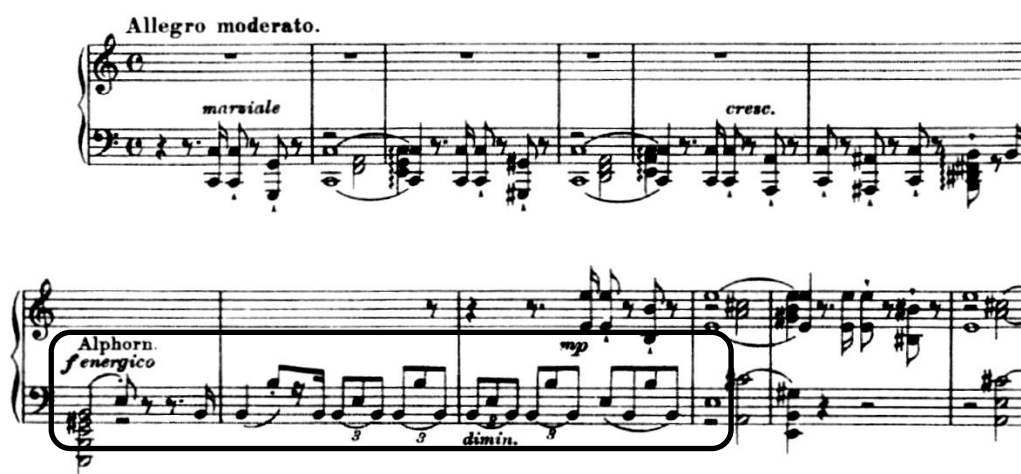
Fig. 5.16. Liszt, *Tagebuch eines Wanderers*, *Die Tellskapelle*, bars 1-12.[77]

---

[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.[78]

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

---

[78] Liszt, *Pianofortewerke*, Vol. 4, 134.

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*.[79]

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 Délices 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 *ff*, is repeated as an extended atmospheric echo, marked *ppp*, before the music moves into a series of rhapsodic elaborations of the material.

---

[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 Fruehling zum Aufzug auf die Alp*.[80]

---

[80] Liszt, *Pianofortewerke*, Vol. 4, 114.

Fig. 5.20. Opening bars (1-9) of *Kuhreihen im Fruehling zum Aufzug auf die Alp*, by Huber, from *Les Délices de la Suisse*. [81]

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

---

[81] J. B. Glück, *Les Délices de la Suisse* (Basel: Knop, 1835), 25.

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.[82]

No. 2 of the set bears the title *Der Hirt*. The text describes the *Kühreien*, or departure of the herdsman with his cattle to the summer pastures. The words are given by Schiller to William Tell's son.

Ihr Matten, lebt wohl,	Your meadows come alive!
Ihr sonnigen wieden!	Your sunny pastures!
Der Senne muss scheiden,	The herdsman must leave,
Der Sommer ist hin.	The summer is here.
Wir fahren zu Berg,	We go to the hills,
wir kommen wieder,	we are coming again,
wenn der Kukkuck ruft,	when the cuckoo calls,
wen erwachen die Lieder,	when the birds sing,
wen mit Blumen die Erde	when the flowers
sich kleidet neu,	clothe the earth anew,
wenn die Brünnelein fliessen	when the brooks flow
in lieblichen Mai.	in lovely May.

Liszt's setting for voice and piano of the herdsman's song from *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'.[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 *Andante Pastorale*, possibly a reference to the earlier *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 *quasi Corno*.

---

[82] Imre Kovacs, 'The Portrait of Liszt as an allegory of the artist in Ary Scheffer's *Three Magi*,' *Studia Musicologica*, Vol. 49 (Hungary: Academia Kiado, 2008), 91.

[83] James Parsons, *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 336, footnote 15.

Fig. 5.21. Liszt, *Drei Lieder aus Schillers Wilhelm Tell*,
No. 2, *Der Hirt*, bars 39-44.[84]

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,

---

[84] Franz Liszt, *Musikalischwerke* Series 7, Vol. 1 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1917), 13.

rather it reflects concepts and ideas.[85] 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.

---

[85] Keith T. Johns, *The Symphonic Poems of Liszt* (Hillside, NY: Pendragon, 1997), 147.

Fig. 5.22. Liszt, *Les Préludes*, bars 200-213, *Allegretto Pastorale*.
An alphorn-like melody gives a rural flavour to the scene.[86]

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).[87]
Andrew Rutherford identifies parallels with a number of other literary works

---

[86] Franz Liszt, *Les Préludes* (London: Eulenburg, 1997), 55.
[87] Andrew Rutherford, *Byron: A Critical Study* (Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961), 76.

including Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.[88] 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'.[89] 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.[90]

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
zu blosser Hirtendichtung	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 wär'ich doch	Oh, that I were
solch'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!

---

[88] *Ibid.*
[89] Joan Chissell, *Schumann* (London: Dent, 1989), 179.
[90] Laura Tunbridge, 'Schumann as Manfred', *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 87 (2004), 557.
[91] Robert Schumann, *Manfred* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1868), 71.

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.*[92]

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

---

[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':[93] 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',[94] 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,	I am the herding boy from the mountains,
seh' auf die Schlösser all' herab.	looking down on you from my castle.
Die Sonne strahlt am ersten hier,	The sun's rays strike here first
am längsten weilet sie bei mir,	and linger with me here the longest.
Ich bin der Knab' vom Berge,	I am the boy from the mountains,
vom Berg der Hirtenknab!	I am the mountain boy!
Der berg, der ist mein Eigenthum,	The mountain belongs to me
da zieh'n die Stürme rings herum,	when it draws the storms around,
und heulen sie von Nord und Süd,	and howls from north and south,
so überschallt sie doch mein Lied:	then I drown it with my song:
Ich bin der Knab' vom Berge,	I am the boy from the mountains,
vom Berg der Hirtenknab!	I am the mountain boy!
Sind Blitz und Donner unter mir,	With thunder and lightning below me,
so steh' ich hoch im Blauen hier;	I stay up here in the blue;
ich kenne sie und rufe zu:	I know it and call to it:

[93] Jon Finson, 'Schumann's Mature Style and the "Album of Songs for the Young" ', *Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 8 (1990), 227-50.
[94] Eric Sams, *The Songs of Robert Schumann* (New York: Eulenburg, 1969), 278.

lasst meines Vaters Haus in Ruh'!	leave my father's house in peace!
Ich bin der Knab' vom Berge,	I am the boy from the mountains,
vom Berg der Hirtenknab!	I am the mountain boy!
Und wann die Sturmglock' einst erschallt,	And when the storm warning first appears,
manch' Feuer auf den Bergen wallt,	with fire in the mountains,
dann steig' ich nieder, tret' in's Glied	then I climb down, striding out,
und schwing' mein Schwert und sing' mein Lied;	and swing my sword and sing my song:
Ich bin der Knab' vom Berge,	I am the boy from the mountains,
vom Berg der Hirtenknab!	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]

---

[95] Robert Schumann, *Des Knaben Berglied, Sämtliche Lieder*, Vol. 2 (Leipzig: Peters, *c*.1900), 189.

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.

Fig. 5.25. Schumann, *Des Sennen Abschied*, bars 24-29.[96]

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

---

[96] Robert Schumann, *Des Sennen Abschied, Sämtliche Lieder*, Vol. 2 (Leipzig: Peters, *c*.1900), 202.

[97] Eric Jensen, *Schumann* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 48.

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	Beautiful milkmaid, once again
singe deinen Ruf in's Thal,	sing your call in the valley,
dass die frohe Felsensprache	that the cheerful voice of the rocks
deinem hellen Ruf erwache!	may resonate with your light voice!
Horch, o Sennin, wie dein Sang	Hear, oh milkmaid, how your song
in die Brust den Bergen drang,	penetrates the heart of the mountains,
wie dein Wort die Felsenseelen	how with your words the mountain's soul
Freudig fort und fort erzählen!	tells of stronger and stronger joy!
Aber einst, wie Alles flieht,	But then when you depart with your song,
scheidest du mit deinem Lied,	everything disappears,
wenn dich Liebe fortbewogen,	when love has moved you on,
oder dich der Tod entzogen.	or when death has taken you away.
Und verlassen werden stehn.	And there, standing deserted,
Traurig stumm herüber sehn	sad and mute,
dort die graunen Felsenzinnen,	the grey crag pinnacles will look across,
und auf deine Lieder sinnen.	and reflect on your songs.

Fig. 5.26. Schumann, *Die Sennin*, bars 1-3.[98]

---

[98] Robert Schumann, *Sämtliche Lieder*, Vol. 3 (Leipzig: Peters, *c*.1900), 42.

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 bläet, wenn er Isoldes Schiff ankündigt, was eine überrachend 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

---

[99] John Deathridge and Carl Dalhaus, *Wagner* (London: Macmillan, 1984), 32.

[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.

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, daßer jedenfalls von deselbsen 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 …'

Fig. 5.27. Wagner, *Tristan und Isolde*, Act 3, bars 48-100: herdsman's melody written for an offstage cor anglais, inspired by alphorn calls heard at the Rigikulm hotel and in the market square in Lucerne.[104]

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'.[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:

> *Wie ich aufwachte, vernahm mein Ohr einen Klang, immer voller schwoll er an, nicht mehr im Traum durfte ich mich wähnen, Musik erschallte, und welche Musik! Als sie verklungen, trat R. mit den fünf Kindern zu mir ein und überreichte mir die Partitur des 'Symphonischen Geburtstagsgrusses', in Tränen war ich, aber auch das ganze Haus. Auf der Treppe hatte R. sein Orchester gestellt und so unser Tribschen auf ewig geweiht! Die 'Tribscher Idylle' so heisst das Werk ... Nach dem Frühstück stellte das Orchester sich wieder ein, und in der unteren Wohnung ertönte nun die Idylle wieder, zu unserer aller Erschütterung, darauf Lohengrin's Brautzug, das Septett von Beethoven, und zum Schluss noch einmal die nie genug Gehörte! Nun begriff ich R.'s heimliches Arbeiten, nun auch des guten Richter's Trompete (er schmetterte das Siegfried-Thema prachtvoll und hatte eigens dazu Trompete gelernte).[106]*

[105] Mark Anson-Cartwright, 'Chord as Motif: The Augmented-Triad Matrix in Wagner's "Siegfried Idyll" ', *Musical Analysis*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (1996), 64.

[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

Fig. 5.28. Wagner, *Siegfried-Idyll*, bars 259-270.[107]

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.

---

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]   Richard Wagner, *Siegfried-Idyll* (London: Eulenburg, 1946), 19.

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.

---

[108] Malcolm MacDonald, *Brahms* (New York: Schirmer, 1990), 99.
[109] *Ibid*., 102.

Fig. 5.29. Alphorn-like horn solo in Brahms's Piano Concerto No. 1, bars 432-438.[110]

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).[111]

---

[110] Johannes Brahms, *Piano Concerto No. 1* (London: Eulenburg, 1945), 66.

[111] 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

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:
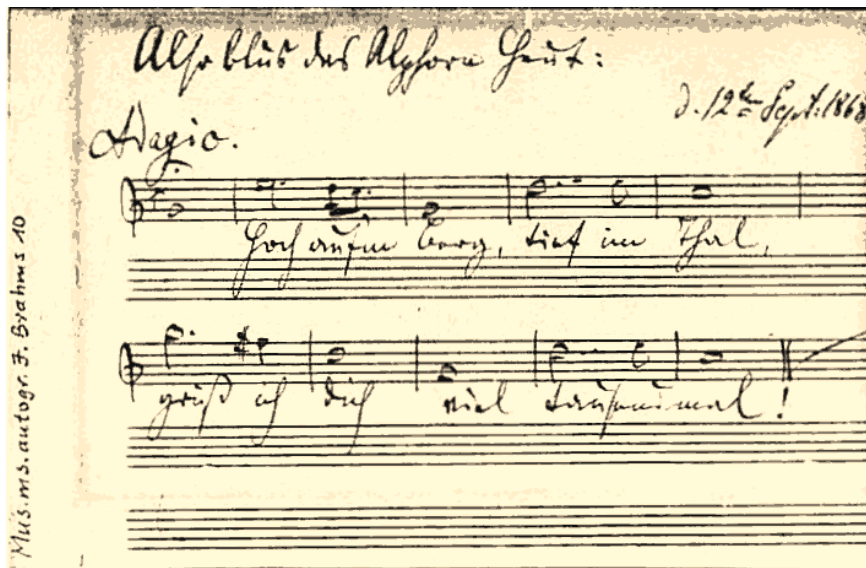
Fig. 5.30. Music sent by Brahms to Clara Schumann, an alphorn melody that he heard in the Bernese Oberland.[112]

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

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: Schaefli, 1997), 31.

[112] Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: Mus.ms.autogr. J. Brahms: 10.

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 alphorn'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]

[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.[114]

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',[115] 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'.[116]

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

---

[114] Author's personal collection.
[115] James Deauville, 'Raff', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 3 July 2014).
[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.[117]

---

[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.[118] 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 …

---

[118] Cedric Williams, 'Brentano, Clemens', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 26 February 2014).

Already, in some of these earlier songs, the orchestra is there, locked within the piano accompaniments and struggling to get out'.[119]

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:

Zu Strassburg auf der Schanz',	In Strasburg on the ramparts,
da ging mein Trauern an;	there I was troubled;
das Alphorn hört' ich drüben wohl anstimmen,	I heard the distant alphorn calling,
ins Vaterland mußt ich hinüberschwimmen,	I had to swim to my homeland,
das ging ja nicht an.	that was not permitted.
Ein Stunde in der Nacht	One hour into the night
sie haben mich gebracht;	they caught me;
sie führten mich gleich vor des Hauptmanns Haus,	they took me directly to the Captain's house,
ach Gott, sie fischten mich im Strome auf,	ah God, they'd fished me out of the river,
mit mir ist's aus.	everything is over for me.
Frühmorgens um zehn Uhr	In the morning at ten o'clock
stellt man mich vor das Regiment;	they will put me before the regiment;
ich soll da bitten um Pardon,	I am supposed to beg for pardon,
und ich bekomm doch meinen Lohn,	and I will take what is due to me,
das weiß ich schon.	well do I know that.
Ihr Brüder allzumal,	You, all my brothers,
Heut' seht ihr mich zum letztenmal;	today you see me for the last time;
der Hirtenbub ist nur schuld daran.	the shepherd boy alone is to blame.
Das Alphorn hat mir's angetan,	The alphorn did this to me –

---

[119] Donald Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler: The Wunderhorn Years: Chronicles and Commentaries* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 144.

das klag ich an.	the blame belongs there.
Ihr Brüder alle drei,	You, my brothers, all three,
was ich euch bitt, erschießt mich gleich;	this I ask: shoot straight at me;
verschont mein junges Leben nicht,	do not spare my young life,
schießt zu, daß das Blut rausspritzt,	shoot so the blood splashes out:
das bitt ich euch.	this I beg you.
O Himmelskönig, Herr!	O King of heaven, Lord!
Nimm du meine arme Seele dahin,	Take my poor soul away,
nimm sie zu dir in den Himmel ein,	take it to you in Heaven,
laß sie ewig bei dir sein	let it be forever with you
und vergiß nicht mein!	and do not forget me!

Fig. 5.34. Mahler's setting of *Zu Strassburg auf der Schanz'* from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, bars 1-13.[120]

---

[120] Gustav Mahler, *12 Lieder von Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, Vol. 2 (Wien: Universal, 1920), 2.

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" '.[121] 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.[122]

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.[123] 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

---

[121] Julian Johnson, 'Mahler and the Idea of Nature', *Perspectives on Gustav Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barnham (Farnham: Ashgate, 2005), 25.
[122] Michael Kennedy, *Mahler* (London: Dent, 1974), 24.
[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:

---

[124] *Ibid*., 311.
[125] *Ibid*., 334.
[126] Quoted in Paul Bekker, *Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1921), 108.
[127] Arved Mark Ashby, *Absolute Music, Mechanical Reproduction* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2010), 222.

Fig. 5.35. Mahler, Symphony No. 4. Cheerful alphorn calls appear
by bar 3 of the opening of the first movement.[128]

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.[129] 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.[130]

[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 *Phantasische 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]

---

[131] Charles Youmans, *Richard Strauss's Orchestral Music and the German Intellectual Tradition* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2005), 111.

[132] Percy Grainger, 'Richard Strauss, Seer and Idealist', *Richard Strauss and his World*, ed. Bryan Gilliam (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 284.

Fig. 5.37. Strauss, *Don Quixote*, Variation 2, wind parts, bars 227-232.
Alphorn calls are given to a variety of woodwind instruments.[133]

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

---

[133] Richard Strauss, *Don Quixote* (London: Eulenburg, 1974), 53-5.

307

gesture of retiring from the world than of renouncing it'.[134] 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.[135] 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.[136]

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.[137] He had a lifelong

---

[134] Mark-Daniel Schmid, *The Richard Strauss Companion* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2003), 322.

[135] Michael Kennedy, *Richard Strauss: Man, Musician, Enigma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 117.

[136] Richard Strauss, *Ein Heldenleben* (London: Eulenburg, 1958), 19.

[137] Norman del Mar, *Richard Strauss* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1978), Vol. 2, 105.

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.[138] 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:

> *Nachts 2 Uhr fuhren wir auf einem Leiterwagen nach dem Dorfe, welches am Fuße des Berges liegt. Sodann steigen wir bei Laternenschein in stockfinsterer Nacht auf u. kamen nach 5 stündigen Marsche am Gipfel an. Dort hat man eine herrliche Aussicht. Staffelsee (Murnau) Rieg-, Ammer-, Würm-, Kochel-, Walchensee. Dann das Isarthal mit Gebirge, Ötzthaler- u. Stubaierferner, Innsbrucker Berge, Zugspitze, pp. Dann steigen wir auf der anderen Seite hinab, um nach Walchensee zu kommen, versteigen uns jedoch u. mußten in der Mittagshitze 3 Stunden ohne Weg herumklettern. Der Walchensee ist ein schöner See, macht einem jedoch melancolischen Eindruck, denn er ist rings von Wäldern u. hohen Bergen eingefaßt. Er hat herrliches, kristallhelles u. hellgrünes Wasser. Sodann fuhren wir über den See nach Uhrfelden, wo am Fuße des neben dem Heimgarten liegenden Herzogstand liegt. Von da eine Stunde über den Kösselberg eine Stunde an den Kochelsee (Wirtshaus Kösselberg). Schon auf dem Wege daher hatte uns ein furchtbarer Sturm überfallen, der Bäume entwurzelte u. uns Steine ins Gesicht warf. Kaum in Trockenen, ging der Sturm los. Der Kochelsee ein sehr romantischer, schöner See warf ungeheure Wellen, so daß eine Überfahrt nach dem gegenüber liegenden Schlehdorf, wo uns der Leiterwagen erwartete, nicht zu denken war. Nachdem der Sturm sich gelegt, mußten wir uns, ob wir wollten oder nicht dazu bequemen, um den ganzen Kochelsee (2 Stunden) herumzulaufen. Auf dem Wege kam wieder Regen u. so kamen wir endlich nach rasendschnellem Marsche (wir setzten nicht eine Minute aus) ermüdet, durchnäßt bis auf die Haut, in Schlehdorf an, wo wir übernachteten, u. fuhren dann am nächsten Morgen in aller Gemütsruhe auf dem Leiterwagen nach Murnau. Die Partie war bis zum höchsten*

---

[138] Höyng, 'Leaving the Summit Behind', 233.

*Grad interessant, apart u. originell. Am nächsten Tage habe ich die
ganze Partie auf dem Klavier dargestellt. Natürlich riesige
Tonmalereien u. Schmarrn (nach Wagner).*[139]

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 alphorn 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:

*Nacht – Sonnenaufgang – der Anstieg – Eintritt in den Wald – Wanderung
neben dem Bache – am Wasserfall – Erscheinung – Auf blumigen Wiesen
– Auf der Alm – Durch Dickicht und Gestrüpp auf Irrwegen – Auf dem
Gletscher – Gefahrvolle Augenblicke – Auf dem Gipfel – Vision – Nebel
steigen auf – Die Sonne verdüstert sich allmählich – Elegie – Stille vor*

---

[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 Walchen. 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.[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).[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'.[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'.[143]

Strauss described this symphony as a celebration of nature in contrast to

---

[140] 'Night – sunrise – the ascent – entry into the forest – wandering near the brook – at the waterfall – apparition – at the flowery meadows – on the Alp – lost among thick bushes – on the glacier – dangerous moments – on the summit – vision – clouds build – the sun becomes gradually obscured – elegy – calm before the storm – thunder and storm, descent – sunset – epilogue – night.'

[141] Michael Kennedy, *Richard Strauss* (London: Dent, 1976), 140.

[142] *Ibid.*

[143] Charles Youmans, 'The Role of Nietzsche in Richard Strauss's Artistic Development', *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 21, Issue 3 (Summer 2004), 311.

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.

Fig. 5.39. Strauss, *Eine Alpensinfonie*. Arrival at the alp (*Auf der Alm*), wind and cowbells parts. The beginning of the alphorn calls.[144]

Strauss used twenty French horns and four tenor horns (Wagner tubas) in this work, but although Gerard Hoffnung's cartoon of the work demonstrates that one might expect there to be an alphorn in the score, Strauss does not include one.

---

[144] Richard Strauss, *Eine Alpensinfonie* (London: Eulenburg, 1996), 55.

313
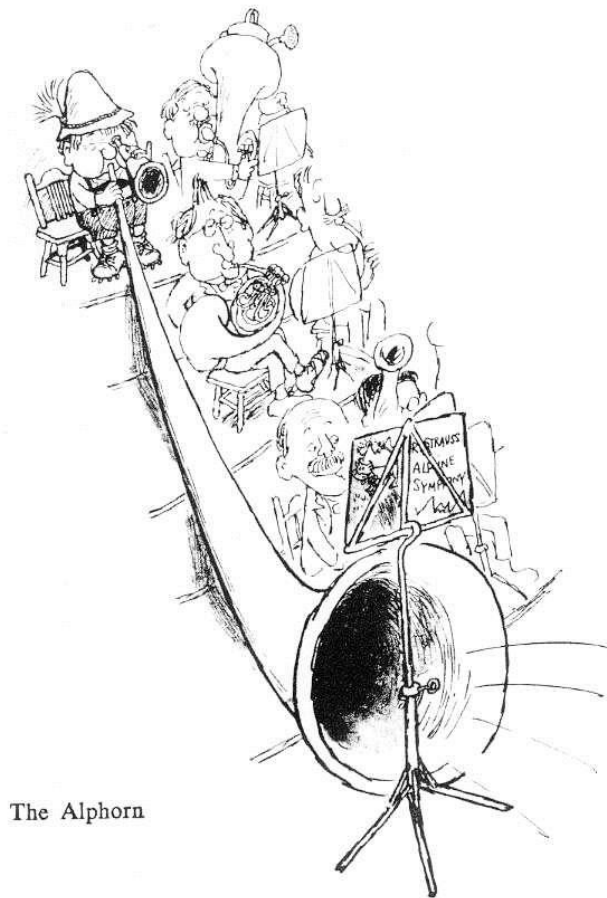
The Alphorn

Fig. 5.40. Hoffnung's cartoon of an alphorn player
in Strauss's work *Eine Alpensinfonie*.[145]

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.[146] 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

---

[145] Gerard Hoffnung, *The Hoffnung Symphony Orchestra* (London: Dobson, 1955), 46.

[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.

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.

> *Steiniges Flußufer, dichte Ölbaumgruppen. Letzte Sonne. Rechts steigt die Landschaft zum Hause des Fischers Peneios auf. Im Hintergrund ist der Fluß zu denken. Den Abschluß bildet das gewaltige Massiv des Olymp. Man hört die Bewegung großer Schafherden. Zurufe, Geläute, Schieben, Drängen, Hundegebell. Mitten hinein der Laut eines mächtigen Alphorns. Vorhang.*[147]

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.'

[148] Norman del Mar, *Anatomy of the Orchestra* (London: Faber, 1981), 337.

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.[150] 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*.[151] It is the first of the collection in a peaceful tempo and

---

[150] Michael Kennedy, *The Life of Elgar* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 53.
[151] Robin Holloway, 'The Early Choral Works', *The Cambridge Companion to Elgar* ed. Daniel M. Grimley and Julian Rushton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 67.

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 *Façade* appeared in print from 1918 onwards in the literary magazine *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 *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 …'.[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 *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.[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 *We bear velvet* inspired him to write *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

---

[153] Edith Sitwell's text on a record sleeve for *Façade*, Decca Eclipse ECS560, 1970.
[154] Michael Kennedy, *Portrait of Walton* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 30.

Frances Jones   Alphorn

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.[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.

---

[155] Susana Walton, *William Walton: Behind the Façade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 60.

Fig. 5.43. Orchestral version of Walton's *Façade*: *The Swiss Yodelling Song*,
bars 9-15, quotation from Rossini's *Il Guglielmo Tell*, wind parts.[156]

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

[156] William Walton, *Façade* Suite No. 1: 3. *The Swiss Yodelling Song* (Oxford: Oxford
University Press, 1936), 33.

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.[157] 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.
> <div align="right">Eric Thompson.[158]</div>

This prompted Britten to respond in the following issue:

---

[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.'

[158] *Tempo*, Vol. 33 (Autumn 1954), 40.

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[159]

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.[160]

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.[161] Horn players are sometimes aware: Barry
Tuckwell writes that 'these out-of-tune harmonics create a mysterious pastoral

---

[159] *Tempo*, Vol. 34 (Winter 1954/55), 39. Letter dated 13 December 1954.

[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

---

[162] Barry Tuckwell, *Horn* (New York: Schirmer, 1983), 113.

[163] David Matthews, *Britten, Life and Times* (London: Haus Publishing, 2003), 72.

[164] Quoted in Stephen Gamble and William C. Lynch, *Dennis Brain: A Life in Music* (Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 2011), 158.

[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.

[166] Jonathan Penny, 'The Brain of Britten', *The Horn Call*, October 2012.

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.[167] 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'.[168] The higher pitched 14th harmonic is normally played today, although the score was never altered.

SERENADE

Fig. 5.44. Britten, *Serenade for Tenor, Horn and Strings*: Prologue, for unaccompanied French horn, 'to be played on natural harmonics'.[169]

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.*
[168] Barry Tuckwell, *Horn* (New York: Schirmer, 1983), 112.
[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.[170] 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.[171] 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.

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.[172]

---

[170] Peter Akroyd, *Benjamin Britten, Letters from a Life: 1952-1957* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), 101-2, footnote 5.
[171] *Ibid*., footnote 1.
[172] Benjamin Britten, *Alpine Suite* (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1956), 6.

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.

Chapter 6. The alphorn in the post-modern world

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 '*Wärend 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*.

Fig. 6.2. Gassmann, *s'Alphornbüechli*: *De Neu Melchthaler*.

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]

---

[1] Vignau, 'Modernity, Complex Societies and the Alphorn', 115.

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,[3] 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.

---

[3] 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.

Nendaz Solo 2009

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.[4] 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:

---

[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.

Firnfern 1

Balthasar Streiff

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.[5] 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

---

[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.

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.

Frances Jones   Alphorn

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 fire-flies.

3. The Singing Heart of the Tree

Alphorn in F

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.

	needed	Marc	Jossy	Frances
p.1 Theme 1	F, F#, G	F	F#	G
p.1 Theme 2	Eb, F, F#, G	F	F#	Eb, G

Fig. 6.9. Alexandre Desplat, extract from score for the film *The Grand Budapest Hotel* and chart devised to play the extract. Unpublished, 2013.

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 'evoke 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,[7] and in our imagination, particularly through the well-loved story of *Heidi*, one of the best-selling books ever written.[8] 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

---

[7]   In 2011, 2½ million UK visitor nights were spent in Switzerland. Swiss Federal Statistics Office, www.bfs.admin.ch (accessed 13 July 2014).

[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.

357
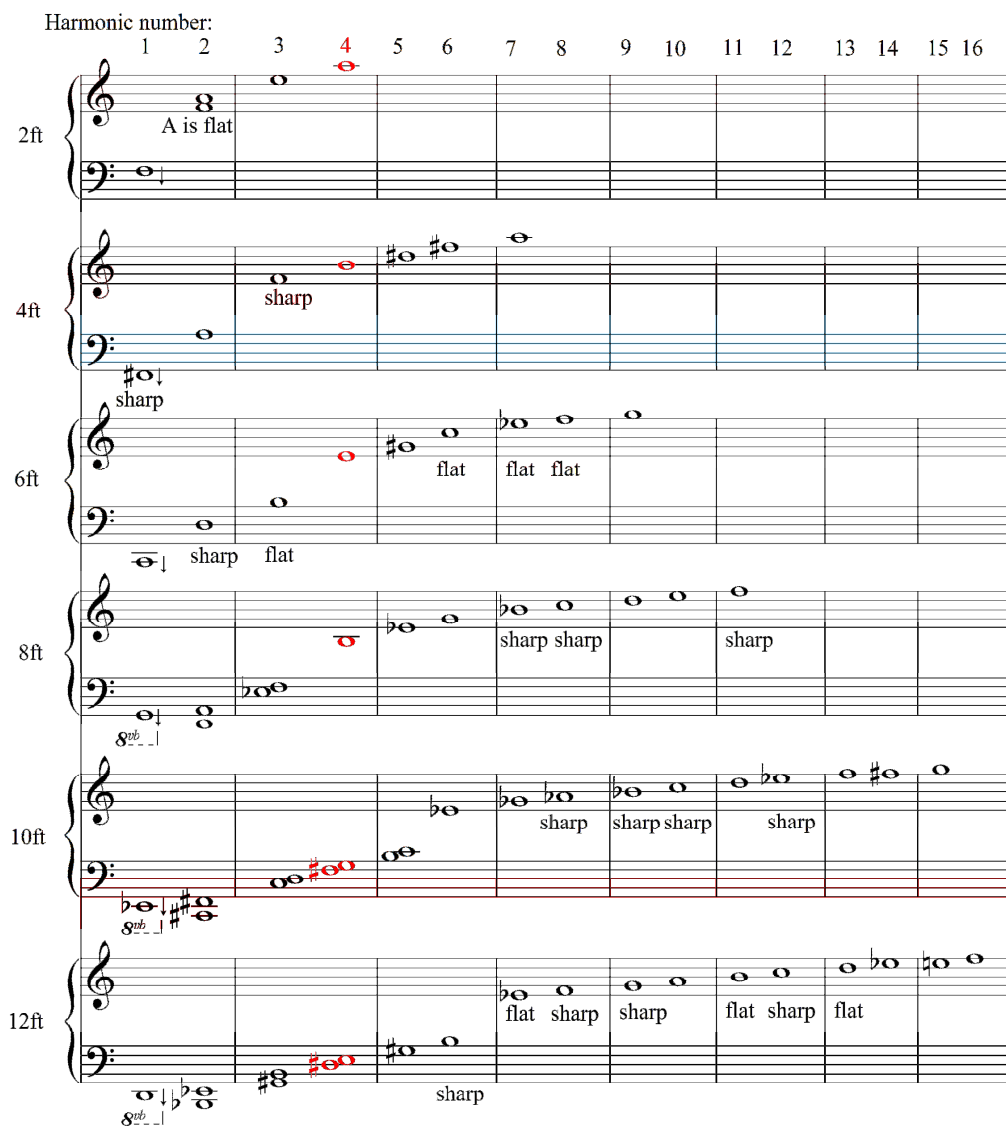
App. 1 Fig. 1. Harmonics of a half-inch diameter cylindrical tube
(garden hose) of different lengths.

App. 1 Fig. 2. Harmonics of a conical tube (lengths of carbon-fibre alphorn) of different lengths.

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,

359

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 *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:

S – Soprano, C – Canto, A – Alto, T – Tenore, B – Basso, TP – tuba pastoralis, fl – flute, clt – clarinet, bn – bassoon, hn – horn, vn – violin, va – viola, vne – violone, org – organ. Original nomenclature and spellings are retained.

The following method has been applied in making the transcriptions from the manuscripts:

text	missing text	list any issues in notes, insert in score marked with brackets
	hyphens	split syllables with hyphens: comment in notes if needed, insert without comment in score
	syllable slurs	rationalise to slurs over notes shared by one syllable: comment in notes if needed, insert without comment in score
	word underlay	list any issues in notes, alter without comment in score
	punctuation and capitals	comment in notes if adjustment needed, alter without comment in score

dynamics	alterations and additions	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
	position	relocate to modern positions (above in vocal parts, below in instrumental parts); comment in notes if needed, alter without comment in score
notes	slurs and ties	rationalise between parts, or where motifs recur; detail in notes if needed, insert as slashed lines in score
	other articulation	rationalise between parts, or where motifs recur; detail in notes if needed, insert in brackets in score
	accidentals	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
	alterations	list obviously miswritten notes (pitch or length) in notes, alter without comment in score
	beams	rationalise – vocal parts: split with syllable, instrumental parts: show beat structure as modern practice; comment in notes if needed, alter without comment in score
	stem direction	rectify inconsistencies; detail in notes if needed, alter without comment in score
other	tempo	detail in notes if needed; add suggestion if none in brackets in score
	clefs	transcribe Soprano, Canto, Alto and Tenore parts into modern clefs; detail in notes if needed
	rests	modernise without comment in score; list errors in notes if needed, alter without comment in score
	shorthand marks	write out in full if needed, detail in notes, unusual markings accompanied by a facsimile clip
	abbreviatons	alter to modern terminology. Detail in notes if needed, alter without comment in score
	repeats / DC / DS / Fine	rationalise if required; detail in notes if needed, alter without comment in score
	figured bass	retain original positions and format; list alterations in notes if needed, alter without comment in score

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
	spelling	retained Czech spelling of *Betlehem*
	hyphens	some; remainder added
	syllable slurs	some; remainder added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	opening	none: suggestion inserted in brackets
	alterations and additions	inconsistencies rationalised; overall very little: further suggestions inserted in brackets
notes	articulation	none
	accidentals	unnecessary accidentals omitted, cautionary ones added; additions listed below
other	tempo	no tempo indication at start. *Allegretto* inserted in brackets
	clefs	Canto and Alto share a stave in soprano clef; Tenore and Basso share a stave in bass clef: changed to modern clefs
	shorthand marks	'unis. col Viol.1' written out
	other comments	additions to TP and va in pencil, listed below: included in score unmarked

Notes added in pencil in original score:

TP	12-60	all
	79-92	all
	175-8	all
vn 1	41	last crotchet D
	99	last note A
vn 2	43	last crotchet A

va	45-48	all
	161-2	all

Alterations

Canto	81	rest not required
Alto	176	minim and crotchet changed to dotted minim
Tenore	157	F needs ♮
	159	C needs ♮
Basso	43	B changed to D
TP	72	E changed to G
	173-187	notes do not fit with harmony: section omitted from last crotchet of 173
TP pencil	37	D changed to E
vn 1	31	C needs ♮
	36	G needs ♯
	56	2nd half of bar crotchet and two quavers changed to dotted crotchet and two semiquavers
	57	tie removed
	73	3rd note: use pencil correction F♯
	155, 156	Cs need ♮s
	158	C needs ♮, F needs ♮
	159	C needs ♮
	160	1st C needs ♮
vn 2	26	1st C needs ♯, 2nd needs ♮
	27	C needs ♮
	35	G needs ♯
	56	2nd half of bar crotchet and two quavers changed to dotted crotchet and two semiquavers
	63	last note C♯ changed to B
	157	C needs ♮
	158	C needs ♮, F needs ♮

	159	C needs ♮
	162, 163	F♯s changed to Es
va	36	G needs ♯
	158	F needs ♮
va pencil	45-48	B F♯s changed to D As
	162, 163	F♯s changed to As
fundamento	35	Gs need ♯s
	159	C needs ♮
	160	1st C needs ♮

Ferdinand Daubrawský, *Pastorella Czeska* (1)

text	hyphens	none: added
	syllable slurs	some: remainder added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	opening	none: suggestion inserted in brackets
	alterations and additions	inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets
	abbreviations	piano and pio = *p*; forts and for = *f*
	position	changed to modern positions
notes	articulation	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
	accidentals	unnecessary accidentals omitted, cautionary ones added
	beams	modernised in instrumental parts
	stems	opposing stems in vn 2 and organo retained
other	clefs	Canto, A lto and Tenore changed to modern clefs
	shorthand marks	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
	repeats	repeats in some parts but not in others: all written out
	other comments	vn 1 missing
		blue pencil marks in organ part
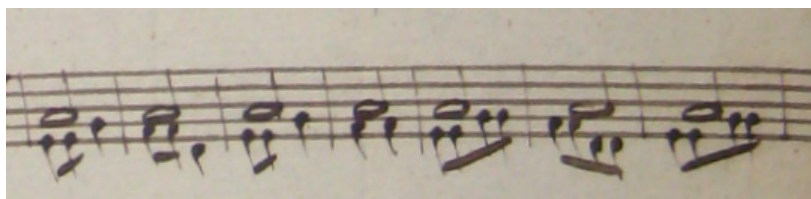
App. 2 Fig. 1. Daubrawský (1), violin 2, bars 154-160 (shorthand).

Alterations

Alto	100, 103, 111	Cs need ♮s
Tenore	124	C needs ♮
hn 2	159	crotchet changed to quaver plus rest
vn 2	68, 76	second note F♯ changed to E
	100, 111, 124, 127, 129, 132, 136	Cs need ♮s
organo	115-121, 129, 131-138	Cs need ♮s

Ferdinand Daubrawský, *Pastorella Czeska* (2)

text	hyphens	none: added
	syllable slurs	none: added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	opening	none: suggestion inserted in brackets
	alterations and additions	inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets
	abbreviations	piano = *p*; for = *f*
	position	changed to modern positions
note changes	articulation	bar 48 vn 2 slurs added to match vn 1, shown with brackets
	accidentals	unnecessary accidentals omitted, cautionary ones added
	stems	organo part inconsistent with regard to chords written with stems in same or opposing direction. Left as original.
other	tempo	some parts 1st section *Andante*, some *Allegro non Molto*
	clefs	Canto, Alto and Tenore changed to modern clefs
	other comments	organ part last 16 bars missing: suggested completion inserted FJ

Alterations

Alto	133	last note F♯ changed to E
Basso	137	minim changed to crotchet
vn 2	27, 44, 46, 48, 56, 58, 63	Gs need ♯s
organo	121	2nd note E changed to D
	127	D needs ♯

Ferdinand Daubrawský, *Pastorella Czeska* (3)

text	hyphens	none: added
	syllable slurs	none: added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	additions	additions shown in brackets
	abbreviations	pia, piano = *p*; for = *f*
	position	changed to modern positions
notes	articulation	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
	accidentals	inserted where missing, listed below; unnecessary accidentals omitted, cautionary ones added
	beams	some anomalies rectified in voice parts; modernised in instrumental parts
other	clefs	Canto, Alto and Tenore changed to modern clefs
	shorthand marks	vn 2 bar 84 quavers with minim beneath must be all quavers: changed to modern notation, see clip below
	repeats	repeats present only in some parts written out
	other comments	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
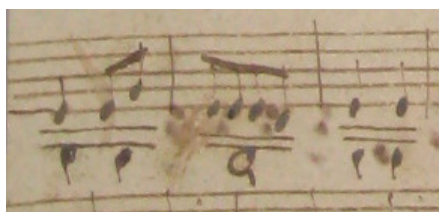
App. 2 Fig. 2. Daubrawský (3), violin 2, bars 83-85 (shorthand).
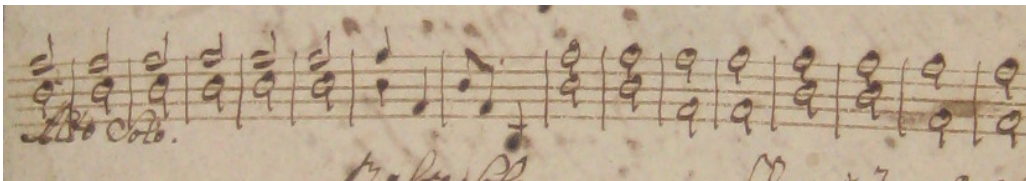
App. 2 Fig. 3. Daubrawský (3), organo, bars 39-54 (inconsistent stem direction).

Alterations

Alto	41	G needs ♯
	237	3rd note G♯ changed to F♯
Tenore	88	Cs need ♮s
	214	4th note D changed to C♯
	235, 236	2nd crotchet F♯s changed to Es
Basso	73-75	Cs need ♮s
	206, 212	second note D changed to A
	229	last note B changed to D
clt 1	8	1st F♯ changed to F♮
vn 1	31	lower note E changed to F♯
	74, 84, 85, 88-90, 107, 111, 115, 119	Cs need ♮s
organo	81-108	Cs need ♮s

František Dobravský, *Pastorella*

text	missing text	verse 5 Tenore part words have been altered in red to match those on the Soprano part
	hyphens	some: remainder added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	alterations and additions	no dynamics in voice parts: inserted in brackets; inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets
	abbreviations	po = *p*; mfo = *mf*
	position	changed to modern positions
notes	articulation	inconsistencies rationalised, additions shown in brackets
	accidentals	cautionary accidentals added, list of other additions below
	beams	modernised in instrumental parts
other	clefs	Soprano, Alto and Tenore changed to modern clefs
	shorthand marks	minim with quaver beams written out
	DC / DS / Fine	*Da capo* as written gives the upbeats twice: altered to DS with *segno* inserted at beginning of the first full bar; *Fine* 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'
	other comments	Tenore first section marked solo, though *tutti* section has conflicting instructions: *tutti* assumed; some alternative text in Tenore part; organo part has additional writing in red

Alterations

Tenore	27, 31	Gs need ♯s
clt 1	1, 5	ties removed to match flute and organ
organo	4	D needs ♯

Duschek, *Pastorella*

text	hyphens	none: added
	syllable slurs	none: added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	alterations and additions	inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets; vn 1 bars 48, 80, 84 *f* moved to match vn 2
	abbreviations	piano, po = *p*; fo, for = *f*
	position	changed to modern positions
notes	articulation	inconsistencies rationalised, additions shown in brackets
	accidentals	omitted where not necessary; other alterations listed below
other	clefs	upper voice part clefs modernised
	rests	modernised
	shorthand marks	double slash dotted crotchets written out as semiquavers; slashed minim written out as quavers

Alterations

Tenore	15	C needs ♮
	26	4 bars rest changed to 5 bars rest
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

Jan Augustin Fibiger, *Pro Nativitate Domini*

dynamics	opening	none: suggestion inserted in brackets
		TP bar 8 has *f*, other parts *p*: changed TP to *p*
	abbreviations	po = *p*; for = *f*
	position	changed to modern positions

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

Holetschek, *Pastorella*

text	hyphens	very few: remainder added
	syllable slurs	bar 65 Canto slur changed to match Alto
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	alterations and additions	inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets
	abbreviations	po = *p*; fo = *f*
	position	changed to modern positions
notes	articulation	inconsistencies rationalised, additions shown in brackets
	accidentals	omitted where unnecessary
	beams	modernised in instrumental parts
other	clefs	C and A changed to modern clefs
	shorthand marks	repeat text marks written out
	other comments	pauses marked in some parts have been added to the others, shown in brackets

Alterations

Canto	from 44	22 bars rest should be 19
Alto	2	needs to be a tone higher
	from 44	22 bars rest should be 19
vn 1	2	needs to be a tone lower
	84	2nd semiquaver A changed to G
vn 2	2	needs to be a tone lower
vne	54	1st notes C D changed to D E♭
organo	22	omit first crotchet low C
	31	pause added
	42	1st quaver G changed to B
	74	needs key signature change to C major

František Václav Jech, *Mottetto in D, Ofertorium Pastorale*

text	word underlay	bar 66 and 70 word setting inconsistent between parts
	hyphens	few: remainder added
	syllable slurs	none: added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	alterations and additions	much inconsistency: hn 1 opening *f* added instead of *sfp* on second bar; bars 5-11 va changed to match vns; bar 6, 10 org *pf* changed to *f*; bars 9, 11 vne *fp* changed to *p* with accent to match other string parts; bar 10 brass *p* changed to *f* to match other parts; bar 12 TP *f* changed to *p*; bars 7, 9, 11 clt 1, bar 7 clt 2 and bars 72 and 76 hn 1and 2: *pf* changed to *fp*; bar 34 organo *p* changed to *f*; bar 38 vn 1 *f* changed to *fp*; bar 70 Basso *f* moved to 71 to match others; bar 72 upper strings *f* changed to *fp*; bar 79 TP *f* changed to *p*. All alterations shown with brackets
	abbreviations	po = *p*; fe = *f*; ffmo = *ff*
	position	changed to modern positions
notes	articulation	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
	accidentals	unnecessary accidentals omitted, cautionary ones added
	beaming	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
	grace notes	some inconsistency between acciaccatura / appoggiatura: vn 1 taken as template and others altered to match where necessary
other	clefs	C, A and T changed to modern clefs
	shorthand marks	slashed minims written out as quavers; 8 under notes in organ written out in full
	repeats	some parts have repeated sections, some are written out: all written out

Frances Jones   Alphorn

Alterations

Alto	29, 33	2nd note G♯ changed to B
	67	1st A changed to B
Basso	29, 33	2nd note E changed to D
clt 2	2, 73, 77	7th quaver E changed to D
hn 1	12	2nd note F changed to E
	29	2nd beat Ds changed to Es
hn 2	21, 59, 67, 71	1st beat changed from G to D
vn 1	63	7th note B changed to C♯
vn 2	7	last note D changed to C♯
	29	3rd beat quavers E D changed to crotchet E

Tomáš Norbert Kautník, *Pastorella de Nativitate Domini*

text	word underlay	word setting Tenore verse 2 bars 67-8 does not work; Basso 70 to end text different from Tenore: copied from Tenore
	hyphens	none: added
	syllable slurs	some: remainder added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	opening	none: suggestion inserted in brackets
	alterations and additions	additional dynamics for consistency and interest added, shown in brackets
notes	articulation	inconsistencies rationalised, additions shown in brackets
	accidentals	cautionary accidentals added
	beams	modernised in instrumental parts
other	clefs	Tenore changed to modern clef
	shorthand marks	repeat text marks written out
	other comments	1st section crossed out in pencil on instrumental parts; voices are *tacet* for that section

Alterations

TP	18, 19	Cs changed to Gs
	99, 101	D changed to C
	106	add final quaver rest
vn 1	40, 53, 57, 76, 96	triplet markings added
	106	add final quaver rest
vn 2	64	2nd note B changed to A
organo	88	last note B changed to A
	15	figured bass on 1st note 3/♯ changed to 5/♯

Tomáš Norbert Kautník, *Offertorium Pastorale*

text	word underlay	Canto bars 24-5 changed to match the other voice parts
	hyphens	none: added
	syllable slurs	few: remainder added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	alterations and additions	initial dynamics added to voice parts, shown in brackets
notes	beams	modernised in instrumental parts
	stems	opposing directions in organ chords inconsistent: rationalised
other	clefs	Canto and Alto share stave, Tenore and Basso share stave: Tenore given separate stave with appropriate clef
	bowings	adjusted for consistency, alterations shown in brackets
	shorthand marks	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, *divisi* not marked, only one rest: shorthand assumed, dotted crotchet replaced with quavers
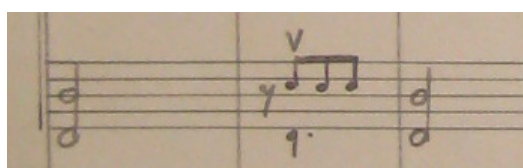
App. 2 Fig. 4. Kautník (2), violin 2, bars 28-30 (shorthand).

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*

text	word underlay	bar 85 Canto, Alto, Tenore and bar 103 Tenore, Basso single syllable on repeated notes: changed to long notes
	missing ties	inserted in bars 66-67, 68-69, 109-111, 132-133, 134-5, shown as slashed lines
	hyphens	a few: remainder added
	syllable slurs	none: added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	alterations and additions	inserted where needed, shown in brackets
	abbreviations	po = *p*; for = *f*
	position	changed to modern positions
notes	articulation	slurring not specific: see clip below; rationalised, additions shown in brackets
	accidentals	altered for consistency, cautionary ones added
	beaming	left as original in voice parts though occasionally altered to show syllable setting, modernised in instrumental parts
other	clefs	Canto, Alto and Tenore changed to modern clefs
	shorthand marks	repeat bar and repeat figuration written out; slashed minims written out as quavers; *Tas* and *Tast* = *tasto*; quavers with minim beneath: assume shorthand for the same figuration as 2 bars earlier: see clip below, rewritten as 2 bars earlier
	other comments	voices all have final barline 8 bars before instruments
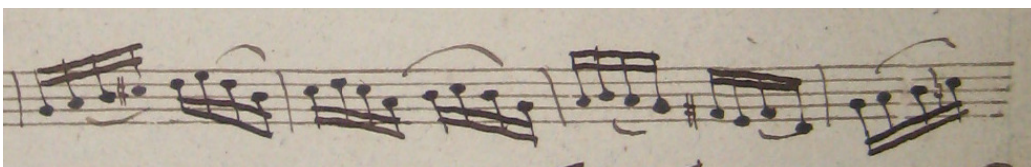
App. 2 Fig. 5. Kollovrátek (1), violin 1, bars 71-74 (unspecific slurs).
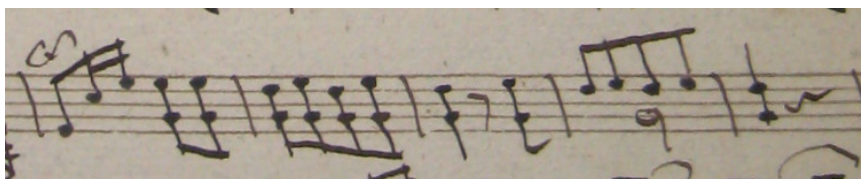
App. 2 Fig. 6. Kollovrátek (1), violin 2, bars 112-116 (shorthand).

Alterations

Canto	85	crotchets changed to minim
	109-111	ties added
	135	crotchets changed to minim
	145	crotchets changed to minim
Alto	65, 85	crotchets changed to minim
	102	last note quaver changed to crotchet
	132, 134	1st G changed to A
	133, 135, 145	minim G changed to 2 crotchets A G
	144	Gs changed to As
Tenore	85	crotchets changed to minim
	101	quavers changed to dotted crotchet
	107	1st two quavers changed to crotchet
Basso	145	1st G changed to F
hn 1	62	crotchet changed to quaver
	66, 68	minim changed to 2 crotchets D E
hn 2	133, 135, 145	minim C changed to 2 crotchets C G
	138, 140	E changed to G
vn 2	67	omit Ds 1st half of bar
	133	omit Gs 1st half of bar
organo	17	add 5/3 at beginning of bar
	44, 45, 59 etc	align 5/3 at beginning of bar
	6, 37, 90	last note B changed to A

Tomáš Kollovrátek, *Offertorium pro Festis Natalitijs*

text	word underlay	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
	missing ties	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
	hyphens	few: remainder added
	syllable slurs	none: added
	punctuation and capitals	punctuation rationalised
dynamics	alterations and additions	inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets
	abbreviations	po, pia = *p*; for = *f*
	position	changed to modern positions
notes	articulation	unclear whether wedges or staccatos: staccatos chosen throughout, unmarked
	accidentals	unnecessary accidentals omitted, cautionary ones added; other additions noted below
	beams	occasionally quavers joined or split to match other parts
other	clefs	Canto, Alto and Tenore changed to modern clefs
	shorthand marks	double slashed crotchets written out as semiquavers, slashed minims 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
	solo / soli	*solo* in wind parts changed to *soli* where it is both players
	other comments	2 copies of organo part with very slight differences: elements that match other parts chosen

App. 2 Fig. 7. Kollovrátek (2), violin 2, bars 44-50 (shorthand).

Alterations

Alto, Tenore and Basso	87	minim changed to dotted crotchet and quaver to accommodate text
Canto	106	C needs ♯
	89, 113, 168, 233	Fs need ♯s
	115	5 bars rest should read 4
Alto	68	should be the same as 72
	91, 94-101	Fs need ♯s
	103	second half written a note too high
	104	bar written a note too high
	105	1st beat written a note too high
	106	C needs ♯
	109, 113	Fs need ♯s
	164	B needs ♭
	166	F needs ♯
	169	As changed to Gs
	170-173	all written a note too high
Tenore	74, 78	all Ds changed to Cs
	77	1st note A changed to C
	80	D C B A changed to F E D C
	103	crotchet changed to 2 quavers
	106	C needs ♯
	109, 113	Fs need ♯s

	81	E changed to G
	140	last note G changed to D
	141, 143	Es changed to Ds
	148	D changed to E
	161	G changed to C
	169	quaver changed to crotchet
	199	rhythm changed to match other parts
	233	F needs ♯
Basso	79	2nd note quaver changed to semiquaver
	106	C needs ♯
	109, 113	Fs need ♯ s
	153	last note A changed to G
	156	1st note C changed to B
	164	B needs ♭
	166	1st note G changed to D
	198, 200	1st note quaver changed to crotchet
	211	middle 2 quavers changed to semiquavers
	233	F needs ♯
	235, 239	written a note too high
	247	2 crotchets changed to minim
clt 1	98-102, 113, 126	Fs need ♯s
clt 2	91-95, 113	Fs need ♯s
	109	crotchet changed to 2 quavers
	250	1st note quaver changed to crotchet
hn 1	148	2nd note D changed to E
hn 2	253, 259	1st note G changed to D
vn 1	14	4th note D changed to C
	89, 97-100, 109, 113	Fs need ♯s
	168, 182, 184	Fs need ♯s
	213, 215	dotted quavers changed to dotted crotchets
	233	Fs need ♯s
	253	1st half of bar Es changed to Ds

	last 2 bars	top note As changed to Cs
vn 2	28	2nd note E changed to C
	88, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97-102	Fs need ♯s
	106	Cs need ♯s
	109, 113	Fs need ♯s
	156	semiquavers changed to appoggiaturas to match other parts
	233	F needs ♯
organo	165	crotchet changed to quaver and quaver rest

Kolovrátek, *2do Pastorella*

text	hyphens	a few: remainder added
	syllable slurs	some: remainder added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	alterations and additions	inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets
	abbreviations	po = *p*; fe = *f*
	position	changed to modern positions
notes	articulation	some slurs added for consistency, shown with a slashed line
	accidentals	unnecessary accidentals omitted, cautionary ones added
	beams	some in vocal parts altered for consistency; modernised in instrumental parts
other	clefs	Canto and Alto changed to modern clefs
	shorthand marks	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
	solo / soli	*solo* changed to *soli* where it is both players
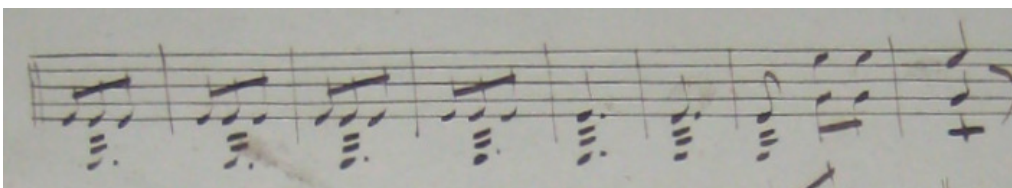
App. 2 Fig. 8. Kolovrátek (3), violin 2, bars 18-25 (shorthand).

Frances Jones   Alphorn

Alterations

Canto	40	crotchet changed to quaver and rest
clt 1	72	last note G changed to F
	111	last 2 notes E C changed to D F
clt 2	94	quaver rest changed to semiquaver rest
hn 1	17	last note C changed to D
	40	crotchet changed to quaver and rest
	61	D changed to E D
	111	2nd quaver rest changed to semiquaver rest
	115	last note E changed to D
hn 2	31	Omit G
	61	C changed to C D
	73	C E G changed to G G
	77	C E E changed to G G
	115	last note E changed to D
TP	40	crotchet changed to quaver and rest
timp	69	G changed to C
	94	quaver rest changed to semiquaver rest
vn 1	11	crotchets changed to quavers
	29	omit dot
	124	F needs ♯
	139	2nd beat quavers changed to semiquavers
vn 2	33	upper 1st note E changed to D
	90, 91	double slash changed to quavers
organo	52	omit dot

Joseph Damián Křížek, *Offertorium Pastorale*

text	word underlay	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
	hyphens	none: added
	syllable slurs	some: remainder added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	additions	additions shown in brackets
	abbreviations	po = *p*; fo = *f*
	position	changed to modern positions
notes	articulation	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
	accidentals	unnecessary accidentals omitted, additions listed below
	beams	modernised in instrumental parts
other	clefs	Canto, Alto and Tenore changed to modern clefs
	shorthand marks	repeat text marks written out; t. = *tasto* in organ part
	other comments	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

Alterations

Canto	11	1st C needs ♮, 2nd C needs ♯
	15	semiquavers changed to demi-semiquavers
Alto	15, 16	semiquavers changed to demi-semiquavers
	29	1st dotted quaver changed to dotted crotchet

	35	assume last 3 notes triplet: mark added
	54	G needs ♯
	71	2nd note B changed to F♯
	93	A needs ♯
	98	quavers changed to crotchets
TP	50	E changed to D
	77	D changed to C
	81	crotchet changed to minim
vn 1	4	1st C needs ♮, C at end of bar needs ♯
	9, 29	3rd note B changed to A
	33	2 semiquavers C♯ changed to D
	64	3rd note B changed to A
	67	D changed to E
	91	A needs ♯
vn 2	24	G needs ♯
	27	3rd F♯ changed to E
	45	lower notes F♯s changed to Es
	48, 50	Gs need ♯s
	53	2 semiquavers and quaver changed to quaver and 2 semiquavers
	55	F♯s should be Es
	67	D changed to E
	87	dotted quaver and semiquaver changed to 2 quavers
va	67	C♯ changed to B
	73	F♯ changed to G
	79	B changed to A
organo	28	6/3 changed to 5/3
	63	G needs ♯
	67	1st C♯ changed to G

Jiří (Georgy) Ignác Linek, *Pastorella* (1)

text	word underlay	bars 22-24 and 48-50 unclear whether last syllable held, or words repeated: added repeat words, shown in brackets
	hyphens	none: added
	syllable slurs	some: remainder added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	opening	none: suggestions inserted in brackets
	alterations and additions	inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets
	abbreviations	pia, piano = *p*; pianiss = *pp*; for = *f*
	position	changed to modern positions
notes	articulation	inconsistencies rationalised, additions shown in brackets
	beams	split according to syllable in voice part
other	shorthand marks	slashed dotted minims and dotted minim with quaver beam written out
	repeats / DC / DS / Fine	*da capo al segno* changed to modern *da capo al fine*; repeat for the 4 verses not indicated in instrumental parts: inserted

Jiří (Georgy) Ignác Linek, *Pastorella* (2)

text	altered text	bars 81ff Alto has alterations to the names of the people therein
	word underlay	bar 42 unclear
	hyphens	a few: remainder added
	syllable slurs	some: remainder added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	alterations and additions	inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets
	abbreviations	piano = *p*; for, forte = *f*
	position	changed to modern positions
notes	articulation	unclear differentiation between wedges and staccato: normally forte, so wedges chosen; discrepancies in articulation rationalised, shown with brackets
	accidentals	some cautionary accidentals present, others inserted
	beams	modernised in instrumental parts
	rests	modernised
other	clefs	Alto changed to modern clef
	other comments	bar 26 etc. 'organ' on organ part: either a specific organ instruction or may indicate violone *tacet*

Alterations

TP	has an extra bar: suggest omit bar 23 and reinstate later bar crossed out in original

Joseph Erasmus Matějka, *Pastorella*

text	hyphens	some: remainder added
	syllable slurs	none: added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	additions	none: suggestions inserted in brackets
notes	articulation	very few slurs, general not specific, see clip below: rationalised; bar 22 vn. picc. tie inconsistent with other music: additions shown in brackets
	beams	modernised in instrumental parts
other	clefs	Tenore changed to modern clef
	figured bass	some figures difficult to read: rationalised
	triplets	some not marked: marking added
	other	bar 29 TP unclear number of bars rest; unclear where some phrases are intended to fit
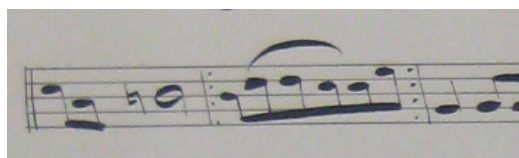
App. 2 Fig. 9. Matějka, violin 2, bars 7, 8 (unspecific slurs).

Alterations

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

	60	another note needed: repeat A
	63	D changed to E
	66	crotchet B changed to A
vn 1	8	must be triplets: triplet marks added
	12	B needs ♮
vn 2	9, 10	Bs need ♮s
	58, 59	Gs changed to As
	61	1st note F changed to G
	63	1st note G changed to C
	67, 68	1st notes D changed to Cs
organo	11, 16, 49	needs an extra bar
	7	B♭s changed to Fs
	37, 40, 44	Es need ♭ s
	51	initial crotchet changed to quaver

Matiegka, *Pastorala*

text	choice of texts	text written out twice: different spellings / dialect / script
	word underlay	bar 66 Alto one syllable and repeated notes: changed to single note
	hyphens	just one: remainder added
	syllable slurs	some: remainder added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	additions	none: suggestions inserted in brackets
notes	beams	modernised in instrumental parts
other	clefs	Alto changed to modern clef
	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
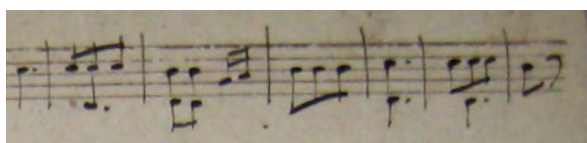
App. 2 Fig. 10. Matiegka, violin 2, bars 2-7 (shorthand).

Alterations

Alto	66	2 crotchets changed to minim
	67	2nd note F changed to E
TP	2, 6	G changed to C
hn 2	78	1st 2 Gs changed to Ds
vn 1	2, 6	Ds changed to Es
	78	1st 3 notes changed from D C B to C B C
vn 2	67	1st note G changed to A
	78	1st 3 notes changed from B A G to A G A
organo and Basso	52	As changed to Gs
	57	2nd G♯ changed to ♮
C, A, hn 1, 2, TP	94	final dot or rest in error

Daniel František Milčinský, *Offertorium Pastorale*

text	hyphens	some: remainder added
	syllable slurs	some: remainder added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	opening	none: suggestions inserted in brackets
	additions	additions shown in brackets
	abbreviations	for. = f
	position	changed to modern positions
notes	articulation	inconsistencies rationalised, additions shown in brackets
	accidentals	unnecessary accidentals omitted
	beams	modernised in instrumental parts
other	clefs	Canto, A ltoand Tenore given modern clefs
	shorthand marks	slashed minims and double slashed crotchets written out; shorthand octaves in organo bar 5 and 6 written out
	other comments	*da capo* not in all parts; repeat for verse 2 not marked; short repeats (bars 30-33, bars 99-106) written out in some parts; no *Fine* marked: suggestion inserted Pastorella 1 bar 7, Pastorella 2 bar 74; TP Pastorella 1 in 2/4 while other parts all in 4/4

Alterations

Canto 1	opening	rests do not include 3 repeated bars
Canto 2	opening	rests do not include 3 repeated bars
TP	96, 104	leave blank: move notes into following bar
vn 1	44	G needs ♯
vn 2	4	4th note B changed to E
organo	45	G needs ♯

Josef Ondřej Nowotný, *Offertorium Pastorale*

text	word underlay	bar 70 Canto word underlay changed to match beams
	hyphens	few: remainder added
	syllable slurs	some: remainder added
	punctuation and capitals	added
dynamics	alterations and additions	inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets
	abbreviations	po = *p*; ppo = *pp*; for = *f*
	position	changed to modern positions
notes	articulation	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
	ornaments	vocal parts have appoggiaturas, instrumental parts have acciaccaturas in the same material: rationalised to all acciaccaturas
	accidentals	unnecessary accidentals omitted, cautionary ones added
	beams	inconsistencies rectified, modernised in instrumental parts
	rests	modernised
other	clefs	Alto and Tenore changed to modern clefs
	shorthand marks	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
	other comments	vn 1 bar 3 symbol + inserted as +
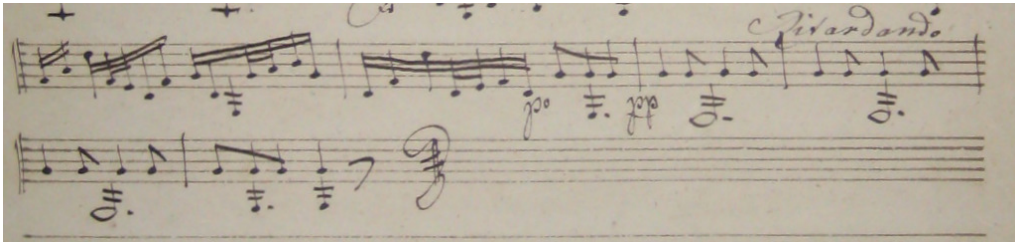
App. 2 Fig. 11. Nowotný, violin 1, bars 99-104 (shorthand).

Alterations

clt 2	94, 95	rhythm changed to match other bars
	94	Ds need ♯s
	95, 96	Cs need ♯s
	96	3rd note B changed to D
	97	1st note C changed to B
hn 1	95, 96-7	ties removed
hn 2	95	2nd note E
vn 2	44	1st beat dotted crotchet changed to 3 quavers
	65	1st A semiquavers changed to Bs
	67	1st 2 semiquavers changed to demi-semiquavers, and in 2nd half of bar
	85-100	incorrect number of bars: assume intended unison with vn 1
	85-95, 97-100	incorrect number of beats in each bar: assume intended unison with vn 1
va	52	2nd half lower note crotchet changed to semiquaver
vne	4	insert crotchet G 2nd half of bar
	25, 37	remove tie
	66	insert bar
organo	2	dotted rhythm needed to match all other parts
	75	4th note B changed to A

Tadeáš Petipeský, *Motteto de Nativitate pro Sacro die Certatio pastoralis*

text	hyphens	some: remainder added
	syllable slurs	none: added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	alterations and additions	inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets
	abbreviations	piano = *p*; pianissimo = *pp*; for, forte = *f*
notes	articulation	accent marks rationalised between parts; additions shown in brackets
	beams	modernised in instrumental parts
other	clefs	Canto, Alto and Tenore changed to modern clefs
	shorthand marks	some triplets unmarked: all put in
	other comments	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

Alterations

Tenore	30	appoggiatura F♯ changed to A
TP	107	9 bars rest should be 10
vn 1	9, 18, 43, 108, 117	lower note crotchet changed to quaver
	58	B A changed to E D
vn 2	43	lower note crotchet changed to quaver
cembalo	68-75	in wrong key: altered to match 44-51

Jakob Jan Ryba, *Pastoral Offertorium*

text	hyphens	some: remainder added
	syllable slurs	some: remainder added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	alterations and additions	inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets
	abbreviations	po = *p*; for = *f*
	position	changed to modern positions
notes	articulation	slurring unspecific, see clip below: rationalised, additions shown as slashed lines; accents inconsistent: additions shown in brackets
	accidentals	unnecessary accidentals omitted
	beams	retained in vocal parts, occasionally altered to fit word underlay, modernised in instrumental parts
	stems	inconsistent use of split or joined stems in violin parts: rationalised all to joined stems
other	clefs	Canto, A ltoand Tenore changed to modern clefs
	shorthand marks	repeat bar and repeat figuration written out; single and double slashed minims written out
	other comments	acciaccaturas and appoggiaturas inconsistent: left where possible, changed where clashes occur
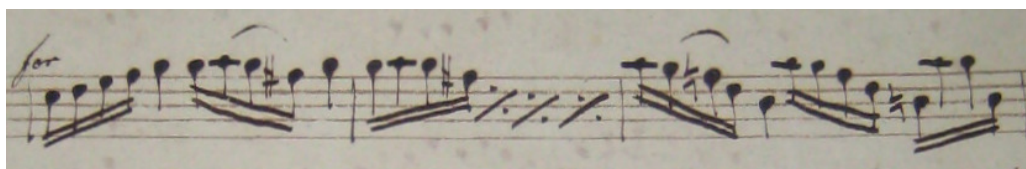
App. 2 Fig. 12. Ryba, violin 1, bars 28-30 (unspecific slurs).

Alterations

Alto	25, 41	beams and underlay changed to match Canto
Tenore	36	F changed to E
	41	beams changed to match Canto
Basso	38	B needs ♮
	55	crotchet B♭ replaced with 2 quavers
	60	A replaced with C
hn 1	60	add dot to minim, change minim rest to crotchet rest
vn 1	10	omit dot on minims
	24	last note D replaced with C
	29	crotchet B needs ♮
vn 2	30	last note B needs ♮
organo	7	minim changed to dotted minim
	10	dotted minim changed to minim

Josepho Štietina, *Pastorella Nativitate*

text	hyphens	very few; remainder added
	syllable slurs	some, remainder added
	punctuation and capitals	rationalised
dynamics	opening	none: suggestion inserted in brackets
	alterations and additions	inconsistencies rationalised; additions shown in brackets
	abbreviations	po = *p*; fo = *f*
	position	changed to modern positions
notes	articulation	inconsistencies rationalised, additions shown with slashed lines or in brackets
	accidentals	unnecessary accidentals omitted, cautionary ones added
	ornamentation	acciaccaturas and appoggiaturas inconsistent between parallel figurations in different parts: left as found where feasible, otherwise rationalised to acciaccaturas
	beams	modernised in instrumental parts
other	clefs	Canto, Alto and Tenore changed to modern clefs
	shorthand marks	vn parts have minims 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
	other comments	2 copies of organo part with very slight differences in articulation: one is more consistent with vne
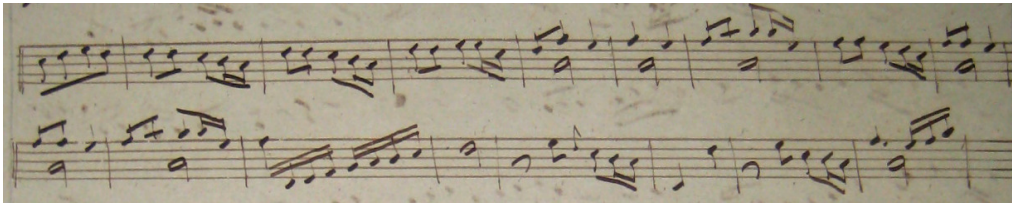
App. 2 Fig. 13. Štietina, violin 2, bars 170 -186 (shorthand).

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

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'

Composer	Prague catalogue number	Photograph labels	
Czerni	MXXVIIIF242	Cz	1 - 16
Daubrawský	MVIIID110	Dau 110	1 - 15
Daubrawský	MVIIID111	Dau 111	1 - 10
Daubrawský	MVIIID130	Dau 130	1 - 19
Dobravský	MVIIID187	Dob	1 - 14
Duschek	MVIIIF23	Du	1 - 17
Fibiger	MXXIXD249	Fib	1 - 3
Habermann	MXIF8	Hab	1 - 4
Holetschek	MXXB282	Hol	1 - 10
Jech	MXF198	Jech	1 - 29
Kautník	MXID180	Kau 180	1 - 11
Kautník	MXXIXB187	Kau 187	1 - 8
Kollovrátek	MXID54	Kol 54	1 - 24
Kollovrátek	MXID94	Kol 94	1 - 26
Kolovrátek	MXID42	Kol 42	1 - 17
Křížek	MXIE338	Kri	1 - 19
Linek	MVIB155	Lin 155	1 - 5
Linek	MXVF342	Lin 342	1 - 14
Matějka	MXIIE149	Mat 149	1 - 7
Matiegka	MXIIE151	Mat 151	1 - 6
Milčínský	MXIIF124	Mil	1 - 16

Nowotný	MXLA157	Now	1 - 24
Petipeský	MIIIA146	Pet	1 - 18
Ryba	MXIVG79 no.2	Ryba	1 - 17
Štietina	MXVA202	Stie	1 - 24

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

Bartenstein

bar	part	inconsistency

1st movement   Allegro

bar	part	inconsistency
1	vn 1	♮ needed on note 9
1, 2	vn 2	rhythm incorrect
1	vn 2	weight mark missing
2	vn 2	slur missing
3	vn 2	weight mark missing
3	vn 1	♮ needed on note 9
4	vn 1	slurs missing
5	va	*p* missing
6	va	*f* missing
8	vn 2	no other part has these slurs
10	vn 2	weight marks do not match vn 1
10	va	1st note G is D in all other versions
11	va	*f* missing
12	vn 1	slurs missing
11-13	vn 2	slurs missing
13	vn 2	second beat rhythm incorrect
19	vn 1, vn 2	♯ missing on acciaccatura
19	vn 1, vn 2	♮ needed on notes 8 and 9
20	vn 1	*p* is in this part only
20	vn 1	dot missing
21	vn 1	acciaccatura missing
21	vn 2	♯ needed on acciaccatura
21	vn 1, vn 2	♮ needed on notes 8 and 9
22	vn 2	slurs missing
23	vn 1	second acciaccatura missing
23	vn 2	♯ missing on acciaccatura
24	vn 1	♮ needed on note 10
24	vn 2	*p* is in this part only
24, 25	vn 2	some slurs missing
26	vn 2	slur in vn 1 part missing
27	vn 1	*f* is in the following bar in the other parts
28	vn 2	slurs missing
29	vn 1	rhythm incorrect
29	vn 1	slurs missing

Bartenstein

bar	part	inconsistency
30	vn 1	♮ needed on note 10
30	vn 2	*p* missing
31	vn 1	rhythm incorrect
31	vn 1	slurs missing
13-33	all strings	dynamics inconsistent
37	b	*p* missing
37-39	vn 2, va, b	ties inconsistent
39	vn 1	*f* missing
40	vn 1, vn 2	*f* missing
43	vn 2	dot on crotchet surplus
44	vn 2	♮ needed on note 10
45	vn 1	acciaccatura missing
45	vn 1	dot on quaver surplus
45	vn 2	♯ missing on acciaccatura
45	va	5th note C should be D
45	b	rhythm incorrect
46	vn 1	*p* missing
47	vn 1	*f* missing
47	vn 1, vn 2	♯ missing on acciaccatura
47	vn 1, vn 2	♮ needed on note 4
47	b	*f* is half bar earlier than other parts
47	b	rhythm incorrect
48, 49	all strings	dynamics inconsistent
49	va	weight marks missing
50	vn 2	slurs missing

2nd movement   Andante

1	va, b	only vn 1 and vn 2 parts marked *sempre piano*
1, 2	vn 1, vn 2, va	basso has the articulation, missing elsewhere
7	vn 1	some articulation missing
7	vn 2	rhythm incorrect
8	b	slurs missing
10	vn 2	rhythm incorrect
10	vn 2	slur missing
11	vn 2	second acciaccatura missing
11	vn 2	slurs missing
12	vn 1	rhythm incorrect

Bartenstein

bar	part	inconsistency
12	va	1st note G should be F♯
12, 13	vn 1, vn 2 va	basso has the slurs, missing elsewhere
14	vn 2	slur incorrect
17	b	*p* missing
17	b	weight mark missing
18	b	*p* missing
19	va	weight marks missing
21	vn 1	rhythm incorrect
22-26	all strings	dynamics inconsistent
24	vn 1	1st note E should be D
24	va	slurs missing
25	vn 1	rhythm incorrect
26	vn 1, vn 2 va	basso has the slurs, missing elsewhere
29	vn 1, vn 2, b	va has the slur, missing elsewhere
30	vn 1	some articulation missing
30	vn 2	articulation missing
32	vn 1, vn 2, va	pause on basso only

3rd movement   Presto

1-4	va, b	ties inconsistent. No ties in other versions
8	va	B is G in all other versions
9	va	*p* missing
9-12	va	additional B in all other versions
9-12	vn 2, va b	ties inconsistent
13	va	*f* missing
17	va, b	*p* missing
17-23	va	Gs are Bs in all other versions
17-23	vn 2, va, b	ties inconsistent
27	va, b	*f* missing
32-33	vn 1, va, b	vn 2 has a tie
34	vn 2, va, b	*p* missing
34-38	va, b	ties inconsistent
39	vn 2, va, b	*f* missing
39	vn 2, va	articulation missing
40	va	articulation missing
44-48	vn 2, va, b	ties inconsistent
57	vn 1	slurs missing
64-72	vn 2, va, b	ties inconsistent

Bartenstein

bar	part	inconsistency
80	va, b	*p* missing
80-87	vn 2, va, b	ties inconsistent
81	vn 2	rhythm incorrect
88	vn 1	♮ is ♯ in all other versions
92	vn 2, va, b	*f* missing
95	vn 1	*f* surplus
100	vn 2, b	articulation missing
102	vn 2, b	articulation missing
103-end	vn 2, va, b	ties inconsistent
113, 114	vn 1	articulation missing
115-end	vn 2, b	dynamics missing

Berlin

bar	part	inconsistency

1st movement   Allegro

1	vn 1	♮ needed on second C
3	vn 1	♮ needed on second C
3	vn 1, vn 2, b	*p* missing
7	va, b	*p* missing
8	vn 1	note 10 should be D (*cf* other versions)
8	va, b	*f* missing
9	vn 2, va, b	*p* missing
11	va, b	*f* missing
19	vn 1, vn 2	♯ missing on first note, ♮ needed on notes 8 and 9
21	vn 1, vn 2	♮ needed on notes 8 and 9
23	vn 1	♯ missing on note 1
24	vn 1	♮ needed on note 10
24	vn 2	acciaccatura instead of appoggiatura
24	va, b	*f* missing
26	vn 1	♮ needed on note 10
27	vn 1, vn 2	♮ needed on note 10
28	vn 1	♮ needed on note 10
30	vn 1	♮ needed on note 10

Berlin

bar	part	inconsistency
30	vn 2	C♯ not present any other time that this bar appears
31	vn 2	acciaccatura missing
37	va, b	*p* missing
45	vn 1, vn 2	♮ needed on note 4
46	b	note 3 should be G (*cf* bar 20)
47	vn 1, vn 2	♯ missing on note 1, ♮ needed on note 4
49	vn 2	*f* missing

2nd movement   Andante

bar	part	inconsistency
2	va, b	articulation missing (*cf* bar 17)
7	b	C♯ not needed
9	vn 2	second ♯ not needed
21	vn 1, vn 2	articulation missing

3rd movement   Presto

bar	part	inconsistency
7	b	slurs missing (*cf* bar 15)
38	vn 1, vn 2, va	weight mark missing on quaver
41	va	♯ incorrect
49	vn 1, vn 2, va	*f* missing
57-60	vn 1	slurs inconsistent with vn 2
70-71	vn 1	articulation missing
100-102	b	articulation missing (*cf* bar 39)

Lambach

bar	part	inconsistency

1st movement   Allegro

bar	part	inconsistency
1	vn 1	♮ needed on note 9
1	vn 2	slurs inconsistent with vn 1
3	vn 1	♮ needed on note 9
3	vn 2	slurs inconsistent with vn 1
4	va	*f* missing
8	va	note 10 should be D (*cf* other versions)
9	vn 1	slurs to continue?
11, 12, 13	vn 2	rhythms incorrect

Lambach

bar	part	inconsistency
11-13	vn 1	slurs inconsistent with vn 2
19	vn 1, vn 2	♮ needed on notes 8 and 9
20	all strings	dynamics inconsistent
21	vn 1, vn 2	♮ needed on notes 8 and 9
23	vn 1	acciaccatura missing
23	vn 2	♯ needed on acciaccatura
24	vn 2	slurs inconsistent with vn 1
25	vn 1	tie not in any other version
25	vn 2	*f* not in any other part
26	vn 1	♮ needed on note 10
26-31	vn 2	slurs inconsistent with vn 1
27-8	va, b	*f* half a bar different from vns
28	vn 1	♮ needed on note 10
32-35	all strings	dynamics inconsistent
39	vn 2	*f* missing at half bar
40	vn 2, va	dynamics inconsistent
41-43	vn 1, alphorn	articulation does not match
41	vn 1, alphorn	rhythm of last crotchet beat does not match
42	vn 1, alphorn	rhythm of 3rd crotchet beat does not match
44	vn 1, vn 2	♮ needed on note 8
45	b	1st note an octave too low
46	vn 2	E has ♯ in error
47	vn 1, vn 2	♯ missing on acciaccatura
47	vn 1, vn 2	♮ needed on note 4
47	b	*f* half a bar earlier than other parts
48	vn 2, va	*p* missing
50, 51	vn 2	slurs inconsistent with vn 1
52	va	*p* not in any other parts
53	alphorn	pause not in any other parts

2nd movement   Andante

1	b	all parts marked *sempre piano* except basso
2	b	incorrect tie. Should be a slur on following two notes
7, 8	vn 2	slurs inconsistent with vn 1
10	vn 2	last two notes should be dotted rhythm
11	vn 2	rhythm incorrect
15	va	slur inconsistent with basso

Lambach

bar	part	inconsistency
17	b	weight mark missing
18	b	*f* missing
18	va	slur inconsistent with basso
21	vn 1	slur inconsistent with vn 2
22	va	*p* missing
23, 24	vn 1	slur inconsistent with vn 2
24, 25	vn 1	rhythm incorrect, second half of bar
29	vn 2	rhythm incorrect

3rd movement   Presto

bar	part	inconsistency
5	va	only this part has *f*
22-23	va	tie missing
24	vn 2	D and B should be F♯ and A
27	va	ties missing
27	va	*f* missing
29	vn 2	articulation inconsistent with vn 1
31	va	*f* should be in bar 27
32	va, b	ties missing
34-5	all strings	dynamics inconsistent
36-38	va	ties missing?
37-39	vn 2	articulation missing
39	b	*f* missing
41	va, b	articulation missing
42-48	all strings	ties inconsistent
57-60	vn 2	articulation inconsistent with vn 1
64-65	all strings	dynamics inconsistent
64-72	vn 2, va, b	ties inconsistent
80	va, b	*p* missing
89-90	vn 1	tie missing
90	vn 2	C ♮ mark should be ♯
92	vn 1	*f* not in any other part
96-98	b	ties not present in any other version
101	vn 1	articulation missing
101-2	b	articulation missing
103-end	vn 2, va, b	ties inconsistent
118	vn 1, b	dot incorrect

Frances Jones   Alphorn

Munich

bar	part	inconsistency

2 additional orchestral horns, in G for the 1st and 3rd movement and D for the 2nd movement.

Has annotations in pencil.

1st movement   Allegro

1	vn 1	♮ needed on note 9 (added in pencil)
3	vn 1	♮ needed on note 9 (added in pencil)
19	vn 1, vn 2	♮ needed on notes 6, 8 and 9
21	vn 1, vn 2	♮ needed on notes 8 and 9
26	vn 1	♮ needed on note 10
26-29	vn 2	slurs inconsistent with vn 1
27	vn 1	♮ needed on note 10
27-28	vn 1	*f* inconsistent with other parts
28	vn 1	♮ 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	♯ 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

bar	part	inconsistency
46, 47	va, b	dynamics missing
48	vn 1	dot in error
57	vn 1	weight mark missing
58-60	vn 1	slurs inconsistent with vn 2
65	vn 2, va	*p* missing
80	va, b	*p* missing
82ff	va	ties missing
84-87	vn 1, vn 2, va	ties missing
84-86	b	ties missing
93-94	vn 1	tie in other parts
100	vn	weight mark missing
102	vn 2	weight mark missing
105-end	va	ties missing
116	vn 2, b	*p* missing

Öttingen

bar	part	inconsistency

2 additional orchestral horns, in G for the 1st and 3rd movement and D for the 2nd movement.

1st movement   Allegro (alphorn and basso: Allegro moderato)

1, 2	vn 1	weight marks missing
1	vn 1	♮ needed on note 9
2	vn 1	F♯ unnecessary
3	vn 1	♮ needed on note 9
4	vn 2	slur inconsistent with vn 1
6	vn 2	slurs missing
9	vn 2	*pp* should be *p*
14	va	Bs should be F♯s
22	vn 1	weight marks missing
23	vn 2	♯ missing on acciaccatura
24	vn 1	♮ needed on note 10
27	vn 2	slur inconsistent with vn 1
27	vn 1	♮ needed on note 10

Öttingen

bar	part	inconsistency
28	vn 1	*f* missing
28	vn 1	♮ needed on note 10
29	vn 2	slur inconsistent with vn 1
30	vn 1	♮ needed on note 10
31	vn 1	F♯ unnecessary
31	vn 2, va	*f* missing
37-8	vn 2, va, b	ties inconsistent
39	va	*f* half bar earlier than other parts
40	vn 2	*f* missing
41	vn 1, alphorn	rhythm of last crotchet beat does not match
42	vn 1, alphorn	rhythm of 3rd crotchet beat does not match
45	vn 1	dot on 1st note incorrect
46	vn 2	E has incorrect ♯
46	va	*p* missing
47	vn 1, vn 2	♯ missing on acciaccatura
47	b	*f* half bar earlier than other parts
49	vn 1, vn 2, va	*f* missing
52	va	*p* appears in this part only

2nd movement   Andante

bar	part	inconsistency
1	vn 1, va, b	only the vn 2 part marked *sempre piano*
2	va	weight mark missing
7, 8	vn 2	articulation inconsistent with vn 1
8	va	1st note C♯ should be D
10	vn 1	6th note B should be C♯
12	b	slur missing
14	vn 1	articulation missing
17	va	weight mark missing
18	b	*f* missing
21	vn 2	rhythm incorrect
23-26	all strings	dynamics inconsistent
24, 25	vn 1	rhythms incorrect
24	vn 2	slur inconsistent with vn 1
24	b	slurs missing
26	vn 2	rhythm incorrect
26	vn 2	slur inconsistent with vn 1
29	b	slur missing

Öttingen

bar	part	inconsistency

3rd movement   Presto

bar	part	inconsistency
5	va	only this part has *f*
13-15	va	lower note Bs should be Gs
17-23	vn 2, va, b	ties inconsistent
24	vn 2	D and B should be F♯ and A
27	va	*f* missing
31	va	*f* surplus
32-33	va, b	tie missing
35	vn 2	*p* should be in previous bar
34-38	va, b	ties inconsistent
38	b	*f* should be a bar later
39	va	*f* missing
41	va	articulation missing
43-44	va	tie missing
46	va	*p* missing
47	va	*pp* missing
48	vn 1	dot incorrect
57-60	vn 1	weight marks missing
64	va	*p* missing
65	vn 2	*p* missing
67-70	alphorn	articulation missing
80	va, b	*p* missing
80-87	vn 2, va, b	ties inconsistent
88	va	the only part with *p*
89-90	vn 1	tie missing
92	b	*f* missing
93-94	vn 2, b	ties not present in any other version
94	vn 1	*p* missing
96	vn 2	*p* missing
99	vn 1, vn 2	*f* missing
103-end	vn 2, va, b	ties inconsistent
116	vn 2, b	*p* missing
118	vn 1, vn 2	dot incorrect

Frances Jones   Alphorn

Vienna

bar	part	inconsistency

1st movement   Allegro

bar	part	inconsistency
1	vn 1	♮ needed on note 9
3	vn 1	♮ needed on note 9
3	vn 2	slurs missing
11	va, b	*f* missing
19	vn 1, vn 2	♯ missing on acciaccatura
19	vn 1, vn 2	♮ needed on notes 8 and 9
21	vn 1, vn 2	♮ needed on notes 8 and 9
23	vn 2	slurs missing
24	vn 1	♮ needed on note 10
24	b	*f* missing
25	vn 1	♯ missing on note 5
26	vn 1	♮ needed on note 10
28	vn 1	♮ needed on note 10
29	vn 1	slurs missing
45	vn 1, vn 2	♯ missing on acciaccatura
45	vn 1, vn 2	♮ needed on note 4
49	vn 2	*f* missing

2nd movement   Andante

bar	part	inconsistency
1	vn 1	weight mark missing
2	b	weight mark missing
2	va	rhythm incorrect
17	b	rhythm incorrect
21	vn 1, vn 2	articulation missing
24	b	dot missing on crotchet
26	b	slurs missing

3rd movement   Presto

bar	part	inconsistency
7	b	slurs missing (*cf* bar 15)
41	va	G has ♯ in error
49	vn 1, vn 2, va	*f* missing
54	b	F♯ B A should be F♯ A G
57-60	vn 1	slurs missing
70, 71	vn 1	articulation missing
101	vn 2	last note B should be D

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

1st movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Bartenstein	Berlin	Lambach	Munich	Öttingen	Vienna
1	vn 1, vn 2	chord includes low G	yes, yes	no, no	yes, yes	yes, yes	yes, yes	no, no
5	vn 2	chord includes low G	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no
8	va	notes 2,4,8,10	D D D D	D G D G	D D D D	D D D D	D D D D	D G D G
8	b	notes 2,4,8,10	D G D G	D G D G	D D D D	D D D D	D D D D	D G D G
13	vn 2	a 3rd above vn 1	no (start on F♯)	yes (start on A)	no (start on F♯)	no (start on F♯)	no (start on F♯)	yes (start on A)
12, 13	vn 2	acciaccatura	E E	E E	C♯ C♯	C♯ C♯	C♯ C♯	E E
14	va	notes 2,3	A A	F♯ F♯	A A	A A	A A	F♯ F♯
27	vn 2	a 3rd above vn 1	yes (start on A)	no (start on F♯)	yes (start on A)	yes (start on A)	yes (start on A)	no (start on F♯)
28	vn 1, vn 2	chord includes low G	yes, yes	no, yes	yes, yes	yes, yes	yes, yes	no, yes
30	vn 1, vn 2	chord includes low G	yes, yes	no, no	yes, yes	yes, yes	yes, yes	no, no
41	vn 1, alphorn	same rhythm on 4th ♩	no: [music]	yes: both [music]	no: [music]	no: [music]	no: [music]	yes: both [music]
42	vn 1	rhythm on 3rd ♩	[music]	[music]	[music]	[music]	[music]	[music]
45	vn 1, vn 2	acciaccatura	no, yes	yes, yes	no, no	no, no	no, no	yes, yes
46	vn 1, vn 2	2nd C♯ or ♮	♮, ♯	♮, ♮	♯, ♯	♯, ♯	♯, ♯	♮, ♮
48	vn 2	chord includes low G	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no
53	va	notes	D	D and B	D	D	D	D and B
53	alphorn	trill	no	yes	no	no	no	yes

2nd movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Bartenstein	Berlin	Lambach	Munich	Öttingen	Vienna
10	vn 2	dotted rhythm	no	yes	no	no	no	yes
11	vn 1, vn 2	acciaccatura on 2nd ♩	yes, no	no, no	yes, yes	yes, yes	yes, yes	no, no
10, 11	vn 1	rhythms	[rhythm notation]	[rhythm notation]	[rhythm notation]	[rhythm notation]	[rhythm notation]	[rhythm notation]
10, 11	vn 2	rhythms	[rhythm notation]	[rhythm notation]	[rhythm notation]	[rhythm notation]	[rhythm notation]	[rhythm notation]
12	all strings	rhythm	vn 1 [notation]; others [notation]	all [notation]	vn 2 [notation]; others [notation]	vns [notation]; va, b [notation]	vn 1 [notation]; others [notation]	all [notation]
15	vn 1	trill how many notes	2	1st note only		2	2	1st note only
30	b	crotchet or 2 quavers	2 quavers	2 quavers	crotchet	crotchet	crotchet	2 quavers
31, 32	vn 1	trill how many notes	4	3	none	on 2nd only	on 2nd only	4

3rd movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Bartenstein	Berlin	Lambach	Munich	Öttingen	Vienna
13-15	va	notes	Ds and Gs	Ds and Bs	Ds and Gs	Ds and Gs	Ds and Gs	Ds and Bs
24	vn 2	notes	F♯ and A	D and B (error)	F♯ and A	F♯ and A	F♯ and A	D and B (error)
58, 59	b	rhythm	crotchet and rest	crotchet and rest	crotchet and rest	dotted crotchet	dotted crotchet	crotchet and rest
64	va	notes	D and G	D and B	D and G	D and G	D and G	D and B
72	vn 1	notes	dotted crotchet G	3 quavers G D B	dotted crotchet G	dotted crotchet G	dotted crotchet G	3 quavers G D B
84-87	vn 2	notes	just Bs	just Bs	Bs and Ds	Bs and Ds	Bs and Ds	just Bs
91	va	rhythm	dotted crotchet	crotchet and rest	dotted crotchet	dotted crotchet	dotted crotchet	crotchet and rest
95	va	rhythm	dotted crotchet	crotchet and rest	dotted crotchet	dotted crotchet	dotted crotchet	crotchet and rest
103	b	notes	dotted crotchet G	dotted crotchet G	3 quavers G D B	3 quavers G D B	3 quavers G D B	dotted crotchet G
104	va	notes	D and B	D and G	D and G	D and B	D and B	D and B
116-8	vn 1	trills	yes all	none	yes all	yes all	yes all	none
118	alphorn	final flicked note	G	E	G	G	G	E

Table 2b: Discrepancy between sets: ties. The following 20 occasions of discrepancy with ties occur

bar	part	discrepancy	Bartenstein	Berlin	Lambach	Munich	Öttingen	Vienna
1st movement								
32-34	va, b	ties	yes, yes	no, yes	yes, yes	no, yes	no, yes	no, yes
37-39	vn 2, va, b	ties	no, no, yes	yes, no, no	yes, no, no	yes, no, no	yes, no, no	yes, no, no
2nd movement								
6	va	tie	no	no	yes	yes	yes	no
9	vn 2	tie	no	no	no	yes	yes	no
10	va	tie	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no
23	va, b	ties	no, no	no, no	no, no	yes, yes	yes, yes	no, no
31, 32	vn 1, vn 2	ties	yes, no	no, no	no, no	yes, no	yes, no	no, no
3rd movement								
9-12	vn 2, va, b	ties	yes, no, no	no, no, no	no, no, yes	no, no, yes	no, no, yes	no, no, no
16-24	vn 2, va, b	ties	yes, no, yes	no, no, no	yes, yes, yes	yes, yes, no	1st only, yes, no	no, no, no
27-30	va, b	ties	no, no	no, yes	yes, yes	yes, yes	yes, yes	no, yes
32-33	all strings	ties	no, yes, no, no	yes, yes, yes, yes	yes, yes, no, no	yes, yes, no, no	yes, yes, no, no	yes, yes, yes, yes
34-38	va, b	ties	yes, no	no, yes	some, yes	yes, no	yes, no	no, yes
42-48	all strings	ties	no, yes, no, no	no, no, no, yes	no, some, no, yes	no,some,some,some	no,some,1st,some	no, no, no, yes
49	b	tie	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no
64-72	vn 2, va, b	ties	yes, no, no	no, no, no	some, some, yes	yes, yes, yes	yes, yes, yes	no, no, no
80-87	vn 2, va, b	ties	yes, no, no	no, no, no	most, yes, no	some, no, some	some, no, some	no, no, no
83-84	vn 1	tie	yes	no	no	yes	no	no
88-89	vn 1, vn 2	ties	no, yes	yes, yes	no, yes	yes, yes	no, yes	yes, yes
88-90	b	ties	no	no	yes	yes	yes	no
103-end	vn 2, va, b	ties	yes, no, yes	no, no, no	no, no, yes	yes, no, yes	yes, no, yes	no, no, no

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

bar	part	discrepancy	Berlin	Vienna

2nd movement

| 31, 32 | vn 1, vn 2 | number of trills | 3 | 4 |

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

bar	part	discrepancy	Munich	Öttingen

2nd movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Munich	Öttingen
12	all strings	rhythm	vns ♪.♪♪, va, b ♪♪♪.	vn 1 ♪.♪♪, others ♪♪.

3rd movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Munich	Öttingen
16-24	vn 2, va, b	ties	yes, yes, no	1st only, yes, no
42-48	all strings	ties	no,some,some,some	no,some,1st,some
83-84	vn 1	tie	yes	no
88-89	vn 1, vn 2	ties	yes, yes	no, yes

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

bar	part	discrepancy	Berlin / Vienna	Munich / Öttingen

1st movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Berlin / Vienna	Munich / Öttingen
1	vn 1, vn 2	chord includes low G	no, no	yes, yes
5	vn 2	chord includes low G	no	yes
8	va, b	what notes 2,4,8,10	D G D G	D D D D
8	b	what notes 2,4,8,10	D G D G	D D D D
13	vn 2	a 3rd above vn 1	yes (start on A)	no: as vn 1 (start on F♯)
14	va	notes 2,3	F♯ F♯	A A
27	vn 2	a 3rd above vn 1	no: as vn 1 (start on F♯)	yes (start on A)
28	vn 1, vn 2	chord includes low G	no, yes	yes, yes
30	vn 1, vn 2	chord includes low G	no, no	yes, yes
41	vn 1, alphorn	same rhythm on 4th ♪	yes: both ♫♫	no: ♫♫ ; ♫♫

bar	part	discrepancy	Berlin / Vienna	Munich / Öttingen
42	vn 1	rhythm on 3rd ♩.	♪♫	♪♫
46	vn 1, vn 2	2nd C ♯ or ♮	♮ , ♮	♯ , ♯
48	vn 2	chord includes low G	no	yes
53	va	what notes	D and B	D
53	alphorn	trill	yes	no

2nd movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Berlin / Vienna	Munich / Öttingen
10	vn 2	dotted rhythm	yes	no
15	vn 1	how many trills	1st note only	2

3rd movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Berlin / Vienna	Munich / Öttingen
13-15	va	what notes	Ds and Bs	Ds and Gs
24	vn 2	what notes	D and B (error)	F♯ and A
49	b	ties	no	yes
58,59	b	rhythm	crotchet and rest	dotted crotchet
64	va	what notes	D and B	D and G
72	vn 1	what notes	3 quavers G D B	dotted crotchet G
91	va	rhythm	crotchet and rest	dotted crotchet
95	va	rhythm	crotchet and rest	dotted crotchet
116-8	vn 1	trills	none	yes all
118	alphorn	final flicked note	E	G

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).

Frances Jones   Alphorn

Table 6a. Berlin / Vienna, and Munich / Öttingen, in comparison with the other sets, excluding ties

1st movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Berlin / Vienna	Munich / Öttingen	Bartenstein	Lambach
1	vn 1, vn 2	chord includes low G	no, no	yes, yes	yes, yes	yes, yes
5	vn 2	chord includes low G	no	yes	yes	yes
8	va	notes 2,4,8,10	D G D G	D D D D	D D D D	D D D D
8	b	notes 2,4,8,10	D G D G	D D D D	D G D G	D D D D
13	vn 2	a 3rd above vn 1	yes (start on A)	no (start on F#)	no (start on F#)	no (start on F#)
12, 13	vn 2	acciaccatura	E, E	C#, C#	E, E	C#, C#
14	va	notes 2,3	F# F#	A A	A A	A A
27	vn 2	a 3rd above vn 1	no (start on F#)	yes (start on A)	yes (start on A)	yes (start on A)
28	vn 1, vn 2	chord includes low G	no, yes	yes, yes	yes, yes	yes, yes
30	vn 1, vn 2	chord includes low G	no, no	yes, yes	yes, yes	yes, yes
41	vn 1, alphorn	same rhythm on 4th ♩	yes: both [notation]	no: [notation]	no: [notation]	no: [notation]
42	vn 1	rhythm on 3rd ♩	[notation]	[notation]	[notation]	[notation]
45	vn 1, vn 2	acciaccatura	yes, yes	no, no	no, yes	no, no
46	vn 1, vn 2	2nd C♯ or ♮	♮, ♮	♯, ♯	♮, ♯	♯, ♯
48	vn 2	chord includes low G	no	yes	yes	yes
53	va	notes	D and B	D	D	D
53	alphorn	trill	yes	no	no	no

2nd movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Berlin / Vienna	Munich / Öttingen	Bartenstein	Lambach
10	vn 2	dotted rhythm	yes	no	no	no
11	vn 1, vn 2	acciaccatura on 2nd ♩	no, no	yes, yes	yes, no	yes, yes
10, 11	vn 1	rhythms	[notation]	[notation]	[notation]	[notation]

430

bar	part	discrepancy	Berlin / Vienna	Munich / Öttingen	Bartenstein	Lambach
10, 11	vn 2	rhythms	♫ ♫. ♫.	♫. ♫. ♫.	♫. ♫. ♫.	♫ ♫. ♫.
12	all strings	rhythm on 6th quaver	all ♫.	vn 1 ♫., vn 2 ♫./♫., va,b ♫.	vn 1 ♫., others ♫. (as Ö)	vn 2 ♫., others ♫.
15	vn 1	how many notes have trills	1st note only	2	2	2
30	b	crotchet or 2 quavers	2 quavers	crotchet	2 quavers	crotchet
31, 32	vn 1	how many notes have trills	Berlin 3, Vienna 4	2nd only	4 (as Vienna)	none

3rd movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Berlin / Vienna	Munich / Öttingen	Bartenstein	Lambach
13-15	va	notes	Ds and Bs	Ds and Gs	Ds and Gs	Ds and Gs
24	vn 2	notes	D and B (error)	F♯ and A	F♯ and A	F♯ and A
58, 59	b	rhythm	crotchet and rest	dotted crotchet	crotchet and rest	crotchet and rest
64	va	notes	D and B	D and G	D and G	D and G
72	vn 1	notes	3 quavers G D B	dotted crotchet G	dotted crotchet G	dotted crotchet G
84-87	vn 2	notes	just Bs	Bs and Ds	just Bs	Bs and Ds
91	va	rhythm	crotchet and rest	dotted crotchet	dotted crotchet	dotted crotchet
95	va	rhythm	crotchet and rest	dotted crotchet	dotted crotchet	dotted crotchet
103	b	notes	dotted crotchet G	3 quavers G D B	dotted crotchet G	3 quavers G D B
104	va	notes	D and G	D and B	D and B	D and G
116-8	vn 1	trills	none	yes all	yes all	yes all
118	alphorn	final flicked note	E	G	G	G

Table 6b. Berlin / Vienna, and Munich / Öttingen, in comparison with the other sets: ties

1st movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Berlin / Vienna	Munich / Öttingen	Bartenstein	Lambach
32-34	va, b	ties	no, yes	no, yes	yes, yes	yes, yes
37-39	vn 2, va, b	ties	yes, no, no	yes, no, no	no, no, yes	yes, no, no

2nd movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Berlin / Vienna	Munich / Öttingen	Bartenstein	Lambach
6	va	tie	no	yes	no	yes
9	vn 2	tie	no	yes	no	no
10	va	tie	no	yes	yes	yes
23	va, b	ties	no, no	yes, yes	no, no	no, no
31, 32	vn 1, vn 2	ties	no, no	yes, no	yes, no	no, no

3rd movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Berlin / Vienna	Munich / Öttingen	Bartenstein	Lambach
9-12	vn 2, va, b	ties	no, no, no	no, no, yes	yes, no, no	no, no, yes
16-24	vn 2, va, b	ties	no, no, no	yes/1st only, yes, no	yes, no, yes	yes, yes, yes
27-30	va, b	ties	no, yes	yes, yes	no, no	yes, yes
32-33	all strings	ties	yes, yes, yes, yes	yes, yes, no, no	no, yes, no, no	yes, yes, no, no
34-38	va, b	ties	no, yes	yes, no	yes, no	some, yes
42-48	all strings	ties	no, no, no, yes	no,some,some/1st,some	no, yes, no, no	no, some, no, yes
49	b	tie	no	yes	yes	yes
64-72	vn 2, va, b	ties	no, no, no	yes, yes, yes	yes, no, no	some, some, yes
80-87	vn 2, va, b	ties	no, no, no	some, no, some	yes, no, no	most, yes, no
83-84	vn 1	ties	no	yes / no	yes (as M)	no
88-89	vn 1, vn 2	ties	yes, yes	yes/no, yes	no, yes (as Ö)	no, yes (as Ö)
88-90	b	ties	no	yes	no	yes
103-end	vn 2, va, b	ties	no, no, no	yes, no, yes	yes, no, yes	no, no, yes

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

bar	part	discrepancy	Bartenstein

1st movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Bartenstein
8	b	what notes 2,4,8,10	D G D G
12, 13	vn 2	acciaccatura	E, E

2nd movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Bartenstein
6	va	tie	no
9	vn 2	tie	no
30	b	crotchet or 2 quavers	2 quavers
31, 32	vn 1	trills	4 (as Vienna)

3rd movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Bartenstein
58,59	b	rhythm	crotchet and rest
84-87	vn 2	what notes	just Bs
88-90	b	ties	no
103	b	what notes	dotted crotchet G

Table 7b. Bartenstein: items the same as Lambach

1st movement

32-34	va, b	ties	yes, yes

Table 7c. Bartenstein: items different from all other versions

1st movement

37-39	vn 2, va, b	ties	no, no, yes
45	vn 1, vn 2	acciaccatura	no, yes
46	vn 1, vn 2	2nd C ♯ or ♮	♮ , ♯

2nd movement

10, 11	vn 2	rhythms	♫ ♫. ♫
11	vn 1, vn 2	acciaccatura on 2nd ♪	yes, no

3rd movement

9-12	vn 2, va, b	ties	yes, no, no
16-24	vn 2, va, b	ties	yes, no, yes
27-30	va, b	ties	no, no
32-33	all strings	tie	no, yes, no, no
42-48	all strings	ties	no, yes, no, no
64-72	vn 2, va, b	ties	yes, no, no
80-87	vn 2, va, b	ties	yes, no, no

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

bar	part	discrepancy	Lambach

2nd movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Lambach
9	vn 2	tie	no
31, 32	vn 1, vn 2	ties	no, no

3rd movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Lambach
58, 59	b	rhythm	crotchet and rest
83-84	vn 1	tie	no
104	va	what notes	D and G

Table 8b. Lambach: items the same as Bartenstein

1st movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Lambach
32-34	va, b	ties	yes, yes

Table 8c. Lambach: items different from all other versions

2nd movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Lambach
10, 11	vn 2	rhythms	♫ ♫ ♫.
12	all strings	rhythm	vn 2 ♫., others ♫.
31, 32	vn 1	trills	none

3rd movement

bar	part	discrepancy	Lambach
16-24	vn 2, va, b	ties	yes, yes, yes
34-38	va, b	ties	some, yes
42-48	all strings	ties	no, some, no, yes
64-72	vn 2, va, b	ties	some, some, yes
80-87	vn 2, va, b	ties	most, yes, no
103-end	vn 2, va, b	ties	no, no, yes

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:

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.

Sinfonia Pastorella

1

App. 3 Fig. 2. Leopold Mozart, *Sinfonia Pastorella*. New edition. Frances Jones, 2014.

Photographs of the original manuscripts are provided on the attached CD. They are labelled as follows:

Folder: 'Leopold Mozart'
Subfolders:

Source	Photograph labels
Bartenstein	LM Bartenstein 1 - 10
Berlin	LM Berlin 1 - 21
Lambach	LM Lambach 1 - 22
Munich	LM Munich 1 - 13
Öttingen	LM Ottingen 1 - 19
Vienna	LM Vienna 1 - 23

Appendix 4. Personal UK performance data

Performances in the UK in a formal setting.

Type of event	Number of occasions
Lecture recital	28
Guest performer in a concert	24
Presentation and workshop for a school / university / festival	18
Concerto performance with orchestra	9
Soloist with concert band / silver band / wind ensemble	7

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	
For an international cultural event	6
For an Alpine-themed event	6
For a Swiss-themed event	4
For a Swiss cultural event	3
For the launch of a Swiss-related product	3

Performances that bear no relation to Switzerland: novelty and 'the natural'.

1. Those for whom the alphorn is a musical novelty item	
Street / party entertainment	4
Workshops for festivals	2
TV science show / entertainment show	2
2. Those for whom the alphorn represents the primeval, mother earth, nature or the environment	
Events related to a location or date (e.g. a mountain, a solstice)	5
Events related to the natural environment	4

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.

Bach, Johann Sebastian. *Pastorale* BWV 590, in *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe*, Vol. 38. Organ. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel. 1891. pp. 135-142.

Battmann, Jacques Louis de. *Le Cor des Alpes (de H. Proch), Fantasia pour le Piano*, Op. 253. Ikelmer: Bordeaux. 1868.

Becker, Constantin Julius. *The Alphorn*. Voice, horn and piano. London: Ewer. 1844.

Beethoven, Ludwig van. *Symphony No. 6*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel. *c*.1826.

Bergancini, Joseph. *Le Ranz des Vaches avec Six Variations*. Piano. Paris: Bergancini. *c*.1810.

Berlioz, Hector. *Le Jeune Pâtre Breton*. Voice, horn and piano. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel. *c*.1903.

Berlioz, Hector. *Symphonie fantastique*. Paris: Schlesinger. 1845.

Bishop, Henry Rowley. *Melodies of Various Nations*. Voice and piano. London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co. 1921.

Bishop, Henry Rowley. *Home Sweet Home*. Voice and piano. London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co. *c*.1825.

Brahms, Johannes. *Piano Concerto No. 1*. Winterthur: Rieter-Biedermann. 1861.

Brahms, Johannes. *Symphony No. 1*. Berlin: Simrock. 1877.

Britten, Benjamin. *Serenade for Tenor, Horn & Strings*. London: Boosey & Hawkes. 1944.

Britten, Benjamin. *Alpine Suite*. 3 recorders. London: Boosey & Hawkes. 1956.

Britten, Benjamin. *Fanfare for St. Edmundsbury*. 3 trumpets. London: Boosey & Hawkes. 1969.

Carpentier, Adolph Clair le. *Divertissement du Salon sur le Cor des Alpes, mélodie de Proch*, Op. 49. Piano. Paris: Meissonnier. 1840.

Clementi, Muzio. *Six Sonatinas*, Op. 36. Piano. Vienna: Artaria. 1788.

Copland, Aaron. *Four Dance Episodes from Rodeo*. Orchestra. London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1946.

Crusell, Bernhard. *Clarinet Concerto No. 2*, Op. 5. First published 1818.

Debussy, Claude. *Prélude à l'Après-Midi d'un Faune.* Orchestra. Paris: Fromont. *c*.1895.

Dohler, Theodore. *Fantasie Brillante pour le Piano sur l'air favori Le Cor des Alpes de H. Proch*, Op. 18. Paris: Blanchet. *c*.1835.

Dohler, Theodore. *Grande Fantasie et Variations sur des thèmes favoris de l'opéra Guillaume Tell de Rossini pour piano*, Op. 28. Paris: Schott. 1860.

Dohler, Theodore. *Caprice brilliant et une Valse Suisse sur le Ranz des Vaches, pour Piano*, Op. 40. Paris: Schonenberger. 1842.

Donizetti, Gaetano. *Betly, o La Capanna Svizzera*. Operetta. Milan: Ricordi. 1854.

Doppler, Franz. *Souvenir du Rigi*, Op. 34. Flute, horn and piano, with optional cow bell in C. Mainz: Schott. 1876.

Doret, Gustave. *Les Armaillis*. Opera. Paris: Choudens. 1906.

Dvořák, Antonín. *Symphony No. 4*. London: Novello. 1892.

Elgar, Edward. *From the Bavarian Highlands*. Voice and piano. London: Stainer & Bell. 1901.

Gerdessen, Johannes. *Alphornklänge, Salonstück für Pianoforte*, Op. 20. Leipzig: Grude. 1893.

Gossec, François-Joseph. *Le Triomphe de la République, ou Le Camp de Grand Pré*. Opera. Paris: Huguet. 1794.

Grétry, André. *Guillaume Tell*. Opera. Paris: Huguet. 1791.

Grétry, André. *Lisbeth*. Opera. Paris: Frey. 1797.

Grieg, Edvard. *Seven Children's Songs*, Op. 61, No. 3: *Farmyard Song*. Piano. Oslo: Christiania. 1895.

Grieg, Edvard. *Two Nordic Melodies*, Op. 63, No. 2: *Kuhreigen*. Orchestra. Leipzig: Peters. 1896.

Haydn, Josef. *Die Jahrzeiten*. Oratorio. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel. 1802.

Haydn, Joseph. *Die Schöpfung*. Oratorio. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel. 1820.

Holst, Gustavus von. *Fantasia Tirolese*. Harp. London: Holst. *c*.1826.

Hünten, François. *Le Cor des Alpes. Variations for Piano*, Op. 113, No. 3. Paris: Hünten. *c*.1860.

Kienzl, Wilhelm. *Der Kuhreigen*, Op. 85. Opera. Leipzig: Weinberger. 1911.

Leduc, Alphonse. *Le Cor des Alpes, 2e Fantasie Gracieuse*, Op. 103. Piano. Paris: Leduc. *c*.1845.

Liszt, Franz. *Drei Lieder aus Schillers Wilhelm Tell*, No. 2: *Der Hirt*, in *Musikalischwerke* Series 7, Vol. 1. Voice and piano. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel. 1917. p.13.

Liszt, Franz. *Les Préludes*. Orchestra. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1885.

Liszt, Franz. *Tagebuch eines Wanderers*: *Eindrücke und Poesien* No. 5: *Die Tellskapelle*; No. 11: *Ein Abend in den Bergen*; *Melodieenblüten von den Alpen* No. 1 and No. 6; *Paraphrasen* No. 1: *Kuhreigen. Aufzug auf die Alp*, in *Pianofortewerke*, Vol. 4. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel. 1916. pp. 62, 70, 97, 114, 134.

Mahler, Gustav. *Symphony No. 4*. Wien: Doblinger. 1902.

Mahler, Gustav. *Symphony No. 7*. Leipzig: Eulenburg. 1909.

Mahler, Gustav. *Zu Strassburg auf der Schanz'*. Voice and piano. Mainz: Schott. 1892.

Mendelssohn, Felix. *Sinfonie No. 9*. String orchestra. Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik. 1967.

Meyerbeer, Giacomo. *Chanson Suisse: Fais Sonner la Clochette: Ranz des Vaches d'Appenzell*. Voice and piano. Paris: Brandus. 1849.

Meyerbeer, Giacomo. *Des Schäfers Lied.* Voice, clarinet (or harmonium) and piano. Paris. 1842.

Meyerbeer, Giacomo. *Dinorah*: *Sui prati il fior.* Opera. London: Boosey & Hawkes. 1861.

Meyerbeer, Giacomo. *Rondino sur le Ranz des Vaches*. Piano. Paris: Schlesinger. n. d.

Niedermeyer, Louis. *Fantaisie sur le Ranz des Vaches*, Op. 94. Piano. Paris: Pacini. *c*.1826.

Nielsen, Carl. *Helios Overture*, Op. 17. Copenhagen: Hansen. 1905.

Orff, Carl. *Carmina Burana*. Cantata. Mainz: Schott. 1937.

Proch, Heinrich. *Das Alpenhorn*, Op. 18. Voice and piano. Wien: Diabelli. 1836.

Raff, Joachim. *Symphony No. 7*. Leipzig: Seitz. 1876.

Rossini, Gioachino. *Il Guglielmo Tell*. Opera. Paris: Troupenas. 1829.

Rummel, Joseph. *Le Cor des Alpes*. Piano. Paris: Lemoine. *c*.1860.

Schubert, Franz. *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen*. Voice, clarinet and piano. Berlin: Lienau. *c*.1960. First published 1830.

Schumann, Robert. *Liederalbum für die Jugend*, Op. 79, No. 9: *Des Knaben Berglied,* in *Sämtliche Lieder*, Vol. 2. Voice and piano. Leipzig: Peters, *c*.1900. p.189. First published 1849.

Schumann, Robert. *Liederalbum für die Jugend*, Op. 79, No. 23: *Des Sennen Abschied,* in *Sämtliche Lieder*, Vol. 2. Voice and piano. Leipzig: Peters, *c*.1900. p.202. First published 1849.

Schumann, Robert. *6 Gedichte von N. Lenau und Requiem*, Op. 90, No. 4: *Die Sennin*, in *Sämtliche Lieder*, Vol. 3. Voice and piano. Leipzig: Peters, *c*.1900. p.42. First published 1850.

Schumann, Robert. *Manfred*. Music-Drama. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel. 1868. First published 1853.

Schütz, Heinrich. *Weinachtshistorie*. Oratorio. Basel: Barenreiter. 1955. First published 1664.

Strauss, Richard. *Alphorn*, Op. 29. Voice, horn and piano. Mainz: Schott. 1995. First published 1819.

Strauss, Richard. *Don Quixote*, Op. 35. Orchestra. London: Eulenburg. 1974. First
    published 1898.

Strauss, Richard. *Ein Heldenleben*, Op. 40. Orchestra. London: Eulenburg. 1958.
    First published 1899.

Strauss, Richard. *Sinfonia Domestica*, Op. 53. Orchestra. Berlin: Bote & Bock.
    1904.

Strauss, Richard. *Eine Alpensinfonie*, Op. 64. Orchestra. London: Eulenburg.
    1996. First published 1915.

Sweelinck, Jan Pieterszoon. *Fantasia,* in The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book. Organ.
    Compiled 1609-1619. First published 1899.

Verroust, Stanislas. *Le Ranz des Vaches, suivi d'un Air suisse favori varié*. Oboe
    and piano, Op. 40. Paris: Richault. *c*.1845.

Viotti, Giovanni Battista. *Concerto for Violin and Orchestra No. 9.* Arrangement
    for string sextet and piano by Theodore Latour published London: Bland &
    Weller. 1784.

Viotti, Giovanni Battista. *Serenade for piano with violin obbligato and cello.*
    Theme quoted in Chappell White, *Viotti, Thematic Catalogue*. New York:
    Pendragon Press. 1985.

Wachs, Frédéric. *40 Mignardises pour Piano*, No. 4: *Le Cor des Alpes*. Paris:
    Aine. *c*.1860.

Wagner, Richard, *Tristan und Isolde*, WWV 90. Opera. Leipzig: Breitkopf
    & Härtel. 1860.

Wagner, Richard. *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, WWV 96. Opera. Mainz:
    Schott. *c*.1903.

Wagner, Richard. *Siegfried-Idyll*, WWV 103. Orchestra. Mainz: Schott. *c*.1878.

Walton, William. *Façade*: *The Swiss Yodelling Song*. Orchestra and voice.
    Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1936.

Weigl, Joseph. *Die Schweizerfamilie.* Operetta. Vienna: Weigl. *c*.1810.

Bibliography

Online

'alp', *Oxford English Dictionary*, online (accessed 25 April 2014),
    http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/5676?rskey=Vx9V3y&result=2.

Baines, Anthony and Max Peter Baumann. 'Alphorn', *Grove Music Online*
    (accessed 18 July 2014),
    http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/00665.

Brook, Barry S, David E. Campbell, Monica H. Cohn and Michael Fend. 'Gossec,
    François-Joseph', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 18 January 2014),
    http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11509.

Chew, Geoffrey. 'Pastorella', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 9 November 2013),
    http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21057.

Cooke, Peter. 'Pitch', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 25 April 2014),
    http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40883.

Cranmer, Margaret and Peter Ward Jones. 'Clementi, Muzio', *Grove Music
    Online* (accessed 18 January 2014),
    http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05937.

Deauville, James. 'Raff, (Joseph) Joachim', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 3 July
    2014),
    http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22816.

Johnson, David. 'Scotch snap', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 17 December
    2013),
    http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25244.

Mattfeld, Victor H. 'Rhau (Rhaw), Georg', *Grove Music Online* (accessed
    18 January 2014),
    http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23314.

Oldham, Campbell, Guy Murray and Clive Greated. 'Harmonics', *Grove Music
    Online* (accessed 21 September 2014),
    http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/50023.

Payne, Thomas B. 'Carmina Burana', *Grove Music Online* (accessed
    22 December 2013),
    http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04961.

Poštolka, Milan. 'Dušek, František Xaver', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 22 November 2013), http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08411.

Poštolka, Milan. 'Ryba, Jakub Jan', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 12 September 2012), http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/24201.

Williams, Cedric. 'Brentano, Clemens', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 26 February 2014), http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03942.

Dissertations

Chew, Geoffrey. 'The Christmas Pastorella in Austria, Bohemia and Moravia'. PhD diss., University of Manchester, 1968.

Germer, Mark. 'The Austro-Bohemian Pastorella and Pastoral Mass to c1780'. PhD diss., New York, 1989.

Mers, Peggy de. 'A Study of Selected Works for Alphorn'. PhD Diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1993.

Novak, Claire. 'Thomáš Norbert Koutník'. MA thesis, University of Masaryk, Brno, 2008.

Renton, Barbara. 'The Musical Culture of Eighteenth-century Bohemia'. PhD diss., New York, 1990.

Ringer, Rebecca Scharlene. 'Beyond the "Year of Song": Text and Music in the Song Cycles of Robert Schumann after 1848'. PhD diss., University of North Texas, 2007.

Vignau, Charlotte. 'Modernity, Complex Societies and the Alphorn'. PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2008.

Wise, Timothy. 'Yodelling in American Popular Music'. PhD diss., University of Liverpool, 2005.

Conference papers

Freeze, Timothy. 'The Topicality of Nostalgia: Multiplicity of reference in the Posthorn Solos of Mahler's Third'. Paper, Gustav Mahler Centenary Conference, University of Surrey, 9 July 2011.

Rawson, Robert. 'The Context and Content of Czech-language Liturgical Music in the 17th Century: Some Questions'. Paper, Jagellonian University Institute of Musicology, 12 May 2006.

Witt, Richard. 'The Shepherd's Signalling Instrument: a Musical Instrument of Central Europe'. Paper, International Association 'Cosmos & Philosophy', Athens, 13 December 2012.

Journal Articles

Abraham, Gerald. 'Slavonic Music and the Western World', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 87th Session (1960-1961), 45-56.

Anon. 'On the National Songs and Music of Switzerland', *The New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, Vol. 59 (1840), 362-84.

Anon. 'Ranz des Vaches', *Music Box*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1969), 53-58.

Anson-Cartwright, Mark. 'Chord as Motif: The Augmented-Triad Matrix in Wagner's "Siegfried Idyll" ', *Music Analysis*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (1996), 57-71.

Beckermann, Michael. 'In Search of Czechness in Music', *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Summer 1986), 61-73.

Chew, Geoffrey. 'Friedrich Chrysander's Reception of Slavonic Folksong: the Minor Mode, Nature and 19th-Century Tonal Theory', *Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis*, Vol. 17 (1998), 207-211.

Coeuroy, André. 'Musical Inspiration in English Literature of the Nineteenth Century', *Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (July 1924), 305-325.

Cumberland, Michael. 'Echoes of a Disappearing Planet', *The Journal of Acoustic Ecology*, Vol. 5, No. 11 (Fall / Winter 2004) (reprint, no page numbers).

Danckert, Werner. 'Hirtenmusik', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. 2 (1956), 97-115.

Duncan, Barbara. 'Home Sweet Home', *University of Rochester Bulletin*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Winter 1949) (reprint, no page numbers).

Ericson, John. 'Franz Strauss', *The Horn Call, Journal of the British Horn Society*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (reprint, no page numbers).

Fellerer, K. G. and Moses Hadas. 'Church Music and the Council of Trent', *Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (October 1953), 576-594.

Finson, Jon. 'Schumann's Mature Style and the "Album of Songs for the Young" ', *Journal of Musicology* (1990), 227-250.

Frauchiger, Fritz. 'The Swiss Kuhreien', *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 54, Nos. 213-214 (July – December 1941), 121-131.

Gabarty, Thomas Jay. 'The "Betruf" of the Swiss Alps', *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 73, No. 287 (January – March 1960), 60-63.

Gossett, Philip. 'Beethoven's Sixth Symphony: Sketches for the First Movement', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (Summer 1974), 248-284.

Groves, Stephen. 'The Picturesque Oratorio: Haydn's Art in Nature's Clothing', *Music and Letters*, Vol. 93, No. 4 (November 2012), 479-512.

Heartz, Daniel. 'Coming of age in Bohemia: The Musical Apprenticeships of Benda and Gluck', *Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Autumn 1988), 510-527.

Hyatt King, Alexander. 'Mountains, Music and Musicians', *Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (October 1945), 395-419.

Jones, Frances. 'Morceaux de Concours: Rediscovering the Treasures of the Paris Conservatoire', *Double Reed News, Journal of the British Double Reed Society*, No. 40 (Autumn 1997), 33-36.

Kirby, Percival R. 'Rossini's Overture to "William Tell" ', *Music & Letters*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (April 1952), 132-140.

Koehler, Elisa. 'Bach Trumpet Parts, a Compendium', *International Trumpet Guild Journal* (January 2008) (reprint, no page numbers).

Kovacs, Imre. 'The Portrait of Liszt as an allegory of the artist in Ary Scheffer's Three Magi', *Studia Musicologica*, Vol. 49 (2008), 91-104.

Lloyd, Frank. 'Performing Britten's Serenade', *The Horn Call, Journal of the British Horn Society* (February 2013), 68-72.

Mendelson, Edward. 'Baedeker's Universe', *Yale Review*, No. 74 (Spring 1985), 386-403.

Meucelin-Roeser, Marianne. 'Der Einsiedler Cantus paschalis und die Alphornweise', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. 29 (1972), 209-212.

Musgrave, Michael. 'Brahms's First Symphony: Thematic Coherence and its Secret Origin', *Music Analysis*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (July 1983), 117-133.

Pendle, Karin. 'The Transformation of a Libretto: Goethe's "Jery und Bätely" ', *Music and Letters*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (January 1974), 77-88.

Penny, Jonathan. 'The Brain of Britten', *The Horn Call, Journal of the British Horn Society*, (October 2012) (reprint, no page numbers).

Rawson, Robert. ' "Ab unisonis" – Musical Textures and Genres and the Echoes of Paraliturgical Practices', *Musicologica Brunensia*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (2012), 25-34.

Rawson, Robert. 'Gottfried Finger's Christmas Pastorellas', *Early Music*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (2005), 591-606.

Rawson, Robert. 'The Context and Content of Czech-language Liturgical Music in the 17th century: some questions', *Early Music Context and Ideas*, Vol. 2. Krakow: Institute on Musicology, Jagiellonian University (2008), 228-36.

Rees, Elizabeth. 'Swiss Herdsman's Chant: Appenzell Kuhreyen', *Panel of Monastic Musicians Journal*, Vol. 27 (Summer 2009), 10-15.

Schneider, Mathieu. 'La Suisse vue par les compositeurs romantiques', *Analyse musical*, No. 54 (November 2006) (reprint, no page numbers).

Tunbridge, Laura. 'Schumann as Manfred', *Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 87 (2004), 546-569.

Tunbridge, Laura. 'Schumann's "Manfred" in the Mental Theatre', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (July 2003), 153-183.

Vignau, Charlotte. 'On Swissness in Alphorn Performance', *Bulletin, Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Ethnomusikologie* (2009), 56-70.

Weiss, Piero. 'Metastasio, Aristotle and the Opera Seria', *Journal of Musicology* (October 1982), 385-394.

Will, Richard. 'Time, Morality, and Humanity in Beethoven's "Pastoral" Symphony', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* Vol. 50, No. 2/3 (Summer – Autumn 1997), 271-329.

Weston, Pamela. 'Lefèvre's Hymne à L'Agriculture', *The Clarinet, Journal of the International Clarinet Association*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (February – March 1998), 78-81.

Wise, Timothy. 'Yodel Species: A Typology of Falsetto Effects in Popular Music Vocal Styles', *Radical Musicology*, Vol. 2 (2007) (reprint, no page numbers).

Wood, John and Nelly. 'An Autumn Tour in Switzerland', *The Graphic* (September – November 1874). Serialised in 11 issues.

Youmans, Charles. 'The Role of Nietzsche in Richard Strauss's Artistic Development', *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 21, Issue 3 (Summer 2004), 309-342.

Thompson, Eric. Record Guide, *Tempo*, Vol. 33 (Autumn 1954), 38-40.

Britten, Benjamin. Letter, *Tempo*, Vol. 34 (Winter 1954/55), 39.

Books

Anon. *Description de la Fête des Vignerons Célébrée à Vevey, le 5 août 1819.* Vevey: Loertscher, 1819.

Anon. *Katalogue zur Ausstellung in Heimatmuseum Grindelwald, Sommer 1972* Grindelwald: Heimatmuseum, 1972.

Anon. *La Décade Philosophique, Littéraire et Politique.* Paris: Décade, 1798.

Abert, Hermann. *W. A. Mozart*. Reprint, ed. Cliff Eisen. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007.

Arnold, Ben, ed. *The Liszt Companion*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Ashby, Arved Mark. *Absolute Music, Mechanical Reproduction*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2010.

Avins, Styra. *Johannes Brahms: Life and Letters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Bachmann-Geiser, Brigitte, Max Peter Baumann, Christine Burckhardt-Schass, Heinrich Leuthold, Ernst Lichtenhahn, Hans Peter Treichler and Martin Wey. *Volksmusik in der Schweiz*. Zürich: Ringier, 1985.

Bachmann-Geiser, Brigitte. *Das Alphorn vom Lock- zum Rockinstrument*. Bern: Haupt, 1999.

Bachmann-Geiser, Brigitte. *Die Volksmusikinstrumente der Schweiz*. Zürich: Atlantis, 1981.

Baedeker, Karl. *Switzerland, and the adjacent districts of Italy, Savoy, and the Tyrol. Handbook for Travellers*. Leipzig: Baedeker, 1889.

Baedeker, Karl. *Switzerland, with neighbouring Lakes of Northern Italy, Savoy, and the adjacent districts of Piedmont, Lombardy and the Tyrol. Handbook for Travellers*. Koblenz: Baedeker, 1863.

Baines, Anthony. *Musical Instruments through the Ages*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966.

Bartlet, M. Elizabeth C. 'The new repertory at the Opéra during the Reign of Terror: Revolutionary rhetoric and operatic consequences' in *Music and the French Revolution*, ed. Malcolm Boyd. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, 107-156.

Bartók, Béla. 'The Relationship of Folk Song to the Development of the Art Music of our Time' in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff. London: Faber & Faber, 1992, 320-330.

Bassett, Peter. *Richard Wagner's Tristan und Isolde*. Adelaide: Wakefield, 2006.

Baumann, Marianne and Christoph Wyss. *Unspunnen Festival.* Bern: Bentali Hallwag, 2005.

Baumann, Max Peter. 'Zur Bedeutung des Betrufs in Uri' in *Neue Ethnomusikologische Forschungen*, eds. Max Peter Baumann, Rudolf Maria Brandl and Kurt Reinhard. Regensburg: Laaber, 1977, 71-83.

Baumann, Max Peter. *Musikfolklore und Musikfolklorismus*. Winterthur: Amadeus, 1976.

Bekker, Paul. *Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien*. Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1921.

Berkovec, Jiří. *České Pastorely*. Prague: Supraphon, 1987.

Berlioz, Hector. *Correspondances 2: Les Années Romantiques*. Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1882.

Berlioz, Hector. *Grand Traité d'Instrumentation et d'Orchestration Modernes*. Paris: Schonenberger, 1843.

Berlioz, Hector. *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, trans. David Cairns. London: Gollancz, 1969.

Black, Jeremy. *The British and the Grand Tour*. London: Routledge, 2010.

Boswell, James. *Life of Samuel Johnson*. Dublin: Cross, 1792.

Brewer, Charles. *The Instrumental Music of Schmelzer, Biber, Muffat and their Contemporaries*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

Bridel, Louis and Philippe-Sirice. *Conservateur Suisse ou Receuil Complet des Étrennes Helvétiennes*. Lausanne: Knab, 1813.

Britten, Benjamin. *Benjamin Britten, Letters from a Life: 1952-1957*, ed. Peter Akroyd. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008.

Brodbeck, David Lee. *Brahms: Symphony No. 1*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997.

Buchner, Alexander. *Folk Music Instruments of the World*. Prague: Artia, 1971.

Burney, Charles. *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*. London: Becket, 1771.

Burney, Charles. *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and the United Provinces*. London: Becket, 1773.

Byron, George Gordon. *The Works of Lord Byron*, ed. Thomas Moore. London: Murray, 1832.

Byron, George Gordon. *Complete Works*. Paris: Baudry, 1837.

Capeler, Moritz. *Pilati Montis Historia*. Basel: Rodolphi, 1767.

Cardinal, Roger. *German Romantics in Context*. London: Vista, 1975.

Carlyle, Thomas. *The French Revolution: A History*. Boston, MA: Little & Brown, 1838.

Carmichael, Alexander. *Carmina Gadelica, Hymns and Incantations collected in the Highlands of Scotland in the Last Century*. 1899. Reprint, Edinburgh: Floris, 1994.

Celano, Thomas of. *First Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, 1228. Reprint, trans. Christopher Stace. London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 2000.

Česko Slovenský Hudební Slovník. Praha: Státní Hudební Vydavatelství, 1963.

Chateaubriand, François-René. *Memoires d'Outre-tombe*. Paris: Penaud, 1849.

Chew, Geoffrey. 'The Austrian Pastorella and the *stylus rusticanus*: comic and pastoral elements in Austrian music, 1750-1800' in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Austria*, ed. David Wyn Jones. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 133-193.

Chissell, Joan. *Schumann*. London: Dent, 1989.

Clementi, Muzio. *The Correspondence of Muzio Clementi*, ed. David Rowland. Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2010.

Cooper, James Fenimore. *Le Bourreau de Berne, ou L'Abbaye des Vignerons*. Paris: Gosselin, 1839.

Culshaw, John. *Ring Resounding*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1960.

Deathridge, John and Carl Dalhaus. *Wagner*. London: Macmillan, 1984.

Dlabacz, Gottfried Johann, ed. *Künstler-Lexicon für Böhmen*. Prague: Haase, 1815.

Dournon, Genevieve. 'Organology' in *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction,* ed. Helen Myers. New York: Norton, 1992, 245-300.

Duden, Conrad. *Etymologie der Deutschen Sprache.* 25th edn. Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut, 1963.

Dumas, Alexandre. *Impressions de Voyage: Suisse*. Bruxelles: Méline, 1835.

Eisen, Cliff. 'The Mozart Salzburg Copyists: Aspects of Attribution, Chronology, Text, Style and Performance Practice' in *Mozart Studies*, ed. Cliff Eisen. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991, 254-299.

Erbsen, Wayne. *Rousing Songs and True Tales of the Civil War*. Asheville NC: Native Ground Books, 1999.

Everett, Paul. *Vivaldi: The Four Seasons and Other Concertos Op. 8*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Ferber, Michael. *Romanticism, A Very Short Introduction.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Finno, Jacobus, ed. *Piae Cantones*. Nyland: Rutha. 1582.

Finschner, Ludwig, ed. *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart.* Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2007.

Floros, Constantin. *Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies*. Huddersfield: Amadeus, 2003.

Gallati, Rudolpho and Christoph Wyss. *Unspunnen 1805-2005*. Interlaken: Schaefli, 2005.

Gallo, Denise P. *Gioachino Rossini*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

Gamble, Stephen and William C. Lynch. *Dennis Brain: A Life in Music*. Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 2011.

Gavin, Antonio. *Master Key to Popery*, 1773. Reprint, Boston, MA: Webster, 1835.

Geiser, Brigitte. *Das Alphorn in der Schweiz*. Bern: Haupt, 1976.

Gelineau, Joseph. *The Psalms, A New Translation.* London: Fontana Books, 1967.

Gerhard, Anselm. *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Gertsch, Ernst. *Der Schönste Platz der Welt*. Interlaken: Schlaefli, 1997.

Gesner, Conrad. *De raris et admirandis herbis*. Zurich: Gesnarum, 1555.

Grainger, Percy. 'Richard Strauss, Seer and Idealist' in *Richard Strauss and his World*, ed. Bryan Gilliam. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992, 280-286.

Grout, Donald Jay. *A History of Western Music*. London: Dent, 1973.

Grove, George, ed. *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn. London: Macmillan, 1890.

Grove, George, ed. *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London: Macmillan, 1889.

Helmholtz, Hermann. *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen als physiologische Grundlage für die Theorie der Musik*, trans. Alexander Ellis. London: Longmans, 1895.

Hoffnung, Gerard. *The Hoffnung Symphony Orchestra*. London: Dobson, 1955.

Holloway, Robin. 'The Early Choral Works' in *The Cambridge Companion to Elgar*, eds. Daniel M. Grimley and Julian Rushton. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 63-80.

Holman, Peter. *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010.

Höyng, Peter. 'Leaving the Summit Behind' in *Heights of Reflection, Mountains in the German Imagination from the Middle Ages to the Twenty-First Century*, eds. Sean Moore Ireton and Caroline Schaumann. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2012, 231-245.

Hughes, Rosemary. *Haydn*. London: Dent, 1974.

Janetzky, Kurt and Bernhard Brüchle. *The Horn*. London: Batsford, 1977.

Jensen, Eric. *Schumann*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Johns, Keith T. *The Symphonic Poems of Liszt*. Hillside, NY: Pendragon, 1997.

Johnson, Julian. 'Mahler and the Idea of Nature' in *Perspectives on Gustav Mahler*, ed. Jeremy Barnham. Farnham: Ashgate, 2005, 23-36.

Jones, David Wyn. *Beethoven Pastoral Symphony*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Kennedy, Michael. *Mahler*. London: Dent, 1974.

Kennedy, Michael. *Portrait of Walton*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Kennedy, Michael. *Richard Strauss*. London: Dent, 1976.

Kennedy, Michael. *Richard Strauss: Man, Musician, Enigma*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Kennedy, Michael. *The Life of Elgar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Kinzl, Konrad, ed. *A Companion to the Classical Greek World*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006.

Kyburtz, Abraham. *Theologia Naturalis*. Bern, 1754. (no publisher given).

Laborde, Benjamin. *L'essai sur la Musique Ancienne et Moderne*. Paris: Pierre, 1780.

Liber Usualis. Solemnes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1950.

Lindner, Edwin. *Richard Wagner über Tristan und Isolde*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1912.

Livius, Titus, *The History of Rome* (*c*.40 BC-AD 17), trans. B. O. Forster. Reprint, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929.

Lowenthal-Hensel, Cécile, ed. *Mendelssohn-Studien* 5. Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt, 1982.

Luther, Martin. *Luther's Works, Liturgy and Hymns*, eds. J. J. Pelikan, H. C. Oswald and H. T. Lehmann. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1999.

MacDonald, Malcolm. *Brahms*. New York: Schirmer, 1990.

Macintyre, Bruce. 'Johann Baptist Vanhal and the Pastoral Mass Tradition' in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Austria*, ed. David Wyn Jones. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 112-132.

Manser, Joe and Urs Klauser. *Mit wass freüden soll man Singen*. Appenzell: Innerrhoder Schriften, 2003.

Manser, Joe. *Appenzellische Volksmusik*. Herisau: Verlag Appenzeller Hefte, 2010.

Mar, Norman del. *Anatomy of the Orchestra*. London: Faber, 1981.

Mar, Norman del. *Richard Strauss*. London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1978.

Martin, Philip W. *Byron: A Poet before his Public*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Matthews, David. *Britten, Life and Times*. London: Haus Publishing, 2003.

Mendelssohn, Felix. *Reisebriefe von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1832*, ed. Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1861.

Métraux, Guy. *Le Ranz des Vaches*. Lausanne: Edition 24 Heures, 1984.

Miles, Clement. *Christmas in Ritual and Tradition*, 1912. Reprint, New York: Dover, 1976.

Mitchell, Donald. *Gustav Mahler, the Wunderhorn Years*. London: Faber, 1968.

Mitchell, Donald. *Gustav Mahler: The Wunderhorn Years: Chronicles and Commentaries*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005.

Monelle, Raymond. *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military and Pastoral*. Bloomington, IL: Indiana University Press, 2006.

Morrell, Jemima. *Miss Jemima's Swiss Journal: The first conducted tour of Switzerland*, 1863. Facsimile reprint, London: Routledge, 1998.

Murray, John. *A Glance at some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland*. London: Murray, 1829.

Murray, John. *A Hand-Book for Travellers in Switzerland, Savoy and Piedmont*. London: Murray, 1838.

Opie, Iona and Peter. *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Osborne, Richard. *Rossini*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Parsons, James. *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Pettigree, Andrew. *Calvinism in Europe 1540-1620*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Pettitt, Stephen. *Dennis Brain: A Biography*. London: Hale, 1989.

Pierre, Constant. *Le Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation: Documents Historiques et Administratifs*. Paris: Imprimateur Nationale, 1900.

Polybius, *Histories*, trans. Evelyn Shuckburgh. London: Loeb Classical Library, 1927.

Praetorius, Michael. *Syntagma Musicum*. Wittenberg: Wolfenbüttel, 1619.

Rath, Rolf and Marie-Noëlle Polino, eds. *The City and the Railway in Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

Rawson, Robert. *Bohemian Baroque: Czech Musical Culture and Style, 1600-1750*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2013.

Rech, Geza. 'Leopold Mozart in Salzburg' in *Leopold Mozart, Bild einer Persönlichkeit*, ed. Ludwig Wegele. Augsburg: Die Brigg, 1969, 25-32.

Rhaw, Georg. *Symphoniae Iucundae*. Wittenberg: Apud Georgium Rhaw, 1538.

Rhaw, Georg. *Bicinia Gallica, Latina, Germanica et Quaedam Fugae*. Wittenberg: Apud Georgium Rhaw, 1545.

Robbins Landon, Howard Chandler. *Haydn Chronicle and Works: the Late Years 1801-1809*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1977.

Roscoe, Thomas. *The Tourist in Switzerland and Italy*. London: Jennings, 1830.

Rosenthal, Albi. 'Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule* Annotated by the Author' in *Mozart Studies*, ed. Cliff Eisen. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991, 85-99.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Dictionnaire de Musique*. Paris: Duchesne, 1768.

Royt, Jan. 'Christianity in the Czech Lands' in *A Thousand Years of Czech Culture*, 1996, 28-39 (editor not given).

Rutherford, Andrew. *Byron: A Critical Study*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961.

Sams, Eric. *The Songs of Robert Schumann*. New York: Eulenburg, 1969.

Schaumann, Caroline. 'From Meadows to Mountaintops: Albrecht von Haller's Die Alpen' in *Heights of Reflection, Mountains in the German Imagination from the Middle Ages to the Twenty-First Century*, eds. Sean Moore Ireton and Caroline Schaumann. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2012, 57-76.

Schild, Hans. *75 Jahre Eidgenössischer Jodlerverband, 1910-1985*. Bern: Schaub, 1985.

Schiller, Friedrich von. *Wilhelm Tell*, 1804. Reprint, New York: Macmillan, 1898.

Schmid, Mark-Daniel. *The Richard Strauss Companion*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2003.

Schneider, Mathieu. 'Facteurs allogènes et indigènes de la construction de l'identité musicale suisse' in *Musique et Construction des Identités Nationales au XIXe Siècle*, ed. Beat Föllmi, Nils Grosch and Mathieu Schneider. Baden-Baden: Bouxwiller, 2011 (reprint: no page numbers).

Scholes, Percy, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Music*, 9th edn. London: Oxford University Press, 1960.

Schumann, Robert. *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*. Leipzig: Wigand, 1854.

Schüssele, Franz. *Alphorn und Hirtenhorn in Europa*. Friesenheim: Gälfiässler, 2000.

Scott, Walter. *Anne of Geierstein or the Maiden of the Mist*. Boston, MA: Sanborn, Carter and Bazin, 1855.

Shakespeare, William. *The Complete Works*, eds. S. Wells and G. Taylor. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Shelley, Percy Bysshe. *The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*. Paris: Galiagni, 1841.

Short, Michael. *Gustav Holst*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Silber, Irwin. *Songs of the Civil War*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960.

Smeyers, Maurits. *Vlaame Miniaturen van die 8ste tot het midden van de 16de eeuw*. Leuwen: Davidsfonds, 1998.

Smith, Paul, ed. *The History of Tourism. Thomas Cook and the Origins of Leisure Travel*. London: Routledge, 1998.

Sommer, Hans-Jürg. *Eine Auswertung und Interpretation historischer Quellen zur Alphornmelodik*. Oensingen: self-published, 2010.

Spyri, Johanna. *Heidi*, 2 vols. Gotha: Perthes, 1880 and 1881.

Steinberg, Michael. *The Symphony: A Listener's Guide*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Stolberg, Friedrich Leopold Graf zu. *Reise in Deutschland, der Schweiz, Italien und Sicilien*. Königsberg: Nicolovius, 1794.

Strauss, Richard. *Richard Strauss und Ludwig Thuille: Briefe der Freundschaft 1877-1907*, ed. Alfons Ott. Munich: Münchener Musikgeschichte, 1969.

Tarenne, George. *Recherches sur le Ranz des Vaches, ou sur les Chansons Pastorales des Bergers de la Suisse*. Paris: Louis, 1813.

Thoreau, Henry David. *Journal of Henry D. Thoreau.* 4th edn, ed. H. G. O. Blake. Boston, MA: Houghton, 1884.

Thornton, Robert John. *Philosophy of Medicine, or Medical Extracts on the Nature of Health*. London: Johnson, 1797.

Todd, R. Larry. *Fanny Hensel: The Other Mendelssohn.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Todd, R. Larry. *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Tuckwell, Barry. *Horn*. New York: Schirmer, 1983.

Twain, Mark. *A Tramp Abroad*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1880.

Tyson, Alan. *Muzio Clementi, Thematic Catalogue*. Tutzing: Schneider, 1967.

Valentin, Erich. *Leopold Mozart*. Frankfurt: Insel, 1998.

Varro, Marcus Terentius. *De Rerum Rusticum* (*c*.90-27 BC). Reprint, London: Loeb Classical Library, 1934.

Vignau, Charlotte. *Modernity, Complex Societies, and the Alphorn*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013.

Viotti, Giovanni Battista. Letter, 26 June 1792, in Collection of papers of or relating to Giovanni Battista Viotti. ms. No. 4118, Royal College of Music Library, London.

Wagner, Cosima. *Cosima Wagner's Diaries: an abridgement*, ed. Geoffrey Skelton. London: Random House, 1994.

Walton, Susana. *William Walton: Behind the Façade*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Ward, Adolphus and William Trent, eds. *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature*. 1907-21. Reprint, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Weber, Max Maria von. *Carl Maria von Weber, ein Lebensbild*. Leipzig: Keil, 1864.

Weigel, Johann Christoph. *Musikalisches Theatrum.* Nuremburg, *c.*1722.

White, Chappell. *Viotti, Thematic Catalogue*. New York: Pendragon Press, 1985.

Will, Richard. *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Wiskus, Jessica. *The Rhythm of Thought: Art, Literature and Music after Merleau-Ponty*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013.

Wordsworth, William. *Memorials of a Tour on the Continent*. London: Longman, 1822.

Youmans, Charles. *Richard Strauss's Orchestral Music and the German Intellectual Tradition*. Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2005.

Zohn, Stephen. *Music for a Mixed Taste: Style, Genre and Meaning in Telemann's Instrumental Works*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Zwinger, Theodorus. *Dissertationem Medicarum Selectorum*. Basel: Koenig, 1710.

Recordings

Alphorn Concertos. Leopold Mozart, Jean Daetwyler and Ferenc Farkas Alphorn Concertos., Josef Molnar, alphorn. Capella Istropolitana, Slovak Philharmonic Orchestra. Urs Schneider. CD Naxos 8.555978. 1988.

Das Alphorn in allen Facetten, Vol. 2. Various artists. CD Tell Music 51 1276-2. 2004.

Music and Poetry in St. Gallen. Ensemble Gilles Binchois. Dominique Vellard. CD GCD 922503. 2010.

Hoffnung, Gerard. *Hoffnung's Music Festivals*. The Hoffnung Symphony Orchestra, The Hoffnung Festival Opera Company and Chorus, The Hoffnung Choral Society, The Festival Ensemble and guests. Malcolm Arnold. 3-LP set, SLS 870. 1974.

Musica Curiosa: Leopold Mozart, *Die Bauernhochzeit*; *Sinfonia Pastorella*; Georg Druschetzky, *Parthia auf Bauerninstrumenten*. Capella Savaria. Pál Németh. CD Hungaroton HCD 12874. 1995.

Suisse Paysages Musicaux. Various artists. CD Ocora Radio France, C600017. 2002.

Walton, William. *Façade*. Edith Sitwell, Peter Pears, The English Opera Group Ensemble. Anthony Collins. LP Decca Eclipse ECS560. 1970.

Zur Ehre des Alphorns. Various artists. CD Claves LC3369. 1989.

Scores

Bach, Johann Sebastian. *Pastorale* BWV 590, in *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe*, Vol. 38. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1891, 135-142.

Bach, Johann Sebastian. *Weihnachts-Oratorium*. London: Eulenburg, 1961.

Battmann, Jacques Louis de. *Le Cor des Alpes (de H. Proch), Fantasia pour le Piano*, Op. 253. Ikelmer: Bordeaux, 1868.

Becker, Constantin Julius. *The Alphorn*. London: Ewer, 1844.

Beethoven, Ludwig van. *Symphony No. 6*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, *c*.1826.

Bergancini, Joseph. *Le Ranz des Vaches avec Six Variations*. Paris: Bergancini, *c*.1810.

Berlioz, Hector. *Le Jeune Pâtre Breton*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, *c*.1903.

Berlioz, Hector. *Symphonie fantastique*. Paris: Schlesinger, 1845.

Bishop, Henry Rowley. *Melodies of Various Nations*. London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co, 1921.

Bishop, Henry Rowley. *Home Sweet Home*. London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co, *c*.1825.

Brahms, Johannes. *Piano Concerto No. 1*. London: Eulenburg, 1945.

Brahms, Johannes. *Symphony No. 1*. Berlin: Simrock, 1877.

Britten, Benjamin. *Alpine Suite*. London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1956.

Britten, Benjamin. *Fanfare for St. Edmundsbury*. London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1969.

Britten, Benjamin. *Serenade for Tenor, Horn & Strings*. London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1944.

Brogerin, Josepha Maria Barbara. *Liederbüchlein*. ms. 1730. Gonten: Zentrum für Appenzellische Volksmusik.

Carpentier, Adolph Clair le. *Divertissement du Salon sur le Cor des Alpes, mélodie de Proch*, Op. 49. Paris: Meissonnier, 1840.

Chambry, Pierre. *Trompe de Chasse. Fanfares de Circonstances et d'animaux.* Bruxelles: Gerfaut, 1994.

Clementi, Muzio. *Six Sonatinas*, Op. 36. New York: Schirmer, 1904.

Copland, Aaron. *Four Dance Episodes from Rodeo*. London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1946.

Corelli, Arcangelo. *12 Concerti Grossi*, Op. 6. Leipzig: Peters, 1937.

Crusell, Bernhard. *Clarinet Concerto No. 2,* Op. 5. Stockholm: Reimers, 1995.

Debussy, Claude. *Prélude à l'Après-Midi d'un Faune.* Paris: Fromont, *c*.1895.

Dohler, Theodore. *Fantasie Brillante pour le Piano sur l'air favori Le Cor des Alpes de H. Proch*, Op. 18. Paris: Blanchet, *c*.1835.

Dohler, Theodore. *Grande Fantasie et Variations sur des thèmes favoris de l'opéra Guillaume Tell de Rossini pour piano*, Op. 28. Paris: Schott, 1860.

Dohler, Theodore. *Caprice brilliant et une Valse Suisse sur le Ranz des Vaches, pour Piano*, Op. 40. Paris: Schonenberger, 1842.

Donizetti, Gaetano. *Betly, o La Capanna Svizzera*. ms, IMSLP.

Doppler, Franz. *Souvenir du Rigi*. Frankfurt: Zimmermann, 1988.

Doret, Gustave. *Les Armaillis*. Paris: Choudens, 1906.

Dvořák, Antonín. *Symphony No. 4*. London: Novello, 1892.

Elgar, Edward. *From the Bavarian Highlands*. London: Stainer & Bell, 1901.

Gassmann, Alfred Leonz. *s'Alphornbüechli*. Zurich: Hug, 1938.

Gerdessen, Johannes. *Alphornklänge, Salonstück für Pianoforte*, Op. 20. Leipzig: Grude, 1893.

Glück, J. B. *Les Délices de la Suisse*. Basel: Knop, 1835.

Gossec, François-Joseph. *Le Triomphe de la République, ou Le Camp de Grand Pré*. Paris: Huguet, 1794.

Grétry, André. *Guillaume Tell*. Paris: Huguet, 1791.

Grieg, Edvard. *Cow-call and Peasant Dance,* Op. 63. Leipzig: Peters, 1896.

Grieg, Edvard. *Two Nordic Melodies*, Op. 63, No. 2: *Kuhreigen*. Leipzig: Peters, 1896.

Handel, Georg Frideric. *Il Pastor Fido* in *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, ed. Friedrich Chrysander. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1892, 84.

Handel, Georg Frideric. *Messiah*. Facsimile reprint, ed. Chrysander. Hamburg: Strumper, 1892.

Haydn, Josef. *Die Jahrzeiten*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1802.

Haydn, Joseph. *Die Schöpfung*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1820.

Haydn, Joseph. *Symphony No. 60* 'Il Distratto'. Vienna: Universal, 1967.

Holst, Gustavus von. *Fantasia Tirolese*. London: Holst, *c*.1826.

Hünten, François. *Le Cor des Alpes. Variations for Piano*, Op. 113, No. 3. Paris: Hünten, *c*.1860.

Kienzl, Wilhelm. *Der Kuhreigen*, Op. 85. Leipzig: Weinberger, 1911.

Kuhn, Gottlieb Jakob, ed. *Sammlung von Schweizer Kühreien und alten Volkliedern*, 2nd edn. Bern: Burgdorfer, 1812.

Kuhn, Gottlieb Jakob, ed. *Sammlung von Schweizer Kühreien und alten Volkliedern*, 3rd edn. Bern: Burgdorfer, 1818.

Leduc, Alphonse. *Le Cor des Alpes, 2e Fantasie Gracieuse*, Op. 103. Paris: Leduc, *c*.1845.

Liszt, Franz. *Drei Lieder aus Schillers Wilhelm Tell*, in *Musikalischwerke*, Series 7, Vol. 1. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1917, 13.

Liszt, Franz. *Les Préludes*. London: Eulenburg, 1997.

Liszt, Franz. *Tagebuch eines Wanderers*, in *Pianofortewerke*, Vol. 4. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1916, pp. 62, 70, 97, 114, 134.

Lobwasser, Ambrosius, ed. *Psalms of David*. Geneva: Widerholdt, 1679.

Mahler, Gustav. *12 Lieder von Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. Wien: Universal, 1920.

Mahler, Gustav. *Symphony No. 4*. London: Eulenburg, 1943.

Mahler, Gustav. *Symphony No. 7*. Leipzig: Eulenburg, 1909.

Marenzio, Luca. *Sämtliche Werke,* Vol. 1, ed. Alfred Einstein. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf, 1967.

Mendelssohn, Felix. *Sinfonie No. 9*. Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1967.

Meyerbeer, Giacomo. *Des Schäfers Lied.* Paris, 1857.

Meyerbeer, Giacomo. *Dinorah*. London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1861.

Meyerbeer, Giacomo. *Ranz des Vaches d'Appenzell*. London: Cramer, Addison and Beale, n. d.

Meyerbeer, Giacomo. *Rondino sur le Ranz des Vaches*. Paris: Schlesinger, n. d.

Mozart, Leopold. *Sinfonia Concerto*, ed. Marvin McCoy. Minneapolis, MN: McCoy, 1978.

Mozart, Leopold. *Sinfonia Pastorale G Dur*, ed. Kurt Janetzky. Zürich: Kunzelmann, 1979.

Mozart, Leopold. *Sinfonia Pastorale*, ed. Christian Broy. Augsburg: Wißner, 2001.

Mozart, Leopold. *Sinfonien* in *Ausgewählte Werke*, Vol. 1, ed. Cliff Eisen. Bad Reichenall: Comes, 1990, Vorwort.

Mozart, Leopold. *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst*, Vol. 2: *Leopold Mozart Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. Max Sieffert. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1908, Vorwort.

Mozart, Leopold. *Der Morgen und der Abend der Innwohnern der hochfürstl. Residenz-Stadt Salzburg melodisch und harmonisch angekündigt. Oder: Zwölf Musikstücke für das Clavier, davon eine täglich in der Vestung Hohensalzburg auf dem sogenannten Hornnwerke Morgens und Abends gespielt wird.* Augsburg: Lotter, 1759.

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus. *Galimathias Musicum*, in *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* IV:12/1. Basel, 1970, 6.

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus. *Symphony in E flat,* K.132. Basel: Bärenreiter, 1970.

Niedermeyer, Louis. *Fantaisie sur le Ranz des Vaches*. Paris: Pacini, n. d.

Nielsen, Carl. *Helios Overture*, Op. 17. New York: Kalmus, n. d.

Orff, Carl. *Carmina Burana*. Mainz: Schott, 1937.

Proch, Heinrich. *Das Alpenhorn*, Op. 18. Wien: Diabelli, 1836.

Raff, Joachim. *Symphony No. 7*. Leipzig: Seitz, 1876.

Rossini, Gioachino. *Il Guglielmo Tell*. Paris: Troupenas, 1829.

Rummel, Joseph. *Le Cor des Alpes*. Paris: Lemoine, *c*.1860.

Schubert, Franz. *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen*. Berlin: Lienau, *c*.1960.

Schubert, Franz. *Symphony No. 7* [now No. 9]. Paris: Heugel, 1952.

Schumann*,* Robert. *Des Knaben Berglied,* in *Sämtliche Lieder*, Vol. 2. Leipzig: Peters, *c*.1900, 189.

Schumann, Robert. *Des Sennen Abschied,* in *Sämtliche Lieder*, Vol. 2. Leipzig: Peters, *c*.1900, 202.

Schumann, Robert. *Die Sennin*, in *Sämtliche Lieder*, Vol. 3. Leipzig: Peters, *c*.1900, 42.

Schumann, Robert. *Manfred*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1868.

Schütz, Heinrich. *Weinachtshistorie*. Basel: Barenreiter, 1955.

Sousa, John Philip. *67 Bugle Calls as practised by the Army and Navy of the United States*, 1886. Reprint, New York: Fischer, 1998.

Strauss, Richard. *Alphorn*. Mainz: Schott, 1995.

Strauss, Richard. *Daphne*. Vienna: self-published, 1938.

Strauss, Richard. *Don Quixote*. London: Eulenburg, 1974.

Strauss, Richard. *Ein Heldenleben*. London: Eulenburg, 1958.

Strauss, Richard. *Eine Alpensinfonie*. London: Eulenburg, 1996.

Strauss, Richard. *Sinfonia Domestica*, Op. 53. Berlin: Bote & Bock, 1904.

Sweelinck, Jan Pieterszoon. *Fantasia* reproduced in *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, 1609-1619. Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum.

Viotti, Giovanni Battista. *Concerto for Violin and Orchestra No. 9.* Arrangement for string sextet and piano by Theodore Latour published London: Bland & Weller. 1784.

Viotti, Giovanni Battista. *Serenade for piano with violin obbligato and cello.* Theme quoted in Chappell White, *Viotti, Thematic Catalogue*. New York: Pendragon Press. 1985.

Vivaldi, Antonio (?Nicolas Chédeville). *Six Sonatas: Il Pastor Fido*. Edited by Jean-Pierre Rampal. New York: International Music Company, 1965.

Vivaldi, Antonio. Concerto in D *La Pastorella*, ed. Gian Francesco Malipiero. Milan: Ricordi, 1953.

Vivaldi, Antonio. *Le Quattro Stagione*, ed. Gian Francesco Malipiero. Milan: Ricordi, 1950.

Vogt, Gustav. *Hom sweet Hom!* ms. No. 14098, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Wachs, Frédéric. *40 Mignardises pour Piano*, No. 4: *Le Cor des Alpes*. Paris: Aine, *c*.1860.

Wagner, Richard, *Tristan und Isolde*, Act 3. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1860.

Wagner, Richard. *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*. Leipzig: Peters, n.d.

Wagner, Richard. *Siegfried-Idyll*. London: Eulenburg, 1946.

Walton, William. *Façade* Suite No. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936.

Weigl, Joseph. *Die Schweizerfamilie.* Vienna: Weigl, *c*.1810.

Wyss, Johann Rudolf, ed. *Sammlung von Schweizer Kühreien und Volksliedern*, 4th edn. Bern: Burgdorfer, 1826.