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The Musical Sturm und Drang

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THE MUSICAL STURM UND DRANG

by

Linn VanMeter-Drew

**A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
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**Western Michigan University
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THE MUSICAL STURM UND DRANG

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Western Michigan University, 1984

This paper presents information regarding the validity of applying the term Sturm und Drang to music. In it, opinions of English-speaking musicological authorities regarding various aspects of the musical Sturm und Drang are discussed and compared.

Each aspect of the musical Sturm und Drang is discussed in a separate chapter, along with parallel information on the literary Sturm und Drang. Then the various aspects of the musical Sturm und Drang are systematically compared with those of its literary namesake. This comparison makes it possible to reach certain conclusions regarding the validity of applying the term Sturm und Drang to music.

The basic conclusion reached in this paper is that few connections exist between the literary and musical Sturm und Drang. As a result, the application of the term Sturm und Drang to music is valid only within a certain restricted definition of the term.

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Linn VanMeter-Drew

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to present information concerning the validity of applying the term Sturm und Drang to music. To investigate this matter, a survey was made of musicological sources in English which mention the Sturm und Drang. Included were general histories, period histories, works on particular composers, and articles relating to the subject. Opinions were collected from these sources on various aspects of the musical Sturm und Drang, and grouped together for comparison.

Each chapter of this paper deals with a different aspect of the Sturm und Drang. Information on the literary movement is presented first, followed by parallel information on the musical Sturm und Drang. In this way, the aspects of the musical Sturm und Drang can be systematically compared with those of its literary namesake. This comparison should make it possible to reach some meaningful conclusions on the validity of applying the term Sturm und Drang to music.

The first aspect of the Sturm und Drang to be discussed is the term itself. The origin of the term, the history of its application to music, and modern opinions regarding this application are all covered in Chapter II. Chapter III presents information useful in establishing the specific dates of both the literary and musical Sturm und Drang. The various characteristics of both the literary and musical Sturm und Drang are discussed and compared in Chapter IV.

(The Appendix contains further discussion of Sturm und Drang characteristics in an analysis of Haydn Symphony No. 45.) Chapter V contains descriptions of the major Sturm und Drang writers and composers and their works. This is followed by a discussion in Chapter VI of the various influences on them. Finally, conclusions on the validity of applying the term Sturm und Drang to music are presented in Chapter VII.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF THE STURM UND DRANG

The Literary Sturm und Drang

During the early years of this eighteenth-century movement, the Sturm und Drang was known as the Geniezeit (genius time), and the writers as Originalgenies (original geniuses) or Kraftgenies (forced geniuses). The name Sturm und Drang was not attached to the movement until sometime after 1776. In that year Maximilian Klinger wrote a play about the American Revolution entitled Wirrwar (jumble, muddled mess) for a traveling company appearing at the Weimar Theater.¹ One of the first to read Klinger's play was Christof Kaufmann (1753-1795). Kaufmann was, at that time, respected by Weimar's renowned literary circle as an exponent of the back-to-nature movement.

Kaufman was a student of Johann K. Lavater (1741-1801), a Swiss anti-rationalist writer and the founder of physiognomics, who by 1773 was using the phrase Sturm und Gedrängtheit (storm and terseness).² Kaufmann noticed that the word Sturm concluded the first sentence of Klinger's play. Furthermore, the word Drang appeared in the final scene. Kaufmann therefore suggested that the play be renamed Sturm

¹ Maximilian Klinger, Wirrwar, cited by Max Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," Bach 3, no. 2 (April 1972): 3.

² Johann K. Lavater, source unknown, cited by Max Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," Bach 3, no. 2 (April 1972): 3.

und Drang.³ Klinger agreed. Later, when Kaufmann had lost his good reputation, Klinger claimed that Kaufmann forced him to make the change.

The phrase Sturm und Drang was soon transferred from Klinger's play to the movement itself. It first became common, according to Heckscher, in the forms Sturm und Drangperiode and Sturmer und Dranger.⁴ Brunschwig agrees that contemporaries used the term Sturm und Drangperiode.⁵ The first time Sturm und Drang was used as a general phrase was in 1782. It was used by the Viennese writer Joseph Richter (1749-1813) under the entry Originalgenie in his satirical ABC Buch fur grosse Kinder.⁶ Interestingly, Goethe, the writer most associated with the movement, did not speak of the Sturm und Drangperiode until the late 1820's.⁷

An aspect of the term Sturm und Drang relevant here is its translation into English. The most common translation is "storm and stress," which first appeared in 1855 in George Henry Lewis'

³ Christof Kaufmann, source unknown, cited by Max Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," Bach, no. 2 (April 1972): 3.

⁴ William S. Heckscher, "Sturm und Drang: Conjectures on the Origin of a Phrase," Simiolus 1 (1966-7): 95.

⁵ Henri Brunschwig, Enlightenment and Romanticism in Eighteenth-Century Prussia, trans. Frank Jellinek (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 93.

⁶ Joseph Richter, ABC Buch fur grosse Kinder, cited by Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," p. 5-6.

⁷ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, source unknown, cited by Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," p. 6.

biography of Goethe.⁸ Both Rudolf⁹ and Heckscher¹⁰ agree, however, that "storm and stress" is not an ideal translation of Sturm und Drang. Rudolf states that in the 18th century Drang meant a conscious or unconscious urge, or a vague latent desire. In contrast, the English word "stress," commonly used as a translation of Drang, means an unwelcome influence from the outside. Thus, Rudolf believes, "stress" may not be an accurate translation of Drang.¹¹ Heckscher agrees, stating that the phrase "tempestuosity and passion" comes closer than "storm and stress" to the intrinsic meaning of Sturm und Drang.¹² This is because the German phrase implies a vehement opposition to regulation by established authority, as well as insistence upon freedom to follow the dictates of one's passions.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the term Sturm und Drang is that it served as a statement of what the propagators of the movement were trying to accomplish. According to Heckscher, Sturm und Drang can be considered a three-word manifesto.¹³

⁸ George Henry Lewis, Life and Works of Goethe, cited by Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," p. 6.

⁹ Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," p. 6.

¹⁰ Heckscher, "Sturm und Drang," p. 98.

¹¹ Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," p. 6.

¹² Heckscher, "Sturm und Drang," p. 98.

¹³ Ibid., p. 95.

The Musical Sturm und Drang

A notable article by Theodore de Wyzewa (1862-1917) entitled "A propos du centenaire de la mort de Joseph Haydn" was published in 1909.¹⁴ It was in this article that Wyzewa introduced the idea of the existence of a "romantic crisis" in Haydn's life. While admitting that the existence of such a crisis was not provable, Wyzewa states that it was suggested by the character of some of Haydn's compositions written around 1772. Compositions given as examples include the Harpsichord Sonata No. 36 (H.XVI:20) and Symphonies Nos. 44, 45, 46, 47, and 49.¹⁵

Wyzewa states in this article that while the emotional content of these compositions is a result of Haydn's personal feelings, their form was influenced by "another great crisis, intellectual and moral, which was then in the process of transforming all fields of German art."¹⁶ He then explains that this time of crisis, called the Sturm und Drang period, resulted in both literary and musical works of a distinctive character. This was apparently the first time that music was discussed in connection with the Sturm und Drang period.

Wyzewa's theories regarding Haydn's romantic crisis and its relationship to the Sturm und Drang were widely accepted by his contemporaries in the musicological community. As a result, the use

¹⁴Theodore de Wyzewa, "A propos du centenaire de la mort de Joseph Haydn, Revue des deux monde, 79 (1909): 940-945.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 944.

¹⁶Ibid.

of the term Sturm und Drang in reference to music has become commonplace. Modern authorities, however, have found many faults in Wyzewa's theories. Rudolf, for example, cites three specific inaccuracies. First in Wyzewa's statement that Haydn preceded Gluck as an exponent of the Sturm und Drang style.¹⁷ Rudolf claims that this is the reverse of actual events.¹⁸ Landon holds a similar view.¹⁹

Second is Wyzewa's statement that the Sturm und Drang period was one of a "great crisis, intellectual and moral, which was then in the process of transforming all fields of German art."²⁰ According to Rudolf, such is simply not true.²¹ Neither German architecture nor sculpture were affected by the Sturm und Drang style, and painting was affected only slightly. Rudolf claims that the Sturm und Drang style never dominated the mainstream of German art.

A third inaccuracy found by Rudolf is Wyzewa's statement concerning Vanhall and Dittersdorf.²² Rudolf claims that the use of minor keys to express passion and excitement did not, as Wyzewa

¹⁷Ibid., p. 945.

¹⁸Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," p. 9.

¹⁹Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 2: 271. See p. 59 above.

²⁰Wyzewa, "A propos du centenaire de la mort de Joseph Haydn," p. 944.

²¹Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," p. 8.

²²Wyzewa, "A propos du centenaire de la mort de Joseph Haydn," p. 944.

states, appear suddenly in 1772.²³ It was rather a style element found occasionally in many compositions long before that time.

Larsen²⁴ and Todd²⁵ both criticize the use of the term "romantic crisis" to describe the period of Haydn's composition in question. Larsen, for example, brings up the point that Haydn's minor-mode, "romantic" symphonies were written over a five-year period, not in the much shorter time ("the end of 1771 through 1772")²⁶ suggested by Wyzewa. Thus these works are not the result of a short passionate outburst, as Wyzewa claims. They are, according to Larsen, actually "intermingled with works of quite different character."²⁷

Todd also disputes the idea of a "romantic crisis" in Haydn's composition. He states:

As I have proposed, it is largely the confrontation between two distinctly different instrumental styles - between token elements of the late baroque and the emergent classical style - that accounts for the remarkable idiosyncrasies of many Haydn compositions from the late '60's and early '70's, whatever their tonalities. In this context, then, Haydn's Sturm und Drang period of c. 1768-1773 represents less a "romantic" crisis than an understandable reaction against earlier compositional method.²⁸

²³Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," p. 9.

²⁴Jens Peter Larsen, The New Grove Haydn (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), p. 28.

²⁵R. Larry Todd, "Joseph Haydn and the Sturm und Drang: A Revaluation," Music Review 41 (Aug. 1980): p. 177.

²⁶Wyzewa, "A propos du centenaire de la mort de Joseph Haydn," p. 940.

²⁷Larsen, The New Grove Haydn, p. 28.

²⁸Todd, "Joseph Haydn and the Sturm und Drang," p. 177.

Thus Todd presents an entirely musical explanation for Haydn's Sturm und Drang works, describing them as the result of a "perfectly understandable" phase in Haydn's development as a composer.²⁹

Authorities also disagree with Wyzewa's application of the term Sturm und Drang to Haydn's music. Larsen states that such an application is inaccurate since the literary movement from which the term is borrowed came into existence after "the supposed storm" in Haydn's music was over.³⁰ Landon agrees, pointing out that information was available even in Wyzewa's day which showed that a majority of Haydn's supposed Sturm und Drang works were composed before the influence of the literary Sturm und Drang began to be felt.³¹ Thus these works were obviously not composed under the influence of the literary Sturm und Drang, as the term Sturm und Drang would seem to apply.

Rudolf is also critical of Wyzewa's application of the term Sturm und Drang to music.³² He is particularly critical of the fact that Wyzewa did not draw parallels between the characteristics of the literary and musical Sturm und Drang. Rudolf explains this as a result of the fact that Wyzewa, in his opinion, did not have the knowledge of 18th-century German literature necessary to make such a comparison.

²⁹Ibid., p. 187.

³⁰Larsen, The New Grove Haydn, p. 28.

³¹H. C. Robbins Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, 2: 267. Landon gives no examples.

³²Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," p. 7.

Thus Larsen, Landon and Rudolf all criticize the use of the term Sturm und Drang to imply a direct connection between the musical and literary Sturm und Drang. Another possibility would be to use the term to imply a general parallel in mood between the literary and musical works of the time. Larsen states that this would also be inaccurate, at least in regard to Haydn.³³ He feels that using the term Sturm und Drang to describe Haydn's works from the mid-1760's to the early 1770's leaves out the majority of Haydn's compositions and promotes only a few.

³³ Larsen, The New Grove Haydn, p. 29.

CHAPTER III

THE TIME OF THE STURM UND DRANG

The Literary Sturm und Drang

The exact time span of the literary Sturm und Drang is a subject of disagreement amongst historians. To cite a few examples, Heckscher¹ dates the beginning of the movement to the 1760's, while Hughes and Mason² date the movement to the 1770's. Pascal is in agreement with Hughes and Mason. He sets the time span of the Sturm und Drang from around 1770 to about 1778.³ Robertson's view is unique; he lists two possible sets of dates. The outer dates are from 1767 (Herder's Fragmente) to 1787 (Schiller's Don Carlos). The inner dates are from 1773 (Goethe's Götz) to 1781 (Schiller's Die Räuber).⁴

Table 1 shows the names and dates of the principal literary works described by the authorities cited in this paper as displaying the Sturm und Drang characteristics discussed in Chapter IV. Whatever the disagreement on detail, it may be seen that the literary Sturm und Drang was mainly a phenomenon of the 1770's.

¹ Heckscher, "Sturm und Drang," p. 9.

² David G. Hughes, Fanny P. Mason, A History of European Music (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), p. 332.

³ Roy Pascal, The German Sturm und Drang (Manchester: The Manchester University Press, 1953), p. 1.

⁴ J. G. Robertson, A History of German Literature, 6th ed., by Dorothy Reich with W. I. Lucas, M. O'C. Walshe, James Lynn (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1970), p. 281-282.

TABLE I

STURM UND DRANG Literary Works

-
- 1767 - Fragmente über neue deutsche Literatur, Herder
- 1773 - Von Deutscher Baukunst, Goethe
Götz von Berlichingen, Goethe
- 1774 - Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers, Goethe
Der Hofmeister, Lenz
- 1776 - Sturm und Drang, Klinger
Die Zwillinge, Klinger
Die Soldaten, Lenz
- 1778 - Volkslieder, Herder
- 1781 - Die Räuber, Schiller
- 1782 - Die Verschwörung des Fiesco zu Genua, Schiller
- 1784 - Kabale und Liebe, Schiller
- 1787 - Don Carlos, Schiller
-

The Musical Sturm und Drang

Most of the opinions expressed concerning the time span of the musical Sturm und Drang are based on Haydn's works. At least one is not, however. This is the opinion of Rudolf, who sets the beginning of the musical Sturm und Drang as "about 1740."⁵ He bases this on the keyboard compositions of C. P. E. Bach. Rudolf describes two stylistic trends in these works which heralded the awakening storm-and-stress style: "emotional lyricism" and "a novel propulsive

⁵Max Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part III," Bach 3, no. 4 (Oct. 1972): 8.

force."⁶ Specific works cited include the Württemberg Sonatas Nos. 1 and 6 (W.49) and the Andante from the Prussian Sonata No. 1 (W.48).⁷ Rudolf's view is supported by Longyear's statement that characteristics of the musical Sturm und Drang can be found "in much of C. P. E. Bach's keyboard music of the 1740's."⁸

The first to express an opinion on the time of the musical Sturm und Drang was Wyzewa. In his article on Haydn he describes Haydn's Sturm und Drang as a short period from the end of 1771 through 1772.⁹ Since Wyzewa's time, opinions on the length of Haydn's Sturm und Drang era have changed considerably. Geiringer, for instance, speaks of a much longer time period: either 1770-1779¹⁰ or 1771-1780.¹¹

Landon believes that Haydn's Sturm und Drang era was earlier, defining the time as "about 1765-75."¹² Brook, Todd and Rosen share similar opinions: Brook states that Haydn's Sturm und Drang lasted

⁶ Ibid., p. 9.

⁷ Ibid., p. 10.

⁸ Rey M. Longyear, Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 61.

⁹ Wyzewa, "A propos du centenaire de la mort de Joseph Haydn," p. 940.

¹⁰ Karl Geiringer, Haydn: A Creative Life in Music, 1st ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1946), p. 223.

¹¹ Karl Geiringer with Irene Geiringer, Haydn: A Creative Life in Music, 2nd ed., rev. and enl. (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1964), p. 272.

¹² Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, 2: 266.

"about five years, 1768-73,"¹³ Todd suggests "c. 1768-1773,"¹⁴ and Rosen's dates are 1768 to 1772.¹⁵ Finally, Grout apparently agrees with Wyzewa's original opinion. He describes Haydn's works of 1771-72 as having "a quality analogous to the type of emotion expressed in the literary movement of the Sturm und Drang."¹⁶

Table 2 shows the dates of compositions described by the musicological authorities cited in this paper as having the Sturm und Drang characteristics discussed in Chapter IV.

¹³ Barry S. Brook, "Sturm und Drang and the Romantic Period in Music," Studies in Romanticism 9, no. 4 (Fall 1970): 273.

¹⁴ Todd, "Joseph Haydn and the Sturm und Drang," p. 177.

¹⁵ Charles Rosen, The Classical Style, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1971), p. 146.

¹⁶ Donald Jay Grout with Claude V. Palisca, A History of Western Music, 3rd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1980), p. 488-489.

TABLE 2

STURM UND DRANG Musical Works

-
- 1761 - Don Juan, Gluck
- 1766 - Symphony Op.6, No.6, J. C. Bach
- 1767 - Stabat Mater, Haydn
Symphony No. 35 in Bb, Haydn
- 1768 - Symphony No.49 in f, Haydn
- 1769 - String Quartets, Op.9, Haydn
Symphony No.38 in C, Haydn
Symphony No.48 in C, Haydn
Symphony No.59 in A, Haydn
- 1770 - Symphony No.26 in d, Haydn
Symphony No.39 in g, Haydn
- 1771 - String Quartets Op.17, Haydn
Sonata No.36 in c (H.XVI:20), Haydn
Overture to Betulia Liberata (K.118), Mozart
- 1772 - String Quartets op.20, Haydn
Symphony No.44 in e, Haydn
Symphony No.45 in f#, Haydn
Symphony No.46 in B, Haydn
Symphony No.47 in G, Haydn
Symphony No.52 in c, Haydn
Lucio Silla (K.135), Mozart
- 1773 - Symphony in g (K.183), Mozart
- 1775 - Tobias, Mozart
-

CHAPTER IV

STURM UND DRANG CHARACTERISTICS

The Literary Sturm und Drang

Writers on the Sturm und Drang era agree that the conflict between man's natural rights and the conventions of society was fundamental to the thought and the writing of the time. Lang¹ and Pauly² share this opinion, and Pauly emphasizes the importance to the Sturm und Drang writers of personal freedom for the artist. Kahn agrees and further explains that while Lessing and the rationalists fought for the abolition of specific abuses or for a just social order, the Stürmer und Dränger demanded the complete emancipation of the individual.³ This meant, according to Leppmann⁴ and Kahn,⁵ sexual liberty for the individual, the elimination of all religious restriction and a general rejection of family ties and parental influence.

Such extreme individualism came into direct conflict with social mores, and thus resulted in a certain degree of Weltschmerz in the

¹Paul Henry Lang, Music in Western Civilization (New York: W. W. Norton 1941), p. 750.

²Reinhard G. Pauly, Music in the Classic Period, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 28.

³Ludwig W. Kahn, Social Ideals in German Literature (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 5.

⁴Wolfgang Leppmann, "The Age of Goethe," German Language and Literature, ed. Karl S. Weimar (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 147.

⁵Kahn, Social Ideals, p. 12.

Sturm und Drang. The Stürmer und Dränger regarded the world as a prison and felt that only death could solve the conflict between the individual and the world. Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen⁶ is cited as depicting this attitude.⁷

As concern for the rights of the individual was fundamental to the view of the Stürmer und Dränger, so the dramatic literary form was fundamental to their writing. Lang,⁸ Leppmann,⁹ and Longyear¹⁰ all agree that the drama was the most important literary form of the Sturm und Drang. Lang cites the following two reasons for this: (1) the fact that drama appeals to the public and (2) Shakespeare, the idol of the Sturm und Drang writers, was a dramatist. As Leppmann emphasizes, the lasting achievements not only of Goethe and Schiller but also of their lesser-known contemporaries are found in drama.

Sturm und Drang dramas often center on a person who exhibits the previously discussed individualism. Leppmann, for instance, describes the typical Sturm und Drang hero as having qualities which make his very life seem a protest against the existing order.¹¹ Despite a valiant struggle, the hero is eventually crushed by society. Sturm und Drang dramas depicting such a struggle between the individual and

⁶ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Götz von Berlichingen (Lubeck: Schmidt-Romhild, 1980).

⁷ Kahn, Social Ideals, p. 7.

⁸ Lang, Music in Western Civilization, p. 619.

⁹ Leppmann, "The Age of Goethe," p. 146.

¹⁰ Rey M. Longyear, "Musical Portraits in 'Sturm und Drang' Drama," Music and Letters 46 (1965): 39.

¹¹ Leppmann, "The Age of Goethe," p. 146.

society include Götz von Berlichingen (Goethe), Die Räuber¹² (Schiller) and Kabale und Liebe¹³ (Schiller). It is also seen in Die Leiden des jungen Werthers¹⁴ (Goethe), the most famous Sturm und Drang novel. A closely related element of the Sturm und Drang also seen in these dramas is hero worship. This element may illustrate, as Borroff suggests, the idealistic aspect of the German character.¹⁵

A distinctive aspect of Sturm und Drang drama is what Borroff terms "the rejection of unity in the theater."¹⁶ Shakespeare's phrase "and your imaginary forces work"¹⁷ was taken as a motto, and what could be imagined was thought to be intrinsically more exciting than what could be enacted. Schiller's Die Räuber is given as an example of this mode of thought. It was to be read, "without seeking the dubious advantage of stage adaptation."¹⁸

Existing along with the serious aspects of the Sturm und Drang

¹² Friedrich von Schiller, Die Räuber (Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag, 1967).

¹³ Friedrich von Schiller, Early Dramas and Romances, trans. Henry G. Bohn (London: Bell-Daldy, 1871).

¹⁴ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Die Leiden des jungen Werthers, Faksimilie Druck der Ausg. Zeipzig, 1774 (Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag, 1967).

¹⁵ Edith Borroff, Music in Europe and the United States (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1971), p. 424.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 407.

¹⁷ William Shakespeare, source unknown, cited by Borroff, Music in Europe and the United States, p. 407.

¹⁸ Borroff, Music in Europe and the United States, p. 407. Borroff does not cite the source of this quotation.

was what Rudolf calls a "tongue-in-cheek attitude."¹⁹ An example of this is Goethe making fun of the back-to-nature cult, in a little drama entitled Satyros,²⁰ written at the same time he was working on Werther.

A general cultural element of the Sturm und Drang was its hostility towards foreign influences. As Longyear explains, this applied particularly to the Frenchified court culture of 18th-century Germany.²¹ Brunschwig agrees, but points out that this was common to all German writers of the time, not just the Stürmer und Dränger.²²

Interest in the Middle Ages is another characteristic of Sturm und Drang writers mentioned by both Longyear²³ and Brunschwig.²⁴ Brunschwig, however, again adds a caveat by cautioning against an overemphasis of this aspect of the movement. Interest in the Middle Ages developed about the same time as the rediscovery of Classical Antiquity. Thus interest in both eras affected viewpoints in the literary world of the time.

To conclude this description of the characteristics of the literary Sturm und Drang it seems appropriate to mention the place of music in its works. Music was used frequently as a literary effect by

¹⁹ Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," p. 5.

²⁰ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Satyros, cited by Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," p. 5.

²¹ Longyear, "Musical Portraits," p. 40.

²² Brunschwig, Enlightenment and Romanticism in 18th Century Prussia, p. 39.

²³ Longyear, "Musical Portraits," p. 39.

²⁴ Brunschwig, Enlightenment and Romanticism, p. 93.

German writers after 1770. As Longyear explains, several Sturm und Drang dramas contain characters who are musical dilettantes.²⁵

These characters are valuable in creating a picture of the times.

Examples of Sturm und Drang works with such musical characters include Werther (Goethe), Sturm und Drang²⁶ (Klinger), Das leidende Weibe²⁷ (Klinger), and Das Zwillinge²⁸ (Klinger).

In summary, concern with the rights of the individual was fundamental to the Sturm und Drang mentality. This concern was taken to such an extreme that, when faced with social reality, it resulted in a degree of of Weltschmerz among the Stürmer und Dränger. The struggle of the individual against society was often depicted in Sturm und Drang dramas, the predominate literary form of the movement. Other characteristics of the literary Sturm und Drang include the rejection of unity in the theater, a tongue-in-cheek attitude, and an interest in the Middle Ages. In addition, a general cultural element of hostility to foreign influences existed.

The Musical Sturm und Drang

Authorities agree that Sturm und Drang music has several characteristics, none of which is unique. It is this particular

²⁵ Longyear, Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music, p. 8.

²⁶ Maximilian Klinger, Sturm und Drang, cited by Longyear, Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music, p. 8.

²⁷ Maximilian Klinger, Das leidende Weibe, cited by Longyear, Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music, p. 8.

²⁸ Maximilian Klinger, Das Zwillinge, cited by Longyear, Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music, p. 8.

combination of characteristics, however, that creates the Sturm und Drang style. The elements of music affected by this style are (in alphabetical order): counterpoint, dynamics, form, harmony, humor and surprise, mood, rhythm, thematic material, and tonality. This section contains a discussion of each of these elements, followed by a discussion of musical Sturm und Drang characteristics in general.

Counterpoint

The importance of counterpointal techniques to Sturm und Drang music is demonstrated by the fact that it was discussed by Wyzewa, the first writer on the subject. For example, he describes the use of "simple and brutal counterpoint" to intensify the "cry of anguish" heard in the first movement of Haydn Symphony No. 44.²⁹ He also cites the "lively counterpoint answers" used with staggered rhythms to express a "quivering fear and anxiety" in the first movement of Symphony No. 45.³⁰ Thus Wyzewa emphasizes the use of counterpoint in Sturm und Drang music as an element of dramatic expression.

Landon and Brook both mention the use of strict counterpoint as characteristic of the Sturm und Drang style. Landon cites the fugal movements in Haydn's Op. 20 quartets as examples, as well as the quartets of Carlos d'Ordonez and Florian Gassman.³¹ Brook describes the use of counterpoint in Sturm und Drang music as a revolt against

²⁹ Wyzewa, "A propos du centenaire de la mort de Joseph Haydn," p. 940.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 942.

³¹ H. C. Robbins Landon, Haydn Symphonies (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969), p. 22.

the style galant. He explains that the conspicuous use of contrapuntal forms and techniques was "a discarded and by then rather exotic practice in instrumental music."³² Evidence of the composers' calculated use of these archaic contrapuntal forms is that they often included them in the titles of their works. Examples in Haydn's symphonies include No. 44, in which the second movement is subtitled "Canone in Diapason," and Symphony No. 47, with its "Menuet al Roverso." Other uses by Haydn of contrapuntal techniques include the complex fugal finales to the Opus 20 string quartets. Quartet No. 2 has four subjects, Quartet No. 5 has two subjects, and Quartet No. 6 has three subjects.

Dynamics

The use of contrasting dynamics is mentioned by Rudolf³³ as part of the general Sturm und Drang style, and by Harman,³⁴ Grout,³⁵ Landon,³⁶ and Todd³⁷ as part of Haydn's Sturm und Drang style in particular. Landon³⁸ cites measures 11 and 114 of Symphony No. 44 as

³² Brook, "Sturm und Drang and the Romantic Period in Music", p. 278.

³³ Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," p. 10.

³⁴ Alec Harman with Anthony Milner, Wilfrid Mellers, Man and His Music (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962): 599.

³⁵ Grout, A History of Western Music, p. 489.

³⁶ Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, 2: 273.

³⁷ Todd, "Joseph Haydn and the Sturm und Drang," p. 174.

³⁸ Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, 2: 273.

examples, while Todd³⁹ cites the Menuet of Symphony No. 47. A slight variation is the use of forte opening subjects combined with sharp dynamic contrasts within the main subject. Examples of this may be seen in Symphonies Nos. 44, 46, 51 and 52.⁴⁰

Another aspect of dynamics is the use of accentuation. Brook describes the greater use of accentuation as part of the overall Sturm und Drang style.⁴¹ It is also mentioned by Geiringer as appearing in the Sturm und Drang compositions of Ignaz Holzbauer.⁴² Finally, Grout cites the use of sforzati as part of Haydn's Sturm und Drang style.⁴³ This is illustrated in Symphonies Nos. 44, 45, and 47.

A few other aspects of dynamics are mentioned as part of the Sturm und Drang style by the authorities surveyed. Both Grout⁴⁴ and Landon⁴⁵ describe the use of crescendos as part of Haydn's Sturm und Drang style. Landon also cites an increased use of dynamic markings while Brook⁴⁶ mentions a greater breadth of dynamics.

³⁹Todd, "Joseph Haydn and the Sturm und Drang," p. 174.

⁴⁰Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, 2: 273.

⁴¹Brook, "Sturm und Drang," p. 278.

⁴²Karl Geiringer, "The Rise of Chamber Music," The Age of Enlightenment, 1745-1790, New Oxford History of Music, vol. 7 (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 556.

⁴³Grout, A History of Western Music, p. 489.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, 2: 273.

⁴⁶Brook, "Sturm und Drang," p. 278.

Form

A specific reference to form in Sturm und Drang music is made by Landon. He discusses the use of the sonata da chiesa form, especially the use of a slow beginning movement.⁴⁷ Several Haydn symphonies using this form were composed prior to the Sturm und Drang era, including Symphonies Nos. 5, 11, 18, 21, 22, and 34. Landon believes, however, that the culmination of this form was Symphony No. 49 of 1768. This symphony is widely regarded as a Sturm und Drang work.

Grout discusses Haydn Symphonies Nos. 44, 45 and 47 as representative of the Sturm und Drang style. In regard to their form Grout states that these three symphonies are composed on "a larger scale" than the symphonies of the previous decade.⁴⁸ Pauly discusses Haydn's Sturm und Drang Symphonies Nos. 44, 45, and 49, describing them as having "no predictable layout (along the lines of sonata form)" and stating that there is "great variety in the treatment of second themes."⁴⁹ Landon also mentions Haydn's free treatment of sonata form during his Sturm und Drang era. He cites as an example the first movement of Symphony No. 45 which resembles "one enormous development section."⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, 2: 273.

⁴⁸ Grout, A History of Western Music, p. 489.

⁴⁹ Pauly, Music in the Classic Period, p. 96.

⁵⁰ Landon, Haydn Symphonies, p. 26.

Harmony

General observations regarding the harmonic characteristics of Sturm und Drang music are made by Brook and Ratner. Brook describes "harmonies full of tension, pointed dissonances, extended modulations" as characteristic of Sturm und Drang music.⁵¹ Ratner, in basic agreement, cites chromaticism and sharp dissonances.⁵²

Observations on the harmonic characteristics of particular Sturm und Drang compositions include those of Grout, Landon and Geiringer. Grout states that in his Sturm und Drang symphonies (Nos. 44, 45 and 47), Haydn uses "richer harmonies" than in his earlier symphonies. He explains that this includes "wider ranging modulations" and "broader harmonic arches."⁵³

Landon describes a new sense of "long harmonic line" in Haydn's Sturm und Drang style.⁵⁴ It can be seen particularly in slow movements, where it can create the effect of time standing still. Examples of this type of writing include the slow movements of Symphonies Nos. 45 and 54.

Finally, Geiringer describes the Sturm und Drang string quartets of Ignaz Holzbauer.⁵⁵ These works are characterized by the use of suspensions, appoggiaturas, diminished chords and augmented chords.

⁵¹ Brook, "Sturm und Drang," p. 278.

⁵² Leonard G. Ratner, Classic Music (New York: Schirmer Books, 1980), p. 21.

⁵³ Grout, A History of Western Music, p. 489.

⁵⁴ Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, 2: 273.

⁵⁵ Geiringer, "The Rise of Chamber Music," p. 515.

Humor and Surprise

Humorous and surprising effects are often mentioned as characteristic of Sturm und Drang music. These two effects are usually grouped together, although it should be noted that not all surprises are humorous.

Pauly, for example, states that the element of surprise is an important feature of Haydn's Sturm und Drang style.⁵⁶ He further explains that the humorous effects in these works are often the result of unexpected harmonic turns. Harman, in describing Haydn's Sturm und Drang characteristics mentions "tempestuous features, comic elements -- abrupt changes, a melodic ellipsis, a sudden pause, contraction of rhythm -- all startle as much as amuse."⁵⁷

Landon also mentions surprise as characteristic of Sturm und Drang music. He refers to this as "the eccentric" or "the irrational."⁵⁸ He gives as examples the following works of Haydn: 1) the Finale of Symphony No. 46 in which the previous Menuet is suddenly reintroduced; 2) the Menuet of Symphony No. 47 which is played first forwards and then backwards; and, 3) the third movement of Symphony No. 65 in which 4/4 time is introduced in the context of 3/4 time.

Haydn also achieves a "half-humorous twist" by alternating minor and major modes.⁵⁹ Landon's examples include 1) the beginning of the

⁵⁶ Pauly, Music in the Classical Period, p. 96.

⁵⁷ Harman, Man and His Music, p. 600.

⁵⁸ Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, 2: p. 277.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 326.

Menuet of Symphony No. 45 when a D natural rather than a D sharp appears in the bass; and, 2) the first movement of Symphony No. 47 in which the recapitulation unexpectedly begins in the tonic minor.

Mood

A musical mood is not, of course, an independent entity. It is rather the result of combining a particular group of musical characteristics. The mood of Sturm und Drang music is thus created by the characteristics described in this chapter. Nevertheless, mood is included in this discussion of Sturm und Drang characteristics since it is mentioned by most authorities on the subject.

There is general agreement concerning the mood of Sturm und Drang music. All of the authorities surveyed speak of passionate mood. Ratner,⁶⁰ for example, speaks of an "impassioned style of declamation," and Rudolf⁶¹ of a somber mood, passion and excitement. Pauly states, "Great emotional intensity and passionate, violent outbursts are characteristic of music stemming from the Sturm und Drang outlook."⁶²

Rudolf uses C. P. E. Bach's keyboard works of the 1740's to illustrate the Sturm und Drang mood.⁶³ These, he explains, show an emotional lyricism that is a forerunner of the coming Sturm und Drang style. This may be seen particularly in the Andante from the Prussian

⁶⁰ Ratner, Classic Music, p. 21.

⁶¹ Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," p. 10.

⁶² Pauly, Music in the Classic Period, p. 28.

⁶³ Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part III," p. 9.

Sonata No. 1 (W.48) of 1742.

As with all aspects of the musical Sturm und Drang, much of the discussion of mood centers around Haydn. Wyzewa, for example, describes Haydn's Sonata in C Minor (H.XVI:20), as having a "tone of distress."⁶⁴ In regard to the Symphonies Nos. 44, 45 and 49 he speaks of "the tremendous intensity of suffering that they sing, or rather cry and moan, before us."⁶⁵ Wyzewa gives similarly emotional descriptions of each of these symphonies.

Among the more modern authorities, Geiringer, in reference to Haydn's Sturm und Drang works, states, "To express personal feeling and strong emotion now seemed one of the main aims of Haydn's art..⁶⁶ Harman states that in Haydn's Sturm und Drang works, stock rococo features are used for their dramatic intensity rather than in the surface way typical of the Rococo."⁶⁷ A similar point is made by Grout. He states that the slow movements of Haydn Symphonies Nos. 44, 45 and 47 (representative of the Sturm und Drang style) have "a romantically expressive warmth."⁶⁸ Finally, Landon cites as another Sturm und Drang characteristic "the wide range of emotional contrast within an individual work." He cites Haydn Symphony No. 39 as

⁶⁴Wyzewa, "A propos du centenaire de la mort de Joseph Haydn," p. 940.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Karl Geiringer with Irene Geiringer, Haydn: A Creative Life in Music, 3rd ed., rev. and enl. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), p. 252.

⁶⁷Harman, Man and His Music, p. 600.

⁶⁸Grout, A History of Western Music, p. 489.

demonstrating this characteristic.⁶⁹

Rhythm

Brook,⁷⁰ Ratner,⁷¹ and Rudolf⁷² all include driving rhythms in their lists of Sturm und Drang characteristics. Rudolf explains that this characteristic can be seen as early as the 1740's in the keyboard works of C. P. E. Bach. Examples include the Allegro assai from the first Württemberg Sonata (W.49) and the Clavier Concerto in D Minor (W.23). Rudolf believes that C. P. E. Bach's use of driving rhythms heralded the coming Sturm und Drang style.⁷³ Landon concurs by citing the Concerto in D Minor in his discussion of Sturm und Drang precursors. He describes it as "a clear model for Viennese masters twenty years later."⁷⁴

Another aspect is the use of particular rhythmic patterns. Wyzewa, for example, describes the use of staggered rhythms to help express "a quivering fear and anxiety" in Haydn Symphony No. 45.⁷⁵ Both Brook⁷⁶ and Landon⁷⁷ cite the use of syncopated rhythms as a

⁶⁹Landon, Haydn Symphonies, p. 23.

⁷⁰Brook, "Sturm und Drang," p. 278.

⁷¹Ratner, Classic Music, p. 21.

⁷²Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," p. 10.

⁷³Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part III," p. 9.

⁷⁴Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, 2: 271.

⁷⁵Wyzewa, "A propos du centenaire de la mort de Joseph Haydn," p. 942.

⁷⁶Brook, "Sturm und Drang," p. 278.

⁷⁷Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, 2: 274.

Sturm und Drang device and Landon describes two types: 1) the type used mainly for accompaniment; and, 2) the type which he describes as a broken melodic line. The first type can be seen in the main subject of Haydn Symphony No. 26. The second type is demonstrated in the first movements of Symphony No. 34 and Symphony No. 49.

Thematic Material

Rudolf,⁷⁸ Brook,⁷⁹ and Landon⁸⁰ all describe wide leaps within the theme or melody as characteristic of Sturm und Drang music. Landon explains that leaps of this type may be seen in the second movement of Haydn Symphony No. 34, the fourth movement of Symphony No. 39, and the second movement of Symphony No. 49. He explains that these leaps are emphasized by use of longer note values in the thematic material, with most of the motion occurring in accompanying parts. This creates the effect of more importance and weight.

Another aspect of Sturm und Drang thematic material is discussed by Grout. Citing Haydn Symphonies Nos. 44, 45 and 47 as representative of the Sturm und Drang style, Grout states that the themes of these symphonies (composed 1771-1772) are "more broadly laid out" than those Haydn composed in the previous decade (no examples given).⁸¹

While Grout's meaning is unclear, possible interpretations include:

1) the themes are longer than those Haydn composed previously; and,

⁷⁸Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," p. 10.

⁷⁹Brook, "Sturm und Drang," p. 278.

⁸⁰Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, 2: 275.

⁸¹Grout, A History of Western Music, p. 489.

2) the themes are developed over a longer time span.

Ulrich and Pisk make an interesting observation in regard to Haydn Symphonies Nos. 44, 45, 46, and 52. While describing the themes of these symphonies they state that "many consist of short fragments that are almost motivic in their effect."⁸² Examples include themes from the Vivace of Symphony No. 46, the Allegro of Symphony No. 48, and the Adagio of Symphony No. 48.

A final observation is made by Landon regarding Haydn's use of thematic material in his Sturm und Drang compositions. He states that Haydn made use of Gregorian plainchant in some of these works.⁸³ Examples include the second movement of Symphony No. 26 and the trio of Symphony No. 45, both of which use the chant "Incipit lamentatio" from the Lamentations of Jeremiah.

Tonality/Modality

Several authorities mention the use of unusual keys as characteristic of Sturm und Drang music. Harman, for example, states that Haydn's Sturm und Drang works that are not in minor keys are in unusual keys.⁸⁴ Grout⁸⁵ and Ulrich and Pisk⁸⁶ cite Haydn Symphony No. 45, in F-Sharp Minor, and Symphony No. 46, in B Major, as examples

⁸² Homer Ulrich, Paul Pisk, A History of Music and Musical Style (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1963): 383.

⁸³ Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, 2: 273.

⁸⁴ Harman, Man and His Music, p. 599.

⁸⁵ Grout, A History of Western Music, p. 490.

⁸⁶ Ulrich and Pisk, A History of Music and Musical Style, p. 382.

of his use of unusual keys. Grout also mentions Symphony No. 49 in F Minor, and Ulrich Symphony No. 52 in C Minor.

The use of the minor mode is unquestionably the most discussed characteristic of Sturm und Drang music. Brook,⁸⁷ Landon,⁸⁸ Longyear,⁸⁹ Ratner,⁹⁰ Rudolf,⁹¹ and Wyzewa⁹² all agree that the use of the minor mode is an essential element of the Sturm und Drang style. Because the use of the minor mode as the principal tonality of an instrumental composition was unusual at the time, its use in Sturm und Drang music is a distinctive characteristic. Indeed, Brook goes as far as to state that compositions in the minor mode from around 1770 are almost invariably Sturm und Drang in character.⁹³

Brook has compiled some interesting statistics concerning Haydn's use of the minor mode in instrumental compositions.⁹⁴ For instance, the first of Haydn's symphonies in a minor mode, Symphony No. 26 in D minor, was written in 1768. Only five other Haydn symphonies use the minor mode as their principal tonality. These are Symphony No. 44 in E Minor, Symphony No. 45 in F-Sharp Minor, Symphony No. 49 in F Minor,

⁸⁷ Brook, "Sturm und Drang," p. 278.

⁸⁸ Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, 2: 273.

⁸⁹ Rey M. Longyear, "The Prevalence of the Minor Mode in the Classic Era," Music Review 32 (1971): 29.

⁹⁰ Ratner, Classic Music, p. 21.

⁹¹ Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," p. 10.

⁹² Wyzewa, "A propos du centenaire de la mort de Joseph Haydn," p. 940.

⁹³ Brook, "Sturm und Drang," p. 278.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 279.

and Symphony No. 52 in C Minor. All of these symphonies were written between 1768 and 1773. Thus not only the first, but all of Haydn's minor-mode symphonies were written during the musical Sturm und Drang era. Similarly, Haydn's first minor-mode string quartet (Op.17, No.4 in C Minor) and his first minor-mode piano sonata (H.XVI:20, in C Minor) were both written in 1771, during his Sturm und Drang period.

Kolk presents an interesting theory concerning Haydn's use of the minor mode.⁹⁵ He states that around 1770 opera composers used the minor mode to express moments of heightened emotion and, occasionally, to represent storms. Haydn used these devices in such operas as La canterina (1776), Lo speziale (1768), L'infel delta delusa (1773), and Le pescatrici (1769). Kolk theorizes that Haydn's Sturm und Drang style resulted from the application of operatic conventions regarding the minor mode to instrumental music.

Turning to the works of Mozart, Brook again describes a concentration of works in the minor mode written in the early 1770's.⁹⁶ Examples include church pieces from 1770-71: Miserere in A Minor (K.85), Kyrie in D Minor (K.90), Psalm: De profundis in C Minor (K.93), and the Mass in C Minor-Major (K.139). Instrumental works in minor keys from the early 1770's include the String Quartet in D Minor (K.173) and the Symphony No. 25 in G Minor (K.183). Both of these compositions were written in 1773. The Symphony in G Minor, also mentioned by Grout as a Sturm und Drang composition, was directly

⁹⁵ Joel Kolk, "'Sturm und Drang' and Haydn's Opera," Haydn Studies (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981), p. 444-445.

⁹⁶ Brook, "Sturm und Drang," p. 279.

influenced by Haydn Symphony No. 39 in G Minor of 1768.

While Haydn and Mozart made particular use of the minor mode in the period around 1770, this was apparently not the case in regard to the majority of composers. By studying catalogues of works composed in the 1770's, Longyear has concluded that there was no "dramatic increase" in the number or percentage of works written in the minor mode in the 1770's.⁹⁷ Thus, assuming that the use of the minor mode is an essential element of the Sturm und Drang musical style, it would seem that this style represented neither a general trend nor a widespread movement.

One aspect of modality often ignored in discussions of the Sturm und Drang style is the use of the major mode. Todd makes an interesting observation on this subject. He believes that the outstanding characteristic of Sturm und Drang music is its combination of old and new characteristics.⁹⁸ Many of Haydn's major-mode symphonies from the Sturm und Drang era contain this combination of characteristics. Thus Todd feels that these major-mode compositions are just as important to an understanding of Haydn's later development as the more well-known compositions in the minor mode. Examples of such major-mode compositions include Symphony No. 58 in F Major (-1775) and Symphony No. 47 in G Major (1772).

⁹⁷ Longyear, "The Prevalence of the Minor Mode," p. 29.

⁹⁸ Todd, "Joseph Haydn and the Sturm und Drang," p. 173. Please see the following section entitled "Musical Sturm und Drang Characteristics in General."

Musical Sturm und Drang Characteristics in General

Todd and Larsen have made observations worth noting on musical Sturm und Drang characteristics in general. In his article "Joseph Haydn and the Sturm und Drang: A Revaluation," Todd presents the idea that Haydn's Sturm und Drang works contain a combination of old and new characteristics.⁹⁹ Among the many works cited are Symphony No. 34 in D Minor (c.1776) and Symphony No. 49 in F Minor (1768). Both of these symphonies are in the sonata da chiesa form and have the sequence of movements and general harmonic plan of the standard baroque model. The new element in these symphonies is "the decisive disruption, within the external structural design, of the late baroque tendency towards continuous melodic motion and the uninterrupted harmonic progression," of which Todd gives a detailed description.¹⁰⁰ Todd concludes that the confrontation between the late baroque and the emergent classical style accounts largely for the "remarkable idiosyncrasies of many of Haydn's compositions from the late '60's and early '70's, whatever their tonalities."¹⁰¹

As an explanation of his rejection of the terms "romantic crisis" and Sturm und Drang, Larsen states that the most dominant characteristic of Haydn's music of this era is "its richness and many-sidedness."¹⁰² During this time Haydn used a variety of musical

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 177.

¹⁰² Larsen, The New Grove Haydn, p. 29.

forms and genres, and dealt with "entirely new problems of form, style and expression."¹⁰³

In summary, the characteristics of Sturm und Drang music discussed by the authorities surveyed include the following: 1) the use of contrapuntal forms and techniques; 2) the use of contrasting dynamics and the greater use of accentuation; 3) the general expansion of form and the use of the sonata da chiesa form; 4) the greater use of dissonance and more extended modulations; 5) the use of humorous or surprising effects; 6) a passionate mood; 7) driving, propulsive rhythms and the use of rhythmic patterns; 8) wide leaps within themes; and, 9) the use of unusual keys and the minor mode. These characteristics altogether constitute the musical Sturm und Drang style.¹⁰⁴

How can the study of these characteristics aid in determining the validity of applying the term Sturm und Drang to music? These characteristics can be compared to the characteristics of the literary Sturm und Drang. If a connection can be made between their individual characteristics, it would seem plausible to use the same term to describe them. To review, the commonly-discussed characteristics of the literary Sturm und Drang are the following: 1) a concern with the rights of the individual in contrast to the demands of society; 2) a frequent use of the struggle between these two forces as a basis for literary works; 3) the use of the drama as the predominant literary

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Please see the Appendix for an analysis of Haydn's Symphony No. 45 in terms of these characteristics.

form; 4) a rejection of unity in the theater; 5) a tongue-in-cheek attitude; 6) an interest in the Middle Ages; and, 7) a hostility to foreign influences.

A parallel can be drawn between the use of contrapuntal techniques in the musical Sturm und Drang and the literary Sturm und Drang. The use of such techniques by instrumental composers of the 1770's indicates an interest in the past. Just such an interest can be seen in the fascination of the literary Sturmer und Dranger with the Middle Ages. The difference is that the writers apparently did not actually revive old techniques.

The characteristic use of form is discussed in regard to both the musical and the literary Sturm und Drang. In the musical style it is the general expansion of form and the use of the sonata da chiesa form, while in the literary style it is the use of the dramatic form. It is difficult to draw a parallel here except that each is preoccupied with specific formal types.

It is also difficult to draw a parallel between the use of harmony, an element of music, and the characteristics of literature. Perhaps a similarity may be seen, however, between the increased use of dissonance and the emphasis on depicting struggle.

The use of humor is an element common to all artistic mediums. The use of humorous effects in the musical Sturm und Drang is somewhat paralleled in the literary Sturm und Drang. This is in the "tongue-in-cheek" attitude displayed by some of the writers.

A passionate mood, the result of the combination of other characteristics, is typical of Sturm und Drang music. It is in this

area that the greatest similarity to the literary Sturm und Drang exists, as the literary works are generally based on an individual's valiant yet hopeless struggle against society. Thus the typical Sturm und Drang drama is filled with the same passionate mood expressed in Sturm und Drang music.

A final parallel can be drawn between the literary and musical Sturm und Drang. The compositional style used by the composers can be seen as a manifestation of the very individualism advocated by the writers.

Thus the musical Sturm und Drang has six characteristics that can be related to those of the literary Sturm und Drang. Of these six characteristics, five are only somewhat related to those of the literary movement. These are the following: 1) the use of contrapuntal techniques; 2) the importance of form; 3) the greater use of dissonance; 4) humorous effects; and, 5) individualism. Only one of the commonly-discussed characteristics of Sturm und Drang music is shared totally by Sturm und Drang literature. This is the characteristic of a passionate mood. It can be argued that mood is the most important characteristic of any artist's creation. However, it can also be argued that one shared characteristic is not justification for transferring a name from one artistic medium to another.

CHAPTER V

STURM UND DRANG PERSONAGES

The Literary Sturm und Drang

The first half of this chapter deals with Sturm und Drang writers. It should be stated that the inclusion of the first two men, Hamann and Herder, is debatable. This is because they are alternately described as the first Sturm und Drang writers or the greatest influence on the Sturm und Drang writers. The distinction between the two positions is unclear. The other writers discussed are Goethe, Lenz, Klinger, and Schiller.

Johann Georg Hamann

Hamann (1730-1788) was of the same generation as Kant, Klopstock and Lessing, but more closely shared the temperament and outlook of the Stürmer und Dränger.¹ Interestingly, he developed his philosophy of feeling at Königsberg, where Kant taught. Hamann believed that man must use all of his faculties in any action. He despised analysis and did not believe in the need for reason to direct and coordinate man's activities. Hamann stood for faith against reason and man as an entity against the Aufklärung.²

Hamann's writings demonstrate his strong religious conviction stemming from his Pietist upbringing. He believed that only religious

¹Pascal, The German Sturm und Drang, p. 7.

²Brunschwig, Enlightenment and Romanticism, p. 92.

faith and the private life in which it can grow have real value.³
 This approach to life can be seen in Hamann's first important work, Sokratische Denkwürdigkeiten (Socratic Memorabilia) of 1759.⁴ This work, which earned him the title "Magus of the North," compares the certainties of intuitive belief to the uncertainties of reason and common sense.⁵

Goethe never met Hamann and admitted that he often did not understand his writings. However, he summarized Hamann's mode of thought in Dichtung und Wahrheit (Poetry and Truth):⁶ "The principle behind all Hamann's utterances is this: Everything that man undertakes, whether it be produced in action or word or anything else, must spring from his whole united powers; all separation of powers is to be repudiated."⁷

Hamann can be considered the starting point for the Sturm und Drang in three ways: 1) in his defiance of accepted modes of thought and norms of behavior; 2) in his lack of ability or willingness to fit into society; and, 3) in his devotion to his inner convictions.⁸

³Pascal, The German Sturm und Drang, p. 8.

⁴Johann Georg Hamann, Socratic Memorabilia, trans. James C. O'Flaherty (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967).

⁵Pascal, The German Sturm und Drang, p. 7.

⁶Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Dichtung und Wahrheit, cited by Pascal, The German Sturm und Drang, p. 9-10.

⁷Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Dichtung und Wahrheit, Book 12, p. 563, cited by Pascal, The German Sturm und Drang, p. 9-10.

⁸Ibid., p. 9.

Johann Gottfried Herder

Herder (1744-1803) is often called the founder of the Sturm und Drang movement. Raised in a Pietist home, he was trained for the Lutheran ministry, and was happiest discussing religious experiences. Herder attended the University of Königsberg, where he was introduced to European literature by Kant. He was also Hamann's pupil as a young man, and the two carried on an intimate correspondence for many years.⁹

Herder studied the development of language, literature and art as the expression of a national character.¹⁰ As a result of his studies he published Volkslieder (Folksongs),¹¹ in 1778 through 1779, a large collection of folksong texts of all nations. This collection was similar to those by Macpherson/Ossian (Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and Translated from the Galic or Erse Language),¹² of 1760, and Thomas Percy (Reliques of Ancient English Poetry),¹³ of 1765. The similarity between these three works was in the fact that they all revealed a new type of poetry that belonged to the common people.¹⁴ Herder believed that poetry was the

⁹Ibid., p. 9-13.

¹⁰Lorenz Eitner, Neoclassicism and Romanticism, Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 2: 72.

¹¹Johann Gottfried Herder, Volkslieder, cited by Ferguson, A History of Musical Thought, p. 389.

¹²James Macpherson, Fragments of Ancient Poetry, 1760, with an Introduction by John J. Dunn (Los Angeles: Williams Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, 1966).

¹³Thomas Perry, Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, 4th ed. (London: J. Nichols for F. and C. Rivington, 1794).

¹⁴Ferguson, A History of Musical Thought, p. 389.

basic language of all peoples.¹⁵

Another area of interest to Herder is shown in his creation of the term Zeitgeist, the thought and feeling peculiar to an era. He first used it in Kritische Wälder oder Betrachtungen die Wissenschaft und Kunst des schönen betreffend (Critical Forests or Reflections on the Science and Art of the Beautiful)¹⁶ in 1769. This work, like the earlier Fragmente über neuere deutsche Literatur (Fragments on Modern German Literature),¹⁷ of 1766-67, emphasized the need for originality and freedom from foreign influences in writing.¹⁸

Herder tried to develop a synthesis of theory and practice, of thought and deed. He was the only Sturm und Drang writer to develop a general philosophy of life, taking into account the scientific, the practical, and the intuitive faculties of man. Unfortunately, Herder never succeeded in reconciling all the conflicting values of his times. While his writing can seem impulsive and unclear, its logic can be discovered by careful study. Explaining Herder's contributions, Pascal states that his work on poetry, drama, language, and history is basic to modern thinking.¹⁹

¹⁵ L. A. Willoughby, The Romantic Movement in Germany (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), p. 3.

¹⁶ Johann Gottfried Herder, Samtliche Werke, hrsg. von Bernhard Suphan, 33 vols. (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1967-1968), 3: 1-480 and 4: 3-218.

¹⁷ Ibid., 1: 131-531.

¹⁸ Max Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part II," Bach 3, no. 3 (July 1972): 3.

¹⁹ Pascal, The German Sturm und Drang, p. 13.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

Goethe (1749-1832) grew up in Frankfurt, a city with a strong Pietist influence. Born to affluent parents, he did not suffer the generally deprived childhood of most of the Sturm und Drang writers. He received an excellent education, beginning at home and continuing at the University of Leipzig.

Goethe went to Strassburg in 1770 to complete his legal studies. There he met Herder, who introduced him to the world of Shakespeare, folksong literature, Ossian, and the Encyclopedie.²⁰ This personal association with Herder was one of the factors that influenced Goethe to write in the Sturm und Drang style.²¹

Goethe returned to Frankfurt in 1771, and by 1774 the city had become a place of pilgrimage for the German intelligentsia. Klopstock, Lavater, Basedow, and the Duke of Weimar, among others, called on Goethe there. Not suprisingly, Goethe always had self-confidence, something Hamann, Herder and Lenz often lacked.²²

Goethe was under the influence of Herder when he wrote Von Deutscher Baukunst (On German Architecture)²³ in 1773. In this work the subject of architecture was used as a vehicle to discuss the parallel between artistic creation and organic growth. This was inspired at least partially by Young's Conjectures on Original

²⁰ Ibid., p. 19-20.

²¹ Willoughby, The Romantic Movement in Germany, p. 3.

²² Pascal, The German Sturm und Drang, p. 20-21.

²³ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Von Deutscher Baukunst, cited by Eitner, Neoclassicism and Romanticism, 1: 73.

Composition, of 1759.²⁴ Other subjects discussed include the nature of genius and the national character of art. All of these ideas are basic to the Sturm und Drang mentality.²⁵

The fluidity and versatility of Shakespeare's writing impressed Goethe and inspired him to write Götz von Berlichingen²⁶ in 1773.²⁷ This play was the first major work of the Sturm und Drang. It also launched the Sturm und Drang Shakespeare cult, as Goethe was deliberately writing in a style imitative of the great English master. Another Sturm und Drang characteristic, interest in the Middle Ages, is also demonstrated in Götz; namely in the main character, who is an actual figure from the 16th century (which was then considered part of the Middle Ages). Goethe's Götz had a tremendous effect on young writers tired of traditional formalism, and established him as the leader of what was soon to be called the Sturm und Drang movement.²⁸

The Sturm und Drang period produced few novels. The explanation often given for this is that the emotions depicted were too intense to be sustained. The one famous novel associated with the Sturm und Drang is Goethe's Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers (The Sorrows of

²⁴ Edward Young, The Complete Works: Poetry and Prose, ed. James Nichols (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1963).

²⁵ Eitner, Neoclassicism and Romanticism, 1: 73.

²⁶ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Götz von Berlichingen (Lubeck: Schmidt-Romhild, 1980).

²⁷ Borroff, Music in Europe and the United States, p. 407.

²⁸ Rudolf, "Storm and Stress, Part I."

Young Werther).²⁹ It is in letter form, which shows the influence of the English writer Samuel Richardson. Published in 1774, Werther was an immediate and lasting success.³⁰ A Werther fad swept Europe and young men affected Werther's blue frock coat and yellow waistcoat. Many even took their hero's example and committed suicide. Werther, the story of a passionate young man's hopeless love for an engaged woman, was based on experiences in Goethe's own life. In later years Goethe regretted the lasting popularity of Werther, because by then he had renounced the Sturm und Drang style.³¹

Jacob Reinhold Michael Lenz

Lenz (1751-1792) was the son of a Lutheran pastor in Dorpat, a tiny provincial town in Russia.³² Like Hamann and Herder, his Pietist upbringing affected him for life. Many of his essays deal with theological and moral themes. Destined for the ministry, he went to Königsberg to study theology. There, like Herder, he heard Kant's lectures and was introduced to the ideas of Rousseau. As a result he turned to the study of philosophy and literature.

Lenz eventually settled in Strassburg and attempted to support himself with the income from giving lessons supplemented by the

²⁹ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Die Leiden des jungen Werthers, Faksimilie Druck der Ausg. Leipzig, 1744 (Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag, 1967).

³⁰ Leppmann, "The Age of Goethe," p. 146.

³¹ Brunschwig, Enlightenment and Romanticism, p. 95.

³² Pascal, The German Sturm und Drang, p. 34.

meagre payment from his writings.³³ Salzmann, Lavater and Goethe all helped him from time to time. After many misadventures he went to St. Petersburg and Moscow in search of a position. Although he met with sympathy among the educated Russian gentry and intelligentsia, he was never able to put his life in order. He finally died in misery in Moscow.

Lenz anticipated both realistic and expressionistic drama in his experiments with literary forms.³⁴ He was against anything that impeded the Sturm und Drang movement, including Aristotle and French classicism.³⁵ Pascal considers Der Hofmeister (The Tutor)³⁶ of 1774, and Die Soldaten (The Soldiers)³⁷ of 1776, Lenz's best works. He says, however, that they show inequalities, crudities and a lack of discipline characteristic of Lenz himself. Lenz writes in a rhapsodic style similar to that of Herder and can be difficult to understand.³⁸

Although Lenz shared in the insight and also the raptures of Hamann, Herder and Goethe, he was never able to mature. He could not resolve the conflict between inner life and outer reality. Thus he is often cited as the personification of the danger of the Sturm und Drang temperament.

³³ Ibid., p. 31-32.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 35.

³⁵ Lang, Music in Western Civilization, p. 619.

³⁶ Jacob Reinhold Michael Lenz, Gesammelte Werke in vier Banden, mit Anmerkungen hrsg. von Richard Daunicht, 4 vols. (Munich: W. Fink, 1967) 1: 39.

³⁷ Jacob Reinhold Michael Lenz, Die Soldaten, cited by Pascal, The German Sturm und Drang, p. 34.

³⁸ Pascal, The German Sturm und Drang, p. 34.

Maximilian Klinger

Klinger (1752-1831) was the son of a very poor family of Frankfurt. He was able to get an education through the generosity of a patron. Klinger, along with Lenz, was an early admirer of Goethe's Sturm und Drang style.³⁹ He was an active member of the Goethe circle in Frankfurt. Compared to his fellow Stürmer und Dränger, Klinger has been called superficial and psychologically uncomplicated.⁴⁰

Klinger's many plays are nearly all built around a hero of great power and potential. These plays also nearly all lack psychological insight and worldly knowledge.⁴¹ He is best remembered for Sturm und Drang of 1776,⁴² the play which lent its name to the entire movement.⁴³ At the time it was written, young intellectuals such as Schiller praised it highly. They considered it an important contribution to the new realism which Goethe had introduced three years earlier in Götz von Berlichingen.⁴⁴ Another Sturm und Drang play by Klinger is Die Zwillinge (The Twins) of 1776.⁴⁵ It is based on the popular

³⁹ Brunschwig, Enlightenment and Romanticism, p. 92.

⁴⁰ Pascal, The German Sturm und Drang, p. 36-37.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 36.

⁴² Maximilian Klinger, Sturm und Drang, cited by Longyear, Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music, p. 8.

⁴³ See "The History of the Term Sturm und Drang," on p. 3 above.

⁴⁴ Rudolf, "Storm and Stress, Part I," p. 4.

⁴⁵ Maximilian Klinger, Die Zwillinge, cited by Pascal, The German Sturm und Drang, p. 36.

Sturm und Drang theme of the plight of the individual against society.⁴⁶

Klinger joined the Russian army in 1780. He proved to be an excellent officer and rose to high rank. While in Russia he wrote numerous prose works. The only Sturm und Drang characteristics remaining in these later works is a Rousseau-like hankering after the simple life and criticism of the corruption of the courts.⁴⁷

Friedrich von Schiller

Schiller (1759-1805) was ten years younger than Goethe and had no contact with the other Sturm und Drang writers until after the Sturm und Drang era.⁴⁸ The son of a regimental surgeon, Schiller was educated at the Duke of Württemberg's military academy.

Schiller's first four plays are much more direct in their criticism of contemporary society than the works of the other Stürmer und Dränger.⁴⁹ Die Räuber (The Robbers) of 1781 was his first play.⁵⁰ It is based on the theme of hostility between two brothers, a theme dear to Sturm und Drang writers. Schiller's immediate source for the theme was a novel by his fellow Swabian, C. D. F. Schubart.⁵¹

Die Verschwörung des Fiesco zu Genua (Fiesco, or the Genoese

⁴⁶ Pascal, The German Sturm und Drang, p. 36.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 36-37.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 37.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 39.

⁵⁰ Friedrich von Schiller, Die Räuber (Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag, 1967).

⁵¹ Leppmann, "The Age of Goethe," p. 159.

Conspiracy) of 1782 was Schiller's second play.⁵² It deals with social rebellion and established Schiller as a master second only to Shakespeare in the genre of historical drama.⁵³

Schiller's third play, Kabale und Liebe (Intrigue and Love)⁵⁴ of 1784 is a powerful denouncement of absolutist systems of government.⁵⁵ In it an evil nobleman thwarts his son's marriage to a commoner, Luisa Miller (hence the title of Verdi's opera). The main characters of Kabale und Liebe, like those of Die Rauber and Fiesko, are all of the heroic type. They all seek to impose themselves on a world they despise.

Don Carlos⁵⁶ of 1787 is the last of Schiller's plays described as Sturm und Drang.⁵⁷ It depicts the struggle between political idealism and the interests of church and state. As in his other three Sturm und Drang plays, Schiller is concerned with the conflict between man and society, not with the psychological complexities within man. Compared with plays by the other Stürmer und Dränger, Schiller's are richer in dramatic action but poorer in psychological insight.

⁵² Friedrich von Schiller, Early Dramas and Romances, trans. Henry G. Bohn (London: Bell-Daldy, 1871).

⁵³ Leppmann, "The Age of Goethe," p. 159.

⁵⁴ Friedrich von Schiller, Early Dramas and Romances, trans. Henry G. Bohn (London: Bell-Daldy, 1871).

⁵⁵ Leppmann, "The Age of Goethe," p. 159.

⁵⁶ Friedrich von Schiller, Don Carlos, trans. Charles E. Passage (New York: F. Ungar, 1959).

⁵⁷ Pascal, The German Sturm und Drang, p. 39.

The Musical Sturm und Drang

The second half of this chapter contains information on Sturm und Drang composers. First to be discussed are Haydn and Mozart, followed by other well-known composers. Finally, information on lesser-known composers also associated with the Sturm und Drang style will be presented.

Franz Joseph Haydn

Haydn is the composer most frequently mentioned in connection with the Sturm und Drang. The reasons for this association include Haydn's use of particular musical forms and the effect of the Sturm und Drang upon Haydn's later development. Thus this section will begin with views on Haydn's use of several musical forms during his Sturm und Drang era.

First to be discussed will be the string quartets written during Haydn's so-called Sturm und Drang period. They are the Op. 9 quartets of 1769, the Op. 17 quartets of 1771 and the Op. 20 quartets of 1772. As Harman notes, there is a particular tie between the string quartet and the Sturm und Drang style as Haydn's creation of a true quartet style coincided with the composition of his first Sturm und Drang works.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Harman, Man and His Music, p. 601.

Harman,⁵⁹ Geiringer,⁶⁰ Pauly,⁶¹ Hughes,⁶² and Rosen⁶³ all list the Op. 17 quartets among Haydn's Sturm und Drang compositions. Harman⁶⁴ also mentions Op. 9 and Geiringer,⁶⁵ Pauly,⁶⁶ Hughes,⁶⁷ and Rosen⁶⁸ also mention Op. 20. Ratner specifically mentions Op. 20, No. 5.⁶⁹

Sturm und Drang characteristics in the Op. 9 and Op. 17 quartets cited by Harman include the independence of each instrument, the striking key contrasts and the developments which are often longer than their expositions.⁷⁰ Pauly describes the Sturm und Drang characteristics of the Op. 17 and Op. 20 quartets as including an increased expressive range, movements in minor keys, restless melodies, sudden shifts in rhythmic patterns and accents, and frequent

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Geiringer, Haydn: A Creative Life in Music, 3rd ed., p. 256-257.

⁶¹Pauly, Music in the Classic Period, p. 144.

⁶²Rosemary Hughes, Haydn (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1956) p. 45.

⁶³Rosen, The Classical Style, p. 146.

⁶⁴Harman, Man and His Music, p. 601.

⁶⁵Geiringer, Haydn: A Creative Life in Music, 3rd ed., p. 256-257.

⁶⁶Pauly, Music in the Classic Period, p. 144.

⁶⁷Rosemary Hughes, Haydn, p. 45.

⁶⁸Rosen, The Classical Style, p. 146.

⁶⁹Ratner, Classic Music, p. 21.

⁷⁰Harman, Man and His Music, p. 601.

intense emotional outbursts.⁷¹ He specifically mentions the Adagio of Op. 20, No. 2 and the opening of Op. 20, No. 5 as displaying these characteristics.

Haydn's piano sonatas also came under the influence of his Sturm und Drang style. Wyzewa cites the Harpsichord Sonata No. 36 in C Minor (H.XVI:20) of 1771 as an example of Haydn's Sturm und Drang composition.⁷² Rosen,⁷³ Hughes,⁷⁴ Marks,⁷⁵ and Geiringer⁷⁶ also cite this sonata as having Sturm und Drang characteristics. In addition, Rosen⁷⁷ mentions the slow movement of the Sonata in A Flat (H.XVI:46) and Geiringer⁷⁸ the Sonatas Nos. 32 (H.XVI:36) and 34 (H.XVI:38).

Other types of music mentioned in connection with Haydn's Sturm und Drang style include church music and theater music. Among Sturm und Drang church compositions Harman cites Tobias and the Stabat Mater, "with its C. P. E. Bach-like chromaticisms, sighs, syncopations, and

⁷¹Pauly, Music in the Classic Period, p. 144.

⁷²Wyzewa, "A propos du centenaire de la mort de Joseph Haydn," p. 940.

⁷³Rosen, The Classical Style, p. 146.

⁷⁴Rosemary Hughes, Haydn, p. 45.

⁷⁵Paul F. Marks, "The Rhetorical Element in Musical Sturm und Drang: Christian Gottfried Krause's 'Von Der Musikalishen Poesie,'" International Review of Aesthetics and Sociology of Music, 2 (1971): 51.

⁷⁶Geiringer, Haydn: A Creative Life in Music, 3rd ed., p. 253-254.

⁷⁷Rosen, The Classical Style, p. 146.

⁷⁸Geiringer, Haydn: A Creative Life in Music, 3rd ed., p. 255.

szorzandi." ⁷⁹ Geiringer also mentions Tobias in this category, and goes on to discuss it at some length.⁸⁰

Turning to theater music, Landon views this as a link between the musical and literary Sturm und Drang.⁸¹ Haydn was a kind of "house composer" for the Carl Wahr Troupe and wrote incidental music for several of the plays they performed. It is certain that he wrote music for Shakespeare's Hamlet and Goethe's Götz, but the fate of this music is unknown.

The musical form mentioned most often in connection with Haydn's Sturm und Drang style is the symphony. Pauly summarizes the general view on Haydn in the early 1770's with the following statement: "His symphonic writing shows a 'storm and stress' quality in that a great number of movements are in minor and express intense, dark, and stormy moods."⁸² As representative of such writing Geiringer,⁸³ Grout,⁸⁴ Marks,⁸⁵ Pauly,⁸⁶ Rosen⁸⁷ and Wyzewa⁸⁸ all cite Symphonies Nos. 44

⁷⁹ Harman, Man and His Music, p. 608.

⁸⁰ Geiringer, Haydn: A Creative Life in Music, 3rd ed., p. 273-276.

⁸¹ Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, 2: 279.

⁸² Pauly, Music in the Classic Period, p. 95.

⁸³ Geiringer, Haydn: A Creative Life in Music, 3rd ed., p. 260-262.

⁸⁴ Grout, A History of Western Music, p. 489.

⁸⁵ Marks, "The Rhetorical Element in Musical Sturm und Drang," p. 51.

⁸⁶ Pauly, Music in the Classic Period, p. 95.

⁸⁷ Rosen, The Classical Style, p. 146.

⁸⁸ Wyzewa, "A propos du centenaire de la mort de Joseph Haydn," p. 940-942.

and 45. In addition, the following authorities cite the following symphonies as having Sturm und Drang characteristics: Landon⁸⁹ Nos. 26, 34, 38; Hughes,⁹⁰ Landon and Rosen, No. 39; Geiringer, Hughes, Marks and Wyzewa, No. 46; Grout, Marks and Wyzewa, No. 47; Marks, Hughes and Pauly, No. 48; Hughes, Landon, Pauly, Rosen and Wyzewa, No. 49; Hughes, Geiringer and Rosen, No. 52; Landon, No. 59.

Writers seem to be in agreement on the importance of Haydn's Sturm und Drang period to his later development. Landon states, "As to infusing music with a deeper message, it is clear that Austria's Sturm und Drang was essential to its composers' development."⁹¹ Landon feels that there is a parallel with the literary Sturm und Drang here because the Sturm und Drang was also essential to Goethe's development. Rudolf, Geiringer and Todd agree that Haydn's Sturm und Drang period was important to his later development. Rudolf states that the Sturm und Drang style "became part of Haydn's musical language in line with a general development."⁹² Geiringer declares, "The crisis of the Sturm und Drang period through which Haydn passed played a vital part in his development and in the attainment of his full maturity."⁹³ Finally, Todd states that the experiments of Haydn's Sturm und Drang period "exerted an important influence upon Haydn's

⁸⁹ Landon, Haydn Symphonies, p. 21-23.

⁹⁰ Rosemary Hughes, Haydn, p. 45.

⁹¹ Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, 2: 283.

⁹² Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part III," p. 12.

⁹³ Geiringer, Haydn: A Creative Life in Music, 3rd ed., p. 253.

later work."⁹⁴

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Several authorities believe that Mozart was affected by the Sturm und Drang at approximately the same time as was Haydn. Harman, for instance, states, "In the 1770's Mozart, like Haydn, went through a phase of 'Storm and Stress.'"⁹⁵

Grout and Sadie agree that Mozart's Symphony in G Minor, K.183, is written in the Sturm und Drang style. Grout cites such characteristics as its intense, serious mood, its thematic unity, and the expansion of the entire form as compared with Mozart's earlier symphonies.⁹⁶ Sadie mentions "the urgent tone of the repeated syncopated notes at the start," and "the dramatic falling diminished 7th, and the repeated thrusting phrases that follow" as establishing the tone of the work.⁹⁷

Geiringer also discusses Mozart's Symphony K.183 in connection with the Sturm und Drang.⁹⁸ He states that Mozart was influenced by a general "back to nature" movement when he wrote this symphony in 1773. In this writer's opinion, it is unclear whether Geiringer also means to imply that Goethe's Die Leiden des Jüngern Werthers (1774)

⁹⁴ Todd, "Joseph Haydn and the Sturm und Drang," p. 193.

⁹⁵ Harman, Man and His Music, p. 617.

⁹⁶ Grout, A History of Western Music, p. 506.

⁹⁷ Stanley Sadie, "Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), 12: 691.

⁹⁸ Geiringer, Haydn: A Creative Life in Music, 3rd ed., p. 252.

influenced Mozart at this time. Rudolf believes that Geiringer does make that implication. Thus, in rebuttal, Rudolf states that Werther could not have had any effect on Mozart's Symphony in G Minor, K.183 for the simple reason that the symphony was composed eleven months prior to the novel's publication.⁹⁹

Harman also describes Mozart's other G Minor Symphony (K.550, 1778) as having Sturm und Drang characteristics. He states that in this late symphony, "all the properties of 'Storm and Stress' are divested of rhetoric, so that the drama is pure music and the music drama, and the suffering is neither Mozart's nor ours, but mankind's."¹⁰⁰ Perhaps this is evidence that, as in Haydn's case, the Sturm und Drang also affected Mozart's later compositions.

The Overture in D Minor to Betulia Liberata (K.118), Mozart's only oratorio, is identified by Brook as being in the Sturm und Drang style. Brook believes that this work of 1771 is Mozart's first instrumental Sturm und Drang piece and cites the imitation in the Presto and the driving climaxes in both the Allegro and the Presto as "standard hallmarks of the musical Sturm und Drang."¹⁰¹

Finally, Mozart's opera Lucio Silla (K.135) of 1772 is cited by Saint-Foix as having romantic characteristics.¹⁰² Harman, on Mozart and Sturm und Drang in opera, calls Lucio Silla an "important step" in

⁹⁹ Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part II," Bach 3, no. 3 (July 1972): 3.

¹⁰⁰ Harman, Man and His Music, p. 626.

¹⁰¹ Brook, "Sturm und Drang and the Romantic Period in Music," p. 281.

¹⁰² Georges de Saint-Foix, The Symphonies of Mozart, trans. Leslie Orrey (London: Dennis Dobson, Ltd., 1947), p. 38.

Mozart's development. He further states that the opera is "significantly associated" with Mozart's Sturm und Drang violin sonatas of the 1770's," although he does not identify these works.¹⁰³

Other Composers

Beethoven (1770-1827) was a child during the actual Sturm und Drang era. Authorities agree, however, that he was strongly influenced by the Sturm und Drang. Indeed, Lang states, in reference to the Sturm und Drang, "more than anyone else, Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) lived in this movement and was carried by it."¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately, Lang cites no particular works. Interestingly, Lang states that the romantic elements in Beethoven's early compositions do not contradict his pure classicism and that all the great classicists had a "romantic crisis" as a result of the Sturm und Drang.

Further evidence of Beethoven's tie to the Sturm und Drang is given by Brook. He points out that of all of Haydn's music, Beethoven seems to have been especially attracted to his Sturm und Drang works. An example of this attraction is seen in the close relationship between Haydn's Symphony No. 44, one of his greatest Sturm und Drang works, and Beethoven's Piano Sonata, Op.27, No. 2, the "Moonlight Sonata." Brook states that these two works show a "striking identity of tempo, rhythm, melodic line, and harmony."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Harman, Man and His Music, p. 722.

¹⁰⁴ Lang, Music in Western Civilization, p. 750.

¹⁰⁵ Brook, "Sturm und Drang and the Romantic Period in Music," p. 282.

Ratner and Rudolf agree that the Sturm und Drang style was an element in Beethoven's music. Ratner states that not only Beethoven but also Cherubini and many of their contemporaries used the Sturm und Drang style "as one of the principal focal points of expression."¹⁰⁶ Rudolf states that it was in Beethoven's music that the Sturm und Drang became "an integral part of instrumental music."¹⁰⁷ He cites Beethoven's Piano Sonata in E Flat Major (W.o.O.47) as an example of his use of the Sturm und Drang style.

Two other composers not generally associated with Sturm und Drang music are Johann Christian Bach (1735-1782) and Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787). Yet each is mentioned in discussions of this type of music. Rudolf, for example, states that while the Sturm und Drang style is rare in Bach's symphonies, it can be seen in his Symphony Op.6, No. 6 of 1766.¹⁰⁸ Longyear concurs, describing this one and only minor-mode symphony of Bach's as being in the Sturm und Drang style.¹⁰⁹

Turning to Gluck, Longyear mentions as an element of his style "the powerful expressive devices of the Sturm und Drang which were brought to Paris by German instrumental composers."¹¹⁰ Unfortunately, Longyear does not cite any particular composers. Landon's view is somewhat different, considering Gluck an influence on

¹⁰⁶ Ratner, Classical Music, p. 21.

¹⁰⁷ Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part III," p. 13.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁰⁹ Longyear, "Musical Portraits in 'Sturm und Drang' Drama," p. 19.

¹¹⁰ Longyear, Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music, p. 137.

Sturm und Drang composers rather than the reverse. He cites the Finale to Gluck's Don Juan (1761) as "perhaps the most important single beginning of the whole Austrian musical Sturm und Drang."¹¹¹

Lesser-Known Composers

Many lesser-known composers also wrote in the Sturm und Drang style. In this category Marks lists Johann Gottlieb Muthel (1728-1788), Johann Gottlieb Eckardt (1735-1809), Johann Beck (?), Florian Gassmann (1729-1774), Jan Vanhal (1739-1813) and Carlos d'Ordonez (1734-1786).¹¹² Brook also mentions Gassmann, Vanhal and d'Ordonez, as well as Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf (1739-1799).¹¹³ Like Marks, Rudolf cites Muthel and Eckardt as composers who wrote in the Sturm und Drang style, and also includes Johann Schobert (c. 1735-1767).¹¹⁴ Schobert is also mentioned by Smolden as having written in the Sturm und Drang style.¹¹⁵

Another composer who wrote in this style was Ignaz Holzbauer (1711-1783). Radcliffe, for example, cites his Quartet in E Flat and his Sonata da Camera in F Minor as reflecting "the literary Storm and

¹¹¹ Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works, 2: 271.

¹¹² Marks, "The Rhetorical Element in Musical Sturm und Drang," p. 62.

¹¹³ Brook, "Sturm und Drang and the Romantic Period in Music," p. 281.

¹¹⁴ Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part III," p. 10.

¹¹⁵ William L. Smolden, A History of Music (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1965), p. 233.

Stress of the time."¹¹⁶ Finally, Longyear mentions Sturm und Drang compositions by three other composers who occasionally wrote in that style. They are the once-only symphony in the minor mode by Josef Myslivecek (1737-1781), two partitas in minor keys by Christian Gottlieb Neefe (1748-1798) and the string quartet by Joseph Boulogne de Saint-George (1739-1799).¹¹⁷

Brook discusses four lesser-known composers whose compositions were affected by the Sturm und Drang. The first two composers both resided in Paris. The first, Franz Beck (1734-1809), was a native Mannheimer. According to Brook, he "anticipated several Sturm und Drang characteristics in the early 1760's." The second, Simon le Duc (? - 1777), "wrote a series of impassioned chamber and symphonic works between 1768 and 1777 that precisely parallel, in time and style, what was going on in Austria. The C minor Adagio sostenuto of his E Flat Symphony (1776-7) is one of the most moving works of the decade." Brook describes this movement as a "personification of grief" and states that it contains "discordant suspensions, diminished chord sequences, abrupt fortissimi, and rich rhythmic invention."¹¹⁸

The other two composers discussed by Brook are both Italians who lived in Spain. The first, Luigi Boccherini (1743-1805) wrote a "tumultuous" symphony entitled La Casa del Diavolo (the Symphony in D Minor, Op.12). It was a parody of a movement from Gluck's Don Juan.

¹¹⁶ Philip Radcliffe, "Keyboard Music," The Age of Enlightenment, 1745-1790, New Oxford History of Music, vol. 7 (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 515.

¹¹⁷ Longyear, "Musical Portraits in 'Sturm und Drang' Drama," p. 19.

¹¹⁸ Brook, "Sturm und Drang and the Romantic Period in Music," p. 281.

The second composer, Gaetano Brunetti (1744-1798) wrote many "stormy" works in the late 1770's and early 1780's. Examples include the Symphony in B Minor of 1779 and "the curious symphony entitled Il maniatico, which describes an unbalanced mental fixation in witty musical terms."¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

INFLUENCES ON STURM UND DRANG PERSONAGES

The Literary Sturm und Drang

The influences upon the writers of the literary Sturm und Drang were many and varied. They lived, for instance, in an era of great change. It was the time of the beginning of the modern economic system. The era also included the beginning of the end of the monarchy and the beginning of the participation of the masses in government in the great democratic experiment begun by the American Revolution. Germany was starting to emerge as a leader in intellectual life, particularly in philosophy and music.

Among the many cultural factors influencing the Sturm und Drang writers was Pietism. A religious reform movement, it emphasized personal faith against what was seen as the increasing secularization of the church. Hamann, Herder and Lenz were all strongly influenced by Pietism.¹

Sources concur that the Sturm und Drang writers were influenced greatly by non-German writers. For example, Grout,² Marks,³ Lang,⁴

¹Longyear, "Musical Portraits in 'Sturm und Drang' Drama," p. 39.

²Grout, A History of Western Music, p. 449.

³Marks, "The Rhetorical Element in Musical Sturm und Drang," p. 54.

⁴Lang, Music in Western Civilization, p. 619.

Eitner,⁵ and Leppmann⁶ all state that the back-to-nature philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) was inspirational to the Stürmer und Dränger.⁷ It served as a basis for their demands for the rights of the individual because, to the Stürmer und Dränger, back-to-nature meant, primarily, opposition to every convention of society. Everything dictated from without was considered to be an infringement on the individual's liberty.⁸

The writings of William Shakespeare (1564-1616) were also very important to the Sturm und Drang writers. Indeed, they considered Shakespeare an Originalgenie -- their ultimate accolade.⁹ Shakespeare served as a rallying point for the mid-18th century opposition to Classical tragedy, an opposition personified by the Stürmer und Dränger themselves.¹⁰ Evidence of the 18th-century interest in the works of Shakespeare exists in the many translations and productions of his works dating from this time. Among them is Lenz's translation of Love's Labours' Lost. Interesting to the music historian is the fact that Prince Nicolaus Esterhazy commissioned German translations of Shakespeare plays. It is known that these

⁵ Eitner, Neoclassicism and Romanticism, p. 72.

⁶ Leppmann, "The Age of Goethe," p. 146.

⁷ Pre-Sturm und Drang works of Rousseau include Julie, ou la Nouvelle Heloise (1761), Emile (1762), and Contrat social (1762).

⁸ Kahn, Social Ideals in German Literature, p. 8.

⁹ Leppmann, "The Age of Goethe," p. 146-147.

¹⁰ Borroff, Music in Europe and the United States, p. 407.

plays were performed by the Wahr Troupe at Esterhaza.¹¹ It is interesting to speculate whether Haydn saw any of these plays performed and if so, how they might have influenced him.

The Sturm und Drang writers were also influenced by more contemporary English writers. These men were concerned with the ideas of the sublime, genius and plagiarism. Among these men were the writer Edmund Burke (1729-1797). His essay on the sublime and the beautiful of 1756 advanced the idea that the sublime is more important than beauty in art and literature.¹² Just what is the sublime? Burke states, "Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain and danger, whatever is in any sort terrible, or conversant about terrible objects, is the source of the Sublime."¹³ Burke felt, therefore, that the exercise of the emotions and the imagination is legitimate territory for the artist to explore. This belief was basic to the Sturm und Drang movement.

Another English author important to the Stürmer und Dränger was Edward Young (1683-1765). His Conjectures on Original Composition¹⁴ was published in 1759 and two German translations appeared the following year.¹⁵ This work greatly changed the concept of

¹¹Landon, Haydn Symphonies, p. 22.

¹²Edmund Burke, A Philosophical Enquiry Into the Origins of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful, ed. J. T. Boulton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958).

¹³Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁴Edward Young, The Complete Works; Poetry and Prose, ed. James Nicholas (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1968).

¹⁵Heckscher, "Sturm und Drang," p. 95.

plagiarism and helped to foster the idea of literary genius. It had a great effect on avant-garde German writers, who quickly absorbed these new ideas.

Two other English writers said to have influenced the Stürmer und Dränger were Samuel Richardson (1689-1761) and Laurence Sterne (1713-1768). Sterne, a novelist and humorist, is famous for his novel The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman (1759-67).¹⁶ In it the story is subordinate to the author's free associations and digressions. Richardson, also an early novelist, explored the dramatic possibilities of the novel by his use of letter forms.¹⁷ His novel Pamela: or Virtue Rewarded¹⁸ (1740-41) uses this technique.

Sturm und Drang writers were also interested in a Scots poet named James Macpherson (1736-1796).¹⁹ He collected Gaelic manuscripts and had orally transmitted Gaelic poems transcribed. He thus made a real contribution to Gaelic studies. Unfortunately, this contribution has been obscured because of the circumstances surrounding one of his works. In 1760 he published his Fragments of Ancient Poetry Collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and Translated

¹⁶ Laurence Sterne, The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman, ed. James Aiken Work, The Odyssey Series in Literature (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1940).

¹⁷ Longyear, "Musical Portraits in 'Sturm und Drang' Drama," p. 39.

¹⁸ Samuel Richardson, The Novels of Samuel Richardson, 19 vols. (London: Heinemann, 1902), vols. 1-4.

¹⁹ Longyear, "Musical Portraits in 'Sturm und Drang' Drama," p. 39.

from the Galic or Erse Language²⁰ and claimed that much of the content was by a third-century Gaelic poet named Ossian. A controversy arose concerning the authenticity of this work. The truth is that no Gaelic manuscript dates back beyond the tenth century. Despite the controversy surrounding it, Fragments became very popular with Sturm und Drang writers.

In summary, the Sturm und Drang writers were deeply indebted to the writers described above for ideas basic to their movement. Rousseau's assertion of the rights of the individual was fundamental to the whole mentality of the Stürm und Dränger. Burke paved the way for many of their writings by finding that the emotions and the imagination are valid areas for the artist to explore. Young, his fellow Englishman, justified the Sturm und Drang writers' existence by developing the concept of genius as a force beyond the control of convention. Finally, Shakespeare and his works served to demonstrate these principles.

The Musical Sturm und Drang

C. P. E. Bach is generally associated with the Empfindsamkeit, not the Sturm und Drang. Many authorities seem to agree, however, that he was as essential to the latter as he was to the former. Landon, for example, states that the essence of the Sturm und Drang style was not new but had been seen previously in the works of north

²⁰ James Macpherson, Fragments of Ancient Poetry, 1760, with an Introduction by John J. Dunn (Los Angeles: Williams Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, 1966).

German composers, particularly those of C. P. E. Bach.²¹ Rudolf concurs, stating that C. P. E. Bach probably contributed more than any other composer to the introduction of the Sturm und Drang style into instrumental music.²²

Two modern authorities cite 18th-century writers on the subject of C. P. E. Bach. Pauly cites the Sturm und Drang writer and composer Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's book on musical aesthetics.²³ Pauly explains that, in his chapter on musical expression, Schubart (1739-1791) repeatedly refers to the "gefühlvolles Herz" (sensitive heart) as essential to every performer.²⁴ Schubart also mentions the importance of individual expression. Pauly believes that this is evidence of the close relationship between the Sturm und Drang aesthetic and that of C. P. E. Bach and the Empfindsamkeit.

Cannon cites Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752-1814), another Sturm und Drang writer and composer who was head of a circle of early romanticists in Berlin. He translates Reichardt's comments on C. P. E. Bach as follows: "One heard with rapture the original and bold course of ideas as well as the great variety and novelty in form and modulations. Hardly ever did a musical composition of higher, more

²¹ Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and Works 2: 271.

²² Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," p. 10.

²³ Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, Ideen zu einer Aesthetik der Tonkunst, cited by Pauly, Music in the Classic Period, p. 29.

²⁴ Pauly, Music in the Classic Period, p. 29.

daring and more humorous character flow from the soul of genius."²⁵

As with all aspects of the musical Sturm und Drang, much of the discussion on influence centers on Haydn. Todd, Harman and Brown agree that C. P. E. Bach influenced Haydn but come to this conclusion in different ways. Todd, for instance, states:

It would appear likely, then, that the work of Emanuel Bach exercised a profound effect upon Haydn's musical thinking in the late '60's. A stylistic reaction against earlier compositional method, a development common to both composers, may be seen first in the music of the North German master, in which the melodic, harmonic and rhythmic regularities of the late baroque are seriously challenged. The same tendencies are manifest in Haydn's works of the late '60's and early '70's, particularly in symphonies such as nos. 49, 39 and 59, discussed earlier, in which contradictory elements of texture, scoring and rhythm, along with other striking discontinuities, indicate a confrontation between the final phase of the older style and the somewhat tentative and experimental stage of the emerging classical symphony.²⁶

Harman, in a more general comment, states that Haydn's renewed study of works by C. P. E. Bach is one of the factors influencing his composition in the 1770's.²⁷ Another approach to the question of Bach's influence on Haydn is taken by Brown.²⁸ He reviews 18th-century writers such as Dies, Griesinger and Stadler, and applies his findings to the following three basic traditions on the subject: 1) Haydn was familiar with and admired the keyboard sonatas of Bach; 2) Haydn

²⁵Johann Friedrich Reichardt, source unknown, cited by Beckman C. Cannon, Alvin H. Johnson, William G. Waite, The Art of Music (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1960), p. 296.

²⁶Todd, "Joseph Haydn and the Sturm und Drang," p. 191-192.

²⁷Harman, Man and His Music, p. 599.

²⁸A. Peter Brown, "Joseph Haydn and C. P. E. Bach: The Question of Influence," Haydn Studies (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981), p. 163.

studied Bach's Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen (Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments);²⁹ and, 3) Bach somehow influenced Haydn's stylistic development. By applying his findings to these traditions, Brown concludes that Haydn's contact with the Versuch probably did not occur until the 1760's, and that his contact with the questionable "first six sonatas" of Bach mentioned by Griesinger may have come even later. These dates obviously leave open the possibility of Bach influencing Haydn's Sturm und Drang compositions.

Regarding the question of stylistic influence, Brown cites problems with previous attempts to prove that such influence occurred between Bach and Haydn.³⁰ These earlier attempts have been based on a search for parallel passages or compositional techniques. Brown suggests a new approach, i.e. that Bach's Versuch be examined for explanations of particular compositional practices found in Haydn's compositions after the early 1760's. Brown gives as an example Bach's comments on the beauty of surprise changes in tonality, a compositional device used by Haydn.

There are many other opinions as to what influenced Haydn to write in the Sturm und Drang style. One of the most widely-held opinions is that Haydn was influenced by the works of the literary Sturm und Drang. Among those suggesting this idea are Harman,³¹

²⁹ Carl Phillip Emanuel Bach, Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments, trans. and ed. William J. Mitchell (New York: W. W. Norton, 1949).

³⁰ Ibid., p. 164.

³¹ Harman, Man and Music, p. 599.

Geiringer,³² and Wyzewa.³³ As shown in an earlier chapter, however, Haydn's Sturm und Drang compositions pre-date the literary Sturm und Drang.³⁴

Other ideas on literary influences also exist. Geiringer, for instance, believes that the impulse to a "romantic crisis" in Haydn's works came from such things as the "back-to-nature" sincerity of Rousseau and German literature, which was eagerly accepted by musicians.³⁵ Wyzewa also mentions the writings of Rousseau as affecting the German "state of mind" at the time of the Sturm und Drang.³⁶ Neither writer mentions particular works of Rousseau.

Rudolf doubts the validity of the idea that Haydn's compositions of around 1770 were written in a general atmosphere created by Rousseau's ideas. Rudolf feels that it is unlikely that Rousseau's works published in French in 1761 and 1762 could have reached Haydn in 1768.³⁷ Presumably, Rudolf is referring to La Nouvelle Heloise,³⁸

³² Geiringer, Haydn: A Creative Life in Music, 3rd ed., p. 252-253.

³³ Wyzewa, "A propos du centenaire de la mort de Joseph Haydn," p. 944-955.

³⁴ See "The Time of the Sturm und Drang" on page 11 above.

³⁵ Geiringer, Haydn: A Creative Life in Music, 3rd ed., p. 252.

³⁶ Wyzewa, "A propos du centenaire de la mort de Joseph Haydn," p. 944.

³⁷ Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part III," p. 13-14.

³⁸ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, La Nouvelle Heloise (Paris: Garnier freres, 188?).

Emile,³⁹ and Le Contrat Social,⁴⁰ which he mentioned earlier.⁴¹

Support for this viewpoint comes from Hughes, who states that Haydn, besides being very busy, was "the most unliterary of men."⁴² Such a person would probably not be familiar with the latest trends in literature.

Suggestions have also been made concerning non-literary influences. Wyzewa, who first discussed the subject, states that "a Viennese tradition, right from the first years of the last century" holds that Haydn's Symphony No. 49 was inspired by "his grief after the death of a loved one." Wyzewa, expanding on the "Viennese tradition," states that Haydn's Symphony No. 49, Sonata No. 36 in C Minor (H. XVI:20), and Symphony No. 44 were all inspired by the death of "an infinitely dear person -- a young woman" whom Haydn knew "as we were later going to know Luigia Pozelli": most likely a woman with whom Haydn was having an affair.⁴³

Wyzewa presents absolutely no evidence to support this claim. Indeed, he even states that the world will probably never know the identity of Haydn's "immortal beloved." Since he had no evidence to support his theory, it would perhaps have been more scholarly to seek

³⁹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Emile, trans. Allan Bloom (New York: Basic Books, 1979).

⁴⁰ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, The Social Contract, trans. Maurice Cranston, The Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968).

⁴¹ Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part I," p. 5.

⁴² Rosemary Hughes, Haydn, p. 46.

⁴³ Wyzewa, "A propos du centenaire de la mort de Joseph Haydn," p. 943-944.

a musical explanation for a musical phenomenon. Rudolf brings up this point and states that Wyzewa's theory about a "romantic crisis" in Haydn's life shows a rather naive approach to psychology no longer acceptable in modern scholarship.⁴⁴ He states that explaining an artistic creation purely in terms of its surrounding biographical data is no longer valid.

A further possible romantic influence on Haydn is mentioned by Harman. This is Haydn's affair with Luigia Pozelli.⁴⁵ It is doubtful whether this affair could have affected Haydn's Sturm und Drang works, however, since Pozelli did not come to Esterhaza until 1779.

In summary, modern authorities such as Cannon, Landon, Pauly, and Rudolf agree that C. P. E. Bach was a major influence on the musical Sturm und Drang in general. Furthermore, Brown, Harman and Todd agree that Bach's influence may be seen in Haydn's Sturm und Drang compositions in particular, although they reach this conclusion differently. Brown suggests that Haydn may have been influenced by Bach's Versuch, Harman emphasizes Haydn's study of Bach's works, and Todd discusses the reaction of both composers against earlier compositional practices.

Other theories concerning what motivated Haydn to write in the Sturm und Drang style include Wyzewa's theory on personal grief, Harman's idea about romantic involvement, and Wyzewa and Geiringer's often-quoted generalities about Rousseau's influence. All of these

⁴⁴Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part III," p. 13.

⁴⁵Harman, Man and His Music, p. 599.

theories are debatable, particularly those on grief and romantic involvement.

The third possibility, that of Rousseau's influence, is especially interesting since this is one area in which there is a direct parallel with the literary Sturm und Drang. Unfortunately, this writer could find no evidence that Haydn read Rousseau's works. Thus such a theory of direct influence is unproven. Remaining is the question of a generalized influence. Pertinent to this is Rudolf's discussion of whether the ideas of Rousseau's and other writers who influenced the literary Sturm und Drang were part of the Zeitgeist in which Haydn lived before the advent of the literary Sturm und Drang. Rudolf's opinion is that "every evidence speaks against such an assumption," and he cites the fact that Austria was not involved in the literary Sturm und Drang as an example of such evidence.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Max Rudolf, "Storm and Stress in Music, Part II," Bach 3, no. 3 (July, 1972): 5.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The term Sturm und Drang, as discussed in Chapter II, was first used as the title of a play written by Klinger in 1776. It subsequently became a general term used, in various forms, to describe a particular writing style, writers who used this style, and the time period in which this style was used. Thus the term Sturm und Drang was known and used by those living in the literary Sturm und Drang period. This was not the case in regard to music. The term Sturm und Drang was not used by Haydn or his musical contemporaries; it was not used in reference to music until 1909. Thus it was not until the twentieth century that the term Sturm und Drang was borrowed from the literary world and applied to music.

The application to music of a term used to describe a literary movement would seem to imply a connection between the two phenomena. In the case of the musical and literary Sturm und Drang, many such connections have been suggested or assumed over the years. Do these connections actually exist?

One possible connection between the literary and musical Sturm und Drang would be the possession of similar characteristics. As seen in Chapter IV, both the literary and musical Sturm und Drang styles have several definable characteristics. While parallels can be drawn between five of these characteristics, only one characteristic is shared, i.e. the characteristic of a passionate mood. This one shared characteristic is thus a connection between the literary and

musical Sturm und Drang.

A second possible connection between the literary and musical Sturm und Drang is that they occurred at the same time. From the information presented in Chapter III, however, it is clearly seen that the so-called musical Sturm und Drang slightly preceeded its literary namesake.

A third possible connection between the literary and musical Sturm und Drang is in the area of influence. It has been suggested, for example, that the literary Sturm und Drang inspired the musical Sturm und Drang. This possibility is eliminated by the fact that the musical phenomenon occurred first. Another suggestion is that both the literary and musical Sturm und Drang were influenced by a common third factor. As seen in Chapter VI, authorities on the subject discuss many factors which influenced both phenomena. The only thing this writer could find mentioned as having influenced both styles is the writings of Rousseau. No proof could be found, however, that any of the Sturm und Drang composers read any of Rousseau's works.

Thus the theory of the writings of Rousseau influencing the musical Sturm und Drang remains unproven. A final possibility in the area of influence is that both the literary and musical Sturm und Drang styles share a common inspiration in the general Zeitgeist. This is disputed, however, by writers such as Larsen, Kolk and Todd who suggest purely musical explanations for the musical Sturm und Drang.

Thus it may be seen that not as many connections exist between the literary and musical Sturm und Drang as is sometimes assumed.

Indeed, the only undisputed connection that this writer could find is that the products of both possess a passionate mood. As stated above, mood may be the most important characteristic of all artistic creations, but one shared characteristic may not be justification for transferring a name from one artistic medium to another.

The term Sturm und Drang may also be used as a descriptive term not implying any connection with the literary movement of that name. Using the term in this sense, it would seem accurate to speak of a Sturm und Drang musical style. Reasons for this include: 1) the existence of a "stormy" musical style created by a group of generally accepted characteristics, as shown in Chapter IV; and, 2) the general agreement that a number of composers did write in this style, as shown in Chapter V.

The validity of applying the term "Sturm und Drang movement" to music is questionable, however, even using the definition of Sturm und Drang given above. It has been established that the literary Stürmer und Dränger had common inspirations and goals (See Chapters V and VI). They communicated with each other and saw themselves as participants in a movement. No evidence could be found of a similar situation in the musical world, and all discussions of the musical Sturm und Drang are dominated by one composer: Haydn. Thus the application of the term "Sturm und Drang movement" to music seems inappropriate.

One further term applied to music is "Sturm und Drang period." The existence of a Sturm und Drang period in German literature is generally accepted. Such is not the case in regard to music. Even

using the merely descriptive definition of Sturm und Drang, this writer could find no evidence presented of a Sturm und Drang period in music. Indeed, as seen in Chapter II, this term may even be too restrictive for Haydn since during the time in question the majority of his compositions were not in the Sturm und Drang style.

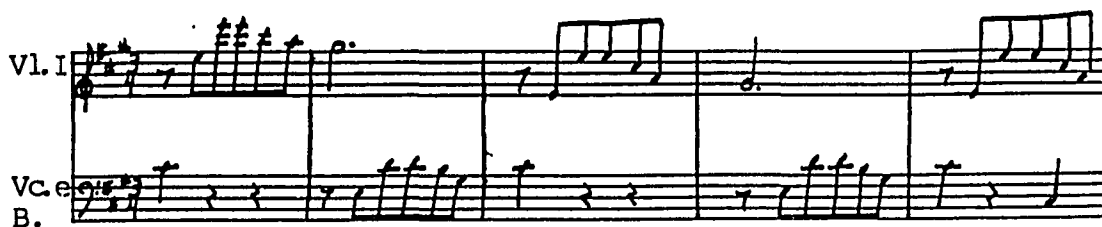
In summary, the application of the term Sturm und Drang to music is questionable. If the term is used, as it often is, to imply a close connection with the literary Sturm und Drang, it is inaccurate. This is because the connection between the two styles consists only of one shared characteristic. If, instead, Sturm und Drang is used only as a descriptive term, it may accurately be used in the phrase "Sturm und Drang style." The phrases "Sturm und Drang period" or "Sturm und Drang movement," however, cannot correctly be applied to music.

APPENDIX

ANALYSIS OF HAYDN SYMPHONY NO. 45

Counterpoint

Symphony No. 45 has none of the strict contrapuntal forms found in some other Sturm und Drang compositions. Instead, this symphony is characterized by what Wyzewa calls reponses de contrepont (counterpoint answers) -- short melodic fragments that are heard successively in different instruments. While Wyzewa failed to cite examples, many can be found in Symphony No. 45. Following are four examples of this type of imitation.



Example 1. Allegro assai, mm. 29-33.

A similar example may be found in measures 123-128.



Example 2. Adagio, mm. 83-87.

Vl. I

Vla.

Vc. B.
e Fg.

Example 3. Finale, mm. 25-30.

A similar example may be found in measures 121-126.

Ob.

Cor. II

Example 4. Finale, mm. 175-178.

A similar example may be found in measures 202-204.

Dynamics

The Sturm und Drang characteristic of contrasting dynamics is demonstrated clearly in Symphony No. 45. Many examples of this use of dynamics exist in the first movement, including: 1) the piano echo of the principal theme in measure 17, followed by an immediate return to forte in measure 21; 2) the dynamic changes within the subordinate and closing themes, measures 56-69 and again in measures 145-157; 3) the sudden forte beginning of the development; and, 4) the abrupt change to piano in measure 108, followed by a pianissimo echo in measure 116.

The whole Adagio is marked either piano or pianissimo, with the violins muted. Thus this movement presents a dynamic contrast to the mainly loud first movement.

The Menuetto exemplifies the idea of dynamic contrast, with its constant alternation between forte and piano. This is also seen to a lesser degree in the Trio.

The principal theme of the Finale is characterized by contrasting dynamics, while the rest of the movement is generally forte. The Coda, in contrast, is mainly piano.

Another Sturm und Drang characteristic, the use of accentuation, can also be heard in Symphony No. 45. Examples include the use of sforzandi in the first movement, measures 44-55, and throughout the recapitulation, beginning in measure 146. The effect of an accent is achieved in the Coda by the use of forte downbeats within a piano passage. This occurs in measures 157-158 and 198-199.

Form

The most unusual formal element of Symphony No. 45 is the lengthy coda attached to the Finale. This unpredictable variation on sonata form is a Sturm und Drang characteristic.

Another Sturm und Drang characteristic demonstrated in this symphony is unusual treatment of the second theme. In the first movement, a contrasting second theme is heard only once and that is in the development (measure 108).

Harmony

Sturm und Drang harmonic characteristics such as the greater use of chromaticism and dissonance are clearly demonstrated in Symphony No. 45. In the first movement, for example, chromatic bass movement can be seen in the bridge passage in measures 44-49. Chromatic embellishment of the tonic is used in the subordinate theme, measures 56-59, 102-105, and 145-148.

The use of dissonance is seen in the G natural suspensions in the key of E major, measures 62-64 of the Adagio. Chromatic bass movement is seen again in measures 101-107 and particularly in the chain of diminished chords in measures 165-177.

In the Menuetto, a very noticeable example of the use of dissonance is heard in measure 3. Here Haydn uses a D natural, rather than a D sharp, in the bass. Less chromaticism is used in the Finale than in the first movement but it is used in the interesting passing section in measures 61-64.

Humor and Surprise

There are many examples of humorous or surprising effects in Symphony No. 45. As Pauly suggests, many are the result of unexpected harmonic movement. Examples of humorous or surprising effects in Symphony no. 45 include: 1) the appearance of a new theme in D major in the development section of the first movement (measure 108); 2) the unexpected change to E natural in measure 74 of the Adagio; 3) the D natural in the bass in measure 3 of the Menuetto; 4) the thinning of the texture down to one voice in measures 11-12 and 139-140 of the Menuet; 5) the sudden appearance of A sharp in measure 170 of the Menuetto; and, 6) the existence of the long Coda to the Finale with its unusual stage directions, which instruct the players to leave the stage after reaching the end of their particular instrumental part.

Mood

Symphony No. 45 certainly demonstrates the Sturm und Drang quality of a generally dramatic mood. The Allegro assai and the Finale are both passionate, exciting pieces of music. As the Adagio depicts a more gentle, romantic mood, this symphony also demonstrates the Sturm und Drang characteristic of a wide range of emotional contrast within a work.

Rhythm

The Allegro assai is characterized by driving rhythms and

syncopated rhythms, both part of the Sturm und Drang style. A combination of these two types of rhythms serves as an accompaniment to the principal theme in the first movement, as seen in Example 5.

Example 5. Allegro assai, mm. 1-5.

Driving rhythms in the form of pulsating eighth-notes are also heard throughout this movement.

The type of syncopated rhythm used in a melodic line can be heard briefly in the principal theme of the Adagio, as seen in Example 6.

Example 6. Adagio, mm. 4-6.

Syncopated rhythms are also used repeatedly in the melodic line of the Menuet. The most lengthy example occurs in the second half, as shown Example 7.



Example 7. Menuet, mm. 15-23.

The Finale, marked Presto in triple meter, is characterized by propulsive rhythms, including occasional outbursts of running eighth-notes. These eighth-note passages often correspond to the "counterpoint answer" sections discussed earlier. Other examples include the following: 1) measures 36-42; 2) measures 45-51; and, 3) measures 138-148.

Thematic Material

The Sturm und Drang characteristic of wide leaps within thematic material is demonstrated in the principal theme of the first movement of Symphony No. 45. The leaps occur between the phrases, as shown by the brackets in Example 8.



Example 8. Allegro assai, mm. 1-11.

Another Sturm und Drang characteristic heard in the thematic material of this symphony is the use of Gregorian chant. As mentioned previously, the Trio is based on the chant "Incipit lamentatio" from the Lamentations of Jeremiah.

Tonality

The two main tonal characteristics of Sturm und Drang music, the use of unusual keys and the use of the minor mode, are both found in Symphony No. 45. It is not only in a minor key, but in a most unusual one, F sharp minor. According to Landon, this is the only 18th-century symphony in F sharp minor. Haydn also uses another unusual key, F sharp major (the parallel major) in both the Menuetto and the last part of the final Coda.

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