DONALD FRANCIS TOVEY, AESTHETIC REALISM, AND THE NEED FOR A PHILOSOPHIC MUSICOLOGY

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Abstract — Résumé

The writings of Donald Francis Tovey and Eli Siegel both point to the need for a philosophic musicology. Throughout his career, Tovey wrote about art in terms of the reconciliation of opposites, and believed music, in microcosm, expressed the nature of reality. Tovey never coordinated these two concepts. Eli Siegel, the founder of Aesthetic Realism, did—and explained: «The world, art, and self explain each other: each is the aesthetic oneness of opposites.» This principle provides a conceptual bridge unifying every aspect of musicology. As illustration, we investigate Tovey’s description of Haydn’s «The Representation of Chaos» from the Essays in Musical Analysis, and conclude with the presentation of a new analytic paradigm for late Haydn. Surprisingly, Haydn, in his late sacred music, employs a distinctly «dodecaphonic» technique, delineating musical structures on the basis of completing the «total chromatic.» Here, Haydn anticipates by over a century the procedures of early Webern.

Key words: Haydn; Siegel; Tovey; Musicology; Dodecaphonic; Aesthetic Realism; The Creation

Donald Francis Tovey, who lived from 1875 to 1940, was perhaps the best-known, and certainly for his day the most widely-read, of English musicologists. His work as a critic has an important relation to the thought of the American philosopher Eli Siegel,¹ the founder of Aesthetic Realism, who was first renowned for the greatness of his poetry—William Carlos Williams, for one, saying «we are com-

¹ 1902-1978. He founded Aesthetic Realism in 1941.
pelled to pursue his lead.— As their work is compared, it becomes clear that Tovey and Siegel grappled with related issues. It also is clear that in Aesthetic Realism one can find a satisfying resolution to questions Tovey knew he had left unanswered.

The great British scholar felt with a passion rare among musicologists that the field needed to be grounded in philosophic ideas of a universal nature; in enduring principles of metaphysics and human psychology. One can see this, for example, in his 1936 Glasgow lectures, »The Integrity of Music,« in his 1934 Oxford lecture, »Musical Form and Matter,« and perhaps most clearly of all in his 1936 Oxford lecture, »Normality and Freedom in Music,« in which he says—and plainly in a context that relates music and life:

the most desirable materials will have properties that must be reconciled with their equally desirable opposites. The normal solution of all conflicts will be mutual service, and here alone shall we find perfect freedom.3

One meets this idea—that opposites must be reconciled for something humanly, and artistically valuable to take place—again and again in Tovey’s writings. Another instance—from a 1938 lecture, »Musical Rhetoric,« delivered at the University of Liverpool:

It is doubtful whether art begins to exist without a reconciling of opposite claims, not by compromise, but by actual indissoluble compounding.4

And earlier, 1925, in a lecture series given at the University of Glasgow, titled »Music in Being,« he states simply that it is »the business of art to reconcile [oppositions.]«5

That this was no high-flying, »speculative« matter for him, but rather a simple statement of technical fact, can be seen in this passage from Mary Grierson’s biography of Tovey. She tells how, in counterpoint classes at Edinburgh:
He would point out...that it is the business of two-part writing to sound full, and of five-part writing to sound transparent, which is practical common sense to a compos-er, but is the kind of advice one never encounters in text-books.6

Tovey’s philosophic bent was noted early. Hubert Parry, his teacher at Oxford, wrote, in 1896:

I don’t know whether his gifts in respect of classics and philosophy are even more pronounced than his musical gifts.7

Sir Edward Caird, master of Balliol, and a distinguished philosopher, said of Tovey’s final examinations, that his »philosophy papers were the best in this time.«8 Later, when the Reid chair of music opened up, John Alexander Smith, Waynflete professor of philosophy at Oxford, wrote the University of Edinburgh, urging Tovey’s candidacy.

That was 1914; one can gather the 39 year-old Tovey was respected in philosophical circles. Meanwhile, let us return to 1896 and Oxford where, in Caird’s classes, Tovey met the ancient Greek concept that a work of art is, in some manner, an »organic whole«—a microcosm of reality itself. A few years later, 1903, Tovey wrote in an essay »Permanent Musical Criteria:«

A work of art strengthens our belief in the existence of infinite and perfect consistency, by showing us perfection and consistency where without it we could only see something comparatively chaotic...by being organic and perfect it becomes to us a type of nothing less than the very organic unity and perfection of the infinite whole—that seashore on which science gathers its pebbles, that perfection to which science looks but which it can never comprehend.9

The casual reference to Newton is wholly characteristic of Tovey, whose lectures and writings effortlessly mirror the depth and breadth of his general culture.

Though he never veered from a belief in art as a microcosm of the world, Tovey was aware that he had never been able to substantiate the concept to his own satisfaction. »It was one of my naive undergraduate ambitions,« he told an Oxford audience in 1934, in a talk entitled »Musical Form and Matter:«

...to make a contribution to aesthetic philosophy by a systematic review of music. Forty years on, I come to you with empty hands.10

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6 Pages 212-213. Donald Francis Tovey: A Biography Based on Letters. (London: Oxford University Press, 1952)
8 GRIESON: 1952. Page 76.
10 TOVEY: 1959. Page 160. The lecture was delivered 4 June, 1934.
This was not true; Tovey had brought forth riches. But he knew, with scholarly integrity and modesty, that more needed to be done, concluding the talk by saying:

Let me end with an appeal to philosophers better qualified than I am to work out the theory that the wholeness of a work of art is a type of infinity.11

The key was within reach, but — it appears — Tovey didn’t realize it. The key was his own awareness of the centrality in art of the reconciliation, the indissoluble union of opposites. It was an idea first impressed upon him when he heard, as an Oxford undergraduate, A.C. Bradley’s inaugural lecture, »Poetry for Poetry’s Sake.« Bradley, however, limits his discussion to the opposites of form and substance, which he passionately insists are completely inseparable in authentic poetry.

Tovey didn’t see that the two philosophic concepts he most believed in — art as a reconciliation of opposites, and art as a microcosm of reality12 — explained each other. This is one of the crucial contributions of Aesthetic Realism to the history of philosophic aesthetics, and why Eli Siegel holds such an important place there.13 Further, he shows what all this truly has to do with life. »The world, art, and self explain each other,« Eli Siegel stated, »each is the aesthetic oneness of opposites.«14 A compact presentation of some of the implications of this philosophic principle can be found in the December, 1955 issue of the Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, in his classic essay, »Is Beauty the Making One of Opposites?«15

The opposites are infinite because they take in all of reality; and music, illustrating and embodying the oneness of opposites, is therefore, like the world it tells of, infinite in meaning.

Let us turn now to Tovey’s essay on Haydn’s Creation, specifically his words concerning »The Representation of Chaos,« because, as clearly here as anywhere, we see the British musicologist working out on a technical level the implications of

11 Ibid. Page 182.
12 Two, among many writings in which Tovey pursues the concept of art as microcosm, are »Musical Form and Matter« and »Permanent Musical Criteria.« The first is included in TOVEY: 1959; the second in TILMOUTH: 2001.
13 Among the earliest scholars to have recognized this was Huntington Cairns. »I believe that Eli Siegel was a genius,« Cairns wrote. »He did for aesthetics what Spinoza did for ethics.« See also Ellen REISS’ editorial »Afterword« to The Williams-Siegel Documentary. (New York: Definition Press. 1970) Pages 173-196.
14 This principle, which precedes his »Four Statements of Aesthetic Realism« and serves as its motto, can be found on page 53 of The Modern Quarterly Beginnings of Aesthetic Realism, 1922-23 by Eli Siegel. (New York: Definition Press. 1997)
his statement, quoted earlier, about true freedom—that it arises from the reconciliation, the «mutual service» of opposites.16

Tovey had a philosophic vision of music through which he attempted to join precise technical observations about its structure—including, importantly, its moment-by-moment phenomenological impact—to its meaning for «life.» And this is still the greatest challenge for musicology: providing an authentic bridge between technical, even abstract studies of music, and the very human issues which so engage us as we do biographical, cultural, and reception studies.17

That Tovey was interested in music’s relation to life is hardly «received opinion;» the contrary is almost always asserted. For example, Ernest Walker, in his praising and deeply appreciative «Preface» to the 1941 publication of Tovey’s The Integrity of Music, says of the author—a close friend:

He was not interested in composers’ biographies; he knew Beethoven’s works backwards, but cared nothing for his life—and less than nothing for attempts to correlate his music with the French Revolution.18

All this is largely true—but misses the point that Tovey was not so much interested in the specifically biographical or historical meaning of music for life, as in its more general, even «transcendent» meaning. Only a historical-reductionist mind would rule out such meaning; Tovey was not such a mind. He believed in universal psychological principles, which make a work of art, as he explained, «wonderful» not only for its time, but for all time.19 Yet he was always careful to distinguish the specific musical language of any given epoch of Western music from more general, underlying aesthetic criteria which he saw as permanent.

Can there be a universal aesthetics—one completely free of cultural bias? This is a question Eli Siegel richly explored, and succeeded in answering. He explained there is an undying, largely unconscious need in humanity to reconcile opposites, and this need is reflected in art everywhere.20

16 The essay is included in Volume V of Tovey’s Essays in Musical Analysis. (London: Oxford University Press. 1937) Pages 114-145. The section concerning «The Representation of Chaos» is found on pages 114-118; the music for the «First Day,» pages 125-127.
17 I refer the interested reader to «Aesthetic Realism: A New Foundation for Interdisciplinary Musicology,» which I presented, in conjunction with Arnold Perey, at the First International Conference of ESCOM in Graz, April, 2004. As part of the published Proceedings of that conference, it is available on-line: http://gewi.uni-graz.at/~cim04/CIM04_paper_pdf/Green_Perey_CIM04_proceedings.pdf. In expanded form it is available on my website: http://www.edgreenmusic.org.
19 With only slight variations of wording, Tovey expresses this thought again and again. See his 1925 lecture, «Musical History and Permanent Values.» (Page 488, Tilmouth: 2001). Or his 1936 lecture series «The Integrity of Music.» (TOVEY: 1941, Vol. 1; page 67.)
20 Important cross-cultural work on this theme was done by anthropologist Arnold PEREY. See his 1973 Columbia University doctoral dissertation, Oksapmin Society and World View and also his Give, Young Man of New Guinea, (New York: Waverly Place Press. 2005) See also Aesthetic Realism and the Answer to Racism, edited by Alice Bernstein (New York: Orange Angle Press. 2004)—a volume to which both Dr. Perey and I contributed.
The powerful prose of Tovey’s essay on Haydn’s great »Prelude« indicates how deeply the author was stirred by opposites, and specifically by the idea of »Chaos given Composition.« This is plainly a matter with significant »life« import, for every person has wrestled with the question: does this universe, in which I live, cohere—or it is all mere chance, a confusing welter?

And there is poignancy here, for the essay, which was written as Hitler was assuming power in Germany in 1933, was published in volume five of the Essays in Musical Analysis in 1937, just as Europe stood on the brink of the chaos of another world war. It is not a well-known fact (and it should be) that Tovey worked to help refugee scholars and artists fleeing the Nazis, among them musicologist Hans Gál and art historian Ernst Gombrich.

1. »The Representation of Chaos«

Tovey hears opposites in the very first note of Haydn’s composition: a towering, five-octave, unison C, played by the full orchestra. What could be less representative of Chaos than a unison? What could be more organized? Off-hand, it seems just the wrong thing to do. Yet Tovey says: »Strictly speaking, this mighty unison is the most chaotic part of the introduction.«21

Example 1: Bars 1-6

The impact of this music on our ears is, at once, orderly and wild, composed and unsettling. If anything, it was even more so for Haydn’s contemporaries. So how does he do it?

Part of the answer is the lack of tonal definition: those octaves of pure C could, literally, go anywhere—even as they are so definite, so assertive. As Tovey explains:

A significant chord would obviously be as futile a symbol of Chaos as an armchair; and a violent and unexplained discord would, even in modern music, be a mere phenomenon of human petulance.22

Another critical point to observe about this opening sonority—and, surprisingly, it is one Tovey passes over—is the fact that Haydn adds that drum roll. Through it instability is brought to stability, motion is imbedded within the immobile, and into the heart of something sheerly unified, activity, manyness, multiplicity is placed.

Meanwhile, Tovey is moved considering what he calls “the paradox inherent in any thinkable notion of Chaos,” writing:

...four bars will no more make a Chaos than will make a Cosmos; and you will get a much more vividly chaotic impression from statements which are contradicted than from statements which arouse no expectations at all.23

Eli Siegel has said that: “In reality, opposites are one; art shows this.”24 As Tovey writes about Chaos and Cosmos, he is commenting on the two ways reality can be experienced. Chaos is reality as confusing and unmanageable; Cosmos is reality as likeably, sensibly organized. And people do have both opinions of the world. Haydn knew how to write music in such a way that these two opinions are expressed at once, and made coherent.25 In the same four bars you hear Chaos and Cosmos; in fact, they add to each other.

In these opening measures there are sounds jutting and suppressed, chords hollow and full, music that seems to both float aimlessly and strive: a wedding of order and disorder, structure and limpness. It is an astonishing picture.

22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
24 Eli SIEGEL, Aesthetic Realism: Three Instances. (New York: Definition Press. 1961) Page 1. A major work on this theme is the book The Aesthetic Nature of the World. (Not yet published; the manuscript reposes at the Aesthetic Realism Foundation in New York.)
25 That the study of aesthetics is necessary for the full understanding of mental health is a critical tenet of Aesthetic Realism. See, in particular, “The Aesthetic Method in Self-Conflict,” a chapter of Self and World. (SIEGEL: 1981)
Later in this essay, I will propose a new way of understanding how Haydn structured this music—one not dependent on traditional notions of tonality. It is meant not to supplant earlier technical analyses, but to supplement them. For now, however, let us continue with Tovey’s analysis, which is based on a very keen sense of the drama of tonalities.

We now approach, and then arrive in, the key of D♭ major, a key Tovey calls “disconcerting” because of its odd relation to the key Haydn begins in: C minor. “In this disconcerting key,” he writes, “an actual theme emerges.”

Example 2: bars 18-26

That is opposites in »mutual service,« for as we are disconcerted, we are also made more certain, by a theme possessing order. Meanwhile, as this theme is emerging in the winds above, steadily, insistently below we hear the throbbing of the strings. As they throb, loud and soft, soft and loud, the world, as impinging and remote, as relentless and considerate, is with us, too. The meaning of musical sound, while it begins with its »absolute« structure, does not stop there. Music is symbolic of wider reality.

One of the largest things Aesthetic Realism teaches is that first and foremost, art criticism is a criticism of mind—of the state an artist’s mind is in as he or she makes something. Two things can happen: we either succeed in making opposites one, in seeing their conflict as having valuable meaning, or we don’t. Art thrills us because, through an object a person has created, we feel the success of a fellow human being in reconciling the warring aspects of the world—in having existence in one’s mind in a way that is whole and beautiful. And we feel stronger because of it, heartened about ourselves.

Says Tovey about Haydn:

The Chaos he intends to represent is no mere state of disorder and confusion. He has a remarkably consistent notion of it.27

What wouldn’t we give, at our moments of Chaos, to have a »remarkably consistent notion of it?«28

2. Late Haydn and the Oneness of Order and Disorder:

Haydn began work on The Creation in 1797. In that same year he published what, even for him, was a remarkable piece of chamber music: the String Quartet in Eb, Op. 76, #6. What makes this composition so unusual is its second movement: a »Fantasia« whose outward symmetry—it begins in B minor, and concludes in B major)—embraces as bold and as seemingly »chaotic« a modulatory scheme within as the composer had yet to put to paper. Louise E. Cuyler in her essay »Tonal Exploitation in the Later Quartets of Haydn,« calls it a »supreme example of complete tonal freedom,« explaining that it moves through »a series of tonal levels that are related only remotely.«29

27 Ibid. Page 114.
28 One of the most discerning of his contemporaries, Charles Burney, characterized the »Prelude« as having »studied confusion.« (Quote in Roger LONSDALE, Dr. Charles Burney: A Literary Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1965) Page 453.
It would seem that Haydn did not need the outward, programmatic impetus of Biblical narrative to be interested in bringing a new quality of disorder to music. The question arises: was he, as he composed this »Fantasia,« with its »complete tonal freedom,« impelled equally by its very opposite?—to join to that freedom, once again, »a remarkably consistent notion?« For if we can find symmetry along with fantasy, discipline along with liberty, then what Tovey sees as the chief merit of »The Representation of Chaos« would also be present in a nearly contemporaneous chamber composition.

Cuyler certainly feels there is cohesion along with freedom. After quoting its opening four bars

Example 3: Bars 1-4; Op. 76, #6. mvt. 2

she writes:

The plan of tonal dispersion for the sections initiated by this head motive is as follows: B major, E major, B flat major, Ab major, B major, E major, B major. A surprising additional factor is the interpolations of a strong inference of the key of C sharp minor—first between the B major and E major portions—then again between those in B flat major and Ab major. The persistent head motive is, it goes without saying, the cohesive factor that makes so diverse a key system tenable within the bounds of late eighteenth-century style.\(^{30}\)

\(^{30}\) Ibid. Page 150.
The "remarkably consistent notion," as Cuyler conceives it, is the movement’s opening four-bar phrase.

Certainly, from the motivic point-of-view, she is correct; this "germinal" idea does indeed, thematically, help bind this movement together. But is there no cohesion in terms of the underlying tonal design? There is; underneath the seeming randomness of this movement’s tonal journey, there lies a symmetrical design.\(^{31}\)

Let us lay out the progression of tonalities which Cuyler summarized above:

\[
\begin{align*}
Bm & \quad C#m & \quad E & \quad Bb & \quad C#m & \quad Ab & \quad B & \quad E & \quad B
\end{align*}
\]

When a tonality returns immediately after an excursion elsewhere, that tripartite structure is most simply understood as a prolonged extension of the initial tonality. With this in mind, the tonal plan then simplifies to:

\[
\begin{align*}
Bm & \quad C#m & \quad E & \quad Bb & \quad C#m & \quad Ab & \quad B
\end{align*}
\]

This proves, on examination, to be a largely symmetrical design. The first "arc" of tonal motion rises a second from B, and then up a minor third: C# to E. We feel a motion of a minor third within third within that of a perfect fourth. The concluding arc shuffles these relations. Once again, we have an outline of a perfect fourth, C# to Ab, with a minor third contained within: Ab to B.

They key of Bb is, indeed, as Cuyler notes, a very distant relation, but let us, once again, consider the idea of "prolonged" tonal planning. For in measure 27, Haydn clearly cadences in G major. What then do we see? This motion of modulation:

\[
\begin{align*}
C#m & \quad E & \quad G & \quad Bb & \quad C#m
\end{align*}
\]

A long-range arpeggiation over the cycle of minor thirds. Heard this way, the key of Bb becomes a "way-station" along a journey whose over-all meaning is quietly C#. Thus, despite the tonal "shock" it immediately makes for, Bb has only an ornamental structural significance. The critical tonal centers in this "Fantasia" remain B C# E and Ab — and these, as indicated before, have a subtle symmetry in Haydn’s design.

In his essay on The Creation Tovey says this about Haydn’s general method as a composer—and in the process comments on his kinship with (and divergence from) Mozart in their approach to the opposites:

\[^{31}\text{I part company with Tovey in his insistence that Haydn’s exploration of remote tonalities in the music of his late period is something whose ‘paradoxical truthfulness,’ while it impresses and convinces, is not amenable to clear structural analysis. Here is Tovey on the subject, writing in his essay on The Creation:}

Haydn’s paradoxes in tonality are always true, and he is so sure of them that it would be impertinent to call them experimental. But he does not explain them; and if they explain themselves they do so only as things explain themselves to the child who ‘understands quite well, if only you wouldn’t explain.’ (Page 126)\]
Haydn habitually achieves his symmetry in a paradoxic way. From one moment to
the next he is always unexpected, and it is only at the end that we discover how perfect
are his proportions. With Mozart the expectation of symmetry is present all the time,
and its realization is delayed no longer than serves the purposes of wit rather than
humour. Both composers are so great that in the last resort we shall find Mozart as
free as Haydn and Haydn as perfect in form as Mozart; but the fact remains that Haydn’s
forms display their freedom before their symmetry, while Mozart’s immediately dis-
play their symmetry, and reveal their freedom only to intimate knowledge.32

The tonal structure of Haydn’s »Fantasia« clearly evidences his technical interest
in the problem of disorder and order, freedom and symmetry. What Tovey does not
directly comment on in the passage I have just quoted is the fact that these technical
matters can not honestly be disserved from emotional, even ethical considerations.
For art is not separate from life, Aesthetic Realism maintains—as Haydn organizes
sound and time, he is organizing opposites that matter deeply in every person’s life.

The question is: can we make sense of the seeming incoherence of things? Can
we make a one of structure and formlessness? Incoherence and coherence? The
answer embodied within Haydn’s music is affirmative; and this is, perhaps, where
his music has the greatest relevance to our turbulent »Post-modern« era.

Haydn, it seems, is 18th and 21st century at once. It wouldn’t have surprised Tovey
who, as we noted, believed what is »wonderful« for any time remains so for all time.

3. Chaos and Order

Returning to »The Representation of Chaos,« we see that in the next section,
measures 26-50, Haydn brings clarity and confusion so close together, we experi-
ence them as one thing. First, in the triumphant key of Eb major, we hear again
that »actual« theme Tovey noted—but snappier, jauntier. The oboes, then the horns
have it. Meantime, the rest of the orchestra seems to be fighting over the beat.

Haydn wrote this in such a way that the strings are always a sixteenth note
earlier than everyone else. This is composed confusion; and the simultaneous sense
of triumph and impediment, rightness and wrongness he creates, is exhilarating.

Then Haydn does a remarkable thing: all that majesty of sound suddenly, in
measure 31, becomes frail, uncertain. Something has collapsed—yet at the same
time we notice the beat has become unified, consistent. Again, opposites are expe-
rienced as one.

Of this concluding portion of this section, or sub-section, Tovey writes:

Nothing can be truer to art and to nature than the steps by which Haydn returns from
his triumph in Eb to his originally chaotic C minor. During each step the (theme)
appears in the various regions of the orchestra, including a solo double bass.33

33 Ibid. Page 118.
Example 4: Bars 26-40
So we experience triumph and chaos; flux and stability—for while this is a fluid transition, it also has a constant, everywhere-in-the-orchestra presence of a theme.

There is a passage in «The Aesthetic Method in Self Conflict,» a chapter of Eli Siegel’s book, *Self and World*, which comments richly, even poetically, on what we hear in these measures. He asks:

Is not reality confused and orderly at once? Does it not have storms and crystals? Are there not jungles and ordered grass?...Isn’t the sky both fixed and moody? Don’t events occur both by law and with unpredictability? Isn’t everything in reality both strange and definite, existent yet endless?... Aesthetic Realism believes that reality itself is aesthetic: that is, it is both free and definite. If we don’t see it that way, we are not seeing reality as it is.34

The opposite of Chaos, in its slow, brooding darkness, is Creation, with its sudden incandescence. Haydn felt these two together and joined them in his oratorio. As Chaos ends, with the orchestra sinking into low, desolate chords of C minor, a voice emerges, recitativo. There is no sharp break: out of Chaos’ depths emerges an arch-angel, Raphael, singing the words of *Genesis I*. It is reality as personal emerging out of reality as impersonal, meeting us, informing us. Reality has become articulate, and it has become warmer. A chorus then enters, singing:

Und der Geist Gottes schwebte auf der Flache der Wasser;  
und Gott sprach: Es werde Licht, und es ward Licht.

On this last word, *Licht*, Haydn achieves one of the most celebrated, sublime and magnificent effects in all of music. Says Tovey:

With effortless power the light bursts forth in music of a clear C major.35

With a sudden rush Haydn has made light the inevitable result of its very opposite.36 The desolate, the heavy, the obscure is transformed in an instant to power, brilliance, and clarity. Chaos ends and there is the dawning of a newly-created world.

4. *Haydn’s »Secret Dodecaphonic Art«*

That this moment—one of the most celebrated in the history of music—derives its aesthetic strength both from that sudden fortissimo and that unexpected

35 Tovey: 1937. Page 125.
36 Peter Kivy in *Sound and Semblance: Reflections on Musical Representation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1991) discusses this famous moment valuably, and at length. See Chapter 4, pages 61-84.
turn to C major, has been obvious for centuries. It is perhaps the greatest moment of «surprise,» in the career of a composer long dedicated to the aesthetics of surprise.37

Yet if the core concept of Aesthetic Realism is correct, we would expect a great moment of surprise equally to embody a great moment of logic—even of inevitability. As Eli Siegel once asked:

Does every instance of beauty in nature and beauty as the artist presents it have something unrestricted, unexpected, uncontrolled?—and does this beautiful thing in nature or beautiful thing coming from the artist’s mind have, too, something accurate, sensible, logically justifiable, which can be called order?38

As I intend now to show, Haydn, in a very bold and hitherto unrecognized fashion, technically reconciles these opposites in »The Representation of Chaos.« Surprisingly, the procedure he chose is one which, more than a century later, Anton von Webern would use to help orient himself as he engaged in his earliest experiments in »free atonality.« It is the method of creating musical form on the basis of exhausting the pitch-class resources of what can be called »the total chromatic.«

Commenting on his 1913 Six Bagatelles, Op. 9, for string quartet, Webern observed that when he wrote these compositions, he had »the sensation that, once the twelve notes had been completely set forth, the piece also had to be considered finished.«39 This is precisely Haydn’s technique—only it pertains not so much to the complete composition as to the delineation of its internal sections.40

The »Representation of Chaos,« upon analysis, reveals itself to consist of several such »full-chromatic« units. The first time we »exhaust« the total chromatic is on beat 3 of measure 20. The last pitch to appear is Db.

Notice how opposites are made one: the »surprise« occasioned by the arrival of what Tovey called the »disconcerting« key of Db, in measure 21, is now revealed to be simultaneously an occasion of »logical closure,« or inevitability—for the chromatic is here completed; the complete resources of the tonal system, honored.

37 A book documenting this in detail is Gretchen A. WHEELOCK’S Haydn’s Ingenious Jesting with Art: Contexts of Musical Wit and Humor. (New York: Schirmer Books. 1992)
40 For purposes of analysis, it matters not whether the pitch-class appears vocally or instrumentally, for a long duration or just briefly. What matters simply is the fact that somewhere in the musical texture it does appear.
The order of this first dodecaphonic unfolding is: C, Eb, Ab, B, D, F, G, F#, A, Bb, E, Db. The next two unfoldings are far more rapid, taking place from measure 21 through 24; and then again from 24 through 27. These logically prepare us for the next surprise—the modulation to Eb.

The order of the first unfolding is: D, Ab, F, Gb, Eb, C, A (Bbb), Cb, D, G, E, Bb. The second begins Db, Bb, E, G, C, Ab, Eb, Cb, Gb, A—leaving the two remaining notes, D and F, to appear in the dominant seventh chord (4/3 inversion) at the end of measure 26 that immediately leads us to the new key and what Tovey called the emergence of an actual theme.

Again: form has been articulated through a secret dodecaphonic procedure. And again, the logical completion of a tonal procedure is simultaneous with a moment of musical surprise—for this happens to be the place where Haydn brings in perhaps his most surprising rhythm: that marvelous blurred beat, where the strings are a 16th note before everyone else.

The next chromatic arc is the longest. It includes the return to C minor at measure 40 and continues until the preparation for the coda beginning measure 50.

If we consider the unfolding of pitches prior to the thunderous recapitulation at measure 40, it is significant that Haydn almost completes his chromatic circuit at this point. Almost, but not quite—for, with subtle artistry, he gives us, from measure 25 through 39, samples of every pitch-class except E-natural—the very note which will prove so crucial later to the impact of that word, Licht.

E-natural finally arrives in bar 47, and sets up a cadential formula re-establishing C minor, which we hear in measures 48 and 49. Haydn, with this long-delayed arrival of the E, is hinting at his great climax, but also veiling it—for E-natural functions here not as the bright major third of the bright parallel major tonic chord, but as part of a neighbor-dominant 7th with an added minor 9th, pointing to the dark subdominant chord in C minor.

The next chromatic cycle can be reckoned as beginning in measure 50, with the start of the coda. It is also quite short—its twelfth pitch-class, A, being reached on the downbeat of measure 53. Being so short, I illustrate it:

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41 Throughout this section, I shall simply assign a linear order to various simultaneities. Since my purpose is not to prove the existence of a row, but simply the intent to articulate form through structures that comprise the presentation of the full chromatic, this should prove no stumbling-block.

42 As a subsidiary point of interest—not central to my primary technical hypothesis, but shedding light on it—it is worth noting that during this short cycle Haydn completes the full-chromatic in terms of the prelude’s bass-line. Since the pitch-class which completes it E—is the bright major third, we seem to have yet another foreshadowing of the great climax of Licht to come. Meanwhile, if we see the Prelude proper as ending just measures later, then perhaps this bass-line chromatic completion so close to the conclusion of the Prelude does, indeed, have structural significance.
Following this compact presentation of the total-chromatic Haydn makes use, in his next two cycles, of a subtle and powerful procedure that closely follows the rhetorical structure of the text.

The first cycle stretches from measures 54 to the downbeat of measure 66. From measure 54 through 56 we hear eleven of the twelve pitches of the complete chromatic universe, with only B♭ missing. This final constituent appears as part of the B♭ dominant seventh (6/5 inversion) at measure 66, and in doing so achieves rhetorical clarity, for within this cycle is contained the words »Am Anfange schuf Gott Himmel und Erde«—the opening verse of Genesis.

We are now set for the modulation to E♭—which immediately darkens to E♭ minor. This next cycle keeps us in suspense until the very last moment, where, at the greatest point of drama—theologically, dynamically, tonally—we finally arrive at C major, and that great fortissimo outburst on the word Licht.

Here, vividly, we can feel the tremendous logic and artistic power of Haydn’s »secret dodecaphonic art.« He has made us long for a sense of chromatic completion—just as in traditional tonal terms, one might long for a long-deferred tonic. Our unconscious longing is for that greatly delayed E-natural—a pitch we have not heard since measure 54. Just as the universe, it might be said, longed for God to utter the »creative word«—Licht—so we long for that E-natural which so dazzles us when it finally arrives in measure 86.

43 For the analytic purposes of this article I am using a »continuous« measure number count—going directly from the »Prelude« to the »Recitative.«
5. Late Haydn—Chromatically Bold; Chromatically Logical

Haydn is making form-defining use of what is, tonally-speaking, the most formless of musical structures: total-chromaticism. And we must remember how striking this was in Haydn’s day, when chromaticism still to a degree represented wild territory outside the quiet stability of diatonicism, which was far more easily kept-in-tune.44

Interestingly, the »Prelude« to The Creation, »The Representation of Chaos,« does not come to a complete close; Haydn ends with a measure of only three beats—the last beat marked with a fermata. The implication of the notation is he wants us to consider the upbeat of the next movement, an »Aria with Chorus,« as a continuation of the opening »Prelude and Recitative,« even as its tonality is strikingly different: A major.

When we analyze these continuous, yet ever-so-different pieces in light of the total-chromatic procedure I have been describing, we see how Haydn has managed, at once, both to separate and to join them. The separation is achieved through the use of tonalities at opposite ends of the »circle of fifths;«45 the connection is achieved not only along the »metric« lines just described, but also by a far less obvious procedure: the need to continue to working through all twelve pitch-classes until their expression is complete—and to do so in order to set up a significant structural moment.

Sure enough, beginning at the great outburst on Licht, which marked the last chromatic cycle, we complete the next cycle sixteen measures into the next movement—just before the return of Uriel as he sings: »Nun schwanden vor dem heiligen Strahle.«46 In »Is Beauty the Making One of Opposites,« an essay which consists of fifteen technical questions about aesthetics, Eli Siegel asks this concerning the relation of »Continuity and Discontinuity« in art:

Is there to be found in every work of art a certain progression, a certain indissoluble presence of relation, a design which makes for continuity?—and is there to be found, also, the discreteness, the individuality, the brokenness of things: the principle of discontinuity?47

44 In Baroque Affektenlehre, the chromatic was most often associated with distress, pain, confusion. By the late 1700’s this understanding of the chromatic had been, to a degree, modified due to the »rationalist« victory of equal-temperament. Nevertheless, the overwhelming tendency of composers (as opposed, perhaps, to acoustic theorists) was still to associate clarity and order with the diatonic, and music representing emotional stress and disorder with the chromatic. Certainly, few composers of his time could equal late Haydn in what I am describing—such constant circulation of the total-chromatic. And, if I am correct, no other composer used that very circulation with the »structure-defining« compositional purpose. No one until Webern!

45 With its three flats the »Prelude« is just opposite to the three sharps of this movement. The move to C major at the end of the »Prelude,« then, is an exact middle-point in the journey between these extreme tonalities.

46 The twelfth pitch-class is A#, and appears first in measure 14.

These words plainly are relevant to the musical matters we have just been considering.

It happens that this »chromatic-cycling« procedure was one that Haydn used fairly continuously in his late sacred music—both in the »Esterhazy« masses and in his later oratorio, The Seasons. Having done an exhaustive study of the matter, which I hope shortly to publish, I am in a position to affirm that what we observe vis-à-vis The Creation is the composer’s »standard-operating-procedure« in these works.

To anticipate an obvious question, it should be said that while Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert certainly use a good deal of chromaticism in their sacred music, they do not use it with the same purpose we here observe: to define internal structure through the systematic completion of the total-chromatic. For that matter, Haydn himself does not use the technique in his earlier sacred music. The procedure seems to have arisen just around the time he was conceiving The Creation; the time, in other words, when he needed to wrestle with the problem of how, using »classical tonal vocabulary« he could nevertheless »represent chaos.«

Perhaps—and this is speculation—the continuing warfare in Europe during the early »Napoleonic« years had something to do with it. Perhaps, in his emotional depths, Haydn felt an urgent need to relate all the human disorder and suffering he saw around him to his deep-seated belief in a fundamentally kind, just and orderly Deity. However this might be, in this »Secret Dodecaphonic Art,« we can see evidenced, in another way, the very thing that so interested Tovey: Haydn’s deep wrestling with fundamental aesthetics—the opposites of order and disorder; coherence and incoherence; the rational and the chaotic.

That Haydn’s technique happens to parallel Webern’s comes as a surprise. One has to assume, on the basis of the fact that no advocate of serial composition—composer or theorist—ever mentioned it before, that likely the observations presented in this article would have surprised Webern, as well.

6. Coda: Philosophic Musicology and the Emotion of Gratitude

In »The Representation of Chaos,« as Tovey implies, Haydn has achieved an artistic success that equally deserves to be seen as a philosophic success. It is precisely because music does involve the deepest of all philosophic issues—the ontological question of how best to understand the relation of reality’s permanent opposites—that we cannot have a true musicology until that musicology is consciously philosophic.

Far from taking us on distant »metaphysical flights,« a truly philosophic approach ought to sharpen our detailed technical perception of what is happening in the music, itself, as well as our understanding of why the technical structure of the music has the emotional impact it does. The key is an understanding of the land-
mark Aesthetic Realism principle quoted earlier—Eli Siegel’s statement: »The world, art and self explain each other: each is the aesthetic oneness of opposites.«

In honor of the three great masters we’ve been studying—the musicologist Donald Francis Tovey, the philosopher Eli Siegel, and the composer Franz Josef Haydn—let us conclude with these moving words by Tovey. They are from one of his earliest works, the 1901 essay, »The Enjoyment of Music.«

Tovey writes:

The key to musical and all artistic experience is the maintaining of a correct attitude concerning the works of a mind greater than your own.

He is calling for is the emotion which should inform all of musicology: the emotion of honest gratitude.

Sazetak

DONALD FRANCIS TOVEY, ESTETIČKI REALIZAM I POTREBA ZA FILOZOFIJSKOM MUZIKOLOGIJOM

Donald Francis Tovey imao je jasan filozofski pristup muzikologiji. Rano i tijekom čitave svoje karijere pisao je o umjetnosti u okvirima pomirbe suprotnosti, vjerujući da je glazba nešto što u makrokozmosu izražava prirodu stvarnosti. Međutim, nikada nije bio u stanju opisati taj mikrokozmos na sebi zadovoljavajući način i apelirao je na »filozofe, kvalificirani od mene da razrade teoriju da je cjelovitost umjetničkog djela tip beskonačnosti«. Toveyevu molbu definitivno je uslijedjeno djelo velikog američkog pjesnika i filozofa Elija Siegela, utemeljitelja estetičkog realizma koji je ustvrdio: »Svijet, umjetnost i vlastitost objašnjavaju jedno drugo: svako je estetičko jedinstvo suprotnosti«. Ovo načelo tvori pojmovni most koji ujedinjuje tehnike i svjetlosti (i često apstraktne) studije glazbene strukture s teorijama primalaštva koje se bave vrlo ljudskim pitanjem o tome zašto se zanimamo za glazbu. Da bi se osvijetlilo koliko je ključna ideja jedinstva suprotnosti bila za Toveyevu misao te kako je on o njoj mislio tehnički, ovaj se članak bliže bavi opisom Haydnova »Predstavljanja kaosa« u njegovu djelu Essays in Musical Analysis (Ogledi o glazbenoj analizii).

Takoder je pružen kratak uvid u stavak ’Fantasia’ njegova opusa 76, br. 6, jer se na svoj način bavi pomirbom reda i nereda. Članak završava predstavljanjem nove analitičke paradigme za kasnog Haydna, uključujući Stvrnjane. Čudnovato je što izgleda da je Haydn u svojoj kasnoj sakralnoj glazbi upotrebljavao jasno »dodekaftonsku« tehniku. Glazbene strukture naznačene su na temelju kompletiranja ciklusa kroz »totalnu kromatiku«. Upotrebljavajući ovaj strukturni postupak Haydn je više od stoljeća ranije anticipirao ono što je Webern opisao kao tehniku kojom je organizirao takva djela kao što su njegovih Šest bagatela za gudači kvartet, op. 9.