Peter Winter was born in Mannheim in August 1754. At the time the celebrated court orchestra of the Elector Palatine, Carl Theodor, was still directed by Johann Stamitz, who died in 1757. Stamitz, along with Ignaz Holzbauer and Franz Xavier Richter, all three originally from Austria-Bohemia, made up the first generation of Mannheim musicians, born around 1710. The second generation, born around 1730, included Christian Cannabich, the Toeschi brothers Carl Joseph and Johann Baptist, and Ignaz Fränzl, all leaders of the Mannheim orchestra at one time or another, and all violinists, plus Anton Fils, cellist. Each was a prolific composer, especially of symphonies. Cannabich, the greatest leader, joined the orchestra as a “scholar” violinist at the age of twelve and rapidly advanced to the front desks under the tutelage of Stamitz, whom he replaced as director. In 1774 Carl Theodor named Cannabich Directeur de la musique instrumentale, a title previously conferred only on Stamitz. It emphasizes the importance of instrumental concerts at Mannheim but should not obscure the orchestra’s other duties under Kapellmeister Holzbauer of playing frequently in the pit of the opera house and in the court chapel within the palace, as well as the large court church, or Jesuit Church, just outside the palace.

Winter belonged to the third generation of Mannheim musicians, born around 1750. Among his contemporaries were Stamitz’ sons, Carl and Anton, and the violinist Wilhelm Cramer, who carried the Mannheim orchestral discipline to London. Winter joined the court orchestra at an even earlier age than Cannabich—ten—and Cramer topped this by joining at age eight. Their teachers naturally came from within the orchestra. Besides Cannabich, Winter’s teachers included the elder Thomas Hampel, not to be confused with Anton Joseph Hampel, famous Bohemian hornist of the Dresden court orchestra. Thomas Hampel was a violist who also played clarinet in the Mannheim orchestra. The most prominent horn players at Mannheim contemporary with Winter were Franz Anton Dimmler and the brothers Franz and Martin Lang. They were all pupils of Joseph Ziwiny, the Bohemian hornist in Palatine service. There were many intermarriages among the families that populated the Mannheim orchestra, ballet, and opera, tending to make them a tightly-knit social group. Leopold Mozart, visiting Mannheim in 1763, was amazed that so many musicians were well-paid and secure enough in their employment that they owned their own houses, and fine houses at that, he says, a very rare phenomenon elsewhere at the time.¹

Georg Joseph Vogler began his rise to prominence via a different route, namely the church. Born near Würzburg in 1749, he was schooled by the Jesuits, studied law, and then three years of theology at Bamberg, where he was already prominent as a keyboard player.
After arriving in Mannheim in 1771, he was appointed a court chaplain. Carl Theodor, noting his musical talents, subsidized the young man’s studies with Padre Martini in Bologna and Padre Vallotti in Padua. Back in Mannheim by November 1775, he was named vice maestro di cappella under Holzbauer, and spiritual counsellor to the Elector. Further financial aid from Carl Theodor enabled Vogler to begin publishing a series of theoretical works on music. *Tonwissenschaft und Tonsatzkunst* and a treatise on the voice appeared in 1776. Two years later came *Kurpfälzische Tonschule* and the first of three volumes in the series *Betrachtungen der Mannheimer Tonschule* (Observations on the Mannheim School of Music), which is what concerns us here.

At some point, probably as soon as he returned to Mannheim, Vogler became Winter’s composition teacher. The *Betrachtungen* offer lengthy discussions of pieces, mostly written for or associated with Mannheim, exemplified in separate volumes by notated excerpts or sometimes entire scores, as is the case with Winter’s Symphony in D minor, composed under Vogler’s tutelage. This was a considerable tribute to young Winter by Vogler, who filled the *Betrachtungen* mainly with his own music, and discussions thereof, or with that of Kleinmeister pupils so obscure they can scarcely be traced. “Mannheim school,” claims the title, but one looks in vain for discussions of music by any of the Stamitzes, Richter, Holzbauer, Cannabich, Fils, or the Toeschis. The major masters who visited Mannheim in the 1770s, Mozart among them, are also lacking, with one notable exception, Johann Christian Bach, who provided the court with operas in 1772 and 1775. In question then is not the Mannheim School but Vogler’s school.

Mannheim symphonies for a time were in four movements with minuet, after the pattern established by Johann Stamitz in the 1750s. During the mid-1760s Cannabich led the way back to the Italian three-movement form, fast-slow-fast, with which Stamitz began. The shift is so general in the Cannabich entourage that it can be used for purposes of dating. Winter’s Symphony in D minor is in three movements, Allegro, Andante in the relative major key of F, and Allegro assai.

Vogler introduces Winter in the issue of the *Betrachtungen* dated 15 August 1778 as the leader of the orchestra in the *National Schauspiel*, that is, the new German-language theater outside the palace, across from the Jesuit Church. Most symphonies, says Vogler, are in the major mode, in line with the pomp and brilliance expected of them as openers at concerts and at theatrical productions. Nevertheless, Winter has chosen the minor mode and 3/4 time instead of the usual 4/4 or *alla breve* for his first movement. One is not used to this choice, says Vogler: “Mann ist nicht gewöhnt das erste Allegro eine Sinfonie in drei-viertel Takt zu sehen.” True enough. Out of some eighty-five symphonies by Cannabich, only seven substitute an opening Allegro in 3/4 time for one in common time. One alone is in minor—No. 50 in D minor dating from 1776. It begins with a unison passage in the strings.

Vogler selects the opening Allegro of Winter’s Symphony for a detailed phrase-by-phrase-commentary, citing instances that he finds worthy of explication. It could be that some of the details that he praises are those that, as a teacher, he either suggested or revised. Vogler keys his remarks in the *Betrachtungen* to large Arabic numerals that he inserts in the score printed in the first volume of *Gegenstände der Mannheimer Tonschule*. This necessitates a
lot of going back and forth between both sources, which do not always match up. While Vogler’s stated intention is to explain all to the Liebhaber and refine his musical tastes, much of what he offers must have been beyond the ken of the average amateur.

What follows is a translation of Vogler’s commentary, the original of which may be found in an appendix below. I add some commentaries of my own, placed in brackets. Both are to be read in conjunction with the two pages from the Gegenstände reproduced here as Plates 1 and 2. In order to save space Vogler placed the horn parts separately at the end of the score.

The opening Allegro must always be fiery and have grandeur. 3/4 time, to the contrary, has something dragging and trifling about it, and is thus appropriate to a minuet. We shall now see whether this Allegro resembles a minuet.

1) It begins with unisons. The discourse can scarcely be more natural than in unisons. The facture is simpler, more flowing, easier to remember, and more lightly taken in performance. These grounds suffice to protect Mannheim symphonies from the biting charge that they all begin in unison; especially, when one compares their performance with other symphonies, which often—not always, and not all of them—bring nothing to the market but trifling. [Tasto solo means play no chords above the bass.]

2) A gentler idea follows immediately upon the opening and thus becomes a part of the main theme because the listener takes them in simultaneously. [The bass is elaborately figured, down to the eighth note even, less for the benefit of continuo players, of which there may have been none, than for the industrious amateur reader, because this treatise serves as a continuation of the lessons in harmony and counterpoint of the previous treatises.]

3) The suspended seventh tone D in the second violin resolves properly to C sharp and the contrary motion against the bass is pleasing.

4) The ensuing B♭ in the second violin is better prepared by this E♭ than it would be by an E♮. [Linear considerations as to voice-leading are clearly important to the author.]

5) This is an example of a deceptive cadence to the flat sixth.

6) This web is very multifarious although each part by itself is simply set. If these harmonies were less unusual and cadential they would be somewhat dry and confusion could arise. [The author thus defends the many repetitions. Winter courts chance by recalling the rhythmic pattern of another dance, the chaconne, present in three of the voices over and over, but contravened by the second violin’s simple trochaic pattern, falling with a melodic sigh from B♭ to A six times, the last in a rhythmic augmentation, before finally resolving down to G.]

7) This four-voiced writing closes the period very convincingly. [There is not a single word in English that conveys all the musical meanings of German Satz, which I translated in point 1 as “facture,” defined as the action,
manner or style of making something.]
8) The bass receives the theme and leads through artful modulation to
9) C major [actually a dominant seventh chord of B♭ in second inversion
with C in the bass, and the tonic, F, supplied only by the horns, which have
also made a crescendo along with the strings, indicated by wedge signs. The
crescendo and diminuendo, used so precisely here, were trademarks of the
Mannheim orchestra]. Then leading to
10) F major [actually a full dominant seventh of F major, in which chord
the horns alone supply the fifth, G].
11) The runs of the first violins,
12) Against the thrusting basses,
13) And the rattling of the middle voices warm the listener’s fantasy.
14) An unexpected turn leads the modulation apparently, as if by error,
toward G minor by means of its fifth tone D and the major third, F♯.
15) The ear is even more surprised with the turn from G to C.
16) And finally to the inverted pre-cadential chord of F [i.e., in 6/4 posi-
tion] leading to
17) The cadence on its fifth degree, C.

It is precisely this rustling, busy passage at the bottom of the first page of the score, where
the strings are used to the maximum—brilliant runs in the first violins, for which the
Mannheim orchestra was also famous, supported by the clearly etched pendulum bass in
eighth notes and the texture-filling tremolos in sixteenth notes of the second violins and
violas—that Vogler addresses in detail when he poses the question of how the two horns
can best enhance this “fantasy.” Plate 2 shows the end of the score followed by the horn
parts, marked Corni Tono F. Horns pitched in the relative major of a piece in the minor
mode were a common choice and one made often by Joseph Haydn, but not always. An
advantage of the choice is that a movement in the minor mode customarily spends a large
part of the time in the relative major anyway, and even when the piece does inhabit tonic
minor the natural horns can provide several good chord tones. Vogler does not address this
question. Nor does he have anything to say about what the horns add to the octave-unison
beginning in the strings, namely the fifth degree, an octave a’-a. The horns are sounding a
fifth below notated pitch. These stentorian half-notes sounding the octave a’-a forte—lacking
any other indication in music of the time the dynamic is loud—change the character of the
piece markedly. Leaving the horns out of consideration, Vogler spoke only of unisons and
their effects. Thanks to the horns the predominant affect is of empty fifths, a stark and eerie
sound that makes the beginning much more menacing. The horns then remain silent until
they reenter, pianissimo, with the same octave a’-a, corresponding to the passage beginning
softly with the main motif in the bass at the beginning of the third system of Plate 1. The
horns make a similar crescendo to forte as in the strings, then provide important chord
tones lacking in the strings, as indicated in points 9 and 10 above.
Plate 1

Gegenstände, Bd. I
[Vogler continues:] Much useful information can be gleaned from the facture of the horn parts in Winter’s symphony. Here only a few details are singled out, so as not to deprive the curious searcher the opportunity for
further pleasant discoveries. In all situations where special instruments are used [i.e., any instruments besides the strings] the principle applies that the simpler the part set against a complicated texture the more impressive will be its effect. Therefore one can neither attain variety if the horn borrows its passages from the usual hunting pieces, nor obtain unity if all possible tones, including false ones, should be strung together in order that the instrument never remains silent. We explain this in an example marked f:2. on Plate VI [Plate 2 of this article, bottom].

At letters I and K the horns are set in a hunting manner. Played thus they do not penetrate and the piece will not benefit, nor will its variety be enhanced. [The example is condensed from the passage in the score that begins with the last measure of the third system and goes through the next four measures.] If one gives the horns tones such as at letters L and M they will not be heard above the din of the other instruments, and their tones accord ill with the orchestra, lending no strength to the harmony. [At letter M note the use of a false tone, an f's, yielding sounding b'n; clever hornists could of course produce this tone by one trick or another but the issue is that it would not sound out to the full.] How does one, on the other hand, describe the magnificent effect of the horns in the setting at letters N, O, P, and Q?

The example at f:3. shows another horn passage that deserves commentary. [It corresponds to mm. 79-80 in the score, after the key of F has been fully established and is being celebrated with the familiar rocking passage in eighth notes in the bass.] Many observers would perhaps expect the greatest effect from the high staccato tones of the horns at letter R, but in performance it sounds as if children had put paper and comb to their mouths in order to imitate the posthorn. No majestic sound can issue from these tones. If, on the other hand, one gives the horns sustained tones of the fifth and tenth above the tonic as at letter S, then a terrifying, harmonious roaring will emerge from their bells, one that joins unity to variety.

The example at f:4 illustrates a few more points worthy of observation. The single held tones in the first two measures have more strength than if the horn players, misguided, should trill these notes. Whoever possesses a correct knowledge of tonal properties will surely know that this sounding g' at letter I, which is a whole tone above f', should be a small whole tone, otherwise it sounds sharp. Even this imperfection, the removal of which has caused dry pedants to dirty thousands of pieces of paper, is instructive. The unison of both horns on the sounding F and letter K, as the fifth above b♭, works with pure power upon the ear, while the sixth proceeding to the octave at letter L and M is potent enough to shake the floor. [The passage, corresponding to mm. 112-15, is the only one in the movement during which Winter introduces E♭, the Neapolitan harmony in relation to the returning
key of tonic D minor.] The doubled fifth at letter M speaks with full fire. [There should have been a spatial break on the page here because the last two measures skip ahead to the movement’s biggest cadence at mm. 159-60.] At letters N and O the first horn marks time and the second horn doubles the second violin [recte: the higher horn part doubles the viola in descending a'–g'–f'; Vogler makes no objection to the horns marking the eighth-note pulse at this climactic moment].

These observations could prove useful in a thousand other cases. Only recently were horns used in this way. One is already beginning to combine four horns pitched differently, and so also with trumpets. We had here on the most recent nameday celebration of his Electoral Highness of the Palatinate a Mass performed at which two choirs of trumpets and drums at different pitches, and three choirs of horns, likewise at different pitches, combined to produce an effect of unheard of splendor. [The gala day in question was 4 November 1777, the feast of St. Charles Borromeo, Carl Theodor’s patron saint. Visitors to Mannheim on that day, who included Mozart and his mother, make no mention of such an extravagant ensemble, and no music survives that even approaches these specifications. Vogler’s vivid imagination may have run away with him in describing combined brass choirs of Berlioz-sized proportions.]

Vogler makes no comment on the soft passage in the strings, marked dolce, that follows the climactic cadence and begins his Plate VI (Plate 2 of this article, top) yet it is quite remarkable. The two violins sound a legato farewell in even eighth notes spaced an octave apart. Northern German critics carped about this very texture of violins in octaves as one of the defects of Viennese music and they blamed its invention specifically on Joseph Haydn. I have shown that, before Haydn, it was used very effectively by Joseph Starzer in his ballet music. It may well be a technique that emerged from the performance practice of popular dance bands in Vienna. By the 1770s it had spread far and wide. Still, young Winter in using it demonstrates how au courant he was in this, his first symphony.

There is further discussion of Winter’s Symphony in D Minor by Vogler in the third volume of the Betrachtungen but no more on the horn parts. The Andante excludes horns. The finale has them but the parts raised no new issues Vogler deemed worthy of comment. His remarks on the first movement’s use of horns in the new manner are all the more remarkable for the rarity of such observations. Where else could one turn for such advice from the time? What he says about enhancing a full orchestral texture with sustained horns is sound reasoning, based on experience with a famous court band.

Southern Germany produced only one other writer on music of the time as distinguished and prolific as Vogler, Schubart. In his well-known tribute to the Mannheim orchestra, which he heard in 1773 under Cannabich, Schubart sang its virtues in rhapsodic terms, one sentence of which reinforces Vogler’s main point: “The wind instruments are all employed as they should be: they elevate and carry, or fill and animate the storm raised by the violins.”
Plate 3
Diderot and D’Alembert, *Encyclopédie* (1762)
Besides sustaining chord tones in their most potent registers, Winter's horn parts sometimes “fill” gaps by supplying tones otherwise lacking in the harmony, as has already been noted. The most stirring example of this comes just before the climactic cadence on tonic D, filled above by the “storms” of the violins leaping over each other in rapid arpeggios, followed by two similar measures of subdominant G, then two similar measures of diminished seventh harmony, vii° of V, over G♭ in the bass. For the horn parts see their last six measures, marked forte, of the antepenultimate line on Plate 2. They accompany the tonic with a third, f’ and a’, the subdominant with a unison g’, and they emit a resounding f’-f octave to complete the fourth member of the diminished chord, otherwise missing. Here the horns truly do shake the floorboards!

A word is in order on the rejected Jadigmässig passages that Vogler called ill-advised. It is possible that Winter, in the innocence and fervor of his youth, had committed these very imprudences, in which case we are witness to a private lesson correcting the error of his ways becoming a public one. The hunt-like characteristics of the faux-passages consisted of disjunct intervals in high position, mostly oscillating thirds. Such showy caterwauling was indeed to be found in the traditional hunting calls of the eighteenth century, the airs de chasse. We need look no further than the call used to rouse the pursuing dogs, named L’Appel, to find the high third and fifth in rapid oscillation. It may be seen on Plate 3, the second of five plates devoted to “La Chasse” in the Encyclopédie of Diderot and D’Alembert, from a volume of plates dating from 1762. This particular call figures prominently in one of the greatest symphonic hunting pieces, along with Halali, the chant of victory over the stag, that piece being the overture La Chasse du Jeune Roi Henri by Étienne Méhul.

Elector Carl Theodor fell heir to Bavaria in 1778, adding its crown to the six he already possessed. He gave his Palatine court officials and servants the choice of remaining in Mannheim on full salary or following him to Munich. Winter chose Munich, along with Cannabich and the two Toeschis. Richter had left in 1769 on becoming Kapellmeister of Strasbourg Cathedral. Fils died young in 1760. Only Fränzl and Holzbauer remained behind in Mannheim, plus Vogler, who stayed until 1784 when he was summoned to Munich as Kapellmeister. He held the post only two years before resigning to begin a series of tours that took him as far as Greece, North Africa, and Stockholm, where he became Kapellmeister of Gustavus III, King of Sweden. Vogler’s eventual successor as Kapellmeister of the Bavarian court in 1787 was Peter Winter, who enjoyed a long life as a prolific and successful composer of opera.

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2) Nach dem Hauptsaze folgt gleich ein sanfter Sinn, der eben dadurch auch gleichsam zum Hauptsaz wird; weil er den Zuhörer gleich einnimt.


4) Das zweite Zwischengesang wär etwas hart ausgefallen, wenn vor dem b das e hätte hergehen sollen: das es ist also geläufiger und weicher, als das rasche e…

5) Dies ist ein Beispiel eines verstellten schlussfalles in der weichen Leiter.

6) Dies Gewebe ist sehr mannigfaltig, ohneracht, dass jede Stimme an und vor sich einfach gesetzt ist. Wenn diese gedrängte Harmonien nicht die verwandetste und schlussfallmässigste, sondern etwas trocken wären: so entstünde eine Verwirrung.

7) Dieser verstimmige Saz schliesst sehr bündig diesen Period.

8) Nun bekomst der Bass das Thema, und leitet durch künstliche Wendungen das Stück in das harte C 9) und harte F 10).

Diese Läufe der ersten Geige 11); das Abstossen des Bass 12); Prasseln der Mittelstimmen 13) erhizen die Fantasie des Zuhörers.

Eine unerwartete Wendung leitet die Ausweichung dem Scheine nach, wie auf einen Irrweg in das weiche G vermittels dessen fünften Tones D mit der grossen Dritte fis 14), das Gehör wird aber noch mehr überrascht, da es den fünften Ton G vom C 15) und zuletzt den umgewendeten Schlussfall vom ersten Tone F 16) in seinen fünften C 17) vernimmt…

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Von dem Waldhornsaz der Winter’schen Sinfonie lies sich noch viel nüzliches sagen… Man giebt hier blos den Fingerzeig an, um den Nachgrüblern die Gelegenheit zu
Entdeckungen, zu angenehm Erfindungen nicht zu benehmen.

Es ist immer bei allen solchen Verbindungen, wo mehrere sonderbare Instrumenten in eine annehmbare Eintracht sollen gebracht werden, eine ausgemachte Regel, das je einfacher jede Stimme vor sich, und je mannigfaltiger zum Ganzen gesetzt wird, desto eindruckvoller die Wirkung ausfalle. Deswegen könnte man sich weder eine Mannichfaltigkeit versprechen, wenn die Waldhorne ihre Gänge aus den gewöhnlichen Jagdstücken entlehnten; noch die Einheit erzielen, wenn sie alle nur mögliche auch falsche Töne zusammenstümpeln sollten, um niemal zu schweigen. Wir erklären dieses in einem Beispiel, Tafel VI. figure 2.

i) und k) sind die Waldhorne jagdmässig gesetzt: so dringen sie nicht durch, so wird das Stück nicht erhoben, und keine Mannigfaltigkeit zeichnet sich aus.

Will man ihnen aber jene Töne anweisen, wie 1) m): so höret man sie nicht unter den Getöse der Instrumenten, ihre Töne stimmen nicht zum Orchester, und keine Kraft beseelt die Harmonie.

Wie zeichnet sich aber hievon der prächtige Saz n) o) p) q) aus?

table 3. Auch jener Walshornsaz verdient eine Anmerkung. Manche würden vielleicht sich die herrlichste Wirkung von den hohen Tönen und abstossenden Bewegungen der Waldhorne r) versprochen haben, und, wenn es zum Werke kömmt, so klingt es eben, wie die Kinder mit einem Kamm am Munde und Papier die Posthörner nachahmen; kein majestätischer Klang wird jemal hievon ertönen. Gibt man aber aushaltende Noten wie s); dem zweiten Walshorn anstatt der gewöhnlichen Achte die Fünfte vom Hauptklange und so, dass diese beiden Waldhorne das Drittel und Fünftel vorstellen, dann wird ein schreckend harmonisches Gebrüll aus dem Scheidel kommen, das Einheit und Mannigfaltigkeit verbindet.


Wer von der Tonmässigung richtige Kenntnisse besitzt, wird wohl wissen, das dieses g i), welches zum ersten Tone f den Abstand eines ganzen Tones ausmachet, als Dritte zum es, in welcher Ableitung es ein kleiner ganzer Ton von f sein sollte, zu hoch stimme. Eben diese Unvollkommenheit, welche zu heben, seichte Tonschriftsteller taudend Ballen Papier zu Maculatur gemacht haben, leistet uns hier wesentliche Dienste.

Das im Einklange von beiden Hörnern ertönnende f k) als die Fünfte zum B wirkt mit lauter Gewalt aufs Ohr.

1) das c und a die 5 und 3 in arithmetischer Herleitung das 1/3 + 1/5 in harmonische Theilung vom Hauptklange und Grundtone F erschütten den Fussboden.

m) die doppelte Fünfte spricht voller Feuer.

n) und o) stelt das erste Waldhorn; die zweite Geige das zweite Waldhorn die Bratsche vor.

Diese Bemerkung wird in tausend andern Fällen eine nüzliche Anmerkung erzielen können.

Es ist noch nicht lang, dass man sich der Waldhorne auf diese Art benuzet. Man fängt schon an, vier Waldhorne aus mehrern Tönen, so auch Trompeten zu verbinden. Wir haben
hier am verflossenen Gallatag des höchsten Namenfestes Ihr Koahrfürstlichen Durchleucht zu Pfalz eine Messe aufführen gehört, wo zwei Chöre von Trompeten und Paucken aus verschiedenen Tönen und drei Chöre von Waldhorn ebenfalls aus verschiedenen Tönen zum gemeinschaftlichen Zwecke mit einem unerhörten Pracht wirken musten.

NOTES


2 Johann Michael Götz began a music publishing business in Mannheim in 1768 and held a privilege from Carl Theodor for the printing and selling of music from 1776. He printed Vogler’s theoretical works as well as the full score of Holzbauer’s opera *Günther von Schwarzburg*, Benda’s melodramas *Medea* and *Ariadne*, and symphonies by Fränzl and Cannabich.


4 Volume I includes music by these pupils and associates: Johann Georg Metzger; Hugo Friedrich, Baron von Kerpen; Friedrich Wilhelm Pixis (church organist in Mannheim); Johann Friedrich Hugo; Baron von Dallberg (director of the National Schauspiel there); and H. L. Kornacker (composer of songs in German and keyboard sonatas).


6 The *Gegenstände* were large volumes of music published in association with the *Betrachtungen*.


