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The *marche funèbre* from Beethoven to Mahler

Burke, Richard N., Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1991

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A

THE MARCHE FUNÈBRE FROM BEETHOVEN TO MAHLER

by

RICHARD N. BURKE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York.

1991

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Abstract

THE MARCHE FUNÈBRE FROM BEETHOVEN TO MAHLER

by

Richard N. Burke

Adviser: Professor Stephen Blum

Most of the funeral marches of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were functional: they were composed either for specific occasions or as representations of such occasions on the stage. Two of these in particular, the march from Sarti's Giulio Sabino and Gossec's Marche lugubre, stand out because of their reported influence on the *marcia funebre* of Beethoven's "Eroica." Sarti's influence is often overlooked in favor of Gossec's, but neither march is as important to Beethoven's work as his own earlier funeral marches from the Sonata Op. 26 and the Variations Op. 34, or as eighteenth-century heroic music.

Beethoven's funeral marches demonstrate the change in the function of genre that took place in the nineteenth century. Many funeral marches by Schubert, Weber, Dussek, Chopin, Mendelssohn, and their contemporaries are essentially character pieces which negated the original function of the genre. Operatic marches of the same period also affected the genre's function and form, and altered the heroic

context in which it traditionally thrived.

Almost every major composer of the century contributed to the literature of the *marche funèbre*, especially Liszt, whose frequent and varied use extended its meaning while restoring its heroic context, and Mahler, for whom it was a cornerstone of symphonic structure. Attempting to show that there is a funeral-march tradition distinct from that of the march, the dissertation traces the use and development of the funeral march in nineteenth-century music, the paradox of the genre's programmatic connotation and inclusion in absolute genres, and the richness of meaning which it acquired through the century. Two aspects of the history of the funeral march are of particular interest to this study: its formal evolution from simple military origins through the appearance of the march-with-trio and its later incorporation into larger forms; and the way in which the genre was affected by changes in nineteenth-century aesthetics and by the shifting view of the heroic as a quality of the singular individual, the nation, and the artist.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I first decided that the funeral march would be the topic of this dissertation, I was surprised to hear the reactions of those to whom I confessed these intentions. While many thought it was an excellent and potentially useful study, others cautioned that it was a depressing subject, dooming me to years of study in the darkest, grim-mest recesses of musical mediocrity. But the task has proven illuminating and rewarding for a number of reasons: first, because I have found that many of the pieces of this genre are uplifting rather than depressing--they are often direct and surprisingly positive confrontations of sorrowful events in the lives of all of us; second, because I have dealt with a repertory which includes more than a few great pieces of music, some well known, some undeservedly neglected; and finally, because I have had the opportunity to take advantage of the advice and assistance of a number of exceptional scholars. I would like to thank some of them at this time.

The idea of writing this study was inspired by Stephen Blum's invaluable lectures on the subject of genre. I was fortunate that he agreed to be the adviser for this dissertation. His guidance, insight, enthusiasm, and friendship were as much a factor in the successful comple-

tion of this work as the remarkable depth and scope of his musical knowledge. His contribution in the writing of this work is visible in all the good parts. I am also indebted to two others who directly contributed to this project: Barbara Hanning, for so tirelessly giving of her time, talent, and formidable scholarship, the result of which is apparent throughout this work; and to Leo Treitler, not only for his own work, which remains a model of vision and clarity for one writing about music, but also for bringing those same qualities to bear in his criticism of and his suggestions for this work. My thanks also go to Rufus Hallmark and Barry S. Brook for their thoughtful and helpful suggestions, and to L. Michael Griffel, for so generously donating his considerable knowledge, his valuable time, and his continued encouragement in this and other projects.

I would also like to acknowledge the contributions of three very special people who are mostly unaware of the many ways they made the completion of this work possible long before the first words were written: Josh Howard, Susan Kagan and Julie Kurnitz; and Bill Reynolds, who I wish could hear my gratitude as clearly as I hear his support. And finally, thanks go to to my family, particularly to Aileen Burke, my sister, for her assistance in the final preparation of this manuscript, and to my parents, to whom I lovingly dedicate this and all my work.

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Chapter I

GENRE, FUNCTION, AND THE FUNERAL MARCH

During the 1830s and 1840s, when Mendelssohn's Lieder ohne Worte first began to appear in print, some of the pieces were given titles by their publishers. That Mendelssohn was not pleased by these titles is clear from a letter he wrote in 1842 to Marc-André Souchay, who had asked him what some of the pieces meant:

If you ask me what my idea is, I say--just the song as it stands; and if I have in mind a definite term or terms with regard to one or more of these songs, I will disclose them to no one, because the words of one person assume a totally different meaning in the mind of another person, because the music of the song alone can awaken the same ideas and the same feelings in one mind as in another,--a feeling which is not, however, expressed by the same words. Resignation, the praise of God, a hunting-song,--one person does not form the same conception from these that another does.¹

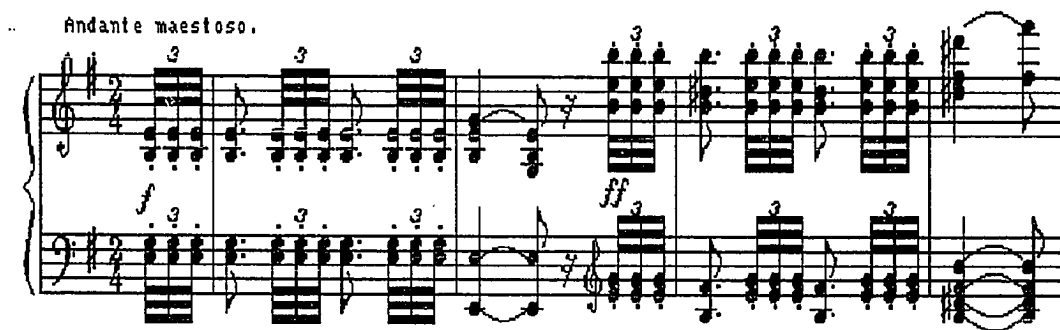
The titles which Mendelssohn himself gave to five of the Songs Without Words ("Duetto," "Volkslied," and three "Venetianische Gondellieder") do not give away the "idea" of the songs, but do specify what kinds of songs they are. In effect, the titles of the pieces are actually "Duetto ohne

1. Felix Mendelssohn, The Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy from 1833 to 1847, trans. Lady Wallace (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1863), 299.

Worte," "Volkslied ohne Worte," etc. The titles given by the publishers, however ("Spring Song," "Consolation," etc.), are more specific in that they do relate something of the "idea" of the song.²

The title "Song Without Words" was a distinct challenge to the audience of the 1830s and 1840s, an audience which tended to search for the "idea" of a piece of music even when uninvited. Mendelssohn, then, should not have been surprised to find these works named. One of the pieces, Op. 62, No.3, in E minor, was called Trauermarsch. It is easy to see why this piece was heard as a funeral march: the signs are clear from the opening measures (Ex.1.1):³

Example 1.1. Mendelssohn, "Lied ohne Worte," Op. 62, No. 3, opening measures.



-
2. See R. Larry Todd, "Piano Music Reformed: Mendelssohn," in Nineteenth-Century Piano Music, ed. R. Larry Todd (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), 194.
 3. Mendelssohn, Sämtliche Klavierwerke, 5 vols., ed. Theodore Kullak (Leipzig: C.F. Peters, n.d.), I/91-2.

A number of features found in these measures immediately stand out: the triplet figures made up of repeated notes, the minor key, the dotted rhythms, the static harmonic rhythm, and the great similarity of the two gestures to a trumpet call and its answer. We, like Mendelssohn's publishers and like his friends, who had Ignaz Moscheles's arrangement of the piece played at Mendelssohn's funeral, perceive these features as indicators of genre.

A genre may be recognized through certain conventional characteristics which come to be associated with it, or, as Carl Dahlhaus expressed it, through a specific tradition:

A musical genre, as opposed to a biological genus, is not a Naturform, through which the individual form necessarily bears the stamp of its original source, but rather a tradition to which it conforms with greater or lesser clarity and from which it may free itself.⁴

Dahlhaus's statement points out the truly unscientific vagueness of the word "genre" in musical usage. First, unlike "genus," a genre is not surrounded by a Linnaean classification system that specifically defines genre by situating that classification on a particular level of a logical hierarchy. If it were, it might prove useless. For

-
4. Carl Dahlhaus, "Zur Problematik der musikalischen Gattungen im 19. Jahrhundert," in Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen, Vol. 1, ed. Wulf Arlt (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1973), 840. "Eine musikalische Gattung ist, im Unterschied zu einer biologischen, keine 'Naturform,' durch die das einzelne Gebilde vom Ursprung her unentrinnbar geprägt ist, sondern eine Tradition, mit der es deutlicher oder schwächer zusammenhängt und von der es sich zu emanzipieren vermag."

example, if the genre "waltz" were to be placed under the order *musica instrumentalis* within the family *musica saltationis* ("dance music"), where would one place Musetta's waltz? Music would require that the possibility of hybridization be allowed throughout the entire classification system.

Secondly, in the scientific use of genus, members are grouped according to precisely duplicated aspects of internal structures, a condition which does not exist in music. Those analytical systems which attempt to prove otherwise often become so specific that they prove that every piece of music is *sui generis*, or so general that they prove every piece of music is music. Within the scientific classification system, however, distinctions are based on specific features. For example, the entire animal kingdom is easily divided into multicellular and unicellular subdivisions. The classification of a piece of music, however, might be made according to its function, or its form, or mood, or even its title--the latter often stemming from the composer's own perception of tradition.

Individual perception is an important feature of tradition. A tradition is usually handed down by word of mouth or by example within a particular social group. Like a message in the children's game Telephone, details are altered, information is dropped or added, and the emphasis is repositioned, but something of the original remains. Tradi-

tion, unlike the game, has no clear starting or ending point, and its participants are not placed in a specific order. But like the game, the relaying of the information is affected by the participants' perception of it and is, therefore, highly subjective.

Subjectivity in the relaying of tradition is present in the manner in which the tradition is relayed (that is, learned or perceived by the recipient) and in the way that the recipient repeats the tradition. How a symphony relates to the symphonic tradition largely depends on how the composer perceived that tradition. Some of the traditional features of the symphony which were retained by Beethoven are those which Beethoven perceived as essential to the symphony. He did not consider the minuet essential, for example, but he did see the necessity of a movement in triple time. Some composers after Beethoven who considered only the Beethoven tradition, whether by chance or choice, wrote scherzos; those who viewed the Haydn and Beethoven symphony as a single, continuous tradition saw that the salient feature of the minuet-scherzo choice was the importance of a diverting movement at that point in the symphony. This process of perception of the past and varied repetition of it is what creates musical tradition. Thus, the symphony tradition contains pieces as diverse as the Beethoven "Eroica," the Webern Op. 21, and the Harris Third Symphony. The Webern and the Harris seem completely unrelated to each

other and yet each relates to the Beethoven: the Webern in its motivic development and its use of form, and the Harris in its drama, balance, and rhythmic propulsion.

Ultimately, we may realize that rather than a large system awaiting subdivision, western music is nothing more than a species, like *Felis domestica*, of a larger system and the individual members of that species housecats with names assigned for various personal reasons by their owners. Thus, if eight cats are named "Nocturne" because they are black, and one is named "Nocturne" because it was born at night, any attempts at classification of such a group may be thwarted by the vagaries of individual perception.

Perhaps then a musical genre is somewhat similar to a biological genus, at least in the sense that the composer intuitively performs a task akin to natural selection. Certain generic characteristics are maintained, others are ignored, some are altered. Because certain characteristics of some genres are maintained so consistently over a period of time, it is tempting to give them a defining status in the classification of the genre. Herein lies a perplexing problem in genre theory, expressed by Jeffrey Kallberg:

The literature abounds with efforts to define particular genres according to the music itself. Usually, such studies purport to answer questions like "what is a sonata?" or "what is a motet?" by providing either a history of the use of the term, or a description of the apparent contents of the class. That is, they seek to define the genre according to those characteristics shared by all its members, mistakenly assuming that shared characteristics inevitably form part of any defini-

tion.⁵

Indeed, the early years of the twentieth century saw numerous studies of the "Geschichte des . . ." variety by Schering, Leichtentritt, Botstiber, and others, which, although they do discuss shared characteristics, were important foundations for later work. Without these studies such revelations about genre as those expressed in current criticisms of genre theory might never have been reached. Many genre studies (the work of the three authors mentioned above in particular) do not pretend to be more than a beginning of a discussion of genre. However valid the criticism of such studies may be, the study of genre has barely moved beyond an infantile state and until recently appeared to have vanished with the bath water. Kallberg points out that "in English, formal accounts of the concept [of genre] are scarce."⁶ Perhaps this is so. Indeed, outside of the field of ethnomusicology, with few exceptions (Kallberg himself, and Leo Treitler come to mind),⁷ the important recent work in genre theory has been that of German musicologists, for example, Leo Schrade, Walter Wiora, Hans Engel, and, most notably, Carl Dahlhaus.

5. Jeffrey Kallberg, "The Rhetoric of Genre: Chopin's Nocturne in G Minor," 19th-Century Music XI/3 (Spring 1988), 243.

6. Ibid., 258n.

7. The New Grove, for example, does not even have "genre" as an entry.

Dahlhaus's view of the history of genres was summarized in his Grundlagen der Musikgeschichte, written in 1977:

. . . musical genres had come into being, to put it in formulaic terms, as a congruence between a social function and a compositional norm, i.e. between an extramusical end to be served and the musical means available for and appropriate to its fulfillment. . . . It was this nexus of "external" social function and "internal" musical technique which tradition handed down to later composers as the essence of their craft.⁸

In his ongoing discussion of genre as a product of function and technique, a theory of the changing functions of genre develops which supports his view that musical genres are "im Gegensatz zu Naturformen, durch und durch geschichtlich."⁹

Until the nineteenth century, classifications of musical genre were usually tripartite, a division which reflected the significant influence of Aristotle's Poetics. Boethius, for example, divided the contents of the subject of music into *mundana*, *humana*, and *instrumentalis*. Later, Johannes de Grocheo, while acknowledging that there were many different kinds of music, retained the three-part division of music but took a more practical approach to its categories. Grocheo saw his divisions--*musica vulgaris*,

8. Carl Dahlhaus, The Foundations of Music History, trans. J.B. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 149. Dahlhaus's view of genre is based to a large extent on the work of Leo Schrade. See Wulf Arlt, "Aspekte des Gattungsbegriffs in der Musikgeschichtsschreibung," Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen, 11-94.

9. Carl Dahlhaus, "Was ist eine musikalische Gattung?" Neue Zeitschrift für Musik CXXXV (1974), 623.

mensurabilis, and *ecclesiastica*--as a revision of earlier classifications because his were based on contemporary Parisian musical usage.¹⁰ Grocheo also took into account compositional differences by identifying a number of different genres within each division and carefully distinguishing vocal from instrumental compositions.

Theoretical treatises through Zarlino's Le institutioni harmoniche repeatedly began discussions of musical types with the three genera of Greek musical theory--the diatonic, harmonic, and enharmonic. But the various classifications of music by Renaissance and Baroque theorists also considered the many different levels on which musical typologies could be made. For example, the Florentine *stile rappresentativo*, Monteverdi's *seconda prattica*, and Kircher's *stylus expressus*, which respectively classified music from the point of view of compositional technique, function, and content, represent different, contemporaneous classifications of early seventeenth-century music.¹¹ Distinctions of function, technique, content, and performing medium were

10. Grocheo writes: "Dicamus igitur, quod musica, qua utuntur homines Parisiis, potest, ut videtur, ad tria membra generalia reduci." ("We therefore say that music, as it is used by Parisians, can, it seems, be reduced to three general categories.") Ernst Rohloff, Der Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheo (Leipzig, 1943), 124.

11. These classifications are discussed in considerably greater detail in the articles "Genos" and "Stil" in Riemann Musik Lexicon: Sachteil, 12th ed., ed. H.H. Eggebrecht (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1967), 324-5, and 900-2.

to be the fundamental criteria of generic categorizations through the eighteenth century.

In his treatise Der vollkommene Capellmeister (Hamburg, 1739), Johann Mattheson distinguished musical types according to function. He differentiated music for the church, the chamber, and the theater, and further subdivided these divisions into "at least some thirty categories of melodies which are contained within these" styles of writing."¹²

Dahlhaus writes that "what is new in Mattheson's theory, however, is the attempt to characterize genres through the affects which are expressed in them."¹³ In this way, Mattheson judges, or, as Dahlhaus would say, justifies instrumental music in the same terms as vocal music.

Little more than half a century later, the tripartite division of music seems to disappear from German aesthetic writings. The new division, although never acknowledged as such, is a two-part distinction--vocal music and instrumental music--made over and over again in the music criticism of the first half of the nineteenth century. It is not so much that musical function is now disregarded as a criterion for a musical typology, although the very relevance of

12.. Johann Mattheson, Der vollkommene Capellmeister, trans. Ernest C. Harriss (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1981), 430.

13. Dahlhaus, "Zur Problematik der musikalischen Gattungen im 19. Jahrhundert," 870. "Das Neue in Matthesons Theorie aber ist der Versuch, Gattungen durch die Affekte zu charakterisieren, die sich in ihnen ausprägen."

function often seems to be questioned, as that a lack of function in the sense of utility is seen as an asset to music. Ludwig Tieck, for example, writes: "In instrumental music . . . art is independent and free; it writes its own rules; it indulges in fantasy effortlessly and without purpose, and yet it reaches and attains the highest; it totally gives in to its dark urges, and expresses the most profound, the most wonderful, with its meanderings."¹⁴ Music was to be subjected to a new tripartite division later in the century when instrumental music itself was subdivided into programmatic and absolute categories. But instrumental music at the turn of the nineteenth century no longer required justification by means of its connection with vocal music. It had become autonomous.

Dahlhaus writes: "The principle of autonomy, the emancipation of music from extramusical requirements and functions, meant that, rather than the genre, it was the single work that emerged as an individual, unrepeatable creation. . . . The work is, to put it briefly, not the means for the realization and continuation of the genre; it

14. Ludwig Tieck, "Beiträge zu Wackenroder: Phantasien über die Kunst," in Musik-Ästhetik in ihren Haupt-richtungen, comp. and ed. Felix Gatz (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1929), 352. "In der Instrumentalmusik . . . is die Kunst unabhängig und frei, sie schreibt sich nur selbst ihre Gesetze vor, sie phantasiert spielend und ohne Zweck, und doch erfüllt und erreicht sie den höchsten, sie folgt ganz ihren dunkeln Trieben, und drückt das Tiefste, das Wunderbarste mit ihren Tändeleien aus."

is rather the genre that is the means for the formation of the work."¹⁵ Dahlhaus's theory of the relationship between function and genre, and, in particular, his argument that genre was divorced from function in the nineteenth century has proven troublesome to some critics.¹⁶ Dahlhaus's use of the word "function" is clarified and explained, however, by a brief passage towards the end of his Foundations. Here, the author suggests that Umberto Eco's discussion of function in architecture might be useful to an understanding of the function of genre.¹⁷

Eco made a distinction between primary and secondary functions of works of art:

. . . the title "function" should be extended to all the uses of objects of use (in our perspective, to the various communicative, as well as to the denoted, functions), for with respect to life in society the "symbolic" capacities of these

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15. Dahlhaus, "Zur Problematik der musikalischen Gattungen im 19. Jahrhundert," 882. "Das Autonomieprinzip, die Emanzipation der Musik von aussermusikalischen Voraussetzungen und Zwecken, bedeutete, dass statt der Gattung das einzelne Werk als individuelles, unwiederholbares Gebilde hervortrat. . . . Das Werk ist, pointiert ausgedrückt, nicht Mittel für die Verwirklichung und das Überleben der Gattung, sondern die Gattung ist Mittel für die Ausformung des Werkes."
 16. See, for example, Kallberg, op. cit.
 17. Dahlhaus bases his suggestion on Eco's discussion in Einführung in die Semiotik, 312 (the English version is A Theory of Semiotics). A much more detailed look at function may be found in Eco's "Function and Sign: Semiotics of Architecture," Structures Implicit and Explicit, ed. James Bryan and Rolf Sauer, in VIA, Publications of the Graduate School of Fine Arts, Vol.2 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1973), 131-152.

objects are no less useful than their "functional" capacities. . . . Since it would be awkward from here on to speak of "functions" on the one hand, when referring to *utilitas*, and of "symbolic" connotations on the other, as if the latter did not likewise represent real functions, we will speak of a "primary" function (which is denoted) and of a complex of "secondary" functions (which are connotative).¹⁸

Eco is quick to point out that no "axiological discrimination" is intended by the use of the words "primary" and "secondary." In fact, the secondary function often is, or sometimes becomes, more important than the first. A throne, to use Eco's example, primarily functions as a seat. It is, however, secondarily symbolic of the power of a monarch. As various changes (ornamentation, increase in size, use of costly but impractical materials, etc.) conspire to make the seat less comfortable and, therefore, less useful, the primary function is eroded and the throne becomes for the most part symbolic. Dahlhaus posits a similar, musical example: ". . . a march forfeits some of its utility value when performed at a park concert, but the military and patriotic connotations associated with the music remain unaffected by the change or loss of [primary] function."¹⁹

Neither the throne nor the march in the above examples actually loses its primary function. The throne is a metonym for the monarch--the usage of the word "throne" in everyday language attests to this, as in the expression "the

18. Eco, "Function and Sign," 136.

19. Dahlhaus, Foundations, 163.

power behind the throne." Similarly, the march may bring the parade with it--Horowitz's war-time performances of "The Stars and Stripes Forever" certainly assured the audience that the boys were marching to victory. In both instances, something of the original context in which the object first functioned has been retained: the throne within the monarchy, the march within an environment of patriotic fervor. What happens, however, when the context is truly changed, when after the revolution the throne stands in a museum, or when the march appears as a movement of a symphony, or as one of twelve or perhaps thirty variations on a borrowed theme? The question is essential to this dissertation: what happens to a genre originally conceived in terms of social function when it no longer fulfills that function?

Genre

The word "genre" is often used as a synonym for "type."²⁰ Other usages of the word are more restrictive, however, implying that a musical genre is clearly more than just a musical category. Leo Treitler, for example, speaks of the "communication value of genre," a phrase which strongly asserts that there are numerous levels on which

20. As in, for example: ". . . Wagner seemed to deny that instrumental music had a future in any case. The genre as a whole did seem to have reached a kind of closure." Leon Plantinga, Romantic Music (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984), 406.

genre functions.²¹ Tzvetan Todorov writes that "a genre, whether literary or not, is nothing other than the codification of discursive properties."²² There are a number of important points in this statement. Todorov's choice of the word "codification" implies both an arrangement and an encoding of certain information. The information which is revealed concerns the function, or functions (in Eco's use of the word), of the work; the revelation is made through the properties of the work. "Discursive properties" is a broad term which, while including those properties that have been called "shared characteristics," refers to any aspect of the work that communicates something to the audience. Using these terms, I offer a definition of genre which takes into account the functions of genre and their perception by the listener: a musical genre is a class of music which is made up of all those musical works which use codified musical properties to communicate a similar function or set of functions. The perception of the function leads to an interpretation of the work. The variables within this network, those aspects which may change from period to period, are both the musical properties and the interpretation, and therefore, in some cases, the meaning of the work.

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21. Leo Treitler, "History, Criticism and Beethoven's Ninth Symphony," Music and the Historical Imagination (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 26.
 22. Tzvetan Todorov, Genres in Discourse, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 18.

Genre, by this definition, is distinct from form, and although a particular form may at times be associated with a genre, it has little to do with the perception of the genre. The double binary form of the eighteenth-century minuet and trio, for example, is not essential to the perception of the work as a minuet. In addition, genre is not dependent on the performing medium, nor are works that have the same title necessarily members of a genre. Thus, the perception of Mendelssohn's Lied ohne Worte as a funeral march does not depend on the work's form--obviously, the work is perceived as a funeral march long before the form is apprehended, that is, within the first few measures of the work. Nor does it depend on the title, which, if Mendelssohn's intentions were respected, would in no way suggest that the work is a march. The perception is dependent on associations which are immediately called to mind by certain musical properties of the work. These associations are in turn dependent on the function of the work. This, however, does not mean that every listener recognizes the work as a funeral march. There is a more direct communication from the musical properties to the associations that bypasses the actual identification of the genre. It is in this way, the bypassing of the identification of the work, that the musical properties may be seen as encoded. It is this process which Mendelssohn refers to when, renouncing words that specifically identify the content of the music, he writes: ". . . the

music alone can awaken the same ideas or feelings in one mind as in another." Mendelssohn's title, "Song Without Words," thus takes on an additional significance by referring both to the character of the piece and to the wordless indication of that character.

Genre and Function

When certain musical properties are consistently identified with a genre, the properties may become part of a definition of the genre. This is not to say, however, that a work must use precisely these properties to be recognized as a genre. There is, rather, an archetype or paradigm to which, as Dahlhaus writes, the work "conforms with greater or lesser clarity and from which it may free itself." In Time and Narrative, Paul Ricoeur writes:

. . . paradigms only constitute the grammar that governs the composition of new works--new before becoming typical. . . . Innovation remains a form of behavior governed by rules. The labor of imagination is not born from nothing. It is bound in one way or another to the tradition's paradigms. But the range of solutions is vast. It is deployed between the two poles of servile application and calculated deviation, passing through every degree of "rule-governed deformation."²³

Thus different works within the same tradition may share the same generic roots--one acknowledging the tradition by conforming to it, and the other acknowledging it by deviat-

23. Paul Ricoeur, Time and Narrative, 3 vols., trans. Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), I, 69.

ing from it. By the time Mendelssohn wrote the Lied ohne Worte, Op. 62, No. 3, the musical properties of the opening measures had become routinely associated with the funeral march. Although the music that follows the introductory measures, the first "verse" of the Lied, is not typical of the funeral march, it is interpreted as such because of the strength of the associations of the opening measures. This verse may be said to be encoded by these opening measures and is interpreted within the context of the funeral march. This is much the same way that the original functional context of the funeral march encoded the musical properties of the genre itself.

In the eighteenth century, genres were often closely tied to the social functions from which they arose. A composer could draw on specific musical techniques or devices which offered tried and true solutions to the requirements of the genre's function. In this way, a specific set of solutions frequently became characteristic of a particular genre. On its simplest level, the function of a funeral march is to keep a procession in uniform step. While the military group at a funeral actually marches with precision, people who are mourning, as well as those who are just paying respects, are, for obvious reasons, not expected actually to march. Certain compositional necessities arise from this. First of all, the tempo must be slow. But while the tempo of the march might be that of the ordinary, mili-

tary slow march, the characteristically sharp attack of military drums would be unsuitable to the solemnity of the occasion. Moreover, the beat of the drum should, while keeping a military group in step, also give the illusion that the mourners, whether in a carriage or simply walking along with the cortège, are also moving in time. This twofold function is fulfilled by the vague, unfocused sound of the muffled drum which, when played in the open air, gives a uniform slow beat with an initial punctuating attack for those marching in time followed by a long decay which covers the lack of uniformity in those not actually marching. This exemplifies Dahlhaus's nexus of function and compositional craft. But it also creates a characteristic sound which is associated with a funeral procession. Someone in an apartment with no view of the procession will easily identify the distant passing of the cortège by its sound.

The sound of the muffled drum is then one of the sounds of a funeral. It is one of a number of signs that together signify the funeral march and by metonymy a funeral and the emotions that are connected with it. When the march is removed from the funeral, a muffled bass drum may no longer serve its original function but it is still, within the proper context, a sign of the funeral.

Dahlhaus observed that a major break with the traditional function of genre took place at the beginning of the

nineteenth century. Genre was no longer dependent on social function. The funeral march in the "Eroica" Symphony, for example, would seem to be an indication of this break. Similarly, the famous funeral marches of the nineteenth century by Chopin, Liszt, Mahler, and others differ functionally from earlier marches. In these nineteenth-century funeral marches the conventions of the genre are used primarily for expressive purposes. As Edward T. Cone writes:

It might be argued that the expressive associations of the Funeral March from Chopin's Sonata in B-flat Minor depend on mere convention--on the fact that we recognize the combination of common meter, slow tempo, ponderous beat, and somber color, as adding up to a conventional symbol that reads: Funeral March. But, leaving aside the question of how such a symbol could have been established without the existence of compositions (such as Chopin's!) that are supposed to exemplify it, one can reply that the convention is not an arbitrary one. It arose in response to the demands of a specific kind of occasion for which music served a functional purpose, and hence the same conventions can be used artistically to evoke a similar occasion in the imagination.²⁴

The use of the same traditional conventions of the funeral march in spite of the shift in function is an indication of the powerful communication factor present in the musical properties of the genre.

The Funeral March as a Genre

The funeral march is generally classified as a subdivision of the march and therefore the study of the genre has

24. Edward T. Cone, The Composer's Voice (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), 174.

been, for the most part, relegated to brief sections within larger studies of the march. However, unlike a wedding march, for instance, which hardly differs from the ordinary march, the funeral march has traditionally been approached in a very special way by composers. Like the Requiem, which is not simply a kind of Mass, the funeral march is inseparable from the profound purpose which its original function served--the burial of the dead. But in sharp contrast to the Requiem, the funeral march is a secular work.

The funeral march falls into that gray area which Walter Wiora calls "zwischen absoluter und Programmusik."²⁵ By nature, the funeral march cannot be considered absolute music. There is something literally extramusical about it--something has happened before the music begins. The music may be a response to what has happened; it may be descriptive; it may be neutral, as in the setting of a funereal mood; or simply functional, as in keeping the cortège in step; but it cannot avoid the connection that exists between death and its first note. This is made clear in the first few seconds of a funeral march. The genre is perceived within moments of the opening of the music. Consequently, there are no introductions in funeral marches as there are, for example, in the waltz, where the introduction may be a

25. Walter Wiora, "Zwischen absoluter und Programmusik," Festschrift Friedrich Blume, eds. Anna Amalie Abert and Wilhelm Pfannkuch (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 381-388.

simple call to the dance, as in Chopin, or a long dilatory passage as in some of Johann Strauss's waltzes.

The funeral march is not purely programmatic either. Once the funeral march begins, unlike programmatic music, there is a sense of stasis. This is a paradox. There is a feeling of lack of motion, of not going anywhere, and yet during a march there is obviously motion from one place to another. But the landscape is not viewed--the music is intended to prevent this. Instead, all attention is directed towards the person mourned; this attention is meditative rather than narrative. Even in those funeral marches where a contrasting trio is present, there is a sense of one kind of stasis ending and another beginning. The transitions and developments of narrative seem to be missing. Thus, whatever is programmatic about the funeral march is similar to that of a character piece. Both fall into the area between absolute and program music in which, as Wiora says, one finds oneself talking of degrees of "programmaticness" which are "nicht nur graduell, sondern auch qualitativ."²⁶

While the funeral marches of the eighteenth century may be considered in terms of social function and do not enter into the discussion of programmatic and absolute music, the funeral march from Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony is a very different kind of piece. Its function is clearly not deter-

26. Wiora, op. cit., 382.

mined by social utility; it has often been received as a programmatic work; its form is unique, and its musical language far more complex than that of earlier marches. It would seem then that this is the pivotal work in the shift between the functional funeral marches of the eighteenth century and the characteristic marches of the nineteenth.

The Purpose of this Study

This thesis is a genre study. It consists of two connected topics concerning the funeral march. The first examines the different functions of the funeral march within works of absolute and programmatic music in the nineteenth century. In effect, this first topic tests a number of aspects of Dahlhaus's theory of the changing functions of genre in the nineteenth century.

The thesis is also concerned with the history of the funeral march. It attempts to show that there is a funeral-march tradition with specific trends and significant developments consistently drawn upon by composers of the nineteenth century. Although previous considerations of the genre have tended to regard the *marche funèbre* as an occasional piece within the history of the march, I would like to show that the genre frequently goes its own way with little connection to the history of the march itself.

In order to accomplish both goals, it is occasionally necessary to examine some funeral marches that would be

irrelevant to one or the other purpose. The marches which I have chosen to examine are, for the most part, all those written by the major composers of the nineteenth century. In addition, a number of minor figures whose work struck me as particularly significant have been included. This is by no means, then, an examination of every funeral march written in the nineteenth century. On the whole, functional marches, that is, marches written for specific occasions, have been overlooked in preference to those which are clearly intended to serve some other function.

The funeral march has many names: *marche funèbre*, *marche lugubre*, *marcia funebre*, *Trauermarsch*, dead march, etc. I have chosen the expressions "funeral march" and "*marche funèbre*" as generic names and use them interchangeably, the choice being based on writing style rather than musical style. The other expressions are used when referring to specific pieces and are consistent with the usage of the composer of the work.

Although this examination rightly begins with the *Marcia funebre* from Beethoven's Third Symphony, it is necessary to explore some works which precede Beethoven's march in order to answer questions concerning the presence of a funeral march in a symphony. However, I shall not begin this study, as Heine wrote, "*ab ovo* like the historian who begins the Trojan War with the story of Leda's egg." I am not sure that such a comprehensive history of the funeral

march can be written. This study will begin with some early appearances of the funeral march in European art-music of the seventeenth century.

Chapter II

THE FUNERAL MARCH BEFORE BEETHOVEN

In his recent history of the march, Achim Hofer writes: "Around 1560, in English-language sources, the term 'march' is mentioned for the first time in connection with music."¹ Early imitations of military music, which occur chiefly in *intradas* and battle pieces of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, have often been called marches. Kurt Strom, however, in his history of the development of the march, cautions that the concept of the march and that of the *intrada* are not to be confused:

The *intrada* is not identical with the march; this fact is demonstrated by the march found next to the *intrada* as a separate piece; and in the German overture-suite after Lully, the march often appears simultaneously with the *intrada*. Both--march and *intrada*--certainly have common sources and, to some extent, similar kinds of use.²

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1. Achim Hofer, Studien zur Geschichte des Militärmarsches, 2 vols., Vol. XXIV of Mainzer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft (Tutzing: Schneider, 1988), 60. "In der Zeit ab ca. 1560 finden sich erstmals englischsprachige Quellen, die der Begriff 'Marsch' . . . in Zusammenhang mit Musik erwähnen."
 2. Kurt Strom, Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Marsches in der Kunstmusik bis Beethoven (Ph.D. Diss., Munich, 1926), 5. "Die Intrade ist nicht identisch mit dem Marsch; dies beweist die Tatsache, dass der Marsch vereinzelt neben ihr vorkommt und in der deutschen Ouvertürensuite nach Lulli auch häufig gleichzeitig mit ihr auftritt. Beide--Marsch und Intrade--haben aller-

The march as a genre outside of military music first appeared around 1600, one of the earliest examples being Byrd's Earl of Oxford's March.³ Marches soon became popular and consequently quite numerous, pervading the literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries--the numerous keyboard pieces, overtures, divertimentos, serenades, and other pieces--where their form and function mirrored that of the various dance movements fashionable during the period.

The funeral march made its first appearance later than the march, although another of Byrd's keyboard pieces, The Battell, does include a section called "The Buriing of the Dead."⁴ That this short piece has nothing to do with a funeral march, however, is suggested by its triple time and its major key. In addition, the piece's many similarities to Byrd's own The Bells indicate that the piece is descriptive of a different aspect of a funeral, the tolling of

dings gemeinsame Wurzeln und teilweise gleich Verwendungsart."

3. J.A. Fuller Maitland and W. Barclay Squire, The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, 2 vols. (London, 1899; repr. New York: Dover, 1963), II, 402-3.
4. William Byrd, The Collected Works of William Byrd, 22 vols., ed. E. Fellowes (London: Stainer and Bell, 1937-50), XVIII, 123. Although this section of the work did not appear in the original My Lady Nevell's Book, the modern edition, edited by Hilda Andrews (London, 1926; repr. New York: Dover, 1969), includes the movement on the basis of its appearance in one of the original sources, British Museum Add. Ms. 10337.

bells, the sound of which would be evoked again in a similar context in later keyboard funeral marches.

In his military manual, Five Decades of Epistles of Warre, written in 1622, Francis Markham wrote: ". . . when any dies, the Drumme with a sad solemnitie must bring him to the grave, for it is the only mourner of the lost, and the greatest honor of Funerals."⁵ As this passage suggests, the military funeral march may have been a simple rhythmic pattern reserved for funerals and played on a muffled drum, the muffling of the drum in black crepe serving both a symbolic and a musical purpose. Similar evidence comes from contemporary reports of royal and military funerals. In a long, detailed description of the funeral of Henry of Navarre (1610), the anonymous author mentions that there were trumpets and oboes present in the cortège. While he does mention that the instruments were "couverts de crespes noir," he does not mention that they were played until after the burial when, still at the burial site, the words declaring Louis the XIII the new king were spoken. "These words said," the author reports, "the king's trumpets, drums, oboes and fifes began to play."⁶ Whether or not other instruments played in early military funeral marches, it was

5. Quoted in John H. Long, Shakespeare's Use of Music: the Histories and Tragedies (Gainesville: The University of Florida Press, 1971), 6.

6. "Funérailles de Henry IV," in Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France, Series I, Vol. XV, ed. M.L. Cimber (Paris, 1837), 186-192.

the sound of the drum and its solemn, subdued beat which would survive for centuries as a characteristic of the genre.

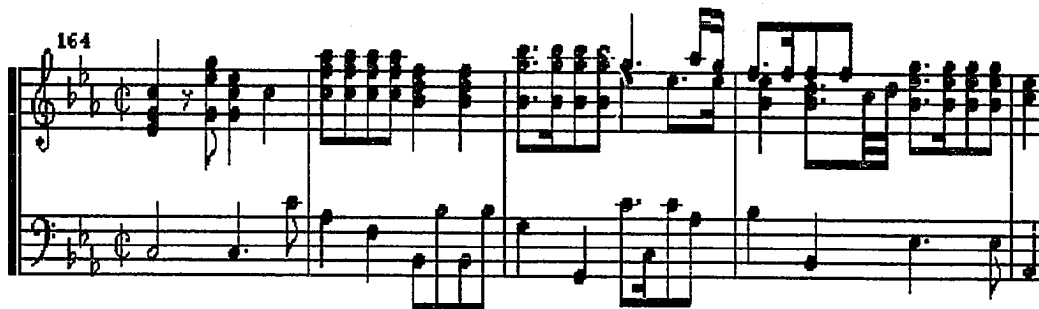
The Funeral March in the Seventeenth Century

In the seventeenth century the synthesis of opera and ballet which occurred in the lyric tragedies of Lully required a variety of instrumental pieces as accompaniment to the stage movement--a march was inevitably among them. It is not surprising then that Lully composed one of the earliest examples of an instrumental piece of music accompanying a funeral, the *Pompe funèbre* in Act III, Scene V of *Alceste*, written in 1674.⁷ The title, "pompe funèbre," best translated as "funeral solemnities," refers to the entire scene, which consists of an air and a brief duet separated by a number of choral passages; an instrumental introduction begins the scene, and instrumental *ritournelles* are interspersed throughout. Although Strom says the scene "ought to be viewed as a precursor of the later funeral march,"⁸ it is quite long and only certain sections suggest a march. Notably, one of these sections occurs after the funeral chorus "Jettons, jettons des fleurs," where the music becomes distinctly march-like (Ex.2.1):

7. J.-B. Lully, *Oeuvres complètes*, 11 vols., ed. Henry Prunières (Paris: Éditions de la Revue Musicale, 1932), *Les opéras*, II, 197-226.

8. Strom, *op. cit.*, 18.

Example 2.1. Lully, *Alceste*, Act III, Scene 5, mm.165-68.



The march character of the passage, however, is diffused by Lully's orchestration--two flutes and continuo. The "Pompe funèbre" from the "Deuxième Suite" of Couperin's *Pièces de viole avec la basse chiffrée* of 1728 also suggests that such a title does not necessarily indicate a march.⁹

The most famous early use of the word "march" referring to an instrumental piece written for a funeral is found in Henry Purcell's "Funeral March for Queen Mary," written in 1696.¹⁰ The march consists of five different chord progressions, each three measures long, scored for four trumpets.¹¹ It is presented in its entirety in Example 2.2:¹²

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9. Here, the major key, the mood, and the rhythmic structure of the piece are neither related to nor suggestive of a march. See F. Couperin, *Oeuvres complètes*, 12 vols., ed. Maurice Cauchie (Paris: L'Oiseau Lyre, 1933), X, 148-51.
 10. The full title of the work is "March for the Queens's Funeral Sounded Before Her Chariot."
 11. The term "trumpet" was often used as a generic term for any brass instrument, and the range of the piece suggests that brass instruments other than trumpets were used in its performance.

Example 2.2. Purcell, Funeral March for Queen Mary.



Contemporary reports, particularly the detailed description of the funeral in Narcissus Luttrell's A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from 1696,¹³ reveal that the work was played by a choir of trumpets and muffled drums.¹⁴ In addition, an earlier manuscript of the march exists which differs in a number of slight but important ways.

This earlier version was written for Thomas Shadwell's play The Libertine in 1692. In William Barclay Squire's transcription of the manuscript copy of this version, the

12. Henry Purcell, Works, 32 vols., ed. The Purcell Society (London: Novello, 1878-1965), XXXI/92.

13. Quoted in Franklin B. Zimmerman, Henry Purcell: His Life and Times (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 242.

14. Thurston Dart published an edition (Oxford University Press, 1958) in which he attempted to reconstruct the drum parts based on Baroque sources.

instruments called for are "flatt-trumpets," or sackbuts.¹⁵ The repeat signs are missing save for the last, and a measure's rest stands between each series of chords. The measures of silence clarify the phrases and emphasize the march rhythm of the piece, and the repeat of the whole rather than the individual components adds to this emphasis. Basing his interpretation on the text of the play, Franklin Zimmerman suggests that the brass parts were "originally intended to express the feelings aroused by the 'drawing near of ghosts.'"¹⁶ If this is so, then they might actually be considered an addition to the march, the march itself being a traditional dead march for drums.

The funeral march in military music was a solemn processional piece accompanying the corpse of a military figure or head of state to its interment. The perfect realization of this straightforward function was a drum beat keeping the cortège in step. The addition of other instrumental parts provided composers the opportunity of adding a level of expressivity to the primary function of the march thereby creating a dual function of the genre: providing a uniform, solemn beat for the marchers, and expressing the emotion of the situation.

15. William Barclay Squire, "Purcell's Music for the Funeral of Queen Mary," Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, IV (1904), 225-232.

16. Zimmerman, op. cit., 243.

Purcell's march, because of its incomplete notation, only suggests the use of the drum in the early funeral march; a better idea of that role can be gathered from some other works of the period. A short piece by Philidor *l'aîné* entitled "Marche des pompes funèbres"--the title supports the notion that "pompes funèbres" did not by itself imply a march--presents problems of dating and, considering Philidor's profession as a copyist, of authorship. The date is given as the seventeenth century ("l'an 16. ."), and Philidor's own dates, c.1647 to 1730, might suggest that the march was written at the earliest in the last quarter of the century. The march is eleven measures long and is scored for three oboes and a drum (Ex.2.3):¹⁷

17. The march is reproduced in Hofer, op. cit., 158, and in Constant Pierre, Musique exécutée aux Fêtes Nationales de la Revolution française, 2 vols. (Paris: LeDuc, 1893-4), 45. Hofer, I presume, is quoting Pierre's text.

Example 2.3. Philidor, *Marche des pompes funébres*.



At first sight, the outstanding feature of this march is, as in the early version of the Purcell march, the silences separating the phrases. This feature, in combination with the march's key, probably led Constant Pierre to suggest that the march later inspired Gossec's famous *Marche lugubre*. Just as important as the very existence of the silent measures in the march is the way in which these measures isolate each phrase into a distinct strain. This effect, as well as the initial stress of the mediant degree, the motion to the major in the first phrase, and the descent to the tonic in the last, are all characteristics which presage later developments in the funeral march. The drum part, which was probably written for a side or a tenor drum, closely follows the activity of the oboe parts, its fast notes occurring when the upper parts trill.

The instrumentation of the Philidor march may be explained by the importance of the oboe in seventeenth-century

military music. The oboe at that time was considerably louder--some would say coarser--than the modern instrument. Although the trumpet and horn were used for calls and signals, the oboe was the preferred instrument for the military march. Farmer wrote:

. . . the first military bands in France consisted of oboes and drums. . . . Lully wrote for these in four parts, discant, alto, tenor and bass oboe (or bassoon) with two drum parts. In the year 1705, the composer Philidor, as the king's music librarian, collected an enormous number of these military pieces which Lully and himself had composed and arranged for the army.¹⁸

The Philidor march may be missing a second drum part, or perhaps, as in the Purcell march, a traditional, un-notated drum beat is meant to accompany the existing parts.

Handel's Dead Marches

In eighteenth-century England, the funeral march was synonymous with Handel's Dead March from the oratorio Saul, written in 1738. The regular use of this march at funerals has lasted into the twentieth century, and in fact, Handel replaced the very similar Dead March from the later oratorio Samson (1742) with the one from Saul. To this day the march from Samson remains eclipsed by the earlier piece.

Handel's march consists of two eight-measure sections, each of which is repeated with different instrumentation;

18. Henry George Farmer, The Rise and Development of Military Music (London: 1912; repr. New York: Da Capo, 1970), 46.

while the first section is repeated exactly, the second is altered in a slight but significant way. The first section is played by trombones and timpani, doubled by the strings, and consists of two strains (Ex.2.4):¹⁹

Example 2.4. Handel, Dead March from *Saul*, mm.1-10.

The musical score for Example 2.4 is presented in two systems. The first system, labeled '(strain 1) Grave' and '(strain 2)', shows a treble staff with a piano (p) dynamic and a bass staff with a rhythmic pattern. The second system, labeled '(repeat of strains 1-2)', shows a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic pattern, including a 'pp' (pianissimo) dynamic marking and a 'Timp.' (timpani) marking.

After the imitative opening measure, the bass and timpani initiate a rhythmic figure which continues through the rest of the piece. This rhythm, related to that of the pavane, a processional-type dance quite old-fashioned by the beginning of the eighteenth century, and to that of older versions of the allemande, gives the march a stately, solemn dignity and, as in some examples of both the pavane and the allemande, creates a basis for the expression of lamentation. Other features of the march accentuate the sorrow. The B-

19. Handel, *Werke*, 96 vols., ed. F. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-94), XIII.

flat in m.6, for example, initiates a falling second, a traditional lament figure of the Baroque, which is then repeated in m.7 as part of a gradual descent to D.

The same basic rhythmic pattern of the Dead March from Saul persists through that of Samson.²⁰ The marches also share the same instrumentation: the flute, organ and timpani play the entire repeat of the first section and the first half of the second. In addition, the same simple, slowly changing harmonies infuse both marches with a nobly reserved sadness. The march from Samson is not completely derivative, however--the rising fourths of the second strain, for example, are particularly effective--and it differs from the earlier march in its extensive use of dotted rhythms.

Not surprisingly, the *marche funèbre*, unlike the march, did not find a regular place in eighteenth-century instrumental music. Baroque funeral music was primarily made up of vocal genres, and while instrumental music could depict aspects of a funeral--the pomp and dignity of the situation, and, to some extent, the sorrow--the expression of pure grief required something which only vocal music could supply, human speech. For this reason, both of Handel's dead marches are followed by imposing funeral choruses. Solemn and grave music was of course found in instrumental music, but the genres that supplied this music were the sarabande, occasionally the chaconne, and other pieces that did not

20. Handel, Werke, X.

bring with them the dramatic connotation of the dead march. The one area of eighteenth-century music in which an instrumental piece expressing grief in the form of a march would not have been out of place was opera. *Opera seria* in the first half of the century, however, was dominated by the Metastasian libretto in which the remarkably invariable string of recitatives and arias left room for little else. It was not until after the innovations of Jommelli and Traetta and the reforms suggested by Algarotti and others around the middle of the century that other vocal and instrumental genres began to appear in opera.

Eighteenth-Century Opera

Some of the earliest examples of the funeral march in opera discussed by Strom in his impressively thorough study of eighteenth-century marches are contemporaneous with Handel.²¹ A few of these, however, are simply march-like passages found in larger set-pieces (as in a *ritornello*, *scena*, or *recitativo accompagnato*). One, for example, from Act III of Giovanni Porta's Gianquir (1732), is but eight-measures long. Others, the passage in Act III of Tommaso Traetta's Tito Manlio and the march from Florian Deller's La mort d'Hercule, are not called funeral marches. But in the case of Deller's march (the work was originally attributed to

21. Strom, op. cit., 33.

Jean Rodolphe), there are a number of other factors which suggest that this is indeed a *marche funèbre*.

Number 16 of La mort d'Hercule, a ballet written in 1762 as an intermezzo for Jommelli's Semiramide riconosciuta, contains a short piece called simply "Marche." Strom says the work is a "Trauermarsch von eindringlicher Grösse der Empfindung."²² While the scenario of the ballet only suggests that the work is a funeral march, the character of the piece itself strongly asserts it (Ex.2.5):²³

Example 2.5. Florian Deller, La mort d'Hercule, No. 16, mm.1-4.



On the other hand, another of Strom's examples, the march from Philidor's Ernelinde (1766), while preceding a funeral chorus, is like a great many other ordinary D-major marches from the period.

22. Ibid., 33.

23. Hans Joachim Moser, ed., Ausgewählte Ballette Stuttgarter Meister aus der 2. Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts, vols. 43/44 of Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1958), 230-1.

The vocabulary of the eighteenth-century funeral march was usually drawn from the same sources as serious or tragic music, and consequently the difference between a funeral march and a funeral chorus, for example, is sometimes unclear. During the 1770s, however, a number of features of operatic funeral marches began to distinguish them from other funeral music. These features were an amalgamation of the characteristics of the military march with the affects of funeral music. The funeral march and the funeral chorus are illustrated by the following excerpt from Act III of Traetta's Antigone of 1772 (Ex.2.6):²⁴

Example 2.6. Traetta, Antigone, Act III, opening.

The musical score is written for a vocal line (treble clef) and a basso continuo line (bass clef). The key signature is G major (one sharp) and the time signature is common time (C). The tempo is marked 'Largo'. The vocal line begins with a forte (f) dynamic and features a series of eighth and sixteenth notes. The basso continuo line also begins with a forte (f) dynamic and features a series of eighth and sixteenth notes. The vocal line has lyrics: 'Pian - - - -gi, O Te - be' and 'Pian - - - -gi, O Te - be'. The basso continuo line has lyrics: 'Pian - - - -gi, O Te - be'.

In the example, the funeral-march gestures in the first measure dissolve in the second measure to a simple contrapuntal texture characteristic of vocal funeral music.

24. Tommaso Traetta, Antigone, ed. Aldo Rocchi (Florence: Edizione a cura de maggio musicale fiorentino, 1962), 315-6.

While many of the above examples are for the most part true forerunners of the operatic funeral march, the actual appearance of the operatic march occurs comparatively late in the century. In fact, the use of the funeral march in opera coincides with the trend for composing "specialty" marches (Janissary, religious, triumphal, or exotic marches), a trend which occurred in the 1770s, some time after the ordinary march had become a predictable feature in most operas.

The actual use of the term "funeral march," or its equivalent, *marche funèbre*, *Trauermarsch*, etc., is quite specific in the late eighteenth century. It indicates a piece of instrumental music capable of standing on its own which displays distinct characteristics of both the march and *Trauermusik*. Among these characteristics are the minor tonality, dotted rhythms, drum parts and/or imitations of drums, strong emphasis of the melodic motions mediant to tonic and flat submediant to dominant, and a simple binary form with or without repeats. An excellent example of such a march is the "Trauermarsch" from Act I of Vogler's melodrama *Lampedo*, written in 1779 for the court opera at Darmstadt (Ex.2.7):²⁵

25. Georg Martin Vogler, *Lampedo*, facs. repr. from ms. Darmstadt 1097, ed. Thomas Baumann as Vol. IX of *German Opera 1770-1800* (New York: Garland, 1986), 27v.

Example 2.7. Vogler, Lampedo, Act I, Trauermarsch,
mm.1-8.

Larghetto

pp

Drum:

etc.

This march might be contrasted with the entrance of the priestesses which opens Act IV of Piccinni's Iphigénie en Tauride. The introduction to the Piccinni chorus suggests a funeral march (Ex.2.8):²⁶

Example 2.8. Piccinni, Iphigénie en Tauride, Act IV,
Introduction to opening chorus.

Andantino sostenuto

f p

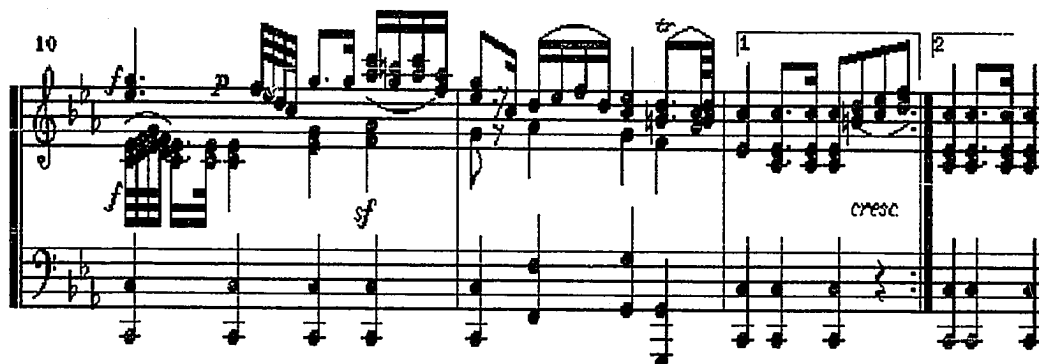
But Vogler's march, while it has features similar to Piccinni's, is generally heavier, with dotted rhythms in the

26. Niccolò Piccinni, Iphigénie en Tauride (Paris: Des Lauriers, 1781; repr. Farnborough, England: Gregg, 1972), 224.

opening measures and percussion used throughout. The rhythm which occurs in the bass of the Vogler is an important signal of the funeral march, particularly when found in the upper voices of the march. This same rhythm is very pronounced in what is probably the most famous operatic funeral march before the nineteenth century, the *marcia lugubre* from Giuseppe Sarti's Giulio Sabino (1781). In Scene 4 of Act III, the stage direction reads: "Sabino e Custodi che a suono d'una Marcia Lugubre viene condotto al Supplicio." The simple march that follows is scored for two oboes, two horns, bassoon and strings (Ex.2.9):

Example 2.9. Sarti, Giulio Sabino, Act III, Scene 4, *marcia lugubre*.





The march displays features that were or would become traditional funeral-march characteristics: the initial dotted rhythm, the fall from the mediant to the tonic in the second measure, the clustered thirty-second notes imitating drum rolls, the descending motion of the melodic line, and the cadential march rhythm at the end of every phrase. This funeral march is also notable because of its reprise later in the scene.

The march is followed by a recitative; it returns fragmented, or more precisely, interrupted by Sabino's exclamations: the first two measures of the march, then Sabino's "Che ascolto!," the next two measures of the march, then "Oh, Dio!" The march is finally halted by recitative accompanied by string tremolos. Of particular significance is Sarti's use of the march not simply as an instrumental piece accompanying a processional, but as the chief element in the dramatic construction of the scene. Unlike other marches which often merely ornament a drama, Sarti's march partakes in it.

Most importantly, this march is distinguished from other funeral marches by its structure. This is not just a slow, minor-key version of an ordinary march. Noticeably absent is the typical triadic melody of the military march; noticeably present is the prominent use of the diminished-seventh chord at the beginning of measure five. In place of the opening triadic rise or fall invariably found at the beginning of a march, Sarti's march begins with a simple descending stepwise motion. The drum imitations, the thirty-second-note groups on the upbeats of mm. 2, 9, etc., are built on scale passages rather than repeated notes. These are characteristics which suggest vocal rather than instrumental music. In addition, the sudden outburst of the diminished chord in m.5 would be less surprising in a chorus of an oratorio than in a march of this period. In short, Sarti's march is a combination of the melodic and harmonic language of a funeral cantata with the rhythm of the march. Sarti's march is important, then, because it differentiates the funeral march from the march not simply in its minor key but also in its construction.

Giulio Sabino became extraordinarily popular throughout Europe and its funeral march well-known enough to be said to represent the tradition of the funeral march to later composers and audiences. For example, a very similar funeral march appears in the first act of Johann Gottlieb Naumann's Orpheus from 1786. Naumann, like Sarti, studied with Padre

Martini and pursued an international career that included the composition of operas for courts throughout Europe. Naumann's march has many of the same features as Sarti's: it begins on the fifth degree of the scale; the melody moves down by step; its upper part is mostly harmonized in thirds; and it opens with the same dotted rhythm (Ex.2.10):²⁷

Example 2.10. Naumann, Orpheus, Act I, *Marcia andante*.



Although not an operatic march, Mozart's only work called a funeral march is of the Sarti type. This work, the Kleiner Trauermarsch in C minor, KV 453a, is a short keyboard piece once attributed to Beethoven.²⁸ The piece was probably written in 1784 and bears the subtitle "Marche funebre del Sigr. Maestro Contrapunto" (Ex.2.11):

27. Johann Gottlieb Naumann, Orpheus, in Strom, op. cit., Anhang II, 5, No. 36.

28. W.A. Mozart, Einzelstücke für Klavier, ed. Wolfgang Plath; in Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, ed. Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1982), IX/27, vol. 2, 35.

Example 2.11. Mozart, Kleiner Trauermarsch, KV 453a,
mm.1-8.



Roland Tenschert, who established the work as Mozart's, discovered the piece pasted into the *Stammbuch* of Barbara Ployer, one of Mozart's pupils.²⁹ According to Wolfgang Plath, Mozart's title is a clear indication that the work was not meant seriously.³⁰ The music certainly does not appear to support such an assessment. A number of features of the piece, particularly the syncopations in the fifth and sixth measures, look forward to the Masonic Funeral Music, KV 477. The suggestion by the editors of the seventh edition of Köchel's Verzeichnis that the theme is a parody of

29. Roland Tenschert, "Eine unbekannte Komposition Mozarts," Die Musik XXII/1 (1929), 16-22.

30. Mozart, op. cit., xvi. Referring to the title, Plath writes: "Es handelt sich--wie kaum gesagt zu werden braucht--um die Parodie eines Trauermarsches, mit grotesker Übertreibung beginnend, mit beklemmend ernst- en Tönen im zweiten Teil."

the opening of the Piano Concerto, KV 451, is farfetched.³¹ The similar rhythm in the first measure of both pieces is also found in hundreds of other works. In addition, the concerto theme, unlike that of the *Trauermarsch*, descends an octave, and it would seem that the use of this interval and the key of D minor would be more obvious choices for a parody of the concerto theme. Finally, if the opening of this march is exaggerated, then so too is the opening of Sarti's march, and if unusual voice leading indicates parody, then the opening of the Quartet, KV 465, must be reconsidered in this light. Perhaps the subtitle with its oddly addressed dedicatee should be read differently. The music is not only a serious piece but a particularly fine one and strongly suggests that "Maestro Contrapunto" may be an affectionate rather than parodistic term. Perhaps the march was written for Padre Martini who died that same year and was not only a master of counterpoint but one of Mozart's teachers as well.

Sarti's funeral march, as well as those by Naumann and Mozart, represents a new phase of the *marche funèbre* in which the characteristics of the genre are sufficiently differentiated from those of the *marche militaire* to say that the genre need no longer be considered part of the

31. Ludwig von Köchel, Verzeichnis der Werke W.A. Mozarts, 7th ed., ed. F. Giegling, A. Weinmann, and G. Sievers (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1965), 491. "Das Thema mutet an wie eine Parodie des Allegro-Themas aus 451. . . ."

ordinary march's history. That this kind of march was to be the one to represent the genre to composers of the nineteenth century is apparent from the increasing appearance of similar marches in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. Dressler's march which inspired the young Beethoven to compose his early set of variations is this kind of march. So, too, the *marches funèbres* in Cherubini's Ifigénie en Aulide of 1787 and Pugnani's *melologo Werther* (1794). The influence of this kind of march is also seen in the *sinfonia funebre*, a genre which developed during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The funeral symphony, although a multi-movement work, has almost no relationship to the symphony. The three or four movements of the work are often connected, and the opening movement is usually repeated at the end. Boccherini's Sinfonia funebre in B-flat of 1782 opens with a solemn, major-key march reminiscent of the Handel dead marches. But by the following decade, the funeral symphonies of Graun and Paisiello contain C-minor marches that are distinctly of the Sarti type.

The Sarti march is sometimes said to have been the model for the march in Beethoven's "Eroica." Similarly, the *marche funèbre* from Paër's Achille, written almost twenty years after the Sarti, is frequently cited in connection with the march from Beethoven's Sonata Op.26. While the connection between these two marches and those of Beethoven

is debatable, the connection between these marches themselves is very strong. Paër's march is in C minor and, like Sarti's, is played twice, the second time as an accompaniment to a *scena*. A comparison of its opening measures to the Sarti reveals a number of similarities between the two (Ex.2.12):³²

Example 2.12. Paër, Achille, Act II, Finale, mm.1-4.



The Paër march shows a thematic construction and use of rhythm very much like Sarti's. The binary structure, much more clearly defined here than in Sarti, is the form which would almost invariably appear in the *marches funèbres* of the first half of the nineteenth century.³³

Beethoven's funeral marches, which will be discussed in the next chapter, are part of the tradition represented by Sarti's march. But Beethoven's marches, especially the funeral march from the "Eroica," are also frequently con-

32. Ferdinand Paër, Achille, Kavierauszug (Hamburg: Böhme, n.d. (c.1802)), 190-1.

33. These same characteristics are also found in the funeral march in the Act II Finale of Peter von Winter's Das Unterbrochene Opferfest of 1796.

nected to another kind of funeral march which developed towards the end of the eighteenth century.

The French Revolution

In his best-selling account of the French Revolution, Citizens, Simon Schama writes that among the events which took place during the ceremony of April 4, 1791, in which Mirabeau's ashes were moved to the Panthéon, "the procession . . . plodded forward to the music of a requiem mass specially composed by Gossec and scored for unusual wind instruments that sounded keening notes amidst the conventional pomp."³⁴ Whatever the virtues of Schama's book may be, musicological accuracy is not one of them. There is indeed a Gossec Requiem, but it has no unusual wind instruments, it was not played on that occasion, and if it had been, even "plodding" would have been too fast a gait for the large string ensemble required by the work. The Gossec work played on that occasion was the "Marche lugubre pour les honneurs funéraires qui doivent être rendus au Champ de la Fédération le 20 septembre 1790 aux mânes des citoyens morts à l'affaire de Nancy."

The Gossec march is often cited as the first of many funeral marches written during the Revolutionary period, but there are actually very few of these marches. Gossec's

34. Simon Schama, Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), 548.

march attained instantaneous popularity and contemporary *marches funèbres*, including Gossec's own second march of 1793, could never equal it. After its initial success, it was played at the funeral of Mirabeau on 4 April 1791, the translation of Voltaire's ashes, 11 July 1791, two ceremonies in 1792, and other important occasions including the funerals of Hoche (1797) and Joubert (1799).³⁵

In the musical conservatism which arose at the beginning of the Revolution and which, according to Alexander Ringer, was an attempt at the creation of a musical Utopia loosely based on Plato,³⁶ the attempt to stamp out innovation and revert to a style that emulated the ancients occasionally created greater novelty than innovation would have. An example of this is the instrumentation of Gossec's march, which included both the imposing-looking tuba corva and the exotic tam-tam. Many listeners found that the sound of the tam-tam created "une terreur religieuse,"³⁷ which is quite probable if, as David Whitwell contends, the instrument was "never heard in France before this composition."³⁸

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35. Constant Pierre, Musique des fêtes et cérémonies de la Révolution française (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1904), 843.
 36. Alexander L. Ringer, "J.-J. Barthélemy and Musical Utopia in Revolutionary France," Journal of the History of Ideas, XXII (July, 1961), 355-68.
 37. Pierre, op. cit., 842.
 38. David Whitwell, Band Music of the French Revolution (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1979), 23.

Indeed one of the main reasons for the march's success was the instrumentation. After its first performance one of the newspapers mentioned that "the shrill sound of the tam-tam, an Arab instrument, mixed with that of the cymbals and brass and broken by intervals of silence gave the soul a feeling of great sadness."³⁹ The tam-tam and the silences are so consistently cited by contemporary sources that other interesting features of Gossec's march are often overlooked. At first sight, the form of the march seems conventional: a 48-measure binary form divided with perfect proportion into sections of 16 and 32 measures each. The phrases within these sections, however, are quite irregular and often consist of melodic fragments separated by silences or punctuated by the percussion battery (Ex.2.13):⁴⁰

39. From the Journal de la Municipalité, 23 September 1790; quoted in Pierre, op. cit., 841: " . . . le bruit aigu de tam-tam (instrument arabe) mêlé à celui des cymbales et des cuivres et interrompu par des intervalles de silence donnait à l'âme des sensations les plus tristes. . . ."

40. François Gossec, *Marche lugubre* in Constant Pierre, Musique exécutée aux Fêtes Nationales de la Revolution française, 2 vols. (Paris: LeDuc, 1893-4), 45.

Example 2.13. Gossec, *Marche lugubre*, mm.1-16.

The musical score for Example 2.13, Gossec's *Marche lugubre*, measures 1-16, is presented in three systems. The first system shows the initial melody and accompaniment. The second system includes a 'Tam.' (tambourine) part and a piano (p) dynamic marking. The third system concludes the section with a forte (ff) dynamic marking and a repeat sign.

This first section of the march is indeed original. It appears to stop and start in an illogical manner, often interrupted or even overpowered by an effect, but it also gives the impression that a complete musical thought has come to a logical, satisfying completion. If the effects, however, are removed and a second measure inserted (as in the repeat of the theme in the second part of the march),⁴¹ the result is a simple eight-measure march (Ex.2.14):

41. The drum figure in the third measure of Example 2.13 is an ellipsis in which the listener supplies the implied repeat of measure 2.

Example 2.14. Gossec, *Marche lugubre*, contraction of mm.1-16.



This contraction of the score to a simple march points out how skillfully Gossec has constructed the work around his effects. Intuitively, the listener grasps the logical and predictable form of the simple march on which the section is based, and the effects are consequently more startling. The first five measures are ambiguous: if one hears the first measure as the beginning of the phrase, in the fifth measure, a repeat of the drum figure followed by the wind figure now built on the dominant chord is expected; when the fifth measure is reached, however, it becomes clear that the second measure was the beginning of the phrase, and one's expectations shift to expect measure six to repeat the wind figure on V of V. Even before recovering from the first shift in expectation, the listener's new expectation is thwarted by a fortissimo crash on a strange (to listeners of eighteenth-century France) instrument. At the end of the section, Gossec finds a new way of emphasizing the novelty of the instrument by preparing the listener to expect a second crash at the beginning of m.14 but delivering it one beat later. In the longer second part of the march, Gossec

continues to find additional ways to upset the listener's expectations and thus prevent the unique sound of the tam-tam from losing its effectiveness.⁴²

Like other composers exploring a new instrument--for example, Tchaikovsky and the celesta or Messiaen and the *ondes Martenot*--Gossec uses the tam-tam in such a prominent manner that the piece seems to be built around it. The tam-tam could have been used like a large suspended cymbal to build climaxes and not in the highly dramatic manner which Gossec chose. The result of his choices is the creation of a very original kind of *marche funèbre*. Many familiar characteristics of the funeral march are in Gossec's piece: the standard opening funeral rhythm of m.2, the cadential rhythm of m.12, the prominent diminished chord, and the melodic use of augmented and diminished intervals. But the melodic fragmentation and the irregular phrasing, caused, to a great extent, by the highlighting of the tam-tam, obscure these characteristics.

Gossec's originality may be partially credited to demands of the Revolution. Music, especially instrumental music, was expected to be new and was in no way to suggest the practices of pre-Revolutionary music. Vocal music could distinguish itself particularly easily through its text; but instrumental music had to prove its loyalty to the Revolu-

42. See measures 22-4, 32, 36-7, and the final bars of the march.

tion by aligning itself with military, and therefore functional, music, or by proclaiming its independence from older techniques in an obvious way.

Gossec's *Marche lugubre* established a model for the funeral march which he himself attempted to duplicate two years later. The second march, which is in E-flat and entitled *Marche funèbre* rather than *lugubre*, differs only slightly from the earlier march even though it is in a major key. The tam-tam is once again prominent, and the same kind of melodic fragmentation is apparent, but the march seems imitative, in spite of its major key, and less dramatic, perhaps because of it.

The march which opens Cherubini's Hymne funèbre sur la mort du General Hoche, written in 1797, is clearly related to Gossec's.⁴³ After a brief introduction, the percussion begins this rather long march--about 100 measures--and a theme is introduced by the winds. As in the Gossec, the march is made up of passages played alternately by wind and percussion instruments, and while it is not as fragmented as Gossec's march, it is similar in character. In its second section, the main theme is developed in a long sequence involving diminished chords and drum rolls (Ex.2.15):⁴⁴

43. Gossec's first march was once again played at the first performance of Cherubini's piece.

44. Luigi Cherubini, *Hymne funebre* in Constant Pierre, Musique des fêtes et cérémonies de la Revolution française (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1899), 332.

Example 2.15. Cherubini, *Hymne funèbre*, mm.59-68.



The somewhat mannered style of these marches is not shared by other instrumental music of the Revolutionary period. The military symphonies and overtures, far more common than the funeral march in this period, were works which featured, in the words of Boris Schwarz, "strong rhythm, easy melody, [and] simple harmony."⁴⁵ The choral music, which formed the major part of the Revolutionary repertory, was also straightforward, eschewing development, contrapuntal textures, antiphony and other compositional devices usually associated with liturgical music. In the trio of Gossec's "Aux mânes de la Gironde," the text and the

45. Boris Schwarz, French Instrumental Music Between the Revolutions (1789-1830), (Ph.D. Diss., Columbia University, 1950; repr. New York: Da Capo, 1987), 14.

music suggest a funeral march, but one that is very different from Gossec's two instrumental works (Ex.2.16):⁴⁶

Example 2.16. Gossec, *Aux mânes de la Gironde*, Trio, mm.71-75.

The musical score is for a Trio in 2/4 time, marked 'Larghetto'. It consists of a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line has the lyrics 'Ain-si vous mar-chez à la mort, Fon-da-teurs de la Ré-pu-bli-que,'. The piano accompaniment includes dynamics 'p' and 'pp'.

With the end of the *Directoire* in 1799, the funeral marches of the Revolution and, except for a few of the most popular rescue operas and their overtures, Revolutionary music in general was for the most part forgotten. Even in his funeral march from *La Vestale* written in 1807, Spontini showed no musical remembrance of the Revolutionary funeral march.

The passage from Gossec's hymn quoted above is more closely related to Sarti's funeral march than to Gossec's own and points up an essential difference between these two

46. François Gossec, *Aux mânes de la Gironde* in Constant Pierre, *Musique des fêtes et cérémonies de la Révolution française* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1899), 326.

most notable funeral marches of the late eighteenth century. The similarities between Sarti's march and the Gossec hymn are a result of their common indebtedness to vocal *Trauer-musik* and to the direct methods of expression found in Gluck's use of the chorus. The Gossec march and the small repertory which it inspired are examples of a unique and short-lived development in the history of instrumental music.

The keys of the two marches are consistent with their differences. C minor is the tonality most frequently associated with vocal funeral music. D minor's relationship to D major, the most common key of the ordinary march in the eighteenth century, is obvious. Even here, the line between vocal and instrumental music drawn so carefully in eighteenth-century aesthetics seems to separate these two examples of the funeral march.

But the differences between these two kinds of *marche funèbre* should not be considered more important than their similarities. The most important feature of these and the other marches in this chapter is the goal which they have in common. That goal is to create a march which also expresses grief, and nothing more. One is tempted to say that the goal is to move people while moving them from one place to another. That would not be accurate. Whether a funeral is taking place on a stage or a street, music is ultimately of little consequence in making the event into a sad one.

Sarti's use of affect and Gossec's use of effect were simply compositional methods available to an eighteenth-century composer adopted in response to the necessity of having the music fit the situation. When the funeral march was moved from the reality of a burial or from the representation of that reality in a theater to a concert hall, the music alone had the task of inspiring grief, the task, as it were, of bringing with it not just the sound of the cortège but the mourners and the mourned as well. This was a task for a Beethoven.

Chapter III

BEETHOVEN

The *Marcia funebre* of Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony is an extraordinary piece of music within an extraordinary piece of music. The context in which it came into existence and continues to exist is circular--surrounding it and growing larger constantly. Too often what is seen of that context are the same somewhat worn, if important, details. Certainly the account of Beethoven's crossing out the dedication of the work to Napoleon now resides in a place beside stories of Gordian Knots untied and swords liberated from ash trees. This story is interesting and important but too often is allowed to be the story. The various reports of Schindler, Ries, and others concerning the "Eroica" have probably provided whatever illumination they are going to provide. At the same time, the many analyses of the symphony continue to prove that, however analyzed, the conclusion is always the same--that this piece is indeed an extraordinary one.

Contemporary critics of the symphony agree that it is extraordinary, although they do not always find this to be a positive attribute. In 1807 the critic of the Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, complaining about the length of the

symphony, wrote:

There is, for example, instead of the Andante, a Funeral March in C minor, which is subsequently developed fugally. Every fugal movement is pleasing simply through the order perceived within apparent confusion; if even on repeated hearings the continuity itself defies the most attentive concentration, then it must strike the average, unprejudiced listener as bizarre.¹

One wonders if the critic was objecting to the complexity of the fugato or the very presence of the fugato within the genre of the funeral march. However, he was apparently undisturbed by the presence of the funeral march within the symphony. This was probably unsurprising not because a funeral march in a symphony was a commonplace of the early nineteenth century, but because both the heroic aspect of the symphony and the Heroic Symphony itself were fairly common before Beethoven, and so too the funeral march as a form of reverence to the fallen hero. The combination of the two then was no great innovation. What is problematic about the funeral march in this symphony lies in those problems which arise from certain characteristics inherent to the genre.

It was pointed out above that among the most consistent qualities of the funeral march is a sense of stasis. This

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1. Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, IX, 501 (1805). "So ist hier z.B. statt des Andante ein Trauermarsch aus C moll, der in der Folge fugenartig durchgeführt wird. Aber jeder Fugensatz ergötzt bloß durch die wahrgenommene Ordnung in scheinbarer Verwirrung: wenn nun auch bey öfterem Anhören der Zusammenhang selbst der angestrengten Aufmerksamkeit entgeht, so muß dies jedem uneingenommen Musikkenner sonderbar auffallen."

stasis in the eighteenth-century march was usually maintained in the formal structure of the march: a series of strains placed next to one another like a series of large stones of similar size and substance, differing only slightly from each other in shape. The first and last of the series are more prominent due to their positions, and occasionally the sequence must be secured by a connecting device. The connecting devices of the strains of the march, the cadences, even when occasionally varied by the brief tonal diversion required by a binary structure, are often so formulaic that they seem interchangeable. The antithesis of this sectional form consisting of a simple homophonic texture without a strong sense of direction--hence, static--is the fugue, a seamless, constantly developing structure with a strong sense of direction.

Perhaps, then, what the critic of the AmZ found confusing about the fugato in the Beethoven *Marcia funebre* was the developmental nature of the fugato. What is it doing there upsetting the traditional stasis of the genre? The answer to this question may be found in the way the movement relates to the funeral-march tradition.

The music of Beethoven is usually spoken of as a synthesis of traditions. Giorgio Pestelli expresses this particularly well:

. . . he absorbed all the new ideas which had emerged in a disorderly and riotous fashion in the years 1790-1810 . . . his position is not one of a focal point at which everything naturally con-

verges, but one of a testing ground for a collection of elements which were not made to go together, and which were already following hundreds of independent paths beyond his sphere of operation. Beethoven achieved this union on his own, with a strength of mind and will comparable to the marriage of counterpoint and harmony undertaken a century before by the great Bach.²

Among Beethoven's commonly listed influences are Haydn and Mozart (for some reason, always found in tandem in front of Beethoven), Gluck, the London Piano School, and Cherubini and other composers of the French Revolution. Although one can certainly accept these influences as real, in the sense of traceable, and justifiable, in that Beethoven himself knew and occasionally referred to them, a restraint must be placed on their application. While one can find examples of the influence of Haydn, for example, in the early works, the most important influence on Beethoven after around 1800 is Beethoven himself. Too often an influence is regarded as an omnipresent operation at work across a composer's entire output as if the output could be regarded as one huge but single mass of information. Beethoven's early works filtered and refined whatever influences there were so that later works were only indirectly, if at all, related to them.

The most often noted influence on the *Marcia funebre* of the "Eroica" Symphony is the *marche lugubre* of the French

2. Giorgio Pestelli, The Age of Mozart and Beethoven, trans. Eric Cross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 218.

Revolution. The influence is frequently cited as ideological, as by Donakowski: "The genius of the Revolution went underground and emerged in, for one, Beethoven, a paradigm of the *enragé* in the cause of freedom"; or as directly musical, as by Frida Knight: ". . . the festive republican music written for great popular gatherings in Paris by Gossec and Méhul was certainly brought to his [Beethoven's] notice by Kreutzer, himself a composer of 'people's music' at this time."³ Knight's statement is presumably based on Schindler, whose information in this matter is shown to be doubtful by, among others, Solomon.⁴ The similarities between the Beethoven funeral march and the Gossec are actually very slim. It is more likely that Beethoven was trying to achieve the same effects that the Gossec was reported to have achieved and used his own vocabulary to realize them. These effects, "les silences avec les effets harmoniques,"⁵ for example, were frequently noted by the European press in their coverage of the events in Paris, and we know that

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3. Conrad L. Donakowski, A Muse for the Masses (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), 65; Frida Knight, Beethoven and the Age of Revolution (New York: International Publishers, 1973), 45.
 4. Maynard Solomon, Beethoven (New York: Schirmer, 1977), 140.
 5. Constant Pierre, Musique des fêtes et cérémonies de la Révolution française (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1904), 842.

Beethoven was an avid reader of newspapers.⁶ Beethoven then could have been responding to description.

There are some external similarities between the Beethoven and Gossec marches. Leon Plantinga, for instance, writes: "Both show the very slow tempo, minor mode, imitations of drumrolls, and pervasive dotted rhythms--related ultimately to the solemn grandeur of the French overture--characteristic of Republican funeral music."⁷ There are also important differences between the two works. First, while Beethoven's drumrolls may be imitations, Gossec's are not. This feature alone signals a very different type of composition. Secondly, the Beethoven and Gossec marches have little in common formally. The key, the meter, the long, slowly emerging phrases, the trio, and other important features of the Beethoven, while certainly reflecting a tradition, suggest that that tradition is not that of the music of the French Revolution. The opening theme of the Beethoven march is nothing like the hesitating, fragmented theme of the Gossec. The Beethoven has more in common with other funeral-march themes from the period which remain outside the sphere of the Revolutions's influence, for example, the theme from Joseph Martin Kraus's Symphonie funèbre,

6. See Anton Schindler, Beethoven as I Knew Him, ed. D.W. MacArdle (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1966), 385.

7. Leon Plantinga, Romantic Music (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984), 43.

written in 1792 for Gustave III of Sweden (Ex.3.1),⁸

Example 3.1. Kraus, *Symphonie funèbre*, mm.95-98.



or that of Paisiello's *Sinfonia funebre* written in 1799 "per la morte del Pontefice Pio VI" (Ex.3.2),⁹

Example 3.2. Paisiello, *Sinfonia funebre*, mm.10-13.



While there are only a few similarities in these three themes, there is something similar about their tone: they are definitely aware of the same tradition; each is a unique expression of the same idea.

A strong case for the connection between the Beethoven and Gossec marches is made by Claude Palisca who writes that

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8. Joseph Martin Kraus, *Symphonie funèbre*, ed. Walter Lebermann (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1957); also in *Monumenta Musicae Svecicae* (Svenska Samfundet för Musikforskning, 1958-), IX.
 9. Giovanni Paisiello, *Sinfonia funebre per la morte del Pontefice Pio VI*, ed. G. Piccioli (Milan: Carlsch, 1940). This march is precisely the same march that Paisiello offered as "Marcia funebre per la morte di General Hoche" in 1797. Funeral marches played for the funeral of Hoche were those by Cherubini and Gossec.

the "most striking parallel with the French repertory is the virtual quotation of a phrase from this very march of Gossec" (Ex.3.3):¹⁰

Example 3.3. Comparison of a) Gossec, *Marche lugubre*, mm.30-6 and b) Beethoven, *Marcia funebre*, mm.19-23 (after Palisca).

The image displays two musical excerpts for comparison. Excerpt (a) is from Gossec's *Marche lugubre*, measures 30-36. It features a treble and bass staff in B-flat major. The melody in the treble staff begins with a half note G4, followed by a descending half note F#4, and then a series of eighth notes. The bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and single notes. Dynamics include *ff* (fortissimo) and *p* (piano), with a *cresc* (crescendo) marking. Excerpt (b) is from Beethoven's *Marcia funebre*, measures 19-23. It also uses a treble and bass staff in B-flat major. The melody in the treble staff starts with a half note G4, followed by a descending half note F#4, and then a series of eighth notes. The bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and single notes. Dynamics include *cresc* (crescendo), *f* (forte), *p* (piano), and *sf* (sforzando).

The similarity is indeed striking but the harmonic context of the descending diminished fourth in the two marches is different, and similar passages occur in other, earlier works of Beethoven, particularly those of a funereal nature (Ex.3.4):

10. Claude V. Palisca, "French Revolutionary Models for Beethoven's *Eroica* Funeral March," Music and Context: Essays for John M. Ward, ed. Anne Dhu Shapiro (Cambridge: Harvard University Department of Music, 1985), 202.

Example 3.4. a) Beethoven, Cantata on the Death of Emperor Joseph II, "Hier schlummert," mm. 53-6; b) Beethoven, Sonata, Op. 26, *Marcia funebre*, mm.17-21.

a) *Adagio con affetto.*
Sopr. 53 Cl. b

Un-ter Schmerz-en bis an sein Le-bens-en - - de irug.

b)

The same outlining of the diminished fourth can also be found in the opening measures of the first violin part of the funeral march from Sarti's Giulio Sabino.

The funeral march from Beethoven's "Eroica" has much in common with the march from Giulio Sabino--Kurt Strom believes it indeed was the model for the Beethoven.¹¹ Beethoven probably heard a number of operas by Sarti (his Fra due Litiganti, L'Incognito, etc., were performed in Bonn while Beethoven was there), and, in fact, owned the score of Giulio Sabino. A comparison of the Beethoven and Sarti themes reveals a number of similarities (Ex.3.5):

11. Kurt Strom, Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Marsches in der Kunstmusik bis Beethoven (Ph.D. Diss., Munich, 1926), 69.

Example 3.5. Comparison of funeral-march themes by Beethoven and Sarti.



But the falling minor third and the prominent diminished-seventh chord are common characteristics of the genre; so, too, the dotted rhythms, the rhythm of the cadential figure, and the overall shape of the theme. The resemblance between these two marches and those by Kraus and Paisiello may be one of kind rather than derivation.

The most striking similarity between these examples, the Beethoven, and, as we shall see below, numerous other funeral marches is the key of C minor. Many examples of *Trauermusik* of all kinds from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the key of C minor could be mentioned here, but only a few significant examples should suffice; the reader may easily fill in the gaps: the funeral march from Lully's *Alceste*, Purcell's Funeral March for Queen Mary, Mozart's Masonic Funeral Music, the opening chorus of Gluck's *Orfeo*

ed Euridice, and sections of Beethoven's own Cantata on the Death of Joseph II.

The significance of C minor in the context which is shared by all of these works, namely, the death of a heroic figure, lies in its relationship to the heroic key of E-flat. If the key of the heroic is E-flat, and its historical use--perhaps stemming from the particularly brilliant sound of brass in this key--certainly bears this out, then the heroic death would be symbolically represented by a key which is minor, related to E-flat, and musically metaphoric of the fall of the hero, that is, a key which is a descent from E-flat, namely, C minor.

The connection between the key of C minor and the funeral march in Beethoven's work is first found in his earliest extant work, the Nine Variations for Piano on a March by Dressler, WoO 63, dating from 1782. Dressler's march is distinctly of the Sarti type. Although the work is, as Solomon says, "figural variations of a simple kind,"¹² the twelve-year-old Beethoven's choice of a funeral march for a set of variations and the particular attention paid to the F-sharp in Dressler's theme seem particularly significant (Ex.3.6):¹³

12. Solomon, op. cit., 46.

13. Ludwig van Beethoven, Werke: Vollständige kritisch durchgesehene überall berechtigte Ausgabe, 25 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1862-65, 1888), XVII/166. Hereafter, BGA.

Example 3.6. Beethoven, Variations on a Theme by Dressler, WoO 63, mm.1-4.



Of interest too is the way Beethoven, in the third variation, substitutes the diminished-seventh chord for Dressler's repetitious dominant in the third measure of the theme. The descending arpeggiation of this chord, here and elsewhere in these variations, is similar to the memorable setting of the words "Todt, stöhnt es durch die öde Nacht," at the opening of the Funeral Cantata (Ex.3.7):¹⁴

Example 3.7. Beethoven, Cantata on the Death of Emperor Joseph II, opening chorus, mm.18-24.

Todt, stöhnt es durch die ö - de Nacht, die ö - de Nacht.

14. BGA, XXV/264.

The Sonata in A-flat, Op. 26

The third movement of Beethoven's A-flat Sonata, Op. 26, entitled "Marcia funebre sulla morte d'un eroe,"¹⁵ is probably the first funeral march with a trio. Because of a note by Ries,¹⁶ some critics have suggested that there was a relationship between this movement and the funeral march from Paër's opera Achille, but Nottebohm shows that this was chronologically impossible.¹⁷ Of greater interest is Beethoven's note in the sketchbooks following the theme of the opening movement: "variée tutt a fato--poi Menuetto o qualche altro pezzo caratteristica come p. E. una Marcia in as moll e poi questo." A number of things are implied by this: first, that Beethoven considered a funeral march to be a character piece; second, that he considered such a movement to have a place in a sonata; and finally, that the key, A-flat minor, was an important consideration in the design of either the sonata or the march.

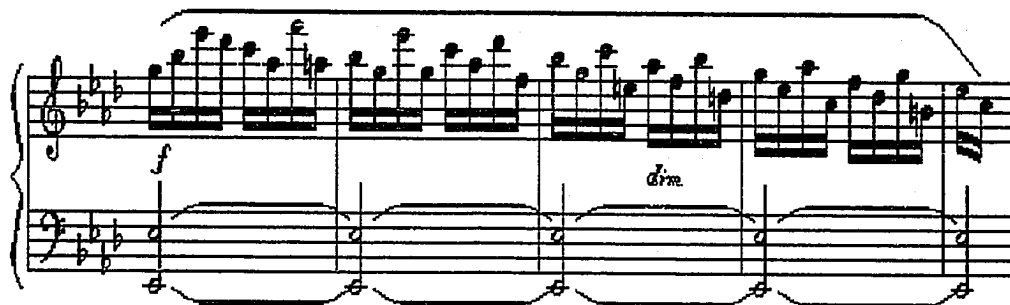
Around the time of the composition of this sonata (written between 1800 and 1801 and published the following

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15. Ludwig van Beethoven, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, 14 vols., ed. J. Schmidt-Görg, et al. (Munich and Duisburg: G. Henle, 1960-), VII/2. Hereafter, BNA. BGA, XVI/135.
 16. Franz Wegeler and Ferdinand Ries, Beethoven Remembered, trans. Frederick Noonan (Arlington, Virginia: Great Ocean, 1987), 70.
 17. Gustav Nottebohm, Zweite Beethoveniana (Leipzig: Peters, 1887; repr. New York: Johnson Reprints, 1970), 243.

year), the pianist-composer Johann Baptist Cramer was in Vienna, where he visited and played for Beethoven. According to Czerny,¹⁸ he played the A-flat Sonata from his Three Sonatas, Op. 22, dedicated to Haydn.¹⁹ Although attempts to find similarities between the A-flat Sonata of Cramer's Op. 22 and Beethoven's Op. 26 are fruitless, Nottebohm does find a similarity in the "figurative Manier" of both sonatas.²⁰ Beethoven's use of the same tonality for each of the movements is a trait found in Cramer's sonatas as well. There are, in addition, other similarities between Beethoven and Cramer. For example, the following passage is from the last movement of Cramer's Sonata in A-flat, Op. 29 (Ex.3.8):²¹

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18. Carl Czerny, "Anekdoten und Notizen über Beethoven," in Über den richtigen Vortrag der sämtlichen Beethoven'schen Klavierwerke, ed. Paul Badura-Skoda (Vienna: Universal, 1966), 16.
 19. Published as Op. 23 (1799).
 20. Nottebohm, op. cit., 243.
 21. Johann Baptist Cramer, Sonata Op. 29, no.2 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1813-17; facs. repr. of original edition in The London Pianoforte School, ed. Nicholas Temperley (New York: Garland, 1984), X, 175.

Example 3.8. Cramer, Sonata, Op. 29, No. 2, third movement, *Rondo moderato scherzando*, mm. 371-374.



This passage, from the middle of the movement, is almost exactly the same as the opening of the finale of Beethoven's Op. 26. The Beethoven sonata was probably finished before Cramer's visit to Vienna ended; because the passage is more typical of Cramer than of Beethoven, it may very well be Beethoven's tribute to Cramer.

The funeral march in Op. 26 is brilliantly constructed. The theme, virtually limited to a monotone, moves from A-flat minor to B minor (C-flat minor) and then to D with remarkable ease. The brief middle section at m.17 consists mostly of a reiteration of a diminished-seventh chord made up of A-flat, C-flat and D (the three keys of the first part) plus F (one of the two pitches that are not found in any of the scales in the first part). The ambiguity of the resultant chord allows it to be analyzed in any one of the keys of the first part. The F, however, becomes F-flat and slides back to A-flat minor at m.20. In the return of the first part, the other pitch that did not appear the first time around, C, is given a prominent position in m.24.

This ingenious construction is masked by the external simplicity of the piece, a simplicity present in most military music. The result of this construction, the static quality of the upper voice against the shifting tonality, creates an effect like the shift in color achieved in a military band when different choirs repeat the same material. The repeated E-flat, which appears in the sketches as the chief idea, is an exaggeration of the characteristic repeated notes found in military calls. The trio also calls to mind a military band through its imitations of percussion and brass effects.

In the context of the sonata, the relationship of the funeral march to the finale is similar to that of the variations to the scherzo. The variations, probably the most subdued variations Beethoven ever wrote, are juxtaposed with a lively scherzo. The two movements, both in triple time, foretell the even greater contrast to be found between the second pair, a funeral march, the most static of genres, with a virtual *moto perpetuo*. The presence in this sonata of a set of variations and a funeral march seems to be part of a thread running through Beethoven's works: first, the variations on a funeral march (the early Dressler Variations), next, a sonata containing both variations and a funeral march, and then, in the Six Variations, Op. 34, a set of variations for piano with one of the variations a funeral march.

The Variations, Op. 34

Writing to his publisher Breitkopf & Härtel in 1802, Beethoven said that the Variations, Op. 34 (as well as Op. 35), were written in "quite a new style."²² The first striking feature of these variations is the different key used for each variation. Beginning in F, and moving through D, B-flat, G, E-flat, C minor and back to F, the key relationship, descending thirds, alternately minor and major, is a relationship frequently encountered in Beethoven's sonatas. Equally striking is the autonomy of meter, tempo, and mood in each variation, making the set an exploration of the theme through a series of genres or character pieces, a technique that was to reach perfection in Beethoven's Diabelli Variations. The most interesting variations for our purposes are the fourth and fifth, not just because the fifth is a *marcia funebre* but because of the key relationship, E-flat to C minor, which exists between the two variations.

The musical language of this funeral march shows elements of what Solomon calls "Cherubini's rhetorical 'grand manner.'"²³ The influence of Revolutionary music on Beethoven, particularly via Cherubini, was demonstrated in 1925

22. Thayer, Alexander Wheelock, Thayer's Life of Beethoven, ed. Elliot Forbes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 320.

23. Solomon, op. cit., 97.

by Arnold Schmitz.²⁴ Schmitz himself credits Hoffman, Wendt and Schumann with first noticing this.²⁵ The most famous example of this rhetorical manner, which Pestelli describes as "spacious, solemn and excessive,"²⁶ is found in the opening of the "Pathétique" Sonata. It is also present in the brief middle movement of the Horn Sonata, Op. 17 and the introduction to the Presto of the Septet in E-flat. In the Horn Sonata and the Septet, the somber tone is used to emphasize the jocularity of the ensuing movement. The important aspect of this technique is in the intentional juxtaposition of the two most sharply contrasting languages that Beethoven had at his disposal. This contrast is particularly strong in the Septet, where the chordal, static, and rhetorical are followed by the contrapuntal, lively, and tuneful strains of the Presto. In the Op. 34 Variations, this same contrast is apparent in the juxtaposition of the graceful flow of the minuet with the ponderous tread of the funeral march.

The Op. 34 funeral march, like that of Op. 26, also contains characteristics of military-band style, most notably in the heavily-voiced chords at the beginning and the

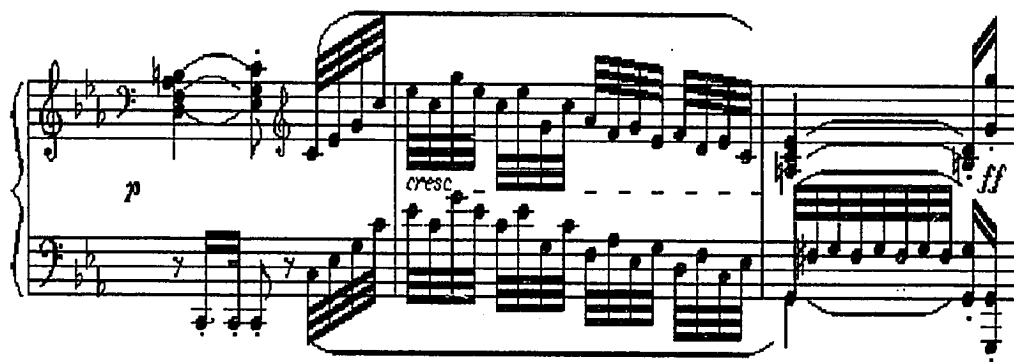
24. Arnold Schmitz, "Cherubinis Einfluss auf Beethovens Ouvertüren," Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch, II, ed. Adolf Sandberger (Augsburg: Benno Filser, 1925), 104-118.

25. Arnold Schmitz, Das Romantische Beethovenbild (Berlin: Dümmler, 1927), 164-5.

26. Pestelli, op. cit., 180.

trumpet calls in the transition to the final variation. It is the fusion of these military elements with the rhetorical style that results in passages like the arpeggiation in the third measure, trumpet-like, declamatory and pianistic all at the same time (Ex.3.9):²⁷

Example 3.9. Beethoven, Variations, Op. 34, Variation V, *Marcia*, mm.2-4.



In some of Beethoven's earlier sets of variations the slow "Minore" sections usually found toward the end of the work incorporate features of the funeral march. The Twelve Variations on the "Menuet à la Viganò" from Haibel's Le nozze disturbate for piano, WoO 68, and the Variations on "Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen" from Die Zauberflöte for cello and piano, Op. 66, from 1795 and 1796 respectively, both feature this kind of variation. In the Op. 66 Variations, Variation X is followed by a second slow variation which closes on a dominant chord and immediately leads to a fast major-key Variation and Finale in three-four time.

27. BGA, XVII/162.

It is easier to explain the presence of the march in the Variations than in the Sonata. The pianistic virtuosity often associated with the theme and variations is here secondary to the compositional virtuosity shown in the presentation of a theme in different guises. By the fifth variation the listener should not be surprised to find one of these variations a funeral march; in fact, the listener should be impressed by the composer's ability to transform the theme so dramatically.

At this point, we might compare Op. 34 with Op. 26. In both cases, a funeral march appears within a context of absolute music, one a set of variations, the other a sonata. The sonata maintains the same tonality for four movements, reverses the order of the scherzo and the slow movement, and opens with a set of variations. The variations build by contrast rather than by a gradually increasing complexity, strive for the autonomy of each variation, and stress characteristic rather than figural pianistic traditions. In both cases, then, the inclusion of the funeral march is only one of the innovative aspects of the whole piece.

Both marches are, of course, piano pieces and for practical reasons alone are not functional funeral marches. The imitations of military band gestures in both marches are stylizations and part of a long keyboard music tradition. If these had been written for military band it would have been unnecessary to be as blatantly military as in the trio

of the Op. 26 march. The emphasis of the military gestures in both marches is the key to the listener's perception of these piano works as funeral marches.

The funeral march in Op. 26 is, as is clear from the note in Beethoven's sketches, a character piece; it makes obeisance to its sonata surroundings by a formal expansion, namely, the use of a trio, which is a characteristic of the military march. Significantly, the ternary form which results from the inclusion of a trio makes the march formally similar to the typical nineteenth-century character piece. The musical language of the Op. 26 funeral march consists of devices which imitate a military band playing a *marche funèbre*. The funeral-march variation in Op. 34, by adhering to the binary structure of the theme, retains a traditional funeral-march form, and employs rhetorical gestures reminiscent of both Cherubini and earlier operatic sources fused with the imitative military style seen in Op. 26. The less emphatic use of the military gesture in this march can be attributed to Beethoven's ability to achieve the necessary gravity of the march through this musical language rather than through stressing imitative characteristics of the genre.

The Symphony, Op. 55

Little more than a year separates the composition of the Op. 34 Variations from the "Eroica" Symphony, Op. 55.

During that year, 1802 to 1803, Beethoven's output included the "Eroica" Variations, Op. 35, The Creatures of Prometheus, the "Kreutzer" Sonata, the three Piano Sonatas, Op. 31, the completion of the Third Piano Concerto, and the oratorio Christus am Oelberge. Of the oratorio, Solomon writes:

The proximity of this work to the Heiligenstadt Testament raises intriguing but unanswerable questions. That it was actually sketched at Heiligenstadt is doubtful, but it clearly was created in the aftermath of the crisis, and both in its subject matter and in its size it opens--however haltingly and imperfectly--the path to the "Eroica" and to Fidelio. The "heroic" style seemed to be struggling for emergence, and "Christus" is a step toward that emergence, in which Beethoven returned, almost instinctively, to a form similar to that of the "Joseph" Cantata, in which he earlier treated the subject of death and heroism. Here, as in that cantata, the discursive vocal form proved insufficient to the task.²⁸

For Solomon, the result of Beethoven's fusion of the "tempestuous, conflict-ridden subject matter of the emerging heroic style with the sonata principle" is the "Eroica" Symphony.²⁹ Michael Broyles, in his recent book on the development of Beethoven's heroic style, points out the same fusion:

The more flexible, rhetorical, poetic approach as well as the overall heroic tone found in Beethoven's pieces in the early 1800's in many ways resembles the music of French Revolutionary composers. These same characteristics, however, could also reflect the sonata style and to some

28. Solomon, op. cit., 192.

29. Ibid., 194.

extent the symphony style of Classicism.³⁰

Broyles goes on to show that the fusion of these two styles, the Revolutionary and the classic symphony style, creating the heroic, occurs in Beethoven's overtures from Prometheus (1801) to Egmont (1809). Broyles's statement, however, brings up another point. Both Broyles and Solomon believe that a fusion of the music of the French Revolution with the heroic style of the Viennese period created the emerging heroic style. How does the music of this heroic style differ from that of the heroic music of the Viennese classic period?

A heroic style had been around for a long time. Its importance may have varied from time to time, but certainly a long list of works which could be called "heroic" in style could be compiled from the eighteenth-century repertory alone. Military marches, funeral marches, battle symphonies, and of course--perhaps the most consistent source of heroic music--opera, forged a vocabulary from which both the French Revolutionary composers and the young Beethoven drew. A good example of the complex relationship between a musical language and its source is furnished by Pestelli who, in describing "O voto tremendo" from Mozart's Idomeneo, writes:

This passage in C minor, over a solemn triplet rhythm (which comes again in Don Giovanni for the Commendatore's death, presented in a constantly

30. Michael Broyles, Beethoven: The Emergence and Evolution of Beethoven's Heroic Style (New York: Excelsior, 1988), 126.

changing light by means of modulations), returns to the tragic scale of "Che spiagge! Che lide... funesti!" in Jommelli's Fetonte, creating at the same time a kind of funereal heroism on which Beethoven was to draw extensively in the funeral march of the "Eroica" Symphony.³¹

When Solomon compares "Christus" to the "Joseph" Cantata, he acknowledges the existence of a similar relationship between these works, not just one of content, "death and heroism," but also one of musical language. That musical language, seen in the opening chorus of "Joseph"--solemn, massive, rhetorical, harmonically daring, funereal and, characteristically, in C minor--is like the "rhetorical grand manner" of Cherubini. Yet the cantata was written in 1790, when Revolutionary music was just beginning to appear. The sources of this manner then must be the music of the classic period, or rather, this similar manner in both Revolutionary music and music of the classic period is from the same source--heroic opera, Gluck, and, in Beethoven's case, Handel, as well.³²

The heroic style did not emerge in the 1790s, but heroic music was subject to the change of style that was occurring in all music at that time. Along with these stylistic changes, a major shift in the subject of heroic music, the hero, took place. The hero of Revolutionary

31. Pestelli, op. cit., 153.

32. Palisca, too, in his article on the "Eroica" funeral march, does not discuss the common ancestry of the similarities between the Beethoven march and the Revolutionary style.

music, like the hero of Revolutionary opera, became the citizen, the average person. Suddenly marches and hymns took on a new, deeper meaning. The music heard by the citizens of France featured the two facets of heroic music, the triumphant and the funereal, side by side.

The triumphant and the funereal are also found side by side in the "Eroica" Symphony. This juxtaposition of the two aspects of the heroic in the first and second movements of the symphony, as in the fourth and fifth variations of Op. 34 and in the third and fourth movements of Op. 26, is an extreme one but here the extremes are of the same kind. Like the Op. 26 march, the funeral march in the "Eroica" contains a trio, and, interestingly, the forms of the movements of Op. 26--variations, scherzo, funeral march, and sonata--are present in the symphony but appear in reverse order. The first two measures of the theme announce the funeral march immediately. The military aspect is present in the repeated notes and the dotted rhythm, and also in the theme's melodic shape. Basically, these two measures represent a rise to the third of the scale, E-flat, and a falling back to the tonic. In the sketches Beethoven changed the first three notes a number of times. Example 3.10 shows three different versions of the opening:³³

33. From Gustav Nottebohm, Two Beethoven Sketchbooks, trans. Jonathan Katz (London: Victor Gollancz, 1979), 81-82.

Example 3.10. From the sketches for Beethoven's Op. 55.



All three contain this same rise and fall of the minor third, a reminiscence in the minor mode of the most common of military calls, as, for example, the following from French military ordinances of 1766 and 1792, respectively (Ex.3.11):³⁴

Example 3.11. 18th-century military calls.



Many funeral marches of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries open with this same rising and falling minor third. The effect of this simple evocation of the military call combined with the poignancy of the minor third is an excellent example of how music is capable of synthesizing

34. From George Kastner, Manuel général de musique militaire (Paris, 1848; reprinted Geneva: Minkoff, 1973). Kastner included reprints of various military ordinances from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as addenda to his study. The two examples cited are chosen from two of these ordinances, most of which feature similar calls.

two different associative ideas--in this case, the heroic and the plaintive--to create an unequivocal musical metaphor. The metaphor created here, a succinct representation of the heroic funeral, was so perfectly appropriate that its widespread use in the first half of the nineteenth century is quite understandable. It comes as no surprise that Beethoven's use of this device was uniquely formed and that other implementations of it seem derivative (Ex.3.12):³⁵

Example 3.12. Nineteenth-century funeral-march themes.



In the first measure of the *marcia funebre* of the "Eroica," there is a slide in the bass which imitates the sound of a four-note ruff, one of the most common drum strokes. Why would Beethoven choose an imitation of a drum when timpani are there to be used? The use of the imitation

35. Luigi Gianella, Concerto lugubre per flauto e orchestra composta ed esequito per il funerali dell'immortale Cimarosa (Padua: G. Zanibon, 1980); Sigismund Neukomm, "Élégie harmonique sur la mort de J.L. Dussek," NV 90 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d.); Schubert, "Grande marche funèbre d'Alexander I", D.859.

of the figure establishes this as a character piece, and the pitches of the slide, G-A-B-C, delineate an important motive of the work. Once Beethoven chose this bass figure the choice of the first note of the theme was narrowed: the G as upbeat to the C would have duplicated the bass, whereas the delay of this motion to the middle of the first measure emphasized it through repetition.

The theme continues with a series of larger intervals falling back like the initial E-flat to C: G down to D in mm.3-4, and A-flat down to C in mm.5-8. The lament-like character of this falling-back motion is obvious, and the mournful tone of the whole passage is heightened by the F-sharp to G in the second violin, m.4, which rises above the theme for a moment. This figure is not only a traditional affect of mourning (as in the "Lacrymosa" of Mozart's Requiem) but also recalls the most striking feature of the Dressler theme from Beethoven's early variations.

The theme is repeated by the wind band and the entire string section accompanies it with drum imitations. After the modulation to E-flat, a hymn begins. The hymns of the Revolution immediately come to mind, but a passage by Pestelli, while confirming this connection, suggests, as well, a larger connection:

. . . a slow and massive tone, with a simple form, became common in the revolutionary hymn, especially when it was in E flat major; Gossec's "Hymne à Voltaire" for three male voices (1791) and "Hymne à la Liberté" . . . already recalled the tender Masonic and Habsburg E flat major of Mozart's Die

Zauberflöte.³⁶

The hymn barely gets underway before it is interrupted by a loud punctuating chord, like the chords in the Ninth Symphony's finale which reject the quotations from the previous movements. The two stepwise descending fourths which make up the hymn are also stopped before completing an E-flat-major scale (Ex.3.13):³⁷

Example 3.13. Beethoven, *Marcia funebre*, mm.17-20.



The relationship of E-flat and E-natural which is outlined here will shortly be inverted to a diminished octave and become an important feature of later melodic development.

The hymn dissolves into C Minor and the march begins again on the subdominant. This time there is an octave leap up to an F (m.33) and a descent to F-sharp which recalls the descending figures of the hymn. In these two measures utilizing the hymn's melodic direction and the outlined diminished octave, the hymn and the funeral march are combined (Ex.3.14):

36. Pestelli, op. cit., 180.

37. BGA, I/3.

not. The tone remains serious and dignified. The triplets in the strings restrain the exultancy particularly in mm.93-94. The military gestures prevent the oboe theme at the beginning of the trio from becoming sentimental. The trio suggests that while this is sad, it is not a tragedy. Those imitators of Beethoven who interpreted this change to the major as consolation would find that this same device could easily lead not to the triumphant but to the maudlin in their own work.

When the trio has run its course, its final C descends a major third to an A-flat, and with it the minor mode is restored, the descending motion returns, and a brief transition leads back to the beginning of the movement as if the whole first part were to be repeated. However, a sudden modulation to the subdominant leads to the fugato. The two subjects of the fugato are built on the ascending-fourth motive that opened the trio and the descending major third that ended it. The answer is built on the scale passage (Ex.3.13) which the hymn outlined earlier (Ex.3.15):

Example 3.15. Beethoven, Op. 55, *Marcia funebre*,
mm.117-18.



The subject built on the ascending fourth is in the rhythm of the hymn and is, as well, its inversion. The fugato, then, is built on those elements which intruded on the march, except for the ascending fourth which links all of these elements and, of course, is the motive that began the movement. All the motives come together on the D pedal, m.145, where the descending sequence built on the ascending fourth and the falling-back minor third, both from the first measures of the march, bring the fugato to an abrupt halt on a diminished chord. This fugato, which the critic of the AmZ found "confusing," is indeed confusing: it comes as a great surprise even after hearing the piece dozens of times; it hurls together what had been a series of carefully unfolding musical gestures; and when it is over, everything has changed. The fugato is a device occasionally found as a developmental feature of symphonic music, but rarely taken as far as the extended pedal point which appears here. A fugato of this scope is more commonly found in the realm of vocal music, specifically, church music. In addition, the ensuing cadence in G minor is a church cadence complete with 4-3 suspension.

The main theme of the movement returns timidly, marked "sotto voce," but is instantly diverted to an A-flat, m.157, which is answered fortissimo by the basses. At this point comes the famous passage, frequently called "apocalyptic," where the trumpets and horns sound a military call against

the triplets in the strings. In this "apocalyptic" passage, which--like the great choral outburst in the Ninth Symphony after "Über Sternen muss er wohnen"--follows a quiet diminished-seventh chord, the realm of vocal music is reaffirmed. In fact, throughout the rest of the movement, where the strings accompany the return of the main theme with a song-like accompaniment figure, or when the hymn returns, now with a bass accompaniment and with a vocal appoggiatura at m.183, the vocal effect is reinforced. The gestures of mourning from the beginning of the movement return; these devices, once calculated, imitative, cold, are now vocal, expressive, and human.

At the deceptive cadence which marks the beginning of the coda, the major third, C to A-flat, so triumphantly reiterated in the trio, is soon joined by C-E-flat, the minor third of the mournful opening theme; the two, united and subdued, become the accompanying figure for a duet between the first and second violins. At m.232, the oboe and clarinet play figures which move towards the tonic but fall back, and the flute and the violins play cadenzas that dwindle away to be completed only by a single timpani stroke. Finally, there is the famous fragmentation of the theme in the final measures. This passage, often interpreted as the holding back of tears, can be seen as exactly that. The forte ending is quickly hushed by the strings, a gesture like the interruption of the hymn in the first part,

and the basses groan their opening motive one last time.

This transformation of the movement into a series of vocal gestures--not simply those of church music, but those of opera, oratorio, Lied, etc.--after the fugato, breaks the traditional stasis of the funeral march and introduces a human quality. This quality makes the jubilation of the ensuing scherzo seem quite appropriate. This juxtaposition, grief giving way to humor, represents a very basic human need often noted by psychologists. The effect of the human element on the funeral march, and indeed on the whole symphony, unlike the conclusions of analysts who find that the sonata principle is in effect in all of these movements acting as a formal restraint, is that this element has produced a great sense of freedom throughout the work. Other "irregularities" fall into place: the G-minor opening and the dance section at m.211 of the finale, for example, recalling the pedal point and cadence in G minor of the fugato, take on a new meaning.

By incorporating aspects of vocal music into the funeral march, Beethoven dramatically increases the expressive possibilities of the genre in much the same way that Sarti had in the previous century. Similarly, Beethoven's use of dramatic effect recalls the *marches funèbres* of the French Revolution. The increased expressivity countered a problem often associated with the use of effect, that is, the tendency of the effect to appear to have been employed purely

for itself with neither an important connection to the rest of the work nor any easy explanation for its existence. Effects, consequently, often sound vapid. When, however, there is a clear reason for their presence, effects become significant. The combination of expressivity and effect is a powerful one, and stasis can no longer exist in such a context. The music becomes discursive, begins to suggest that a meaning is intended, and encourages interpretation where traditionally no explanation was needed. The listener then must either give in to the demands of the music, or, like the critic from the AmZ, become confused.

Wagner, in Oper und Drama, saw Beethoven's use of voices in the Ninth Symphony as a necessity brought about by the inadequacies of absolute music. In the funeral march in the "Eroica," Beethoven showed that the genre and its tradition, with the multitude of associations and the richness of response it evoked, could communicate a level of meaning equivalent to that of a text. This was only natural. While it was possible to divorce the funeral march from its function, it was impossible to efface the powerful connotation of that function. The character of the *marche funèbre*, rather than its function, had become the strongest aspect of its tradition.

Chapter IV

THE CHARACTER PIECE

Although a number of significant features of the funeral march in the "Eroica" Symphony continued traditions established in the eighteenth century, the immediate sources of the *Marcia funebre* were largely Beethoven's own works, in particular, the funeral marches of Opp. 26 and 34. Despite certain external features which these marches share with other funeral marches of the period, they have something in common with each other that distinguishes them from other examples of the funeral-march tradition.

The two earlier examples maintain the stasis of the genre and, in fact, can be removed from their contexts and treated as functional funeral marches. Indeed, the march from Op. 26 appeared in 1815 as part of the incidental music to Duncker's Leonore Prohaska and was also played at Beethoven's funeral. But the functional aspect of the funeral march in the "Eroica," as well as of those in Opp. 26 and 34, is negated by the context--symphony, sonata, and variations, respectively. In spite of the capacity of these funeral marches to survive extraction from their contexts, what is extracted remains but an excerpt. In fact, if these three works are considered chronologically, the funeral

march seems to become more embedded in its context with each successive work until we find characteristics in the Op. 55 march that clearly make it unmarchable.

As discussed in Chapter I (p. 8), Carl Dahlhaus describes genre as a "congruence between a social function and a compositional norm." In his essay "Zur Problematik der musikalischen Gattungen im 19. Jahrhundert,"¹ Dahlhaus observed that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the principle of aesthetic autonomy occasioned a major shift in the use of genre. This discussion was summarized in his later book Grundlagen der Musikgeschichte (1977):

. . . in the nineteenth century the functionality of music was either completely subsumed [*aufgehoben*] or submerged within the work's foundation by the principle of aesthetic autonomy. . . . This is not to say that the genre to which a work belonged had become of no importance (that is first seen in the twentieth century), but that genre became a secondary characteristic of a work of art conceived primarily as an individual work and not as an exemplar.²

The "social function" of which Dahlhaus writes is of course function in the sense of utility. This shift in the rela-

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1. In Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen, ed. Wulf Arlt et al. (Bern: Francke, 1975), 840-95.
 2. Carl Dahlhaus, Grundlagen der Musikgeschichte (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1981), 234. ". . . wurde in 19. Jahrhundert einerseits die Funktionalität der Musik durch das ästhetische Autonomieprinzip aufgehoben oder in den musikalischen Souterrain verstossen. . . . Nicht, dass die Gattung, der eine Komposition angehörte, gleichgültig geworden wäre (das geschah erst in 20. Jahrhundert); aber sie wurde zu einem sekundären Bestimmungsmerkmal des primär als Individuum und nicht als Exemplar begriffenen Kunstwerks."

tionship between genre and function in the nineteenth century was a process that had actually begun in the previous century.

The justification of the existence of non-functional instrumental music had been a major aesthetic battle of the eighteenth century, and for some critics it had not yet been decided. The unusual use of the funeral march by Beethoven did not "subsume" the function of the genre but was an important part of this process of justification. The funeral march in the nineteenth century continued to thrive as the funeral became an important middle- and upper-class social activity. For example, in a period of five years, 1812-17, Sigismund Neukomm wrote three different marches for the burials of notable individuals, among them, Dussek. But in spite of the many works by Neukomm and others which continued the traditional functional existence of the *marche funèbre*, Beethoven, through his non-functional use of the funeral march in the symphony, the sonata, and the theme and variations, gave the genre a much more prominent position in nineteenth-century music than in that of the eighteenth. And by suggesting different contexts in which the funeral march could function, Beethoven's work caused another kind, or genre, if you will, of *marche funèbre* to come into existence. The composers of these kinds of marches emphasized the connotation of the funeral march rather than its functionality. This chapter will look at the kinds of *marches*

funèbres which appeared primarily in the piano music of this period and what relationship, if any, they may have to Beethoven's work. A similar examination of the symphonic funeral march is reserved for the following chapter.

The Character Variation

A shift in function can be seen in the theme and variations at the turn of the nineteenth century. For a long time, the theme and variations with its reliance on figurational harmonic elaboration and melodic ornamentation had functioned primarily as a virtuoso display piece for the performer. The keyboard variations of Mozart and Haydn, among others, fall into this category of variation (with the possible exception of the latter's F-minor Variations, H. XVII:6). The character variation, as in Beethoven's Op. 34, downplays the virtuoso element and highlights the skill of the composer more than that of the performer. Until Beethoven's Op. 34, the character variation was a rarity. Alessandro Poglietti's Aria Allemagna con alcuni variazioni sopra l'età della Maestà Vostra (c.1677) may be the earliest and even includes one section, the "Alter Weiber Conduct," that some have thought to be a funeral march.³ Later, in Bach's Goldberg Variations a number of variations were cast

3. Both Strom and Edmund Nick call the Poglietti "Conduct" a funeral march, but there is little evidence of a march in the music. See Nick's article "Marsch" in MGG, VIII/1679, or Strom, op. cit., 27.

in familiar Baroque genres. But for a more extensive example of the character variation before Beethoven, one would have to look late in the century at, for example, the Abbé Vogler's Variations sur l'Air de Marlborough, of 1791, in which the variations bear the names of genres--caccia, minuet, march, etc.--ending in a final fugue.

Despite earlier examples of character variations, the use of the funeral march as a variation may have originated with Beethoven and seems to have either been imitated or independently developed in the works of other Viennese composers of the period. In addition to the *marche funèbre*, the light, often triple-time movement juxtaposed with it, which appears consistently in the works of Beethoven, also begins to appear with some frequency in these same composers' works.

Anton Reicha's L'Art de varier ou 57 Variations, Op.57,⁴ dating from 1803 or 1804, attempts, as its title suggests, a comprehensive demonstration of the different kinds of variation in use at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Through its fifty-seven variations, the theme undergoes very little modification, and the composition basically amounts to a theme repeated fifty-seven times with different accompaniments. In short, it is a rather long presentation of the variation-types which made up the then-

4. Anton Reicha, Ausgewählte Klavierwerke, ed. Dana Zahn (Munich: G. Henle, 1971), 27-93.

popular character variations. Reicha certainly knew Beethoven's work. He and Beethoven were, in Reicha's own words, "united in a bond like that of Orestes and Pylades, and were continually side by side in [their] youth."⁵ It is not surprising then that Variation XXXI is a *marche funèbre* followed by a lighter variation in triple time. A similar use of the funeral march is found in the work of Carl Maria von Weber.

For some time it had been believed that Weber thought unfavorably of the work of Beethoven. In his biography of Weber, John Warrack points out the error of presuming that in Weber's well-known satirical account of a new symphony from Vienna he was referring to the "Eroica."⁶ A letter written in 1809 to the publisher Nägeli by the twenty-three-year-old Weber demonstrates his initial feelings about Beethoven:

You seem to see me . . . as an imitator of Beethoven, and flattered as many might be at this, I don't find it in the least pleasant. Firstly, I hate everything bearing the mark of imitation; secondly, my views differ too much from Beethoven's for me to feel I could ever agree with him. The passionate, almost incredible inventive powers inspiring him are accompanied by such a chaotic arrangement of his ideas that only his earlier compositions appeal to me; the later ones seem to me hopeless chaos . . . out of which break

5. Quoted in Thayer, op. cit., 96.

6. John Warrack, Carl Maria von Weber (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 93-5.

a few heavenly flashes of genius proving how great he would be if he would tame his rich fantasy.⁷

Weber's view of Beethoven may have been colored by the AmZ's comparison the previous year of his Variations, Op.9, with Beethoven's variations. It was in an earlier set of variations that Weber first used the funeral march, the Six Variations on a Theme from Vogler's Samori, Op.6, written in 1804.

According to Kurt Strom, the Abbé Vogler himself had written a set of six variations on the same theme, Naga's aria, "Woher mag dies wohl kommen?"⁸ Vogler, who was at this time Weber's teacher, had in fact written quite a few sets of variations on different themes from Samori. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the practice of writing variations on themes from one's own opera, certainly an unabashed act of self-promotion, was, as Strom says, "in höchste Blüte namentlich in Wien." Weber himself was at that time preparing the vocal score of Samori for his teacher, and, from Strom's description of the Vogler, Weber's variations and Vogler's have a number of similarities.⁹

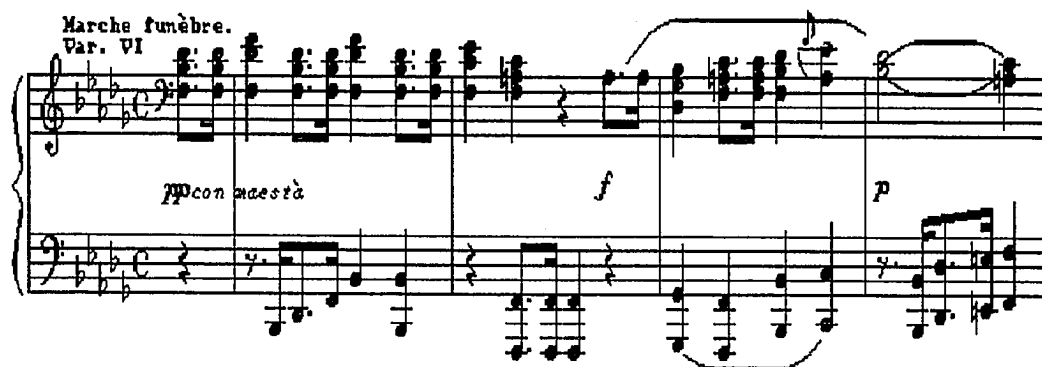
7. Quoted in Warrack, op. cit., 95.

8. Kurt Strom, op. cit., 55.

9. I should make it clear that Strom did not see or, if he did, did not discuss the Weber Variations. Similarly, I have not seen the Vogler. My point is that Strom's description of the Vogler could easily apply to the Weber.

Both Vogler's and Weber's sets have optional violin and cello parts, a feature fairly common at that time. In addition, in both sets the sixth variation is a *marche funèbre*. In a letter of 12 April 1804 to his friend Ignaz Susann, Weber wrote: "The variations are in Vogler's system."¹⁰ Although the march may have been suggested by the work of Vogler, the sixth variation of Weber's set bears a resemblance to the march in Beethoven's Op. 26, especially in its rising bass triads and the repeated falling figure at the beginning of its second half (Ex.4.1):¹¹

Example 4.1. Weber, *Variations sur l'air de Naga de Samori*, Variation VI, mm.1-4.



Interestingly, Strom, who does not mention the Weber, points out the similarity of Vogler's march to Beethoven's Op. 26: "The sixth variation paints an even darker contrast to the theme . . . its dark melodic register, its jagged bass

10. Warrack, *op. cit.*, 50n.

11. Carl Maria von Weber, *Sämtliche Werke für Pianoforte*, 3 vols., ed. Louis Köhler and Adolf Ruthardt (Leipzig: C.F. Peters, n.d.), III, 21.

rhythms, its dissonant harmonies, and its dynamic contrasts as well, unmistakably suggest Beethoven's Op. 26."¹² Although Weber may not have been familiar with Beethoven's Op. 26 at this time, Vogler may have. Vogler had returned to Vienna from England a year or two earlier and had been involved in a famous contest with Beethoven.¹³ It is possible, then, that Weber may have inherited his use of the *marche funèbre* from Beethoven via Vogler.¹⁴ On the other hand, Vogler himself had written a well-known funeral march for Louis XVI in 1793. This work, unfortunately now lost, and Vogler's early use of the character variations suggest that Beethoven may have had little to do with Weber's variations.

There are nevertheless interesting similarities between Weber's march and the march in Beethoven's Op. 34 Variations. In both the Beethoven and Weber variations, the

12. Strom, *op. cit.*, 55. "Einen noch stärkeren Kontrast zum Thema bildet die 6. Variation . . . deren düstere Melodielage, zuckende Bassrhythmen, schwere Harmonien und dynamische Kontraste ebenfalls an Beethovens Op. 26 unverkennbar anklinget."

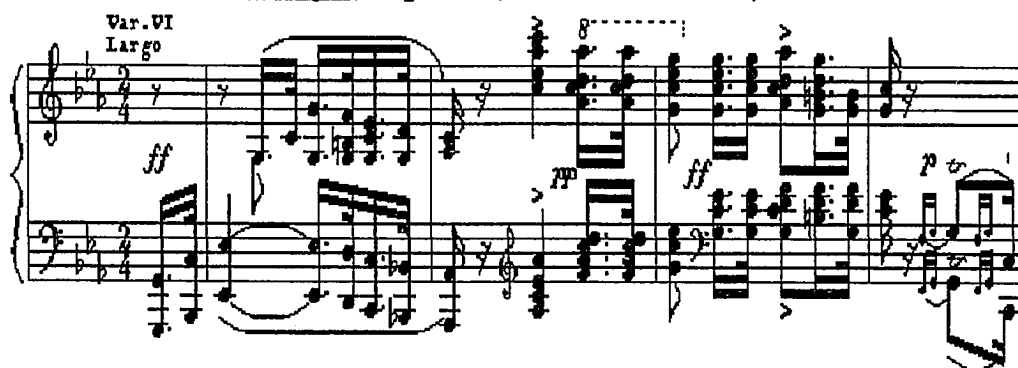
13. Thayer, *op. cit.*, 338.

14. It is possible that Strom may have been mistaken. The variations which he attributes to Vogler may very well be the same as the Weber. Certainly the description of the Vogler sounds remarkably similar to Weber's set. Although Vogler wrote many sets of variations on themes from *Samori*, this particular one is not mentioned in the list of his works in *The New Grove*. The Weber, on the other hand, is easily verifiable: the manuscript is in the British Museum and photocopies of it are easily available elsewhere.

funeral march occurs at the end of the variations and is followed by a brief transition which is made up of trumpet imitations. In both works, these imitations end on a dominant chord which is immediately followed by a lively 6/8 finale. This juxtaposition, so characteristic of Beethoven, in which a *marche funèbre* is followed immediately by a sharply contrasting movement, is also found in Weber's Seven Variations on a Theme from Méhul's Joseph, Op. 28, from 1812.

In the Joseph Variations the march is again the penultimate section of the work. This sixth variation is not called a funeral march in the score, but the entire section shows the unmistakable characteristics of the genre as in, for example, the opening measures (Ex.4.2),¹⁵

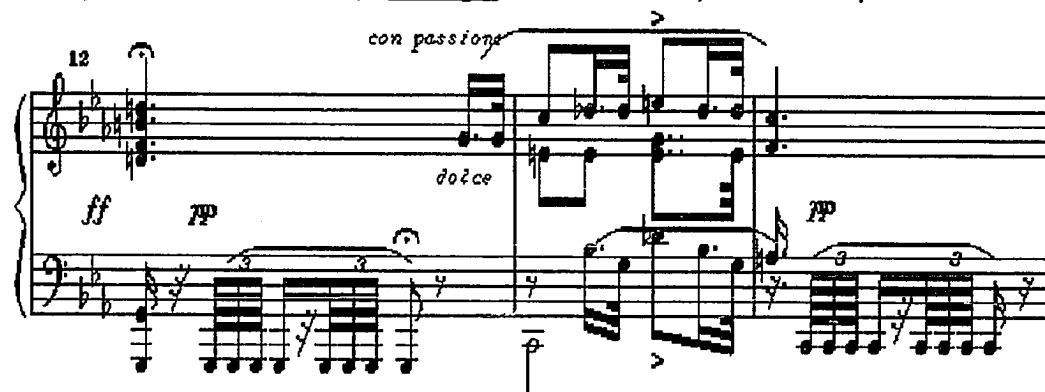
Example 4.2. Weber, *Variationen über die Romanze aus Méhul's Joseph*, Op. 28, Variation VI, mm.1-4.



15. Weber, Sämtliche Werke, III, 42.

or the imitations of the muffled drums which occur in three different places later in the march (Ex.4.3):

Example 4.3. Weber, Joseph Variations, Var. VI, mm.12-14.



The finale, which immediately follows this variation, is a *moto perpetuo* in triplets in C major.

The most important conclusion to be drawn from these funeral marches by Vogler, Reicha, and Weber is that the funeral march was not unusual in sets of variations in the first decade of the nineteenth century and that the broadening of the genre's usage by Beethoven was either accepted and continued by these composers or contemporaneously developed by them on their own.

A short time after it found its way into the theme and variations, a new kind of *marche funèbre* appears, one that negates its original function in another way, that is, through its conception as an autonomous piece of music, independent of a larger genre. This phase in the development of the funeral march strengthened the characteristic status which the genre acquired in the character variations

and pushed the genre squarely into the sphere of the nineteenth-century character piece. This development can be seen in the funeral marches of Franz Schubert.

The Funeral March as a Character Piece

Two of Schubert's funeral marches are among his earliest known compositions, and two date from the last years of his life. The first march, called "Eine kleine Trauermusik," D. 79, dated 19 September 1813,¹⁶ is in E-flat minor and is scored for two clarinets, two horns, two trombones, two bassoons, and contrabassoon. The piece consists of a short binary-form march played first by the two horns and then by the ensemble. Deutsch believes the march was written in memory of Schubert's friend Theodor Körner who was killed in battle 26 August 1813.¹⁷ The *Trauermarsch* from Act II of Schubert's Singspiel Des Teufels Lustschloss, D. 84, was probably written in the same year.¹⁸ This simple binary piece in C minor, much like the operatic funeral

16. Franz Schubert, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, ed. Internationale Schubert-Gesellschaft (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1964-), VI/1.

17. Otto Erich Deutsch, The Schubert Reader, trans. Eric Blom (New York: Norton, 1947), 32.

18. Schubert, op.cit., II/1a.

marches of Sarti and Paër, is played once and partially repeated with the chorus.¹⁹

Two later marches date from 1825 and, like the first two such works, are in E-flat minor and C minor. Both are for piano four hands. The first march is No. 5 of the Six Grand Marches, Op. 40, D. 819,²⁰ and, though not actually called a *marche funèbre* by Schubert, it certainly has many characteristics of one. It was referred to as a funeral march in Schubert's obituary in the "Österreichisches Bürgerblatt für Verstand, Herz und gute Laune,"²¹ as well as by Liszt in his arrangement for piano solo. We shall look more closely at this march in our discussion of Liszt's arrangement.

The second of these two marches is the Grande marche funèbre d'Alexandre I, Op. 55, D. 859.²² Once again this is a march which bears comparison with Beethoven's Op. 26. In particular, in the A-flat Trio, the modulations through E minor and B minor are reminiscent of the enharmonic shifts

19. There is a similar march in the third act of Schubert's Fierrabras of 1823. Here, a brief B-minor march is played in Scene 6; it is repeated, transposed to D minor, in Scene 7, with the addition of the chorus.

20. Franz Schubert, Werke, 21 vols., ed. J. Brahms et al. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1884-97), IX/1, No. 2.

21. In Deutsch, op. cit., 873.

22. Schubert, Werke, IX/1, No. 4.

in the Beethoven, but then, shifts like these are actually far more common in Schubert than Beethoven (Ex.4.4):²³

Example 4.4. Schubert, *Grande marche funèbre d'Alexandre I*, D. 859, Trio, mm.9-15.



An earlier four-hand funeral march by Dussek appeared in his *Grande Sonate* in B-flat, Op. 74, which was published in Leipzig in 1810. A number of features of this work, which also exists in a version for harp and piano as Op. 69, are reminiscent of Beethoven's marches. Aside from the obvious similarity of a *marche funèbre* in a sonata, the march, in G-minor, has a trio which, like that of the march in Beethoven's Op. 26, is not labelled as such but provides a strong enough contrast rhythmically and tonally to the

23. For a discussion of these shifts in Schubert, see Richard Taruskin, "Chernomor to Katschei: Harmonic Sorcery; or, Stravinsky's Angle," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XXXVIII (1985), 72-142, and in particular, Stephen Blum's response to this article in the same journal, XXXIX (1986), 210-15.

march to make it unequivocally a trio. At the end of the march there is a brief coda marked "perdendosi," and the movement is followed by a light, sharply contrasting *Tempo di ballo* in three-four time.

The presence of the funeral march in music for the piano once again points to the loss of the practical function of the genre at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Of all instruments, the piano is the least likely to find a place at a burial. But funeral marches for piano were written at about this same time by Donizetti, Diabelli, Kuhlau, and Neukomm, among others.²⁴ Orchestrations and band arrangements of some of the marches we have looked at so far do exist, but in most cases these are not by the composers themselves. These funeral marches for piano solo or piano four hands are, in their direct and consistent evocation of a mood and in their straightforward, often ternary, form, similar to early examples of the nineteenth-century character piece.

The Character Piece

The character piece of the nineteenth century was, according to Leon Plantinga, a "composition with its own

24. Donizetti, "Marcia lugubre," published in Donizetti, Tre Pezzi, ed. C. Pestalozza (Milan: Ricordi, 1972); Diabelli, Sonatina in F, Op. 163, No. 3, for piano four hands (from the Jugendfreuden), and Sonatina, Op. 168, No. 5 for two hands; Kuhlau, Sonata, Op. 6, No. 3; Neukomm, "Élégie sur la mort de Sophie Gail," NV 179.

special personality and expression, as opposed to one that is merely representative of a genre."²⁵ Whether a particular piece is a character piece, a genre, or both largely seems to depend on the extent to which the title is used. Indeed, the character piece, often considered a genre itself, is really a catch-all term for all those short works, primarily for piano, which appear to stand somewhere between absolute and program music while decidedly facing in the direction of the latter.

The relationship between the character piece and programmatic music is a complex subject which has been dealt with in Walter Wiora's writings on absolute and program music and in Willi Kahl's studies of the character piece.²⁶ Both Wiora and Kahl find the making of a connection between the two problematical, with Kahl asserting that the character piece is "grundsätzlich gegen jede Programmmusik," and Wiora suggesting that the title of a character piece may be barely more significant than the marking "con spirito" on a Haydn quartet movement. Wiora uses as an example a compos-

25. Leon Plantinga, Romantic Music (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984), 103.

26. Willi Kahl, "Characterstück," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 16 vols., ed. Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949-79), III, 1094-1100; Walter Wiora, "Zwischen absoluter und Programmmusik," Festschrift Friedrich Blume, ed. Anna Amalie Abert and Wilhelm Pfannkuch (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 381-388.

er's naming of a piece "Schmetterling."²⁷ The title may simply indicate the character of the music--in this case, lightness, or grace, perhaps, or any quality that a piece of music may share with a butterfly. In this sense, such a title is little more than a performance indication.

A piece of music may be about something, as in the case of a character piece with a title indicating a subject, without that subject functioning as a program. Wiora calls genres such as dances and marches removed from their functional use "music about music." When a piece of functional music, especially a dance work, is made non-functional by intent, it retains its original character. A Chopin waltz or a minuet in a symphony may strongly evoke the ballroom, but the listener's responses in the ballroom (to the functional dance) and in the concert hall (to the non-functional dance) are both responses to the music itself. In this sense, then, the concert waltz as a character piece is truly non-programmatic.

When Wiora extends the classification "music about music" to include Schumann's "Fröhlicher Landmann von der Arbeit zurückkehrend," his classification makes his original objection to the character piece as programmatic music less tenable. If the title were merely expressing the piece's

27. The "Schmetterling" was also used as an example by Schumann in his discussion of program music in the second part of his review of the Berlioz Symphonie fantastique (1835). See Schumann on Music, trans. and ed. Henry Pleasants (New York: Dover, 1965), 86

character, "Fröhlichkeit" would be sufficient. Here, however, the presence of the "Landmann" in the title--and in the clumsiness of the piece's accompaniment--goes beyond the indication of "happiness" into both a description of a character and a reference to the somewhat folksy quality of the musical material. The additional connotation of "returning home after work" may even be interpreted as a program by some listeners.

Perhaps, then, one might want to place the "Landmann" and the "Schmetterling" in different categories by subdividing the character piece into absolute and programmatic subcategories, a distinction which would only tend to complicate further a problematic typology. An alternative would be to create a separate category of what might be called connotative pieces. The character piece then would include impromptus, romances, *moments musicaux*, *Fantasiestücke*, etc., and the connotative piece Schumann's "Fröhlicher Landmann," Weber's Invitation to the Dance, Liszt's Mephisto Waltz, and other individual works whose titles bring a particularly strong extra-musical content with them.

The problem of categorizing character pieces as absolute or programmatic is a semantic one. Program music and absolute music are not true opposites. Umberto Eco distinguishes between antonyms which are contradictory, such as "masculine" and "feminine," and those which are contrary, that is, "have some kind of mediation between or beyond

them"--"hot" and "cold," for instance.²⁸ Absolute and programmatic are contrary antonyms. In short, a piece of music need not be either programmatic or absolute, but may lie somewhere between the two, as Wiora would have it, or even totally outside of the distinction. By placing the character piece outside of or, to some extent, above the antonymic distinction programmatic/absolute, it may be defined as a piece of non-functional music which, as an independent composition or as a component of a cycle of similar pieces, sustains a consistency of expression derived from a musical or extra-musical idea. In this light, each member of the category "character piece" may be evaluated individually based on its compositional structure and, if appropriate, its connotation.

Although the funeral march's primary function is the accompaniment of human movement, the connotation created by its function goes far beyond that of most ordinary marches or dances. The title of a work called "funeral march" may indicate, as Plantinga would say, "merely a genre," but the work, because of its tradition, has a very special personality and expression. The expression, one of grief, may be similar to that of a character piece entitled "Schmerzen," for example. Just as "Schmerzen" might use certain conven-

28. Umberto Eco, A Theory of Semiotics (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), 81. Eco's distinctions are based on the work of Jerrold Katz and John Lyons and are attributed to them in his book.

tional gestures to communicate a mood of grief, a funeral march communicates that grief through the associations which have been encoded in the traditional characteristics of the genre. These characteristics, unlike those of "Schmerzen," are for the most part functional in origin but, when removed from the functional setting, they work in exactly the same manner. In this way, the non-functional funeral march is both a genre and a character piece.

There is, of course, a further connotation to the funeral march--death and things associated with death are brought to mind by the genre. While these connotations are extra-musical, they are no more programmatic than the flight of the butterfly in the piece called "Schmetterling." The funeral march does not describe a death nor does it generally describe the deceased. There is actually little difference in a funeral march written for Alexander I, in memory of a great man, or for no one in particular. When removed from its functional setting, the funeral march expresses grief--specifically that grief associated with death.

The factors which contribute to the connotation of a *marche funèbre*, a mood and a subject, are the same factors which are found in Schumann's "Fröhlicher Landmann von der Arbeit zurückkehrend." In the Schumann, a combination of the title and the musical choices create the connotation which surrounds the work. Similarly, the *marche funèbre*, as

a genre, carries its connotation in a number of musical characteristics which signal the identity of the genre through their connections with tradition.

Musical Characteristics of the Marche funèbre

The funeral marches written from around 1800 to 1840 so consistently exhibit specific characteristics that this period could be said to be the one during which the genre was defined. Some of the characteristics have already been discussed above, but they will be reviewed here in an attempt to examine these defining elements of the *marche funèbre* tradition common in the marches of the first decades of the nineteenth century.

Form: The march-with-trio is the standard form of the instrumental *marche funèbre* until Liszt. The march in the variations, of course, assumes the form of the theme; in dramatic works, although a middle section is occasionally found, the contrast necessary to consider it a trio is rarely present. In dramatic works, however, a considerably greater deviation from a standard form and, in fact, from every other standard characteristic of the march is found. These deviations are generally the result of the requirements of dramatic context.

Tempo: Most of the metronome markings in modern editions of works from this period are of course editorial additions. Although the tempo markings found on funeral

marches span a considerable range of synonyms for "slow," a marking as slow as the *Adagio assai* of the "Eroica" is unusual. One of the most common markings seems to be *Andante*, occasionally qualified by "sostenuto" (Schubert) or "moderato" (Dussek), the "walking" gait evoking a comfortably slow march tempo. One of the more common indications, however, is no marking at all, that is, simply the description "funeral march" (Beethoven, Op. 26, Ries, Chopin, etc.) apparently communicating a traditional tempo.

Meter: Although there are exceptions, the three meters used for funeral marches seem to have some chronological significance. The most common meters of the eighteenth-century march are 2/2 and 2/4. In the nineteenth century, while 2/4 is frequently used for marches found in sets of variations, 4/4, the meter of Beethoven's Op. 26 *marche funèbre*, is found in the marches of Schubert, Chopin, Mendelssohn, and later composers of the period. The slowest tempo markings (*Adagio*, *Largo*, etc.) are used for the marches in 2/4 time, while those in 4/4 have either a slightly faster (generally, *Andante*) marking or no marking at all.

In Example 4.5, the three standard meters are shown each followed by a composite of basic rhythmic figures found in marches which use the respective meters:

Example 4.5. Meters and Rhythms of the Funeral March.



Marches in 2/2 sometimes begin with a military call. Therefore, the example shows two different uses of the characteristic march rhythm in 2/2. In relationship to the beat, the characteristic dotted rhythm occurs in a unit of half a beat in the 2/4 and 2/2 examples; in the 4/4 example the same unit occupies a full beat. If the dotted rhythmic unit is actually the controlling factor in the tempo of the funeral march, and I believe that it is, the duration of the quarter note of the 4/4 march would have to equal that of the eighth note in the 2/4 and the quarter note in the 2/2 march. In other words, the beat of the 4/4 march would have to move at twice the speed of the beat in the marches in duple time. As pointed out above, the 4/4 marches are usually given faster tempo markings. Because Andante is probably not quite twice as fast as Adagio, the marches in 4/4, that is, the later marches, would actually be a bit slower than the

other marches, and the beat on the dotted rhythmic unit would make the motion of the march a bit heavier.

Key: A great many funeral marches are in C minor. The symbolic choice of this key in relation to the heroic tradition of E-flat was discussed in Chapter III. With the tendency of composers of the nineteenth century to pursue increasingly greater individuality in works, as the century progresses, C minor becomes less common. The choice of the parallel major as the key of the trio is also overturned in favor of the relative major. Interestingly, the use of the submediant major key in the trio seems to prevail in marches in C minor. C minor and A-flat major as keys of contiguous movements or sections of movements seem to have a unique connection in nineteenth-century music that is not as frequently shared by similarly related keys such as G minor and E-flat, or A minor and F. Often, however, the key relationship of the march and trio simply reflects the prevailing taste of the time, or, particularly in the case of Liszt, a personal predilection of the composer.

Rhythm: The rhythmic figure,  , particularly

with the first eighth-note dotted, is so common in the opening measure or measures of the march that it may almost be said to signal the genre by itself. In fact, it is because of the constant repetition of this basic rhythmic figure that the second movement of Beethoven's Seventh

Symphony is sometimes perceived as a funeral march. The best argument against this is that the movement lacks the most frequently recognized characteristic of the genre--dotted rhythm. A brief glimpse at the opening measures of some of the marches quoted in this study is enough to show the consistent use of both the basic rhythm and the dot in the opening measures. Occasionally, the basic rhythm is ornamented by non-harmonic tones (as in the "Eroica" march in which an auxiliary tone and a passing note adorn the second beat of the first measure), or by the addition of a triplet, a four-note ruff, or other group of notes of the kind which Curt Sachs calls "clustered upbeats."²⁹ These clustered upbeats are imitations of the drum rolls of the military march. The standard cadential rhythm, ,

is also found in other types of march, but nowhere with quite the consistency of its use in the *marche funèbre*.

The overall rhythm of the funeral march is usually more repetitive than that of the military march and, in fact, seems at times purposely monotonous. In Schubert's D. 859, the opening rhythmic figure is abandoned only at cadences (Ex.4.6):

29. Curt Sachs, Rhythm and Tempo (New York: W.W. Norton, 1953), 348.

Example 4.6. Schubert, *Grand marche funèbre d'Alexandre*
I, D.859, mm.1-11.

Andante sostenuto



In this march, the trio continues the reiteration of the same rhythm in diminution (See Ex.4.4).

Harmony: Like the repetitiveness in the rhythm, the harmonic rhythm of the funeral march helps to create the static quality. Long stretches of unchanging harmony are frequent; when the harmony does change, it is often to another static position. The harmonic motion of the first section of the march is most frequently towards the relative major key. After the barline, a short passage--often V of IV, IV, V of V, V--leads back to the opening strain. The trio will often contain considerably more harmonic motion, especially in later marches where the contrast between the march and the trio is greater.

Melody: The melodic characteristics of the *marche funèbre* also contribute to the static, repetitive quality. To a great extent, the melodic directions established by the

"Eroica" march in which the melodic figures of the march descend and those of the trio ascend remain regular features of the genre. This general tendency may be more in spite of the Beethoven example than because of it: the contrast sought between march and trio would dictate variation of the melodic direction of the two sections; the march as an expression of grief would obviously utilize the time-honored descending melodic figure to achieve this.

The invariable initial emphasis of the mediant degree, discussed in Chapter 3, belongs to this same directional tendency. This initial gesture, very much like a faltering version of the hundreds of trumpet signals that touch the major third before cadencing, is usually repeated; the repeat often reaches higher the second time (or third time) than the first but falls back to the tonic just the same.

Out of the same tradition as the sighing, descending melodic gesture comes the use of diminished intervals and melodic figures which outline the diminished-seventh chord. Augmented and diminished intervals are given greater prominence in funeral marches than in other minor-key pieces, resulting in melodic lines that occasionally recall the Baroque arioso style with its alternation of step-wise fluidity and disjunct angularity. Cadences are often extended by an elaboration of the dominant-ninth chord, and the most expressive interval, the descending diminished

seventh, frequently appears in a prominent position
(Ex.4.7):³⁰

Example 4.7. Examples of the descending diminished seventh in the *marche funèbre*.

a) Beethoven, Op.55



b) Cherubini (1820)



Context: It has been frequently pointed out above that in cases where the funeral march is part of a sequence of movements, as in the sonata or variations, it is almost invariably followed by a movement of lighter character, often in triple time. This tendency probably relates as much to the traditions of the pavane and the allemande--dances with which the early funeral march shares its meter as well as its solemnity--and their couplings with, respectively, the galliard and the courante, as it does to the obvious necessity of following a slow, serious, duple-meter movement with a contrastingly light one.

30. Luigi Cherubini, *Marche funèbre* (1820), ed. P. Spada (Rome: Boccaccini and Spada, 1983), 16.

Stasis: For the most part, the static quality of the funeral march is the result of many of the characteristics listed above. Perhaps, however, it could be said that some of the characteristics listed above are due to the attempt to achieve stasis in the first place. Lewis Rowell defines static music as music which

fails to imply a sense of progression, goal direction, increasing or decreasing tension, movement, hierarchy, structural functions, contrasting rates of motion, cumulation, phrases or other internal units that might suggest a temporal scale of periodicities.³¹

In his article, Rowell is speaking of twentieth-century music (that of Ligeti, Xenakis, and Glass, in particular), and, of course, no nineteenth-century funeral march achieves stasis to the degree expressed in Rowell's description. However, there is considerably less of a sense of "progression, goal direction, increasing or decreasing tension, movement," etc., in the funeral march than in other music of the nineteenth century. But whatever stasis is attained is occasionally disrupted. Sometimes declamatory passages which approach the character of recitative are found, as in the phrase which Beethoven uses a number of times in transitional passages of the "Eroica" funeral march (Ex. 4.8):

31. Lewis Rowell, "Stasis in Music," Semiotica 66-1/3 (1987), 184.

Example 4.8. Beethoven, Symphony No. 3, *Marcia funebre*,
mm.27-30.

Beethoven, Op.55



The frequent and effective use of silence is an important characteristic of the funeral march. In the French Revolutionary marches, silence frequently followed what might be called a special effect. In the case of the Gossec marches, for example, the effect is simply a tam-tam struck and allowed to die away. But, considering that the intention of this effect was to evoke fear or awe in the listener, one might also include the trumpet blasts from the "Eroica" in this category. These effects, surprising when they appear and irrational when, having died away, they defy our attempts to connect them logically with the musical structure, seem to represent the irrational side of death. The use of such effects, however, in this period is for the most part limited; unlike the marches of the French Revolution and that of the "Eroica," a less frequently disrupted texture was the ideal of the marches of the first few decades of the nineteenth century.

Thus, a simple, static harmony, a repetitive use of a standard rhythm, and a predictable melodic shape are features which are found with a remarkable consistency in most

of the funeral marches of the early nineteenth century. The consistent appearance of the same features over and over again in these marches and the effect which these features achieve suggest that the *marche funèbre* is essentially an inflection of a drumbeat. The minimal activity of the harmonic, melodic, and rhythmic factors in the construction of the march is part of an attempt to combine the monotonous effect of a repetitiously beaten muffled drum with certain specific musical affects which, while not destroying the static quality of that drumbeat, evoke the emotional context in which the drumbeat existed. In this, then, is the creation of a musical symbol so powerfully straightforward that it is perceived intuitively and immediately by the listener. It is easy to see why composers of the early nineteenth century would be attracted to the *marche funèbre*. It is also easy to see why there would be a sameness and predictability to many of these marches. The characteristics of the genre which create stasis, in particular, the minimal harmonic and melodic activity, the sequence of strains, and the non-developmental character of the whole often result in a predictability that makes many marches simply routine. It is well known that in the hands of a great craftsman the same materials which can produce something routine result in something unique. In fact, the famous funeral march from Chopin's B-flat-Minor Sonata may be said to epitomize the *marche funèbre* in that it contains almost all of the charac-

teristics of the genre which have been discussed above. At the same time, it also represents the culmination of the characteristic funeral march in the first half of the century.

The Chopin Funeral Marches

Undoubtedly, the most famous *marche funèbre* of all is the third movement of Chopin's Sonata in B-Flat Minor. The first two measures of the theme (measures 3 and 4) may be even more renowned than that other two-measure excerpt which has pervaded western culture in surprising ways, the opening of Beethoven's Fifth. The Chopin measures have gained their unprecedented fame not just from the use of the funeral march itself in state and military functions all over the world, but also from their repetition in movies, cartoons, and theater, as well as in everyday language, where they function as a symbol of doom.

This *marche funèbre*, composed in 1837, was preceded by another, little-known march written in 1827 when Chopin was seventeen. This earlier march, in C minor, exists in two versions. One appeared in Fontana's edition as Op. 72/2, the other in the Oxford Edition.³² Humphrey Searle wrote that the Oxford Edition, "though perhaps cruder in some ways, is the more interesting, showing Chopin trying to work

32. Both versions are printed in Chopin, Complete Works, 21 vols., ed. I. Paderewski et al. (Warsaw: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute, 1949-1962), XVIII.

out novel keyboard effects which sound almost orchestral at times. The Fontana version, though 'safer,' is not so individual."³³

A close examination of both versions does not reveal which came first. The "safer" Fontana version is definitely more polished and seems complete; the Oxford march lacks dynamics and a few measures seem unfinished. The Oxford has a coda but lacks the brief transitional notes between sections. In many ways, the Oxford version is the more interesting and could very well be an unfinished re-write of the Fontana. Since the melodic ideas and the harmonic structure of the marches are essentially the same, we will use the Oxford edition for our examination of the march.

The march is the perfect example of the characteristic *marche funèbre*. It opens with a trumpet signal and a drum imitation which is followed by a strain based on the basic dotted funeral-march rhythm (Ex.4.9):

33. Humphrey Searle, "Miscellaneous Works," The Chopin Companion, ed. Alan Walker (New York: W.W. Norton, 1966), 221.

Example 4.9. Chopin, *Marche funèbre*, Op. 72, No. 2,
(1827), mm.1-7.

Tempo di marcia

pp

etc.

Each of the four strains of the march begins with the rhythm of measure 3; the third strain contrasts slightly with the others. The A-flat trio has a regular accompaniment figure and a lyrical quality and maintains the dotted rhythm of the march (Ex.4.10):

Example 4.10. Chopin, *Marche funèbre*, Op. 72, No. 2,
Trio, mm.1-8.



At the end of the trio, the march is repeated exactly and a brief coda based on a trumpet-signal imitation brings the march to a close. With the exception of the trio, which in its harmonic subtlety and its carefully-voiced accompaniment calls to mind some of the composer's nocturnes, there is little here that could not have been written by any of the composers mentioned in this chapter. The opening measures, in fact, are almost exactly the same as the opening of Schubert's D. 859 (See Ex.4.6).

Whether or not Chopin had heard any of Beethoven's funeral marches by 1827 is not known, although, according to Maria Prokopowicz, the first work of Beethoven's published

in Poland was the funeral march from Op. 26 in 1823.³⁴ The reason for the composition of the work is debatable--was it a functional march written for a funeral, or a character piece? The B-flat-minor *marche funèbre* from 1835, similar in overall form and structure to the C-minor march, is indeed a character piece. When two years after its composition it was included in a sonata, Schumann recognized the characteristic quality of all four of the sonata's movements:

That he [Chopin] should have called it a "sonata" suggests a joke, if not sheer bravado. He seems to have taken four of his most unruly children and put them together, possibly thinking to smuggle them, as a sonata, into company where they might not be considered individually presentable.³⁵

The sonata is made up of a rhapsodic opening movement in an unusual sonata form lacking a recapitulation of the main theme; this is followed by a scherzo, a funeral march, and a curious finale that would seem more at home among the composer's Preludes. The order of the last three movements recalls Beethoven's Op. 26, and the last movement, which has been misunderstood by both its detractors and its proponents, is another example of a fast triple-time movement following a *marche funèbre*. This movement, however, unlike

34. Maria Prokopowicz, "Musique imprimée à Varsovie en 1800-1830," The Book of the First International Musicological Congress Devoted to the Works of Chopin, ed. Zofia Lissa (Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1963), 596.

35. Schumann, op.cit., 173.

other examples of movements juxtaposed with a funeral march, is far from light in character.

The motivic connection, a remarkably consistent appearance of the minor third B-flat-D-flat throughout the sonata, has been thoroughly discussed by a number of writers, notably Alan Walker and Rudolph Réti, and suggests that Chopin may have consciously derived the entire sonata from the funeral march.³⁶ In addition to the motivic connections of the first three movements, there are similarities in the rhythmic structure of the themes. The opening descending diminished seventh of the first movement relates to the opening of the last movement. Each movement seems to grow out of the previous one: the last chords of the first movement, E-flat minor and B-flat minor, look toward the E-flat minor scherzo; the last G-flat chord of the scherzo becomes the second chord of the march; and the first notes of the finale grow out of the *pianissimo* final chord of the funeral march. The tight structure of the sonata seems to be grasped by listeners intuitively. Nevertheless, the meaning of the sonata has often seemed out of the reach of those who have tried to grasp it.

Numerous legends about the work have been invented, from the now hilarious story that Chopin wrote the funeral

36. Alan Walker, "Chopin and Musical Structure," The Chopin Companion, ed. Alan Walker (New York: W.W. Norton, 1966), 227-257; Rudolph Réti, The Thematic Process in Music (New York: Macmillan, 1951), 298-310.

march after being tied for hours to a skeleton, to the report that Chopin said the last movement represented the wind blowing over a grave.³⁷ In a letter to Julian Fontana in 1839, Chopin did write that in the last movement of the Sonata "the left hand and the right hand gossip in unison after the march."³⁸ Other than this one statement, probably no more significant than a performance indication, Chopin gave no other clues as to the meaning, if any, of the Sonata.

In addition to legends, the Sonata, particularly its funeral march, has inspired many different interpretations. For example, in spite of Chopin's dynamic markings, pianists from Anton Rubinstein up until Rachmaninoff in the present century have played a long crescendo through the first part of the march and a long decrescendo on its repeat: the cortège approaches the cemetery, tears are shed over the coffin (the trio), and the cortège departs.

Like many other marches, Chopin's begins with a static repetition of the tonic chord which eventually cadences in the relative major. The F of the opening chord moves to G-flat while the bass moves up a third, creating an illusion of harmonic change. The D-flat and G-flat repeatedly fall

37. See Adam Harasowski, The Skein of Legends around Chopin (Glasgow, 1967; repr. New York: Da Capo, 1980).

38. Chopin, Selected Correspondence of Fryderyk Chopin, trans. and ed. Arthur Hedley (New York: MacGraw-Hill, 1963), 181.

back to B-flat and F, and after many repetitions there is a feeling of marching in place. Suddenly, at the point where the ear accepts the repetition as inevitable, an A-flat seventh chord of but one beat's duration propels the piece into the relative major, and with a simple ascending scale creates, for just a few moments, the antithesis of everything heard so far.³⁹ When this happens a second time a few measures later, it is approached differently and perhaps even more startlingly through an augmented-sixth chord that seems to cause the piece to slide from minor to major with astonishing ease. This is of course the kind of effect that inspires interpretation. But a straightforward compositional interpretation would be much simpler.

It seems as if Chopin desired to construct the grimmest *marche funèbre* conceivable. To achieve this, all of the genre characteristics in the first fourteen measures are used in an exaggerated manner. The initial dotted rhythm appears in almost every measure; the mediant-tonic relationship is repeated incessantly in both the accompaniment and the upper voice; all melodic motion is descending; and the shift to the relative major is delayed and indeed not even suggested until the last beat before the change. The only additional way to make the mood of such a piece even darker

39. Compare this ascending figure, m.15, with m.7 of the trio of the Op. 72 march (Ex.4.8). In Op. 72, it appears in a trio which in its entirety contrasts with the march. In the B-flat-minor march, it appears in the march itself.

is to contrast it with its opposite. Thus, for two measures the piece shifts to the major, the melodic line ascends, and the accompaniment ceases its ponderous tread. This shift of mood is painfully short: the ascending scale ends in a sigh and the piece immediately returns to B-flat minor.

The march consists of a series of strains that seem simple at first sight. The strains are made up of two-measure phrases, which, at least for the first fourteen measures, are variations on the same musical gesture. The march can be analyzed on paper quite easily:

mm.1	3	5	7	9	11	13	15	17	19	21	23	25	27	29
Intro	a	a'	b	a	b	a	c	c'	d	a	c	c'	d	a

The ear, however, does not perceive the form as easily as the eye and encounters a considerably greater complexity hidden in the deceptive simplicity of the march. The opening two measures at first sound like the beginning of a strain. At m.5, it becomes clear that the strain began at m.3. The original ambiguity at m.3, once clarified, gives greater emphasis to "a" as the opening phrase of a strain. Thus, the repeat of "a" at m.9 is ambiguous. Is it the beginning of a strain (mm.9-12) or the end of a strain (mm.7-10)? This is clarified at m.13, but at this point "c" poses a new problem. At m.19, a strain seems to end, and "a" (m.21) sounds like a beginning. The march continues with the same sequence of ambiguity, clarification and new ambiguity, and in this manner the strains of the march are

not simply strung together in a series but are woven in a sequence of interlocking musical phrases in which each phrase relates to the one before and after it.

The F to G-flat which plays such an important role in the lugubrious accompaniment of the march initiates the melody of the trio. Here, transformed by its high register and its prominent position at the start of a theme so dramatically different from what came before it, it still remains as persistently present as it was in the march: of the six four-bar phrases that make up the trio, five begin with the same F-G-flat. In the second part of the trio, three measures before the return of the theme, the F-G-flat motive appears in the bass while the upper part has a figure that recalls the march itself.

The funeral march from the Chopin Sonata uses most of the standard rhythmic, melodic, harmonic, and formal characteristics of the genre but assembles them in a manner that achieves the maximum expressivity of which the genre at this point in time was capable. Its fame has made it a paradigm of the genre, and through it the characteristics which made up the *marche funèbre* in the first decades of the nineteenth century have come to be the characteristics that continue to define the genre.

The Sinfonia caratteristica

In 1789, Daniel Gottlob Türk distinguished between the characteristic symphony and the character piece. "Character pieces," he wrote, "are especially those individual pieces in which either the character of a person or some kind of passion, such as love or pride, is expressed."⁴⁰ The characteristic symphony, according to Türk, is an overture to a dramatic work which reflects something of the work's content, or the kind of work which results when "the composer has expressed immediately preceding action in the symphony."⁴¹ In discussing Türk's distinction, F.E. Kirby pointed out that Türk's definitions in both cases referred to "a composition whose emotional quality can be exactly determined and explicitly stated in words."⁴²

The development of the *sinfonia caratteristica* as defined by Türk took place in the overtures of Beethoven and Mendelssohn, and, of course in the Pastorale Symphony, which Beethoven himself called a *sinfonia caratteristica*. The *marche funèbre*, however, was not part of this development. Despite the similarity of Türk's definitions of the charac-

40. Daniel Gottlob Türk, School of Clavier Playing (1789), trans. and ed. Raymond H. Haggh (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1982), 388.

41. Türk, op. cit., 385.

42. F.E. Kirby, "Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony as a *Sinfonia caratteristica*," The Creative World of Beethoven, ed. Paul Henry Lang (New York: W.W. Norton, 1971), 109.

teristic symphony and the character piece, the *marche funèbre* developed in a very different manner in nineteenth-century symphonic music from the way it did in the piano literature. In fact, there was initially no development at all. The reasons for this are complex. Certainly, the remarkable explosion of interest in solo piano music which occurred at the onset of the nineteenth century contributed to the frequency of the appearance of the *marche funèbre* in the literature of that medium. A similar trend in the symphony did not occur at this time. But the cause of the contrast between the genre's frequent presence in the piano literature and its rare appearance in the symphony lies in the reception of Beethoven's "Eroica." The symphonic funeral march after Beethoven is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter V
THE RECEPTION OF THE "EROICA" AND THE
FUNERAL MARCH IN THE SYMPHONY

It is probably because people like to think that artists misunderstood in their own time are vindicated by the enlightened taste of a later generation that the myth of Beethoven's less than avid reception in his day has persisted. Robin Wallace, in his study of contemporary reviews of Beethoven's works, argues that this is not the case:

No myth can have been so obstinately preserved as the claim that Beethoven's music was not well received by the press. . . . Beethoven was almost at once, and universally, recognized as a composer of genius, and this recognition is reflected in practically everything that was written about him in his lifetime.¹

The critic of the AmZ who found the "Eroica" problematic is often cited as an example of the poor reception that the symphony suffered. Schindler used that review and another from the same year to show "how difficult a battle the symphony had to fight in Vienna." He added that "the battle was repeated in every city in which the work was per-

1. Robin Wallace, Beethoven's Critics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 1.

formed."² Both of these unfavorable reviews, however, may very well have been written by the same critic. A similarity of language--for example, the phrase "in der Folge fugenartig durchgeführt"--appears in both. But, in fact, in the second review, written a few months later, the critic admitted that the symphony did contain "grosse and kühne Ideen," perhaps a sign that the reviewer had begun to soften his opinion as repeated hearings made the work less confusing.

In 1807, after the premiere of the symphony in Mannheim, the critic of the AmZ--presumably not the writer of the Vienna review--expressed a considerably different view of the symphony:

The listeners' opinions on this work were divided. Many admired it, all found it dreadfully long--the first-violin part consists of seventeen densely engraved folio pages! The first movement is impressive and full of strength and sublimity. . . . as often as the author seems to wander from his principal idea, he skillfully and naturally returns to it every time, and thus achieves a comprehensible unity which bestows a high value to this work.--The *Trauermarsch* is original and bears a character of noble sadness: no matter how long it may be, even in relation to the other movements, one still gladly lingers a while in the feeling which it infuses.³

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2. Anton Schindler, Beethoven as I Knew Him, ed. Donald MacArdle, trans. Constance S. Jolly (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 117.
 3. Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, VIII, 285-6 (Jan., 1807). "Die Meynungen der Zuhörer über das Werk waren getheilt. Viele bewunderten es, alle fanden es entsetzlich lang--die Partie der ersten Violin bestehet aus 17 eng gestochnen Folio-Seiten! Der erste Satz ist imponirend und voll Kraft und Erhabenheit. . . . wie oft auch der Verfasser von seiner Haupt-Idee abzuschweifen scheint, so geschickt und natürlich kommt er

For this reviewer, the often lamented length of the work had begun to seem justifiable.

The following month, less than two years after its premiere, the symphony received an unprecedented tribute from the AmZ: a sixteen-column discussion and analysis of the work beginning on page one of the issue.⁴ The reviewer made it very clear from the beginning that he found this work an original and masterly creation. The first movement is analyzed with particular attention to its structural unity--a unity which the reviewer says substantiates its length. This movement is followed, he writes, by

a great funeral march in C minor, in two-four time, which the reviewer would like to declare without a doubt to be Beethoven's triumph, at least in terms of invention and design. It is conceivable that composers with talent, much study and tireless industry might produce a work like the first movement; pieces like this second movement, however, are conceived, given birth to, and nurtured to such perfection by no one lacking true genius; and no imitation, not even the cleverest--of which there will be plenty--could ever be heard without reminding one of the original and its superiority. The whole movement is solemn and deeply moving; nobly lamenting and dark is the Minor; soothing and lovely the Major where flute, oboe, and bassoon--to use Luther's words--together play a celestial dance in sweet melodies.

Where Beethoven brings the main theme back, he modulates to F minor and with greatest rigor, in masterly fashion, works out the movement in the

jedesmal wieder auf dieselbe zurück, und erhält so eine fassliche Einheit, welche diesem Stücke hohen Werth beylegt.--Der Trauermarsch ist neu, u. trägt den Charakter edler Schwermuth: so lang, selbst in Verhältnisse gegen die übrigen Sätze, er auch ist, so verweilt man doch gern in der Empfindung, welche er einflösst."

4. AmZ, IX, 320-334 (Feb., 1807).

loftiest strict style. . . . Where at the end of the movement the composer modulates to A-flat and the second violins play alone, the listener will be reminded for a moment of a Haydn Andante in G [the slow movement of the "Clock" Symphony]. But the ending of the march is as original as the beginning; it dies away, like a hero. . . . The Scherzo which follows this march contrasts much too sharply; and indeed, every listener wants the sweet, melancholy mood which the end of this march has put him in to fade away only gradually, and not to have it suddenly wrenched away. Thus the reviewer advises strongly that after this march--heaven forbid that some other, perhaps lighter piece be interpolated!--a completely silent, solemn pause of several minutes be taken.⁵

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5. Ibid., 325-327. ". . . ein grosser Trauermarsch, aus C moll, im Zweyvierteltakt, den Rec. ohne Bedenklichkeit, wenigstens von Seiten der Erfindung und des Entwurfs, für B.s Triumph erklären möchte. Es lässt sich vielleicht denken, dass Komponisten von Talent, vielem Studium und unermüdlichen Fleiss, etwas hervorbrächten, das Arbeiten, wie jener erste Satz, an die Seite gesetzt werden könnte: Stücke, wie dies zweyte aber, empfangt, gebiert, und erziehet kein Mensch in solcher Vollkommenheit, ohne wahres Genie, und jede, selbst die geschickteste Nachahmung, woran es nicht fehlen wird, wird sicher nicht gehört werden können, ohne an dies Original und dessen Superiorität zu erinnern. Feyerlich und tief ergreifend ist das Ganze; edel klagend und düster das Minore, beruhigend und lieblich das Majore, wo Flöte, Hoboe und Fagott--mit Luther zu reden--in süssen Melodien gleichsam einen himmlischen Tonreigen führen. Wo B. das Thema wiederholt, gehet er nach F moll, und führt ganz meisterhaft u. mit grösster Strenge in edelsten gebundenen Stil den Satz aus . . . Da, wo am Schlusse dieses Satzes der Verf. nach As dur geht und die zweyte Violin allein anfängt, wird der Zuhörer, doch nur ganz kurz, an den Anfang eines Haydnschen Andante aus G dur erinnert. Der Schluss des Marsches ist aber ganz so originell, als der Anfang; er stirbt hin, wie ein Held. . . . auf jenen Marsch folgende Scherzo ohnehin gegen denselben fast allzuscharf kontrastirt, auch gewiss jeder Zuhörer dass süsse, wehmüthige Gefühl, worein er am Ende des Marsches versetzt wird, in sich nur allmählich will verklingen, nicht aber sich urplötzlich entreissen lassen: so hält Rec. für sehr gerathen, dass man nach diesem Marsche--nicht etwa etwas Anderes, vielleicht Leichteres einscheibe, wor welchem Einfall der Himmel

In effect, this last suggestion would make the symphony longer still. But among the important points expressed here, this reviewer's positive assessment of the fugato stands in contrast to the objections found in the review of the first performance.

In addition, this review discusses those very same features which subsequent analyses have stressed and, in fact, makes a number of statements which later were to be repeated in surveys of Beethoven symphonies and program notes right up to the present day--for example: the death of the hero at the end of the movement, the strong contrast with the scherzo, and the similarity at the beginning of the coda to Haydn's "Clock" Symphony. The importance of this review, however, lies not so much in what is said, although the content of the review is admirably perceptive, but in its very existence. It clearly demonstrates that less than two years after its premiere the "Eroica" Symphony was accepted, at least by some, as a masterpiece. Certainly, compared to the twentieth century, in which the half-life of the unfavorable initial reception of a masterwork is at least a number of decades, two years of lukewarm reviews represents an unqualified success for the symphony. As continued notices in the AmZ show, the work was subsequently played

jede Direktion bewahren möge; sondern eine stille, feyerliche Pause von einigen Minuten halte."

throughout Germany, Austria, and other major cities east and north of Vienna with similar results.

The reviewer's suggestion that any imitation of the funeral march would be inconceivable may have been taken as a caveat and indeed heeded by Beethoven's contemporaries.

Ferdinand Ries

It is significant that the one symphony of note from this period which contains a *marche funèbre* is by Beethoven's pupil Ferdinand Ries. Ries had been Beethoven's piano student and not his composition student--Beethoven had convinced Albrechtsberger to teach Ries composition. But Ries was familiar with most of Beethoven's work and remains today a reliable source for Beethoven's biographers. According to Czerny, Beethoven said that Ries imitated him too much,⁶ and in Beethoven's conversation books Schuppanzigh wrote that "Ries plagiarized too much from Beethoven."⁷

Ries's Symphony No. 1 in D Major, Op. 23, was written in 1809. In October of 1812 the AmZ wrote very favorably of the symphony but mentioned that it was reminiscent of Bee-

6. Carl Czerny, "Anekdoten und Notizen über Beethoven," in Über den richtigen Vortrag der sämtlichen Beethoven'schen Klavierwerke, ed. Paul Badura-Skoda (Vienna: Universal, 1966), 13.

7. Thayer, Alexander Wheelock, Thayer's Life of Beethoven, rev. and ed. Elliot Forbes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 852.

thoven symphonies.⁸ The introduction to the first movement, like that of Beethoven's first symphony, seems to be avoiding the tonic chord (Ex. 5.1):

Example 5.1. Ries, Symphony No. 1 in D, Op. 23, first movement, mm.1-10.

The musical score for Example 5.1 shows the first movement of Ries' Symphony No. 1 in D, Op. 23, measures 1-10. The score is in 2/4 time, D major, and marked Adagio. It features a horn (Hn.) and string (Str.) section. The horn part starts with a forte (ff) dynamic and the strings with a piano (p) dynamic. The music is characterized by a series of half notes and quarter notes, avoiding the tonic chord.

Ries takes this avoidance considerably farther than Beethoven and, although the harmonic language and frequent modulations are interesting, seems to be wandering pointlessly in his attempt to invest this introduction with the sort of expectation that Beethoven achieves so simply. Throughout the symphony the wind writing is similar to Beethoven's, particularly the brief solos that make up the second subject of the first movement. The most important reminiscence of Beethoven is of course the second movement, a *marche funèbre* in A minor, 2/4 time. Cecil Hill, in his introduction to

8. *AmZ*, XIV (1812), 720.

the modern edition of the symphony says: "The funeral march in A minor is written in an unusual sonata form; the second group is in the tonic major. The tempo is faster than that of Beethoven's 'Eroica,' and the simplicity of the writing would not suggest a comparison of the two."⁹ Perhaps, however, there is a basis for comparison with the Beethoven, particularly when the "second group" is heard as a trio: this accounts for its appearance in the tonic major and allows the form of the movement to be seen as a march with trio with the return of the march enlarged in a manner similar to that of the Beethoven. The section which Hill sees as a recapitulation of the second group is actually the coda in which the theme of the trio is recalled in a fragmented manner. One passage in the funeral march which bears a particularly significant resemblance to Beethoven's occurs in the return of the march after the trio. After a statement of the march theme in the bass with a counterpoint above it, the strings begin a triplet figure and trumpets sound a call (Ex.5.2):

9. Ferdinand Ries, Three Symphonies, ed. Cecil Hill as Series C, Vol. XII of The Symphony: 1720-1840, ed. Barry S. Brook (New York: Garland, 1982), xviii.

Example 5.2. Ries, Symphony No.1 in D, Op. 23, second movement, *Marche funèbre*.

The image displays three systems of musical notation for the second movement, 'Marche funèbre', from Ries's Symphony No. 1 in D, Op. 23. The notation is arranged in three systems, each with multiple staves. The first system shows a piano introduction with a forte (ff) dynamic and triplet markings. The second system features a more complex texture with various dynamics including piano (p), forte (ff), and crescendo (cresc.), along with triplet markings. The third system continues the musical development with piano (pp) and forte (ff) dynamics, and triplet markings. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

The similarity to the so-called apocalyptic trumpet calls after the fugato in the Beethoven *Marcia funebre* is striking.

Similarly striking are both the presence and resemblance of the *Marcia funebre* movement of Ries's Opus 25, a Septet in E-flat. The septet and its key call to mind Beethoven's own Septet in E-flat, and the funeral march's

indebtedness to Beethoven's "Eroica" is apparent in its opening theme (Ex.5.3):

Example 5.3. Ries, Septet in E-flat, Op. 25, second movement, *Marcia funebre*, mm.1-8.



The march, like the march in the "Eroica," has a trio. The trio, in C major, consists of a melody which contrasts sharply with that of the march and is, like Beethoven's trio, accompanied by triplets. When the march returns it is enlarged and developed with a brilliant piano passage leading to a restatement of the theme. In the coda, the main theme, fragmented, dies away. Beethoven's influence on the march, as well as the Septet as a whole, was again pointed out by the AmZ:

. . .the ideas themselves are not always truly original and seem familiar not only in themselves but in fact in the way in which they are presented--nearer than can be permitted to well-known models; here, particularly in the case of the Trauermarsch, the informed listener will hear a great deal of the Beethoven of the "Eroica" symphony.¹⁰

10. AmZ, Vol. XV (1813), 788-89. ". . . die Ideen selbst sind nicht oft wahrhaft originell, und viele erinnern nicht nur selbst, sondern sogar durch die Art, wie sie

Ries's epigonism is understandable: few, if any, of Beethoven's contemporaries were as totally immersed in Beethoven's work as Ries; unfortunately, Ries's well-crafted themes and his particularly attractive harmonic language are often overlooked because of the obvious influence of Beethoven. Surely Ries himself must have known that the inclusion of a funeral march in a symphony would lead to comparisons with Beethoven.

Hill believes that the funeral march might have been written in memory of Haydn, who died around the time of the symphony's composition. This is plausible particularly in light of the Haydn-like finale of the symphony and the third movement Menuetto--not the Scherzo a true Beethoven epigone would have written. However, the score is not dedicated to Haydn. Even if it were, such a dedication might possibly account for the funeral march in the symphony but not the march in the septet. Perhaps Ries meant these marches either as direct tributes to Beethoven or as statements declaring Beethoven his mentor.

Except for the inclusion of a *Trauermarsch* in his 1835 melodrama Die Zigeunerin, Ries's use of the genre was confined to works of his youth. The "Beethovenisms" of Ries's early works stand out particularly because of their singu-

dargestellt werden, näher, als eigentlich zulässig, an bestimmte Vorbilder--welches Letztere hier besonders mit dem Trauermarsch der Fall ist, bey welchem den Unterrichteten grösstentheils der Beethovensche aus der heroischen Symphonie vorschwebt."

larity. Ries's situation was unique and his relationship with Beethoven, one bordering on sycophancy, might have ultimately been the reason for his imitations.¹¹ Ultimately, Ries's attempts at incorporating the funeral march into the larger sonata-based genres like the symphony only seem to make the "Eroica" funeral march's position more prestigious, more uncommon, and more symbolic of the nineteenth-century composer's struggle for individuality. As the reviewer in 1807 predicted, a *marche funèbre* after Beethoven "could never be listened to without reminding us of the original and its superiority." Thus if a composer were to bring the funeral march into the symphony, it would have to be done in a manner that avoided comparison with Beethoven.

A great deal of musicological literature has been devoted to the tracing of the influence of one composer on another. Thematic similarities, analogous formal deviations, and the use of the same key in works of a particular genre are frequently taken as evidence of this influence. Sometimes even simple devices as common as ascending triadic motions have been presented as evidence of "influence," or at least of a certain composer's awareness of another's

11. Thayer relates Beethoven's mistreatment of Ries--his promise of a dedication to Ries went on for years and was ultimately unfulfilled--and Ries's consistent championing of Beethoven's work both by conducting his works and by acting as agent for Beethoven in England. Ries at no time harbored any resentment towards Beethoven, as can be seen in Ries's affectionately written Notizen.

work. For those periods of musical history in which borrowing was commonplace, the pointing out of this borrowing may ultimately be as insignificant as it was to the borrower. In periods of history where individuality was prized, it seems logical that a composer who knew another's work would strive to avoid similarity unless he intended to utilize that similarity for some extra-musical reason. Therefore it follows that many similarities between compositions by different composers, particularly since the beginning of the nineteenth century, would be unintentional and, in fact, such similarities between works may very well suggest unfamiliarity rather than familiarity of one composer with another's work. It might perhaps be more interesting to point out the ways in which one composer strives to differentiate his work from another's while being fully aware of the other's work.

Louis Spohr

A unique use of the *marche funèbre* in a symphony occurs in Louis Spohr's Symphony No. 4 in F Major, "Die Weihe der Töne." The symphony, written in 1832, is based on a poem by Carl Pfeiffer. In a manner similar to Berlioz's distribution of the program of the Symphonie fantastique at its first performance two years earlier, Spohr said that the program, Pfeiffer's poem, "must be printed, and distributed in the music room, or recited aloud before it is per-

formed."¹² Schumann called the symphony a "masterpiece" and found it noteworthy that Spohr "described in tones the very tones described by the poet, and praised music with--music!"¹³

After a first movement which describes the silence of Nature before the creation of music, and Nature afterwards, the three ensuing movements explore various genres in the same order as the poem: the second movement, for example, consists of a *Wiegenlied*, a *Tanz*, and a *Ständchen*. A remarkable polymetric combination of all three melodies occurs at the end of the movement. The fourth movement opens with a slow introduction marked "Begräbnissmusik," which, as might be expected, starts out as a funeral march. The march is in F minor, an unusual choice for its time--but then, the symphony is in F major--and is played by the winds and timpani (Ex.5.4):

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12. Louis Spohr, Autobiography, 2 vols., trans. not credited (London, 1865; repr. New York: Da Capo, 1969), II, 178.
 13. Robert Schumann, Schumann on Music, ed. and trans. Henry Pleasants (New York: Dover, 1965), 53.

Example 5.4. Spohr, Symphony No. 4 in F, "Die Weihe der Töne," Finale, mm.1-10.

W.W.

Larghetto

pp

tup

Bve

f

diminuendo

pp

After twelve measures, the strings interrupt the march with the first phrase of the chorale "Begrabt den Leib" (Ex.5.5):

Example 5.5. Spohr, Symphony No. 4 in F, "Die Weihe der Töne," Finale, mm. 12-16.

Str.

pp

pizz.

mf

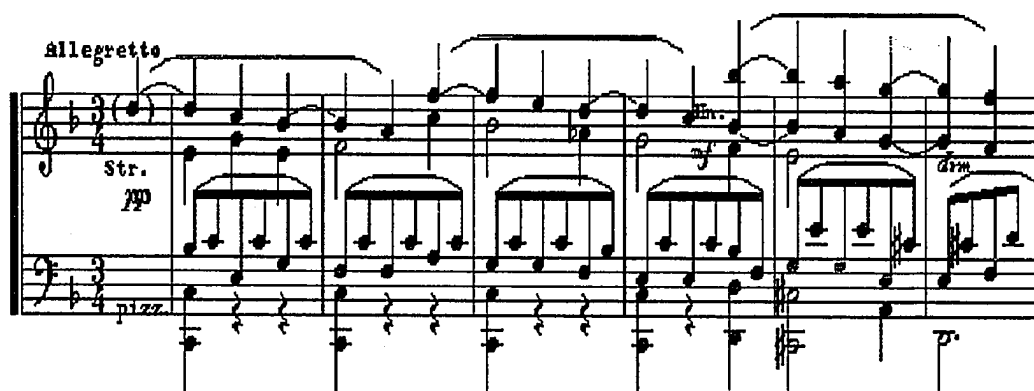
pp

pizz.

The march and the chorale continue to alternate phrases for the entire introduction. This original structure bears no resemblance at all to Beethoven. The rhythmic figures and the opening descending diminished fourth are traditional genre features. The only reminiscence of Beethoven may be

in the juxtaposition created by the ensuing section of the movement, a light, triple-time Allegretto in a major key. Joshua Berrett, the editor of the modern edition of this symphony, sees this part of the movement as a set of six variations on the theme of the chorale. The theme, however, is a transformation of the funeral-march theme (Ex.5.6):

Example 5.6. Spohr, Symphony No. 4 in F, "Die Weihe der Töne," Finale, mm.46-50.



The text of Pfeiffer's poem upon which this section is based explains Spohr's choice of a march and chorale. The verses first speak of the peace that music gives and then set forth a twofold purpose of "Begräbnissmusik":

Sacred tones, your peace
Follows the weary one on his descent,
If he, departed from the world,
Sank alone into the grave.
You whisper acceptance to the
Silent longings of his loved ones,
Give tears to the tearless,
And eternal rest to the departed.¹⁴

14. Louis Spohr, "Symphony in F major, Op. 86", ed. Joshua Berrett as Series C, Vol. IX of The Symphony, 1720-1840, ed. Barry Brook (New York: Garland, 1980), 6.

The poem makes it clear that funeral music is intended for both the living and the dead. The silent loved ones, perhaps represented by the wordless chorale, respond to the whispered music of the march and share in the peace that the music offers. On a formal level, a more traditional funeral march and trio function in a similar manner: the objective stasis of the march contrasts with the subjective expression of emotion in the trio. Spohr's fragmentation and juxtaposition of a "trio" (the chorale in A-flat major) and a march (in F minor) is a perfect realization of the last two lines of the text.

Spohr's symphony was enormously popular throughout Europe and represents an interpretative approach to the funeral march that was characteristic of nineteenth-century criticism. In this approach, the *marche funèbre* is viewed as a text which, when subjected to a hermeneutic analysis, reveals a symbolic level of interpretation which relates to the listener's personal experience of death. This kind of interpretation had appeared some time before the Spohr symphony as a continuation of the initial discussion of the

"Heil'ge Töne, euer Frieden
 Folgt dem Müden noch hinab,
 Wenn er, von der Welt geschieden,
 Einsam niedersank in's Grab.
 Seiner Lieben stummer Sehnen
 Flüstert ihr Erhörung zu,
 Gebt den Thränenlosen Thränen,
 Dem Geschied'nen ew'ge Ruh."

Beethoven "Eroica." As we have seen, the first stage in the reception of the "Eroica" was a reaction of confusion. This was followed by an acceptance of the work after technical analysis had led to an understanding of its eccentricities. In the third stage, a different kind of discussion, one that is concerned with interpretation, develops. This interpretative approach can be seen in a five-part feuilleton signed "K. B," which was published in two installments under *Miscellenen* in the AmZ (1814).¹⁵

The author first discusses the Seven Wonders of the World and the way in which they force one to ponder their meaning; he questions the limiting of these wonders to only seven and proposes the inclusion of Don Giovanni among them. In the third section, he turns to "Beethovens grosse Instrumental-Compositionen," and, in the fifth and final section of these brief articles, writes:

*Das Grab is tief und stille
Und schauervoll sein Rand! etc.*¹⁶

Who might not have experienced already in life the truth of these words of the poet? Isn't the departure of every citizen of this earth from the "friendly routine of being and reality" in itself already deeply moving for the serious observer: how much more frightening is it then if a higher, heroic spirit departs forever from our midst? In such a situation, one might listen to the *Trauermarsch* from Beethoven's "Eroica," and divine its effect!--Yes, a hero is being laid to rest here: that is what these tones tell us in no

15. AmZ, Vol. XVI, No. 47, 794-5, and No. 48, 810-11.

16. From a poem by Johann Gaudenz von Salis-Seewis (1762-1834).

uncertain terms. All the sorrows and joys of his earthly life resound in our breast once again deeply and sweetly, but only like a soft-voiced echo, for once it has already passed, it is irretrievably lost. Indeed, the departed now walks in the realm of light and clarity--that is what the delightfully soothing melodies tell us in clearly enough in their heavenly language--yet we stand abandoned at the grave and look down into its nocturnal womb. For us life has lost its meaning; we feel alone; all feeling, little by little, gives way to the sensation of endless longing, and with terrible resignation we finally tear ourselves out of this state, to plunge ourselves into life's roaring stream and from this Lethe at least to drink forgetfulness.¹⁷

In this passage the funeral march of Beethoven's Third Symphony receives the same kind of descriptive treatment that Hoffmann had given the Fifth Symphony in his famous

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17. "Wer hätte die Wahrheit dieser Worte des Dichters nicht schon im Leben empfunden? Hat nun das Scheiden jedes Bürgers dieser Erde von den 'freundlichen Gewohnheit des Daseyns und Wirkens' an sich schon etwas tief Ergreifendes für den ernstesten Beobachter: um wie viel erschütternder ist es erst dann, wenn ein höher, herrlicher Geist auf immer aus unserm Kreise scheidet? In einer solchen Situation nun höre man den Trauermarsch aus Beethovens *Sinfonia Eroica*, und ahne dessen Wirkung!--Ja, ein Herrlicher wird hier zu Grabe geleitet: das sagen uns diese Töne auf das bestimmtest. Alle Schmerzen und alle Wonnen seines Erdenlebens hallen noch einmal wieder in unsrer Brust, tief und süß; doch nur wie der Echo leise Stimme: denn schon sind sie ja vorübergegangen, sind nun unwiderbringlich entflohen! Zwar der Geschiedene wandelt nun wol im Reiche des Lichts und der Klarheit--das sagen uns erquicklich beruhigende Melodien in himmlischen Sprache vernehmbar genug, doch wir stehen verlassen an dem Grab und blicken hinab in dessen nächtlichen Schooss. Das Leben hat seine Bedeutung für uns verloren, wir fühlen uns einsam, jede Empfindung erstirbt nach und nach in dem Gefühl einer unendlichen Sehnsucht, und mit schrecklicher Resignation nur reißen wir uns zuletzt los von dieser Stätte, um uns in des Lebens brausenden Strom zu stürzen, und aus diesem Lethe wenigstens Vergessenheit zu trinken!"

review of the preceding year. The physical manifestation of intense emotion, the glimpsing of the eternal, the juxtaposition of the heavenly and the earthbound, all are reminiscent of the language of Hoffmann as well as of his alter ego, Kreisler. Here the funeral march is given the status of the ultimate portrait of grief, a standard which would remain unchallenged for a long time; in fact, the combination of this review and the 1807 analytical review could be said to summarize the basic hermeneutic approach to Beethoven's funeral march which exists to the present day.

When, for example, Moscheles in 1847 describes the death of Mendelssohn, he writes: "As his breathing gradually became slower, my mind involuntarily recurred to Beethoven's Funeral March, 'Sulla Morte d'un Eroe,' where he seems to depict the hero as he lies breathing his last, the sands of life gradually running out." He then quotes the passage that the AmZ 1807 review compared to Haydn's "Clock" Symphony and continues: "The suppressed sob of the bystanders, and my own hot tears, recalled me to the dread reality."¹⁸

And when Wagner, in his 1851 essay on the "Eroica," discusses the funeral march, he writes:

This shattering power [of the first movement], which inspires us with rapture and horror simultaneously, drove us towards a tragic catastrophe, the serious portent of which manifests itself to our senses in the second movement of the symphony.

18. Ignaz Moscheles, Recent Music and Musicians, trans. A.D. Coleridge (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1873; repr. New York: Da Capo, 1973), 344.

The tone-poet dresses this manifestation in the musical garb of a funeral march. A feeling tied to deep sorrow and moved in solemn sadness makes itself known to us in moving musical language Out of sorrow springs a new power, which fills us with sublime warmth: as nourishment for this power we unconsciously seek again the sorrow; we surrender to it to the point of fading away in groans grieving for the departed; but it is right here that we garner our greatest strength. . . . Only the tone-poet could do this in this wonderful piece.¹⁹

In the present century when Donald Ferguson, Peter Kivy, and Wilson Coker attempt to explain the relationship of music to the emotions, all three use the "Eroica" funeral march as an example of pure grief and write in terms that often recall these early descriptions of the work.²⁰

Berlioz's essays on the Beethoven symphonies written in 1838 show a similar understanding of the work but, as might

19. Richard Wagner, "Beethoven's 'heroische Symphonie,'" Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen, 4th ed., 10 vols. (Leipzig, 1907), 170-71. "Diese zerschmetternde Kraft, die uns mit Entzücken und Grauen zugleich erfüllt, drängte nach einer tragischen Katastrophe hin, deren ernste Bedeutung unserem Gefühle im zweiten Satze der Symphonie sich kundgiebt. Der Tondichter kleidet diese Kundgebung in das musikalische Gewand eines Trauermarsches. Eine durch tiefen Schmerz gebändigte, in feierlicher Trauer bewegte Empfindung theilt sich uns in ergreifender Tonsprache mit. . . . Aus dem Schmerze entkeimt eine neue Kraft, die uns mit erhabener Wärme erfüllt: als Nahrung dieser Kraft suchen wir unwillkürlich wieder den Schmerz auf; wir geben uns ihm hin bis zum Vergehen im Seufzer; aber gerade hier rafften wir abermals unsere vollste Kraft zusammen. . . . Nur der Tondichter vermochte diess in diesem wunderbaren Stücke."

20. Donald Ferguson, Music as Metaphor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1960), 106-9; Wilson Coker, Music and Meaning (New York: The Free Press, 1972), 172-181; Peter Kivy, The Corded Shell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 5-6.

be expected of Berlioz, a literary analogy is used to express both his admiration and interpretation. Berlioz's idolization of Virgil is well known. Les Troyens must be the ultimate homage to a poet that a composer who loved literature and music equally well could pay; throughout Berlioz's Memoirs, Virgil is often used to express what the composer himself finds inexpressible. Berlioz's comparison of the *marche funèbre* of the "Eroica" with a passage from the Aeneid, then, was a great tribute indeed.

Berlioz began by declaring the march "tout un drame" and called it a translation of Virgil's description of the funeral of Pallas. The verses from the Aeneid which Berlioz chose, however, are curious. The first two tell how Aeneas commanded that the spoils of war be carried in procession to accompany Pallas's corpse. The succeeding two verses describe the tears shed by Pallas's horse, Aethon, and barely seem to relate to the Beethoven *marche funèbre*. However, the verses are not consecutive in Virgil: they are verses 78-79 and 88-90 of Book XI, and while they surround a description of the funeral cortège, they also initiate a long scene which takes place during the funeral ceremonies of Pallas. Presumably, then, Berlioz meant these four verses to represent the entire passage, which may be connected to Beethoven's march at least through its dramatic account of the grief of Acoetes.

Berlioz continued his brief description of the movement with a short, perceptive discussion of the coda:

The end above all is profoundly moving. The march theme reappears, but fragmented and interrupted by silences, and with no accompaniment save for three notes played pizzicato by the basses; when these tatters of the lugubrious melody, alone, bare, broken and subdued, have fallen one by one down to the tonic, the wind instruments raise a cry, the final farewell of the soldiers to their companion-in-arms, and the whole orchestra fades away on a pedal, *pianissimo*.²¹

As always, it is the coda that receives the most attention. But Berlioz's explication of the Beethoven is given greater significance than most because he, like Spohr, was to combine the *marche funèbre* and the symphony in a unique way, a way which appeared to allow no comparison with Beethoven.

Symphonie funèbre et triomphale

Berlioz's Symphonie funèbre et triomphale was written in 1840 to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the July Revolution. Berlioz described his intention in the composition of this work in his memoirs:

I thought that the simplest plan would be best for such a work, and that a large body of wind instru-

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21. Hector Berlioz, A Travers Chants (Paris, 1862; repr. Paris: Gründ, 1971), 42. "La fin surtout émeut profondément. Le thème de la marche reparaît, mais par fragments coupés de silences et sans autre accompagnement que trois coups *pizzicato* de contre-basse; et quand ces lambeaux de la lugubre mélodie, seuls, nus, brisés, effacés, sont tombés un à un jusque sur la tonique, les instruments à vent poussent un cri, dernier adieu des guerriers à leur compagnon d'armes, et tout l'orchestre s'éteint sur un point d'orgue *pianissimo*."

ments would alone be suitable for a symphony which was--at least on the first occasion--to be heard in the open air. I wished in the first place to recall the famous Three Days' conflict amid the mournful accents of a solemn march accompanying the procession; to follow this by a sort of funeral oration, or farewell address to the illustrious dead, while the bodies were being lowered into the tomb; and finally to sing a hymn of praise as an apotheosis, when, after the sealing of the tomb, the attention should be concentrated on the column alone, surmounted by the figure of Liberty, with her wings outstretched to heaven, like the souls of those who had died for her.²²

This unusual work is occasionally compared to the *hymnes* of the French Revolution, with which it shares a similarity of instrumentation and the long instrumental introduction before the entrance of the chorus (which, along with the strings, was actually added later). A more important reason for the comparison is that the *Symphonie* was composed for an occasion recalling the great Revolutionary fêtes for which the hymns were written. The symphony, however, more closely resembles the funeral symphonies of Kraus, Paisiello and Mercadante in its multi-movement structure, its employment of instrumental recitative and, of course, its opening *marche funèbre*.²³ In almost every other way, the Berlioz

22. Hector Berlioz, *Memoirs*, trans. Rachel and Eleanor Holmes, ed. Ernest Newman (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1932; repr. New York: Dover, 1966), 232.

23. The Mercadante work referred to here is *Sinfonia* (or *Fantasia*) *funebre* in D minor, written in 1835. The work, as the title implies, is very free in form, opening with an Allegro which eventually settles down to a march. This sort of funeral symphony in which the movements are often connected was common in Italy at that time. Similar works were written by Niccolò Zingarelli and Francesco Florimo (for the funeral of

is a highly original composition; at the very least, the apotheosis immediately distinguishes the work from any other funeral symphony.

Unlike that of Beethoven's Op. 55, a march with trio that uses features of sonata form, Berlioz's march is a sonata-form march that incorporates features of the march with trio. The opening exposition repeats the main theme as if a binary march had begun, the first time cadencing in A-flat, the second in F. At this point the second half of a binary form appears to begin but turns out to be a transition to the second theme. This theme, in A-flat, could very easily be a trio: it contrasts dramatically with the march theme; it is in the relative major; it is consistently accompanied by a triplet figure; and it comes to a full close in A-flat which could be either the end of a trio or the end of an exposition. What follows is a development, or perhaps a bridge, which after a brief, modulatory passage returns to the main theme. When the second theme returns in F major, sonata form is confirmed but not very convincingly. The movement is formally like the first movement of the Symphonie fantastique, in which the main theme dominates the exposition so completely that the second theme seems more like a codetta to the section. In the Symphonie fantastique

Bellini); cf. Rey M. Longyear, The Northern Italian Symphony, 1720-1840 in Brook, op. cit., Series A, VI. Related to these are Donizetti's *Sinfonia* (for Maria Malibran, 1836) and Luigi Gianella's earlier *Concerto lugubre* (for Cimarosa), quoted above.

formal irregularities can be attributed to the program whether or not we know specifically what aspect of the program is the cause. In the Funeral Symphony, although we are presumably not dealing with a program, there are many external and internal details that suggest an extra-musical source.

Of course, there are traditional characteristics of the genre at work here. The characteristic funeral-march rhythm appears prominently throughout, first in the opening fanfare and then in its original and augmented forms in the main march theme and its accompanying figure (Ex.5.7):

Example 5.7. Berlioz, *Symphonie funèbre et triomphale*, mm.1-5.



The harmony changes slowly and regularly, in fact quite consistently at the rate of one chord per measure, creating what Holoman calls a "solid, slow motion."²⁴

The mixture of tradition and innovation is carried into the Funeral Oration. The instrumental recitative had become fairly common by 1840, but Berlioz's choice of a trombone as

24. D. Kern Holoman, *Berlioz* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 205.

the solo instrument and the length of the solo are both unusual. There are three sections to the oration. The first section begins with a series of chords that form a call to order and announce the speaker while modulating from B-flat to E minor (the B-flat chord is actually heard as IV of the previous movement's F minor). The trombone then plays a sparsely accompanied recitative that ends in C minor. A series of massive chords leads to the key of E-flat where the trombone begins an arioso. A brief transition leads to the final section in which the trombone plays an aria which later becomes a duet with the winds. This leads, without a pause, into the Apotheosis.

Although Berlioz, in this symphony, created a *marche funèbre* that has little in common with the march from Beethoven's "Eroica" in a context that has little in common with anything by Beethoven, there may be a connection between the Symphonie funèbre and Berlioz's brief analysis of the Beethoven march. In Book XI of the Aeneid, which Berlioz had compared to Beethoven's *marcia funebre*, the excerpt devoted to the funeral of Pallas falls into three sections. The first is the description of the cortège. This is followed by an oration which itself falls into three parts: the first part is Aeneas's brief farewell to Pallas; in the second part, Aeneas tells an envoy of enemy soldiers that he is not at war with the people but with their rulers; in the third part, Aeneas tells the people that they may perform

funeral rites for their own fallen; moved by Aeneas's compassion, Drances praises him and offers the assistance of his people in the building of the city. The third section describes the truce that follows and the consequent period of amicability between the victors and their captives.

This synopsis closely parallels the structure of Berlioz's symphony. The opening *marche funèbre*, the three-part funeral oration--including the duet, which corresponds to the agreement between Aeneas and Drances--and the triumphant conclusion to the symphony have obvious analogues in the excerpt from Virgil. Berlioz's penchant for programs, his familiarity with and love for Virgil, and his use of this same passage in a discussion of another *marche funèbre*, suggest that this may very well be what Berlioz had in mind.

Berlioz wrote the symphony in a remarkably short time, and, in fact, as D. Kern Holoman points out, some passages of the symphony were composed earlier:

The speed of composition is attributable in part to self-borrowing: the center movement, his *Hymne d'adieu*, was in large measure borrowed from Lenor's Invocation in *Les Francs-Juges*; one idea came from the *Scène héroïque*, and the two outer movements may have been sketched as early as 1835 for the *Fête musicale funèbre*.²⁵

Berlioz may have also borrowed the program from his own work.

One could take the analogy between Berlioz's symphony and the passage from Virgil further. Take, for example, the

25. Holoman, *op. cit.*, 266.

otherwise inexplicable passage, mm. 65-68 of the *marche funèbre*, in which for only four measures the drums play a repeated triplet figure which not only seems out of place but is never brought back. This figure, forever associated with Beethoven's Seventh Symphony but equally recognizable as a characteristic of the *chasse*, may perhaps illustrate Pallas's horse's entrance into the cortège. Similarly, the unusual passage in the coda at m.240, in which the winds slowly move chromatically around a single note three times followed five measures later by a blast from the full orchestra, may be compared to these lines at the end of the funeral ritual in the Aeneid:

. . . three times the riders circled the sad funeral fires, their mouths giving forth a wailing sound; the earth was wet with tears, their armor was wet with tears: and the clamor of men and a blast of trumpets filled the sky.²⁶

Other parallels could be drawn, but not only might they be construed to be espousing a particularly unfashionable form of musical explication but they might also amount to nothing more than an interesting digression. The point has been made already and does not hinge on the program of the Berlioz *Symphonie funèbre*: in other composers' attempts to avoid imitating the *marcia funebre* from Beethoven's "Eroica," the stature of Beethoven's march was affirmed. This

26. Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book XI, lines 189-92.

" . . . ter maestum funeris ignem
lustravere in equis ululatusque ore dedere;
spargitur et tellus lacrymis, sparguntur et arma:
it caelo clamorque virum clangorque tubarum."

meant that the most successful examples of the genre were those that clearly announced their singularity.

Liszt was to find that one effective way of writing a symphonic work after Beethoven was through the application of a program which would generate unique formal and structural features. The use of a program affected the *marche funèbre* in much the same way and, in addition, provided a dramatic context in which the metaphoric possibilities of the *marche funèbre* were realized.

Chapter VI

DRAMA: OPERATIC AND SYMPHONIC

The numerous funeral marches for piano of the early nineteenth century that claim the march from Sarti's Giulio Sabino as a common ancestor are good evidence of the important connection between opera and instrumental music. Just as the *marche funèbre* moved from military music to the stage and then to instrumental music, in the 1830s it was again the *marche funèbre* in opera that made important changes in the genre.

The Spohr and Berlioz examples discussed above, while avoiding the Beethoven funeral march as a model, and only, in the case of the Berlioz, externally acknowledging the multi-movement Revolutionary *hymne* or the Italian *sinfonia funebre*, exhibit dramatic aspects which can be found in operatic funeral marches. The Spohr, for example, a funeral march interrupted after each phrase, is reminiscent in that respect of Sarti's famous *marcia lugubre*. The Berlioz, too, recalls another operatic march from one of the most successful and influential operas of the nineteenth century, Spontini's La Vestale.

Berlioz's admiration for Spontini is well-known.

Holoman writes:

. . . it was the great works of Gluck and Spontini, absorbed scene by scene, then bar by bar, that so broadened Berlioz's understanding of dramatic music in the early and middle 1820's. They unveiled to him, in short, a new stylistic universe, the starting point for compositional efforts more substantial than the romance and potpourri.¹

Berlioz in fact quoted Spontini's *marche funèbre* in his famous orchestration text of 1843. The passage is interesting not just because of its demonstration of the connection between Spontini and its author, but also because it appears in Berlioz's discussion of the trombone, the solo instrument of the *Symphonie funèbre*:

The pianissimo of the trombones, employed in minor chords is gloomy, mournful--I might almost say, horrible. Especially if the chords are short and interrupted by rests, one can imagine strange monsters uttering groans of repressed rage from a gruesome darkness.

In my opinion no one has used this particular expression so dramatically as Spontini in his incomparable funeral march in "La Vestale". . . .²

La Vestale was premiered in Paris in 1807. Its success, initially doubtful, was ultimately so complete that by 1828 it had been performed in America. Like other French operas from this period, it is better known in its Italian version, and it was this version which until recently was performed regularly. The "Marche funéraire," as it is called in the French version, occurs in the third act, when Julia, condemned to death, is led off to be buried alive.

1. Holoman, op. cit., 20-23.

2. Hector Berlioz, Treatise on Instrumentation, rev. Richard Strauss, trans. Theodore Front (New York: Kalmus, 1948), 328.

The march, like those in the symphonies by Spohr and Berlioz discussed above, is in F minor and is unusual in two ways: it is sung by the chorus--the vocal intrusion in the Sarti march occurs during the march's reprise; and unlike the marches of Paër and Sarti, it consists of a number of different strains, which also contribute to the surprising length of the piece. The opening strain of the march exhibits the unmistakable clustered upbeats of the *marche funèbre*, actual (not imitations of) muffled drums, the trombone chords that Berlioz referred to, and a chorus *sotto voce* in their lowest registers--the upper voice in the example is sung by the altos (Ex.6.1):³

Example 6.1. Spontini, *La Vestale*, *Marche funèbre*, mm.1-4.

Lento assai

Pé - ris - se la ves - ta - le im - pie ob - jet de la hai - ne des dieux

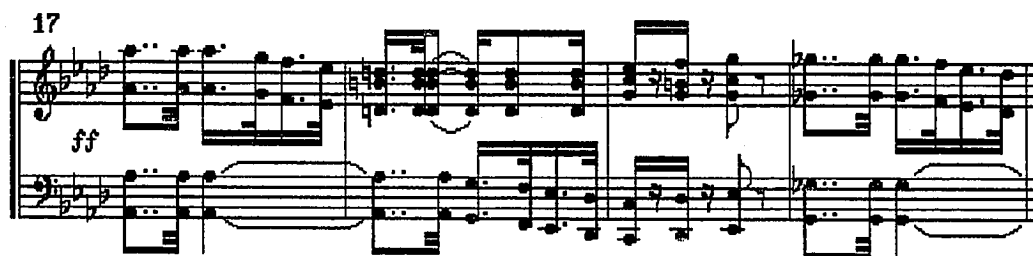
Str. *pp*
+Timp.

Trb.

-
3. Spontini, *La Vestale*, (Paris: Erard, n.d.); facs. ed. of orch. score ed. P. Gossett and C. Rosen as Vol. XLII of *Early Romantic Opera*, 44 vols., ed. P. Gossett and C. Rosen (New York: Garland, 1979).

Grout's criticism of Spontini, that his music possesses "rather stodgy harmonic structure, ponderously swinging between tonic and dominant, while the melodic line flows above in regular, often singsong rhythms,"⁴ while often true, is contradicted by the third strain. Here, at m.17, a three-measure phrase, rhetorical in both its dynamic abruptness and its declamatory rhythm, occurs twice: it is exactly repeated a whole step lower at m.20 (Ex.6.2):

Example 6.2. Spontini, *La Vestale*, *Marche funèraire*, mm.17-19.



Shortly afterwards there is a strain in A-flat which returns later in the march. This section, with its flowing triplet accompaniment, marked "trés doux," and its melody sung in thirds, is such a contrast to the low, halting tones of the opening of the funeral march that it seems to signal the beginning of a trio (Ex.6.3):

4. Donald Jay Grout and Hermine Weigel Williams, *A Short History of Opera*, 3rd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 356.

Example 6.3. Spontini, *La Vestale*, *Marche funéraire*,
mm. 35-38.

35

dieux cle - mens dieux cle - mens

pp *tres doux*

Whatever the significance of this march may have been in musical terms, something of importance to the history of the funeral march has occurred here: this funeral march is for someone who is not yet dead. The funeral march by definition had been a march which occurred after a tragedy. Here, it has become the portent of the tragedy, a role which would affect the meaning and use of the *marche funèbre* for the rest of the century.

Significant examples of the march to the place of death can be found in operas of the 1830s and 1840s. In Halévy's *La Juive* (1835), for example, Rachel is being led to the scaffold, condemned to death, like Julia in *La Vestale*, because of a love that was proscribed. The march that Halévy wrote for this is indeed a unique one. It is in F-sharp minor--most earlier funeral marches are in "flat" keys, a characteristic recalling the genre's military origins--and lacks any trace of the heavy tread usually associ-

ated with the genre. A sixteen-measure melody opens the march. The melody, a poignant, chant-like tune, is first played unaccompanied by a clarinet and bassoon in octaves. Each of its first three phrases ends with a rise to and fall from the mediant; at the end of the final phrase the mediant is emphasized by the A-sharp which occurs in the previous measure (Ex.6.4):⁵

Example 6.4. Halévy, *La Juive*, *Marche funèbre*, mm. 1-16.



The melody is repeated, harmonized in D major, with a flowing triplet accompaniment which continues through the rest of the march. In this passage, the funereal mood established by the opening would be effaced by the lyrical were it not for a number of traditional *marche funèbre* characteristics which Halévy has skillfully incorporated into the

5. Jacques Halévy, *La Juive* (Paris: Schlesinger, 1835); photo repr. of score ed. P. Gossett as Vol. XXXVI of *Early Romantic Opera*, 44 vols., ed. P. Gossett and C. Rosen (New York, Garland, 1980).

score. The timpani upbeats, the bass drum and cymbals, and the soft trombone chords, as in the Spontini, subtly emphasize the heavy tread of the march and the trumpet adds distant military calls at the ends of phrases (Ex.6.5):

Example 6.5. Halévy, *La Juive*, *Marche funèbre*, mm.17-

20.

The triplet figure which accompanies the melody continues until the end of the march. This unchanging accompaniment makes it difficult to hear the next section as a trio. Its key, the relative major, and its fortissimo marking help somewhat to distinguish it from its surroundings, but the melody of this section repeats the rhythm of the opening strain almost unchanged. When this "trio" has faded away, the main theme returns, harmonized in F-sharp minor, and the march ends quietly on an F-sharp-major chord.

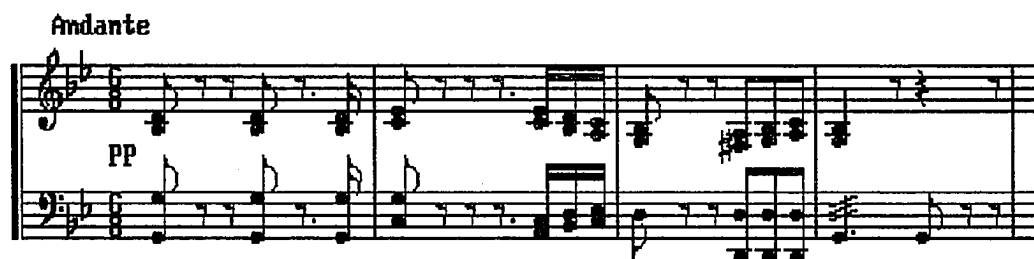
Many of the unusual aspects of this march may have been determined by its placement as the centerpiece of the last

act of the drama. Both an earlier march by Halévy, "Marche funèbre et de Profundis en Hébreu" (1820), as well as a later "Marche héroïque pour les funérailles de Napoléon," are musically somewhat similar to the Spontini march. But the march in La Juive serves as a quiet intermezzo between two scenes of considerable dramatic power, and yet, unlike an intermezzo, which in most cases is a sort of meditation on the previous events of a drama, it continues the action of the opera. The unusual features of Halévy's march blur the contrast between the march and the trio, making the entire piece a contrast with what comes before and after it. Those characteristics of the genre which are retained are just enough to maintain the elegiac quality and the forward motion of the *marche funèbre*. That motion is suspended only for a moment just before the return of the march theme, as if the title character were considering renouncing her faith to save herself.

A similar example of a *marche funèbre* strongly affected by its dramatic context is found in Act III of Verdi's Giovanna d'Arco. The opera, loosely based on the story of Joan of Arc, was premiered in 1845. The *Marcia funebre* is played as the body of Giovanna is brought onstage on a stretcher only a few moments after victory is proclaimed. Although she appears to be dead, she has only been mortally wounded. The march is in G minor and in compound time. Compound time, frequently encountered in military marches

from the eighteenth century on, is far less common in the funeral march. (A funeral march by Donizetti with the same time signature and key will be discussed below.) The first phrase of the march is played by the orchestra (Ex.6.6):⁶

Example 6.6. Verdi, Giovanna d'Arco, *Marcia funebre*,
mm.1-4.



In the next phrase, the chorus sings in unison expressing its surprise at the approaching funeral march. In turn, Carlo (Charles VII), and Giacomo, Giovanna's father, respond to the news of Giovanna's death (Ex. 6.7):

6. Giuseppe Verdi, Giovanna d'Arco, piano-vocal score
(Milan: Ricordi, 1983).

Example 6.7. Verdi, *Giovanna d'Arco*, *Marcia funebre*,
mm. 5-14.

Chorus

Carlo

Un suon fune - re-o d'in - tor-no span-de-si. Ahi

pp

Giacomo

vi - - sta! Oh fi - glia!

f p

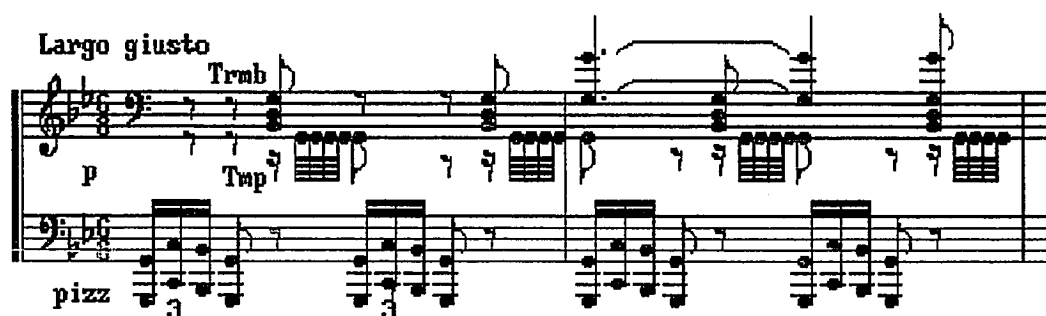
The funeral march resembles what might be called a "stupefaction" chorus, common in Italian opera at that time, in which a halting, tentative orchestral passage accompanies a unison chorus responding to events of the drama. It is also an example of Verdi's use of a genre as the basis of a *scena*: the orchestra plays a set piece which continues unaffected by the *parlando* of the characters onstage, a sort of genre-piece *con pertinici*, as in the minuet in Act I of *Rigoletto* or the opening dance music of *La Traviata*.

Perhaps the most extensive use of the *marche funèbre* in opera at this time occurs in Dom Sébastien, Donizetti's last major work and the third of his three grand operas. This five-act opera, written in 1842, with a plot too complex to summarize here, had a Scribe libretto which offered two opportunities for funeral marches. Donizetti not only wrote two very different marches but also based the overture entirely on the second of these, further emphasizing the importance of the genre to this drama.

The *marche funèbre* was certainly not a new genre to Donizetti. In addition to the marches in his funeral symphonies and a work for piano four hands from 1820, Donizetti had already written a short *marcia funebre* in the famous last scene of Lucia di Lammermoor. This march with chorus announces the impending death of Lucia. The *marche funèbre* of the first act of Dom Sébastien, like the other operatic marches examined above, is a march to the place of death. In this case, Zaïda, a Moroccan princess, is about to be executed for breaking her vow to remain at a convent. The march, which accompanies a Chorus of Inquisitors, is, like Verdi's, in compound time and in G minor, and features an unusual figure played by the strings pizzicato. Donizetti's choice of 6/8 time was probably based on the need to differentiate this march as greatly as possible from the one in Act III. The march emerges from a fortissimo stroke of the tam-tam, and is played and sung once by the Chorus of In-

quisitors; the march accompaniment is like that of Spontini, with soft trombone chords off the beat and timpani rolls lightly accenting the downbeats (Ex.6.8):⁷

Example 6.8. Donizetti, Dom Sébastien, Act I, *Marcia funebre*, mm.1-2.



At the point at which the march would either end or continue into a trio, Dom Sébastien interrupts its progress asking, "Où la conduisez-vous?" Dom Juam, his enemy, replies, "Au bûcher," and suddenly begins to sing the march again *fortissimo*, as if to block out the king's response. The march with the chorus is then repeated. Thus, a bit of dialogue, hinting at the possibility of a reprieve for Zaïda, provides relief in much the same manner that a trio might.

The funeral march in Act III is also for someone who is alive; in this case, Dom Sébastien has led his enemies to believe he is dead and attends his own funeral disguised as a beggar. Donizetti's compositional choice to construct a

7. Gaetano Donizetti, Dom Sébastien (1843), facs. ed. of full score, (Paris, n.d.), 2 vols., ed. Gossett as Vol. XXIX of Early Romantic Opera, 44 vols., ed. Gossett and Rosen (New York: Garland, 1980).

march which provided the greatest possible contrast to the march in Act I resulted is a *scena* not unlike the famous nineteenth-century settings of the Requiem which have traditionally been called "operatic." The march begins with off-stage bells, trumpets, and drums, and is immediately followed by snatches of a Requiem sung unaccompanied by the chorus. The intentionally antique style of the Requiem setting contrasts sharply first with the snare drum's punctuation of each phrase, and then with the basses and the brass which announce the beginning of the march in octaves fortissimo (Ex.6.9):

Example 6.9. Donizetti, *Dom Sébastien*, Act III, *Marche funèbre*, mm.21-29.

21 Basses and brass (percussion omitted)

ff Son-nez clai-rons fu -- nè - bres rou - lez som-bres tam-bours é-vo-quez _____ des té - - nè - - - bres l'an - - ge des der-niers jours

The march itself consists of an eight-measure phrase in C major with chromatic coloration that suggests C minor (Ex.6.10):

Example 6.10. Donizetti, *Dom Sébastien*, Act III, *Marche funèbre*, mm.31-39.

The musical score consists of two systems of staves. The first system (measures 31-34) shows a melody in the right hand with eighth notes and rests, and a bass line with a steady eighth-note pattern. The second system (measures 35-39) continues the melody and bass line, with dynamic markings 'cresc' and 'calando' indicating changes in volume and tempo. The score is written for piano (p) and features a somber and rhythmic atmosphere.

After two statements of the march, the second with the chorus, the Requiem returns accompanied by the full orchestra and the offstage battery; the various sections of the march are repeated concluding with a return of the bass intonation. This last statement by the Inquisitors, insults the memory of Dom Sébastien and leads to the unmasking of the fraud that was behind the funeral.

In this instance, Donizetti has constructed a funeral march that makes use of the traditional musical devices associated with a funeral, not only for the dramatic excitement that the juxtaposition of these different devices provides but also to represent a number of important aspects of the drama. The sincerity of the crowd is represented by

the antique sound of the Requiem, and contrasts with the bombast of the conniving Inquisitors. The march with its modal ambivalence, at times triumphant, at times foreboding, seems to represent the feelings of the king watching his own funeral--happy to be alive and yet frightened by both the sight of his own obsequies and the realization that his enemies are in control.

These operatic *marches funèbres* suggest that by around 1840 the characteristics of the genre were so firmly established that they could be manipulated dramatically, through variation, or juxtaposition with features foreign to the genre, without disturbing the genre's quality of being instantly recognized. This versatility allowed the genre to be used in ways that went against its original function. In each of the works discussed above, the cause for the march, a death, and consequently its function as well have been negated in some way, and yet the emotional weight of the music has been maintained. The contrast between the static quality of the march and the emotional intensity of the drama makes the sound of the funeral march as death approaches a very powerful statement.

Similar examples of this shift in definition of the funeral march occur in other operas of the period. Occasionally there is but a suggestion of a funeral march or the march is used to indicate an action taking place offstage. In Mercadante's La Vestale of 1840, for example, which

unlike Spontini's opera on the same subject ends tragically, the chorus sung while Emilia is taken to be buried alive begins with the unmistakable sound of the funeral march (Ex.6.11):⁸

Example 6.11. Mercadante, *La Vestale*, Act III, "Ah questa vittima," mm.1-14.



In Spohr's *Die Kreuzfahrer* of 1843, the funeral march even illustrates the execution. As the wall that is to entomb Emma is being built up around her, a short march is repeated three times in B minor, C minor and C-sharp minor while a choir of nuns sings, "Requiesce in pace."⁹

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8. Saverio Mercadante, *La Vestale*, facs. repr. of piano-vocal score, Milan: Ricordi, 1840?, in *Italian Opera, 1810-1840*, ed. Philip Gossett (New York: Garland, 1986), 207.
 9. Spohr, *Die Kreuzfahrer*, Klavierauszug (Leipzig: Schubert, c.1845), 185-7.

The re-definition of the funeral march was something which could easily be accomplished in opera. The libretto was able to clarify the new usage for the audience, and the dramatic possibilities of the genre proved to be very useful to the composer. Opera, especially Italian opera of the nineteenth century, frequently employed the death of a major character or characters as the last event of the drama. Within seconds of this death, the final curtain would fall with barely time for a "gran Dio!" Any other comment, as in the chorus "With drooping wings" from Purcell's Dido, "Questo è il fin" from Don Giovanni, or a *marche funèbre* would have been considered anti-climactic. The restrained dramatic tone and the ability to evoke images of death inherent to the funeral march, however, were particularly useful in setting a mood in which the death of a character would be the logical climax.

Verdi also used elements of the funeral march with some frequency at particularly significant moments in operas of his middle period.¹⁰ Just before the death of Violetta in La Traviata, at "Prendi, quest'è l'immagine," the brass

10. In his essay "The Musical Figure of Death," Frits Noske discusses the prevalence of certain death motives throughout Verdi's work. These motives are all derived from funeral-march accompaniment figures. Noske finds numerous examples of Verdi's employment of these death figures right up to the last two operas which, he says, "reveal a restricted use of the death figure in combination with extreme dramatic subtlety." Frits Noske, The Signifier and the Signified: Studies in the Operas of Mozart and Verdi (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 171-214.

choir begins a traditional funeral-march rhythm within the broad triple meter of the ensemble; this continues up to the point at which Violetta dies. The "Miserere" from Il Trovatore is virtually a *scena* built on a funeral march, utilizing rhythms and melodic characteristics of the genre (particularly at Elvira's "Quel suon, quelle preci solenni"), not unlike Donizetti's funeral march in Act III of *Dom Sébastien*. A composer's ability to use isolated genre characteristics to infer meaning is an indication that the listener's awareness of the genre's tradition is unquestionably strong. It means that the genre can withstand alteration without losing recognizability, whether these alterations are of its function or of its musical characteristics. The dramatic *marches funèbres* of Berlioz used many traditional aspects of the operatic funeral march and a number of innovations which, at least in one case, tested the limits to which the genre could be taken at this point in its development.

Berlioz and the Dramatic Symphony

It could be argued that the "Marche au supplice" from the Symphonie fantastique is a *marche funèbre*. Certainly, in light of the redefinition discussed above, this is a march to the place of death. Perhaps, if the tempo indication, the rather ambiguous "Allegretto ma non troppo," were interpreted as a slow tempo, some of the characteristics of

the funeral march present in the work would be emphasized. But the regular reiteration of the triumphant B-flat-major march theme and the overall sardonic mood of the rest of the movement make it distinctly *sui generis* or, at least, a hybrid. The hybridizing, or mixing, of genres, a tendency more noticeable slightly later in the century when the combination was actually named--as in the "valse-scherzo" or the "sonata-fantasy"--was characteristic of Berlioz not just in individual movements but in the larger structures that contained them.

In his preface to Romeo and Juliet, Berlioz wrote, "ce n'est ni un opéra de concert, ni une cantate, mais une symphonie avec chœurs." Certainly, there are elements of both opera and the cantata incorporated into this symphony, in much the same way that his previous symphonies, Symphonie fantastique and Harold in Italy, incorporated genres, such as the waltz and the march, and, in the latter, elements of the concerto.

The directions which precede the "Convoi funèbre" in the score, unlike those preceding the other sections of the work, describe the music rather than the dramatic situation: "Fugued march: instrumental at first with a psalm-tone (*psalmodie*) on a single note in the voice; then vocal, with the psalm-tone in the orchestra."¹¹ With this statement,

11. Hector Berlioz, Werke, 20 vols., ed. C. Malherbe and F. Weingartner (Leipzig, 1900-7; repr. New York: Kalmus, n.d.), III.

Berlioz announces that, despite the presence of a fugato, this is a march. In his provocative study of Berlioz's style, Michel Guiomar writes:

The fugue style frequently participates in the formation of the cortège in Berlioz. We know his fear of the fugue and we would like to think the reason was his ignorance of the form; perhaps it would be more precise to say that he refused to acquaint himself with it because instinctively he could only mistrust this ideal form of discursive music.¹²

While the question of whether or not Berlioz could write an academic fugue remains arguable, the use of the fugue to which Guiomar refers, in which the fugue is adjusted to fit the dramatic action, shows a certain kind of mastery of the genre in itself. But Guiomar's connection of the fugato and the cortège is of particular interest. The opening fugato of "The Flight into Egypt" from L'Enfance du Christ takes the meaning of "fuga" ("flight") literally. In a broader sense, Berlioz seems to equate the fugue with motion and thus the fugue plays an important role in the "Convoi funèbre." Once again, the word hybrid comes to mind: the

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12. Michel Guiomar, Le masque et le fantasme: L'imagination de la manière sonore dans la pensée musicale de Berlioz (Paris: Librairie José Corti, 1970), 340. "Le STYLE FUGUE [sic] participe fréquemment chez Berlioz à la formation de cortèges. On sait son horreur de la fugue et on a voulu en voir la raison dans l'ignorance qu'il avait de cette forme; peut-être, mais ne serait-il pas plus exact de dire qu'il a refusé de la connaître parce que, instinctivement, il ne pouvait que se méfier de cette forme idéale de la musique discursive."

"Convoi funèbre" skillfully combines a number of characteristics of different genres.

The opening phrase of the fugue theme displays some important features of a *marche funèbre* (Ex.6.12):

Example 6.12. Berlioz, Romeo and Juliet, *Convoi funèbre*, mm.1-3.



Similarly, a funeral-march rhythm is the basis of the vocal psalm-tone. Both of these ideas are introduced earlier in the work when, at the end of the scherzetto section of Part One, the chorus, predicting the tragic ending of the drama, sings, "Bientôt la mort est souveraine" (Ex.6.13):

Example 6.13. Berlioz, Romeo and Juliet, Scherzetto, a) mm.127-132; b) mm.137-9.

a) 127 Andante

The musical notation for Example 6.13a is a three-staff system in C major and 3/4 time, marked piano (pp). The top staff is for the vocal line, starting with a quarter rest followed by a series of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, A4, G4, F#4, E4, D4, C4. The middle staff is for the strings (str.), and the bottom staff is for the Tenor and Bass voices. The lyrics "Bien-tôt la mort est sou-ve-rai-ne" are written below the Tenor and Bass staves. The notes are connected by a slur, and there are small upward and downward arrows above the eighth notes A4 and F#4 respectively, indicating a slight inflection.

b) 137

The musical notation for Example 6.13b is a single staff in C major and 3/4 time, marked piano (pp). The melody starts with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note G4, an eighth note A4, a quarter note B4, an eighth note A4, a quarter note G4, an eighth note F#4, a quarter note E4, an eighth note D4, a quarter note C4, and finally a quarter rest. The notes are connected by a slur, and there are small upward and downward arrows above the eighth notes A4 and F#4 respectively, indicating a slight inflection.

qui fit ver-ser tant de sang et de pleurs.

The relaxed development of these two ideas suggests that Berlioz constructed his fugue subject with the intention of producing a leisurely exposition. A long fugue subject means that the entrances of the subject and answer in the exposition occur at some distance from each other, and, just as a stretto builds tension and excitement, this effect, the antithesis of stretto, produces calm. In this case, the static tread of the funeral march is replaced by the static mood produced by both the combination of the unusually long fugue subject and the monotone of the chorus.

At measure 40, the fugato is temporarily abandoned and what appears to be a second theme in G major with a triplet accompaniment is introduced. This could be interpreted as a second theme, a trio, or, what is more likely, the first episode of the fugue. When the fugue subject returns, it begins a remarkable transformation. Gradually it seems to disintegrate and dissolve into the repeated psalm-tones of the chorus. The chorus hesitatingly tries the fugue subject and the piece continues with the roles reversed.

The chorus first presents the fugue theme in E major but the texture accompanying the subject is now more like that of a hymn; the fugal texture returns gradually as the answer and subject are restated. The G-major episode is repeated in E major followed by a stretto in C-sharp minor which fades away as the psalm-tone returns. The repeated E's of the psalm-tone are now a pedal point to a theme that

never reappears. The psalm-tone never cadences, the fugue never ends, and the march never really marches. The repeated E's return however at the death of Romeo in the next section; here, they are harmonized with C-sharp and G. Interestingly, they form a diminished chord made up of the tonic notes of the three keys found in the "Convoi funèbre." The B-flat of the bassoons, which intrudes upon this chord, is part of a modulation which will eventually resolve in A, but might also be read as implying the dominant-ninth chord of B major, the key in which the symphony finally resolves.

In this work, as in some operatic funeral marches, the genre's flexibility and recognizability allow it to be adjusted to fit, and indeed to further, the dramatic situation. The "Convoi funèbre, to a degree beyond even that of the Act III *marche funèbre* in Dom Sébastien, incorporates, or better, amalgamates, a number of different genres to achieve a particular dramatic effect. This effect, in which each of these genres remains incomplete in both its realization as a genre and in its temporal development, closely parallels the drama. At this point in the drama, Romeo and Juliet are about to die, their young lives incomplete; their double suicide, however, is yet to be accomplished, for Juliet is not really dead; neither is the expiation for the offenses of the families accomplished by the simple throwing of flowers on Juliet's bier.

Formally, this march is similar to the one from the Symphonie funèbre. The long exposition and the brief first episode parallel the long first theme and the short second theme of the Symphonie. The dissolution of the subject is like the short development/transition of the Symphonie, and the restatement of the two subjects is also somewhat similar. The key relationships are the same and both movements may be analyzed in terms of sonata form. The Marche funèbre pour la dernière scène d'Hamlet, written some years later, is similar in form to these two earlier pieces.¹³

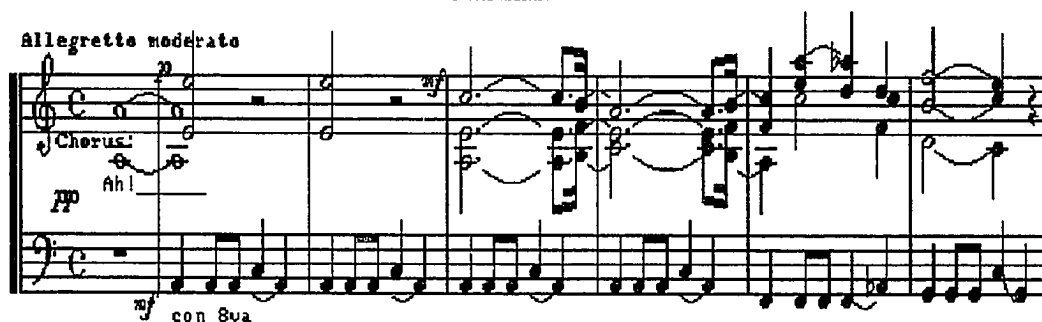
The close connection of Berlioz's funeral march for Hamlet to Shakespeare's play is immediately apparent. The last lines of the play are printed at the top of the score and the score itself is consistent with the final stage direction which reads: "A dead march. Exeunt, bearing off the dead bodies; after which a peal of ordnance is shot off." At the climax of the march, the score calls for the firing of a volley ("Feu de peloton derrière le Théâtre"); the march then dissolves and fades away in a long coda.

The accompaniment of the first theme of the march begins as a simple bass figure made from the traditional

13. The year of the march's composition is debatable. Holoman suggests that the date of the completion of the composition of the Hamlet March, frequently given as 1848, is 1844-5. It was planned for a production of Hamlet in 1844, and probably not finished until later. However, it appeared in a catalog of Berlioz's works in 1846, and is also listed as one of the three works comprising the 1851 Tristia. See Holoman, op. cit., 313.

funeral-march rhythm and the characteristic minor third. Later this figure is elaborated to create a nervous accompaniment to the final statement of the march theme, but that nervous quality is actually present already. The theme above this figure is also built around the minor third and gives a particularly strong emphasis to the tritone (A-flat-D) at the high point of the phrase: (Ex.6.14):¹⁴

Example 6.14. Berlioz, Hamlet, mm.1-7.



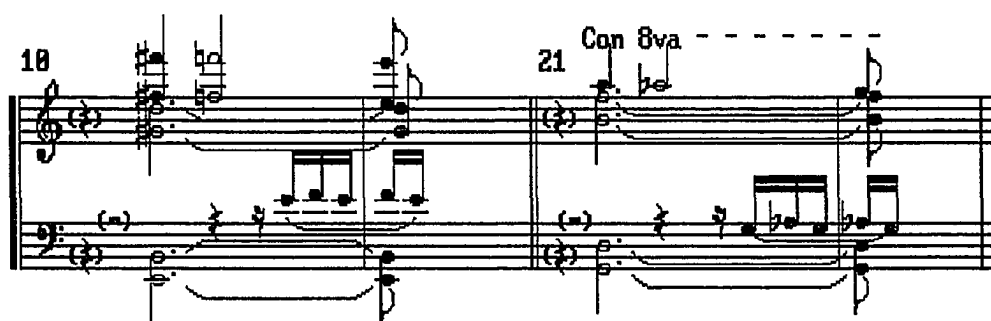
The use of augmented and diminished intervals for expressive purposes in the *marche funèbre* was pointed out above. The earlier marches often emphasized the augmented second common to the minor scale; later, there was frequent use of the diminished seventh as a melodic interval. As these intervals began to lose their freshness and consequently their expressive possibilities through overfamiliarity, it was logical that similar capabilities would be discovered in the tritone. In this case, the melodic use of the interval to-

14. Hector Berlioz, Werke, eds. C. Malherbe and F. Weingartner, 20 vols. (Leipzig, 1900-7; repr. New York: Kalmus, n.d.), VI, 41.

wards the end of a phrase is not what is unusual. Rather, it is the way in which it becomes a motif which generates some of the more remarkable features of Berlioz's score.

The tritone, like the augmented second and the diminished seventh, is part of the diminished-seventh chord which has traditionally figured as an important feature of the *marche funèbre*. In the Hamlet march, the tritone, which frequently arises from or at least suggests the diminished-seventh chord, often implies a flat-ninth chord. At first glance, the appearance of the A-flat in the A-minor theme looks like a misspelling of G-sharp. The phrase cadences in C and, of course, accounts for the use of A-flat. Out of the enharmonic relationship of A-flat and G-sharp, Berlioz develops the highly original mourning figure which occurs three times at m.10 and again at m.21 (Ex.6.15):

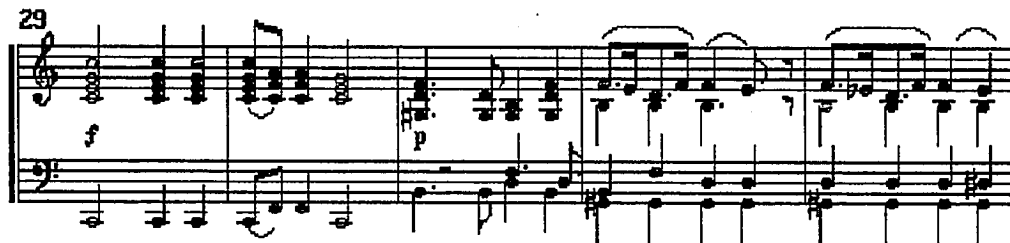
Example 6.15. Berlioz, Hamlet, mm.10 and 21.



The strong contrast provided by the second theme stems from its simplicity. After the chromatic coloration and the unusual rhythm of the passage built on the flat-ninth chord, the simple harmonic progression (I-IV-I) and strong rhythm

of this theme create a striking heroic moment in the midst of the grief. This effect, a simple harmony emerging from a series of diminished chords, repeatedly used by Wagner as the approach to the Valhalla theme, is short-lived--it quickly gives way to the diminished-seventh chords, with the tritone prominently outlined in mm.31ff. (Ex.6.16):

Example 6.16. Berlioz, Hamlet, mm.29-33.



The heroic theme returns but is once again defeated--this time by the choral outburst at m.47 (again the tritone, E-flat-A). This leads back to the main theme at m.54. The original accompaniment is elaborated into a rapid figure, similar to that which accompanies Dido's funeral preparations in Les Troyens (Ex.6.17):

Example 6.17. Berlioz, Hamlet, bass figure, mm.54-57.



The urgency of the accompaniment continues through the repeat of the heroic theme, becoming first a relentless

dotted figure and then a triplet rhythm which rushes toward the diminished-seventh chord and the artillery volley which mark the climax. Berlioz's triple-forte marking, his employment of the full percussion battery, including the tam-tam and the timpani unmuffled for the first time in the piece, and the silence that follows it all, perfectly set up the extraordinary coda which follows. The coda, which Holoman justly compares to that of the "Eroica,"¹⁵ begins on a B-minor triad with a brief melodic figure that emphasizes the tritone B-E-sharp. This is the beginning of a long descent to A minor with the B-minor triad as the II of a prolonged II-V-I cadence. Along the way, a brief passage (m.100) suggesting the Phrygian mode, with the emphasis of the important tritone relationship that exists between the second and fifth degrees of that scale, leads back to the dominant-ninth grief motive (m.105). At m.109, the simultaneous use of that motive and the B-B-flat-A of the Phrygian passage forms a series of tritones which lead finally to the tonic chord. As the final A is played by the strings, the chorus sings the mediant, C, creating a fadeout that recalls for a moment the minor third of the opening bass figure (Ex.6.18):

15. Holoman, op. cit., 94.

Example 6.18. Berlioz, Hamlet, coda, mm.102-117.

102 (perc. omitted)

109

den

de

pp

Chorus:

Ah!

Holoman finds Beethoven's "Eroica" march and Berlioz's march for Hamlet similar in some respects, but this should be taken as a compliment rather than a suggestion of derivation. Berlioz's march, probably the finest *marche funèbre* since Beethoven's, deals with the problem of combining grief with the heroic without emphasizing one at the expense of the other and without a trace of the bombastic or the sentimental, a frequent product of that combination. Berlioz also manages to create a large form which sustains interest through a great deal of variation within its repetitions, which, although an inherent part of the genre, can often be simply dull. The dramatic implications of the genre are

fully exploited in this march and are effective with or without reference to the plot of Hamlet.

In the operatic usage of the funeral march begun earlier by Spontini but for the most part developed in the 1830s and 1840s, the flexibility of the genre was exploited for dramatic possibilities. This both expressed the dramatic nature of the *marche funèbre* and changed and enhanced the connotative potential of the genre. This new potential in turn expanded the possibilities for use of the genre and altered the way in which composer and audience viewed the tradition. Berlioz was able to combine the dramatic use of the *marche funèbre* in opera with the symphonic expansion that only Beethoven before him could effect; this indeed befits the first composer after Beethoven to understand fully both Beethoven and opera.

Chapter VII

A TRANSITION, 1840-1850

The funeral marches of the early decades of the nineteenth century relate to the functional march in two different ways. On one side is the work that imitates the functional march within a dramatic symphony or opera, that is, it is a representation of a real march. The plot forms a context which helps to define the genre and allows a certain freedom in its composition. This kind of march can, and often does, differ from the functional kind it imitates. Thus, ABA form is rare in such pieces, compound time occasionally replaces the simple duple meters, and the melodic and harmonic characteristics noted with such frequency in previous chapters are sometimes less apparent or absent. Even the primary function can be redefined by the text as, for example, in the frequent appearance of the march to the place of death.

On the other side is the characteristic piece which imitates the funeral march in every way but its primary function. This march, lacking a context to indicate the genre, remains close to conventional funeral-march form and structure and relies on traditional genre characteristics

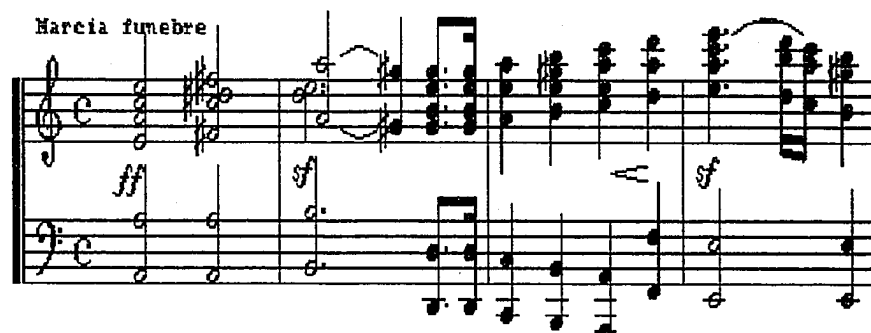
alone as indicators. Both kinds of march can be found in the works of Mendelssohn.

Mendelssohn

The funeral marches of Mendelssohn represent a summary of the ways in which the funeral march was used until the 1840s. One of these, the Song Without Words discussed in Chapter I, is a character piece. Another, a *marche funèbre* as a variation, is found in Mendelssohn's Variations for Piano, Op. 83. In these two marches the genre characteristics are strongest and most traditional. A third type, the dramatic march, is represented by the *Trauermarsch* which appears in the incidental music to Antigone, and a fourth, the functional march, by the Trauermarsch zum Begräbnis Norbert Burgmüllers, Op. 103. Of these four marches, the march for Burgmüller, a composer and friend of Mendelssohn, is the least traditional. This piece lacks the standard characteristics of the *marche funèbre* found in Mendelssohn's other marches (Ex. 7.1):¹

1. Felix Mendelssohn, Werke, 19 vols., ed. Julius Rietz (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1874-77), VII, No.29a.

Example 7.1. Mendelssohn, Trauermarsch für Harmoniemusik zum Begräbnis Norbert Burgmüllers, opening measures.



The absence of the standard funeral-march characteristics in this work is related to its function. Because it was written for a funeral, its context is the perfect realization of its primary function and thereby obviates the need for the musical characteristics common to the marches of this period.

Dramatic considerations will of course also affect the qualities of a funeral march. In Mendelssohn's incidental music to Antigone, the funeral march follows the scene in which Creon's wife, Eurydice, exits in silence after learning of the death of her son Haemon. The chorus worries that her silence may "portend as great a disaster as a loud lament."² At this point the march begins. Scored for cellos lightly accompanied by winds and lacking strong march characteristics, it may or may not be a funeral march. But Creon enters leading a cortège bearing the corpse of Haemon,

2. Sophocles, Antigone, trans. David Greene (Chicago, University of Chicago, 1954), lines 1251-52.

and at measure nine trumpets and drums sound a traditional funeral march rhythm (Ex.7.2):³

Example 7.2. Mendelssohn, "Trauermarsch" from *Antigone*, mm.1-13.

ANDANTE ALLA MARCIA

Cello
H.M.

p

(Creon erscheint mit der Leiche seines Sohnes)

8 CHORUS:

Hier kommt er ja selbst, der Ge-biet -er, her-an, in den Ar - men das

Str. *p*

trump.

timp.

cresc

The second strain is repeated before the first returns. Here, Creon learns that there has been a second death, and as the first strain returns, it is revealed by the context to have been the march for Eurydice.

3. Mendelssohn, *Werke*, XV, No. 114.

The Codes of the Funeral March

Because the funeral march before 1840 exhibits features which appear with such frequency and consistency, one is tempted to make these features part of a definition of the genre. It is important, however, to distinguish general features of the funeral march from specific musical devices that exemplify these general features. The general features are a feeling of stasis, a mournful tone, and a sense of the motion of a march. The words describing these features, "sense," "tone," "feeling," are vague, but these features indeed are vague and, in fact, any one of these features alone will not signify the funeral march--all three are necessary. These general features are the content of the funeral march. The march is the procession; it carries the lament forward. Stasis restrains the march and tempers the lament. The lament permeates the march and challenges the stasis. The three together combine and interweave to make what Suzanne Langer calls a "fabric of meaning":

The modern mind is an incredible complex of impressions and transformations; and its product is a fabric of meanings that would make the most elaborate dream of the most ambitious tapestry-weaver look like a mat. The warp of that fabric consists of what we call "data," the *signs* to which experience has conditioned us to attend, and upon which we act often without any conscious ideation.⁴

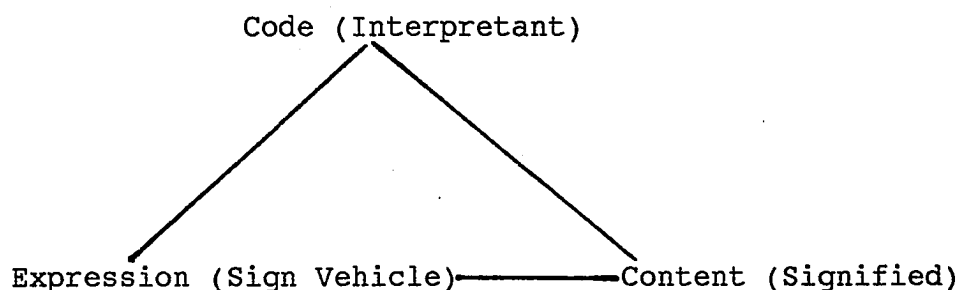
4. Suzanne K. Langer, Philosophy in a New Key, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 280.

In a *marche funèbre*, the "data" consist of the specific features which exemplify the general features; these features are a product of style and are defined by the periods in which they thrive. For example, a slow, reiterative pattern with little harmonic activity, while a simple straightforward musical method of achieving the stasis of the funeral march, is by no means the only way. Similarly, the minor mode may be best suited to expressing mourning, but it does not mean that a major key--or no key--will not accomplish this equally well. Ultimately, a simple reiteration of a minor chord in a dotted rhythm will mean funeral march to most listeners. Specific forms, melodic ideas, instrumentation, harmonic structures, and other musical devices are particular conventions which elicit specific responses for certain periods. These devices are part of a complex of signs signifying the funeral march.

A sign is made up of expression and content. The expression is that which is sometimes called the sign itself but in reality the sign does not exist until it is interpreted.⁵ The meaning of the sign is the content, and this content is interpreted through a code, often called the interpretant. Thus, there are three parts to a sign, the expression, the code, and the content. A triangle is fre-

5. Eco, *Theory*, 49: ". . . a sign is not a physical entity, the physical entity being at most the concrete occurrence of the expressive pertinent element."

quently used to show the relationships between content, code, and expression:⁶



The general characteristics of the funeral march are expressions. What is signified by these expressions is the content, the funeral march. The expressions have been encoded by the funeral tradition in which each serves a function, and they are interpreted within these codes. Just as the phrase "funeral march" has a content that is made up of many semantic elements, e.g., march, slow music, mourning, death, etc., so also is the funeral march made up of a number of elements. The funeral march is the content of three expressions (march, lament, and stasis) meeting on the same plane of expression. All three are necessary to the signification, because each expression has several different possible contents. A linguistic example may illustrate this. If I were to use the word "ruler," I might mean any number of things: for example, if I were hanging wallpaper and asked

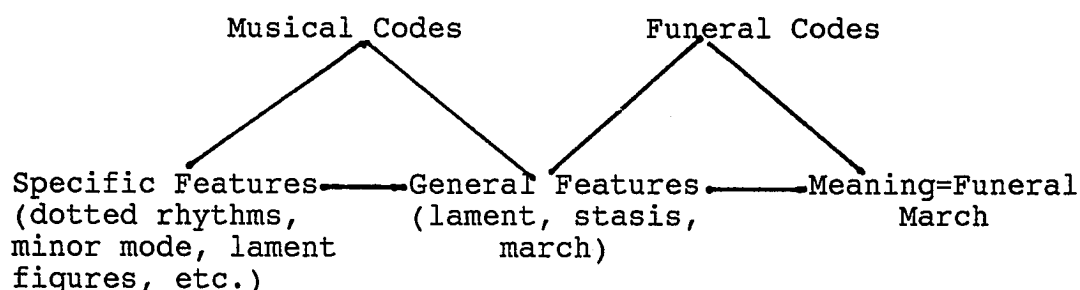
6. The terminology for the three elements of the sign varies from author to author. For a comparison of the terminology, see Eco, *Theory*, 59ff., or Robert Scholes, "Language, Narrative and Anti-Narrative," *On Narrative*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980), 201.

for a ruler, I would be surprised if my assistant fetched Elizabeth II; however, if I were speaking of England and used the same word, I would expect the meaning to be clear. A complex of signs in each case led to the precise meaning. In the first case the sign was made specific by the physical context, the hanging of wallpaper, in the second, through semantic connotation. In the same way, each of the three elements of the *marche funèbre* needs the other elements to signify the march completely.

The words which denote "funeral march" are themselves made up of elements which have expressions, codes, and contents. So also the three expressions which signify the march are the products (contents) of other signs.⁷ These signs are the specific characteristics of the funeral march. The codes by which they are interpreted are musical and are, for the most part, based on tradition. I say "for the most part" because it certainly could be argued that some of the expressions are musical metaphors. For example, it could be said that a slow harmonic rhythm illustrates a state of rest and therefore, rather than, or perhaps in addition to, representing stasis (a tradition of the funeral march), it is a metaphor for death. While this metaphor may indeed be a reasonable explanation for the presence of stasis, the code that interprets it is a convention, that is, a tradi-

7. This is related to the process which Peirce called "unlimited semiosis." See Eco, *Theory*, 69ff.

tion associated with the funeral march. For these signs, there are also many possible expressions. For example, the slow, harmonic rhythm representing stasis is found in many of the funeral marches of the first decades of the nineteenth century. Halévy's march from La Juive, however, achieves stasis through the constant, slow triplet movement throughout the march. Similarly, mourning may be indicated by the musical figures associated with grief, but the addition of a text may also achieve this through verbal signs. The process involved in the signs of the funeral march can be expressed by two contiguous semiotic triangles:



This diagram should clarify a number of problems of the funeral march that have been mentioned above. In the funeral marches found in dramatic contexts, the context is an additional sign preceding the specific features. This sign indicates that the piece is a funeral march and the specific features are interpreted through the funeral codes. In those funeral marches which we have called character pieces, function is negated and the interpretative process from the specific features to the funeral march is abbreviated. In

effect, the semiotic triangle operating in this case is a larger triangle which spans the two smaller ones. At the top of this triangle, the code reads "convention," that is, specific features are directly interpreted through convention to signify funeral march.

For some periods, a genre may be so closely associated with particular conventions that the specific features seem to create an archetype that clearly represents the genre for composer and audience. Tzvetan Todorov has discussed this with respect to literary genres:

In every period, a certain number of literary types becomes so familiar to the public that the public uses them as keys (in the musical sense) for the interpretation of works; here, the genre becomes, according to an expression of Hans Robert Jauss, a "horizon of expectation." The writer, in his turn, internalizes this expectation; the genre becomes for him a "model of writing." In other words, the genre is a type that has had a concrete historical existence, that has participated in the literary system of a period.⁸

There is a clear "model of writing" in the funeral marches of the early decades of the nineteenth century, and, as we have said, this model displays characteristics which appear with great consistency in this period. This model is itself a convention, a code which further interprets other features of the march. This interpretation can be reflexive in that

8. Tzvetan Todorov, Introduction to Poetics, trans. Richard Howard (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1981), 62. Todorov's reference to Hans Robert Jauss is to Jauss's "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory," trans. Elizabeth Bensinger, New Literary History, 2 (1970), 7-37.

it refers back to and explains other aspects of the piece already heard, as, for example, when the tolling bells at the beginning of the *marche funèbre* from Act III of Donizetti's Dom Sébastien are shortly thereafter realized to be funereal. The interpretation of the code may also be forward-looking in that it creates a "horizon of expectation." For example, the consistent use of the ABA form in the model of the funeral march of the first half of the century, gives significance to deviations from the form.

A composer may use genres and their associated forms to build up the listener's expectations. These expectations provide a context in which a simple deviation or interruption, for example, can create what might be called generic suspense. This sort of play on generic characteristics and codes is frequently found in the works of Schumann, Berlioz, and Chopin, as well as in the late quartets of Beethoven. Beethoven, in the march from the "Eroica," and Berlioz, in both the Symphonie funèbre and Hamlet, rely on the expectation of the return of the march to create sections of the works on which events seem to turn.

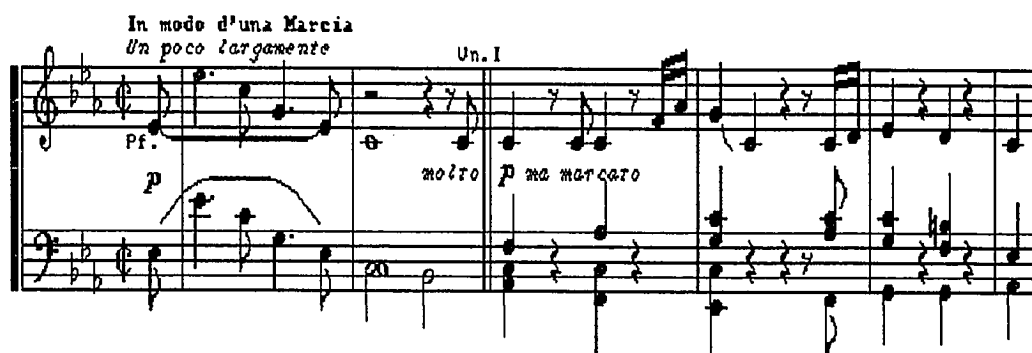
A similar use of expectation is repeatedly found in the works of Schumann, where genre is often used as a major element in the formation of narrative trajectories. In his paper "Schumann and Late Eighteenth-Century Narrative Strategies," Anthony Newcomb writes: "After 1840 Schumann turned to writing more traditional genres. . . . But the narrative

habits that he had developed in the 1830s remained with him, affecting these more convention-influenced genres."⁹ These "habits" are at work in the second movement of Schumann's Piano Quintet, Op. 44.

The March in Schumann's Op. 44

In 1842, the year in which he devoted himself to the composition of chamber music, Schumann, in addition to writing the three String Quartets, Op. 41, wrote one of his finest works, the Quintet for Piano and Strings in E-flat, Op. 44. The marking of the second movement of this work, "In modo d'una Marcia," makes no reference to a funeral march but the theme of the movement does (Ex.7.3):¹⁰

Example 7.3. Schumann, Piano Quintet in E-flat, Op. 44, second movement, opening measures.



9. Anthony Newcomb, "Schumann and Late Eighteenth-Century Narrative Strategies," 19th-Century Music XI/2 (Fall 1987), 170.
10. Robert Schumann, Piano Quintet in E-flat Major, Op. 44 (New York: G. Schirmer, 1942).

The opening signal-like gesture, which is used to great effect throughout the movement, the dotted rhythm, the spare accompaniment, and the stress of the mediant degree in the signal, in the cadences of each of the two phrases, and its continued importance throughout the theme, are the traditional signs of the funeral march.

The *marche funèbre* is seldom found in chamber music of the first half of the nineteenth century. It could be argued that Schubert's "Death and the Maiden" Quartet contains a set of variations on a funeral march, or that the slow movement of the same composers's E-flat Piano Trio, with its steady, march-like accompaniment and its mournful C-minor melody, is indeed a funeral march. While both of these pieces contain elements of the funeral march, "Death and the Maiden" and, possibly, the theme from the Trio as well derive their funereal tone from their relationships to texts. In addition, Schubert himself clearly demonstrated his definition of the funeral march in other works. The slow movements of the trio and the quartet differ from these works in a number of ways, most notably in their distinct lack of dotted rhythm and their faster tempo markings.

The *marche funèbre* was apparently of little interest to Schumann throughout the period in which the genre was a fairly common character piece. Interestingly, Schumann himself wrote of his Paganini Etudes, Op.10: "While I was working on no.4, the funeral march from Beethoven's 'Eroica'

Symphony hovered before me. Perhaps the listener could hear this for himself."¹¹ Schumann did write a characteristic funeral march published as No.11 of Bunte Blätter, Op. 99, a year after the quintet. This march, in D minor, is marked "Sehr getragen," and, like the march in Op. 44, uses the falling fifth as an important motive.

The first statement of the Op. 44 march is followed by a trio-like section in C major, after which the march returns. The trio is amazingly simple. A triplet accompaniment blurred by eighth notes in the strings is the background to a melody that, with a narrow range and minimal rhythmic activity, completely disguises a simple eight-bar phrasing. This melody is derived from the cadential figure of the march, but its light, lyrical quality is hardly the expected contrast with the funeral march. However, the closure of each of these sections and the repetition of the march strongly suggest that these sections are indeed march-trio-march. But quite suddenly a new section follows, *agitato* in F minor, which is motivically related to the theme of the march and which, in fact, begins to incorporate the march theme in a manner which suggests that a development section has begun. The march theme is then recapitulated, accompanied, as is often found in Beethoven and Schu-

11. Leon B. Plantinga, Schumann as Critic (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 261. Plantinga suggests that the opening theme of the etude bears "a family resemblance to the first theme of Beethoven's funeral march."

bert slow movements, by faster-moving figures introduced in the previous section. This is followed by a return of the trio in F major and a coda in which the march theme is heard, at first in F minor, exploiting the ambiguous alternation set up at the beginning of the march between F minor and C minor.

The funeral march in Op. 44 poses two questions. What is the *marche funèbre* doing in the quintet, and what is the function of the *agitato* within the march? The first question can be partially answered by dealing with the second. The *agitato* dramatically changes the course of the movement's form as well as its mood. The stasis of the march is suspended by the dramatic, almost angry rhythm of the new section. The form has been expanded from the simple ABA of the march-trio to an ABAC (with AB and coda yet to come). The C section, if separated from the rest of the movement, appears to be a simple binary form. However, its motivic connections to the main theme of the movement and the tension which is created by the rhythmic and harmonic contrast with the previous sections cause it to be heard as a development section. The subsequent repeat of the first two sections reinforces the sense that a development has taken place. Within this recapitulation the funeral-march theme is transformed by the accompaniment and regains its march rhythm only in the final section. This final section is

both the coda of the sonata form and a repeat of the march theme after the second appearance of the trio.

The marking at the beginning of the movement, "In the manner of a march," is accompanied by a separate tempo marking. In effect, Schumann has indicated at the start that this movement is march-like but not a march. The music of the *agitato* section gives the exact same information--to paraphrase Magritte: "Ceci n'est pas une marche funèbre." This is, rather, a portrait of a funeral march drawn by five instruments which communicate through a particular kind of compositional discourse. The *agitato* and the formal changes that result from it anchor the movement to the rest of the work.

The movement consists of two narrative sequences linked in succession. The first sequence is made up of a funeral march, section A, followed by a trio which, while not exactly traditional in its tone, is motivically related to the march and formally conventional. The second sequence, beginning at section C, is very different in tone. Agitated, angry, its connections to the march theme are obscured at first (Ex.7.4):

Example 7.4. Schumann, Piano Quintet in E-flat, second movement, *agitato*.



In the next section, the march theme surfaces but the tone of the previous section is maintained in the restless triplet accompaniment and in the reiteration of the *agitato* theme by the first violin and cello. It now seems that the second narrative sequence is a "retelling" of the first. When the trio returns, only the key and the faster-moving piano part distinguish it from its first appearance. Finally, in the coda, the march appears to return in its original form, but at first it is in the key of the second narrative sequence. The surprising interruption of the opening signal figure brings the march back to C minor. The second narrative sequence has reached the point where the first began.

In narratological terms, the second sequence might be considered an analepsis, or flashback. In a flashback, the new narrative is at first confusing. Chronology often seems to be violated; the existence of a relationship between the new narrative and the first is often doubtful. Gradually, connections between the two sequences begin to emerge and the two sequences are revealed as part of a single narra-

tive. In the end, the full story is perceived as if it had been told in chronological order. The distinction between the telling of the tale and the tale itself, often called "récit" and "histoire" or "plot" and "fabula," is only evident upon subsequent reflection.¹²

The use of the *marche funèbre* as an important element in a musical narrative by Schumann shows the strength of the conventions of the genre and the highly communicative nature of the generic codes. Like those works of Schumann in which a series of brief, contrasting genre pieces upstage each other, exploiting what Anthony Newcomb called "the interaction between the ideal of riddling discontinuity and the requirements of larger continuity,"¹³ this use of genre is discursive and, while it suggests a narrative structure, it does not suggest a specific meaning. As the distinct musical characteristics of the funeral march so consistent in the first decades of the century became far less consistent in the 1840s, a new language for the funeral march began to develop in a direction which accentuated the inherent programmatic quality of the funeral march. The kinds of characteristics remain: the march maintains its expression of mourning, its sense of stasis, and its march qualities. But

12. The pairing of "plot" and "fabula" is Eco's. See Eco, The Role of the Reader (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 27ff.

13. Anthony Newcomb, op.cit., 170.

as devices of musical expression change, so do specific genre characteristics.

The New Hero of the Funeral March

Berlioz and the opera composers who used the genre had bestowed the honor of the *marche funèbre* on the ordinary individual, e.g., Rachel in La Juive, Emma in Die Kreuzfahrer, or Berlioz's Juliet, as well as on the hero. It is tempting to say that this practice gave heroic status to the ordinary individual, but it may just as easily be said to have diminished the special tribute of the "marcia funebre sulla morte d'un eroe." The use of the genre as a character piece in no particular context also eroded that connection between the hero and the *marche funèbre* which Beethoven had affirmed in his "Eroica" Symphony.

The functional funeral march of the 1840s reflected the change that had occurred in opera in which the funeral march was no longer written exclusively for the military or political hero. The funeral march for the musician was not new. Neukomm had written one for Dussek in 1812, Mendelssohn for Norbert Burgmüller in 1836, and the Italian Sinfonia funebre had frequently honored musicians from as early as Gianella's for Cimarosa (1801), to Florimo's for Bellini (1835) or Donizetti's for Maria Malibran (1836).¹⁴ By the 1840s,

14. In the 1830s, the *sinfonia funebre* had taken an interesting turn. The standard single-movement form in two parts, slow and fast, with the first part a *marcia*, had

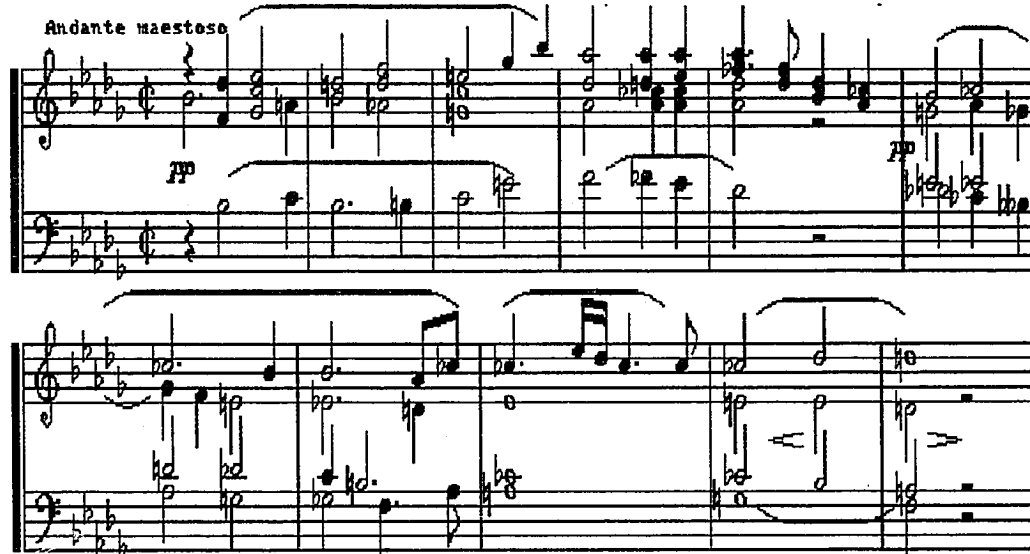
however, it had become customary for funeral music for a composer to make use of the composer's own music.

Wagner's Trauersinfonie zur feierlichen Beisetzung der Asche C.M. von Webers of 1844, for a large wind ensemble and six muffled drums, is based on themes from Weber's Euryanthe and consists of an introductory section in B-flat minor followed by a longer section in B-flat major. A coda related to the first section ends the work. The individual sections of the Trauersinfonie are re-orchestrations of sections of Euryanthe. But Wagner's choices also make the work his own. The chromaticism of the opening section is not Wagner's but Weber's. However, Wagner's placement of this passage at the opening of the work, lacking its original harmonic context, emphasizes its originality (Ex.7.5):¹⁵

begun to change. The funeral march was occasionally dropped or moved to the middle of the movement. The titles of some of these works suggest these changes, e.g., Mercadante's "Fantasia funebre" or Zingarelli's "Sinfonia funebre fugata."

15. Richard Wagner, Musikalische Werke, ed. M. Balling (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1912-22), X, 140-144.

Example 7.5. Wagner, *Trauersymphonie*, mm.1-11.



In *Euryanthe* this passage occurs within the overture to the opera and then again as accompaniment to the recitative "Die ihr der Liebe Thränen Herz an Herz so selig weinet, hört mich an!" These words, removed from their operatic context, acquire a new meaning and perhaps reveal one reason for Wagner's choice of this passage as the opening of the piece. Similarly, the section which follows this and forms the main body of the work is based on a cavatina which has a significant text:

Here, close to the spring shaded by the willows,
Where the stars brightly shine through,
Here will I implore death to meet me,
Here will I make my tranquil grave.¹⁶

16. Weber, *Euryanthe*, Act III, No. 17, Cavatina.

"Hier dicht am Quell, wo Weiden steh'n,
Die Sterne hell durchschauen,
Da will ich mir den Tod erfleh'n,
Mein stilles Grab mir Bauen"

In addition to the new orchestration, Wagner augmented the note values of the original cavatina, changed the meter--Wagner's half note in 2/2 time equals Weber's eighth note in 4/4--and intensified Weber's dynamic markings. Example 7.6 shows another passage from Wagner's arrangement which is as much Wagner's as Weber's, especially in its meticulous dynamics and orchestration--massed unison woodwinds with the full brass choir entering at m.54 (Ex.7.6):

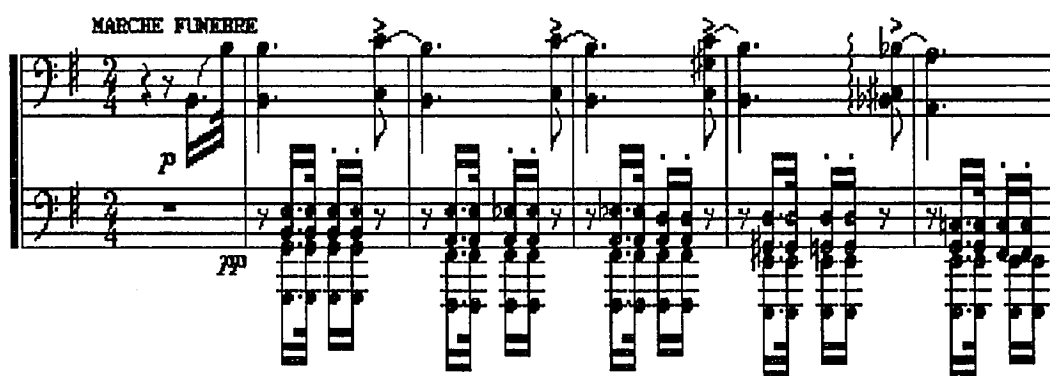
Example 7.6. Wagner, Trauersymphonie, mm.51-58.



Because Euryanthe had been extremely popular since its premiere in 1823, the text was probably known to many members of the audience. There would have been a response to the lament of the original text, that strong response which is elicited when an audience realizes that a particular text has suddenly gained a new meaning from a new context. The piece also follows in the tradition that had been begun at Beethoven's burial, if not earlier, of using the composer's own music as both a functional and commemorative work.

In 1849, when Stephen Heller wrote his Élégie et marche funèbre aux mânes de Frédéric Chopin, Op. 71, he paid tribute to Chopin in a manner similar to that in which Wagner eulogized Weber: Heller incorporated Chopin's Preludes in E minor and B minor (Op. 28, Nos. 4 and 6) into a long, virtuosic funeral march. Heller's work, however, distorted the original in a way that might be difficult to take seriously today (Ex.7.7):¹⁷

Example 7.7. Heller, Élégie et marche funèbre, opening of the *marche funèbre*.



Wagner's use of Weber's music and Heller's use of Chopin's in commemorative works personalized the *marche funèbre* in much the same way that Liszt's fusion of the Hungarian and the funereal would "nationalize" his. In addition, both Heller's and Wagner's pieces incorporate introductions--in Heller's case, an elegy--to the main body of the movement, a feature which Liszt used consistently in

17. Stephen Heller, Élégie et marche funèbre aux mânes de Frédéric Chopin, Op. 71 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d.).

his funeral marches. Thus an important trend in the funeral marches of the 1840s is an expansion of form. Another kind of expansion is seen in the work of the original, often eccentric pianist and composer Charles-Valentin Alkan.

Alkan's Marche funèbre, Op. 26

Alkan's Op. 26 was written in 1844 along with a companion *marche triomphale*. Ronald Smith describes the opening of the piece most accurately when he writes:

With chilling effect it rises from the depths, stark in outline, spare in texture--desolate--hypnotic. Twice the procession approaches; twice it recedes as it is guided to its destiny by oppressive pedal points, muffled drums and tolling bells.¹⁸

If one perceives the arrival of a procession as the unfolding of a main theme, then the procession in this work never arrives. The opening of the march suggests an introduction but is actually the main "theme" of the march (Ex.7.8):¹⁹

18. Ronald Smith, Alkan, Volume Two: The Music (London: Kahn and Averill, 1987), 157-8.

19. Charles-Valentin Alkan, Marche funèbre, Op. 26 (Paris: Schlesinger, Brandus and Co., n.d.).

Example 7.8. Alkan, *Marche funèbre*, Op. 26, opening measures.

The musical score for the opening measures of Alkan's *Marche funèbre*, Op. 26, is presented in two systems. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat), and the time signature is 2/4. The first system begins with a right-hand part marked 'pp' (pianissimo) playing a series of chords, while the left hand plays a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The second system continues this pattern, with the right hand playing a series of chords and the left hand playing a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.

A more concrete passage arrives at m.33 but turns out to be merely a fragment of a march tune initiating a series of chordal sequences. Later in the march, a remarkable sequence, distantly related to the fragment, emerges from the dark surroundings (Ex.7.9):

Example 7.9. Alkan, *Marche funèbre*, Op. 26, mm.68-79.

The opening march figure returns and leads into the trio in E-flat major, where the bright sound of bells suddenly breaks the bleak mood of the march (Ex.7.10):

Example 7.10. Alkan, *Marche funèbre*, Op. 26, Trio.

The ostinato figure in the left hand continues unchanged through the end of the trio, where the march returns as if

it had been but temporarily covered up by the trio. A brief reminiscence of the trio ends the march.

Alkan and Liszt knew each other and were also well aware of the other's work.²⁰ Indeed, there are similarities between this funeral march and the funeral marches of Liszt: the extensive use of bell and drum imitations, the way in which the march seems to emerge from the depths of the instrument, the simplification of the standard melodic characteristics of the march (as in mm.9-12), and the great reliance on contrast, particularly of isolated fragments of melodies and sequentially repeated gestures. Most importantly, the pairing of a funeral march with a triumphal march, while recalling Berlioz's Symphonie funèbre, also points to the importance of the contrast of the funereal and the triumphal in Liszt's funeral marches for the piano.

In the juxtaposition of the funereal and the triumphal, the triumphant conclusion makes a positive statement. Its effect is that of an epitaph, in which, to quote Wordsworth, "death [is] disarmed of its sting, and affliction unsubstantialised." Liszt was to make this juxtaposition stronger still by incorporating the funeral march and the triumph within a single movement. By doing this, Liszt restored the connection between the funeral march and the heroic, a connection which had been steadily eroded since Beethoven's

20. Alkan had dedicated his Trois morceaux dans le genre pathétique, Op. 15, to Liszt.

"Eroica." In effect, this restoration replaced the conventional codes of the first half of the nineteenth century with codes based on the heroic traditions of the eighteenth. In order to accomplish this, Liszt had to forge a new musical language for the funeral march. Significantly, he began to develop this language after the revolutions of 1830, and shortly after 1848 showed the power of this new language in "Funérailles," a work whose title, "Funeral Rituals," perfectly sums up the role of the *marche funèbre* in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Chapter VIII

LISZT

In his study of Liszt's last years, The Twilight of Ferenc Liszt, Bence Szabolcsi wrote that Liszt

was himself much preoccupied with the idea of death, especially since the death of his children Daniel and Blandine [1859 and 1862, respectively]; at the death of his friend, the painter Overbeck in 1869, he communicated to the Princess Sayn-Wittgenstein his last will concerning his funeral. A passage from his letter to Lina Ramann written in February 1883: "I am deeply mourning in my heart, and this mourning must burst forth in music here and there . . .;" another passage from a second letter to the same friend: "Ever since my youth have I considered death simpler than life."¹

Death as a topos in the music and life of Liszt is not confined to his last decades: its presence manifests itself throughout his life. Alan Walker writes:

There is a whole branch of [Liszt's] music dealing with death, and symbolized by such titles as *Totentanz*, *Funérailles*, *La lugubre gondola*, and *Pensée des morts*. Countess Dash in her *Mémoires* recounts how she was once kept awake all night, together with her tenants in the building in the rue de Provence, while Liszt played the *Dies Irae* from dusk to dawn in countless variations.²

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1. Bence Szabolcsi, The Twilight of Ferenc Liszt, trans. András Deák (Budapest: Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1959), 41.
 2. Alan Walker, Franz Liszt: The Virtuoso Years, 1811-1847 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), 151.

Walker also tells how Liszt used to visit Victor Hugo's house during the 1832 cholera epidemic in Paris and play the *marche funèbre* from Beethoven's Op. 26 as the dead were carried past the house.³ The importance of the funeral march in Liszt's work is illustrated not only by the number of pieces so titled, but also by the presence of the funeral march in transcriptions, symphonic poems, Hungarian Rhapsodies, and other compositions of both an elegiac and non-elegiac nature. These works span Liszt's entire creative life and, in fact, the funeral march is so singularly pervasive throughout his work that the genre could be used to discuss more than a few of the important compositional topics that his work brings up.

I would like to discuss a number of these works with respect to three topics, each of which has been discussed with some frequency in recent Liszt literature. The first of these topics concerns the Hungarian elements in Liszt's work. The Hungarian or, as Liszt would have it, gypsy element in his work has been observed chiefly in his use of cimbalom imitations, *lassan-friska* alternations in the rhapsodies and other works, and the melodic use of the tritone and the augmented second, hallmarks of the so-called Hungarian scale. Although Hungarian scholars have discussed the connection between the Hungarian elements and Liszt's expanded harmonic language for some time, Anglo-American

3. Walker, op. cit., 151.

scholars have generally discussed these as separate topics.⁴ The augmented triad is frequently found in conjunction with motives derived from a tetrachord which spans the diminished fourth. The motivic use of this interval and the harmony which evolves from it are often a result of the fusion of Hungarian elements with a more traditional nineteenth-century harmonic and melodic language.

The second topic is concerned with the assertion that Liszt's late works represent an "experimental idiom." In this view, Liszt's late pieces are often defined in terms of what came after them and are ultimately severed from the body of the composer's work. These late works, however, are a natural outgrowth of tendencies visible in Liszt's earliest music: much of whatever experimentation took place was accomplished long before the last pieces. For Liszt, the "music of the future" was written in the present, and not simply prophesied.

The third topic, Liszt's view of death, which, perhaps because of the late works, is frequently seen as pessimistic and, at times, despondent, was probably best expressed in an article Liszt wrote in 1838 about his travels in Venice:

. . . we rejoice wildly at the birth of a child whom we surely know is condemned to struggle and suffer in a world where, as Saint Augustine says, "things are full of misery, and hope is devoid of joy," while we despair and become inconsolable at

4. See, for example, R. Larry Todd, "The 'Unwelcome Guest' Regaled: Franz Liszt and the Augmented Triad," 19th-Century Music XII/2 (Fall, 1988), 94.

the very moment when the soul, according to all our fine beliefs and lofty instincts, is about to enjoy a better existence or eternal peace.⁵

This basically optimistic outlook towards death was frequently reiterated throughout Liszt's life, nowhere more persuasively than in the musical works which deal with death.

Liszt's Early Marches

Liszt sketched a *marche funèbre* as early as 1830 for a proposed "Revolutionary" Symphony. The symphony, inspired by the July Revolution, was never written, but some of the sketches were used later in the symphonic poem Heroïde funèbre.⁶ Liszt's earliest *marches funèbres* are found within operatic transcriptions. While the musical materials of a transcription are not actually those of the transcriber, the choice of what to include in the transcription is. In Liszt's case, the treatment is often so idiosyncratic that crediting the original composer with the resultant transcription is like claiming that Variation XII of Beethoven's Op. 120 is by Diabelli. The musical materials included in an operatic fantasy were apparently selected

5. Franz Liszt, An Artist's Journey: Lettres d'un bachelier ès musique, 1835-1841, trans. and ann. Charles Suttoni (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 130.

6. Some of these sketches are reproduced in Peter Raabe, Franz Liszt, Leben und Schaffen, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1931), I, 327.

very carefully by Liszt, and were not, as might be expected, based on the popularity of the selections. In the Réminiscences de Lucia di Lammermoor, Liszt gives a prominent position to the brief funeral march from the grave scene while ignoring the famous Act I Duet or the Mad Scene; as interpreted by Liszt, Lucia might have become even more insane than some well-known twentieth-century stage performances would have us believe.⁷

Liszt's transcriptions fall into two groups. The first group is made up of strict arrangements such as the "Liebestod" or the Beethoven Symphonies, usually referred to as *partitions de piano*. The second group consists of the fantasies and paraphrases, or, as Liszt sometimes called them, "réminiscences," primarily based on a number of themes or sections from a single opera. Liszt's fantasy on themes from Donizetti's Lucia di Lammermoor was published in two parts as Réminiscences de Lucia di Lammermoor, S397, based on the Sextet, and Marche et cavatine de Lucie de Lammermoor, S398. Liszt had intended both parts, written 1835-6, as a single piece but they were separated by the publisher. Thus the title of the second part is misleading: the primary musical materials which make up this part are the *marche*

7. Liszt later used "Verranno a te sull'aure" from the Act I Duet in his "Valse à capriccio sur deux motifs de Lucia et Parasina," S455. The numbering of Liszt's works is based on that of Humphrey Searle, The Music of Liszt, 2nd ed. (New York: Dover, 1966). The same numbering appears in Searle's article on Liszt in The New Grove.

funèbre and the cavatina "Tu che a Dio spiegasti l'ali" from the opera's last scene, as well as a long development section devoted to the Act II Finale "Esci, fuggi, il furor."⁸

Of the three sections of this second part of the Lucia fantasy, the march is the least developed. It is, however, expanded: the sixteen-measure original is enlarged to thirty-four measures not including its introduction or its continuation into the ensuing recitative. Liszt adds drum imitations as an introduction to the march, and it seems likely that these drumrolls originally provided the transition from the Sextet (Ex.8.1):⁹

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8. Liszt's use of the accompaniment figure of the sextet as the coda of the second part of this fantasy seems particularly odd when the second part is performed separately.
 9. Franz Liszt, Marche et cavatine de Lucie de Lammermoor (Mainz: Schott, 1841); modern edition: Liszt, ed. Gordon Green (London: Oxford University Press, 1973); Franz Liszt: New Edition of the Complete Works, ed. Gárdonyi, Sulyok, Szelényi and Mezö (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970-), II/2. Citations for the New Liszt Edition, far from complete at this writing, are, for many of the works, based on the prospectus published by Editio Musica Budapest. This edition, hereafter cited as NLE, was used where possible. The first edition cited in each entry is the one from which I have quoted. I have, however, listed other sources which I have consulted. The old Liszt edition, which contains few of the works discussed here and was consequently used only occasionally is: Liszt: musikalische Werke, ed. Busoni, Bartók, da Motta, Raabe, etc. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907-36), hereafter cited as LBH.

Example 8.1. Liszt, Marche et cavatine de Lucie de Lammermoor, opening measures.

The musical score for Example 8.1 is written for piano. It begins with a treble clef and a key signature of two flats (B-flat major). The time signature is 2/4. The tempo marking is 'Adagio'. The score starts with a piano introduction in the right hand, marked 'p' and 'cresc.', leading into a more active section marked 'f' and 'cresc.'. The left hand features a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings.

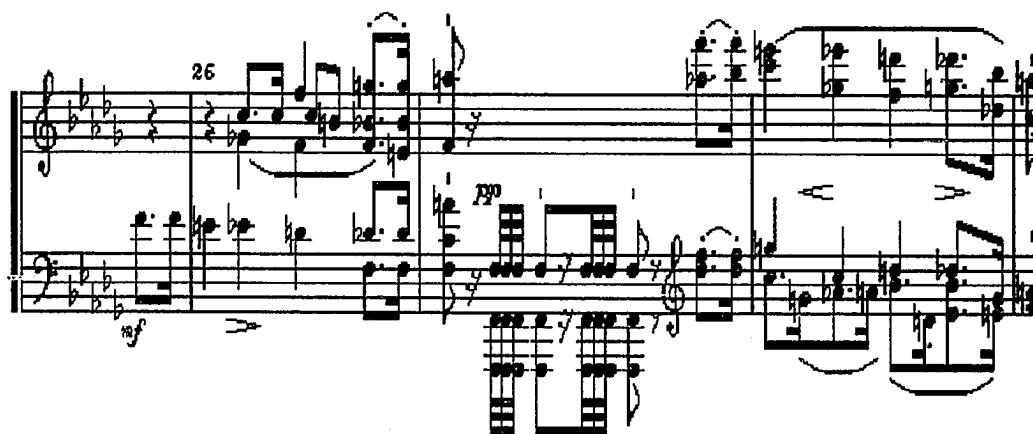
Liszt's version of the march consists primarily of the two sections of the original transposed from B minor to B-flat minor; each section is repeated with some alterations, including the addition of a passage featuring rising thirds suggesting trumpet signals (Ex.8.2):

Example 8.2. Liszt, Marche et cavatine de Lucie de Lammermoor, mm.21-24.

The musical score for Example 8.2 is written for piano. It begins with a treble clef and a key signature of two flats (B-flat major). The time signature is 2/4. The tempo marking is '21 energico'. The score starts with a piano introduction in the right hand, marked 'f' and 'ff', leading into a more active section marked 'f' and 'ff'. The left hand features a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings.

The other alterations are primarily of a harmonic nature. In one place, Liszt, inspired by a simple descending chromatic line in the Donizetti, intensifies the chromatic motion of the passage and scores it for the piano in a manner which demonstrates his particular talent for imitating orchestral colors and contrasts at the keyboard (Ex.8.3):

Example 8.3. Liszt, Marche et cavatine de Lucie de Lamermoor, mm.26-29.



The march leads into a passage based on Edgar's brief recitative, "Di chi mai, di chi piangete?", which, in Lucia, connects the march with the chorus "Fur le nozze a lei funeste" and the ensuing scena. In Liszt's transcription, the drumbeat figures from the march accompaniment continue to punctuate the phrases of the recitative and persist right up to the beginning of the cavatina (Ex.8.4):

Example 8.4. Liszt, Marche et cavatine de Lucie de Lammermoor, mm.56-63.

Thus, in Liszt's abbreviation of the scene, the funeral march leads directly into Edgar's lament. In Liszt's own funeral marches, particularly those of his later years, the march is usually connected to a lament.

Liszt takes an even freer approach to his materials in his Marche funèbre de Dom Sébastien, S402, written in 1844, based on the Act III march from Donizetti's opera. The paraphrase was written for Liszt's concert tour of Portugal. According to Alan Walker,

Liszt . . . presented Queen Maria with a dedicated copy of his "Marche funèbre" from Donizetti's Dom Sébastien. This was a composition over which Liszt had taken great pains, and it could not have been more apt. The opera itself had been dedicated to Queen Maria and was now awaiting its first performance at the San Carlos Theatre. When Doni-

zetti heard Liszt's arrangement he wrote to a friend, "Buy Liszt's arrangement of the March: it will make your hair stand on end."¹⁰

Donizetti's endorsement of the march is a tribute both to Liszt and to Donizetti himself--some composers might have been disturbed by the changes which Liszt made in the march. Liszt heightened the contrast between the various elements of the march by adjusting key relationships, expanding the dynamic range, and reorganizing its components. The three main components remain, as in the Donizetti original, a Requiem setting, the Inquisitors' pronouncement, and the march (See Exx.6.9 and 6.10). To these, Liszt adds a cadenza near the beginning of the work, and a short development section. The work, primarily in C minor, opens with drum imitations and recurring bell-like arpeggios (Ex.8.5):¹¹

10. Alan Walker, op. cit., 411.

11. Franz Liszt, Marche funèbre de Dom Sébastien variée par Fr. Liszt (Vienna: Mechetti, 1845); NLE, II, 6.

Example 8.5. Liszt, Marche funèbre de Dom Sébastien, opening measures.



The Requiem dominates the march and is first heard after the drum and bell imitations (Ex.8.6):

Example 8.6. Liszt, Marche funèbre de Dom Sébastien, mm.5-11.



After a recitative-like passage based on the Inquisitors' music, a cadenza leads to a restatement of the Requiem combined with drum and bell effects; the first statement of the march in C major follows. The march reappears throughout the work in different keys (A, B-flat, B minor, finally returning to C), each restatement gaining in intensity through its scoring and through the rise in tonality. In

the powerful coda, the B-minor repeat of the march theme leads to a climactic restatement of the Requiem in F-sharp major. This is followed by a passage marked "quasi recit." which combines elements of the Requiem and the Inquisitor's theme (Ex.8.7):

Example 8.7. Liszt, Marche funèbre de Dom Sébastien,
"quasi recit."



The beginning of this statement of the Requiem has been transformed into the first notes of the *Dies Irae*. This recitative immediately leads back into the march followed by the Requiem, and the work is brought to a triumphant close in C major.

A number of features of Liszt's later work are found in this Donizetti paraphrase. The recitative passages and, of course, the cadenza are often side by side in Liszt's work. But the tempo deviations related to these are unusual within the *marche funèbre*. So too are the bell imitations which also became a regular feature of Liszt's work.

The close proximity of the keys of F-sharp and C major looks forward to Liszt's later interest in the tritone, but

more importantly, to his dramatic juxtaposition of distant tonalities. Similarly, the reference to the *Dies Irae* suggests Liszt's later work, although Liszt's subsequent quotations of the famous sequence are used, as in Berlioz, within a supernatural rather than funereal context.

Finally, and most significantly, this *marche funèbre* concludes triumphantly. No earlier example of the genre had brought the funeral march to such a conclusion, or at least, no earlier single-movement example of the genre had attempted the juxtaposition of the *trionphale* with the *funèbre* that had been achieved in the multi-movement works of Beethoven and Berlioz. Of course, this triumphant conclusion may be a result of function: one of the goals of the transcription, to bring the audience to its feet, would be most easily accomplished by the big ending. But this kind of conclusion, and not the frequently imitated fragmentation at the end of the "Eroica" march, is characteristic of Liszt's marches.

Near the end of the Concerto pathétique for two pianos, S258--based on the "Grosses Konzertsolo," S176, which Searle dates approximately 1849--the main theme is transformed into a funeral march. The funeral march is then transformed into an *Allegro trionfante* which ends the work. In effect, the escape from the "pathétique" tone of the work is through the funeral march. The funeral march is thus the turning point

of the work through which the melancholy of the earlier part yields to the triumphant resolution of the final section.

The triumphant conclusion to the funeral march might be interpreted as a variation of the traditional juxtaposition of the funeral march with a lighter movement. The combination makes perfect musical sense. The succeeding mood, whether it be one of optimism, relief, triumph, or all three, makes a positive statement in contrast to the static emotional quality of the funeral march.

In those marches where the form is a simple ABA, march-trio-march, whatever contrast there may be is usually centered in the trio. With the tendency of composers in the course of the nineteenth century to give the endings of compositions increasingly greater weight, the simple march-trio form began to prove inadequate for the *marche funèbre*. In the "Trauermarsch," S426, a transcription of Schubert's E-flat minor march, D. 819, Liszt's transcription for the most part preserves the Schubert original, the chief concern being the arrangement of all the parts of the four-hand piece into a two-hand score. However, the *da capo* repeat of Schubert's march is considerably abbreviated and a coda is added. The coda begins with a dramatic sequential passage built on a motive from the march. The passage, consisting of an insistent *tremolando* pattern, builds to a *fortissimo*, subsides, and leads into the final measures where Schubert's

original quiet ending is replaced by one distinctly by Liszt (Ex.8.8):¹²

Example 8.8. Liszt, Drei Märsche von Franz Schubert, No. 1, "Trauermarsch," coda.

In this way, the symmetrical ABA structure of the original is modified and considerably more weight if not length is given to the *da capo*. The prominent use of the flat second and sixth degrees of the scale in the coda is typical of Liszt's later works in a funereal tone as well as his Hun-

12. Franz Liszt, "Trauermarsch," No. 1 of Drei Märsche von Franz Schubert (NLE, II/7, 77).

garian Rhapsodies, which were composed or revised in the same year, 1846, as the Schubert transcription.

In the Hungarian Rhapsody No. 14 in F minor, the customary contrast found in Liszt's Rhapsodies, slow (*lassan*) and fast (*friska*), accommodates the funereal and triumphant aspects of the opening *marche funèbre*. The opening measures point out a number of similarities between the funeral march and Liszt's Hungarian style. The tremolos may be imitations of either a drum or a cimbalom. Dotted rhythms are essential to the Hungarian style and the *marche funèbre*, and augmented intervals are common to both the funeral march and to the "gypsy scale" that Liszt frequently uses (Ex.8.9):¹³

13. Liszt, Rhapsodie Hongroise No.14, (NLE, 1/4, 63). The same thematic material is the basis of the Hungarian Fantasy for Piano and Orchestra, S123.

Example 8.9. Liszt, Hungarian Rhapsody No. 14, opening measures.

The musical score for the opening measures of Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsody No. 14 is presented in two systems. The first system is marked "Lento quasi marcia funebre" and "mf marcato". It features a piano part with octaves (8ve) and a violin part with a melodic line. The second system is marked "pesante" and continues the piano part with octaves (8ve) and the violin part with a melodic line.

Immediately following this section, the funeral-march theme is transformed into an *Allegro eroico* (Ex.8.10):

Example 8.10. Liszt, Hungarian Rhapsody No. 14, mm.25-28.

The musical score for measures 25-28 of Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsody No. 14 is presented in two systems. The first system is marked "Allegro eroico" and "ff". It features a piano part with octaves (8ve) and a violin part with a melodic line. The second system continues the piano part with octaves (8ve) and the violin part with a melodic line.

The similarity of the slow Hungarian style to the funeral march is perhaps even more apparent in the Hungarian Rhapsody No. 5. This work eschews the standard slow-fast juxtaposition of most of the other rhapsodies; the funeral

march, marked "Lento con duolo," is begun in the opening measures and maintained through most of the rhapsody.

In his study of the music of the gypsies, Liszt explained his choice of the title "Hungarian Rhapsody" and clearly demonstrated that he considered Hungarian music and gypsy music to be synonymous:

The qualification "Hungarian" which we have applied to these Rhapsodies is due to our feeling that it would not have been just to separate in the future what has never been separated in the past. It was the Magyars who adopted the Bohemians as national musicians; it was they who identified themselves as much with their proudly fierce enthusiasms as with the poignant sorrows they know so well how to express.¹⁴

Elsewhere in his monograph, Liszt describes the *lassan* as a "movement, which is generally suggestive of a mourning procession."¹⁵ The musical materials of the *lassan* and the funeral march are very similar indeed. Both use dotted rhythms, augmented intervals, and the minor mode, and frequently share a customary descending melodic motion, and a slow, heavy pace. In addition, the rhythm of the traditional Hungarian cadential figure, , is similar to

that of the cadential figure found frequently in the *marche*

14. Franz Liszt, The Gipsy in Music, 2 vols., trans. Edwin Evans (London: William Reeves, n.d.), II, 337.

15. Ibid., II, 314.

funèbre,  . But more importantly, the *lassan* of

the Hungarian Rhapsody and the *marche funèbre* share the melodic gestures characteristic of mourning music. Just as Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsodies occasionally incorporate elements of the funeral march, so also do his funeral marches incorporate elements of the Hungarian elegy.

In his subsequent work, Liszt deals with the problems of juxtaposing the funereal and the triumphal, and fusing the Hungarian and international styles. This "experimentation" is found in two of the finest works of his Weimar period, the "Funérailles" for piano and the symphonic poem Héroïde funèbre.

Funérailles

The mixture of the Hungarian and the funereal which is found in the Hungarian Rhapsodies is a major element in the construction of Liszt's "Funérailles" from Harmonies poétiques et religieuses. The piece is subtitled "October, 1849" and is very succinctly described by Derek Watson:

Like many of those subsequent funereal pieces, the monumental "Funérailles" has a Hungarian connection: on 6 October 1849 the Austrian General Haynau executed thirteen generals who fought for the cause of Hungarian independence; also shot was moderate minister Batthyány. The date was forever blackly imprinted on the national mind. At the start of his elegy Liszt creates the impression of deep, clamorous bells. After the introduction three main sections follow: a moving minor lament

followed by a poignantly contrasted major section (bar 56), and a noble fanfare idea over repeated triplet patterns (bar 109) that reaches a huge climax with no sense of bombast. The three sections are then recapitulated in a much shortened form.¹⁶

The long introduction, an unusual feature in the *marche funèbre* before Liszt, opens with "deep, clamorous bells" which are derived from the falling minor second, the traditional lament motive (Ex.8.11):¹⁷

Example 8.11. Liszt, "Funérailles," *Introduzione*.



The suggestion of tolling bells, the pedal, and the constant chromatic rise and fall of the right-hand chords, create a feeling of great anticipation. In the first appearance of the right-hand chord passage, the upper voice rises from E to A-flat and falls back to E. This passage itself is part of a sequence that rises by whole step and consists largely of diminished-seventh chords. At m.10, the sequence begins

16. Derek Watson, *Liszt* (New York: Schirmer, 1989), 237-8.

17. Liszt, "Funérailles," *Harmonies poétiques et religieuses* (NLE, I/9, 75; LBH, II/7).

again, and at m.16, the last time the rising figure is heard, it spans the diminished fourth from A to D-flat. Thus, at the beginning and end of this sequence two tetrachords are formed. These tetrachords have symmetrical structures and are shown in Ex.8.12a. (The tetrachords are labelled "x" and "y" and are shown in descending form to facilitate our discussion):

Example 8.12. Liszt, "Funérailles," melodic and harmonic materials.

a) Tetrachords

b) Kalindra scale

c)

d) Triads

The image displays four musical staves in treble clef. Staff (a) shows two descending tetrachords labeled 'x' and 'y'. Staff (b) shows the Kalindra scale. Staff (c) shows the Kalindra scale with brackets indicating tetrachords 'x', 'y', and 'z'. Staff (d) shows two triads labeled 'x' and 'y'.

Example 8.12b shows the presence of the tetrachords in the Hungarian *kalindra* scale on F. The tetrachord is also formed in the F-minor scale from the seventh degree up to the third. This latter derivation is related to the rise to and fall from the mediant degree of the traditional *marche*

funèbre. Another way of looking at the same material is to take the *kalindra* scale and extend the pattern of the central tetrachord above and below the scale (Ex.8.12c). From the three tetrachords in this example, two augmented triads are formed (Ex.8.12d). The first augmented triad, C-E-A-flat, is found outlined in the opening measures of the work: the initial D-flat to C, followed by the F to E, and the previously mentioned rise of E up to A-flat. At the climax of the introduction, a trumpet signal is heard, a remarkable call that ends on the second augmented triad, D-flat-F-A. This is followed in m.20 by a return to the falling second and, in m.21, to the chromatic rise and fall of the opening. The end of the introduction is derived from the two tetrachords (Ex.8.13):

Example 8.13. Liszt, "Funérailles," mm.18-23.

The march theme extends tetrachord x down to the dominant and, at m.28, tetrachord y down to the tonic. In this theme, as in the theme from the introduction, each phrase returns to the note on which it starts (Ex.8.14):

Example 8.14. Liszt, "Funérailles," mm.24-32.

The second section, *lagrimoso* in A-flat, holds the place traditionally occupied by a trio. The augmented triad x is suggested by the F-flat appoggiatura extended through the A-flat triad in m.57, and, as in the main theme of the march, each phrase returns to where it started (Ex.8.15):

Example 8.15. Liszt, "Funérailles," mm.56-60.

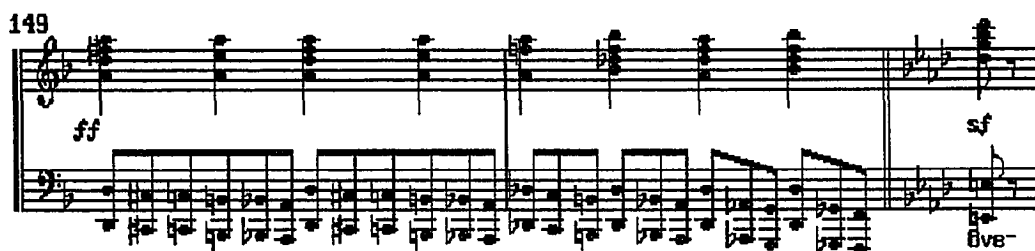
As in Berlioz's marches the section is not followed by an immediate return to the march theme. There is, instead, a

long passage made up of trumpet calls over a fast-moving bass pattern. The passage calls to mind Liszt's own words:

Everywhere and always one hears beneath the victory fanfares a low accompaniment of death-rattles and groans, of prayers and blasphemies, of sighs and farewells, and one can believe that man only puts on the cloak of triumph and festal garments in order to hide a mourning which he does not know how to throw off, as if it were an invisible skin.¹⁸

The first three statements of the trumpet call move through the keys D-flat, A and F, the tones of the augmented triad in the trumpet signal of the introduction. The descent is continued through E-flat and D, as in Ex.8.12c. This section is made up of major triads, a sharp contrast to the diminished and augmented chords that comprise the previous sections of the work. At the end of the section, the first non-major triad, the augmented triad D-flat-F-A, once again leads to the diminished triad that first signalled the beginning of the march (Ex.8.16):

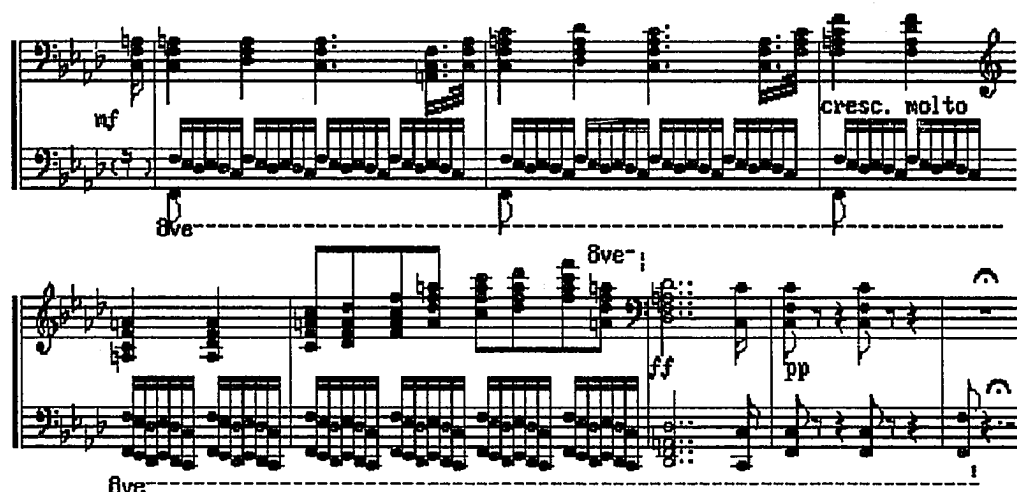
Example 8.16. Liszt, "Funérailles," mm.149-151.



18. Franz Liszt, "Preface" to *Héroïde funèbre*, trans. Humphrey Searle (London: Ernst Eulenberg, 1976), vi.

After the reprise of the march, a coda recalls the theme of the trio. Once again, the tonal relationships form an augmented triad: the A-flat is the fifth of the C augmented triad (m.174-5); it becomes G-sharp, the third of the E major triad (m.177); and at m.181 it is the root of A-flat, the key of the passage which modulates back to F. At this point, the fanfare and the fast-moving bass pattern return. The march ends with the D-flat augmented triad repeatedly resolving to F major, the D-flat-C recalling the opening notes of the work (Ex.8.17):

Example 8.17. Liszt, "Funérailles," final measures.



The two tetrachords, one from the minor scale and one from a Hungarian scale, form a musical metaphor in which the traditional funeral march is fused with the Hungarian lament. The placement of the triumphal section before the return of the march theme alters only slightly the traditional march form. The subsequent, formally requisite return of the

march theme negates the triumphal mood of the fanfares and necessitates the return of the triumphal elements in the coda. This return, however, does not effectively represent a triumphal conclusion to the work. In fact, once again formal necessities--in this case, the traditional requirement that an ending wrap up what came before--force the returning fanfares to be combined and therefore strongly colored by the funereal elements of the march. The triumph is thereby dissipated, probably reflecting Liszt's belief that Hungary would yet rise up against the Austrian oppression. A slightly different handling of the triumphant element combined with a very similar fusion of Hungarian and traditional funeral-march elements occurs in the symphonic poem Héroïde funèbre.

Héroïde funèbre

Although a number of the symphonic poems from Liszt's Weimar period incorporate passages marked "funèbre" or "lugubre," Héroïde funèbre, written 1849-50 and revised in 1854, is Liszt's most important orchestral *marche funèbre*. Liszt's preface to the work implies that the piece may have been written earlier:

People have often spoken of a symphony which I composed in 1830. Various reasons have caused me to keep it in my portfolio. However, while publishing this series of symphonic poems, I wanted

to include part of this work, its first movement.¹⁹

The sketches do not indicate that anything more than the reference to the "Marseillaise" was planned in 1830, and therefore the date of the revised version, 1854, may be assumed to be the date for the greater part of the work.

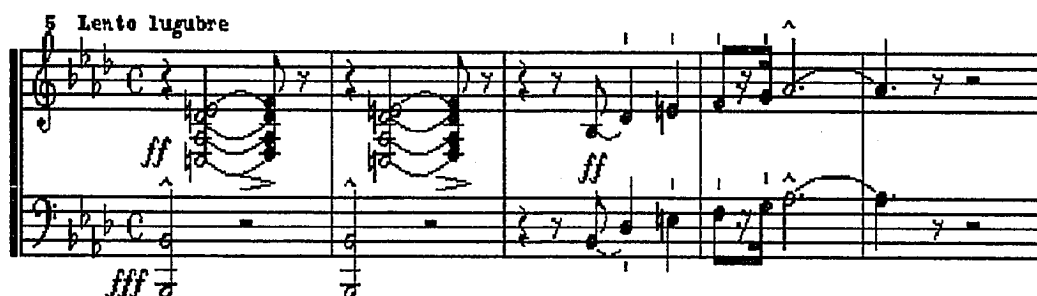
Searle describes the piece as "a vast funeral march which recalls the shape and feeling of many movements in Mahler's symphonies."²⁰ The dimensions of the work are indeed enormous, the single movement lasting about half an hour with little change of tempo. As in Funérailles the march has an introduction which creates anticipation. The muffled snare drum, timpani and tam-tam open the work and are immediately followed by a figure built from the scale formed by tetrachords x and y (Ex.8.18):²¹

19. Ibid., v.

20. Humphrey Searle, "The Orchestral Works" in Franz Liszt: the Man and His Music, ed. Alan Walker (New York: Tapplinger, 1970), 296.

21. Liszt, Héroïde funèbre (London: Ernst Eulenberg, 1976; LBH, I/4).

Example 8.18. Liszt, *Héroïde funèbre*, mm.5-9.



The march theme is generated from this introductory idea and takes the form of a slowly unfolding diminished chord; the enharmonic ambiguity of the chord is used to move the theme through a series of tonal areas each a minor third up from the previous one (Ex.8.19):

Example 8.19. Liszt, *Héroïde funèbre*, mm.32-41.

The progression is propelled by the diminished fifth (as in its first appearance, the C-flat in m.35) which turns each minor triad into a diminished triad in a most emphatic and poignant way.

Among the more striking features developed in the piece are the repeated tolling of a bell, and the outlining of the diminished fourth. These two ideas are closely associated and are first heard together at m.69 (Ex.8.20):

Example 8.20. Liszt, *Héroïde funèbre*, mm.69-72.

At their second appearance, they are intensified by the transformation of the rhythm of the diminished-fourth motive into a figure which becomes more and more prominent throughout the work (Ex.8.21):

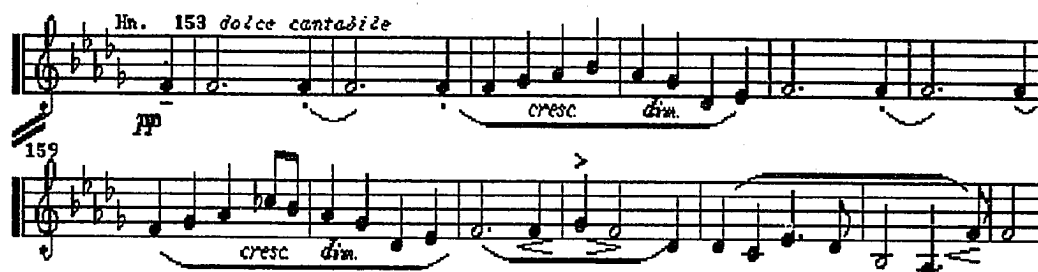
Example 8.21. Liszt, *Héroïde funèbre*, mm.96-103.

The musical score for Example 8.21, Liszt's *Héroïde funèbre*, measures 96-103, is presented in two systems. The first system (measures 96-100) features a piano part with a 'cresc.' marking and a 'Bell' section. The second system (measures 100-103) shows the piano part continuing with a 'dim.' marking. The music is in a minor key with a complex, expressive melody in the right hand and a more rhythmic, harmonic accompaniment in the left hand.

The bells and the associated figure are heard a third time just before the entrance of the trio.

The first theme of the trio, like the trio theme of "Funérailles," consists of short phrases which return to their initial pitches (Ex.8.22):

Example 8.22. Liszt, *Héroïde funèbre*, mm.153-165.



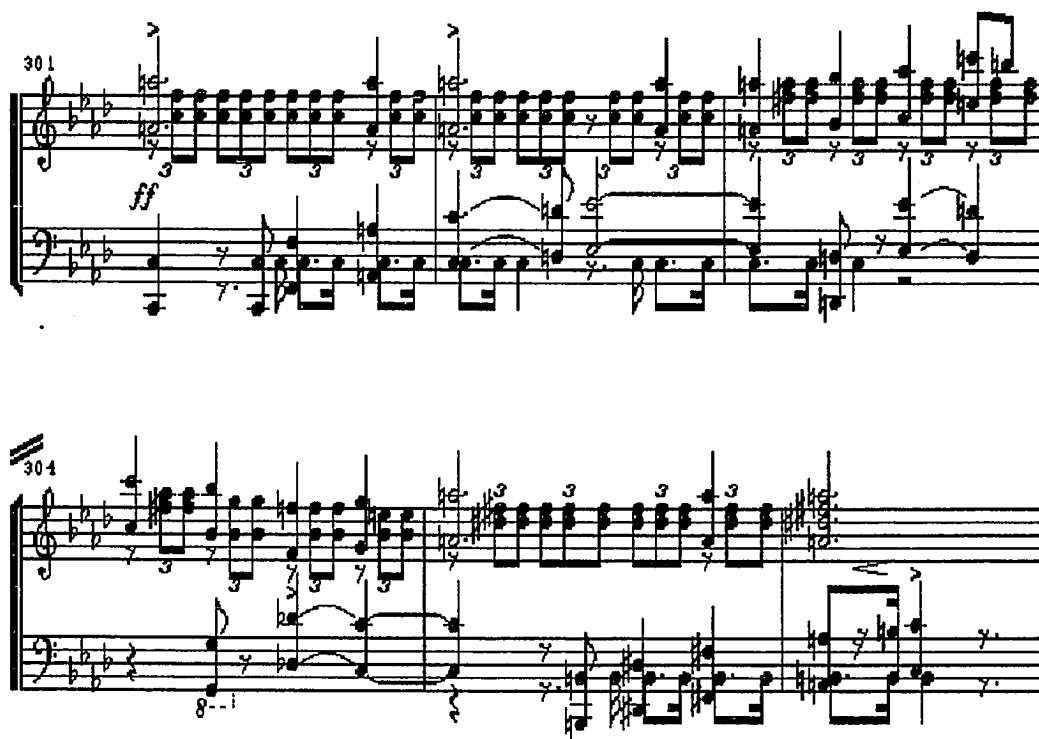
The resemblance of the second theme of the trio to a phrase from the "Marseillaise" has been frequently noted. This figure, the first hint of triumph in the work, brings the long exposition to a close in C major, the dominant of the march.

The form of the movement resembles sonata-form: what follows the exposition is a brief development leading to a compact recapitulation. However, the length of the exposition, almost two-thirds of the entire work, allows the second thematic group to center itself in the work in the manner of a trio. Although the remainder of the work lacks the proportionate length of standard sonata form, Liszt wisely maintains the balance of the movement by protracting the development and recapitulation and allowing the intensity of these sections to make up for their brevity.

In the recapitulation, each of the main ideas of the work is combined with the march theme, and thus, as frequently found in Beethoven or Mahler, the tension achieved in the development section is maintained by the recapitulation. The march theme returns at m.249 and begins its slow

rise from F minor, through A-flat minor, and to B, where the "Marseillaise" theme returns; the series of rising keys continues up to D major where a simultaneous rise and descent to F major leads to the triumphant return of the "trio" theme (Ex.8.23):

Example 8.23. Liszt, *Héroïde funèbre*, mm.301-306.



The triumphant section coincides with the recapitulation of the second theme. Liszt has moved it as close to the end as possible. This effect, the lyrical second theme transformed in its recapitulation into a climactic, triumphant peroration, became a basic device of later composers (Russians, in particular, come to mind, e.g., Tchaikovsky and Rachmani-

noff). In Héroïde funèbre, however, the funeral march returns in the coda, and the triumphant mood is once again negated.

As the main theme of Héroïde funèbre gradually rises in minor thirds, it eventually, like the diminished-seventh chord which it outlines, returns to the key in which it began. The design of the theme, its distinct rhythm, and the simple rising and falling of its melodic structure, allows the theme to be easily transformed; in this way, it adjusts to the harmony of the other themes of the work and can be effectively combined with them. This technique, repeatedly used by Wagner and Bruckner, results in the surprising surfacing of the theme in different places throughout the score. In his preface to the work, Liszt wrote:

. . . things which are always moving, like the waves of a tide eternally rising on the beach of centuries, advance and pass by: one could call it a dream. So on one hand their aspects constantly change; on the other we no longer consider them as the same. From this double impulse it results that many points of view necessarily change in the eyes of our spirit; it embraces them in different frameworks, and they reflect themselves in differing colours. But in this perpetual transformation of objects and impressions there are some which survive all changes and mutations and whose nature is unvaried. Such, among others and predominantly, is Grief. . . .²²

Like grief, the theme of the march appears in "different frameworks" and is in a state of "perpetual transformation."

22. Franz Liszt, "Preface" to Héroïde funèbre, trans. Humphrey Searle (London: Ernst Eulenberg, 1976), v.

In addition to the motivic similarity, there are numerous other similarities between Héroïde funèbre and "Funérailles." Both pieces are of course in F minor. Paul Merrick has pointed out the significance of certain keys to Liszt. A-flat, for example, is the tonality of many of Liszt's works dealing with love; E major is associated with the divine and F minor with the elegiac.²³ Thus F minor is the key of Héroïde funèbre, "Funérailles," the Elegy on Motives by Prince Louis Ferdinand, S168, "La lugubre gondola," and various elegiac vocal works.

Most of the phrases of the themes of both pieces return to the pitches on which they start. This very strongly parallels Liszt's view of death as a return to the condition which existed before birth. Related to this is the extensive use of diminished and augmented chords: both chords divide the octave into equal parts and ascend or descend to the pitch on which they began. The clearest and most extensive musical illustration of this return to the beginning is found in Liszt's last symphonic poem Von der Weige bis zum Grabe in which the form of the work is an arch which eventually comes back to the opening music of the work.

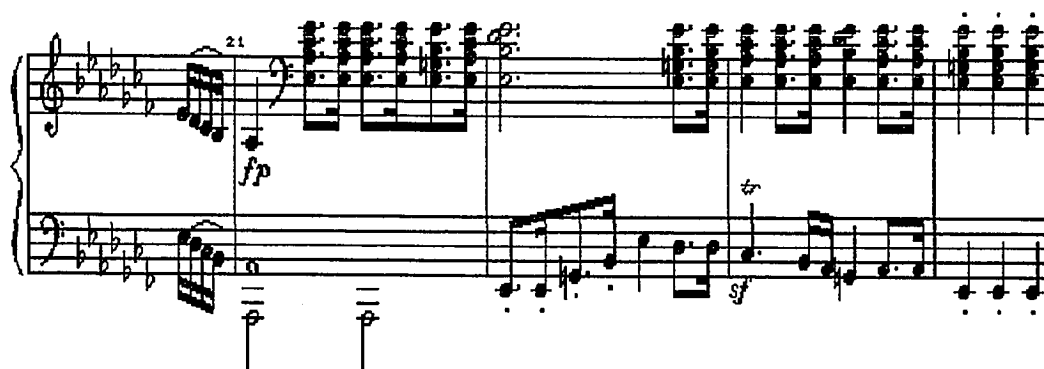
A number of features of Héroïde funèbre and "Funérailles" suggest a relationship between Liszt's works and the march from Beethoven's Op. 26. There is, for example, a

23. Paul Merrick, Revolution and Religion in the Music of Liszt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 298.

similarity in the harmonic motion of the main themes of Héroïde funèbre and the Beethoven. In the march from Op. 26, the key rises by minor thirds, from A-flat minor to B minor to D; after cadencing in D, a brief section built on the diminished-seventh chord returns to A-flat minor. The theme from Héroïde funèbre similarly rises by minor thirds from F minor to A-flat to B (C-flat) minor. The accompaniment of Héroïde funèbre, consisting primarily of heavily-voiced chords regularly dotted, is also reminiscent of the Beethoven march.

There are also thematic connections between the Beethoven and "Funérailles," as in, for example, the beginning of the march theme in "Funérailles" and the following passage from Op. 26 (Ex.8.24):

Example 8.24. Beethoven, Sonata, Op. 26, third movement, mm.21-24.



In a letter to the Archduke Carl Alexander, Liszt compared Beethoven to Gregorio Allegri, composer of the famous "Miserere:"

Once, he [Beethoven], too, had sung his "Miserere," and no human ear had up to then heard sobs and sighs of such a profound, sublime intensity.-- A curious coincidence! It is in the manner of Allegri and the same interval--an obstinate dominant--that three times the genius of Beethoven has employed in order to leave forever his immortal imprint. Listen to the "Funeral March on the Death of a Hero," the Adagio from the "Sonata quasi una fantasia," and the mysterious *Convito* of angels and spectres in the Andante of the Seventh Symphony. Isn't there a striking resemblance between these three motifs and the "Miserere" of Allegri?²⁴

Liszt is referring to the insistent repetition of the dominant degree in the main themes of all four pieces and the similar turn towards the relative major that each of these themes eventually makes. Liszt sees the dominant as a symbol of immortality. While the lack of finality of both the dominant degree and the dominant chord may make it a metaphor for immortality, other musical devices are equally capable of achieving this. None of the pieces which Liszt

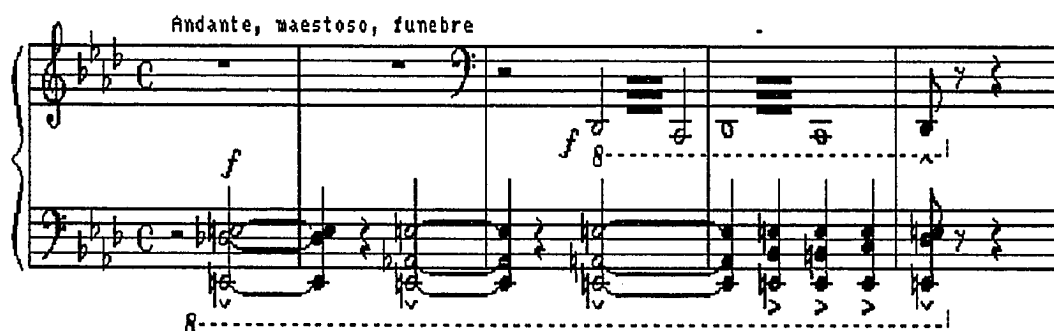
24. La Mara, ed., Briefwechsel zwischen Franz Liszt und Carl Alexander, Grossherzog von Sachsen (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1906), 116. "Jadis, Elle [une autre ombre] aussi avait chanté son Miserere, et nulle oreille n'avait entendu jusque-là des gémissements et des sanglots d'une aussi profonde et sublime intensité.--Rencontre étrange! C'est sur la mode d'Allegri, et la même intervalle--une dominante obstinée--que trois fois la génie de Beethoven s'est posé, pour y laisser à jamais son immortelle empreinte. Ecoutez la "Marche funèbre sur la mort d'un heros," et le mystérieux *Convito* de spectres et d'anges de l'Andante de le 7me Symphonie. L'analogie de ces trois motifs avec le Miserere d'Allegri, n'est-elle pas frappante?"

mentioned takes the lack of finality to the extent of which music is capable. In "Funérailles" and Héroïde funèbre, however, the final cadences are imperfect: the upper voice of the last chords of both pieces is the fifth. In later works of Liszt the metaphor is more fully realized.

Années de pèlerinage, troisième année

The *marche funèbre* from Années de pèlerinage, Book III, written in 1867, is related in some ways to Héroïde funèbre, but looks back particularly to "Funérailles." The introduction, like that of "Funérailles," begins with bell sounds, a pedal on C approached from D-flat, and a strong suggestion of the augmented triad x (Ex.8.25):²⁵

Example 8.25. Liszt, "Marche funèbre" from Années, opening measures.

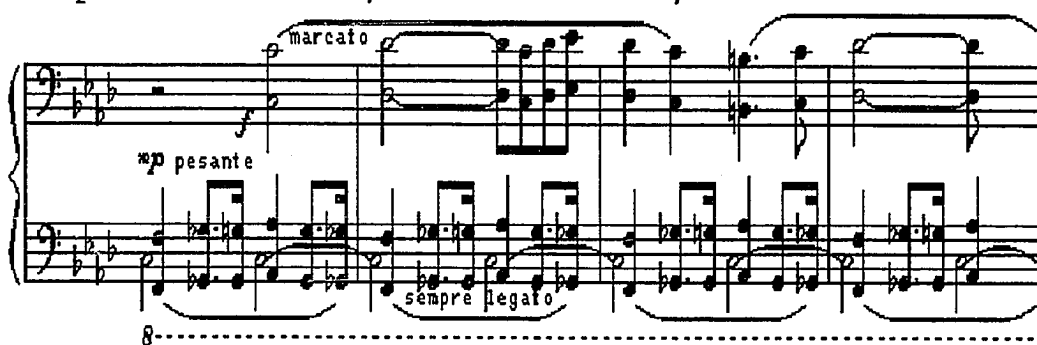


The figure that begins in m.10 is a variation of the diminished-fourth tetrachord from E to A flat. This soon leads

25. Liszt, "Marche funèbre" from Années de pèlerinage: troisième année (NLE, I/8, 3; LBH, II/6).

to the F-minor ostinato figure that accompanies the march. The march theme is another example of a circular theme, that is, one which returns to its starting point. The narrow range of this theme, a diminished fourth, makes this circular characteristic more pronounced than in earlier examples (Ex.8.26):

Example 8.26. Liszt, "Marche funèbre," mm.18-21.



In her analysis of the entire third book of *Années*, Dolores Pesce shows that the essential harmonic activity of the three sections of the *Marche funèbre*, march, lament, and triumph, proceeds from what we have called augmented triad y (Ex.8.27):²⁶

26. Dolores Pesce, "Liszt's *Années de Pèlerinage*, Book 3: A Hungarian Cycle?" *19th-Century Music*, XIII/3 (Spring, 1990), 214.

Example 8.27. Liszt, "Marche funèbre," melodic and tonal reduction by Dolores Pesce.

Intro 1 March 17 Lament 50 Transition 88

"Triumph" 104 125 =

[ME. 112-124 OMITTED]

"When the ostinato begins at m.17," she writes, "one expects an F focal point, but that expectation is quickly foiled by the metrical emphasis on D-flat."²⁷ The focal point rises in a manner similar to that of *Héroïde funèbre*, but the rise is by major rather than minor third--thus an augmented rather than diminished triad is outlined. Pesce continues:

This F/D-flat play is then transferred to A/F at a second statement of the theme (m.33), and thus the tones of the augmented triad D-flat-F-A are emphasized. . . . the rest of the piece involves the gradual dissolving of this sonority through linear motion that unfolds first an F-sharp-minor and then finally an F-

27. Pesce, *op. cit.*, 214.

sharp-major chord, where, significantly, C-sharp sounds as the lowest tone.²⁸

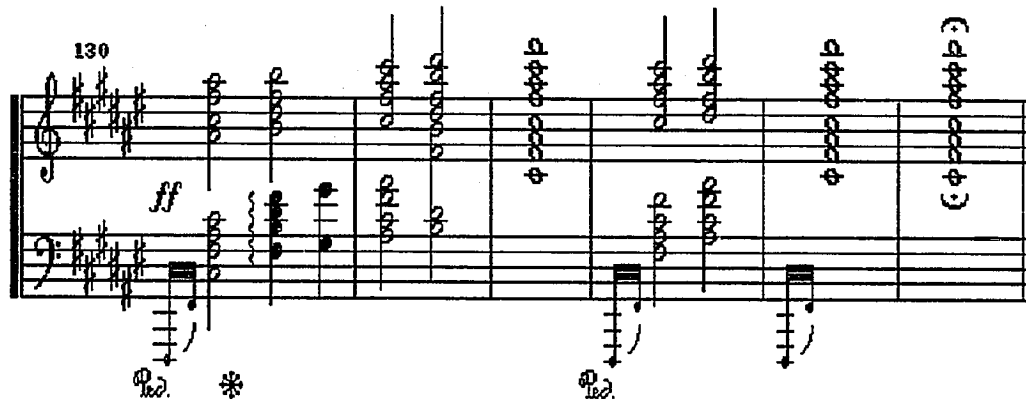
The unfolding of the triad D-flat-F-A is a process that takes almost half the length of the piece. The triad is enharmonically an augmented dominant (C-sharp-E-sharp-G-double sharp) of F-sharp. It is preceded by its own augmented dominant, A-flat-C-E (Ex.8.28):

Example 8.28. Liszt, "Marche funèbre," mm.10-18.

Pesce analyzes the F-sharp triad to which the dominant resolves as being in six-four position. The pedal marking of the final passage, however, makes the final chord a root position F-sharp major chord (Ex.8.29):

28. *Ibid.*, 214.

Example 8.29. Liszt, "Marche funèbre," final measures.



Nonetheless, the C-sharp does stand out from the final chord. In Liszt's later work this same pitch, C-sharp, is frequently the final note of the elegiac pieces.

Pesce, in a note about the date of the piece, writes: "If the surviving early version dates from 1867, it provides evidence of a highly experimental language at the very beginning of what many consider Liszt's late period."²⁹ Rather than an "experimental language," this piece may be seen to employ a language that Liszt had already developed: the language is presented more concisely than before and whatever new qualities it may possess logically arise from the expressive goals of the work. The opening bell sounds now imitate the strongly dissonant overtones of real bells much more vividly than any major or minor triad had in the past. The circular quality of the main theme in the work is now far more apparent to the ear than the subtle, visually constructed circularity of the themes of earlier works. The

29. *Ibid.*, 214n.

addition of repetitive melodic gestures to the rhythmic ostinato more strongly expresses both the stasis and the heavy tread of the funeral march. Immortality is represented by the "ever-returning dominant." The *trionfante* is the final section of the work, and its effect is not diminished by a coda which returns to the mood and tone of the funeral march.

The division of the *marche funèbre* into march, lament and triumph does not acknowledge the important twenty-measure passage marked "Recitativo" that connects the lament and the "grandioso" transition which leads to the triumphant ending.³⁰ More than just a march, the *marche funèbre* now contains a progression of events that parallel those of a funeral ceremony. The march is followed by a lament; a brief eulogy is recited, the inevitable epitaph wherein life is seen as a prelude to a different kind of triumph in death.

The Late Works

The same characteristics and the same melodic materials that make up the earlier Liszt funeral marches are found in

30. This is not a criticism of Pesce's excellent article which is not specifically about the *marche funèbre* from *Années*, III, but about the cyclical connections between all of the pieces included in it. For her purposes, a simpler analysis of the form of the *marche funèbre* is sufficient. Her argument that that *Années* is a Hungarian cycle is, in fact, another approach to Liszt's use of Hungarian materials quite in accord with that presented here.

the late works. These works continue to move in the direction in which the *marche funèbre* from Années was heading. A more incisive tone and a clearer delineation of individual sections are apparent; in addition, there is a sense of incompleteness at the end, a result of the fusion of the "obstinate dominant" and the triumphant ending. At the same time, the musical language becomes increasingly stark and strange. Szabolcsi was struck by "how bare of all guise, how self-mortifyingly simple Liszt's music had become in the course of a few years, that music which a short time before, was still colourfully florescent, rich and resounding."³¹

The distinction between the *marche funèbre* and the elegy becomes less clear in the last works. For example, in both "Richard Wagner-Venezia," S201, and "Am Grabe Richard Wagners," S202, from 1883, there are passages that suggest a march. Both pieces begin with the rising triad C-sharp-F-A (a respelling of the triad of the trumpet signal in "Funérailles"), which in the *marche funèbre* from Années III resolves to F-sharp major. In "Richard Wagner-Venezia" the triad resolves to B-flat; a series of fanfares rising by minor thirds leads to a brief closing section in which the music returns to its starting point and ends on C-sharp (Ex.8.30):³²

31. Szabolcsi, op. cit., 40.

32. Liszt, R. W. Venezia (NLE, I/12, 74).

Example 8.30. Liszt, "Wagner-Venezia," final measures.



In "Am Grabe Richard Wagners" the triad is transformed into fragments of themes from "Parsifal" and again ends on a solitary C-sharp.

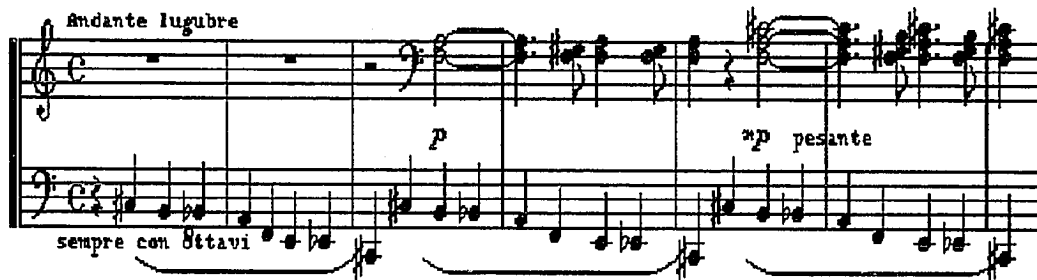
The same augmented triad, D-flat-F-A, is found in Liszt's late elegiac pieces, for example, at the beginning of "Les morts" (S112, S516, et al.) from the Trois odes funèbres, and as the accompaniment figure of "La lugubre gondola," S200. It also appears most prominently in one of Liszt's last works, the "Trauervorspiel und Trauermarsch," S206, from 1885.³³

The entire twenty-four measures of the "Trauervorspiel" are an elaboration of the augmented triad. The first two measures present the triad within a descending figure that

33. Liszt made a slightly shorter version of this work during 1885. It appeared as "Teleki László" in the Historical Hungarian Portraits, S205, (NLE I/10, 111).

becomes an ostinato accompaniment to a rising signal-like passage (Ex.8.31):³⁴

Example 8.31. Liszt, "Trauervorspiel," opening measures.



The ostinato is based on the scale on which the entire prelude is based and is derived from a motive and its inversion which center symmetrically on C-sharp (Ex.8.32):

Example 8.32. Symmetrical structure of the opening ostinato of Liszt's "Trauervorspiel."

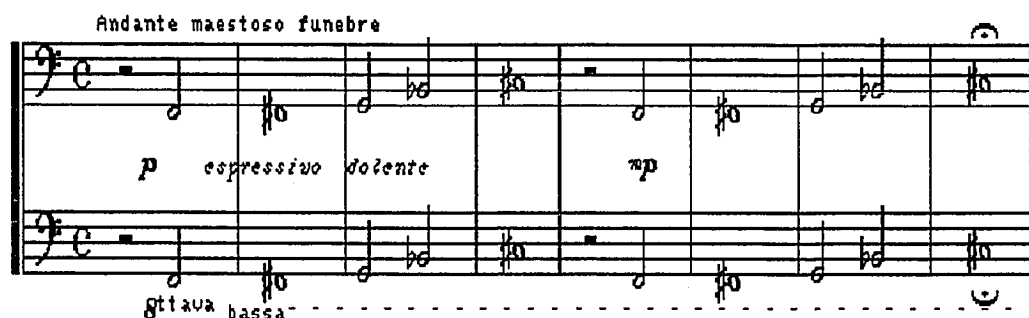


The reiteration of the C-sharp, particularly in the bass, gives the tone a dominant function. The root of the triad,

34. Liszt, *Trauervorspiel und Trauermarsch* (NLE, I/12, 90). According to the editors of the NLE, the ostinato is based on a motive from Mosonyi's "Trauerklänge zum Tode István Széchenyis." The editors also suggest that the prelude and the march were written as independent pieces.

F, is heard as E-sharp. At the end of the prelude, C-sharp is once again insistently repeated. At the beginning of the seven-measure "Einleitung" to the march, the motion F (E-sharp) to F-sharp, in conjunction with the reiterated C-sharp, creates a leading tone to tonic effect; this introduces the ostinato figure that will continue through the entire march (Ex.8.33):

Example 8.33. Liszt, "Trauermarsch," *Einleitung*.



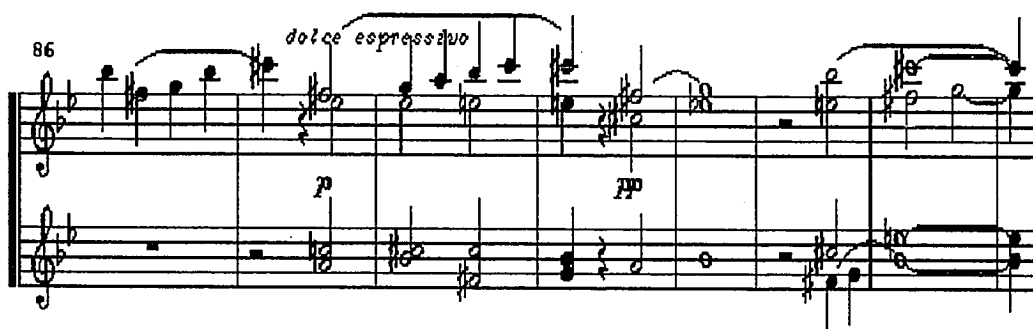
Although the ostinato figure and the key signature suggest G minor, the tonic of the work may be heard as F-sharp. The scale (Ex.8.34a) has two flats (B-flat and E-flat) which account for the key signature, and, like the scale of the prelude, has a symmetrical structure. The scale structure consists of two similarly constructed five-note groups, one leading to the C (the tritone of F-sharp), and the other moving away from it (Ex.8.34b):

Example 8.34. Scale structure of Liszt's "Trauermarsch."



The elegy, which begins at m.70, is based entirely on notes of the scale, and in the passage from mm.87 to 89, where the ostinato moves to the upper voice, the scale is played exactly as derived (Ex.8.35):

Example 8.35. Liszt, "Trauermarsch," lament, mm.86-93.



As in the march from Années, the augmented triad of the prelude, F, A, C-sharp, has resolved to F-sharp.

The ostinato is marked "Wie Glocken-Geläute," and, like bells ringing in the distance, is distinct from the march itself. There are two types of music here, each emanating from a different source. Therefore, it would be pointless to consider the harmonic implications of the ostinato and the chords that appear above it. As in bitonal music, the ear separates the simultaneous musical events. The march

theme is initially marked "doloroso." This theme, like other Liszt funeral-march themes, is chromatic and circular, and proceeds in its own pattern regardless of the ostinato. This pattern is based on a rising diminished chord. The theme first descends from and returns to C, then E-flat, F-sharp, and A; it begins once again on C and continues to ascend another octave. The seemingly irregular pattern of the passage is derived from the pattern of the scale. It leaves an impression of an improvisation on the tones of the scale, sometimes reminiscent of the rapid alternation between two tones in cimbalom playing (Ex.8.36):

Example 8.36. Liszt, "Trauermarsch," upper voice, mm.56-66.



After the second ascent, trumpet-like figures, marked "grandioso," lead to the lament. The passage that follows, a mixture of lament and recitative, maintains the ostinato figure (see the lower voice of mm.70-74). The passage

outlining E-flat, C-sharp, and A (mm.71ff.), is very similar to a passage from the *marche funèbre* in *Années* (Ex.8.37):

Example 8.37. Comparison of A) "Marche funèbre," mm.103-107 with B) "Trauermarsch," mm.72-76.

The image displays two musical excerpts, A and B, for comparison. Both are in 2/4 time. Excerpt A, labeled 'A)' and '103', is from 'Marche funèbre' and includes the instruction 'diminuendo'. Excerpt B, labeled 'B)' and '72', is from 'Trauermarsch'. Both excerpts show a right-hand melody with a descending stepwise line followed by a half-note chord, and a left-hand accompaniment of eighth-note chords. Brackets above the staves indicate the comparison of specific melodic phrases.

As in the march from *Années*, the triumphant conclusion of the "Trauermarsch" follows the lament-recitative. In this conclusion, F-sharp clearly emerges as the tonic, the ostinato figure is fragmented and transformed into the trumpet calls and drumrolls of the triumphant finale, and the piece ends on C-sharp, its dominant (Ex.8.38):

Example 8.38. Liszt, "Trauermarsch," final section.

The image displays three systems of musical notation for the final section of Liszt's "Trauermarsch". Each system consists of a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and a single bass line below it, all in B-flat major. The first system, starting at measure 98, features a piano introduction with a forte (*ff*) dynamic and a *marcato* tempo marking. The second system, starting at measure 106, continues the piano part with a forte (*ff*) dynamic. The third system, starting at measure 112, shows the piano part with a fortissimo (*fff*) dynamic. The single bass line at the bottom of each system is marked "ottava bassa" (octave low) and is connected to the piano part by a dotted line. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, accidentals, and dynamic markings.

The ending is truly incomplete and yet, considering the disturbing music that has come before it, logical and even satisfying, the perfect imperfect ending.

In his article on Liszt's "experimental idiom," Allen Forte refers to specific sections of the late works as

"experimental."³⁵ In his preface to the symphonic poem Tasso Liszt wrote: "Lamento e Trionfo: these are the two great contrasts in the destiny of poets." It is the contrast of these two elements, lament and triumph, that is so cogently represented by Liszt's placement of seemingly incompatible elements next to each other. Like fast and slow, or major and minor, the basically tonal, straightforward language of the triumph is contrasted with what Schoenberg called "themes which point to no absolutely definite tonal centre,"³⁶ themes which like the laments they imitate, rise and fall in a jagged, unpredictable manner only to begin again. The contrast grows greater in Liszt's late works: the sections of the apotheosis become static unfoldings of major triads, the funereal sections become collages of fragmented lament figures. Both are essential to Liszt's point of view; one is meaningless without the other.

In Liszt's funeral marches, the march is only part of the entire piece. In effect, in each of these pieces the funeral march is a preface to the rest of the work. Friedrich Riedel has observed:

Taken as a whole, Héroïde funèbre consists of stylized ceremonial music in which the *marche*

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35. Allen Forte, "Liszt's Experimental Idiom and Music of the Early Twentieth Century," 19th-Century Music X\3 (Spring, 1987), 209-28.
36. Arnold Schoenberg, "Franz Liszt's Work and Being," in Style and Idea, ed. Leonard Stein, trans. Leo Black (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 445.

funèbre, the funeral hymn, the lament and the apotheosis form a synthesis.³⁷

In the earlier works, the march surrounds the other funereal elements that are explored within the work. In the march from *Années*, the various elements are presented in a succession that underlines the significance of the resulting chronology. The march leads through a lament and a declamatory passage to an affirmative statement about death. The non-march segments are strongly affected by the strong codes of the funeral march. A recitative, for example, becomes an oration when interpreted within the codes of the march. The formal conventions of the march function particularly effectively in these works. The listener expects a return of the march at any moment. As each succeeding section fails to supply the return, the expectation is put off until the next section. Thus, although the march never actually returns, the listener has enclosed each section within the opening march and its imaginary return; each section is then interpreted within the codes of the funeral march. The silence that follows the apotheosis makes the strongest impression

37. Friedrich W. Riedel, "À propos de l'Héroïde funèbre: Quelques caractéristiques stylistiques des musiques funébres de Liszt, de ses prédécesseurs et de ses contemporaines," trans. Simone Wallon, *La Revue Musicale* 405-7 (1987), 33. "Considérée dans son ensemble, l'Héroïde funèbre, constitue une musique cérémonielle stylisée, dans laquelle la marche funèbre, l'hymne funèbre, le *lamento*, et l'apothéose composent une synthèse."

of all. The form implied by the codes remains open; the work itself is closed.

In the 1885 "Trauermarsch," the march is present through the entire work. Liszt labels the first eight measures "Einleitung" and the rest of the work "Marsch." The march begins with the bare ostinato; the different sections are overlaid on the ostinato, and it becomes clear that the march is the ostinato itself. An unusual sequence of markings is written throughout the first section: *pesante, risoluto, marcato, doloroso, agitato, largo, appassionato, accelerando, molto appassionato*. The march not only slows down and speeds up but also changes its mood very rapidly. The stability of the ostinato is offset by the constant fluctuation of the upper part. Finally, the ostinato slows down as the upper part, marked "espressivo," begins the lament. The ostinato eventually moves into the upper part and finally reappears only to be transformed in the apotheosis. It is as if various responses to death were occurring during the march, affecting the perception of the march, its temporality, its contours, its associations, its beginning and its end.

The narrative structure of the late funeral marches is based on negation. Each work ends with the inversion (narrative inversion, not musical) of the sequence with which it began, that is, defeat becomes triumph. Todorov, discussing negation, says that "the passage from A to non-A is in a way

the paradigm of all change."³⁸ But this narrative paradigm is not what drives these pieces. En route this inversion, a number of the traditional forces which most clearly shape narrativity in nineteenth-century music are weakened: common practice harmony, tonality and traditional form. The harmony of these pieces results from the use of scales which, although clearly inspired by elements of the folk music which affected his work, are basically Liszt's inventions. Other techniques, too, the ostinato and the sequence of varied strains, are also common in folk traditions. These are fused with strong narrative elements, namely, genre and the use of motivic connection and thematic transformation. These forces are highly audible. Genre interprets the individual sections of the work, while the motivic structure unites these sections. The specific surface features of the funeral march of the first half of the century are missing, but the overall, immanent features have never been stronger: the static, repetitious rhythm, the heavy tread, the signal-like motives, the chromatic intervals of the lament--all have been intensified. What one hears, then, in these works, in addition to a specific nationalist color and a distinctive harmonic and melodic language, is a strong sense of genre and a series of individual sections that do not add up to a traditional form,

38. Tzvetan Todorov, "The Two Principles of Narrative," Genres in Discourse, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 30.

but are unified by motivic connections, thematic transformation, and subject matter. In short, these pieces are very much like Liszt's symphonic poems. They are programmatic.

It is widely known that the programs of Liszt's symphonic poems were sometimes written after the music. These programs, in some cases, explain the discursive aspects of the movement. Dahlhaus, writing on the symphonic poem, says that

any form that presents a configuration of themes and motives with no intention of reconciling them in a process of development, preferring instead to let them exist in their own right and impart meaning to the form as a series of contrasting moods, runs the risk of being misconstrued as a potpourri of momentary effects and expressive gestures.³⁹

The internal structure of the movement of a Liszt symphonic poem, mainly through thematic transformation, prevents this. The program directs or sometimes explains the process. In Tasso, for example, the melody of the *lamento* is transformed into the *trionfo* at the end of the work in an attempt to portray, in Liszt's words, the "grand antithesis of genius ill-treated during life, and shining after death." While this may represent a narrative paradigm, once again that of negation, this narrativity does not account for what happens between the lament and the triumph. Without the program, a great deal of the work seems meaningless.

39. Carl Dahlhaus, Nineteenth-Century Music, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 240.

In Liszt's funeral marches, there is no program in the sense of a written preface. However, the unmistakable communication of genre at the beginning of the work interprets the rest of the work. Thus, although the funeral march is but part of the work, it is the program for the entire piece. This use of a program is characteristic of the Liszt symphonic poem. Liszt's programs are rarely specific enough to pinpoint individual parallels between the program and the musical discourse. But they are specific enough to pinpoint genres that parallel the meaning of the program. This, in turn, working with the inherent narrative of the work, suggests meaning. In the program music of the second half of the nineteenth century, the program is often more specific and indeed can be said to control the progress of the entire work. In these works, the narrativity of the music becomes complexly interwoven with the narrativity of the program itself.

The apotheosis of the Liszt funeral march is not the *Verklärung* of Richard Strauss's later symphonic poem. The transfiguration of the soul as it glimpses paradise, captured so well by Liszt in his Dante Symphony, is not what is meant here. Here, the triumph is an earthly one. The funeral march represents death; the elegy is the initial response of the mourners to that death; the declamatory section is like a funeral oration in which the living assess the life of the deceased. This assessment gradually trans-

forms the elegy into a hymn of triumph, and there is a recognition of what the hero or artist has accomplished. In his remembrances of Liszt, August Stradal recalled that in his last years, Liszt, referring to the triumphant funeral procession in Rome celebrating the death of Tasso, said: "I shall not be carried in triumph to the Capitol but the time will yet come when my works will be appreciated. True, it will be late for me because then I shall no longer abide with you."⁴⁰

With the exception of Hugo Wolf, who claimed to treasure every cymbal crash in Liszt's works, almost every major critic after Liszt used some equivalent of the word "bombast" when discussing the composer.⁴¹ Bombast is a compositional hazard of music which seeks that particular kind of autonomy sought in the second half of the nineteenth century--monumentality. The compositional procedure in which a theme first weighed down by heavy, tragic garb is eventually resurrected in transcendent splendor is repeatedly encountered in music of the latter half of the nineteenth century, particularly in the symphony. While the

40. Quoted in Szabolcsi, op. cit., 5.

41. An example of Wolf's defense of Liszt is found in a review from April 27, 1884: "There is more intelligence and sensitivity in a single cymbal crash in a work of Liszt's than in all three of Brahms's symphonies, with the serenades thrown in for good measure." From The Music Criticism of Hugo Wolf, trans. and ed. Henry Pleasants (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979), 45.

transformational procedure may indeed be attributed chiefly to Liszt, the paradigmatic progression from the tragic or simple to the triumphant or monumental is largely due to the way in which composers of the second half of the century viewed Beethoven. In the next chapter we will examine the funeral march during what Dahlhaus called "the second age of the symphony" and its use in both absolute and programmatic music.⁴²

42. Carl Dahlhaus, Nineteenth-Century Music, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 265.

Chapter IX
THE FUNERAL MARCH IN THE
SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Part I: Liszt's Contemporaries

From these late works of Liszt's it is difficult, sadly, to derive either [profit or pleasure]. Their 'experimental' harmonic novelty rests almost entirely on the sequential repetition of disparate and contrasting elements, the mechanical superimposition of which is bound to lead to dissonance and incongruity. The thought-content, that is to say the thematic substance, is minimal . . . and the end of the piece is reached not by the calculation of inner symmetries but through the expiration of the composer's ability to see any way forward--even, one is tempted to say, through the evaporation of his interest.¹

These words were written not in 1886 but in 1986 by Ronald Taylor in his biography of Liszt and show that, although the late works of Liszt have recently grown in the estimation of some scholars and musicians, "Unstern!" has not yet become a rallying cry of the general public. Those contemporaries of Liszt who heard these late works understandably found them confusing. In the 1870s, when Liszt's musical language found new harmonic, tonal, and formal means of expression, the aesthetic battle that had begun with Liszt's work in the 1850s was still being fought. In fact, it seemed as if a

1. Ronald Taylor, Liszt (London: Grafton, 1986), 235.

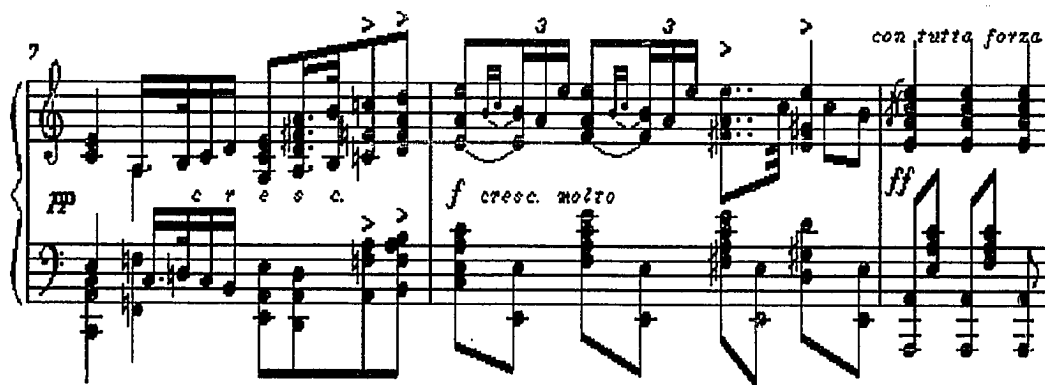
new conservatism, with the symphonies of Beethoven held banner-like before it, battled a progressivism, *Zukunftsmusik*, rallying behind essentially the same banner. In the process, Liszt's "modernism" was ignored; innovations similar to his were to be approached from a slightly different direction some years after his death. But if the funeral marches of Liszt's last years were of little consequence to the history of the genre, "Funérailles," Héroïde funèbre, and a number of significant passages in the symphonic poems established models for many funeral marches in the second half of the century.

During the 1850s and 1860s, the characteristic funeral march became virtually non-existent. Even a composer as totally devoted to the character piece as Henry Charles Litolf wrote but one funeral march, "À la mémoire de Meyerbeer," Op. 116. The work, written in 1865, gives special prominence to the saxophone--Meyerbeer had been among the first composers to use the instrument, and his use of it at the Opéra was a major step toward its general acceptance.

A similar biographical element is found in the work of Grieg. In his Sorgemarsj over Rikard Nordraak (Funeral March in Memory of Richard Nordraak), Grieg added a personal touch that reflected his relationship with the deceased. Nordraak, who died in 1866 at the age of twenty-three, had been instrumental in arousing Grieg's interest in the music of Norway. The first measures of Grieg's memorial reveal a

solemn simplicity reminiscent of Handel. In the seventh measure, however, a rising scale leads to a variant of the opening march theme which reaches an emotional intensity rarely expressed in a composition of such brevity (Ex.9.1):²

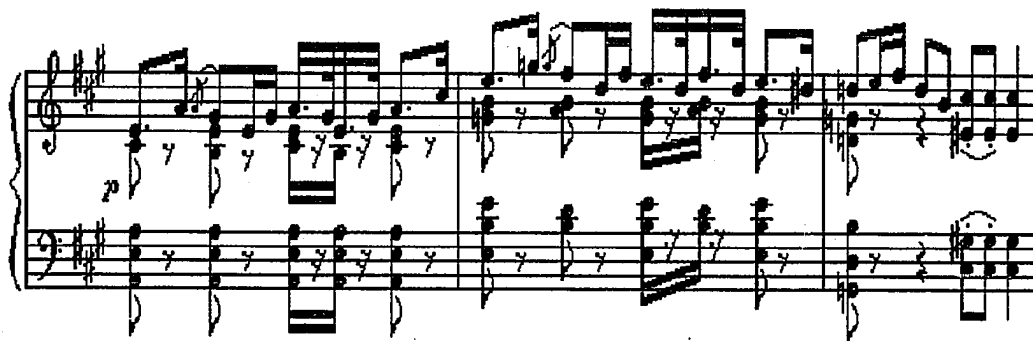
Example 9.1. Grieg, "Trauermarsch," mm.7-9.



The trio, however, returns to the serenity of the opening of the march and evokes the folk music of Norway with its dance rhythms, three-bar phrases, suggestion of a drone accompaniment, and overall melodic shape (Ex.9.2):

2. Edvard Grieg, Klavierwerke, 3 vols. (Frankfurt: C.F. Peters, n.d.), III, 184-188.

Example 9.2. Grieg, "Trauermarsch," Trio.



Unlike the "personalization" of earlier funeral marches in which the composer's own music was used, these marches by Litolff and Grieg include what might be called a program note describing the dedicatee.

While march-trio form is retained in both of these works, the binary form of the march has, as in Liszt's works, been abandoned. In the Grieg march, as in "Funérailles," the march theme is played twice in the opening section. The theme is first stated softly and is followed by a transition leading to a fortissimo restatement of the theme. This form, similar to that commonly found in the presentation of the opening theme of a symphony, dominates the funeral marches of the second half of the century.

The somewhat predictable melodic and rhythmic features of the marches of the first half of the century are less frequently found in the later marches. The tendency of composers of the older marches to center the melodic activity around the mediant degree is replaced by the frequent use of the dominant--in particular, motion from the fifth degree

to the flat-sixth and back--as the focal point of the march theme. Although dotted rhythmic figures continue to stand out as a salient feature of the funeral march, the figures tend to be shorter and less repetitive. Of particular importance in achieving a distinction from the standard vocabulary of the earlier funeral marches is the transformational technique employed in the Liszt symphonic poem. When a theme not originally conceived as a funeral march is transformed, this transformation is accomplished through the use of general characteristics and conventions of the funeral march. However, the original theme necessarily maintains its own identifiable features, effectively creating a different type of march theme.

In addition to his single-movement funeral marches, Liszt often used passages resembling or merely suggesting a funeral march in his symphonic poems. Within the extremes of the brief *lugubre* passage in the middle of Liszt's Ce qu'on entend sur la montagne and the 358 measures of Héroïde funèbre lie pieces which are for the most part funeral marches, as, for example, Funérailles, those which begin as marches but soon abandon their march characteristics, as in the Trauervorspiel und Trauermarsch, and those which contain brief references to the funeral march, as in the Concerto pathétique or some of the symphonic poems. The dissolution of the integrity of the march by the addition of non-march music or the integration of a march, or march elements, into

a larger, seemingly unrelated movement, is part of the diversification of genre function in nineteenth-century music.

In his essay "History, Criticism, and Beethoven's Ninth Symphony," Leo Treitler pointed out that in the finale of the symphony

each genre presents an association of conventions adapted for an artistic purpose. In each case the genre provides a clue to the meaning of the passage in the dramatic program of the movement, and in that sense genre presents a code to the listener who is entrusted with its conventions.³

Liszt used genre in a similar way. Throughout the symphonic poems there are places in which the codes and the program are distinctly aligned; these places clarify what came before and what comes after. Mazeppa, for example, begins *in medias res* with a wild ride which, due to the developmental character of its materials, is confusing. This unusual feature--Hanslick called the work "absolutely anti-musical"⁴--becomes more confusing when the "development" seems to stop a number of times only to start again with renewed vigor. Finally, this development is halted by a kettledrum solo; its funereal rhythm makes it clear that we have reached the point in Hugo's poem at which the horse falls dead. With this recognition, the first and second halves of

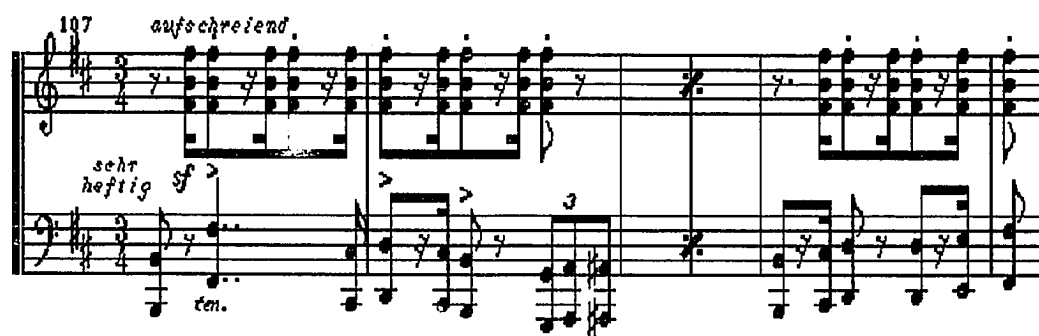
3. Leo Treitler, Music and the Historical Imagination (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 26.

4. Eduard Hanslick, "Liszt's Symphonic Poems" (1857), in Hanslick's Music Criticisms, trans. and ed. Henry Pleasants (New York: Dover, 1950), 54.

the piece, the wild ride and the rescue, are delineated. Most importantly, the uncertainty of Mazeppa's position has been shared by the listener.

In Liszt's Hamlet, written in 1858, and therefore the last symphonic poem of his Weimar years, most of the first half of the work is devoted to the development of a number of important motives. In the midst of this is a passage which finally comes to rest, at least for a few measures, in B minor (Ex.9.3):⁵

Example 9.3. Liszt, Hamlet, mm.107-112.

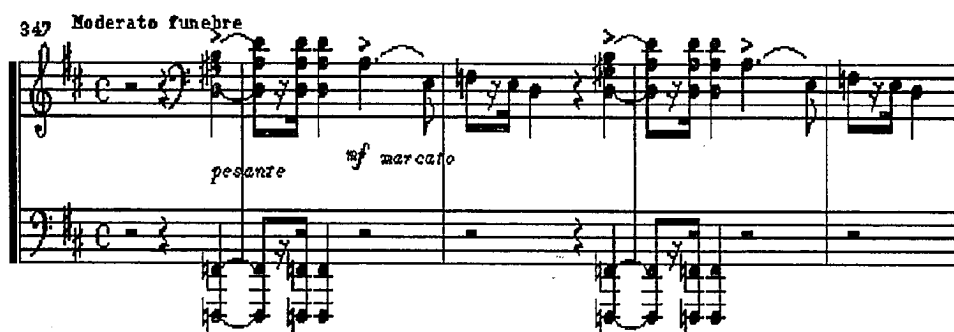


The work has a rhetorical quality that evokes the famous monologues of Hamlet. As if in imitation of these monologues, an angry undercurrent flows through the music; the calm sections are brooding, the animated sections angry; the mood changes are abrupt and unexpected. Even within the relatively quiet, lyrical strains of the passages which are often thought to describe Ophelia, the music remains frag-

5. Liszt, Hamlet, piano arr. August Stradal (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1905).

mented and somewhat angular. At the end of the work, the motives coalesce into a somber funeral march with a texture so spare that it might be said to presage Liszt's later work (Ex.9.4):

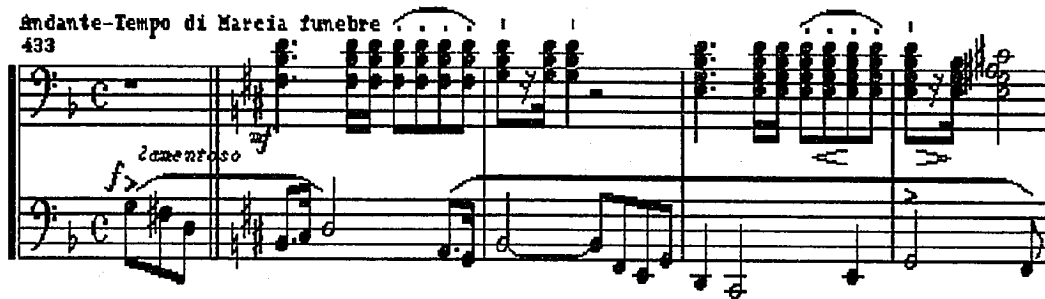
Example 9.4. Liszt, Hamlet, mm.347-351.



This *marche funèbre* is the focal point of the work and clearly signals the death of Hamlet. The confusion and restlessness of what has come before is now resolved, but it is not a triumphant resolution. As if to underscore this lack of triumph, the march moves briefly towards E-flat major but quickly returns to B minor.

In the earlier symphonic poem Hungaria, the main theme of the work is transformed into a funeral march just before the final triumphant march (Ex.9.5):⁶

6. LBH, I/5.

Example 9.5. Liszt, Hungaria, mm.433-7.

The work has no preface, but the title, the sequence of marches which make up the body of the work, and the transformation of the main theme near the end of the work into a funeral march and then a triumphal march strongly suggest a program. Derek Watson believes that the piece describes "the fall of Hungary's aspirations in 1848-9 and the hope for her future renewal and liberation."⁷ The thematic similarities between Héroïde funèbre and Hungaria and Liszt's numbering of these as symphonic poems Nos. 8 and 9 respectively--thereby suggesting the traditional juxtaposition of funeral march and triumph--provide additional support to this program.⁸

Liszt's strong influence on younger contemporary composers is seen most clearly in some of the famous symphonic poems written by these composers in the 1870s. Smetana's six symphonic poems under the title Má Vlast (1874-79), Franck's Les Éolides (1876), Tchaikovsky's Francesca da

7. Watson, Liszt, 272-3.

8. Four years and three other symphonic poems separate the composition of these works.

Rimini (1876), and the four symphonic poems of Saint-Saëns mark the beginning of what may safely be said to be the most significant, as well as most discussed, era in the history of the symphonic poem. But Liszt's influence can be observed earlier than the 1870s, particularly in the way in which the funeral march was used by a number of younger composers.

The Funeral March, 1850-1870

Liszt generously supported and encouraged many younger musicians who otherwise had little connection with the New German School. Smetana, for example, corresponded with Liszt for many years and in 1857 wrote Richard III, a work which may indeed be the earliest attempt by another composer to use the techniques which Liszt employed in his own symphonic poems. But the influence of Liszt is apparent in Smetana's earlier work as well.

In 1855 Smetana wrote his Piano Trio in G minor, Op. 15, as an expression of grief at the death of his four-year-old daughter. The autobiographical element in the trio is expressed in a manner similar to that used in his later E-minor String Quartet in which an interrupted dance movement represents the composer's life changed dramatically by deafness. The last movement of the trio is a reworking of the finale of an early Piano Sonata in G minor, and here the interruption takes the form of a funeral march. The

furiant-like main theme, a *moto perpetuo* played for the most part *sotto voce*, is taken almost note-for-note from the sonata. Smetana contrasts this theme with a plaintive, almost sentimental, second theme. In the recapitulation the furiant is transformed into a brief funeral march (Ex.9.6):⁹

Example 9.6. Smetana, Piano Trio, Op. 15, third movement, mm.467-74.

467 Grave, quasi marcia

This fragment is immediately followed by a passionate re-statement of the second theme played against the rhythmic figure of the furiant. With this juxtaposition, the entire movement suddenly takes on meaning. The dance theme, like Smetana's life, is transformed by death; the plaintive second theme is transformed into a new dance, and in the coda the original dance theme returns, an obvious but effective conclusion symbolizing the familiar maxim that life

9. Bedřich Smetana, Trio in G minor, Op. 15 (London: Ernst Eulenburg, n.d.).

goes on. The biographical information is unnecessary to the comprehension of the movement. The funeral march, the emotional outburst which follows it, and the simple return of the dance movement are so straightforward that they clarify not just the final movement, but the entire work. The alternation of an elegiac mood with an angry one in the first movement, the odd scherzo-like second movement with thematic references to the main theme of the first, and the alternation of the scherzo theme with a tender andante and a *maestoso* (which itself contains a section marked "con dolore") are explained by the funeral march. In this case the funeral march is the key to the programmatic content of the work, and it is so readily communicative that its immediate effect is that of accounting for the discursive quality of the rest of the work.

Saint-Saëns was to show his admiration for Liszt not only in his symphonic poems of the 1870s but also in an earlier work, a symphony written in 1856. The Symphony in F major, unnumbered and ultimately disowned by the composer, is subtitled "Urbs Roma." The third movement is a funeral march which has more than just the key of F minor in common with Liszt's "Funérailles." The rhetorical character of the main theme and the descending chromatic lines which punctuate it are also reminiscent of Liszt's work (Ex.9.7):¹⁰

10. Camille Saint-Saëns, Symphonie en fa (Paris: Éditions Françaises de Musique, 1974).

Example 9.7. Saint-Saëns, *Symphonie en fa*, third movement, mm.24-31.

The musical score is for the third movement of Saint-Saëns' Symphony in F major, measures 24-31. It is in 3/4 time, marked 'Moderato, assai serio'. The score is written for piano (pp) and includes a 'poco a poco cresc.' instruction. The music is in F major and consists of two systems of staves. The first system shows the piano part with a melodic line in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The second system shows the piano part with a melodic line in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The score is in F major and consists of two systems of staves.

The symphony's last movement is a set of variations in triple time. Its theme is similar to that of the last movement of Spohr's Symphony "Die Weihe der Töne," and, as in Spohr's work, this last movement in F major immediately follows a *marche funèbre*. Saint-Saëns, only twenty years old when he composed the symphony, may have been responding to various models around him--both Spohr's and Liszt's works were well-known in Paris at the time. Saint-Saëns's enigmatic subtitle and the presence of a *marche funèbre* have suggested to some that the work is programmatic. Daniel Fallon, for example, wrote of the subtitle: "The meaning of his motto, 'Urbs Roma,' has never been adequately explained: it might be a veiled allusion to the *Prix de Rome* which

Saint-Saëns had previously failed to win, or it may reflect Saint-Saëns' lifelong interest in Classical antiquity."¹¹

Similar questions concerning a program are raised by a work by Felix Draeseke, a member of the New German School and close friend and confidant of Liszt in his late years.

Draeseke's Sonata quasi Fantasia, Op. 6, written in 1862, is a three-movement piano sonata dedicated to Hans von Bülow. The first movement of the sonata, marked "Introduzione e marcia funebre," opens with a motto which is heard twice during the long introduction; each time it occurs it is followed by a cadenza which eventually leads to a lyrical theme based on the motto. After the second occurrence of the lyrical theme, a brief transition introduces the theme of the funeral march. The march, a somber piece in C-sharp minor, contains long stretches in which only the dark, lower register of the piano is heard (Ex.9.8):¹²

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11. Daniel Fallon, notes to the recording Symphony in F ("Urbs Roma") by Camille Saint-Saëns, performed by the Orchestre National de la ORTF, conducted by Jean Martinon (Angel S-37089, 1975).
 12. Felix Draeseke, Sonate quasi Fantasia, Op. 6 (München-Gräfelfing: Walter Wollenweber, 1988).

Example 9.8. Felix Draeseke, *Sonate*, Op. 6, first movement, mm.44-47.



The march is followed by a contrasting "trio" in E major which is based on a transformation of the lyrical theme of the introduction (Ex.9.9):

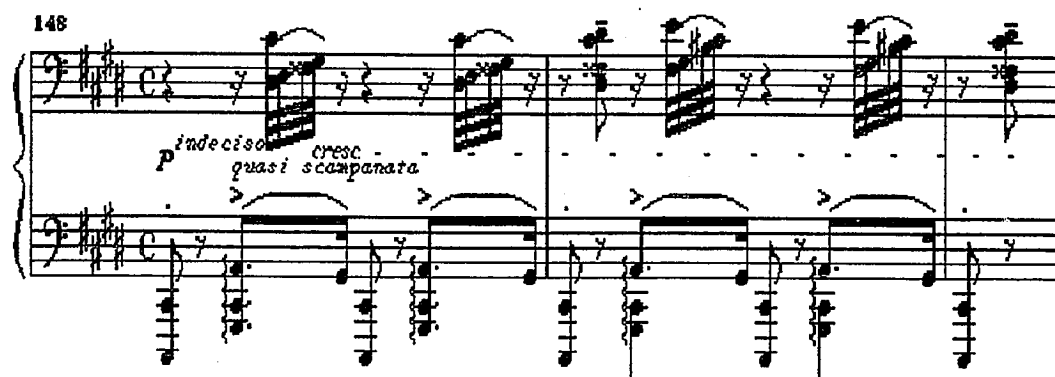
Example 9.9. Draeseke, *Sonate*, Op. 6, mm. 87-91.

Un poco animato
87 *La melodia ben cantabile*

p espress *cresc* *cresc*

As the lyrical section draws to a close, it appears as if the march had been the middle section of the movement. The funeral march returns, however, and brings the first movement to a close. In the coda of the march Draeseke uses a deep bass ostinato to imitate bells while the right hand plays a rising figure (Ex.9.10):

Example 9.10. Draeseke, *Sonate*, Op. 6, first movement,
mm.147-9.



This passage, similar to Liszt's bell imitations, climaxes in a triumphant trumpet-like figure marked "grandioso" (Ex.9.11):

Example 9.11. Draeseke, *Sonate*, Op. 6, first movement,
mm.152-4.

The second movement, "Intermezzo," is a short, light "Valse-Scherzo" in D-flat with no thematic connections to the rest of the work. In the third and final movement, however, the motto is heard again and is transformed to be-

come the main theme of the movement. The introductory cadenza and trio from the first movement return near the end of the finale but only lead to a somewhat triumphant coda based on the motto. While the individual movements of the sonata are well written, the entire work seems rather tenuously held together and thereby somewhat bewildering. In his preface to the new edition of the Sonata, Udo-R. Follert writes:

The work was created in 1862 as a single-movement Fantasy-Sonata. Soon afterwards it reached its final form with the inclusion of a flashy Scherzo of the concert-waltz type written at that time. Whether this caused damage to the immediate spiritual coherence of the work is not easy to determine. It is just as difficult to find an answer to the question of whether this Sonata is absolute or program music. One might lean toward the latter, if the proximity of other youthful works is taken into account, and if one also knew a "Motto" which originally stood over the sonata and was removed before the work first went to press.¹³

The "motto" remains unknown although commentators, among them Draeseke's biographer Erich Roeder, have suggested

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13. Udo-R. Follert, "Vorwort zur Neuauflage des Erstdrucks von 1869," Felix Draeseke, Sonate quasi Fantasia, Op. 6 (München-Gräfelfing: Walter Wollenweber, 1988). "Das Werk wurde als einsätzliche Fantasie-Sonate 1862 geschaffen. Erst später erhielt es seine endgültige Fassung mit der Hereinnahme des Intermezzos, eines glänzenden Scherzos nach Art der Konzertwalzer, die gleichzeitig entstanden sind. Ob der unmittelbare geistige Zusammenhang dabei Einbüsse erlitten hat, ist nicht leicht zu entscheiden. Ebenso schwierig ist, eine Antwort darauf zu finden, ob es sich bei der Sonate um eine "reine" handelt oder um Programm-musik. Man mag eher zu letzterem neigen, wenn die Nähe zu den anderen Jugendwerken bedacht wird, und wenn man ausserdem von einem "Motto" weiss, das ursprünglich über der Sonate stand und erst bei der Drucklegung beseitigt wurde."

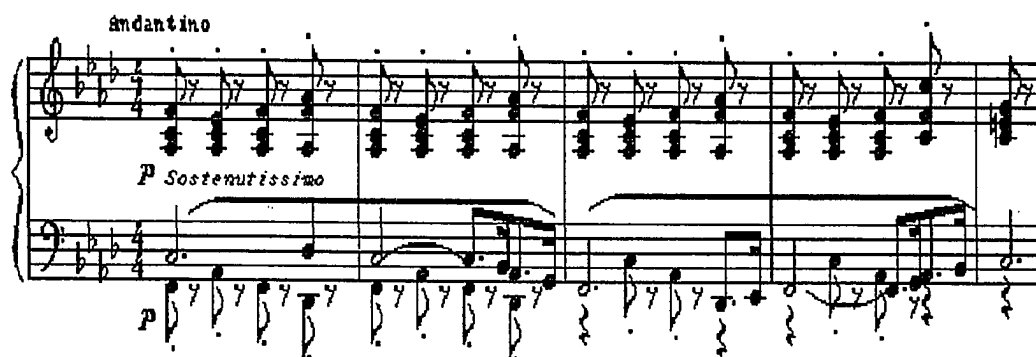
literary connections.¹⁴ Without the Intermezzo, in its original, single-movement form, the Sonata is a variant of the funeral march and triumphant finale. In its published form, the work's somber C-sharp-minor opening movement, its short, middle movement in D-flat, and its title, "Sonata quasi una fantasia," suggest a connection with Beethoven's "Moonlight" Sonata. The connection grows stronger when one recalls Liszt's suggestion that the first movement of Beethoven's C-sharp-minor Sonata and the funeral march from Op. 26 shared a similar tone and were based on an "obstinate dominant." The Draeseke sonata, however, should also be considered in light of Liszt's Sonata, written about a decade earlier. While Draeseke's Sonata does not resemble Liszt's in any specific formal, thematic, or even pianistic way, it does resemble it in its unique approach to the idea of the sonata. Neither Saint-Saëns nor Draeseke returned to the genre in quite the same way in their later work. Saint-Saëns was to use the *marche funèbre* in his Septuor for trumpet, piano and strings, of 1881, a light work in which each movement explores a different genre. Draeseke, in his Symphonia tragica of 1886, avoided not only the funeral march but any programmatic connections which a work so titled might be expected to make.¹⁵

14. Ibid.

15. See Alan Krueck, The Symphonies of Felix Draeseke (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Zürich, 1967).

Alkan's Symphonie, another large-scale work including a funeral march, was written about the same time as the Saint-Saëns symphony and the Draeseke sonata. The Symphonie is part of the twelve etudes for piano which make up Alkan's Op. 39. The work, called a symphony because of the great technical demands it makes on the performer, is actually a formally traditional four-movement piano sonata. The second movement, a funeral march with trio, is in F minor, and, unlike Alkan's earlier Op. 26 *marche funèbre* which was a singularly original work, this piece seems to look back to "Funérailles." The key, the placement of the theme in the left hand and, more importantly, the way in which the theme falls, rises, and returns to the dominant, are reminiscent of Liszt and not of Alkan's earlier march (Ex.9.12):

Example 9.12. Alkan, Symphonie, *Marche funèbre*, opening measures.



In spite of the appearance of certain Lisztian details in the funeral marches of the 1850s and 1860s, there is a lack of consistency in the way in which these details are

employed. The programmatic aspect of Smetana's use of the funeral march is probably attributable to Liszt's influence. The marches in the Saint-Saëns symphony and Alkan's Op. 39 Etudes show apparent musical similarities to Liszt's works but lack any programmatic references at all. The Draeseke sonata in its approach to form and its use of transformation resembles Liszt but the suppression or non-existence of a program, a characteristic of Liszt's later work, does not. This lack of consistency may be part of a larger trend noted by Carl Dahlhaus:

. . . there is no inner coherence to be detected in the music of the 1850s and 1860s. Wagner's music drama, Verdi's attempt to hybridize national opera with the universality of grand opera, Gounod's *drame lyrique*, Offenbach's *opéra bouffe*, the Lisztian species of symphonic poem, Brahms's chamber music--these key musical phenomena of the time diverge so sharply that any history that wishes to rise above the level of mythology is forced to abandon its search for a formula expressing the internal unity of the era. . . .¹⁶

It would be, perhaps, a paradox to find "internal unity" in a period that was striving for the autonomy of the work of art. If there is a common trait to be found in the funeral marches of the 1850s and 1860s, it is that they all tend to disregard the standard genre characteristics common to earlier funeral marches.

The appearance of parodies of the older form of the funeral march in the latter half of the nineteenth century is a good indication of how aware composers and audiences

16. Dahlhaus, Nineteenth-Century Music, 193.

were of the older generic characteristics: the ability to create an effective parody depends on the familiarity of the parodist and the audience with the subject of the parody. Gounod's "Marche funèbre pour une marionnette," published in 1873, is a parody of the funeral marches of Italian opera. This famous work, still a staple of the pops concert and widely known as a television theme, met with such extraordinary success--Gounod made a small fortune from the sale of this work in England alone during its first year of publication--that it was imitated by a large number of composers of salon music in Europe and America.¹⁷

A more significant example of a parody of a funeral march is Alkan's "Marcia funebre sulla morte d'un pappagallo." The march, in C minor and scored for winds, piano, and chorus, features extended chromatic lament figures, a quotation from Rossini's La Gazza ladra, reminiscences of Gossec and Beethoven, and a principal march theme that is distinctly early nineteenth century (Ex.9.13):¹⁸

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17. The Bibliothèque Nationale has many examples of works entitled "Marche funèbre de . . .," the blank being filled in by a menagerie of animals, insects, toys, etc. Perhaps, the best known of these today is Cui's "Funeral March for a Bird," a four-hand teaching piece.
 18. Charles-Valentin Alkan, Funeral March on the Death of a Parrot, ed. Raymond Lewenthal (New York: Schirmer, 1972).

Example 9.13. Alkan, "Marcia funebre sulla morte d'un pappagallo," mm.44-47.

(Andante)

44

CHORUS *p* As - tu dé-jeu- né, Ja- co? As- tu dé-jeu- né, Ja- co?

As- tu dé-jeu- né, Ja- - co? As - tu dé-jeu- né

Piano and winds

p *f* *p* *f*

A comparison of this parody with Alkan's other funeral marches emphasizes the differences between the older and newer march styles--the older being the subject of the parody--and also shows that the consistent use of predictable genre characteristics in the funeral march in the first half of the century found no parallel in the second half. Even within Alkan's own work there is no particular model, no consistent stylistic characteristics, no unity.

Operatic Funeral Marches

The freedom that characterizes the use of the funeral march in instrumental music of the second half of the nineteenth century is also found in the operatic use of the genre. The infrequent appearance of the funeral march in opera of this period is probably related to the rise of the *drame lyrique*, the *opéra bouffe*, and *verismo* in the later decades of the century. These operatic styles favored

librettos which eschewed the heroic context in which the operatic funeral march thrived. It seems fitting that Thomas's Hamlet, which received its premiere in 1868 and is often considered the last grand opera, features a funeral march near the end of the last act. This march, on the death of Ophelia, is in the tradition of the operatic marches of Donizetti and early Verdi. The march, in compound time and in B minor, is accompanied by choral *pertinici* and leads to a lyrical trio in B major. While the return of the trio in its entirety to end the work is an unusual feature, it is hardly as surprising as the sudden recovery of Hamlet--the chorus shouts "Hamlet vive!"--in the scene following the funeral march.

The funeral march in Verdi's Don Carlos is skillfully integrated into both the drama and the music. The *auto-da-fé* scene of Act III begins with the celebratory chorus, "Spuntato ecco il dì d'esultanza."¹⁹ This chorus, a march in honor of the coronation of Philip II, is followed by a funeral march in E minor in which a group of monks, leading

19. This is in Act III, Part 2, of the 1867 Paris version as well as the five-act revised Italian version. The most easily available score is that of the four-act La Scala version of 1884. In this version, the *auto-da-fé* occurs in the second act. I have used the Italian version of the libretto for this discussion. The cuts made in the original Paris version do not affect the discussion. The corresponding choruses in the French version, "Ce jour est un jour d'allégresse" and "Ce jour est un jour de colère," show the parallel structure of the text much more clearly than the Italian version.

those sentenced by the Inquisition to be burned at the stake, sing "Il dì spuntò, dì del terrore."²⁰ The funeral chorus closely parallels the coronation chorus in its length and form. In the third strain of each chorus, for example, the music suddenly becomes restrained, even lyrical; in addition, the texts of the two choruses, particularly in the original French, are a pair of matching verses, the one promising hope and glory, the other threatening death and revenge. The coronation chorus is repeated after the funeral march and reaches a grandiloquent conclusion. The position of the funeral march between the celebratory choruses, the parallel structure of both sections, and the shared tempo and tonality make the sections a single piece, a coronation march with a funeral march as its trio. This juxtaposition of the two marches reflects the conflict of the ensuing scene: with Philip's coronation the persecution of the Flemings will continue. The persecution is to the coronation as a trio is to a march: it is part of the package. Don Carlos fails to prevent the coronation and, at the end of the scene, the march begins again. This time the funeral march is interrupted by a heavenly voice inviting the souls of the executed heretics into heaven. The coronation march and the funeral march come together in E major as if in defiance of the heavenly voice. The Paris audience

20. Liszt wrote a paraphrase based on these two choruses which is to be published in NLE, II/13, as "Coro di festa e Marcia funebre," S435.

wanted spectacle and Verdi was more than adequate to their demands. But as if to prevent the spectacle from obscuring the dramatic action, the music in this scene carefully delineates the drama. When Don Carlos is asked to give up his sword by his friend Rodrigo, the orchestra tells us why he acquiesces so easily by recalling the melody of the duet, "Dio che nell'alma infondere," in which they vowed their loyalty to each other. Similarly, the resolution of the underlying conflict of the scene, whether or not the *auto-da-fé* will be carried out, is shown by the return of the funeral march.

A funeral march is also used as a communication in the last act of Berlioz's Les Troyens. After Dido hears of the departure of Aeneas, she sends her sister, Anna, and her minister, Narbal, to prepare for a sacrifice; she then sings a farewell in which the audience learns that she plans to kill herself. Her monologue closes with a soft A-flat major chord. The next scene, at the sacrificial altar, begins with the sound of a funeral march in C-sharp minor. The dominant/tonic relationship between the last chord of the previous scene and the funeral march unites Dido's suicidal intention with the deed itself. The funeral march is rushed and nervous, a quality intensified by the pizzicato eighth-

notes in the bass, and, after two measures, the march gives way to the invocation of the priests (Ex.9.14):²¹

Example 9.14. Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, Act V, Scene 3.

Moderato un poco sostenuto

Tenors: Dieux de l'ou-bli

Basses: Dieux de l'ou-bli

p

A few measures into the invocation the funeral-march theme returns and is interrupted a second time. When the invocation ends, Anna's and Narbal's curse on Aeneas begins with a variation of the funeral-march theme. The chorus joins them and all repeat the initial invocation. Their invocation and imprecation have caused them to push aside and ignore the funeral march; in the same way, they have not noticed Dido anxiously circling the funeral pyre. Dido, beginning her final monologue, sings hesitatingly on a slowly descending chromatic scale. The entreaties made to the underworld by Anna, Narbal, and the priests have all similarly descended,

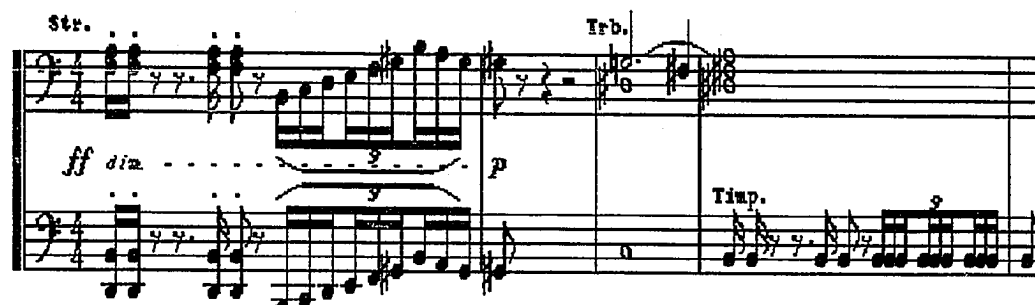
21. Hector Berlioz, *New Edition of the Complete Works*, 25 vols., ed. Hugh Macdonald (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967-), IIb, 713.

concluding in each instance with the word "Chaos" on a low, darkly orchestrated diminished chord. Dido's descending line, ending with the words "Achevons le pieux sacrifice. Je sens rentrer le calme dans mon coeur," comes to rest on a C-sharp-major triad. With Dido, having made the decision to kill herself and now at peace, the orchestra once more begins the funeral march, again in C-sharp minor. The march is played in its entirety, but softly, partially disguised by a tremolo accompaniment, as if Dido's decision is still being kept from the people onstage.

Perhaps the most famous instance of a funeral march partaking in and continuing the action of a drama is the funeral music from Wagner's Götterdämmerung. When played as a concert piece, the excerpt usually begins with the reprise of the "awakening" music as the dying Siegfried calls Brünnhilde's name. The section which could actually be called a funeral march begins after the Vassals lift Siegfried's body. The death motive is heard for the first time earlier in the scene at the moment when Siegfried falls onto his shield. The motive, played a number of times, more softly with each repeat, reaches its fundamental form as a drum rhythm (Ex.9.15):²²

22. Richard Wagner, Sämtliche Werke, 30 vols., ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Mainz: Schott, 1970-), 13/III.

Example 9.15. Wagner, *Götterdämmerung*, Act III, mm.958-62.



This motive, the last to be introduced into the tetralogy, is a combination of two ideas which Wagner often uses at moments of great tension: the isolated drum beat, and a growling cluster of notes played by the lower strings. More specifically, the four-note rhythm of the drum beat is derived from the beginning of the heroic theme most frequently associated with Siegfried (Ex.9.16):²³

Example 9.16. Wagner, *Götterdämmerung*, Prologue, mm.354-56.



The rising triplet figure sometimes spans an octave, at other times a seventh or even a sixth depending on the harmonic context, but always turns back at the top momentarily forming the conventional descending grief figure.

23. *Ibid.*, 13/I, 67.

The march consists of repetitions of the death motive moving from minor to major and back again, each repetition connected by a quotation of a motive or theme heard earlier in the drama. These quotations form a retelling of Siegfried's story. (In the following analysis, measure numbers are counted from the beginning of the march, i.e., the point at which the key signature changes to C minor.)

Before the march begins, as Siegfried's corpse is lifted, a theme associated with the Wälsungen, first heard at the beginning of Die Walküre, is heard. After the death motive is played in C minor (mm.1-3) and again in F minor (mm.8-10), two more themes from the first act of Die Walküre, also Wälsungen themes, are recollected. All three of these themes, although usually separated, can be heard linked together earlier in Die Walküre immediately after Siegmund, describing the events which brought him to Hunding's dwelling, says to Sieglinde: ". . . mich hetzte das wüthende Heer auf den Leichen lag sie todt" (Ex.9.17):²⁴

24. Richard Wagner, Die Walküre, vocal score (New York: Belwin-Mills, n.d.), 32.

Example 9.17. Wagner, *Die Walküre*, Act I, Scene 2.

Langsam SIEGMUND

tot.

Nun weisst du fra-gen-de Frau, wo-rum ich

pp *pp* *cresc*

Fried - mund nicht heis-sel

dim. *p* *p* *sehr gemessen*

At m.15, the Wälsung themes become entwined with Sieglinde's motive and lead to motives from the first-act love duet of Siegmund and Sieglinde (Ex.9.18):

Example 9.18. Wagner, Götterdämmerung, Funeral Music,
mm.15-22.

The death motive returns in G minor at m.21, builds to the C-major statement of the sword theme (m.27), and is triumphantly transformed into C major, harmonized with a simple I-V-I-IV-I reminiscent of the Valhalla music. Siegfried's theme is now stated in full in C minor (mm.33-36). After the return of the death motive, Siegfried's theme is extended by an unusual consequent phrase (mm.39-42) leading into Siegfried's horn call. Finally, at m.50, a slow diminuendo ends in Siegfried's and Brünnhilde's love theme.

The funeral march surrounds a narrative which retells the story of the meeting of Siegmund and Sieglinde, their love, the retrieval of the sword, the birth of Siegfried and his eventual discovery of Brünnhilde. What is left out of

this story is precisely the part that Siegfried told to Gunther and Hagen before being struck down. Both narratives conclude at the same point, the discovery of Brünnhilde, and they are connected, as Siegfried is dying, by the music from the awakening scene. In short, all the events of the earthly protagonists are recounted only moments before the fall of the gods.

The events that are recollected in the funeral march are not, however, a narrative for the sake of the audience. This is not a slide-show of events in the life of Siegfried. This is the answer to Siegfried's questions concerning who he is and who his mother was. Mime would not tell him; Fafner was unable to do so; Brünnhilde told him very little before the passions aroused within her and Siegfried overwhelmed them. Thus, death is a revelation to Siegfried. Before he dies, the stage directions read: "Siegfried . . . schlägt die Augen glanzvoll auf." Siegfried says: "Ach, dieses Auge ewig nun offen." The idea of seeing things clearly at the point of death is a familiar one and an especially deep-rooted one in nineteenth-century literature. The future is frequently glimpsed at the moment of death: Sydney Carton's view of "a beautiful city and brilliant people rising from this abyss" in A Tale of Two Cities, for example, or Dido's prophecy and vision of Rome at the end of Les Troyens. But Siegfried glimpses the past. Brünnhilde, in the immolation scene, glimpses the future. Significant-

ly, no one closes Siegfried's eyes; Brünnhilde's last words are, "Siegfried! Sieh! Selig grüsst dich dein Weib."

While the funeral march does not totally disappear from opera after Wagner's Ring, the funeral march as a set piece, or even as a piece that can be extracted from an opera does become a rarity. The funeral march in the third act of Parsifal, when Titurel's coffin is brought into the Grals-Halle, is even more a part of the surrounding orchestral fabric than that of Siegfried in Götterdämmerung. Later operatic funeral marches, e.g., the march after the death of Liù in Turandot, or Cleopatra's "Give me my robe" in the final scene of Barber's Antony and Cleopatra, are similarly seamlessly woven into the musical and dramatic continuity.

Part II: The Second Age of the Symphony

Tchaikovsky and Dvořák

Among the few things that Tchaikovsky and Dvořák had in common was their compositional versatility. Both were among the few major composers of the second half of the century to write in almost every form and genre available at the time: symphony, opera, sonata, concerto, string quartet, sacred music, and, for Tchaikovsky, ballet as well. Tchaikovsky incorporated the funeral march into a number of works written between 1868 and 1876. The first two movements of his Symphony No. 1 in G minor, Op. 13, "Reverie d'hiver," are subtitled "Reveries of a Winter Journey" and "Land of Desolation, Land of Mists," respectively. The scherzo and the finale lack any such programmatic suggestion but the presence of "giocoso" in the tempo marking of the scherzo suggests a change of mood from the somber, introspective quality of the first two movements. But the introduction to the finale, marked "Andante lugubre," opens with a funeral march which more than compensates for the temporary light-heartedness of the scherzo. The funeral march is transformed into the main theme of the ensuing *Allegro moderato* (Ex.9.19):²⁵

25. Tchaikovsky, Symphony No.1 in G Minor, Op. 13, "Reverie d'hiver" (London: Ernst Eulenberg, n.d.).

Example 9.19. Tchaikovsky, Symphony No. 1 in G minor,
Finale, mm.34-48.

A similar transformation occurs in the first movement of the Third Symphony in D, Op. 29 (Ex.9.20):²⁶

Example 9.20. Tchaikovsky, Symphony No. 3 in D Major,
Introduzione e Allegro, mm.1-6.

The rhythm of the opening of this *marche funèbre* is like that of the principal theme of Liszt's *Héroïde funèbre* and the funeral-march passages of *Hamlet* and *Hungaria*. Unlike

26. Tchaikovsky, *Symphony No. 3 in D Major*, Op. 29 (New York: Kalmus, n.d.).

the First Symphony, there is not even a suggestion of a program for this symphony.²⁷

In both of these works there is a connection with the paradigmatic juxtaposition of the funereal and the triumphant. Tchaikovsky is using the funeral march to achieve contrast, that is, to set up the concluding "maestoso" of the first symphony and the "brillante" of the third. This same device, contrasting an emotional low point with a majestic or festive section, is repeatedly found in the composer's works, particularly in the later symphonies, in which a less specific, despondent quality is substituted for the funeral march.²⁸

Tchaikovsky's Suite Op. 21 is a work written in 1873 for solo piano. Subtitled "Six Pieces on a Theme," the suite consists of a prelude, a fugue, an impromptu, a mazurka, a funeral march, and a scherzo, each based on a theme stated in the prelude. The *marche funèbre* is in A-flat minor, and is a rather long, repetitive piece. The trio, in B major, incorporates the Dies Irae, and perhaps shows why

27. The appellation, "Polish," often used to designate this symphony is not Tchaikovsky's and refers to the "tempo di Polacca" indication of the last movement. The nickname, according to David Brown, "appears to have originated in England with Sir August Manns, who conducted the Crystal Palace concerts." David Brown, Tchaikovsky: A Biographical and Critical Study, 3 vols. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983), II, 43.

28. In his Sixth Symphony Tchaikovsky reverses this juxtaposition. The third movement is a march that ends triumphantly, intensifying the despondency of the opening measures of the final movement.

most composers avoided connecting the famous plainsong with the funeral march. Tchaikovsky's stentorian treatment of the Dies Irae is a bit pretentious and somewhat bombastic; in fact, it causes the entire suite to seem like little more than an attempt to show off the composer's skill at the manipulation of thematic materials.

The *marche funèbre* in the String Quartet in E-flat Minor, Op. 30, is another matter. This quartet, Tchaikovsky's third, last, finest, and least played work in the medium, was written in memory of the violinist Ferdinand Laub (1832-1875). Perhaps it is this personal connection that inspired both the emotional intensity and originality of the funeral march. The movement opens with an interesting variation of the conventional dotted rhythm of the *marche funèbre*, an inversion of that rhythm on the third beat of each measure of the theme²⁹ (Ex. 9.21):³⁰

29. This same rhythmic inversion is found in Siegfried's Funeral March. The premiere of the complete Der Ring des Nibelungen (13-17 August 1876) took place a few months after the completion of the Tchaikovsky quartet (March, 1876). Tchaikovsky was at Bayreuth for this widely awaited event and was unimpressed. He not only found it boring but said that Delibes's Sylvia was "nicer" (Brown, op. cit., 97).

30. Tchaikovsky, String Quartet in E-flat Minor, Op. 30 (London: Ernst Eulenburg, n.d.).

Example 9.21. Tchaikovsky, String Quartet No. 3, *Andante funebre*, mm.1-4.



The repeated B-flat of the first violin not only intensifies the rather simple harmonies of the theme but also establishes B-flat as the focal point of the movement; it also recalls Liszt's "obstinate dominant."

The march theme is followed by a section which, as in the funeral marches of Berlioz and Liszt, may be heard either as a trio or a second thematic group. This section is in G-flat major and is contrastingly lyrical; in fact, it possesses that same highly individual lyrical quality that is found in the best of the composer's work. The march theme returns in B-flat minor, higher, more passionate, with the addition of a counterpoint in the first violin. After the repeat of the main theme, the second theme returns in B major and brings the work to a climax. Once more the march theme returns; it is, as at first, in E-flat minor, but is played above a B-flat pedal, making B-flat once again the dominating feature of the march; in the coda, the reiteration of B-flat suggests that the work is moving towards a resolution in that key (Ex.9.22):

Example 9.22. Tchaikovsky, String Quartet No. 3, *Andante lugubre*, mm.122-134.

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system, measures 122-134, begins with a piano (*pp*) dynamic and a crescendo (*cresc.*) leading to a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic. The second system, measures 127-134, begins with a piano (*pp*) dynamic and a morendo (*morendo*) marking. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

This elegantly constructed movement is perfectly complemented by its surroundings. The opening movement is elegiac and, as Paul Griffiths writes, "has much more to do with B-flat than with the supposed home key."³¹ The two remaining movements, the scherzo and the finale, provide a contrasting

31. Paul Griffiths, The String Quartet: A History (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1983), 138.

and, at times, almost heroic tone to the rest of the work.³²

A funeral march as a movement of a large-scale work is also found in Dvořák's Third Symphony in E-flat, Op. 10. The three-movement work, first performed in 1874, was thought by one contemporary critic to consist of three symphonic poems.³³ This is due probably to the characteristic qualities of the three movements: the first, a sweeping, heroic movement in triple time; the second, a *marche funèbre*; and the finale, a festive dance-like movement possessing both a nationalistic color in its thematic material and a triumphant apotheosis in the coda.

The *marche funèbre* is a somewhat rhapsodic march consisting of an introductory strain followed by a series of related strains which appear and reappear in a seemingly free fashion (Ex.9.23, a-d):³⁴

-
32. Tchaikovsky wrote another effective funeral march in a later chamber work written in memory of a musician. In the Piano Trio in A minor, Op. 50, dedicated to Nicholas Rubinstein, the variations which close the work end with a brief *marche funèbre* based on the theme of the movement. It would be interesting to see the lost four-hand piano work, "Marche funèbre on themes from The Oprichnik," which was the first work that Tchaikovsky wrote for his patron, Madame von Meck.
 33. František Bartoš, "Preface" to his edition of Dvořák, III. Symfonie Es dur, Op. 10, trans. R.F. Samsour (Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1989), x.
 34. Antonín Dvořák, III. Symfonie Es dur, Op. 10 (Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1989).

Example 9.23. Dvořák, Symphony No. 3. Themes from funeral march.

a) *Adagio molto, tempo di marcia*

B)

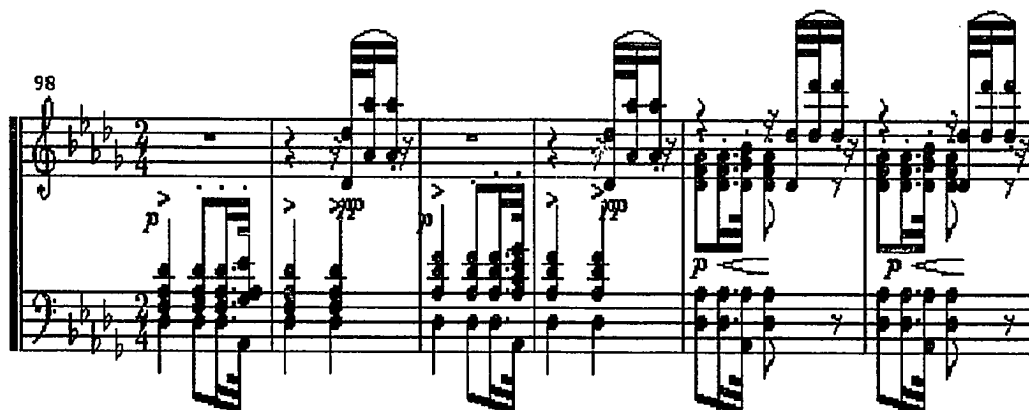
C)

D)

The order in which these strains appear--A, A', B, C, D (transition), A, B, B, C, B'(closing)--amounts to a march consisting of strains A, B, and C, freely repeated. In the trio, the harmony becomes much simpler, the accompaniment

more regular, and the sequence and number of ideas far more restrained (Ex.9.24):

Example 9.24. Dvořák, Symphony No. 3, Funeral march, first measures of Trio.



The trio includes a brief development section making use of motive x' (see Ex.9.23A), which is common to both the trio theme and the introductory strain of the march. The recapitulation of the march theme is irregular, beginning with the closing strain, B', moving into strains B and C, an allusion to D, and finally the introductory strain A. In the coda of the movement, the trio theme returns, bringing the march to a peaceful conclusion.

The contrast between the march and trio is similar to that found in the "Eroica" Symphony: a halting, rhythmically varied march leads into a trio with a regular accompaniment and more unified, reiterative rhythmic patterns.³⁵

35. The movement also formally resembles other slow movements by Dvořák, especially that of the Symphony No. 8 in G major.

Interestingly, motive y is an inversion of the beginning of the second phrase of the "Eroica" march. Perhaps it is the external resemblance of this movement to the funeral march of the "Eroica," as well as the heroic quality of the rest of the symphony and, of course, the symphony's key, that led contemporary critics to suggest that Dvořák add a scherzo to the work.³⁶

There has been some speculation about the possibility that an additional movement was removed from the autograph. According to the editors of the critical edition of Dvořák's works, the slow movement and the first nine bars of the finale were inserted into the autograph in the copyist's hand. It is possible then that these replaced two rejected middle movements. However, the original pagination of the autograph quite closely approximates the length of the addition. It has been suggested that "originally, instead of the present Adagio, which is in the copyist's hand, another movement may have stood."³⁷ It would be odd, however, for the new movement to be in the copyist's rather than the composer's hand in the autograph. Perhaps the copyist's task was simply the transposition of the Adagio

36. For example, the critic Dr. Ludevit Procházka "missed the scherzo so much that, in the musical periodical Dalibor, he advised Dvořák to work up the themes of the Finale in scherzo form and rewrite the fourth movement by making use of motifs from the preceding movement." Bartoš, op. cit., ix-x.

37. Bartoš, op. cit., ix.

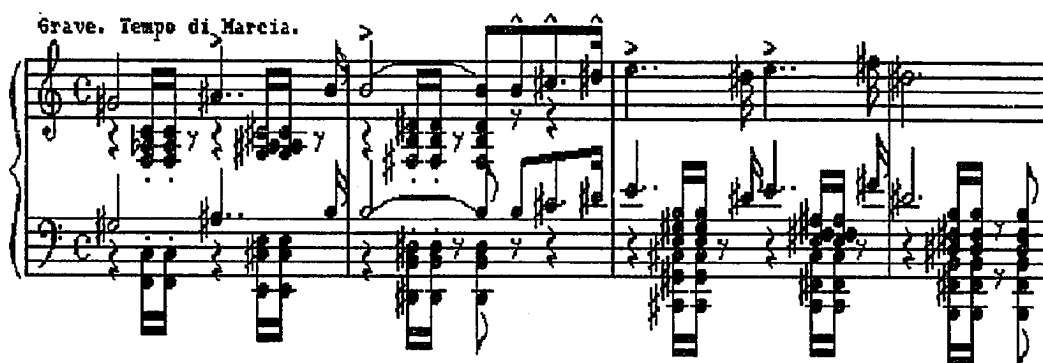
into C-sharp minor, a key which the editors find most unusual. Perhaps the movement was originally in the more expected key of C minor.³⁸ If this is so, the external similarity to the "Eroica" becomes, of course, even more striking. The funeral march, however, is most like the "Eroica" in the freedom with which it handles the march-trio form, and in this way, despite external similarities to Beethoven's march, Dvořák's work is unique.

The eleventh piece of Dvořák's Poetical Tone Pictures, Op. 85, for piano, called "U mohyly" ("At the Hero's Grave"), is similar in design to the march in the Third Symphony. The march is in F minor but, because of the modulatory character of the opening theme, Dvořák uses no key signature until the trio (Ex.9.25):³⁹

38. Further support for this idea may be found by checking the errors in the copyist's section of the autograph. I have not seen the autograph, but the editor's annotations in the published score show an unusual number of errors in the Adagio related to pitch--many of these in the D-flat trio. The transposition of the march from C to C-sharp minor would have required only changing the signature and the accidentals. The transposition of the trio from C to D-flat, however, would have required moving all the parts up one step making the pitch errors understandable. In addition, the autograph of the trio incorrectly includes the direction in the timpani "muta Des--As." The timpani in this version are already tuned to these pitches.

39. Antonín Dvořák, Poetical Tone Pictures, Op. 85 (Melville, New York: Belwin Mills, n.d.).

Example 9.25. Dvořák, "At the Hero's Grave," opening measures.



This theme is varied upon repetition and is followed by a long trio, which, like that of the *marche funèbre* in the Third Symphony, returns at the end.

Dvořák's "The Wild Dove"

In 1896 Dvořák wrote four symphonic poems based on ballads by the poet Karel Jaromír Erben. The fourth of these, Holoubek ("The Wild Dove"), Op. 110, is so closely connected to the text of Erben's poem that Dvořák was able to inscribe verses and lines of the poem throughout the score. Before discussing the program of the work, I would like first to examine the work from a purely musical point of view.

The symphonic poem opens with a signal sounded by muted horns and muted timpani which introduces a funeral march, a somber piece in C minor, played by strings and flutes (Ex.9.26):⁴⁰

40. Antonín Dvořák, Holoubek (Prague: Artia, 1955).

Example 9.26. Dvořák, The Wild Dove, Funeral March I.

Andante, marcia funebre

The musical score is for a funeral march in C minor, 3/4 time. It is marked 'Andante, marcia funebre'. The score is arranged for Violin I (Vn. I), Flute (Fl.), Horn (Hr.), and strings (Str.). The first system shows the initial melodic lines and a rhythmic pattern in the strings. The second system continues the development, featuring a crescendo (cresc) and a decrescendo (dim.) in the strings, followed by a piano (p) section. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

The march is repeated with some development in C-sharp minor and is brought to a conclusion in C minor. A second funeral march begins. This march, stronger and more traditional, is played by the trumpet and oboe, while the bass drum and cymbals mark the beat. Every other measure is punctuated by a strange dissonant figure played by the first violins and flutes (Ex.9.27):

Example 9.27. Dvořák, The Wild Dove, Funeral March II. 333

(Horns and timp. omitted)

43

Fl.

R. Dr. / Cym.

Trpt. / Ob.

Un. vcl.

Str.

The descending seconds seem out of place and disconcertingly similar to an effect frequently used in opera to imitate laughter. Both the funeral march and the laughter grow louder. The first funeral march returns and as it approaches a climax, it is interrupted by a trumpet (marked "da lontano") playing a simple, cheerful tune. The first march theme returns, but this time the end of the theme ascends; a flute answers it with a faster, dance-like transformation of the theme (Ex.9.28):

Example 9.28. Dvořák, The Wild Dove, transformation of funeral-march theme, mm.117-129.

A dance episode, based on a motive built from the first notes of the opening funeral march, grows out of the triplet variant of the funeral-march theme (Ex.9.29):

Example 9.29. Dvořák, The Wild Dove, dance strains.

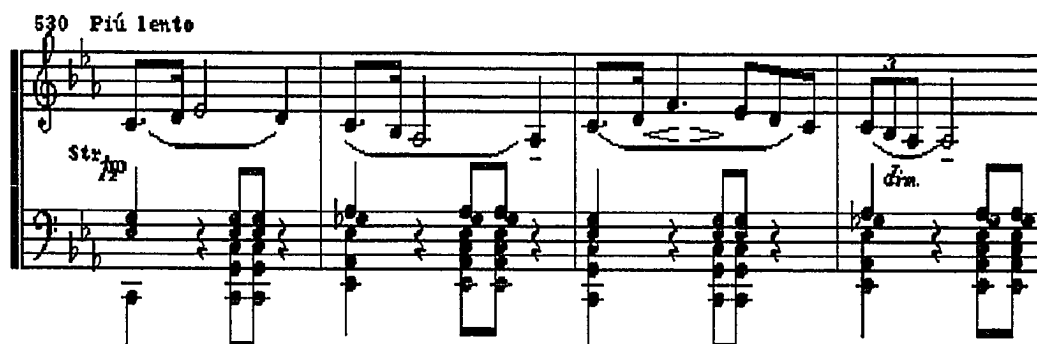
After the reprise of the main section of the dance episode, a new dance tune not based on the funeral-march motive begins.

Without reference to the program, it is not easy to guess what has been described so far. The work opened with an expression of grief in the form of a funeral march. (Probably, someone has died.) This march is immediately followed by a second march, similar in key and tempo, but more traditional in its structure and orchestration, save for the laughter-like intrusions after each phrase. (Perhaps someone is mocking the funeral, perhaps the funeral itself was faked.) An intrusion in the form of distant trumpet music (a distraction?) is heard. The funeral march returns and is transformed into a series of joyful dances, finally abandoning any motivic connections to the funeral march. (A celebration takes place in which the feigned grief is forgotten.) The program for this much of the piece is: a woman is burying her husband whom she poisoned; she meets a young man and marries him; the wedding is celebrated.

In the conclusion of the piece, the new dance episode is suddenly halted by a string tremolo. Above the strings flutes trill while the harp plays high repeated-note figures. An oboe imitates a bird call (the wild dove of the title?). Except for the string tremolo the music is predominantly that of a conventional pastoral scene. The theme

from the second, insincere funeral march ominously intrudes upon the scene. The pastoral scene is gradually obliterated as both the first and second funeral-march themes interweave and move towards the climax of the piece, in which the full orchestra sounds the opening measures of the second funeral march in C minor. The climax ends with a long descending passage followed by a few strokes of the timpani. After a short pause, the first funeral-march theme quietly returns; the second funeral-march theme follows, divested of its former parodistic accompaniment (Ex.9.30):

Example 9.30. Dvořák, The Wild Dove, mm.530-3.



In the coda the pastoral music and the two march themes are heard again; they gradually dissolve into the pastoral music alone, without the oboe calls--the wild dove is silent.

The continuation of the program tells us that the widow is driven to suicide by guilt, symbolized by the call of the wild dove over the grave of her first husband. It would be obvious to a fairly attentive listener even on first hearing that in the end the second funeral march has been trans-

formed into an expression of grief rather than a mockery, that the sound of the bird in the first pastoral section is absent from the final measures, and that the piece has reached a point of resolution. However, there are aspects of the program that even the most attentive listener could not possibly guess. For example, without the program one would never know that a murder took place, that the murderer was a woman, that she had stabbed her husband, or, unless Dvořák's ornithological knowledge was as complete as Messiaen's, that the birdcalls were those of a wild dove. In this sense, the music tells much less than the program. In another sense, the music tells more.

The opening funeral march implies that the deceased was respected. The mocking laughter in the second funeral march succinctly says a great deal about the character of the wife, and the transformation of the funeral-march theme into a dance expresses the change of the wife's attitude most effectively. The presence of the funeral-march motive throughout the dance depicts the pervasiveness of lingering guilt in a few minutes of music as tellingly as any novelist (Zola and Dostoevsky, notwithstanding). While the program can tell us of the accusatory tone of the wild dove's song, the oboe captures the tone with an eerie precision. The music, however, tells these things only in conjunction with the program. Without the program, what the music tells us is that there is a program.

The existence of a program is, of course, suggested by the title of the work. The confirmation of this, however, is established by the music. In The Wild Dove the programmatic nature of the work is declared at the moment in the second funeral march when the laughter figure first occurs. This figure is a sign that the funeral march has moved beyond the "horizon of expectation" which traditionally accompanies the recognition of the genre. Establishing this horizon was the function of the first march. The second march moves beyond it to form a narrative contract with the listener. In this contract, the listener "agrees" to interpret the work with reference to an extra-musical narrative. A funeral march, or any genre, in such a context will be subject to interpretation in light of that narrative and at the same time communicate aspects of the program.

Programmatic and Absolute Music

At this point it might be necessary to differentiate between the narrative of programmatic music and that of absolute music. The musical analogues of the plot and the fabula of a literary narrative were distinguished by Leo Treitler as

two intertwined processes: on the one hand the underlying patterns of conventional genres and implicit constraints arising from the grammar of style (harmony, voice-leading, and so on), and on the other the progressive interpretation of these

determinants through the unfolding of the work in time.⁴¹

In a piece of program music, the first of these processes is controlled by the program: musical devices in the form of genres, musical imitation, musical metaphors, etc., which correspond to events of the program's plot, are used to re-tell elements of that plot. But the plot and the fabula of the program's narrative are separated, and the re-telling of the plot of the program is transformed into a musical narrative. Even in works which have a very close correspondence with the fabula of the program, Strauss's Don Quixote or Elgar's Falstaff, for example, a form, that is, a paradigmatic musical narrative, has been skillfully modified to fit the program--in Strauss's work, theme and variations, in Elgar's, sonata form. While some of Liszt's symphonic poems are constructed in this same way, others rely on the fabula of the program. Hamlet and Mazeppa, for example, make little sense without reference to their programs. Dvořák's The Wild Dove is an example of this second type of symphonic poem.

When the funeral march appears in a work of absolute music, no narrative contract is formed because the work does not move beyond the horizon of expectation. The funeral march maintains its traditional march and trio form, or

41. Leo Treitler, "Mozart and the Idea of Absolute Music," Music and the Historical Imagination (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 190.

operates within the formal constraints of the surrounding work. Musical forms are paradigmatic musical narratives and unless overridden by suggestions of the presence of an extra-musical narrative are interpreted as such. Thus, the funeral march in the heroic symphony is not programmatic. It conforms to the constraints of the paradigmatic narrativity of the symphony. The model of the heroic symphony in the second half of the century is clearly Beethoven's "Eroica." The funeral march in Dvořák's Symphony No. 3, in conforming to the tradition of the heroic symphony, is following this model. The development section that connects the trio with the reprise of the march is indicative of the relationship to Beethoven.

In Joachim Raff's Symphony No. 6 in D minor, written in 1873, the connection with the heroic symphony is established by the third movement, a *marche funèbre*, and by the inscription accompanying the symphony: "Gelebt, gestrebt, gelitten, gestritten, gestorben, umworden." This motto is essentially an elaboration of the word "heroic." The funeral march, which presumably represents "gestorben," opens with a surprisingly conservative theme (Ex.9.31):⁴²

42. Joachim Raff, Symphonie No. 6, D moll, Op. 189 (Berlin: E. Bote and G. Bock, 1874).

Example 9.31. Raff, Symphony No. 6 in D minor, *Marcia funebre*, mm.6-9.



Raff, it will be remembered, was the orchestrator of the first version of *Héroïde funèbre*, a task which seems to have had little influence on his own music. Beethoven's influence in the funeral march of this symphony is particularly striking in the double fugue that follows the trio and in the long pedal point that leads back to the march theme.

A number of commentators have noted that the slow movement of Bruckner's Fourth Symphony resembles a funeral march.⁴³ Certainly the appearance of a C-minor slow movement with a march-like rhythm in a symphony in E-flat would suggest that, and the first theme of the movement does allude to the genre, if only in the process of establishing a tragic tone. This is not surprising: most symphonies of the second half of the nineteenth century are to some extent heroic symphonies. The triumphant conclusion, for example,

43. See, for example, Derek Watson, *Bruckner* (London: J.M. Dent, 1975), 108; Ernst Decsey, *Bruckner: eine Lebensgeschichte* (Berlin: Max Hesse, 1930), 199; Erwin Doernberg, *The Life and Symphonies of Anton Bruckner* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1960), 152.

in a symphony of this period is a commonplace. These same works inevitably descend to a tragic low point that indeed might occasionally resemble a funeral march. This is clearly the case in the Tchaikovsky symphonies discussed in this chapter as well as in the slow movement of Bruckner's Sixth Symphony, in which the third thematic group distinctly calls to mind a funeral march (Ex.9.33):⁴⁴

Example 9.32. Bruckner, Symphony No. 6, Adagio, mm.53-6.

To summarize the use of the funeral march in the late nineteenth century, four functions of the genre may be distinguished: first, the funeral march as part of a program, usually that of a symphonic poem; second, as a traditional element in the heroic symphony where its form and function resemble that of the funeral march of the "Eroica"

44. Anton Bruckner, *VI Symphonie, A-Dur, Originalfassung*, ed. Leopold Novak (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag der Internationalen Bruckner-Gesellschaft, 1952).

Symphony; third, in the paradigmatic juxtaposition of the funeral march and triumph; and fourth, as a section of a movement of a piece, i.e., as a tragic element within the discourse of a larger work. In each of these last three cases, the funeral march's programmatic potential is constrained either by tradition or by the paradigmatic narrative of the surrounding work.

The arguments concerning the merits of programmatic music and the relationship of programs to absolute music were among the better-known aesthetic arguments of the late nineteenth century. When the arguments became irrelevant, they just faded away, unresolved. In the twentieth century the discussion of programmatic and absolute music became particularly relevant to the study of the music of Gustav Mahler. Mahler, who, like Liszt, used the *marche funèbre* with great frequency and often with striking originality, will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter X

MAHLER AND THE FUNERAL MARCH

In 1939 British music critic Neville Cardus remarked that Mahler "often not only conducted but composed from memory."¹ Cardus, who later became an avid proponent of Mahler's music, never, as far as I know, recanted that statement, and indeed, in spite of its faintly denigrating intent, there is an element of truth as well as humor to that criticism. Occasionally in the works of Mahler a melody from a song written earlier appears in a later symphonic movement in a half-remembered state, some phrases varied slightly, some dropped or reversed in order, as if Mahler had not looked at the original song for years. On a smaller level, sections of themes often change in a seemingly arbitrary manner, a dot suddenly appearing on a particular note, an interval enlarged by a half-step, or a few notes of a motive inverted. In the third movement of the Third Symphony, the thematic material seems to be in a constant state of change. We hear a sequence of permutations of an initial idea that seems random and which in fact causes us to forget which is the original idea, which the

1. Neville Cardus, Cardus on Music, ed. Donald Wright (London: Cardinal, 1988), 156.

permutation. Of the famous post-horn solo, it is hard to say where the theme begins and ends, or, for that matter, what exactly is the theme and what are the variations.

These varied repetitions occur on a larger level as well. A recapitulation often seems to be written without looking back at the exposition. Much of the material is treated in a fresh manner, sometimes in a new order. A section of a previous movement or perhaps a brief reference to an earlier symphony may make a fleeting appearance.

On yet another level, this "memory" also recalls the forms and genres of the past century and probably plays a great role in creating the poignantly recollective tone that Mahler attains in much of his work. At a time when most Mahler literature accepts and considers the composer as a modernist very much a part of twentieth-century music, I would like to consider Mahler as a nineteenth-century musician. While acknowledging the dual role which he obviously plays with respect to modernism--that role frequently ascribed to a turn-of-the-century artist in which the artist's feet are planted in different centuries--I would like to make that stance slightly more awkward by suggesting that Mahler's head is turned toward the nineteenth. In the nine completed symphonies, Mahler draws upon and at times summarizes the use of many of the forms, genres, and techniques of nineteenth-century instrumental music. An outstanding feature of Mahler's work is his frequent use of the funeral

march; consequently, a discussion of these works may be able to summarize not just the funeral march in the nineteenth century but this dissertation as well.

Mahler's view of the relationship between his life and his work was recorded in the memoirs of Natalie Bauer-Lechner. This report is referred to or quoted in studies of Mahler with such frequency that one might say it has become a tradition. This study will maintain that tradition:

"I have already thought a great deal," said Mahler, "about what I ought to call my symphony, so as to give some hint of its subject in its title, and, in a word at least, to comment on my purpose. But let it be called just 'Symphony' and nothing more! For titles like 'Symphonic Poem' are already hackneyed and say nothing in particular; they make one think of Liszt's compositions, in which, without any deeper underlying connection, each movement paints its own picture. My two symphonies contain the inner aspect of my whole life; I have written into them everything that I have experienced and endured. . . ."²

This passage has caused many critics to leap to two conclusions about Mahler's work, little taking into account the precarious stance achieved by their leaps. The first conclusion concerns the "subject" of Mahler's symphonies: that there is a subject to a symphony and therefore a program that can be unveiled. The second is that this program is autobiographical and can be uncovered by taking various statements that Mahler made in reference to a work as a clue to the program, or by finding scenarios in Mahler's life

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2. Natalie Bauer-Lechner, Recollections of Gustav Mahler, trans. Dika Newlin, ed. Peter Franklin (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 30.

analogous to entire works, whole movements, or even single measures.³ Thus, one of the "subjects" of the Sixth Symphony is Alma Mahler, and the two (or three) hammer blows in the symphony are specific tragedies in Mahler's life.

Mahler's frequent juxtaposition of the banal and the sublime refers to the story which he related during his famous appointment with Freud.⁴

There have of course been other, considerably different views of Mahler's work. David B. Greene's analysis of the symphonies in light of twentieth-century phenomenology, especially the work of Heidegger, is impressive but seems at times to result in that particularly prevalent phenomenon in recent musical analysis in which the exegesis of a work is far more complex than the work itself.⁵ Adorno's study of Mahler is remarkable in its ability to move directly to the most important features of the music although its interpretation of them in terms of a Marxist-Hegelian dialectic of the individual and society, like Greene's work, is extreme-

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3. Vera Micznik discusses this problem in reference to the Ninth Symphony in "Is Mahler's Music Autobiographical? A Reappraisal," Revue Mahler Review I/2 (1987), 47-63.
 4. Mahler told Freud of an incident from his childhood in which he ran from his home to escape a violent argument between his mother and father and encountered a barrel-organist playing "Ach, du lieber Augustin." See Henry-Louis de La Grange, Mahler, Vol. I (New York: Doubleday, 1973), 21. Hereafter, LMI.
 5. David B. Greene, Mahler: Consciousness and Temporality (New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1984).

ly, and perhaps needlessly, complex.⁶ In his three-volume study of Mahler, Constantin Floros begins with the assumption that Mahler's symphonies are assuredly programmatic.⁷ His cataloging of the various types of music that come together to form a Mahler symphony is a significant contribution to Mahler criticism whether or not one accepts the programmatic interpretations that result from his discussion. These authors are similar to each other in that they are all concerned with the meaning of Mahler's work. While it is impossible within the scope of a chapter of a dissertation to discuss the meaning of Mahler's symphonies, I would like to discuss the role of the funeral march in Mahler's music as a contribution to the ongoing study of the content, subject, and meaning of his work, and also to suggest that the work of Mahler may be much more direct than some explications have suggested.

Mahler's earliest composition was a "Polka with Introductory Funeral March" written at the age of six. While it seems odd that a child would write such a work, the simple repetitive accompaniment figures of both genres, one slow, one fast, allow at least a technical rationale for the choices. This early work has been lost, but Mahler's aware-

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6. Theodor W. Adorno, Mahler: eine musikalische Physiognomik, Gesammelte Werke, 23 vols., ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1970-), XIII.
 7. Constantin Floros, Gustav Mahler, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1977).

ness of the communicative power of the funeral march may be glimpsed in his first major extant work, Das klagende Lied, completed in 1880. In the original version, the work, a cantata for soloists, chorus, and orchestra, consisted of three movements. The text is by Mahler and is based on a folk tale by Ludwig Bechstein.

The first movement, "Waldmärchen," tells the story of two brothers who, both seeking the hand of the queen, go into the forest in search of the rose that will win her. The younger brother finds the rose, but as he sleeps the older brother kills him and steals the flower. The younger brother's body remains buried under the leaves in the forest. In the second movement, "Der Spielmann," a minstrel makes a flute from a bone he finds in the forest. When played, it tells the story of the murder. In the final section, "Hochzeitstück," the minstrel plays the flute at the wedding of the queen and the older brother with predictable results.

Mahler was dissatisfied with the first section of the work and suppressed it. In dropping this first section--almost half of the work--the comprehensibility of the plot was not severely threatened: the voice of the murdered brother, singing through the minstrel's flute, tells the tale of the murder quite adequately. The music of the first part had, however, established the tragic tone of the work and conjured up the eeriness of the forest into which the

minstrel enters. Mahler must have been confident that the opening of the second movement could supply these now missing dramatic elements. The movement opens with a brief funeral march. The march is in C minor and is immediately recognizable from the muted timpani and the march accompaniment in the lower strings (Ex.10.1):⁸

Example 10.1. Mahler, Das klagende Lied, "Der Spielmann," opening measures.

The march, only 48 measures long, is followed by a pastoral section depicting the calm of the forest. The juxtaposition of this forest music with that of the funeral march captures the same tension and mood that the original first section had supplied.

The rhythmic and motivic elements of Mahler's funeral marches are traditional in the sense that they use the generic characteristics common to the marches of the first

8. Gustav Mahler, Sämtliche Werke: kritische Gesamtausgabe, ed. Internationale Gustave Mahler Gesellschaft (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1960-), XII, 3.

half of the nineteenth century. The communicative power of these elements is used nowhere more effectively than in the fourth song of the Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen, "Die zwei blauen Augen." Here the opening two measures immediately cast a funereal tone over the simple words of the beginning of the poem, a poem which mourns a loss without ever specifically referring to death (Ex.10.2):⁹

Example 10.2. Mahler, "Die zwei blauen Augen," opening measures.

Alla Marcia.
Durchaus mit geheimnisvoll schwermütigen Ausdruck

Die zwei blau-en Au - gen von mei-nem Schatz,

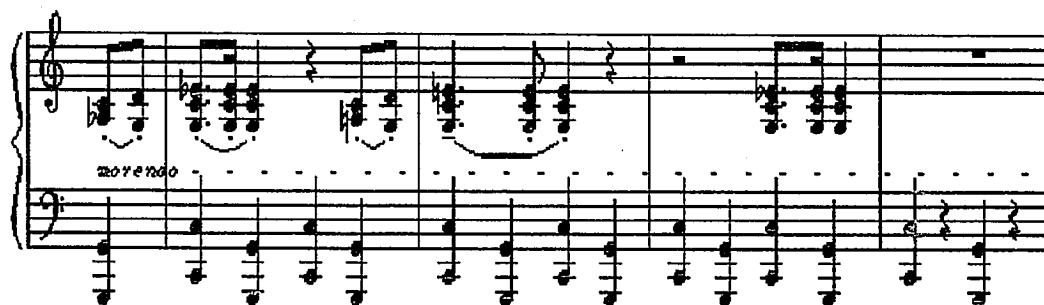
These first few measures of the song consist of two gestures which together form an archetype of the nineteenth-century funeral march. The dotted-rhythmic figure of the first

9. Gustav Mahler, Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen (New York: International Music, 1950), 20.

gesture is expanded in the second gesture into the conventional cadential figure of the funeral march. The immediate rise from the tonic to the mediant degree of the scale falls back to the tonic with the second gesture and rises again. The first rise is harmonized in the manner of a conventional military signal, the second with the conventional mourning figure, flat-six to five. The momentary silence between the two gestures in conjunction with the lack of any introduction to the song isolates the opening gesture. In the silence which follows the first gesture, there is the possibility that the funeral march will not continue. The second gesture creates a similar possibility but, because of the funeral-march cadence, even more strongly. But the funeral-march gestures continue to intrude upon the song even as the poem's persona attempts to escape the sadness. The alternation of major and minor, a trait frequently encountered in Mahler's music, plays a particularly important role in this song. An expressive use of this alternation comes at the end of the second section when the funeral march gesture is repeated in the major, its dotted rhythm softened by augmentation. On the third beat of the next measure it unexpectedly turns back to the minor, as if forecasting the inevitable return of sorrow (Ex.10.3):¹⁰

10. Ibid., 22.

Example 10.3. Mahler, "Die zwei blauen Augen," mm.33-36.



In the third section of the song, rest comes at last to the lamenting wayfarer. If the funeral march appears to have gone away, it is not very far: the rhythm of the march gesture in its augmented form is present throughout the section. The song ends with the comforting assurance that all is well again; as the final chord approaches, the funeral-march gestures of the opening are heard one last time.

The text of the song is a fairly routine example of a poem about lost love. Many of the images of the song, from the lover's two blue eyes to the linden tree, are familiar from the dozens of German lyrics that have used them before. The music, however, casts a funereal veil over the song and raises a question. We know from the previous songs of the cycle that the persona of the song is a rejected suitor--in the first song his beloved has married someone else. The song is therefore not a song about the death of a loved one. Is the accompaniment then informing the listener that the persona of the song dies of grief? Is the song, as Deryck Cooke says, about "death the comforter," or does the song close, as La Grange hears it, "in an atmosphere of serene

and hopeful resignation?"¹¹ The answer to the question lies in whether the accompaniment of the song is seen as the composer's personal explication of a text, or, to use Edward Cone's words, as "a subconscious level underlying--and lying under--whatever thoughts and emotions are expressed by the words."¹²

If the wayfarer died at the end of the cycle, Mahler would have probably placed the most emphatic statement of the funeral march at the end, not at the beginning of the song. But although the funeral-march gestures appear throughout the song, suffusing the song with the image of death, the gestures grow less distinct as the song progresses.¹³ The vocal line gradually grows farther away from the death motive and in the last verse rises above it, both in its range and its tonality, F major, finally descending and coming to rest on the major third of the key. The major-minor alternation of the funeral march represents the wayfarer's choice--life or death--and the decision is clearly indicated by the vocal line. The return of the funeral march at the end symbolizes the death of the sorrow that the wayfarer felt, and in this sense, death is a symbol of the

11. Deryck Cooke, Gustav Mahler: An Introduction to His Music, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 30; LMI, 745.

12. Edward T. Cone, The Composer's Voice (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), 35.

13. Compare, for example, the incessant funeral march that runs through Mahler's "Der Tambours'g'sell."

transition of the wayfarer from a state of agitation to one of rest. Thus, the funeral march functions in two ways in this song. First, it represents the physical state of the wayfarer: despondent over his rejection, he is walking slowly, dragging his feet; significantly, when he stops to rest, the march disappears. Secondly, it is a symbol of transition from one human condition to another. When Mahler used the music of the third section of this song in the trio of the funeral march of his First Symphony, he used it in a march which also works in a transitional manner.

The First Symphony

The First Symphony was premiered in 1889. For this first performance, no program was provided, and in fact, the symphony's five movements were divided into two parts, the second part beginning with a funeral march entitled "A la pompes funèbres." The entire work was called "Symphonic Poem in Two Parts."¹⁴ In 1893, Mahler conducted the work in Hamburg and provided brief titles for each movement as well as for the two larger subdivisions, "Aus den Tagen der Jugend" and "Commedia humana." The symphony itself was now called "Titan." Between the 1889 premiere and the 1899 publication of the score, five sets of titles for the move-

14. The original program of the concert is reproduced in Donald Mitchell, Gustav Mahler: The Wunderhorn Years (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 148.

ments were devised and the title of the symphony was dropped, taken back, and finally abandoned along with all programmatic references.¹⁵

The symphony is a fusion of two types of characteristic symphony: the pastoral and the heroic symphony. The transition from one to the other is accomplished in the funeral march. The first movement opens with an introduction marked "wie ein Naturlaut." The pastoral elements of the work are instantly apparent in the cuckoo calls, but of equal importance are the distant fanfares of the clarinets and trumpets. These fanfares have been generally interpreted as military calls. However, Alexander Ringer, in his study of the *chasse*, identifies these as the D-major triplets of traditional hunting calls. Ringer writes that Mahler,

although employing the key of D major and triplet rhythms, disregards the past completely by assigning the fanfares to the trumpets rather than the horns. This radical break with an established symbol was quite conscious; for Mahler obviously wished to emphasize the parallel between hunting and warfare. For the animals who are the symbolic heroes as well as the victims of this movement the consequences of the hunt are certainly identical with those man inflicts upon himself, i.e. through warfare.¹⁶

Ringer's observation that there is more of the hunt in these calls than of the military is most insightful. The mixing

15. Ibid., 158-159.

16. Alexander L. Ringer, La Chasse: Historical and Analytical Bibliography of a Musical Genre (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1955), 349.

of the military sound of the trumpet with the *sonneries* of the hunt creates an ambiguity which Mahler takes advantage of in the last movement. The horns participate in later repeats of the fanfares, eventually introducing a theme in which a nineteenth-century audience would have certainly heard the sound of an operatic hunting chorus, especially the immensely popular one from the third act of Der Freischütz (Ex.10.4):

Example 10.4. Mahler, Symphony No. 1, 1st movement, mm.210-216, horn parts.



It is this same hunter's theme that expels the ominous tone of the second half of the development as it ushers in the recapitulation. In the famous restatement of the fanfare that precedes this theme, so aptly described by Adorno as a "ripping of the veil" ("das Zerreißen des Schleiers"),¹⁷ the hunt which was heard in the distance earlier in the movement appears as if from nowhere with an almost visual impact. This is of course the point in the first movement of the symphony from which a programmatic interpretation will derive its most convincing evidence. From a formal point of view, however, the return of previously heard

17. Adorno, Mahler, 153.

material at the climax of the development is hardly unusual. The recapitulation which follows is so matter-of-fact, even hasty, in its repeat of the materials of the exposition, that it preempts any programmatic insinuations which the previous sections of the movement may have made.

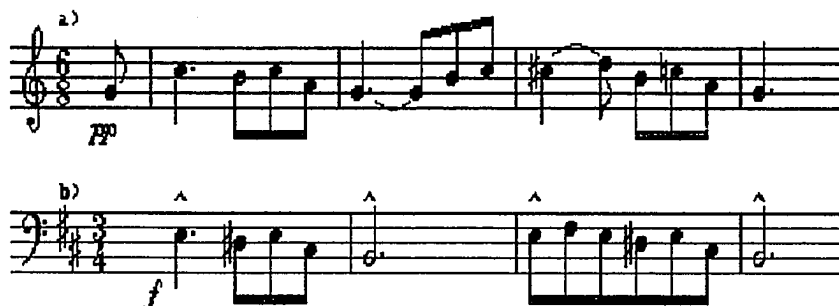
The movement follows a tradition of characteristic symphonies which incorporate the hunt with the pastorate. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, works such as Spohr's Ninth Symphony ("The Seasons"), Raff's Symphony No. 3 ("Im Walde," in which the last movement bears the description: "Nachts. Stilles Weben der Nacht im Walde, Einzug und Auszug der Wilden Jagd, Anbruch des Tages"), and the "Rustic Wedding" Symphony of Goldmark would have prepared audiences for the variation on the pastoral symphony which Mahler offered in the first movement of the First Symphony. In fact, at its premiere, the audience and the critics had no problem with the first part of the symphony. The first part also included the "Blumine" movement, which was later rejected, and a scherzo in the style of a Ländler.

"Blumine" is a somewhat sentimental movement in the manner of a character piece, perhaps, as the title suggests, a "Blumenstück."¹⁸ Deryck Cooke writes of this movement: "Although its C-major tonality is explicable as an early

18. The title "Blumine" was taken, according to La Grange, from the "title given by Jean Paul to a collection of magazine articles, the first volume of which was published in 1810 in Tübingen, 'Herbst-Blumine oder gesammelte Werkchen.'" LM1, 752.

example of [Mahler's] unorthodox key-switches between movements, it cannot belong, since it ignores the other movements' preoccupation with the interval of the perfect fourth."¹⁹ However, not only is the perfect fourth an important part of the main theme of the movement but the theme is also motivically connected to the third movement (Ex.10.5):

Example 10.5. Mahler, Symphony No. 1. Themes from (a) the "Blumine" movement and (b) the Scherzo.



The two movements which follow the opening movement in the original version continue the essential argument of the first part of the symphony. The hunt, both the distant sound of it in the opening landscape and the startling close-up of it in the middle of the movement, injects a human element into the pastorate. The two following movements balance these two elements by juxtaposing a nature-piece, the "Blumine" movement, with a "human" piece, a

19. Cooke, op. cit., 34.

simple, rural dance. This balance is maintained in the funeral march.

In the Hamburg program, when all five movements acquired brief subtitles, the fourth movement, the funeral march, was also supplied with a long paragraph further explaining the program of the movement. Perhaps this only made things more complex: instead of "Todtenmarsch in Callots Manier," the movement now also bore the subtitle "Gestrandet!" And rather than explaining "in Callots Manier," the additional information brought up the etching of the "Hunter's Funeral" and proceeded to describe its relationship to the music. Because Mahler was unsure of the program and the program was neither there to begin with nor, after many trials, there in the end, it would seem that the specific details of the program should be disregarded.

If the theme of the *marche funèbre* is examined as a funeral-march theme rather than as a minor-key version of a familiar song, the theme reveals a strong connection with tradition. The harmonic stasis of the funeral march has never been taken so far. The timpani and basses play an ostinato through the entire first section of the march. The theme rises to the mediant degree and returns to the tonic. Mahler even adds the passing note in the descent forming the 3-2-1 melodic motion characteristic of the funeral march. A dotted rhythm does not enter until the fifth measure of the theme, but because this is a canon, after its repetition at

m.13, it is present in every measure of the body of the march. The dotted rhythm is further emphasized by the oboe counterpoint. The theme itself is connected to the main themes of the first movement (Ex.10.6):

Example 10.6. Mahler, Symphony No. 1, comparison of the funeral-march theme with the main theme of the first movement.



Many of the themes of the symphony have a common antecedent in the descending fourth and the ascent from the tonic to the fifth in the main theme of the first movement. The "Bohemian band music" that follows the march includes a parody of these motivic connections that occur throughout the symphony. The parody, like the first-movement theme, "Bruder Martin," and other themes of the symphony, ascends to the fifth with a brief stopover at the third of the scale (Ex.10.7):²⁰

20. Mahler, Sämtliche Werke, I.

Example 10.7. Themes from Mahler's First Symphony.



But the band music begins with a theme that has no connection with anything else heard in the symphony. The whole section is in fact intentionally intrusive. When the funeral march returns, its entrance is so imperceptible that it appears to have been present throughout the intrusion. This effect is heightened by the omission of the first two measures of the theme of the canon. After the calm of the trio, the various elements of the march return. The canon is now in E-flat minor and a new counterpoint played by two trumpets virtually obscures it; the band plays the parody theme and the canon slips back to D minor but as it does it comes into conflict with the band themes and is dragged along in a new tempo. A new counterpoint to the funeral march is combined with a new band theme. After the conflict, the movement ends quietly but all that is left of

"Bruder Martin" is the counterpoint and the timpani ostinato.

The funeral march is connected to the pastoral movements of the symphony by the simple, folk-like tunes which it uses and through the quiet, static D minor of the opening section which refers back to the beginning of the symphony. The inclusion of new material, that is, material not motivationally connected to previous movements, prepares the listener for the finale which at first presents strikingly new material in the unrelated key of F minor. And the collision of the funeral-march theme with the band themes introduces the element of conflict essential to the finale.

In the finale, the roles of the pastorale and the heroic are reversed. The ominous passages which threatened the pastorale of the first movement are subdued by the pastorale in the last movement. The ambiguous fanfares of the introduction interpreted as hunting calls in the first movement are military fanfares in the last.

Programmatic interpretations of this first symphony are for the most part based on Mahler's remarks to Natalie Bauer-Lechner concerning the hero of the symphony. In these remarks, Mahler discusses the hero's relationship to the "Blumine" movement and the funeral march, a connection which is presumed to mean that it is possible to trace the hero's passage through the five movements of the work.²¹ There

21. Bauer-Lechner, op. cit., 158.

are statements by Mahler, however, that seem to imply the opposite. In a letter to the music critic Max Marschalk, Mahler wrote:

As regards the third movement ("Marcia funebre"), I must admit that my inspiration came from the well-known nursery-picture ("The Burial of the Huntsman").--But at this point in the work it is irrelevant--what matters is only the mood that has to be expressed, the mood from which the fourth movement suddenly flashes like lightning out of a thundercloud.²²

Mahler's original title for the work, "Symphonic Poem," followed by no further explanation, is unprecedented. It implies that the subject of the work may be the symphonic poem itself or that the work behaves like a symphonic poem and yet has no specific program. Mahler's vacillation concerning a specific program also suggests that he was undecided about what that program was.

Formally, the work varies only slightly from the traditional symphony. Sonata form is clearly outlined in the two outer movements, for example, and the inner movements rely on simple symmetrical forms. Its original five movements call to mind two other five-movement works, the Beethoven "Pastorale" and Berlioz's "Symphonie fantastique." These references however do not answer the question about the program. The most unusual feature of the symphony is that, within the traditional forms of the movements, different genres or

22. Gustav Mahler, Selected Letters, ed. Knud Martner, trans. E. Wilkins, E. Kaiser, and B. Hopkins (New York: Farrar. Strauss, Giroux, 1979), 178.

sections of music which suggest distinct characteristic interpretations are juxtaposed or situated at important structural points. These sections, like devices that are associated with the narrative contract of program music, often seem to imply extra-musical significance.

If the purpose of a program is, as Liszt stated, to direct "the attention of the listener, not only to the woven pattern of the music, but also to the ideas communicated by its contours and successions,"²³ then Mahler's "heroic" program for this symphony is inadequate. Mahler's characterization of the opening of the finale as a thunderbolt could lead to the interpretation of the program of the last movement as a thunderstorm, a reading which would work well with the pastorage of the earlier part of the symphony. Moreover, the key of the first half of the finale and the rapid figurations in the strings recall the storm in Beethoven's "Pastorage." The feelings at the end of the storm become, in late nineteenth-century translation, a triumph rather than a thanksgiving. Mahler once said of his audience:

They are already so corrupted by programme music . . . that they are no longer capable of understanding a work simply as a piece of music! This disastrously mistaken attitude stems from Liszt and Berlioz. They, at least, were talented, and gained new means of expression in this way. But

23. Cited in Oliver Strunk, comp., Source Readings in Music History (New York: W.W. Norton, 1950), 871.

now that we have these means at hand, who needs the crutches any more?²⁴

Mahler was dealing with the problem of programmatic versus absolute music by composing a work which was neither and yet both. Many programs are possible; none is the program. The First Symphony, in its use of programmatic techniques, takes into account the audience's tendency to treat all instrumental music as program music. The program which Mahler devised a few years after its first performance was but one possible program of many. After he dropped all programmatic references, Mahler wrote to Max Marschalk:

At the time [the 1893 Hamburg performance] my friends persuaded me to write some sort of programme notes for the symphony to make the D major easier to understand. So I worked out the title and these explanatory notes retrospectively. My reason for omitting them this time [1896] was not only that I thought them quite inadequate--in fact, not even accurate or relevant--but that I have experienced the way audiences have been set upon the wrong track by them. Believe me, even Beethoven's symphonies have their inner programmes, and closer acquaintance with such a work brings understanding of the development of feeling appropriate to the ideas. It will eventually be the same with my works.²⁵

The funeral march was at its time and remains the most controversial movement of the First Symphony. Paul Bekker wrote: "In the German symphony a piece of such a demonic character had not been written since the Scherzo of Beetho-

24. Bauer-Lechner, op. cit., 184.

25. Mahler, Letters, 177.

ven's Fifth."²⁶ Bekker added that one must look to Berlioz, particularly in "The March to the Scaffold," for music of this type. One might also look to Liszt.

It is probably because Mahler voiced his dislike of Liszt that comparisons of his work and Liszt's are avoided. Constantin Floros, however, points out at least one strong similarity between the two:

Marches and march-like sections appear in most symphonic poems. We mention in particular Hungaria, Liszt's tribute to the Hungarian nation, only because this work may allow a typology of Liszt's march music to be formulated. Hungaria presents no fewer than three different types of march movements: the *Andante marziale*, the *marcia funebre* (at letter M), and the *Allegro marziale* (letter N). . . . Those who know Mahler's music should not be surprised by the connection: the three march types associated with Liszt apply equally well to Mahler's march music.²⁷

Floros's typology is particularly relevant to the opening movement of Mahler's Second Symphony.

26. Paul Bekker, Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien (Berlin: Schuster and Loeffler, 1921), 54. "Ein Stück derart dämonischen Charakters war in der deutschen Sinfonie nicht geschrieben worden seit dem Scherzo von Beethovens Fünfter."

27. Floros, Mahler, II, 138-140. "Märsche und märschähnliche Abschnitte kommen in den meisten symphonischen Dichtungen vor. Nennen wir zuerst Hungaria, Liszts symphonischen Tribut an das Ungartum, so nur, weil sich an diese Werk eine Typologie Lisztscher Marschmusik entwickeln lässt. Hungaria präsentiert nicht weniger als drei verschiedene Typen von Marschsätzen: das *Andante marziale*, die *Marcia funebre* (bei M), und das *Allegro marziale* (bei N). . . . Den Kenner Mahlerscher Musik dürfte jetzt die Konstatierung nicht überraschen, dass die drei besprochenen Marschtypen Liszts auch für Mahlers Marschmusik volle Gültigkeit besitzen."

The Second and Third Symphonies

La Grange calls the first movement of the Second Symphony "a worthy counterpart of other great funeral marches, such as the second movement of Beethoven's 'Eroica' or Siegfried's funeral march in *Die Götterdämmerung*."²⁸ The tempo marking "Allegro maestoso" makes it difficult, however, to hear this as a funeral march. The opening theme of the movement is indeed a march but its tempo and its frequent driving motion belong to the *Allegro marziale* rather than the funeral march. Indeed, the movement is the first significant example of an important element in Mahler's music, the minor-key fast-step march. The funeral-march motives which abound in the work help to create the threatening quality that pervades this march and similar marches in later works, e.g. the first movement of the Sixth Symphony.

Surprisingly, it is La Grange who offers a piece of evidence that strikes a strong blow against calling the first movement of this symphony a funeral march. The 1888 version of the movement was conceived as a single-movement symphonic poem called "Totenfeier." The title came from a translation of Adam Mickiewicz's poem *Dziady* by Mahler's friend Siegfried Lipiner. La Grange writes:

. . . Lipiner defines "Totenfeier" as "a feast that is still held by people in many provinces of Lithuania, Prussia and Kurlandia. . . . These

28. LMI, 788.

rites are still performed in chapels and deserted houses, not far from the cemetery." The funeral feast was, therefore, a very pagan ceremony, springing from man's ancient belief that banquets in honor of the dead can soothe them and better their condition.²⁹

The rituals which Lipiner describes and those which La Grange infers from the original poem have little to do with the funeral march. However, Mahler himself did not refer to Mickiewicz's poem when he later devised programs for the symphony. For the 1896 program, he described the first movement as depicting the struggles and defeats of a hero, ending finally with his death. In the 1900 program he wrote: "We are standing near the grave of a well-loved man. His whole life, his struggles, his sufferings and his accomplishments on earth pass before us. . . ." ³⁰ Both of these programs, as well as Lipiner's title for the Mickiewicz poem, are related to death but each approaches it from a different direction. As with the programs of the First Symphony, each program seems possible but none of the elements of these programs relates to the music more specifically than another.

The passage at the beginning of the coda of the first movement strongly resembles a funeral march (Ex.10.8):³¹

29. LMI, 780-81.

30. LMI, 785.

31. Mahler, Werke, II, 49.

Example 10.8. Mahler, Symphony No. 2, 1st movement,
mm.397-402.

In his performing copy of the score, Mahler marked this passage, "Im Tempo eines Trauermarsches."³² The chromatic bass ostinato, the rising figure in the brass, and the crescendo, recalling the coda of the first movement of Beethoven's Ninth, create a funeral march which effectively sums up the mood of the movement. The Symphony itself is about the resurrection of the dead. The war-like features of the first movement fit in with the vision of the end of the world found in the Apocalypse. The so-called "Dies Irae" theme, which dominates the first and last movements of the symphony, further promotes the religious interpretation of the symphony's subject, an interpretation from which the funeral march has traditionally separated itself.

For the Third Symphony Mahler originally devised a program and, as with the First Symphony, later suppressed it. Mahler apparently planned the program of this symphony

32. LM1, 787.

while composing it, but the program changed many times in the process.³³ At the work's first performance in 1902 the titles of the movements were supplied to the audience. The first movement was called "Summer Marches In," but Mahler had at other times tried the titles "Pan Awakes" and "What the Mountains Tell Me." After the opening horn passage, a funeral march begins (Ex.10.9):³⁴

Example 10.9. Mahler, Symphony No. 3, 1st movement, mm.27-31.

27 *Schwer und dumpf*

(Bass drum omitted)

Str. *ff* *3*

Bsn. C. Bsn. *tr*

con fva

The opening of the symphony is frequently interpreted in light of Mahler's statement to Natalie Bauer-Lechner about the difficulties incurred during the composition of the work:

Once again, an atmosphere of brooding summer mid-day heat hangs over the introduction to this movement; not a breath stirs, all life is suspended, and the sun-drenched air trembles and vibrates.

33. The various phases in the development of the program are chronicled by Mitchell, 187-194, and in greater detail in LMI, 795-801.

34. Mahler, Werke, III, 5.

At intervals there come the moans of the youth, of captive life struggling for release from the clutches of lifeless, rigid Nature. In the first movement, which follows the introduction, *attacca*, he finally breaks through and triumphs.

The title "Summer Marches In" no longer fits the shape of things in this introduction; "Pans Zug" ["Pan's Procession"] would possibly be better. . . .³⁵

This passage gives some idea of the abundance of interpretative clues to this symphony found in statements written by Mahler or reportedly made by Mahler. Because Mahler never once referred to a funeral march in the opening movement of this symphony, Mahler literature has usually avoided the notion.³⁶ David Greene, for example, goes so far as to call the passage "inert material resisting vital impulses," but does not mention a funeral march.³⁷

Inspired by Mahler's programs and statements relating to the symphony, critics have repeatedly construed Nature to be the subject of this symphony. Das klagende Lied and the First Symphony had already demonstrated the compatibility of Nature and the funeral march. Mahler's earlier use of the funeral march as a symbol of transition might suggest such an interpretation within the "Pan Awakes" or the "Summer Marches In" programs, where the march might represent,

35. Bauer-Lechner, op. cit., 59.

36. Notable exceptions are, as far as I know, Jean Matter, Connaissance de Mahler (Paris: Editions l'Age d'Homme, 1974), 134-135; and Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, Die Musik Gustav Mahlers (Munich: R. Piper, 1982), 41-42.

37. Greene, op. cit., 144.

respectively, the sleeping god and the dead of winter. Like the subtitles dropped from the First Symphony, those of the Third Symphony are possible, not prescriptive, titles. In his essay "The Metamusical Cosmos of Mahler," William McGrath writes:

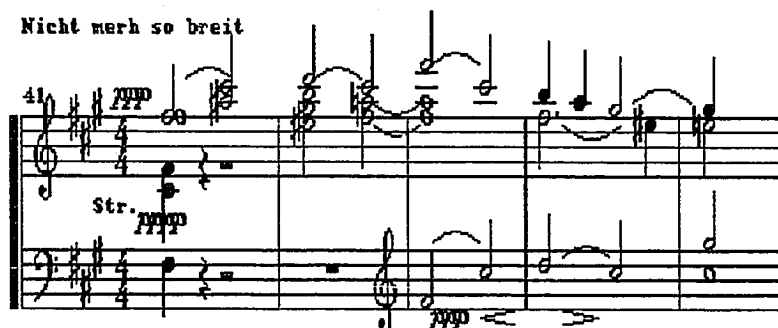
No words and no single image could ever express the content of his music, but a series of metaphors or titles could suggest the outlines of the reality lying beyond reason; . . . Mahler's awareness of this probably accounts for his final decision to omit all titles from the published version of the Third; from past experience he was fearful that the Gleichnis would be taken for the thing-in-itself.³⁸

In the course of the six movements of the symphony a passage is made from the somber tone of the funeral march of the first movement to the ecstatic conclusion of the final Adagio. The funeral march may symbolize death, winter, the "inert," Pan sleeping, transition, or innumerable other phenomena. As McGrath says, any specific image will prove inadequate. The ambiguity which this statement implies is present in other aspects of the symphony. In the last movement, the counterpoint to the funeral march of the First Symphony is used as a second theme of the movement. I quote its first appearance (Ex.10.10):³⁹

38. William J. McGrath, Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974), 158.

39. Mahler, Werke, III, 211.

Example 10.10. Mahler, Symphony No. 3, 6th movement,
mm.41-45.



Does this connect to the first movement's funeral march or to the First Symphony's "program"? A similar ambiguity arises when one considers the "meaning" of the texts by Nietzsche and that from Des Knaben Wunderhorn which are used in the fourth and fifth movements of this symphony. The individual texts are fairly clear when viewed separately, but juxtaposed within the symphony they become less clear not just in relationship to each other but to the symphony as a whole. Perhaps the fifth movement may tell "what the angels tell me," but what does it tell about the symphony? If these texts are part of the program, once again it seems that the program is more confusing than the work itself.

When Mahler dropped the programmatic titles of the movements, thereby allowing the work to speak for itself, he was counting on the unity of his own vision to maintain the coherence of his work. What Umberto Eco writes of Joyce is equally applicable to Mahler:

If Joyce does introduce some keys into the text, it is precisely because he wants the work to be read in a certain sense. But this particular "sense" has all the richness of the cosmos itself. Ambitiously, the author intends his book to imply the totality of space and time, of all spaces and all times that are possible. The principal tool of this all-pervading ambiguity is the pun, the *calembour*, by which two, three, or even ten different etymological roots are combined in such a way that a single word can set up a knot of different submeanings, each of which in turn coincides and interrelates with other local allusions, which are themselves "open" to other new configurations and probabilities of interpretation.⁴⁰

The parallel of these multiple meanings in Mahler's work is the quotation and transformation of material from one section, movement, or work to another. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the Fifth Symphony, where a funeral march is the springboard for the process.

The Fifth Symphony

The opening movement of the Fifth Symphony was called "Trauermarsch" by Mahler. Because Mahler remained unusually taciturn about the content of the work--except in technical terms--there has been less discussion about the work's programmatic content. The first movement opens with a fanfare that resembles the opening fanfares of funeral marches by Schubert and Mendelssohn, particularly the latter's "Lied ohne Worte." Once again, Mahler's contentment with the

40. Umberto Eco, "The Poetics of the Open Work," in The Role of the Reader (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 54-55.

traditional characteristics of the genre is clear

(Ex.10.12):⁴¹

Example 10.12. Mahler, Symphony No. 5, 1st movement, opening fanfare.



The fanfare climaxes on A, the flat-sixth degree of C-sharp, and gradually descends to G-sharp, the dominant. During the introduction, in addition to the fanfare, a number of different traditional funeral-march devices are introduced: bass trills, chromatic descending lines, soft tam-tam strokes, and a number of characteristic rhythmic figures (Ex.10.12):

41. Mahler, Sämtliche Werke (Frankfurt: C.F. Peters, 1964), V, 3.

Example 10.12. Mahler, Symphony No. 5, 1st movement.
Trauermarsch figures.

The image displays four staves of musical notation for Mahler's Symphony No. 5, 1st movement, *Trauermarsch* figures. The staves are labeled as follows:

- a) Trpt., mm. 8-9: Treble clef, key of D major, showing a melodic line with eighth notes and rests.
- b) Basses, mm. 14-16: Bass clef, key of D major, showing a rhythmic pattern with eighth notes and rests.
- c) Horns, mm. 24-7: Bass clef, key of D major, showing a melodic line with eighth notes and rests.
- d) Trombones, 27-30: Bass clef, key of D major, showing a rhythmic pattern with eighth notes and rests.

Although the trombone figure (figure d) sounds like a vamp awaiting the entrance of the march theme, it is abandoned when the march theme begins. The theme uses the rhythm of the horn figure (Ex.10.13c) as well as two common features of Mahler's funeral marches, the rising third at the beginning of the theme and a 1-5-1 motion in the accompaniment (ex.10.13):⁴²

Example 10.13. Mahler, Symphony No. 5, *Trauermarsch*,
 mm. 35-41.

The image displays a musical score for Mahler's Symphony No. 5, *Trauermarsch*, mm. 35-41. The score is written for three staves:

- Top staff: Treble clef, key of D major, marked "Etwas gehaltener" (slightly restrained) and "pp" (pianissimo). It features a melodic line with eighth notes and rests.
- Middle staff: Bass clef, key of D major, marked "Cl. Bsn. Va." (Clarinet, Bassoon, Viola). It features a melodic line with eighth notes and rests.
- Bottom staff: Bass clef, key of D major, marked "D.B. pizz." (Double Bass, pizzicato). It features a rhythmic pattern with eighth notes and rests.

Like the introductory fanfare, the theme rises an octave and then moves to the flat-sixth degree--in the lower voice on

42. *Ibid.*, 7.

this first hearing but, on later repetitions, inverted to the top voice of the theme. The fanfare and the march theme are then repeated with a great deal of variation. The march is extended and at m.120 leads to a new section in A-flat. This new idea grows out of the march and although it lasts but twelve measures its mood, its gentle march rhythm, and its shift to a major key suggest a trio. At the end of the section, the A-flat becomes G-sharp, the dominant of the march theme, and leads back to a phrase from the middle of the march. This first part of the movement concludes quietly, and when the trumpet fanfare begins again, it is interrupted by a new section which some writers⁴³ have called a trio (Ex.10.14):⁴⁴

43. For example, Cooke, op. cit., 22; Donald Mitchell, "Mahler," The New Grove, XI, 520; and Burnett James, The Music of Gustav Mahler (London: Associated University Presses, 1985), 110. La Grange (in LM2, 1127) refers to the section as a "Trio." Edward Murphy, however, in his article "Unusual Forms in Mahler's Fifth Symphony" (The Music Review, XLVII/2 (1986), 101), writes: "[The B sections] are too heavy in nature and too frantic in quality to be Trios and, instead, are integral parts of the whole."

44. Mahler, op. cit., 20.

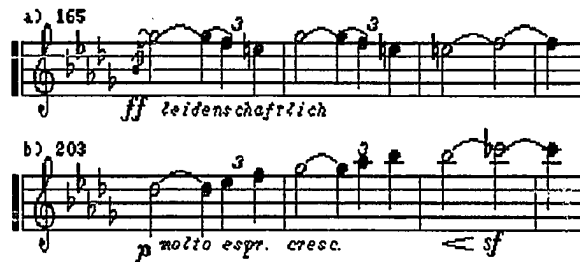
Example 10.14. Mahler, Symphony No. 5, mm. 155-9.

155 Plötzlich schneller. Leidenschaftlich. Wild.

The musical score for measures 155-159 of Mahler's Symphony No. 5. It features three staves: Violin (Vn.), Trumpet (Tent.), and Trombone (Tromb.). The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The tempo/mood markings are 'Plötzlich schneller. Leidenschaftlich. Wild.' and 'ff' (fortissimo). The Violin part features a rapid chromatic descent. The Trumpet part has a distorted march-like theme. The Trombone part provides a driving bass accompaniment with a frantic pace.

The chromatic descent of the violin line begins with the flat-six-five motive of the previous sections of the work and continues, like the descending chromatic bass lines of the introduction, down an octave. The last triplet of this line is taken up and used as a motivic element throughout the section. The trumpet theme sounds at first like a distorted version of the march theme, a similarity that is emphasized by the bass accompaniment--that of the march, now driven at a frantic pace. The initial G-flat-F-E-F of the violins is developed at m.165 into a new figure which is further transformed into a more lyrical ascending theme at m.202 (Ex.10.15):

Example 10.15. Mahler, Symphony No. 5, 1st movement;
transformation of opening motive of the first inter-
lude.



There is a quotation of the fanfare at m.181, but it seems to be overwhelmed and lost in the commotion. Similarly, the allusion to the march theme beginning at m.172 in the winds and violas is secondary and soon forgotten.

This section functions as a development, but not in the sense that previously stated ideas are taken apart, explored, and manipulated, often in long sequentially constructed blocks; nor that there is an immediate harmonic digression away from the work's tonality; but rather that new themes are developed and assembled from the motivic materials previously heard, themes which will play a significant role in the second movement of the symphony.

On the other side of this section, things are different. The fanfare, although extending up to B, is more subdued and arrives at the dominant by a more direct route. When the march returns, it has been pared down to thirty-two bars and, with the exception of a solo viola doubling a trumpet line in the second part of the march, is played

entirely by winds, brass, and basses--the traditional instrumentation of *Harmoniemusik*. The march is accompanied by the trombone figure from the original introduction (see Ex.10.13d). The trio-like section returns in D-flat and is extended by a long phrase which presents a figure surrounding a turn (mm.308-11)--this will be heard again in the second movement--followed by the same closing figure which ends each of the verses of "Nun will die Sonn' so hell aufgeh'n!" from Kindertotenlieder (Ex. 10.16):⁴⁵

Example 10.16. Mahler, Symphony No. 5, 1st movement, mm.307-316.

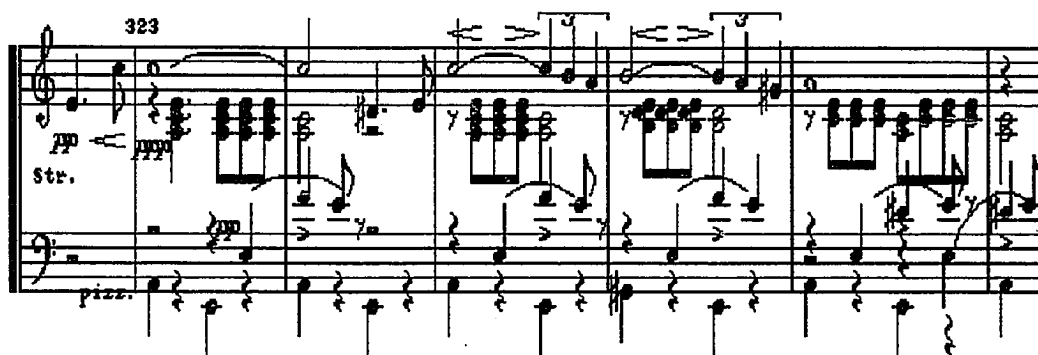


The movement could very well end here. But the opening measures of the fanfare are heard once again, softly played by the timpani. This is interrupted by a new section in A minor (Ex.10.17):⁴⁶

45. Ibid., 38.

46. Ibid., 39.

Example 10.17. Mahler, Symphony No. 5, 1st movement,
mm.323-8.



In this second interruption of the movement, themes from the earlier B-flat-minor interlude are recalled. They are, however, transformed and softened. The first of these is a further refinement of Ex.10.16a. Its song-like character is emphasized by a distinct, repetitive accompaniment figure, a feature found rarely in Mahler, even in his songs for voice and piano. The rising ninth followed by a descending second is derived from the flat-six-five motive that dominates the movement. The section ends with a familiar effect: all motion suddenly comes to a halt on a dissonant chord played triple-forte by the full orchestra; a long descent over a pedal begins, grows softer, and finally dissolves. When similar suspensions of motion occur near the end of the third movement of the Third Symphony and at the beginning of the finale of the Second, they are accompanied by fanfares. In the Fifth Symphony, the fanfare from the introduction returns, and as the suspension of motion fades, it brings the movement to a quiet close.

With this movement, Mahler perfected a technique that he had worked toward consistently in the earlier symphonies. This technique consists of using genre to delineate form. In the earlier symphonies, the individual sections of a sonata-form movement, for example, are frequently associated with specific genres. In these works, the formal sections are not so much thematic groups as sequences of themes, which may or may not be related to each other, presented within the same generic context. Thus, for example, a march may encompass an entire formal section. The next section will then be clearly set apart from this march by a shift to another genre, or simply by being made up of non-march elements. Within these sections, ideas may develop freely, motives may be borrowed from elsewhere, and thematic elements of other sections may be transformed, but each section maintains its individual character. This technique can be seen in the two very different types of music that make up the first movement of the Second Symphony. The clear delineation of sections in this manner resembles Bruckner's almost methodical presentation of each section of an exposition as a distinctly isolated unit much like a painter who carefully separates individual colors on a palette so that the mixtures they later produce may be precisely controlled. Mahler's palette goes beyond simple colors. In the first movement of the Fifth Symphony, the funeral march is an ongoing formal element which is interrupted twice by strik-

ingly contrasting types of music, one violent, the other song-like. Complex thematic relationships connect the resultant sections, but it is the funeral march that sustains the unity of the movement.

The interruptions of the first movement become essential elements of the second, furnishing not just the materials of the first and second thematic sections but the individual character of each section. Mahler's reason for giving each of these interruptions a well-defined character and a highly individual mood in the first movement becomes clear. Developed from the motives of the funeral march and yet dramatically distinguishing themselves from their surroundings, these interruptions reject the funeral march. As if to underscore the rejection of the *Trauermarsch* elements of the first movement in the second, Mahler quotes the brief trio-like episode from the march but never alludes to either the fanfare or the march theme.

The connections between the first and second movements of the Fifth Symphony are so numerous that Adorno thought that one might be considered a sonata-form exposition and the other its development.⁴⁷ The relationship between the fourth and fifth movements parallels that of the first and second in that the theme of the Adagietto plays an important role in the finale. Mahler's organization of the symphony into three parts acknowledges this parallel: part one, the

47. Adorno, Mahler, 243.

first and second movements; part two, the scherzo; and part three, the Adagietto and Rondo-Finale. But the five-part structure also places three genre movements in the important central and outer positions--the first movement a funeral march, the third movement a Scherzo made from equal parts Ländler and waltz, and a final Rondo, in which the word "Rondo" refers more to the spirit of the work and to the type of movement than to its actual form.

Mahler's Later Works

In later works, the funeral march is found less frequently and no longer shows the strong connection with the funeral marches of the earlier part of the century.⁴⁸ The accompaniment of the opening theme of the Seventh Symphony, for example, is related to the funeral march, but the theme itself is not. Similarly, the funeral march in "Der Abschied" from Das Lied von der Erde lacks the initial rise from the tonic although it is marked, like most of Mahler's earlier marches, "Schwer."

In his Ninth Symphony, Mahler uses the tonal ambiguity of the opening motive, F-sharp-A-B-A, to suggest a funeral march later in the movement. At the beginning of the symphony the tonality of the motive is defined as D major by

48. See, however, "Der Tamboursg'sell" and the opening section of "Wenn dein Mütterlein" from Kindertotenlieder, both written about the same time as the Fifth Symphony (1901).

its context. Before the recapitulation, however, the motive returns in a tonally ambiguous passage which gradually slows down from "Einhaltend" to "Gehalten" and, finally, to "Wie ein schwerer Kondukt." The D-major tonality associated with the motive is erased by the loud C's in the brass and, because of a lack of any clear tonal context, the rising and falling minor third of the motive becomes ominous and funereal (Ex.10.18):⁴⁹

Example 10.18. Mahler, Symphony No. 9, 1st movement, mm.326-35.

The musical score for Example 10.18 is divided into two systems. The first system, measures 326-335, is marked 'Einhaltend' and features a complex arrangement of instruments including Trb., Timp., Tam-tam, D.B., Hn., and Ula. The dynamics range from ff to p. The second system, measures 336-35, is marked 'Gehalten' and features a complex arrangement of instruments including Trp., Hn., and Ula. The dynamics range from p to ff. The score shows a gradual slowing down of the music, with a focus on the rising and falling minor third motive.

49. Mahler, Werke, X, 69-70.

The tam-tam and bass drum emphasize the funereal aspects of the passage. When D major is restored, it is not through a modulation but rather through a gradual lifting of the funereal veil, and, tone by tone, instrument by instrument, the main theme is disclosed.

This juxtaposition of the singular calm of the first section of the symphony--I am tempted to refer to it as the first genre of the movement--with the funeral march creates one of the most memorable transitions from development to recapitulation in symphonic history. This transition and return to the opening material of the movement is not so much accomplished through a change of key as through a change of mood. In effect, there is a modulation from the stasis of the march to the stillness of the main theme. The ostinato (F-sharp-A-B-A) is the pivot through which this modulation is made. This could be accomplished only through the powerful abilities of communication inherent to genre. The position of the funeral march in the movement--in this case, at the end of the development--is as important as the genre itself. Here, genre might be seen as assuming a semantic role which, functioning within the syntactic role of traditional form, leads to musical meaning. A program might easily be suggested by such a process.

In general, Mahler's programs point directly to genres. The elements which repeatedly make up the programs, the hero, nature, death, resurrection, the earth, etc., are

analogous to specific genres that are repeatedly found in his work--the march, the pastorale (or *Naturlaut*), the funeral march, the chorale, and the *Ländler*. Mahler often said that he devised the programs merely as an aid to the audience. Perhaps Mahler felt that it was dangerous to overestimate the audience's awareness of generic traditions.

Mahler's funeral marches, then, are traditional not just because of their musical structure, but also because Mahler takes advantage of the discursive properties which the genre acquired in the nineteenth century. Depending on its context, the funeral march could symbolize death itself, as in a programmatic work, or express in absolute terms the grief associated with death. It is the context in which the march appears that nudges the genre either way. The funeral march removed from its functional context is, like death, an unresolved phenomenon. It suggests many possible explanations, but tells nothing specifically. Religions attempt to provide resolutions to the question of what death is. Similar resolutions are found in music as well, e.g., the juxtaposition of the triumphal with the funereal. Unless we are told for whom a funeral march is written through a program, an opera plot, or a functional use of the march, the funeral march simply raises questions that have many possible answers. Mahler used the funeral march completely aware of its ambiguity. Although specifically referring to the Second Symphony, the following lines from one of Mah-

ler's letters make it clear that to him the existence of a program was the listener's choice and the specifics of the program the listener's prerogative:

In conceiving the work I was never concerned with detailed descriptions of an event, but at most with that of a feeling. . . . The fact that in various individual passages I often retrospectively see a real event as it were taking its course dramatically before my eyes can easily be gathered from the nature of the music. The parallelism between life and music may go deeper and further than anyone is now capable of realizing. However, I am far from requiring everyone to follow me in this. I gladly leave the interpretation of details to each listener's imagination.⁵⁰

50. Mahler, Letters, 172.

Chapter XI

CONCLUSION

Like the funeral marches of Mahler, other marches of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries maintain the traditions of earlier marches. The funeral march in Scriabin's first Piano Sonata, written in 1892, recalls Liszt's marches thematically and pianistically. The funeral march in Bartók's Kossuth looks to Liszt as well, but here it is Liszt's fusion of Hungarian elements with the funeral march that serves as a model for the work. Elgar's Second Symphony in E-flat was written between 1903 and 1911 but must be considered the last of the great heroic symphonies of the nineteenth century. Its model, Beethoven's "Eroica," is particularly evident in the moving C-minor *Larghetto*, which many believe to be a funeral march for Edward VII.⁵¹ In his "Trauermarsch auf den Tod eines Komödianten," from his F-minor Symphony of 1919, Emil von Reznicek seems to parody operatic funeral marches from the late eighteenth

51. Elgar denied this, but the idea has persisted. One might compare this work to the equally moving, although somewhat different, funeral march from Elgar's Grania and Diarmid, Op. 42 (1901), incidental music to Yeats's play. Yeats said the work was "wonderful, in its heroic melancholy." (Letter to Elgar of March 23, 1903; in Percy M. Young, Elgar, O.M. (London: Collins, 1955), 97).

century while at the same time using the alternating thirds from the coda of the "Eroica" march as a prime motive of the work.

Even those composers who strive to break more decisively with the nineteenth century maintain traditions of the funeral march. In the first version of Webern's Sechs Stücke für Orchester, Op. 6 (1909-10), the fourth piece, originally marked "Langsam, Marcia funebre," is a long (for Webern), athematic march dominated by the tam-tam, bass drum, and low bells. The ostinato and the intermittent sighing figures in the winds create the essential elements of the funeral march so clearly that, even in the later version where the movement is simply marked "Sehr mässig," the music has a distinctly funereal sound. It is perhaps significant that in the later version of 1928 Webern removed the title from the work, for these same effects--bass drum ostinati, bells, and melodic fragments--became part of the vocabulary of twentieth-century funeral music from the Webern Stücke to Britten's War Requiem, from the symphonies of Shostakovich and Allan Pettersson to the numerous other pieces which belong to the general category of *Trauermusik*. But the funeral march itself had by this time become a rarity. Occasional funeral marches have appeared in twentieth-century symphonies, e.g., Franz Schmidt's Fourth Symphony (1933), Daniel Gregory Mason's A Lincoln Symphony (1936), and most recently in the First Symphony (1990) of John Cori-

gliano, in which a frightening funeral march for victims of AIDS plays a major role in the program of the work.

The lack of interest in the funeral march is probably not due to the death of the tradition itself: the Chopin Funeral March remains the funeral march and is still played at public funerals around the world. In England, a band arrangement of the "Nimrod" variation from Elgar's "Enigma" Variations frequently replaces the Dead March from Saul. Similarly, a band arrangement of Schubert's Death and the Maiden is often performed at German and Austrian funerals. New funeral marches are scarce perhaps because the heroic sensibility which inspired the composition of the funeral march was a nineteenth-century phenomenon. It is significant that the last great composer who possessed that sensibility, Richard Strauss, in one of his last works, should quote the funeral march of Beethoven's "Eroica." In the final measures of Strauss's Metamorphosen, the full statement of the march theme of the work which may best be said to have started whatever it was that happened in the nineteenth century seems a sad valedictory to the century.

It was indeed the funeral march in the "Eroica" that declared most emphatically the liberation of genre from social function. This work and the other funeral marches by Beethoven negated the functional use of the funeral march and opened up new possibilities for the use of the genre. A few years later, a single sentence in the score of a Beetho-

ven symphony distinguished between description and expression of feeling and made it clear that there were many levels on which instrumental music could function. The funeral march continued to explore these levels in the first half of the century. As the march drifted from its heroic context, it was reinvigorated by Liszt through the incorporation of nationalistic elements and by the exploitation of the genre's communicative abilities in programmatic works. In the second half of the century, then, as a consequence of the different ways in which the genre functioned, the funeral march changed. But these changes were compositional and were always restrained by tradition and convention.

The funeral march, then, was a product of social function and compositional technique. When it was removed from its primary function, it began to function in other ways. But whether this was as a metaphor for death, an element of a narrative, a memorial to an individual, a symbol of national pride, or a simple expression of grief, the funeral march was primarily involved in communication.

There is an additional function of the funeral march which is also directly related to communication and which may serve to answer a question that this study has not dealt with: why did nineteenth-century composers write funeral marches? To answer the question by resorting to the cliché that nineteenth-century artists suffered from a preoccupation with death would only be citing one symptom as the

cause of another. The answer lies, perhaps, in the tradition of the genre.

The funeral march, like most genres which originate in fulfillment of a social function, is ultimately a source of social organization. It brings order to one of the most difficult of all human activities--the necessity of facing death: To a great extent, the funeral march imposes itself upon a highly emotional situation and, by means of harmony, rhythm, and form, attempts to offer some degree of rationality. With this rationality, there is the possibility of facing, accepting, and perhaps even triumphing over death.

During the nineteenth century, when painters and writers dealt with death from the often bleak point of view of realism, composers maintained a basically optimistic, transcendental view of death as a victory. As Linda Nochlin writes:

For the realist, the imagery of death is weighed down to earth by an excessive preoccupation with the triviality of the context in which it occurs. The dying person is firmly anchored to the here and now by an insistence on the social milieu in which he dies, the objects which surround him, the account of the daily round of events in which his death, far from being a significant solemnity, constitutes a distressing interruption. . . . How different is the death of Ivan Ilyich from that of Phèdre in Racine's tragedy. . . . We are told nothing of her concrete surroundings, her physical symptoms, the differentiated reactions of those around her. The space of tragedy . . . has been purified, clarified and strictly delimited in order that meaning reveal itself, through language

or form, within its stringently restricted confines.⁵²

The "stringently restricted confines" of the funeral march create this same "space of tragedy," and thus the purification and clarification of which Nochlin writes is attained. The funeral march, like tragedy, is subject to many conventions and traditions. In this way, the funeral march is also like its subject, death. It is ironic that in freeing genre from social function, nineteenth-century composers saturated their music with the conventions, traditions, and strictures of genre. Perhaps this was necessary to the often excessive expressive goals of nineteenth-century music. For genre does not harness composers. It harnesses the wild beasts composers ride: musical imagination, infinite possibilities, and persistent indecision.

52. Linda Nochlin, Realism (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1971), 65-6.

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