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PAMIĘTNIK DO NAUKI HARMONII (1871) BY STANISŁAW MONIUSZKO: A FORGOTTEN 19TH-CENTURY METHOD OF TEACHING HARMONY*

The date of writing *Pamiętnik do nauki harmonii* ("A Diary for Learning Harmony") is uncertain. Some researchers argue that it was written as early as in the Vilnius period (Dziadek 177), as allegedly evidenced by Moniuszko's letter to Kazimierz Sikorski from April 1857, in which the composer expressed his desire to publish a series of articles on harmony in *Ruch Muzyczny* (Rudziński and Stokowska 244-245). However, this appears to be far from the truth, because the letter also says that there was no manuscript of the work at that time, with the composer only declaring his willingness to create it: "I focused on twelve sections and I could send them in parts because I have not written anything yet, but I would find it easy to write them for I have become proficient in explanation" (Rudziński and Stokowska 245). It is without a doubt that the main assumptions of Moniuszko's own method go back to his years of stay in Vilnius (1840-1858), which he, in fact, discloses further in the letter:

> my method is not a compilation whatsoever. I have developed it to teach people who are at least musically prepared to grasp the rules of harmony. Explanation must therefore be clear because I have already managed to enlighten several students having no know-

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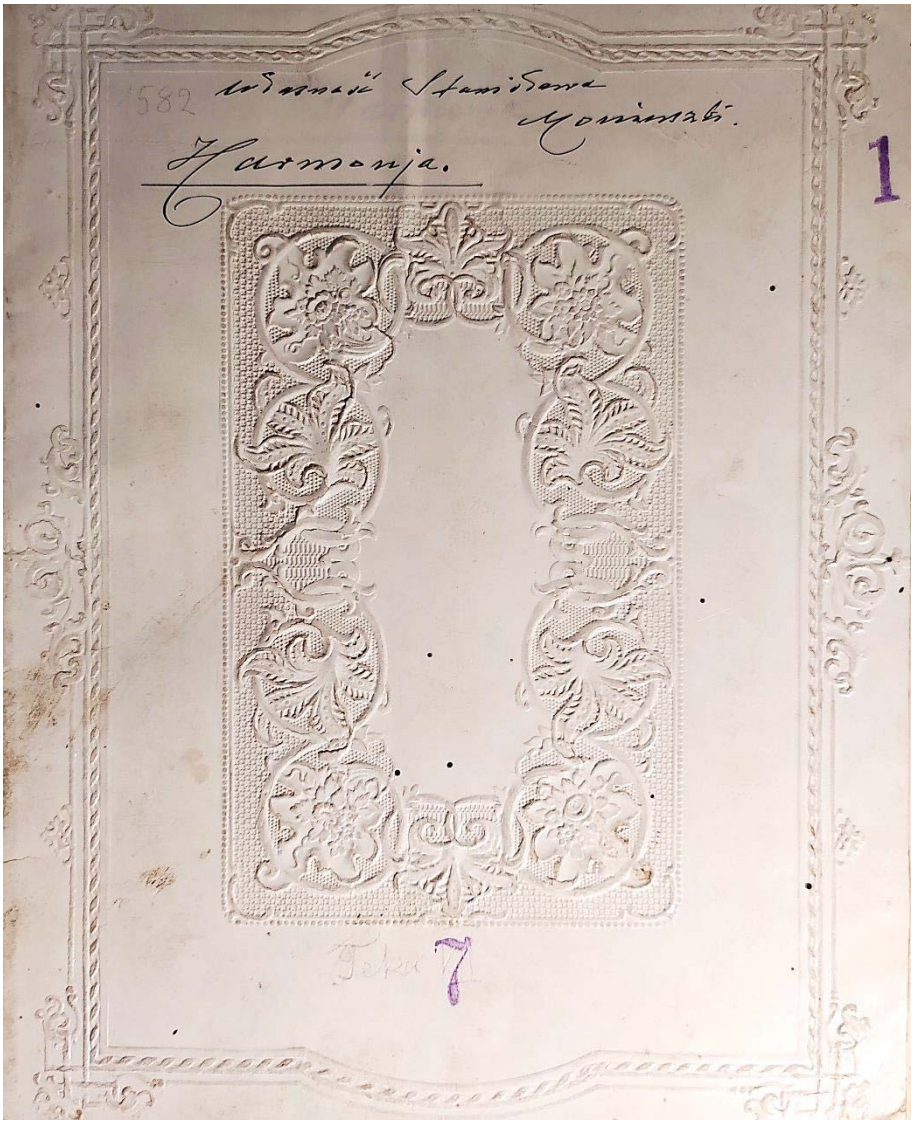
> ledge whatsoever with such a clear explanation. I will not touch on the topic of counterpoint, naturally; I will end with the ninth chords. (Rudziński and Stokowska 245)[1]

Unfortunately, it is not known whether Moniuszko received a reply from Sikorski and, if so, what the reply was. None of his texts on harmony were published in *Ruch Muzyczny* or any other journal. The "informative explanation of practical harmony" (Rudziński and Stokowska 244) was published in concise form in 1871, that is, several months before Moniuszko's sudden death.

The only sources of knowledge on Moniuszko's teaching harmony method are the print editions of *Pamiętnik* (at least four editions: the first one in 1871, the last one in 1894; cf. Mazur 130; Jachimecki 21) and over a dozen manuscript pages bearing the inscriptions "Harmonija" ("Harmony") and "Własność Dyrektora Stanisława Moniuszki" ("Property of Director Stanisław Moniuszko") – probably one of the copies of the script shared by the composer with his students before publishing his handbook (example 2). Vague mentions of his educational activity can also be identified in several 19th-century press articles and some books from 1873 to 2023. A rather special form of the handbook (in catechism-style, i.e. questions and answers), which actually became one of the reasons why the work was criticised (Kleczyński 38), also makes it difficult to capture the educational concept described in *Pamiętnik*. With such scarce material, it is a matter of regret that at the times when the 1866–72 Institute graduates were still alive and when many valuable source materials were yet to be destroyed in the Second World War, nobody responded to Rzepko's call where he hoped that "one day, perhaps, a former student of Moniuszko's will combine the remaining notes with the published *Pamiętnik* to reconstruct the entire teaching process of our maestro for impartial musicians to learn so that it will become an excellent handbook for those wishing to discover harmony in its underpinnings" (Rzepko 130). Unfortunately, none of the researchers took an interest in the aforementioned notes or contacted the persons who had attended classes given by Moniuszko in their youth. Rudziński concludes that "no notes from harmony lectures have been found so far" (Rudziński, *Moniuszko w Warszawie* 748). In this regard, musicologists were only interested in two short articles in which *Pamiętnik* was seen rather pejoratively (Wójcik-Keuprulian; Feicht). When looking at the judgments given in them, which failed to be verified by any researchers later on, it is striking that the criticism of the "Harmony handbook" was accompanied by widespread recognition of Moniuszko's harmony mastery, for whom it was indeed harmony that formed the basis of "all musical ideas" (Jachimecki 7).

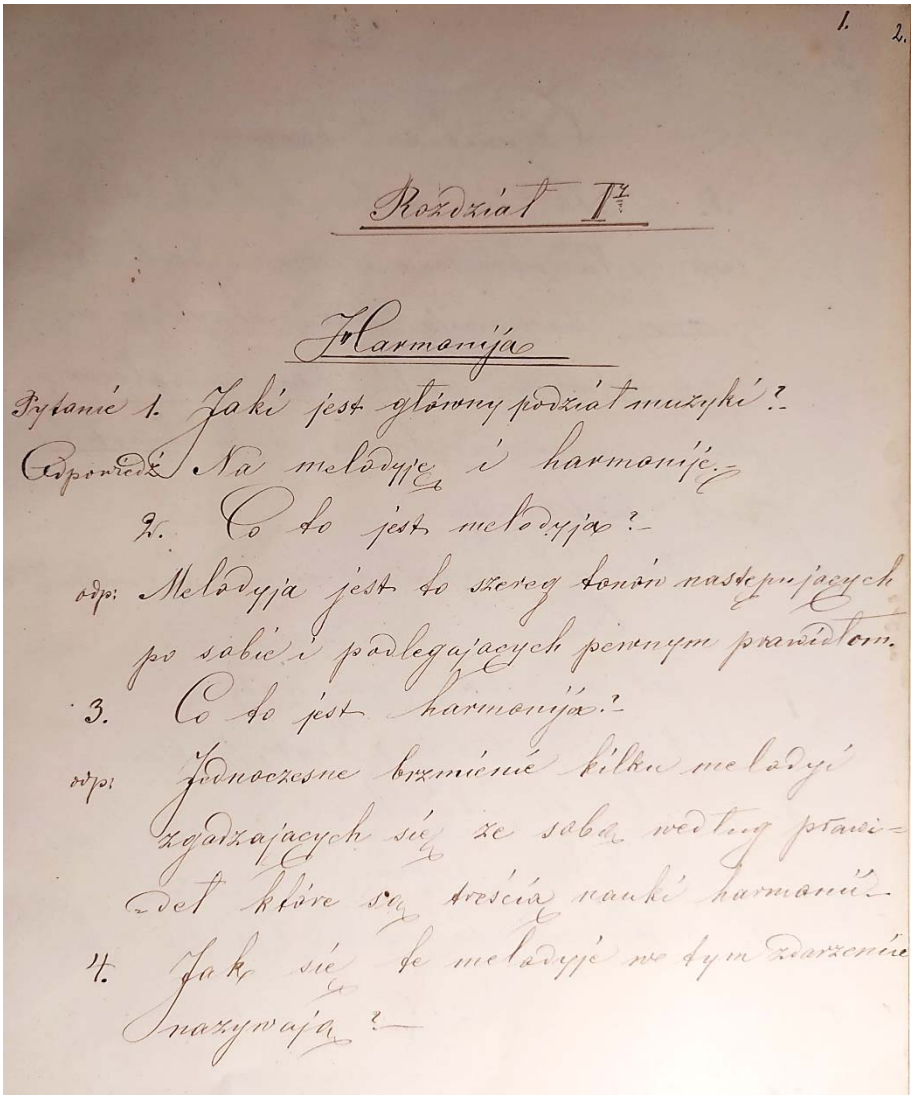
[1] All quotations in this article have been translated from Polish.

Example 1. *Pamiętnik do nauki harmonii*, cover page (Jagiellonian Library, sign. 3755 III).



Example 2a. Cover of the Moniuszko's manuscript (WTM, sign. D 53/1).

The cover bears the inscription "Teka VII" and two blue stamps, "7" and "1", meaning that the scripts were kept in numbered files.



Example 2b. The first page of the Moniuszko's manuscript (WTM, sign. D 53/1).

The manuscript contains 104 questions with answers, which are consistent with the content of *Pamiętnik* in substantial terms. The order of the questions is often different, and the answers are more concise. There are no musical examples in the manuscript either. The first page features the date of 27 January 1870 and an inscription saying that the manuscript was gifted to the Warsaw Music Society by Zofia Wyhowska – Stanisław Moniuszko's daughter, on 9 November 1906.

Despite objective methodological obstacles, the most important aspects of Moniuszko's method of teaching harmony can be reconstructed. Its hermeneutic reconstruction starts with a revision of the aforementioned pejorative opinions, which were formulated nearly one hundred years ago based on hasty research. Let us quote one of them. Emphasising the accuracy of the word *Pamiętnik* (in literal translation "Diary") used by Moniuszko, Bronisława Wójcik-Keuprulian stated that "the informative value and conciseness [of this work] mean that it could be primarily – and almost only – used by Moniuszko's students to commit his lectures to memory" (230). However, she failed to notice that this word, which she actually repeats after Opieński, who, in turn, quotes the somewhat superficial words of Żeleński and Roguski, departs from the composer's own idea, as disclosed in his preface to the first edition of *Pamiętnik* (Opieński 419; Żeleński and Roguski, Preface). The preface reads:

> Teaching harmony absorbs many minds. Some minds attempt to present it in the finest of details, whereas others attempt to capture it as concise chapters. Experience shows that it was the latter that contributed to this science the most. Their works played a part in rendering [learning time] shorter and easier; after all, the subject is yet to be exhausted, and thus it can be followed and new changes can be introduced. Indeed, this work has several new details, which do not affect the previous ones whatsoever and which are only given as ideas that may, one day, deserve to become fixed rules. Before that, however, let them be used by harmony students to commit the oral lecture to memory, and that is why this book is named *Pamiętnik* for I lack a more accurate term. (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik*, Preface).

Indeed, Moniuszko states that the handbook serves the purpose of committing his oral lectures to memory. However, he stresses that this is the case only until "several new details", which he proposed as ideas, become fixed rules for teaching harmony. By using the future tense to say that his ideas "may, one day, deserve to become fixed rules" (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik*, Preface), he obviously referred to the moment in which they would be included in the teaching methods of his times. This short explanation, which was omitted by researchers at that time, is a key hint to deciphering the true profile of *Pamiętnik*, which was considered a substitute for a script of little merit in isolation from the lessons given by the composer himself. However, Moniuszko's words quoted here do not refer only to his lessons, but also reflect a deep conviction that his educational concept may be a viable alternative to the method of teaching harmony as applied in his times. It should also be emphasised that his deep belief in the effectiveness of the method is accompanied by the awareness that the manuscript he submitted to the Hösick publishing house in 1871 was rough – not only in terms of form, but

also in terms of the clear presentation of the assumptions of his method. After all, the hope that the "details" he proposed would become "fixed rules" in the future proves that his method of teaching, despite having been successfully used by him for several years, was yet to be shaped to be able to compete with the conventional methods of other authors. Had it not been for Moniuszko's sudden death, he would have been able to develop his original teaching ideas and make his handbook more refined.

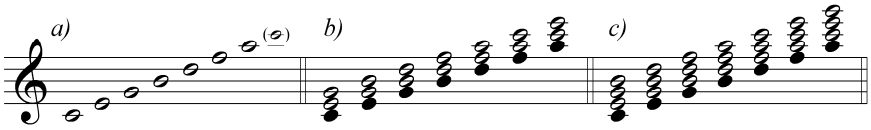
Moniuszko's statement, which has failed to be noticed until now, means that those pejorative opinions, on which the unjust conviction of Moniuszko's teaching skills was founded, become baseless. Given that the composer was aware of the weaknesses in the manuscript submitted to Hösick, the content of his handbook cannot be any longer considered equivalent to the actual quality of the lessons given by him. Moreover, the lack of reference to the "speculative" area of harmony, which once used to be criticised heavily, cannot be interpreted pejoratively any longer either (Feicht 46). After all, this opinion stems from the comparison of *Pamiętnik* with the works of authors who, leaving originality behind, became part of the teaching trend drawing from the paradigms of musicology, which began to be formed at that time (Leman 13-14). Furthermore, many of them managed to refine the form of their works; however, this was not the case for Moniuszko (with the researchers of his times apparently forgetting about it). When analysing the facts from the last years of Moniuszko's life in depth, the intensifying pressure from the Institute authorities put on him seems to be the only reason for publishing a handbook that still required some polishing. The Institute, after all, required its lecturers not only to teach very well, but also to be involved in creating music handbooks. It was not only due to rather frequent absences from lessons, but also probably the lack of publication of such handbooks that Kątski started to consider the reduction of lessons given by Moniuszko and, thus, of his salary (Rudziński, *Moniuszko i jego muzyka* 275). Given the severe financial difficulties experienced by Moniuszko, the perspective of lowering his salary, which was low already, was far from acceptable for him in the last years of his life. By the end of 1871 one of the creditors had already taken a portion of his Institute salary (Rudziński, *Moniuszko* 272) due to an outstanding debt (Opieński 424). Even though there are no sources that directly mention the lack of educational publications as the reason for growing tensions between Moniuszko and the Director of the Institute (Walicki 79-80), it appears that the composer's declaration that he would soon publish a handbook relating to his classes may have been the strongest argument for Kątski to stop considering his idea. Still, having more duties than he could handle and the accumulating

problems in his working and family life allowed him to turn materials and notes he had used in his classes for years into a true handbook. This means that the manuscript he gave to Hösick did not considerably differ from the aforementioned script. Rzepko's words, who expressed his opinion that the work had been written "hastily", seem to be the strongest reflection of the fact that the handbook lacked the form that the composer would have liked the handbook to have. Even Moniuszko himself was indifferent to his work to such an extent that he did not encourage his students to purchase it (Rzepko 130).

MONIUSZKO'S METHOD OF TEACHING HARMONY

In order to avoid assessing *Pamiętnik* based on the literal content of this "hastily written" handbook, we should treat the once criticised "flaws" as elements of an original, yet unrefined educational concept, which did not stem from theoretical grounds but instead was developed by a maestro specialising in using harmony in composition practice.

The first feature of Moniuszko's method was to depart from teaching harmony "in the finest of details". He did so by rejecting the convention, common in his times, that the teaching process should start with scholarly rules. From the very beginning, the composer focused on thoroughly different areas than those emphasised by other 19th-century authors of handbooks in the Polish language. In the first chapters and lessons, the latter discussed the intellectual classification of chords to teach rules applied to them by presenting further types of chords. In this learning process, the primary objective to be achieved by students is thus to grasp the rules of harmony "intellectually", with the practical effect of their implementation, i.e. the specific sound "qualities" of chords and their combinations, being only secondary. As a result, students wholly focused on the rules that they had to implement "correctly" in scholarly exercises. It goes without saying that the primacy of intellectual knowledge, which was always emphasised, pushed aside the development of skills related to the aural perception of chords. Such an educational orientation, which was consistently developed at all learning stages, was considered by students as the only objective to pursue during harmony lessons. Moniuszko, on the other hand, rejects those intellectual classifications, which he must have learned while reading the harmony handbooks of his times, and replaces them with a single "theoretical model", which involves the comparison of thirds in two octaves (example 3*a*).



Example 3. (*a*) The "Theoretical model" applied by Moniuszko in his harmony lessons, allowing him to present the sounds of the two main chord types: triads (*b*) and seventh chords (*c*) to his students.

With this approach, there is no denying that Moniuszko had an effective educational tool at his disposal, which he could use during classes to develop the skill that he, as an active composer, valued much more highly than scholarly rules. That skill was h a r m o n i c h e a r i n g. The main advantage of the model, which was based on the elementary rule of chords built in thirds in Classical and Romantic harmony, was being able to show different sound "qualities" and aesthetic chords without referring to the intellectual approaches that usually accompanied discussing major-minor tonality. By writing the model on the blackboard and then playing any three notes that are a third away from each other, Moniuszko could present the sound of the three main types of triads: major, minor and diminished (Example 3*b*). By playing any four subsequent thirds, Moniuszko could demonstrate the sound of seventh chords consisting of thirds of different sizes (Example 3*c*). Some of the exercises performed by Moniuszko were, therefore, similar to those used nowadays in ear training classes (identifying chords by ear). It seems, however, that his teaching method also aimed to ensure active student learning and to develop their musical imagination (the subjective "evaluation" of chords and aesthetic associations). This learning process, which can be referred to as the sensual and sensualistic process, thus focused on bringing students' attention to the sounds of chords while also limiting theoretical knowledge on their construction and references to the "speculative" area of music theory to the minimum necessary. This is confirmed by Rzepko's works, who clearly noted that the composer concentrated on the sensations triggered by chords from the very first lessons. Therefore, Moniuszko's starting point for teaching the basics of harmony was not to teach rules, procedures or "proven" ways of linking chords, but to motivate students to discover the world of harmony with sounds and the sense of hearing.

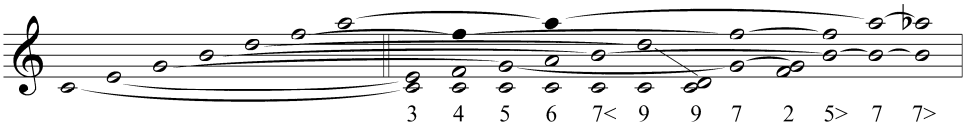
Another assumption of Moniuszko's method was a specific, intentional and predetermined order in which students learned chords as well as the ultimate goal to be achieved by the entire learning process. Subsequent *Pamiętnik* chapters are not simply a typical scholarly summary of harmony "sections" discussed one after

the other, but rather an order of discussing harmony issues that considered the time needed for students to develop their harmonic hearing, as recommended by the composer. The table of content for *Pamiętnik* is as follows: "Melody" (I), "Harmony" (II), "Intervals" (III), "Chords" (IV), "Combining perfect chords" (V), "Primary and related chords" (VI), "Dominant seventh chord" (VII), "Chords based on the dominant seventh chord" (VIII), "Leading-tone and diminished seventh chord" (IX), "Dominant ninth chord" (X), "Harmonic accidentals" (XI), "Cadences" (XII), "Extended harmony" (XIII), "Modulations" (XIV), "Modulations without the dominant seventh chord" (XV), "Exercises" (XVI). This order is different from the tables of contents for other 19th-century handbooks in the Polish language. All Polish authors appear to have one thing in common, which is to strive to write a handbook that would replace the teacher or, at least, limit his role in the educational process to the minimum necessary. Dygasiński would have excoriated such an attitude. He wrote that "handbooks may be literary masterpieces ... but they fail to be of value as far as the development of independent thought is concerned". He also wrote that "a handbook or thesis is by no means the reflection of processes by which students gain knowledge and develop their intellectual skills" (Dygasiński 3 and 51). Having focused on the systematic presentation of harmony issues, none of the other authors suggested how the teacher using their handbook could translate the knowledge in it into practical action effectively. None of them expressed theoretical knowledge in the form of a relatively small number of rules and, thus, stressed the need for interactive cooperation between the teacher and students and the need for students to learn how to use chords in practice. Finally, in terms of mastering harmony, none of them realised how important it was for students to develop their ear for music through creative work under the direction of the teacher. The reason why Moniuszko found it necessary to "introduce new changes" in teaching harmony was, therefore, the profile of handbooks in the Polish language available in his times, which, in his view, was too sophisticated.

Furthermore, Moniuszko used his "theoretical model" (Example 3*a*) to discuss more complex harmony issues. Once he found that his students had started to distinguish sound dissimilarities between chords by ear (the first learning stage), he would, for a moment, depart from the sensual and sensualistic process to focus on teaching theory in the necessary scope. However, it should be noted that he began his practical realisation of chords with arrangements for 2 voices (III, "Intervals"), thus deviating from arrangements for 4 voices typical of harmony teaching after students had learned the most practical procedures for arrangements that are much simpler for aural perception. This idea, which is another feature of

Moniuszko's method, was undoubtedly a logical consequence of his basic assumption, which was to emphasise the development of harmonic hearing. He probably assumed that students' hearing would find it easier to distinguish sound nuances from the implementation of rules if they were illustrated using two voices sounding at the same time, rather than four.

Once students had mastered the voice leading rules, Moniuszko would teach them his own classification of chords, which was very original compared to other Polish handbooks. It was original because Moniuszko did not create a typology of chords from the intellectual point of view; instead, he focused on the natural sound properties of intervals that form chords. Moniuszko presented these properties, which are the basis of tones laying the foundation for Classical and Romantic harmony, as a set of intervals taken from the "theoretical model" (example 4).



Example 4. Set of intervals taken from the "theoretical model" (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik* 13).

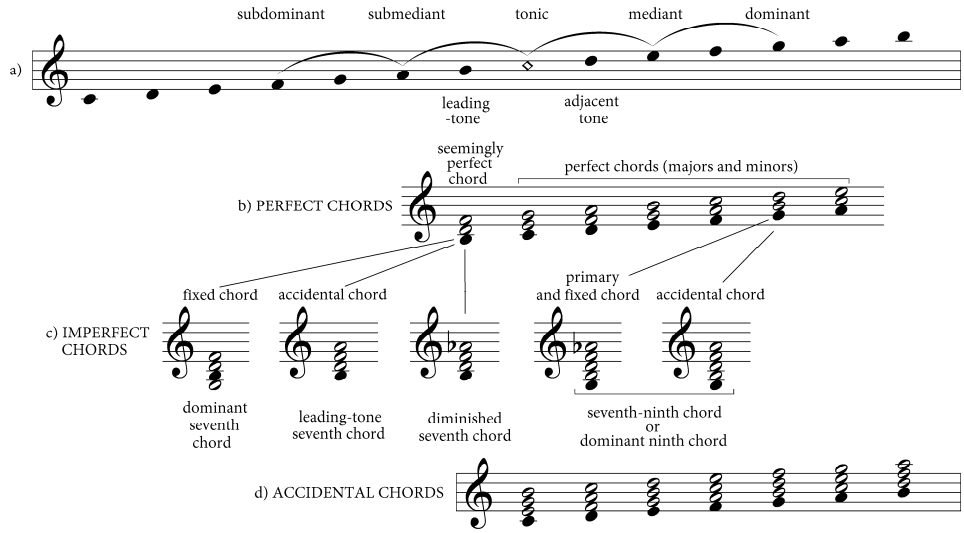
It should be noted that his set includes almost all the intervals found in consonant and dissonant chords used in mid-19th-century music. There is no doubt that the main reason why Moniuszko put together intervals with different sounds was his attempt to expand the scholarly division into consonances and dissonances with a set that was much wider and, in his opinion, more beneficial to teaching harmony in more detail. Moniuszko's aim was probably to draw the attention of students to those "properties" of intervals and chords based on them that would have been missed they been only divided into consonances or dissonances. This approach also probably served the purpose of somewhat announcing that his practical harmony exercises in the near future would include irregularities not found in the typical classifications and the rules based on them. He aimed to develop harmonic hearing in his students to such an extent that they not only felt the "sensualistic" subjective sensations caused by a single interval or chord (the first learning stage), but also heard what cannot be taught intellectually, i.e. the directed tones of notes forming intervals and chords as formed on their own through the logical sequence of several consonant and dissonant chords. Moniuszko describes his educational idea as follows: "notes arranged this

way serve as an accurate depiction of a harmonious whole as they include (...) all intervals that form the chords considered fixed in harmony teaching" (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik* 8). The term "harmonious whole" means nothing more than a set of intervals that are most typical of "fixed chords", i.e. those that were most commonly used in musical practice in Moniuszko's times. Unfortunately, *Pamiętnik* does not describe how Moniuszko used his set of intervals during classes. However, the main benefit obtained from rejecting the educational concept that required students to learn a set of "tabular" chords and "correct" ways of combining them was to direct their attention to different sound dissimilarities between chords.

Paying particular attention to melody, which is understood not only as the upper part of a harmonic construction but also as melodies of lower parts, must be considered another important feature of Moniuszko's method. In his opinion, a succession of chords forming a harmonic sequence was not a chain of chord "blocks" but rather "a combination of several melodies into a common chord" (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik* 6). Therefore, the composer assumed that the knowledge of sensitivity to the sounds of intervals learned by students at the "linear" level, not affected by the dense sounds of scholarly arrangements for four voices, would bear fruit at further learning stages. He assumed that without the previously acquired skill of aural perception of notes and without learning how to create a single melody "sensually", students would be unable to learn the art of leading many voices not just "properly", but also "beautifully". He was aware that at some point, students would start using chords that were too complex to fall within scholarly patterns in terms of both their vertical and horizontal combination. He believed that in order to master four-part leading, it was necessary to develop aural sensitivity to each note, and the best way to practise this was to use two voices.

Given the further chapters of *Pamiętnik*, it was fully justified for Moniuszko not to use exercises involving typical arrangements for 4 voices until after his students had acquired the skill of active hearing the tonal tensions. Moniuszko's previous focus on a single melody and teaching the procedures for voice leading in arrangements for 2 voices to his students allowed him to move on to the rules of combining chords in their various forms (i.e. using chord inversions, referred to by him as *related chords*; sections IV-X) based on his own rather original classification of chords. It should be noted that he developed it based on his "theoretical model" (example 3*a*). The idea behind the classification was to divide all chords used in harmony into three groups: perfect chords, imperfect chords or accidental chords (example 5). In the first two groups, he also distinguished *primary chords*, i.e. those not derived from other chords but able to be changed

into the so-called "non-primary" chords. They include four chords: the *major* and *minor* triad (the only *perfect* chords, Example 5*b*), *dominant seventh* chord (the first example of an *imperfect* chord), *leading-tone seventh* chord and the *dominant ninth* chord (example 5*c*). Finally, Moniuszko's classification included chords referred to by him as *accidental chords* (example 5*d*), to which he dedicated the whole chapter XI (the longest one in the entire *Pamiętnik*). This last group of chords, also referred to him as *harmony accidentals*, could appear in practice in two ways: 1) as "building sevenths based on unusual foundations" (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik* 58) or 2) by "diminishing or augmenting any of the intervals forming them [i.e. fixed chords] ..., which are similar to fixed chords in terms of their construction but differ in meaning and sound" (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik* 59). Moniuszko also used the term "accidentals" to refer to specific technical voice leading procedures, the origins of which – dating back to 18th-century counterpoint – he must have learned under the direction of Carl Friedrich Rungenhagen in Berlin. When asked by students "What are these *accidentals*?", he answered that they were "suspensions, passing notes, retardations" as well as "auxiliary notes and long appoggiaturas" (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik* 47).



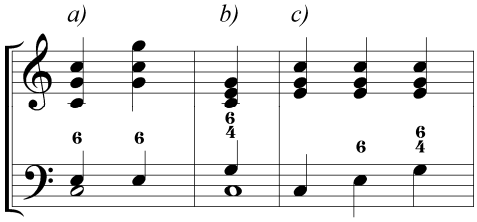
Example 5. Moniuszko's classification of chords based on his "theoretical model" (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik* 13).

For the use of the "simplified" classification to bring tangible educational benefits, it had to be accompanied by something that must now be considered

another feature of Moniuszko's method. After all, it is impossible to imagine discussing complex harmony issues without the incessant educational dialogue between the teacher and students forming an integral part of every class. In any case, the non-explanatory character of numerous excerpts from *Pamiętnik* can only be explained logically if one assumes that Moniuszko decided to complement what he taught with explanations and comments pertaining to a given harmonic exercise. However, it should be noted that those additions by Moniuszko were not complementary to the contents removed from his "hastily written" handbook, as was once suggested. The essence of Moniuszko's idea was, in fact, to emphasise hard work with students, who, because of the teacher's constant direction, were supposed to do exercises more creatively and with special consideration given to the area of musical emotions. This means that, the "simplified" chord classification was merely a starting point to pursue objectives unattainable to students through the purely intellectual learning process. In Moniuszko's view, those explanations, which pertained to musical "sensations" and "emotions", were more motivating to students than teaching them scholarly rules combined with the "unemotional" implementation thereof. Rzepko's works reflect the important role of the constant educational dialogue that allows any emerging problems to be solved. He wrote that "the fact that his tremendous talent would make his students feel the need to be sincerely and originally expressive in melody rendered Moniuszko superior to others" and that "[he] taught us to seek beauty and to find it" (Rzepko 130). Therefore, the author of *Pamiętnik* assumed that typical harmonic exercises should not be the only objective to be pursued by students. The objective should also be to seek aesthetically interesting combinations. It goes without saying that the constant educational dialogue between the students and the teacher was among the aspects of the educational "invention" by Moniuszko, about which he wrote to Sikorski in 1857. In this context, once formulated opinions that "not all paragraphs [of *Pamiętnik*] are presented in sufficient detail, and even their arrangement itself is not systematic enough and rich in examples everywhere" (Kleczyński 38) are now incorrect. In the context of Moniuszko's idea, these are not flaws in his method (Żeleński and Roguski, Preface). Instead, they are the fruits of an intentional act based on the conviction that deep student-teacher interaction, understood as a lively process that is always focused on the area of musical emotions, brings many more educational benefits than discussing harmony "in the finest of details".

Of course, the use of the sensual and sensualistic approach in the teaching process did not mean that Moniuszko failed to discuss the rules generally

accepted in harmony. He also knew that having been pleased with the fact that their students had summoned up the courage to seek chords by ear, a good teacher would then teach students proven technical guidelines and generalised ways to help them build and combine chords. When discussing the rules of connecting chords, Moniuszko first brought the attention of his students towards the lowest voice (bass) and treated it as a criterion for dividing triads into *primary* and *relative* (the root position of a triad and its first and second inversion). Staying away from theoretical digressions, Moniuszko also explained that *primary* chords are "built on their tonic", while *relative* chords are built "on each interval forming the *primary* chord". When concluding the topic of those concise definitions, Moniuszko emphasised the existence of two types of bass: *tonic bass* and *harmony bass* (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik* 20). The former, described further by Moniuszko using the German term *Grundbas*, was obviously a trace of the idiom *fundamental bass* (Fr.: *basse fondamentale*) introduced in 1722 by Rameau (Christensen 28). The latter was *basso continuo* (It.: *basso continuo*, Fr.: *basse continue*, Ger.: *Generalbass*), which was realised in keyboard parts in the 17th and 18th centuries and which in Moniuszko's times was called *generał-bas* (Eng. *thorough-bass*). He explained that "*tonic*" *bass* is "the *tonic* of every *primary* or *relative*" (i.e. the lowest note of the chord in root position), whereas *"harmony" bass* is "the lowest note of every chord, that is, its bass note" (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik* 20).

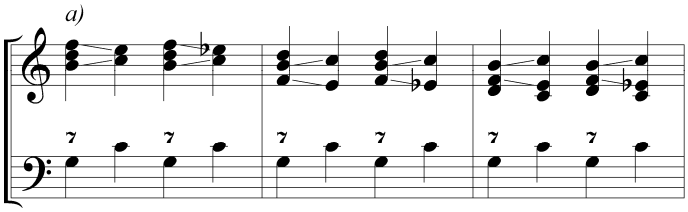


Example 6. The two types of bass discussed by Moniuszko: *"tonic" bass* and *"harmony" bass* as shown using a sixth chord (*a*) and a six-four chord (*b*), together with a general presentationof both triad inversions (*c*) (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik* 21, 26 and 27).

Once Moniuszko had explained how to use major and minor triads, he moved on to discuss dissonant chords. First, he explained the construction of a *dominant seventh chord*, which was a *primary* and the "first *imperfect*" one according to his classification. As explained by Moniuszko, the "imperfection" of this chord stemmed from "the need to move it to the *tonic* of a perfect chord, which is its

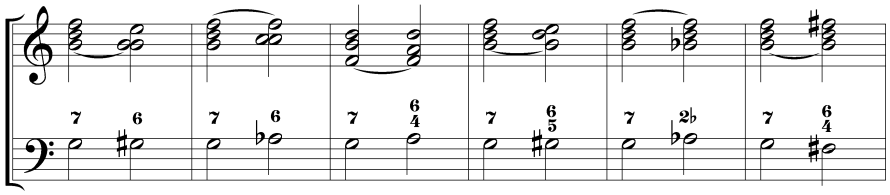
dominant" (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik* 28). It should be stressed here that, at this stage, he was particularly referring to the skills of hearing tones, which had been acquired beforehand. He explained it as follows:

> its third is a *leading-tone* of the *tonic* scale, in relation to which this chord is dominant, so it must lead to a note one semitone higher, while its seventh, as a *semi-leading* tone, must lead to a note one semitone or a whole tone lower. Since these two intervals constitute a *tritone*, this necessity is also called a solution of a *tritone* which (...) if a fifth is diminished, it resolved to a third, while if it is an augmented fourth, it is resolved to a sixth. (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik* 28-29; cf. example 7)



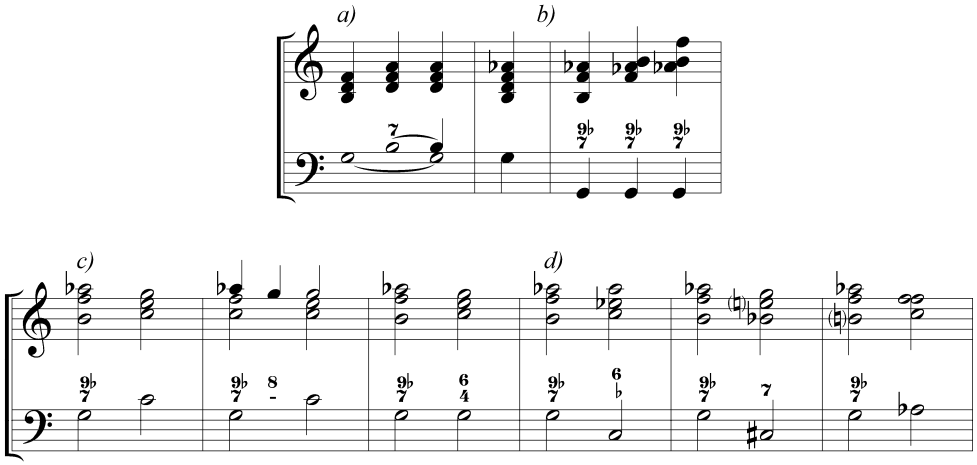
Example 7. The resolution of the tritone contained in the *dominant seventh chord*.

Having explained the practical use of the dominant seventh chord, Moniuszko discusses the cadences. He first discusses the *perfect cadence*, that is, the chord progression from the *dominant seventh chord* to the *tonic chord* (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik* 30). His take on the issue is typical of his time. However, another cadence discussed by Moniuszko, referred to by him as a *deceptive cadence*, was no longer a harmonic formula as presented by the authors of handbooks published in the mid-19th century. The latter, having discussed *perfect cadence*, usually discussed two other typical cadences in a scholarly manner: *deceptive cadence* and *half cadence*. Meanwhile, the author of *Pamiętnik*, having discussed the model *perfect cadence*, skipped all the other "school models" and went straight to familiarising students with the various unusual combinations. It is worth noting that, for him, the term *deceptive cadence* did not mean one particular cadence formula, but a number of different possible combinations, the common feature of which was to leave one sound in common between the two chords forming the cadence. The presence of such combinations in harmonisation, as Moniuszko further explains, is due to the specific treatment of the tritone contained in the *dominant seventh chord*: "for there are times when one of its constituent notes becomes a common note to the next chord, so the cadence is no longer *perfect*" (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik* 30-31) (example 8).



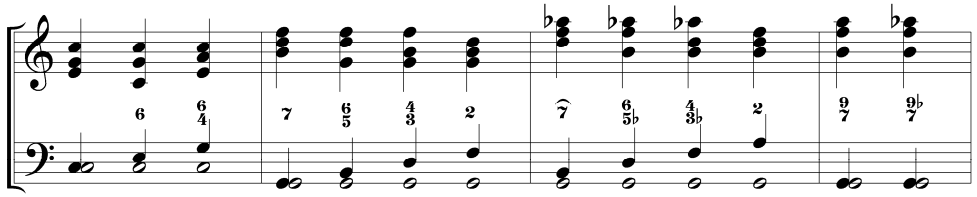
Example 8. *Deceptive cadences* resulting from the different ways of resolution of the tritone.

Reconstructing the assumptions of Moniuszko's method, it is impossible not to respond to the accusation once made about his allegedly erroneous understanding of the ninth chord. His claim that this chord, which he calls a *dominant ninth chord*, "does not give rise to any *relative chords* [i.e. chord inversions], as it consists of two seventh chords, each of which has its own proper *relative chords*, so these simultaneous transformations (giving rise to *relative chords*) cannot be effectuated" (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik* 38). Juxtaposing the earlier critique of this statement with the reconstructed assumptions of Moniuszko's method, there is no doubt that the authors of such opinions (Kleczyński 44) failed to see the real significance of such an approach. Moniuszko's remarks were not, after all, meant to challenge the foundations of the theoretical harmonic system (Fétis 47-48), but to give students a practical instructional guideline that is "very easy for the imagination to grasp and commit to memory" (Moniuszko 37). Moniuszko, after all, was certainly familiar with Kurpiński's *Zasady harmonii* (1844) based on the foundations of acoustics. His assertion that a *dominant ninth chord* cannot be inverted must, therefore, not be equated with a lack of awareness that, from a theoretical and acoustic point of view, this chord can in fact be "inverted". However, concentrating on the purely practical aspects, he decided that a better solution was to refer to the inversion that had earlier been used by Rameau and Bach. The former considered it to be a chord built by the *supposition* rule, while the latter counted it as if it were a seventh chord (not $\frac{9\flat}{7}$, but $\frac{7|\flat}{5}$), considering its "acoustic" third as a prime, the fifth as a third, the seventh as a fifth and the ninth as the seventh of a seventh chord. There is also no doubt that for a student learning the principles of harmony, a much simpler way to master the construction of this very complex, as much as a five-note, chord, was to refer to the construction of two overlapping seventh chords: a dominant seventh chord and a leading-tone seventh chord (example 9).



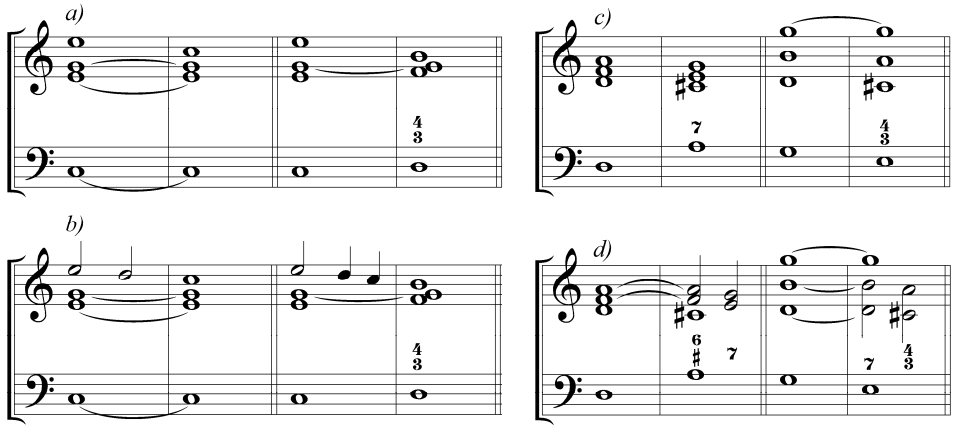
Example 9. The principle of constructing a dominant ninth chord as the effect of overlapping a dominant seventh chord and a leading-tone seventh chord (*a*), its different *positions* (*b*), and its use in a *perfect cadence* (*c*) and a *deceptive cadence* (*d*).

All the consonant and dissonant chords discussed by Moniuszko, which he called "fixed chords", are shown in example 10. Of note here is the fact that this set does not include all the chord types used in music of the second half of the 19th century. In fact, looking at this set in the context of the evolution of harmonic language, it should be assigned to the Classical rather than to the late Romantic era. However, it should by no means be seen as a weakness of Moniuszko's method. The essence of his didactic idea was that each more complex chord should be seen by the student as a "modification" of one of the 13 basic chords. "Modifications" of this kind consisted of adding non-chord tones, chromatic alterations, omitting chord notes, etc.

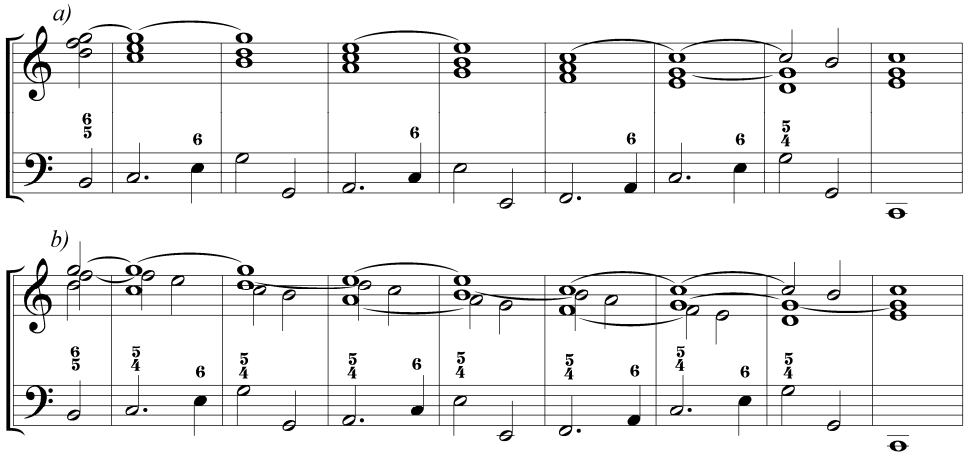


Example 10. The principle of the formation of all consonant and dissonant chords discussed in *Pamiętnik* with the specification of *tonic bass* and *harmony bass* (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik* 46).

In the light of the above conclusions, the question arises as to how Moniuszko's harmony lessons actually proceeded and what types of practical exercises he most often employed at the more advanced stages of teaching. Unfortunately, we can only make guesses about this very interesting issue because, except for Rzepko's rather general recollections, we have no other testimony. Looking at the examples provided in *Pamiętnik*, which appear to be a collection of tasks given to the students by Moniuszko at different times and in different lessons, we can, however, formulate a very plausible conjecture that one of the exercises he used more frequently consisted of students transforming the chord progression written by him on the blackboard or in a sheet music book placed on the piano stand. The idea of transforming such an initial chord progression, usually maintained in a typical arrangement for 4 parts, can be described as the "h a r m o n i c s k e t c h m e t h o d". The task of the students engaging in this type of exercise under the composer's supervision was to "develop" this sketch according to specific guidelines – and, in particular, using notes that Moniuszko referred to as harmony *accidentals* (i.e. various types of non-chord notes: suspensions, passing notes, appoggiaturas, neighbour notes). Exercises using these accidentals, which can be found in *Pamiętnik*, are shown in example 11 (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik* 48-49, 53-54). Example 12 shows the realisation of a harmonic sketch by Moniuszko himself (Moniuszko, *Pamiętnik* 50-51).



Example 11. Moniuszko's "harmonic sketch" (*a*, *c*) and its realisation with passing notes (*b*) and suspensions (*d*).



Example 12. (a) "Harmonic sketch" (reconstruction – M.A.) and (b) its realisation according to Moniuszko.

The idea of "enriching" a given chord sequence is perfectly in line with Moniuszko's concept of teaching harmony built on a sensual and sensualistic foundation. For the students completing the sketch outlined by the composer, who "in a single sentence revealed more of real-life living knowledge of music than the most learned expatiations of teachers for whom music was only a profession, not a love" (Rudziński 273), were tasked with transforming the initial harmonic construction not only vertically, but also horizontally, i.e. by adding melodic complements to the parts forming the initially outlined chords. Moniuszko thus assumed that a student skilled in the purely "technical" use of chords would no longer look for support from rules alone, but would rely on harmonic imagination and a sense of sound. The essence of the idea, then, was that the student, having learnt to do the typical scholarly exercises of the second half of the 19th century (thorough-bass, harmonising the melody of the upper part), would reach a level of aural sensitivity at which their perception and selection of chords would become, so to speak, "unconscious". Therefore, at this final stage of training, the main factor determining the selection of sounds that "complement" the initial chords, was the sense of hearing – not intellect. It was for this reason that the culmination of the study of harmony under his guidance was the art of modulation. We have already cited the testimony of Rzepko, who, recalling the composer's lessons, wrote that "he [demanded] independence from the student". This independence seems to have particularly concerned the "modulation" (Rzepko 129), which, as is

clear from the content of *Pamiętnik*, did not rely on any prescribed paths or patterns. One might even venture to say that Moniuszko's aim was that the student, having gained the courage to complete the sketch with harmony accidentals, should not even try to look for any patterns with his reason, but should seek out various paths on his own. In this respect, the examples of modulation provided in the 16th chapter are therefore only for inspiration, and not a model to be followed.

The content of *Pamiętnik* thus demonstrates that the foundation of Moniuszko's methodology was not the imparting of purely intellectual knowledge and the implementation of scholarly rules, but a focus on the sensual and sensualistic aspect of chords. His main method of working with students was through practical exercises under his guidance. Given all the above-mentioned benefits of the unconventional assumptions of Moniuszko's teaching ideas, the negative assessment of the content of his *Pamiętnik*, which was built almost a century ago on a superficial reading of the composer's words, should therefore be regarded as unfair and unjust.

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PAMIĘTNIK DO NAUKI HARMONII (1871) BY STANISŁAW MONIUSZKO – A FORGOTTEN 19TH-CENTURY METHOD OF TEACHING HARMONY

S u m m a r y

This article contains a reconstruction of the harmony teaching method developed and used by Stanisław Moniuszko. The subject of the analysis is the content of *Pamiętnik do nauki harmonii* ["A Diary for Learning Harmony"] (Warsaw, 1871), his only published handbook which has not yet been thoroughly investigated. The result of this research, taking into account both unknown and ignored contexts, is the reconstruction of the most important assumptions of this method and the indication of those elements that were the composer's own original ideas.

Keywords: Moniuszko; *Pamiętnik do nauki harmonii*; harmony; music pedagogy; 19th century

PAMIĘTNIK DO NAUKI HARMONII (1871) STANISŁAWA MONIUSZKI – ZAPOMNIANA XIX-WIECZNA METODA NAUCZANIA HARMONII

S t r e s z c z e n i e

Artykuł zawiera rekonstrukcję opracowanej i stosowanej przez Stanisława Moniuszko metody nauczania harmonii. Przedmiotem analizy jest treść *Pamiętnika do nauki harmonii* (1871), jedynego opublikowanego podręcznika, który nie został jeszcze dokładnie zbadany. Efektem tych badań, uwzględniających zarówno nieznane, jak i ignorowane konteksty, jest rekonstrukcja najważniejszych założeń tej metody oraz wskazanie tych elementów, które były oryginalnymi pomysłami kompozytora.

Słowa kluczowe: Moniuszko; *Pamiętnik do nauki harmonii*; harmonia, pedagogia muzyczna; XIX wiek