

THINKING IN SONG

PROSODY, TEXT-SETTING AND MUSIC THEORY

IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GERMANY

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Eighteenth-century music theorists habitually used terms that were apparently imported from grammar, rhetoric and poetics. While historians of music theory have commonly described these words as reflecting metaphorical attempts to understand music by analogy with language, this study emphasizes their technical value, especially with respect to vocal music, which includes both domains. In the case of Johann Mattheson, Johann Adolph Scheibe, Joseph Riepel and Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, the literal meaning of this common vocabulary can be recovered by viewing their general composition rules in the previously unexamined context of their theories for composing text and music of vocal works.

Chapter One questions the applicability of a ‘metaphor of music as a language’ to eighteenth-century musical thought and proposes a new framework, centered on what Scheibe and others considered the origin of both music and language, prosody. Chapter Two examines Mattheson’s famous minuet analysis and concludes that a prosodic sub-discipline of music theory provided a vocabulary that applied, in tendency, to words and notes of vocal music, simultaneously. Chapter Three traces the interaction of prosodic parameters in the longer history of ‘musical feet,’ pointing out eighteenth-century theorists’ successful efforts to adapt or re-adapt their terminol-

ogy to the practice of modern vocal composition. Chapter Four explains Marpurg's 1759 theory of meter as a by-product of his efforts to codify vocal composition, which involved a mutual assimilation of musical measures and poetic feet. Chapter Five asks how texts were thought to respond to musical techniques of phrase enlargement, proposing a correlation of inessential (appended or parenthetical) music with repeated or missing text. Chapter Six investigates how strophic settings of odes by Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock from the 1770s and 1780s pushed the notion of a common prosody into a technical and intellectual crisis. An appendix adds a collection and translation of source passages referring to cognates and synonyms of the central terms 'rhythm' and 'meter.'

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Born 1975 in Frankfurt am Main, Germany, Martin Küster has studied German language and literature at Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität (Frankfurt), organ, conducting and music theory at Musikhochschule Lübeck (from 1997 to 2003), as well as musicology at Humboldt University (Berlin, Germany, 2004–2005) and at Cornell University (Ithaca, NY, United States, 2005–2011).

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Introduction

In general terms, the subject of this study comprises mid-eighteenth-century efforts by German music theorists to codify the composition of vocal music; the specific question is how these theories relate to eighteenth-century music theory in general. Since the composition of vocal music (*Singcomposition*) was commonly preceded by the composition of a poem, the subject of text-setting is closely interwoven with that of musical poetry (*musikalische Poesie*), i.e. text considered to be settable in the first place; both matters were theorized by musicians and will be included in this study. My focus rests primarily on the mechanics of this process rather than its aesthetics, i.e., not on what the text *says* and how the music relates to its meaning, but on how it is pronounced and how music makes this pronunciation possible; the key issue, in a word, is the theory of *prosodic* word-tone relations in vocal music.

The more particular problem, the role of *Singcomposition* in eighteenth-century music theory, asserts itself when we consider how theorists committed themselves to subjects such as melody, rhythm, meter and phrase construction, subjects which differed from the traditional staples of music theory, harmony and counterpoint, by inviting a methodology based on the studies of language and poetry rather than mathematics; a trace of this derivation can still be found in technical terms such as ‘rhythm,’ ‘meter,’ ‘comma’ and ‘period.’ Is it sufficient to ascribe the presence of these words to a ‘metaphor of music as a language,’ as the phrase goes? Or was Carl Dahlhaus, although he asserted this metaphorical character, temporarily right when he introduced

and dismissed the idea that these borrowings bore a relation to vocal music?¹ He did not detail the nature of this relation, but the hypothesis seems plausible, worthy of further investigation. I propose that the terms, like the music-theoretical disciplines in which they were used, pertained to prosody rather than to language in general, and that in this prosodic theory, vocal music played the role of a testing ground as to whether terms were merely metaphorical – based on perceived analogy – or whether they denoted phenomena that tended to be congruent in the vocal work (a period in the text, for example, coinciding with a musical period). My detailed engagement with Dahlhaus, the metaphorical thesis and the structural role of song in eighteenth-century thought can be found in Chapter One.

I focus on a tradition of German theorists whose shared interests included prosody and vocal music and a common approach to theorizing: Johann Mattheson (1681–1764), Johann Adolph Scheibe (1708–1778), Joseph Riepel (1709–1782), Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718–1795) and Heinrich Christoph Koch (1749–1816). Except the latter, these theorists all contributed significantly to the theories of musical poetry and text setting; Scheibe and Marpurg were also instrumental in reviving the German song genre. Moreover, besides frequently citing and praising each other's work,² they

¹ Carl Dahlhaus, "Der rhetorische Formbegriff Heinrich Christoph Kochs und die Theorie der Sonatenform," in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 3 (Laaber: Laaber, 2001), 613.

² Cf. Scheibe's laudatory references and poems to Mattheson; Marpurg's enthusiastic review of Riepel's *Anfangsgründe* in *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, vol. 1, 340–343; his remark that Riepel has, "among all musicians, first investigated and elaborated [phrase rhythm] from the basis and with insight," *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*, vol. 2, 98; Riepel returned the favor, writing that "after all, this deservedly famous author is the only one who has broken the ice and taken it upon himself to remove this remaining insufficiency of German poetry ... with an amount of insight and caution of which I would never be capable," *Harmonisches Syllbenmaß*, vol. 1 (Regensburg, 1776), 1; Koch, echoing Marpurg, wrote that "Riepel was the first theorist (and remains the only one I know) who has treated the subject [of size and ending of phrases] extensively," *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Böhme, 1787), 11.

shared a common self-perception: by breaking ground for music journalism and by presenting their theories as practical instructions in melodic composition, they introduced an exoteric style of music theory in explicit distinction from the seventeenth-century tradition of mathematical harmony and neoplatonic speculation. This motive, which frequently recurs in the debates between Mattheson and Buttstedt, Scheibe and Mizler, Marpurg and Sorge, can be described as the substitution of the monochord, the traditional ‘instrument’ next to the theorist’s writing desk, with the clavichord, the sensitive companion of taste and composition. It should not be forgotten that all these ‘theorists’ were also composers, just as many of the ‘composers’ they advocated had a parallel keen interest in theorizing; we should therefore study these theories in their stylistic context, i.e., Hamburg opera in the case of Mattheson (Reinhard Keiser, early Handel and Telemann) and, in the remaining cases, the Dresden (Johann Adolph Hasse) and Berlin schools (such as the Bachs, Grauns and Bendas of this generation).

While text-setting or text underlay had long been an issue in music theory, theorists in the eighteenth century characteristically concentrated on homophonic genres and properties of melody, realizing a shift away from contrapuntal models that had begun in the late seventeenth century (Johann Georg Ahle, Wolfgang Caspar Printz³) and was fully realized when Mattheson proposed as a “general principle of all music” in 1739 that “everything must appropriately sing.”⁴ Mattheson’s views on text-setting, unprecedented in scope and depth, can be found in two issues of his first

³ Johann Georg Ahle, *Schriften zur Musik*, ed. Markus Rathey, Hildesheim: Olms, 2007. Wolfgang Caspar Printz, *Phrynis, oder Satyrischer Componist* (Quedlinburg: Okels, 1676).

⁴ *Alles muß gehörig singen*. Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Herold, 1739), 2.

journal *Critica Musica* (1725),⁵ and then in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739) and the preliminary extract, *Kern Melodischer Wissenschaft* (1737); simultaneously, Johann Adolph Scheibe treated the subject in his periodical *Der Critische Musicus* (1737–1740, republished in 1745).⁶ Neither theorist confined his engagement with text-setting to a specialized chapter or treatise; rather, in accord with Mattheson's principle, vocal music was always the subject, either implicitly or, suddenly and without announcement, explicitly. Building upon their work, Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg hoped to add to a growing body of music treatises published in Berlin by producing the first attempt at a full codification of vocal music. It remained an attempt, however: His *Anleitung zur Singcomposition* (1758), proof-read by the court musicians Carl Heinrich Graun and Johann Friedrich Agricola, never progressed beyond the first volume;⁷ the *Unterricht vom Vocalsatz*, published in a journal filled with text-setting discussions and songs, was likewise interrupted.⁸ Joseph Riepel, similarly, submitted only two volumes of his three-part didactic dialogue *Harmonisches Syllbenmaß* to print;⁹ later works by Jacob Schuback, Johann Philipp Kirnberger and Friedrich Ludwig Rellstab, despite their

5 Mattheson, *Critica Musica*, vol. 2 (Hamburg, 1725), parts V (1–64) and VIII (291–380).

6 Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der Critische Musicus*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: Wiering, 1738) and 2 (Hamburg: Beneke, 1740); *Critischer Musikus. Neue, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1745). The most relevant issues include nos. 9, 24, 25, 32, 37, 38 and 64.

7 The book's eight chapters are all subsumed as *Erstes Hauptstück* and contain passim references to a second *Hauptstück*; Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Anleitung zur Singcomposition* (Berlin: Lange, 1758).

8 Oikuros [i.e. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg,] "Unterricht vom Vocalsatz," in *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Birnstiel, 1760), 2 (Berlin: Birnstiel, 1763), Nos. 59–70. After § 102 in the 70th issue, the treatise is not resumed, nor is it concluded by the usual pseudonymous signature; there is no indication that "Anleitung zum Recitativ," starting at § 1 in the 97th issue and not containing the subjects Marpurg promised to treat in § 44, is the continuation of "Unterricht."

9 Joseph Riepel, *Harmonisches Syllbenmaß. Dichtern melodischer Werke gewidmet, und angehenden Singcomponisten zur Einsicht mit platten Beyspielen gesprächsweise abgefaßt*, all three volumes ed. in *Sämtliche Schriften zur Musiktheorie*, vol. 2, ed. Thomas Emmerig (Wien: Böhlau, 1996).

general titles, largely addressed particular problems.¹⁰ Nevertheless, these accounts were not isolated studies, each claiming to be the first of their kind; rather, they built one upon the other, shared concepts and terminology and thus constituted a field.

These sources have received scant attention as individual works, and they are virtually unknown as a theoretical corpus. Mattheson's and Scheibe's books are familiar from a number of perspectives, but not as instructions in writing vocal music, which is understandable given how they hid the subject in plain sight. Marpurg's *Anleitung zur Singcomposition*, his only major treatise never to be reprinted,¹¹ is cited occasionally in connection with J.S. Bach's St. Matthew Passion (for his critical treatment of Picander's use of the double chorus),¹² but is rarely taken as a serious contribution to music theory. While Geraldine Rosser, writing on the French reception of the treatise, comments on its 'pedantic' appearance (in reference to a list of 2,130 musical word endings in German),¹³ William Youngren, otherwise a patient source reader (having worked his way through Christoph Nichelmann's laborious and repetitive treatise of melody), refrained from engaging the "rather niggling technical matters" in Marpurg's

10 [Jacob Schuback,] *Von der musicalischen Declamation* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1775); Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Anleitung zur Singekomposition mit Oden in verschiedenen Sylbenmaassen begleitet* (Berlin: Decker, 1782); Johann Carl Friedrich Rellstab, *Versuch über die Vereinigung der musikalischen und oratorischen Declamation* (Berlin: Rellstab, 1786).

11 It appears, however, that reprints were once planned, cf. "Forthcoming Reprints of Music and Musical Literature," *Notes*, Second Series, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Mar., 1968), 535.

12 E.g. Ulrich Leisinger, "Forms and Functions of the Choral Movements in J. S. Bach's St. Matthew Passion," in *Bach Studies 2*, ed. Daniel R. Melamed (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 70–84.

13 Geraldine Metcalf Rosser, "Rules for Setting of French Text in the Writings of Alexandre Etienne Choron (1771-1834) and his Contemporaries" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2003), 195. Cf. Marpurg, *Singcomposition*, 122–134.

publications.¹⁴ Riepel's *Syllbenmaß*, thanks to its availability in reprint, is better known, but rarely cited with respect to specifically vocal questions.¹⁵

In the large field of scholarship devoted to issues of text-setting and 'word-tone relations,' eighteenth-century sources are commonly neglected. In the work of Thrasyboulos Georgiades, whose tradition has long dominated the field in and beyond Germany, this omission has even come to resemble an ingredient of methodology.¹⁶ In his long-term perspective on rhythm and the relation of music and language, Georgiades established a dichotomy between the music of ancient Greece, where language supposedly generates musical rhythm directly and inevitably, and the eighteenth century, where rhythm results from an abstract pattern, an 'empty measure' that can be filled, secondarily, with notes or syllables.¹⁷ I believe that this dichotomy – a necessary connection of music and text in ancient Greece as opposed to an arbitrary one in eighteenth-century Europe – is dubious for two reasons. First, it is based solely on rhythm, excluding prosodic parameters such as pitch and dynamics, which, as we will see, are equally important; secondly, the opposition is essentially one of ancient *theory*

14 William H. Youngren, *C.P.E. Bach and the Rebirth of the Strophic Song* (Lanham: Scarecrow, 2003), 159.

15 William Rothstein, "National Metrical Types in Music of the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," in *Communication in Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. Danuta Mirka and Kofi Agawu (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 112, 150–1; Claudia Maurer Zenck, *Vom Takt. Überlegungen zur Theorie und kompositorischen Praxis im ausgehenden 18. und beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Böhlau, 2001), passim.

16 Thrasyboulos Georgiades, *Der griechische Rhythmus. Musik, Reigen, Vers und Sprache* (Hamburg: Schröder, 1949); id., *Musik und Rhythmus bei den Griechen* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1958); Reinhard Strohm, "Merkmale italienischer Versintonation in Mozarts Klavierkonzerten," in *Analecta Musicologica* (1978), 219–236; id., "Zur Metrik in Haydns und Anfossis *La vera costanza*," in *Joseph Haydn: Bericht über den internationalen Joseph Haydn Kongress Wien 1982*, ed. Eva Badura-Skoda, 279–95 (München: Henle, 1986); Manfred Hermann Schmid, "Italienischer Vers und musikalische Syntax in Mozarts Opern," *Mozart Studien* 4 (Tutzing: Schneider, 1994); id., "Deutscher Vers, Taktstrich und Strophenschluss. Notationstechnik und ihre Konsequenzen in Mozarts Zauberflöte," in *Mozart Studien* 12, 115–145 (Tutzing: Schneider, 2003).

17 Georgiades, *Der griechische Rhythmus*, 21ff; *Musik und Rhythmus*, 12–18, 30–32.

and eighteenth-century *practice*. As we will see, studying Enlightenment theories of text-setting on their own, without scores, could easily lead us to conclusions similar to those of Georgiades with respect to the Greeks (suggesting, for example, a very ‘full’ measure); on the other hand, we might find the connection of ancient music and language far less striking if we had sufficient sources of ancient composition but lacked the intellectual guidance of ancient theory.

More recently, there has been a growing trend toward studying sources of music theory from the longer eighteenth century, both under the ‘history of music theory’ aegis and, practically applied, in the form of historically-informed analysis and composition.¹⁸ This tendency has most conspicuously affected the study of harmony, which has seen its received doctrines, ultimately based on Rameau’s theory of chord inversion, challenged or contextualized by a revival of the Italian ‘partimento’ tradition and the notion of harmonic ‘models’ and ‘schemata’;¹⁹ the ‘prosodic’ disciplines of meter and phrase organization, on the other hand, have also re-emerged. The eighteenth-century notion of musical punctuation, for instance, was reintroduced to German scholarship by Dahlhaus and Wolfgang Budday²⁰ and has since resumed some of its importance

18 The most influential representative in the English-speaking world was Leonard G. Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer, 1980); see also Nancy K. Baker, “From Teil to Tonstück: The Significance of the Versuch ... by Heinrich Christoph Koch,” (diss., Yale University, 1975); Elaine Sisman, “Small and Expanded Forms: Koch’s Model and Haydn’s Music,” *The Musical Quarterly* 68/4 (1982): 444–475.

19 Markus Jans, “Alle gegen Eine: Satzmodelle in Note-gegen-Note-Sätzen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts,” *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 10 (1986), 101–120; Hartmut Fladt, “Satztechnische Topoi,” *ZGMTH* 2/2–3 (2005), 189–196. Hans Aerts, “‘Modell’ und ‘Topos’ in der deutschsprachigen Musiktheorie seit Riemann,” *ZGMTH* 4/1–2 (2007), 143–158. Robert Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). This list is far from comprehensive.

20 Wolfgang Budday, *Grundlagen musikalischer Formen der Wiener Klassik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1983).

as a criterion for segmenting pieces, in studies both of historical performance²¹ and of musical form.²² Eighteenth-century notions of meter, as I will detail in Chapter Four, have also gained currency. While these studies have begun to recover a technical-historical perspective that could be applied to vocal music, they have tended either to concentrate on instrumental music or to treat vocal music *as* instrumental music by not extending their analysis of the notes to the text. Such an extension may not be obvious since there is, after all, no dissonance or voice leading in the words; there are, however, rhythm, meter, accent, punctuation, melodic inflexion and so forth – categories which seem isolated and unconnected as musical criteria but converge under the single perspective of text-setting. These rules promise to put questions about the eighteenth-century interaction of music and language on a technical footing.

These connections have begun to be probed in some recent studies. My own interest in the subject was kindled by Claudia Zenck's *Vom Takt*, a study connecting later-eighteenth-century theories of meter, tempo and phrasing with music ranging from Kirnberger to Schubert, including vocal music and, indeed, its text.²³ Applying these theories to the Viennese 'classical' style, however, rather than the repertoires they were originally designed for – music defined by the absence of those *buffa* elements that distinguished the Viennese style – may have given the book a wide resonance, but

21 Stephanie D. Vial, *The Art of Musical Phrasing in the Eighteenth Century: Punctuating the Classical "Period"* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008).

22 James, Webster, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style: Through-Composition and Cyclic Integration in his Instrumental Music* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); William E. Caplin, *Classical Form: A Theory of Formal Functions for the Instrumental Music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); James Hepokoski, Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory: Norms, Types, and Deformations in the Late Eighteenth-Century Sonata* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

23 Zenck, *Vom Takt*.

also put the cart before the horse. I believe that the full significance of these theories is more likely to emerge in the context of mid-eighteenth-century North-German music, the generation beginning with Hasse and Graun. Two more works have approached the subject from a more literary perspective: One is J.N. Schneider's account of poetry as an 'acoustic art' in the late eighteenth century.²⁴ The other, Roman Hankeln's study of Reichardt's settings of neoclassical verse, appeared too recently to be taken into account here but promises the most extensive background in eighteenth-century music theory to date;²⁵ there will likely be some stimulating overlaps with this dissertation, particularly Chapter Six.

It is with some qualifications that I call this dissertation a contribution to the history of music theory. The word 'music,' as I explained, is misleading because the material in question includes a text and requires a less clearly circumscribed methodology. Neither will I limit my scope to uncovering theoretical documents and viewing them in the context of similar sources or broader intellectual history: as the theoretical evidence accumulates, I will increasingly combine my reading of theoretical documents with attempts to apply them in analysis. Historical and theoretical methods, in my view, ought to inform each other, as the sharpest theorists are not necessarily equipped to judge the history of their own discipline, and erudite historians can fail in the same endeavour due to lack of theoretical insight. Just as there is no ahistorical, merely technical analysis (every theory carries a baggage of historically conditioned assumptions) so there is no such thing as an atechanical or atheoretical reading of

²⁴ Joh. Nikolaus Schneider, *Ins Ohr geschrieben. Lyrik als akustische Kunst zwischen 1750 und 1800* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2004).

²⁵ Roman Hankeln, *Kompositionsproblem Klassik: Antikeorientierte Versmetren im Liedschaffen J. F. Reichardts und einiger Zeitgenossen* (Köln, Weimar, Böhlau: 2011).

music; in each case, the purported objectivity can be expected to conceal nineteenth- and twentieth-century assumptions, whether technical or aesthetic in nature, that will ultimately confirm nothing but themselves. Hence my obsession with terminology; it cannot be marginal to us what words such as ‘melody,’ ‘rhythm’ or ‘length’ meant in the eighteenth century since, in order to successfully contextualize or have opinions on sources, we must first learn how to read them. This is not limited to technical matters: even seemingly harmless words such as ‘song’ can encapsule the structure of an entire intellectual paradigm.

Despite my frequent and prominent use of the word ‘song,’ this is a study of compositional techniques and their analysis and thus not explicitly about vocal performance; it does concern singing implicitly, however, since the techniques were partly there to make the composition performable and thus appreciable. Although eighteenth-century theorists of vocal composition spent little time with such practical matters as voice types, ranges or vowel convenience, they still took the singer as their model in that they treated the voice as the unique instrument it is, as part of the human speech apparatus. Despite these implications, I kept my remarks about performance to a minimum; this is a narrowly focused study, which is perhaps appropriate given the unfinished business that was eighteenth-century vocal music theory.

In Chapter One, the polysemy of ‘song’ will assist me in questioning the ‘metaphor of music as a language’ as a theory of eighteenth-century thought; based primarily on the works of Johann Adolph Scheibe, I will propose a counter-hypothesis that grounds the music-linguistic terms in a theoretical, historical and anthropological conception of music that revolved around prosody as a feature common to language

and music. In the second chapter, I will turn to Johann Mattheson and his often cited minuet analysis as an opportunity to nail down the way in which prosodic terms of music theory implied vocal music and text-setting. The next two chapters are devoted to particular theoretical problems: In Chapter Three, I will reach back to the early seventeenth century to trace the interplay of shifting prosodic parameters in the conception of musical feet; Chapter Four is devoted to Marpurg's 1759 theory of meter in the context of his simultaneous work on vocal music; my proposal in both cases is that theorists accommodate the analysis of vocal music by adapting musical and poetic theories to each other. In the fifth chapter, I will probe the response of the text to eighteenth-century techniques of generating large forms from small ones, thus relating song and aria. Chapter Six concerns the difficulty, acknowledged in the 1770s and 1780s, of setting Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock's strophic odes to music: tracing the problem to its roots in the recreation of German song will allow us to reflect on the history and inherent contradictions of the vocal paradigm. The appendix, a collection of source passages that define or use the words 'rhythm' and 'meter,' may assist readers in forming their own opinion on the meaning of these central terms. After the bibliography, I provided a glossary of frequently-used terms and a list of feet.

1. Metaphor and Natural Song

To man, mother nature often seems too simple, too convenient and all too familiar and old; hence he much prefers to approach brilliant art, without first appreciating what actually distinguishes nature and art, and how they both can enlarge and promote insight, wisdom and happiness of reasonable creatures.¹

What Metaphor?

Scholars have long recognized that Western music theories before about 1800 extensively borrowed terminology from the study of language. Words such as ‘phrase,’ ‘period’ or ‘accent’ and concepts like musical punctuation, rhetoric or grammar were particularly common and important during the long eighteenth century. Attempts to explain this trait, however, have been scarce, and tended to stop at the usual invocation of a ‘metaphor of music as a language.’ Upon closer scrutiny, however, this explanation proves to be insufficient.

References to this metaphor have a long history of their own. They surely pre-date Theodor W. Adorno’s 1956 “Fragment about Music and Language,” in which he warned against equating the two, but also against denying their literal similarities: “Music resembles language. Expressions like musical idiom, musical inflexion are no

¹ Dem Menschen kommt die Mutter Natur auch oft zu einfach, zu bequem und allzu bekannt und alt vor; daher nähert er sich weit lieber der glänzenden Kunst, ohne zuvor unterrichtet zu seyn, was die Natur, was die Kunst eigentlich von einander unterscheidet, und auf welche Art sie beyde die Einsicht, die Weisheit und die Glückseligkeit vernünftiger Geschöpfe erweitern und befördern können. Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Abhandlung vom Ursprunge und Alter der Musik, insonderheit der Vokalmusik* (Altona, Flensburg: Korte, 1754), XXIf.

metaphors. But music is not language. Its similarity to language shows the way inward, but also into vagueness.”² Historians of eighteenth-century music theory have perhaps attempted to avoid this vagueness as they continued to invoke ‘the metaphor of music and language,’ often in a tone of patronizing dismissal, whenever concepts seemed to stray into linguistic terrain. Carl Dahlhaus, for example, ascribed Johann Mattheson’s segmentation of a minuet with commas, colons and periods to a “transference of syntactic categories from language to music,” interchangeable with architectural, dramatic or organic metaphors.³ When he saw Heinrich Christoph Koch abandon his musical ‘subjects’ and ‘predicates,’ he doubted the official reason (that musicians lacked grammatical knowledge) and suspected that Koch must have “realized that the seemingly precise grammatical terminology is strictly nothing but a vague metaphor for mere judgments of feeling [...]”.⁴ More recent scholars of these theories, including those who value, apply and rehabilitate them, have since retained this explanation. Mark Evan Bonds qualifies *Wordless Rhetoric* with the subtitle *Musical Form and the Metaphor of the Oration*, adding an introductory chapter on *Musical Form and Metaphor*,⁵ Danuta Mirka opens her recent introduction to *Communication in Eighteenth-Century Music* with a similar reference, adding a list of other, comparable metaphors such as

2 Theodor W. Adorno, “Fragment über Musik und Sprache,” in *Quasi una fantasia* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp 1963), 9.

3 ...Übertragung syntaktischer Kategorien von der Sprache auf die Musik; Carl Dahlhaus, “Der rhetorische Formbegriff Heinrich Christoph Kochs und die Theorie der Sonatenform,” in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 3 (Laaber: Laaber, 2001), 613.

4 ...als wäre es Koch zu Bewußtsein gekommen, daß die scheinbar präzise grammatische Terminologie streng genommen nichts anderes als eine vage Metapher für bloße Gefühlsurteile über die Vollständigkeit oder Unvollständigkeit musikalischer Sinneinheiten ist. Dahlhaus, “Formbegriff,” 614.

5 Mark Evan Bonds, *Wordless Rhetoric: Musical Form and the Metaphor of the Oration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

organisms and mechanisms;⁶ and Stephanie Vial invites historical performers to “enter into the true spirit of the musical punctuation analogy.”⁷

This consensus is puzzling. Below the surface of tropes like Johann Nikolaus Forkel’s “music is the language of the heart,” there was widespread conviction at the time that music and language were in fact related.⁸ Under this condition, the insistence of historians on the relation’s figurative character implies the presumptuous corollary that these poor theorists mistook a metaphor for reality; and yet, that nevertheless they can ostensibly inform stimulating analyses and performances today. This is of course possible in the sense that most music-theoretical terms either are or once were metaphors of some sort, and that no one would reject a theory because it uses words like ‘high’ or ‘low,’ ‘form’ or ‘structural level.’⁹ In fact, we rarely point out these metaphors, either because there is no risk of taking them literally, or because we think that they have something factual to say about music.

Adorno rejected the metaphor argument on the grounds that music and language resemble each other as “temporal succession[s] of articulated sounds that are

6—“For many, a musical piece is an object to be contemplated, an organism to be examined, a mechanism to be deconstructed or a product to be consumed. None of these metaphors allows one to speak sensibly of musical communication. Yet none of them was in use in the late eighteenth century. At that time theoretical and aesthetic discourses about music were based upon the metaphor of music as language.” Danuta Mirka, Introduction to *Communication in Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. Danuta Mirka and Kofi Agawu (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1 et passim.

7 Stephanie D. Vial, *The Art of Musical Phrasing in the Eighteenth Century: Punctuating the Classical “Period”* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 23. These examples could be multiplied.

8 Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik. Erster Band* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1788), 2.

9 Cf. Nicholas Cook, *Music, Imagination, and Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); or Lawrence M. Zbikowski, “Metaphor and Music Theory: Reflections from Cognitive Science,” *Music Theory Online* 4.1 (1998).

more than mere sound.”¹⁰ Clearly, he took the audible and temporal forms, speech and performed music, as his point of departure, not written language or musical scores. The second half of the definition, that both are “more than mere sound,” introduces meaning, the subject that makes up the bulk of the essay. I think the text is an example of how the question of music and language has become nearly or entirely reduced to semiotics. Such a framework has been useful, on the one hand, as a way of denying any link (you cannot translate a newspaper to music, ergo music is no language); on the other hand, those like Adorno who asserted a connection had to refute the allegation and helped center the entire discussion around the bone of contention, meaning, and away from Adorno’s “succession of articulated sounds.” In this framework, there is no obvious similarity of music and language; hence the relation must seem abstract, indeed metaphorical.

In the case of music theory, however, which is concerned with concrete rules, data and parameters, the audible relation of performed and speech seems more directly relevant, however extramusical the latter may seem. To be sure, the component of language in question, prosody, is not exactly music: while it is measured in such familiar parameters as pitch, loudness, rhythm and tempo, the melody it constitutes is ordinarily atonal and ametrical. Nevertheless, the distinction between speech and song is often a matter of attention rather than acoustic evidence. What a ‘classically trained voice’ produces may be a long way from speech, even language, but on a global scale, that is an exceptional and quite recent kind of song. On the other hand, no speech accent is so unmusical that a clever harmonist could not puzzle out an accompaniment,

¹⁰ *Sprachähnlich ist sie als zeitliche Folge artikulierter Laute, die mehr sind als bloß Laut.* Adorno, “Musik und Sprache,” 9.

with or without *autotune*.¹¹ And lately, while the historical disciplines were caught up in meanings and metaphors, their quantitative colleagues have successfully mined prosody for evidence of numerous connections between language and music, cognitive, neurological, developmental and even evolutionary.¹² This is not the place to detail this kind of study; but the ideas treated there are often so similar to the eighteenth-century ones discussed below that one wonders whether the hackneyed metaphor of music and language has started to deceive scientists, or whether it is less far-fetched than it seems.¹³

There is similar evidence with regard to the particular question of extra-music-theoretical terms. As their long history shows, these words did not simply migrate from language to music; rather, they seem to have occupied a space in between or in common, occasionally shifting to either side. *Rhythmos* and *metron*, along with all feet and their names, were general concepts applied to the ancient Greek dance-song or *mousike*, and thus to language, music and bodily movement simultaneously.¹⁴ The terms *Periodos*, *Kolon*, *Komma* etc. were more rhetorical than syntactic, denoting segments of

¹¹ For a good public-domain example of this genre, visit <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oL8rkZDWj3l> and its harmonization <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BDxvRfCNmQY>. The effect of listening to the bare speech after having heard the harmonic version illustrates this point better than multiple dissertations.

¹² A recent survey addressed at non-specialists is Diana Deutsch, "Speaking in Tones: Music and Language Partner in the Brain," *Scientific American Mind*, July 2010, 36–43. Reviewing much of this recent research from an evolutionary perspective, Steven Mithen, *The Singing Neanderthals: The Origins of Music, Language, Mind, and Body* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006).

¹³ Parallels with eighteenth-century ideas, besides Mithen's Neanderthal language, emerge in studies involving infants' apprehension of prosody in the womb, newborns' recognition of speech in their native language, different melodic contours in the wailing of babies born into French- or German-speaking families, Motherese, increased susceptibility of native tone language speakers to develop perfect pitch, correlations of musical training and enhanced recognition of emotion in speech and others.

¹⁴ Wilhelm Seidel, "Rhythmus/numerus," in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, issue 8 [loose leaf], 1981 (Stuttgart: Steiner).

speech with regard to euphony or ‘number’; they have had a presence in Western music theory for a millennium.¹⁵ The Latin word *accentus* was based on the verb *canere*, ‘to sing,’ and might be rendered literally as ‘to-song’ or ‘song added to,’ like its Greek model *prosōidia*.¹⁶ At the very least, we have to include a mirror metaphor of language as a music.¹⁷ More to the point, however, these domain shifts concern actual similarities of speech and song and not word meaning and its debated musical equivalent; in other words, there are no ‘musical synonyms’ or ‘euphemisms.’

As a literal explanation, Dahlhaus and Bonds also suggest that the extramusical element in music theorists’ vocabulary may have originated in the text of vocal music. Neither, however, pursues the idea. Dahlhaus, primarily interested in Beethoven’s sonata form, argues that musical punctuation terms, “initially related to vocal music,” can be treated as metaphorical because eighteenth-century theorists increasingly applied them to instrumental music.¹⁸ Bonds, similarly, concedes the possibility of such an influence and grants that connections between vocal and instrumental forms “deserve serious consideration”; but he fears that the words, the “basic and obvious” point of departure, would obscure “the more abstract principles of form, [...] independent of

15 Konrad Fees, *Die Incisionslehre bis zu Johann Mattheson: zur Tradition eines didaktischen Modells* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus, 1991).

16 “Accent, n,” OED Online, June 2011, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/989> (accessed August 20, 2011).

17 For rich evidence of such a view on the poetic side, cf. Joh. Nikolaus Schneider, *Ins Ohr geschrieben. Lyrik als akustische Kunst zwischen 1750 und 1800* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2004).

18 Characteristically, Dahlhaus’ concession to a galant repertory is a piano sonata by C. G. Neefe, the teacher of Beethoven. Dahlhaus, “Formbegriff,” 615.

textual dictates and restraints”;¹⁹ hence “wordless” rhetoric. The other cited volumes share this focus on instrumental music.²⁰

Much of the discomfort that resonates in these statements can be accounted for by shifts in music aesthetics since the eighteenth century, specifically that from vocal to instrumental music. It is not merely that ‘metaphor’ defends music’s purity; it is in fact difficult to see any concrete links with language when one restricts one’s analyses to a wordless material. The assumption that the language metaphor imputes music with the (linguistic) power to describe objects and tell stories also has an instrumental model, that of the symphonic poem, where wordless music is semiotically similar to a silent text; consequently, modern discussions about music and language often resemble the nineteenth-century debates about absolute and program music, both instrumental. The eighteenth-century model, in contrast, was based on vocal music in a way that may not seem professional to us but cannot be unfamiliar. Saying ‘music’ and meaning vocal music is still so common today that novices to the Classical music world such as college students continue to call all pieces, vocal or not, ‘songs,’ until (or even after) word gets around that it annoys the teachers. It does, of course, because it is hard to teach ‘concerto’ or ‘sonata form’ to students who treat symphonies as song derivatives, karaoke versions. In the eighteenth century, the model role of vocal music also determined views on the music-language question. A ‘metaphor of music and language’ was rarely mentioned because the transference was not merely between cognitive domains, but took the form of a concrete interaction in the material. The stuff that poets wrote,

¹⁹ Bonds, *Wordless Rhetoric*, 9–10.

²⁰ A partial exception is William Rothstein, “National Metric Types in Music of the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries,” in Mirka/Agawu, *Communication in Eighteenth-Century Music*, 112–159.

composers set, singers performed and listeners heard provided concrete evidence that language had a connection with music that paintings, cathedrals or the cells of an organism lacked. Neither was this a primarily semiotic perspective. For vocal composers, integrating the words' sound into music was a condition of expressing their meaning, since only by assimilating prosody and melody could they make the sung words intelligible.

Before we can explore the role of song in the formation of eighteenth-century music-theoretical concepts in the following chapters, we require a general framework of enlightenment views on music and language, the relative roles of meaning and prosody in these views and the mutual relation of vocal and instrumental music. These subjects are connected, most visibly, in a German word with which no eighteenth-century discussion of these questions could dispense: *Gesang*, song, which, in eighteenth-century usage, meant vocal music, melody or poetry, alternatively. In framing the following discussion around this word, I am not replacing a metaphor with a pun; puns result from exchanging homophones, words with unrelated meanings that only happen to sound the same, but *Gesang* was a polyseme, a word with several correlated or overlapping meanings. An example of such a factual coincidence was the singer's part in an aria, a vocal melody distinguished simultaneously from surrounding ritornellos, dances and symphonies and from its own accompaniment and harmonization; its text, lyric poetry, stood out from the loosely rhymed or altogether prosaic words of recitatives and fugues.²¹ Polyseme swaps rarely raise notice as long as such coincidences occupy the mind. As a fallacy, they can be dangerous to critical thinking, but

²¹ The technical term is 'madrigal verse.'

when recognized as imprints of tacit assumptions, they become windows onto past ways of thinking.

Natural Song

When pressed for the original causes behind their rules, eighteenth-century music theorists commonly replied with ‘nature’; what that meant, however, depended on the theorist and the context. Rameau, for instance, who derived harmony from the vibrations of a sounding body, created a concept of harmony that was ‘natural’ in the sense that it ultimately obeyed the laws of physics. But we are dealing with rules of a different kind. Theorists often began speculating on the origin of music by passionately refuting the “prejudice,” propagated since antiquity, that humans learned singing from the birds, as well as the “fairytale” of Pythagoras discovering music in the smithy;²² they claimed that humans had no need for external sources because they found music in themselves. Consequently, experiments to prove rules of text-setting, meter or phrase construction commonly dispensed with physical setups, rather subjecting readers to an ‘unnatural’ example and telling them to observe their own reaction (normally predicted to be appreciable disgust). The rules under scrutiny here were grounded in human, not physical nature, and our quest should properly start with anthropology. Luckily, an early contributor to our history, J. A. Scheibe, included anthropology in his interdisciplinary scope (alongside composition, poetry, rhetoric and aesthetics) and, moreover, produced ideas that resonated throughout eighteenth-century Europe, not because Scheibe was an infallible intellectual (on the contrary, his special pleading, cir-

²² Matthew Head similarly observes an eighteenth-century decline of the original bird theory. “Birdsong and the Origins of Music,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122/1 (1997), 16–19.

cular reasoning and fuzzy language are habitual),²³ but because he was a seismograph of trends. His views on the origin of music were part of a growing consensus in the second quarter of the century, spreading from Naples.

Gary Tomlinson has lucidly pointed out the role of song in Giambattista Vico's *Scienza Nuova* (first published in 1730):²⁴ Vico traced mankind's cognitive progression back to what he called 'poetic wisdom' (*sapienza poetica*), which originated in imagination (*fantasia*) and passion, not reason. The natural expression of this cognitive order, Vico argued, was what the modern mind would call metaphorical, but the figures resulted not from conscious analogy-building but from identity or 'univocality.' As Tomlinson points out, Vico broke with the Aristotelian-baroque tradition of qualifying poetic imagery as the pinnacle of modern refinement: "All the tropes ... which have hitherto been considered ingenious inventions of writers were necessary modes of invention of all the first poetic nations." According to Vico, the first people inevitably broke out of silence into song: "the founders of the gentile nations were inexpressive save under the impulse of violent passions and formed their first languages by singing." Under this impulse, "song arose naturally in the measure of heroic verse," dactylic hexameter.²⁵

Etienne Bonnot de Condillac, with or without knowledge of Vico, hypothesized in his 1746 *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* that two previously isolated and uneducated children would, once they met, learn to share their experience in a non-

23 Scheibe often seems to use terms such as "nature" and "reason" synonymously; see Joachim Birke, *Christian Wolffs Metaphysik und die zeitgenössische Literatur- und Musiktheorie: Gottsched, Scheibe, Mizler* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1966).

24 Tomlinson, "Vico's Songs," 344–377.

25 Cited in *ibid*, 366.

verbal ‘language of action,’ a communication system consisting in ‘natural’ signs, passion-driven gestures and vocalizations that at once expressed the sender’s passion and instilled it in the receiver, a signification based on sympathy rather than convention.²⁶ While the gestures would eventually be developed into dance, the vocal component, which “partook of the nature of music” through its appreciable melodic and rhythmic variety, would eventually evolve into music proper. Speech also derives from here, progressing from song to poetry to prose, its objectivity increasing with a declining share of music and gesture. Hence for Condillac, the question about the verisimilitude of opera hinged on how noticeably variable the prosody of the respective language was. Condillac found French speech prosodically flat and too different from French song to make a sung conversation likely; Italian, on the other hand, was sufficiently close to song to justify sung drama.²⁷ Italian, in other words, tuneful and accompanied by gesture, was closer to action language than French.

While it can be said that Condillac derived music from action language historically, he did not do so as a matter of principle; it would be more accurate to say that music was discovered on the occasion of action language. The nature of music, he thought, was not in speech but in measurable meter and harmony, the latter being defined with reference to Rameau, the sonorous body and its physical properties. He only considered ancient declamation ‘musical’ insofar as he thought its pitches and

²⁶ Etienne Bonnot de Condillac, *An Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge* (London: Nourse, 1756), 172–3.

²⁷ Condillac explained the seeming paradox that French recitative was more musical or “sung” than its Italian equivalent as a compensation: “The French recitative would lose in regard to us, were it rendered more simple, because it would have fewer beauties, without any appearance of nature.” Condillac, *Origin of Knowledge*, 197–8.

durations were measurable and could be put down in conventional musical notes. Thus Condillac's view on music was more vertical than horizontal, his focus more on numerical relations than speech-likeness; this distinguishes his account from the otherwise similar and more famous ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who had already posited a connection between national musical styles and the respective languages in the *Lettre sur la musique françoise*. In the *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, written in the 1750s,²⁸ he joined Vico and Condillac in claiming that prehistorical language had been poetic and musical before becoming prosaic: "The first languages were singing and passionate before being simple and methodical";²⁹ "one sang instead of speaking."³⁰ Music, sharing this origin,³¹ was indebted to the prosody of language: "all the notes of music are so many accents."³² Rousseau's general idea of music "imitating nature" was not that it depicts or names objects, but that it melodically conveys passions like emotional speech.

While it is uncertain how these ideas were shared by Vico, Condillac and Rousseau, it is clear that none had read Scheibe; nor did he, otherwise glad to attribute his ideas to some foreign authority, seem to know of them. Although his ideas resemble Rousseau's closely, a direct influence is unlikely. Scheibe's first speculations on the nature of music appeared in his *Journal Der Critische Musicus* in 1737, before Rousseau had entered the public stage. He drafted a larger treatise on the same questions in

28 Jean Jacques Rousseau, "Essai sur l'Origine des Langues, où il est parlé de la Mélodie, et de l'Imitation musicale," in *Collection complète des œuvres, tome seizième, contenant diverses pieces sur la musique* (Genève, 1781), 209–325.

29 *Les premières langues furent chantantes et passionnés avant d'être simples et méthodiques*. Ibid., 223.

30 *L'on chanteroit au lieu de parler*. Ibid., 228.

31 *Les vers, les paroles, les chants ont une origine commune*. Ibid., 286.

32 *Toutes les notes de la musique sont autant d'accens*. Ibid., 227.

November 1752, allegedly “in four or five days,” while consulting his “few books” as well as a friend’s supply; after revisions, he published the final version in 1754. In the footnotes, which he claimed were reliable because he looked up every passage more than once, he showed no awareness of the *Encyclopédie* (1751–) or the *Lettre* (1753), let alone the *Essai*, which was then being written and not published until 1781, posthumously. Scheibe also seems to have read all his French sources in translation; the first chance he may have had to learn about the *Lettre* was from Marpurg’s German review of a French review, published in April 1754,³³ but that would have been too late. With respect to the origin of music, Scheibe most prominently cited the seventeenth-century music theorist Michael Praetorius and the French historian Charles Rollin, who had explained music as a form of exalted speech.³⁴ It seems that Scheibe’s chief influence was his teacher Gottsched, who had dedicated a section of his 1730 poetics, *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst vor die Deutschen*, to the origin of poetry – not music, but that distinction quickly evaporates.

*Astronomy has her origin without man, in the remote beauties of the sky; poetry, on the contrary, has her origin within man himself and concerns him much more directly. Her source lies in the inclinations of the human heart; as old as these are, so old is poetry, and if she is to give way to another art, she will only recognize music, so to speak, as her elder sister.*³⁵

33 Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* I/1 (1754), 57–68.

34 “To the natural faculty of speech, very precious in itself, music adds something which is far more vivid, far more lively and far more apt to express the internal sentiments of the soul. When the soul is totally occupied by an object to which it devotes itself, and is, so to speak, carried away by it, ordinary language is not adequate to these violent commotions. [The soul] breaks out of itself, so to speak; it surrenders to the emotions, which completely govern it; it [raises and redoubles the tone of the voice,] it repeats its words at varying times...” Charles Rollin, *Histoire Ancienne*, vol. IX, cited in Scheibe, *Ursprung der Vokalmusik*, 45–48.

35 *Die Astronomie hat ihren Ursprung ausser dem Menschen, in der sehr weit entlegenen Schönheit des Himmels. Die Poesie hergegen hat ihren Grund im Menschen selbst, und geht ihn als weit näher an. Sie hat ihren ersten Quell in den Gemüths-Neigungen des Menschen. So alt diese sind, so alt ist auch die Poesie; und wenn sie ja noch*

Gottsched did not entirely dismiss the bird theory, but he stressed that man would have sung anyway, drawing on his innate faculty of vocal expression:

*Does not nature teach us to express all emotions through a certain tone of speech? What else is the crying of children than a lament song [Klagelied], an expression of pain caused by an unpleasant sensation? What else is laughter and cheering than a kind of joyous singing [eine Art freudiger Gesänge] expressing a delighted state of mind? Each passion reveals itself through its proper tone. Sighing, groaning, threatening, wailing, begging, chiding, admiring, praising etc. each strikes the ear differently because it tends to happen with a specific inflexion of the voice.*³⁶

In the beginning, Gottsched reasoned, these expressions consisted only in vocal modulation; words and their referential meaning came later.³⁷ The institution of singing to each other came about “because one realized that passions, naturally expressed, were capable of awakening the like in others.”³⁸ The activities that would become known as poetry, composition and performance were, of course, undivided, as “singers wrote their own songs, and the poets sang theirs; hence [and because singers accompanied themselves,] the latter-day habit of poets to address their lyres, zithers, strings, flutes

einer anderen Kunst weichen soll, so wird sie bloß die Music, so zu reden, vor ihre ältere Schwester erkennen. Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst vor die Deutschen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1730), 57.

36 *Lehrt uns nicht die Natur alle Gemüths-Bewegungen durch einen gewissen Thon der Sprache ausdrücken? Was ist das Weinen der Kinder anders, als ein Klagelied, ein Ausdruck des Schmerzens, den ihnen eine unangenehme Empfindung verursacht? Was ist das Lachen und Frohlocken anders als eine Art freudiger Gesänge, die einen vergnügten Zustand des Gemüthes ausdrücken? Eine jede Leidenschaft hat ihren eigenen Ton, womit sie sich an den Tag legt. Seufzen, Aechzen, Dräuen, Klagen, Bitten, Schelten, Bewundern, Loben, u.s.w. alles fällt anders ins Ohr; weil es mit einer besondern Veränderung der Stimme zu geschehen pflegt.* Gottsched, *Dichtkunst* 1730, 58.

37 *Wie nun auch bloße Stimmen die innerlichen Bewegungen des Herzens ausdrücken; ... so ist doch leicht zu vermuthen, daß man ... auch bald gewisse Worte dabey werde ausgesprochen haben.* Ibid., 59.

38 *Weil man nun angemercket, daß die natürlich ausgedrückten Leidenschaften auch bey andern, eben dergleichen zu erwecken geschickt wären.* Ibid., 58.

and shawms, even though they do not know how to play them.”³⁹ Gottsched assumed that these first singers, who were also legislators and chroniclers (drawing on the natural mnemonic power of song) made up both music and text in the same instant.

Gottsched’s emphasis on emotion (rather than reason) as well as the slight bias in favor of music seems to contradict his reputation as a logocentric rationalist. John Neubauer, for example, understands the following passage to “describe music as a pleasant entertainment but a morally and aesthetically inferior art that must be made to serve better causes”:

*After all, singing is nothing more than a pleasant and emphatic reading of verse.*⁴⁰

On its own, the phrase sounds admittedly brusque. In context, however, it becomes clear that Gottsched’s emphasis is not on pleasantness; his immediate concern being excessive text repeats and coloraturas, he advocates a natural, unexaggerated expression of emotion:

*Singing is after all nothing but an agreeable and emphatic way of reading or pronouncing a verse and consequently has to accord with its nature and content. [...] A good reader of a poem will of course pronounce crying lamentably, laughter cheerfully etc. with a good voice, each word according to its meaning; [...] this is just what a musician must do.*⁴¹

39 Ein Poet aber und ein Musicus, war damahls einerley, weil die Sänger sich ihre Lieder selbst machten, und die Dichter die ihrigen selbst sangen. Daher kommt denn nachmahls die Gewohnheit, daß die Poeten ihre Leyren, Cithern, Seyten, Flöten und Schalmeyen immer anreden, wenn sie gleich nicht spielen können. Ibid., 62.

40 Cited in John Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language: Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, c1986), 1.

41 Das Singen ist doch weiter nichts, als ein angenehmes und nachdrückliches Lesen oder Aussprechen eines Verses, welches also der Natur und dem Inhalte desselben gemäß seyn muß. [...] Ein guter Leser eines Gedichtes wird freylich das Weinen kläglich, das Lachen lustig, u.s.f. ein jedes Wort nach seiner Bedeutung, mit einer guten Stimme auszusprechen wissen; [...] so muß es ein Musiker auch machen. Gottsched, Johann Christoph, *Versuch*

I see two misconceptions here. First, the passage is about singing, which includes words and thus need not “be made to serve better causes.” Second, Gottsched was a rationalist not in the sense that everything boiled down to reason but in the belief that there were capacities not formed by sensory input, inborn faculties of human nature. The faculty of reason may have provided poetry with codifiable techniques of refinement, but song was primarily passionate; the ‘meaning’ or ‘content’ to be expressed by an appropriate use of the voice only extends to emotionally charged words. But the idea of natural song was not an expression of rationalism, nor, in Condillac’s case, of empiricism: when reputed radicals on both sides have similar views, such distinctions lose all descriptive value. Nor can mimesis and expression be pitted against each other, as Neubauer points out correctly,⁴² since art can imitate nature by expressing emotions in song.

Scheibe fits into this framework well. Since he admittedly designed his journal *Der critische Musicus* on the model of his teacher’s *Dichtkunst*, often adopting Gottsched’s arguments, it was convenient to include this justification of poetry which already included music. For Scheibe, “natural melody” was the primary cause of music, an “innate inclination to music [...] that arises from the soul,”⁴³ a human universal shared by “savages,” who sing, dance and use instruments without exception. In music, this instinct manifested itself “above all in melody, namely in one which is not

einer critischen Dichtkunst, durchgehends mit den Exempeln unserer besten Dichter erläutert (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1751), 725f.

⁴² Neubauer, *Emancipation of Music*, 6 and passim.

⁴³ Eine natürliche Melodie, oder vielmehr eine uns angebohrne Neigung zu der Music, die eigentlich aus der Seele entsteht. Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der Critische Musicus* 5 (1737), 39.

invented according to rules and hence not orderly and musically arranged.”⁴⁴ Melody was primary also in the writing process: “Each composer must sing in his thoughts if he wants to compose. These singing thoughts must be the first thing in crafting a musical piece.”⁴⁵ One of his proofs cites humans’ unconscious control of pitch when speaking: “We raise our voice unwittingly; we let it fall again, always spontaneously, without paying attention; [...] The state of mind in which we find ourselves arouses all of this.”⁴⁶

Some sixteen years later, after he had moved to Denmark and worked as Cappellmeister for the Danish court, Scheibe expanded on these ideas in response to the question, publicly asked by King Frederick V, “who was the first singer, who gave rise to vocal music, and among which peoples has it first spread?”⁴⁷ Scheibe wrapped his answer (in brief: Adam, Eve and the first peoples) into a *Treatise of the Origin and Age of Music, Specifically Vocal Music*. As the title shows, the foregone conclusion was that the origin of vocal music was tantamount to that of music. The first music was vocal; poetry, “the first, though younger sister of music,” was its “consequence.”⁴⁸ At first, music and language were incomplete on their own:

44 Dieser, von dem göttlichen Wesen und mitgetheilte, Trieb äussert sich vornehmlich durch die Melodie, und zwar durch eine solche, die nach keinen Regeln erfunden, und also noch nicht ordentlich und musikalisch eingerichtet und abgetheilet ist. Ibid., 35.

45 Jedweder Componist muß in Gedanken singen, wenn er setzen will. Diese singende Gedanken müssen bey der Verfertigung eines Stückes das erste seyn. Ibid., 38.

46 Die Rede erfordert verschiedene Thone, die die Natur nach Beschaffenheit der Sachen selbst herfür bringet. Wir erheben unsere Stimme, ohne daran zu gedenken; wir lassen sie wieder fallen, und das allemahl von uns selbst, ohne uns groß zu bekümmern, daß wir es thun müssen. Die Beschaffenheit des Gemüthes, in der wir stehen, erwecket alles das... Ibid., 37.

47 Scheibe, *Ursprung der Vokalmusik*, XII f.

48 Die Dichtkunst ist [...] die erste, obschon die jüngere, Schwester der Tonkunst, und fast eben so alt, als diese. Ibid., 12; Die Dichtkunst ist eine Folge der Vokalmusik gewesen, und gleich nach der Erfindung dieser entstanden. 79.

*Songs were the first pieces of music and the odes or songs [Lieder] the first poems. There was no melody without words and no poem without melody. The word for song in the ancient languages indicated both, the words and the tune. And how could it be otherwise? Because a poem without a tune or a melody was a non-entity. The one already included the other.*⁴⁹

Now, Scheibe was able to expand on his earlier idea of a song faculty or “natural melody.” This “property of the soul” was shared by “all other animals” capable of sound modulation, though human song was distinguished by the faculty of reason.⁵⁰ As proof of the instinctiveness and communicative efficacy of song, Scheibe pointed out how babies burst into “singing tones” after birth as “consequences or effects of the pain caused by the preceding upheaval.” In these cries, as in “any alteration of tones, if it arises from a certain sentiment, [...] man’s nature declares itself so intelligibly that we understand it even without words.”⁵¹ And when a nurse responded by singing, the baby understood in turn – not the words, but their soothing melody.⁵² Scheibe noticed that musical instruments did not have the same effect; that, he explained, was because the voice was attuned to the nature of the infant, soft enough for a newborn ear and

49 *Gesänge waren die ersten Musikstücke und die Oden oder Lieder die ersten Gedichte. Keine Melodie bestand ohne Worte, und kein Gedicht ohne Melodie. Das Wort, welches in den alten Sprachen einen Gesang bedeutet, zeigte beydes die Worte und die Weise an. Und wie konnte es anders seyn? Denn ein Gedicht ohne Weise oder Melodie war ein Unding. Das eine begriff schon das andere in sich. Ibid., 49.*

50 *Dieser erste Grund ist aber eigentlich eine angebohrne Neigung, ein anerschaffener, innerlicher Trieb zur Musik, oder [...] eine natürliche Melodie selbst. Diese Neigung, diesen innerlichen Trieb finden wir auch in allen andern Thieren, deren Organa fähig sind, einen klangbaren Laut, oder mancherley Töne zu fassen, oder auch eine Abänderung verschiedener Klänge hervorzubringen. Ich habe aber allhier nur nöthig, zu beweisen, daß der Mensch mit dieser Neigung gebohren wird, und daß sie eine natürliche Eigenschaft der Seele ist. Ibid., 5–6.*

51 *Hören wir nicht, daß es sogleich in gewisse singende Töne ausbricht, durch welche sich insgemein Klagende und Jammernde ausdrücken, die aber allhier Folgen und Wirkungen eines Schmerzens sind, den die vorangegangene Veränderung verursacht hat. Ein Beweis, daß schon eine jede Abänderung der Töne, wenn sie aus einer besonderen Empfindung entstehent, ein deutliches Merkmal eines natürlichen Gesanges ist, durch welche die Natur des Menschen sich jedesmal so deutlich erkläret, daß wir sie auch ohne Worte verstehen können. Scheibe, Ursprung der Vokalmusik, 6f.*

52 *Ibid., 6–7.*

“singing by nature” because its tones are also intuitively used to express and induce affections. And here, finally, comes a true analogy, even with overtones of the ineffable:

*Consequently, a singing voice is the language of the soul, as it were, through which it reveals what [...] it will not and cannot utter in words if it is to achieve its goal.*⁵³

This “language of the soul,” however, was not music; rather, the singing voice gave rise to both music and verbal language.

What was true of the individual also applied to the human species: “after man emerged from the hand of his creator, his voice undoubtedly first broke into utterances of rapture and astonishment.”⁵⁴ Adam’s cries, like those of babies, were initially non-verbal; only subsequently, when man “discovered beauty and sense” in them, did he start to join these “thinking tones of the human voice” with concepts and use them to express thoughts.⁵⁵ “The essential part of language” was not words but the “entirely musical” expression in tones, “intelligible signifiers of human sentiment, desire and will.”⁵⁶ That makes song, vocal expression in melody, the origin and essence of both music and language.

53 Eine singende Stimme ist folglich gleichsam die Sprache der Seele, wodurch sie dasjenige entdeckt, was sie durch ausgesprochene Worte, die sie dazu für unbequem hält, oder deren sie sich aus besonderen Ursachen nicht bedienen will oder darf, nicht erklären will und kann, wenn sie ihre Absicht erreichen soll. Ibid., 9.

54 Die Stimme des Menschen, nachdem er aus der Hand seines Schöpfers gekommen war, äußerte sich ohnfehlbar zuerst in Ausrufungen, in welche er aus Entzückung und Verwunderung, in der er sich befand, plötzlich herausbrach. Ibid., 14.

55 Er entdeckte gar bald Schönheit und Verstand darinnen; denn nun fieng er an, die Töne zum Ausdrucke seiner Gedanken anzuwenden, und Begriffe damit zu verbinden. Ibid., 9.

56 Diese Töne sind das Wesentliche der Sprache, und ganz musikalisch. Ibid., 15. [Sie sind] deutliche Merkzeichen der Empfindungen, der Begierden und des Willens des Menschen. 15.

Those who know Rousseau will find much of this familiar: The first language “was ordinary song” and “arose [...] from differing tones, or from a tuneful inflexion of the voice. [...] One spoke, as it were, merely in accents.”⁵⁷ – “I believe that those dialects which are the most singing have retained very much, and more than the others, of the first origin and essence of their main language, and are at once the oldest.”⁵⁸ Scheibe was also convinced that differences between languages (along with mores) accounted for the character of national musical styles.⁵⁹ But while Rousseau observed a decline of accent he blamed on cold climate, glorifying Italian as the epitome of singing speech, Scheibe was able to flatter his dedicatee by sending his readers to a Danish colony: “Hear the Norwegians talk; their conversations often seem to resemble a concert of singing voices.”⁶⁰

These narratives of original song, in agreement even without direct influence, are testimony to a spreading interest in prosody that pulled the theories of music and language closer to each other;⁶¹ they are manifestations of what John Neubauer and

57 ...Daß die Sprache selbst in den ersten Zeiten ein gewöhnlicher Gesang gewesen. Sie entstand, wie schon gezeigt worden, aus abwechselnden Tönen, oder aus der tonreichen Abänderung der Stimme. Diese verschiedenen Töne waren ohne Zweifel die ersten Mittel, einander seine Gedanken erkennen zu geben, seine Leidenschaften, seine Begierden auszudrücken, und die Regungen der Verwunderung, des Lobes, der Liebe, der Zufriedenheit, der Freude u. s. f. öffentlich zu bezeigen. Man redete also gleichsam blos in Accenten [...] Ibid., 81–2

58 Denn ich glaube, daß diejenigen Dialekte, die am meisten singend sind, noch sehr vieles, und mehr als die andern, vom ersten Ursprunge und Wesen ihrer Hauptsprache behalten haben, zugleich aber auch die ältesten sind. Ibid., 67, footnote.

59 “When we consider this carefully, we will also be able to judge the reason why each country has its own national music, especially when we add the difference of mores.” Wenn wir nun dieses reiflich erwägen: so werden wir zugleich daraus urtheilen können, woher es kommt, daß ein jedes Land seine eigene Nationalmusik hat, zumal wenn wir hierzu noch die Verschiedenheit der Sitten setzen. Ibid., 68.

60 Man höre die Norweger reden. Ihre Gespräche scheinen oft einem Concerte von Singestimmen sehr ähnlich zu seyn. Ibid., 66–67.

61 Johann Nikolaus Forkel (*Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, 1788) cites Francisco de Salinas (*De musica libri septem*, Salamanca 1577) and Antonio Eximeno (*Dell' origine e delle regole della musica*, 1774). The latter, in turn, took ideas from Condillac and Rousseau.

Downing A. Thomas have called the ‘verbal paradigm.’ It should have become clear, however, that this is a misnomer and risks reinforcing the assumption that eighteenth-century theorists were music-loathing logocentrists. Because these theories are based on the idea of a pre-verbal language, words assume the role of an ingenious improvement, a secondary function resembling that of harmony in music; one might say that the two domains each had their sufficient condition (words for language, harmony for music) but shared a single necessary condition in the expressive variation of pitch and rhythm. In this framework, figurative references to music’s being ‘a language’ or ‘like a language’ do not map all of language onto all of music but bring their intersection into focus while blurring the complements; rather than implying that music has objective information or conventional signs, *topoi* or otherwise, they regard the common *meaning* of music and language as emotional and communicable by melodic means. This paradigm could be called ‘melocentrism,’ not in the sense of music-fixation, but in that of something tuneful that is neither fully musical nor linguistic. We might call it the ‘prosodic paradigm.’

On the other hand, it remains unclear how these stories about emotionally driven, inarticulate and inharmonic cries relate to eighteenth-century composition and performance. The impression could arise that Scheibe advocated an abolition or drastic reduction of instrumental music; or, more anachronistically, that his focus on melody translated into basses attuning to the soloist’s ‘expressive intonation,’ or text intelligibility being secondary to the ‘pure voice,’ as in the vowel music of twentieth-century opera stars. We can obtain a clearer notion of how pure prosody squares with eighteenth-century techniques in Scheibe’s history of eighteenth-century music.

The fall and rise of song

As a historian of style, Scheibe was walking in the footsteps of Gottsched, who found little appeal in things as they first saw the light of day:

*All things are initially rough and coarse, or at least full of simplicity. Time improves everything; long practice in an art finally brings it to greater perfection, and the adornment often appears very late, even though the thing itself has long been invented.*⁶²

The thing itself then, in its raw and natural state, needed art for refinement, order and perfection. That was also true of Scheibe's instinctive melody, which, as we saw, was "not invented according to rules, not orderly and musically arranged."⁶³ In 1754, perhaps after realizing that he had called the nature of music unmusical, he deepened the paradox by attaching, in parentheses: "though it is musical in nature."⁶⁴ Scheibe apparently slipped into and out of different senses of 'musical'; the first sense (not musically arranged) might be called 'musical in art', specifically musical, as opposed to the second sense (musical in nature), the musical quality that is shared by language. Scheibe's nature/art dichotomy can thus be applied to that of 'song' and its three opposites, prose, harmony and instrumental music: despite his often pejorative use of the latter words, he did not dismiss the concepts as such but their abuse; his ultimate preference was a synthesis in which song was enhanced, embellished and regulated by art.

62 *Alle Dinge sind anfänglich rauh und grob, oder doch voller Einfalt. Die Zeit bessert alles aus; die lange [Ü]bung in einer Kunst bringt sie endlich zu grösserer Vollkommenheit, und der Ausputz findet sich oft sehr spät, wenn gleich die Sache selbst längst erfunden gewesen.* Gottsched, *Dichtkunst* 1730, 59f.

63 Scheibe, *Der Critische Musicus* 5 (1737), 33.

64 *Ursprung der Vokalmusik*, LXXII.

In particular, “nature leads us to melody [*Gesang*] while art teaches us harmony”; consequently, “a piece in which nature, namely a charming melody [*ein reizender Gesang*], dominates and gives harmony or art occasion to embellish it, to present it in a more orderly manner,” was a “confluence of all musical beauties.”⁶⁵ The same dialectic applied to vocal and instrumental music: the latter was invented to make the former “more harmonious, gracious and manifold,”⁶⁶ thus being properly “an imitator and accompanist” of vocal music.⁶⁷ The rules of instrumental music were derived from those of vocal music, which were in turn rooted in human nature.⁶⁸ In summary, then, we can say that Scheibe promoted the primitive elements of vocality and melody without sounding the retreat to them; his call, in distinction to the one imputed to Rousseau, might have been “return art to the service of nature.”

Poetry and prose, however, fit less neatly into this formula. The reason is that language can be poetic in two senses: technically, as verse, and aesthetically, by way of an emotional, figurative or elevated style. We saw that Vico attributed seniority to poetry in the full sense when he claimed that the first utterances were in the “measure of heroic verse.” The ideas of Gottsched and Scheibe were more ambiguous: they fully

65 *Die Natur führet uns also auf den Gesang, die Kunst aber lehrt uns die Harmonie. Wie kann aber ein Stück schön seyn, wenn die Natur durch die Kunst unterdrückt, oder verdunkelt wird? Wird daher nicht ein Stück, in welchem die Natur, nämlich ein reizender Gesang, die Herrschaft führt, und der Harmonie, oder der Kunst, Gelegenheit giebt, sie zu verschönern, und ordentlicher darzustellen, und in welchem die harmonischen Töne aus der Melodie selbst fließen, wird nicht ein solches Stück ein Zusammenfluß aller musikalischen Schönheiten werden?* Ibid., 98.

66 *Vollstimmiger, [...] anmutiger und mannigfaltiger*, ibid., 86f.

67 *Sie ist also eigentlich eine Nachahmerinn und Begleiterinn der [Vokalmusik]*. Ibid., 84. NB. Scheibe's term 'instrumental music' also included the instrumental parts of arias, songs, choruses etc.

68 *Die Vokalmusik nimmt ihre Regeln und ihre Eigenschaften aus der Natur des Menschen, und die Instrumentalmusik gründet sich auf die Natur der Vokalmusik. Diesen füget sie die Eigenschaften der musikalischen Instrumente bey.* Ibid., 92f.

agreed that the first language was poetic in *style*, but neither quite heard primitive people break into Homeric hexameter. According to Gottsched, the original poetry consisted “in the sublime thoughts and their noble expression, in splendid figures, fables, parables and beautiful expressions”;⁶⁹ according to Scheibe, “it was distinct from prose in the sublimity of the thoughts and subjects.”⁷⁰ With regard to verse, Gottsched could “easily imagine what these first odes must have sounded like [...]: it so happened that the short sections of speech, or the small parts of the song, had almost the same number of syllables. But it was not done too strictly.”⁷¹ One is tempted to conclude, then, that these first utterances were *poèmes en prose*. But doggerel isn’t prose, and Gottsched explicitly said elsewhere that “the measured style [*gebundene Schreibart*, verse] was put into being earlier than the free [*ungebunden*] style.”⁷² Scheibe was similarly split; there were no measures initially, but they had an ancestor in the musical accents and tones of

69 Und wenn sie sich von der ungebundenen Rede noch in sonst was unterschieden; so muß es bloß in den erhabenen Gedancken, und dem edlen Ausdrücke derselben, in prächtigen Figuren, Fabeln Gleichnissen und schönen Redens-Arten gesucht werden: wie solches aus der morgenländischen Poesie sonderlich zu ersehen ist. Gottsched, *Dichtkunst* 1730, 62.

70 Ohne Zweifel bestand sie in erhabenen Gedanken und Betrachtungen Gottes und der Natur. Sie unterschied sich also von der Prose durch die Erhabenheit der Gedanken und der Vorwürfe. Scheibe, *Ursprung der Vokalmusik*, 80f.

71 Man kann sich aber leicht einbilden, wie diese ersten Oden mögen geklungen haben [...] Es traf sich irgend so, daß die kurzen Abschnitte der Rede, oder kleinen Theile der Lieder, fast einerley Anzahl der Sylben hatten. Doch gieng es damit so genau nicht zu ... so sind die Poesien der allerältesten Völcker in der gantzen Welt beschaffen gewesen. Gottsched, *Dichtkunst* 1730, 59–62.

72 Wie nun die gebundene Schreibart eher als die ungebundene ins Geschicke gebracht worden, also können wir auch den Wohlklang in der Poesie nicht von dem Wohlklange der Redner herleiten. Ibid., 304.

speech.⁷³ The question whether these uncouth beginnings of verse were the first traces of art or belonged to the original song faculty, must remain open.⁷⁴

If Scheibe's history did not start with the creation, some ideas in his vocal music treatise might be called an account of prehistory. As we have seen, vocal music arose first without words, then later included them – the birth of poetry – but they were not composed “according to art and priorly invented rules”⁷⁵ – they emanated from crude nature, in other words. However, Scheibe thought it “very likely [...] that vocal music was already regular when Mahalaleel was born, or at least when Yuval invented instrumental music.”⁷⁶ This younger kind of music was “invented because of [vocal music], to exalt and embellish it and to make it more pure and emphatic”;⁷⁷ there were no instrumentalists, but the singer-poets accompanied themselves.⁷⁸ Yet, despite this early synthesis, the temptation to emancipate art was not resisted for long: before the Flood, instrumenal music was “separated from vocal music [...] by the godless race of Cain, due to the general corruption of humanity, and thus by abuse.”⁷⁹ Scheibe's stand-

73 *Mit der Zeit sind endlich zur Erhabenheit der Gedanken noch aus den Accenten und aus dem Tone der Sylben die Klangfüsse, die Modulation und die Versarten entstanden.* Scheibe, *Ursprung der Vokalmusik*, 80f. As used until ca. 1800, the term ‘modulation’ meant moving within a scale or key, not from one to another.

74 Cf. August Wilhelm Schlegel's attempt to explain the poet's technical labor as a remnant of natural signification in “Briefe über Poesie, Silbenmaaß und Sprache,” *Die Horen, eine Monatsschrift* 11 (1795), 77–103, 1 (1796), 54–74, 2 (1796), 56–73.

75 *...kunstmäßig und nach zuvor erfundenen Regeln*, Scheibe, *Ursprung der Vokalmusik*, 79.

76 *Es ist ... sehr wahrscheinlich, ja fast ganz erweislich, daß die Vokalmusik schon regelmäßig gewesen, als Mahalaleel gebohren worden, oder doch wenigstens damals als Jubal die Instrumentalmusik erfand.* Ibid., 79.

77 *Die Instrumentalmusik, die einige Zeit jünger, als die Vokalmusik, ist, hat man, der Vokalmusik wegen, um diese zu erheben, zu verschönern, reiner und nachdrücklicher zu machen, erfunden. Sie ist also eigentlich eine Nachahmerinn und Begleiterinn derselben.* Ibid., 84.

78 *Die Instrumentalisten haben daher in den alten Zeiten bey den alten Völkern, vornehmlich in Griechenland, die Sänger oder Dichter nicht etwa begleitet, sondern diese sind selbst die besten Instrumentenspieler gewesen.* Ibid., 88–9.

79 *Die Instrumentalmusik ist vor der Sündfluth durch das gottlose Geschlechte Kains, durch das allgemeine Verderben der Menschen, und folglich durch den Misbrauch, von der Vokalmusik getrennet [...] worden.* Ibid.,

ing with posterity cannot have improved with such accusations; but he anticipated no emancipation:

*Instrumental music, because it is a daughter and imitator of vocal music, has always taken its rules from that mother. Hence it has always been and still is arranged and judged according to the rules of vocal music, even when used on its own.*⁸⁰

Thus, independent instrumental music was unthinkable, “tasteless, ridiculous, even contradictory, and contrary to human and musical nature.” This, for Scheibe, was the end of the story of instrumental music; there was no emancipation on the horizon. All subsequent developments he traced were solely determined by the remaining two dichotomies, that of melody and harmony and that of poetry and prose.

In his *Treatise of the Origin, Growth and Nature of the Present Taste in Music*, published in the 1745 book edition of *Der Kritische Musikus*,⁸¹ Scheibe in part responded to the 1673 treatise *Of Singing Poems and the Powers of Rhythm* by the Anglo-Dutch scholar Isaac Vossius.⁸² He only “somewhat” agreed with Vossius, who had traced what he perceived to be a steady decline and divorce of the once “inseparable sisters” music and poetry;⁸³ while acknowledging such a decline, Scheibe was convinced, like Gottsched with respect to poetry, that music had recently risen to its highest. He

87.

80 *Es hat die Instrumentalmusik, weil sie eine Tochter und Nachahmerinn der Vokalmusik war, jederzeit ihre Regeln von dieser ihrer Mutter genommen. Sie ist daher auch allemal, so wie es auch noch itzt geschieht, wenn sie schon allein gebraucht worden, nach den Regeln der Vokalmusik eingerichtet und beurtheilet worden. Ibid.*, 98–9.

81 Johann Adolph Scheibe, “Abhandlung vom Ursprunge, Wachsthume und von der Beschaffenheit des itzigen Geschmacks in der Musik,” in *Critischer Musikus* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1745), 750–795.

82 [Isaac Vossius], *De poematum cantu et viribus rythmi* (Oxford 1673).

83 Scheibe, *Ursprung des itzigen Geschmacks*, 753.

consequently added to Vossius's history a teleological upturn, beginning with the rise of opera and ending with the "present taste" of the title, that of Hasse, Graun and the Prussian court, where "under the supervision of good taste, we are seeing music rise to such greatness and excellence as was unknown even to those Greeks themselves."⁸⁴

Scheibe considered the central question with regard to the Ancients, whether they had multi-part harmony, settled once and for all: They either knew no such thing, or something very limited comparable to the simple bass lines of modern *Oden und Lieder*. Ancient music, therefore, owed its legendary powers solely to melody, not to full harmony, for which "their taste was much too purified." Almost in the same breath, he stressed that ancient melody was "apt to the songs [*Lieder*] or poems," heightened their content and gave them a "considerable weight, great emphasis and a force which no sensitive listener could resist."⁸⁵ Thus, melody and affinity to poetry were inseparable from 'good taste' and 'imitation of nature.'

The dark ages began with the barbarian invasions of Italy. Here, Scheibe unleashed the epithets so familiar to Bach scholars, 'forced,' 'gothic,' 'turgid' and so on. Melody and poetry gave way to harmony and prose, simultaneously. What had been irreconcilable with the ancients' taste was now the ruling element: "a dead, frosty texture, woven together, through various forced artifices, from a small number of restrict-

84 ...daß wir die Tonkunst unter der Aufsicht des guten Geschmacks, zu einer solchen Größe und Trefflichkeit steigen sehen, die auch jenen Griechen selbst unbekannt geblieben ist. Ibid., 758.

85 Daß es nichts anders als der einfache und natürliche Gesang gewesen, der aber den Liedern und Gedichten gemäß war, und der ihren Inhalt erhob, ihnen ein treffliches Gewicht, einen großen Nachdruck und eine solche Gewalt gab, welcher kein einziger empfindlicher Zuhörer widerstehen konnte. Ibid., 754.

ed tones or intervals”;⁸⁶ ‘harmony,’ in other words, without ‘melody.’⁸⁷ And as poetry declined in concert, music lost ‘rhythm,’ the basis for “that kind of euphony which, externally, very closely unifies it with poetry.”⁸⁸ – “In the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth century, one composed almost nothing but prosaic pieces.”⁸⁹ This included most genres, and “even the madrigals, which were written as early as the sixteenth century, were for the most part prosaic; they were governed by harmony.”⁹⁰ This correlation of harmony, prose and insufficient text setting seemed obvious to Scheibe: Citing the claim that madrigals betrayed their composers’ attention to the words, he countered: “they were governed the least of all by a moving melody but rather by a competing and fugal noise. Consequently, [sic!] neither the natural euphony of words and syllables nor rhythm have been observed.”⁹¹

These long middle ages ended around 1600 with the introduction of opera. ‘Melody’ gained strength and prevailed. “Harmonic compulsion” was reduced to an “occult house idol” only worshipped in secret by some incurable goths.⁹² The “beauty of rhythm” was simultaneously rediscovered,⁹³ teaching composers “to align musical composition with the rules of poetry” and “measure the tones more poetically.”⁹⁴ From

86 *Es war ein todtes, ein frostiges und durch mancherley erzwungene Kunstwerke ineinander geflochtenes Gewebe von einer geringen Anzahl eingeschränkter Töne, oder Intervalle.* Ibid., 752.

87 Ibid., 752.

88 *Diejenige Art des Wohlklanges [...], welche sie mit der Dichtkunst, in Ansehung des Äußerlichen, sehr genau vereiniget.* Ibid., 755.

89 *Man machte im dreizehnten, im vierzehnten und im funfzehnten Jahrhunderte fast nichts, als prosaische Stücke.* Ibid., 755.

90 *So gar die Madrigale ... waren meistens prosaisch. Die Harmonie herrschte darinnen.* Ibid., 755.

91 Ibid., 756.

92 Ibid., 761.

93 Ibid., 753, footnote.

94 *So bald erkannte man auch, daß man die Art und Weise, die Töne zusammen zu fügen, auch nach den Regeln der Dichtkunst bequemen müsse. [...] Man fing [...] an, die Töne poetischer abzumessen [...]* Ibid., 758.

the end of the sixteenth century, Scheibe approaches the final stage with a Germano-centric genealogy: Johann Kuhnau, a little too much on the side of harmony; Reinhard Keiser, consistently “poetic” but “careless” and too negligent a harmonist; Telemann and Handel, admired in France and England, Hasse and Graun teaching Italian music to the Italians.

Clearly, the good guys in Scheibe’s story, melody, poetry (now once more including verse) and vocal expression, can all be unified under the word *Gesang*, which appears frequently and with accordingly fluctuating meaning. Furthermore, they are correlated; after their simultaneous bloom in antiquity, they yield to their respective antitheses and concertedly rise back to early-modern prominence. Now let us return to Scheibe’s strange equation of melody, rhythm and poetry on the one hand, prose and harmony on the other. Is it all in a word, or are there material connections, as well? We must be aware that Scheibe and his contemporaries used the word ‘harmony’ in a way similar to our use of ‘counterpoint’ (in fact, he considered the latter word a synonymous barbarism for the former), meaning a technique of combining multiple voices that is applicable to all textures, not just the polyphonic one also called ‘counterpoint.’ ‘Harmony’ could mean ‘polyphony,’ and in this sense there may have been ‘no melody’ in Renaissance polyphony, only ‘harmony,’ i.e. contrapuntal voices that neither rise to the prominence of *the* melody nor recede to the point of accompanying. ‘No rhythm,’ on the other hand, in Scheibe’s usage, meant a lack of phrase rhythm (see the appendix). To be able to compare phrases, Scheibe needed vertical caesuras, the melodic but harmonically supported ending formulas that distinguished homophonic phrases; but these were rarely available in the overlap and continuity of the contrapuntal genre,

where the phrases of individual voices were staggered. In practical terms, therefore, ‘harmony is prose’ means that polyphonic music has no distinct phrase rhythm.

I find support for this reading, along with a lucid justification of polyphonic vocal music, in a passage from Marpurg’s *Anleitung zur Singcomposition*. Marpurg observed that homophonic genres were ordinarily *settings* of poetry, whereas contrapuntal ones tended to have prose texts; pointing out that the texts of motets were normally biblical prose while madrigals used the eponymous irregular verse, he recommended the same types of text for fugues. In these pieces, he explained, the ear never attempts to follow any one phrase to its end, rather expecting a “competition” of overlapping voices, a “pleasing and necessary complication of rhythm which would be a mistake elsewhere,” namely in arias; here, the ear sacrifices phrase rhythm “to the delight in surprise. [...] It does not desire to linger anywhere; it merely expects that a rested party suddenly return to the arena and chase away another.”⁹⁵

Thus Marpurg, no enemy of fugues, shed practical light on Scheibe’s idea of prosaic harmony, even without offensive adjectives. In arias, he recognized an aesthetic like Scheibe’s, which can be called *intersectional* because it emphasizes the common ground of music and language; the goal is that verse and phrase rhythm lock in, resonate and reinforce one another. Simultaneously, he appreciated a *complementary* aesthetic, one where the text rhythm stays out of the way of the music’s imitative techniques. In the aria aesthetic, music and text assimilate each other until they meld; in polyphony, they join forces by doing specifically musical and textual things. But Marpurg did not construct his theory of vocal music on fugues; on the contrary, he boiled

95 Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Anleitung zur Singcomposition* (Berlin: Winter, 1758), 86–7.

the paradigm of the aria down to that of the ode melody. When it came to the nature of text-setting, the song model would maintain its dominance.

Scheibe's historiography falls into line with his aesthetics and anthropology by tracing the birth, death and transfiguration of prosody as the ruling link between music and language. Hence, he cared little about sixteenth-century madrigalisms; he was looking for "the natural euphony of words and syllables," not tone painting. This outlook, however, entailed neither primitivism nor the classicism of Vossius, Condillac and Rousseau; Scheibe may not have gone as far as Telemann and Marpurg, whose critical death sentence was to call a piece an "imitation of ancient Greek music," but he held similarly presentist and nationalist assumptions, gutting ancient theory for justification of the Hasse-Graun style. The integration of art into nature was the key principle that enabled him to tie this modern practice to primitive prosody. Writing about music that did include harmony and instruments, in their assignedly supportive roles, Scheibe could also invoke inarticulate cries as the nature of music and simultaneously emphasize text intelligibility. The words had to be understood because they indicated, in their way, the same emotion as the voice; their accents, emphases and punctuations affected prosody just like the motivating passion and had to be set to music accordingly. This view did not subordinate music to poetry; it merely reflected the fact that poets initiated the process of vocal composition.

2. Singing Analysis: Mattheson's Minuet

This analysis of Mattheson's, first published in *Kern melodischer Wissenschaft* (1737) and reprinted in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739), is frequently cited today, although not nearly as much as his comparison of an aria to the disposition of a classical oration, which has come to be a standard example of eighteenth-century musical rhetoric. Unlike this avowedly tentative application of rhetorical form to an isolated piece, however, the minuet analysis is an instance of a generally applicable theory: it functions with tools that Mattheson applies throughout the *Capellmeister* and which place the relation of vocal and instrumental music within the general paradigm of song. To make these connections, let us read the passage in context.

Mattheson turns to the minuet after having dealt with all vocal genres (*Sing-Melodien*) and in moving toward the instrumental ones (*Spiel-Melodien*). Immediately, however, he questions both the minuet's status as an instrumental piece and the significance of this difference. After breaking the minuet down into "played," "danced" and "sung" subcategories, he claims that "everything the art of composition demands from vocal melodies must also be observed in instrumental pieces and indeed, often more so."¹ In support, he cites five theoretical parameters supposedly derived from vocal music:

¹ *Bey Instrumental-Sachen* [muß] alles beobachtet werden, [...] was die Setz-Kunst von den Vocal-Melodien erfordert; ja, oft ein mehrers. Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Herold, 1739), 223.

*First, one has to regard the inclinations of the heart, which are to be expressed only by sounds, without words; then the incisions of tone speech, whereby the words cannot show us the way, since they are not used; thirdly, emphasis; fourthly, the geometric and, fifthly, the arithmetic relation. Just look at the smallest melody and it will prove to be true.*²

That smallest thing, a miniature blueprint of larger pieces, was the minuet. Mattheson furnished it with analytic symbols in the place of words, pointing to four of these five vocal categories, punctuation, emphasis, note and phrase rhythm; and he summed up, in prose, the affect of all minuets as “moderate merriness.”³

In Mattheson’s notation (see following page), the “incisions of tone speech” are visible below the staff as full stops or periods (marked with triple dots), colons, semi-colons and commas; the asterisks, also below the staff (m. 2, 6 and 11), denote emphasis.⁴ Above the music, Mattheson also uses the poetic symbols for short (v) and long (–) syllables, separated into feet at the barlines. Note that Mattheson only spells out recurring feet, which contribute to a homogeneity he calls “arithmetical” (*arithmetische Gleichförmigkeit*).⁵ The daggers (†) mark the ends of verses (*geometrische Absätze*), which have a “geometric” relation of four, that is to say, there are four feet to each line. Mattheson made a point of using these categories in the absence of words, indicating that he usually applied them in vocal music, but also that he had musical criteria for them,

² Denn da hat man erst auf die Gemüths-Neigungen zu sehen, die mit blossen Klängen, ohne Worte, ausgedruckt werden sollen; hernach auf die Einschnitte der Ton-Rede, wobey die Worte uns den Weg nicht weisen können, weil sie nicht gebraucht werden, drittens auf den Nachdruck, auf die Emphasin; viertens auf den geometrischen; und fünfften auf den arithmetischen Verhalt. Man sehe nur die aller kleinste Melodie an, so wird sichs wahr befinden. Ibid., 223–4.

³ Ibid., 224. This is as far as Mattheson’s analysis goes with respect meaning; he spends more words, as we will, on the remaining technical categories.

⁴ I have added an asterisk in m. 11 according to Mattheson’s emendata list.

⁵ The iamb (v –) and amphimacer (– v –) of m. 1–2 return in mm. 5–6, the minor ionic (v v –) and moloss (– – –) of mm. 9–10 continue in 11–12.

Es hat demnach

I. Le Menuet, *la Minuetta*,
sie sey gemacht

{ zum Spielen,
zum Singen,
zum Tanzen, } ins besondere

Keinen andern Affect, als eine mäßige Lustigkeit. Wenn die Melodie eines Menuets nur sechs zehn Tact lang ist, (denn kürzer kan sie nicht seyn) so wird sie wenigstens einige Commata, ein Semicolon, ein Paar Cola, und ein Paar Puncte in ihrem Begriff aufzuweisen haben. Das sollte mancher schwerlich denken; und ist doch wahr.

§. 82.

An einigen Stellen, wenn die Melodie rechter Art ist, kan man auch den Nachdruck deutlich vernehmen; der Accente, Fragezeichen u. zu geschweigen, die gar nicht fehlen. Der geometrische Verhalt sowol, als der arithmetische *) sind unentbehrliche Dinge Bewegungsvoller Melodien, und geben denselben die rechte Maasse und Gestalt. Wir wollen an dem Menuet hievon ein solches Beispiel zeigen, welches bey allen übrigen, als ein Muster, zur Zergliederung dienen kan.



§. 83.

Da ist nun ein ganzer melodischer Zusammensatz (Paragraphus) von 16 Tacten, aus welchen 48 werden, wenn man sie vollend zu Ende bringt. Dieser Zusammensatz bestehet aus zweien einfachen Sätzen, oder Periodis, die sich, gleich den folgenden Einschnitten, durch die Wiederholung, um ein Drittel des ganzen vermehren, und unter ihren Schluß-Noten mit dreien Puncten (·) bemercket sind; die gängliche Endigung aber, als der letzte Punct, mit dem Zeichen ☺

§. 84.

Es befindet sich in diesem Paragrapho nicht nur ein Colon oder Glied; sondern auch ein Semicolon, oder halbes Glied: Die man bey ihren gewöhnlichen, unter die Noten gesetzten Zeichen erkennen kan. Man trifft ferner drey Commata an, daraus neun werden, und die mit dem bekannten Beistrichlein versehen sind. Die dreifache Emphasis aber haben wir mit eben so vielen Sternlein angedeutet. Der geometrische Verhalt ist hier, wie durchgehends bey allen guten Tanz-Melodien, 4, und hat so viele Kreuzlein zum Abzeichen. Die Klang-Füße des ersten und zweiten Tacts werden im fünften und sechsten wieder angebracht. Die andern, so sich

*) Man nennet diese sonst numerum sectionalem und rhythmicum.

that he did not simply graft his analysis of the text on the words. Let us see how this worked, category by category.

Concerning punctuation, a first thing to understand is that terms such as “period” and “comma” can denote both caesuras between phrases and the phrases themselves. Thus, the two triple-dots divide the minuet into two “periods,” which, in turn, consist of “colons” or “semicolons,” two each; the first three of these lower-level units are further divided into “commas”; the whole piece, including da capo, makes up a “paragraph.” As explained in a previous chapter devoted to “the Sections and Caesuras of Tone Speech” (*Von den Ab- und Einschnitten der Klang-Rede*), Mattheson associated ‘periods’ and ‘paragraphs’ with musical phrases closing, respectively, with “formal” and “total” cadences, that is to say, with perfect cadences out of and in the main key.⁶ At the same time, these units “expressed” their equivalents in the text: the setting of a textual period – a complex of clauses making full sense and closing with a full stop – had to consist in a musical period, a chain of phrases held together by a final perfect cadence, aligned with the punctuation of the text.⁷ A chain of periods, in turn, comprised a paragraph or, musically speaking, a number of sections ending with perfect cadences,

6 ... man hat weiter nichts zu thun, als an dem Ort, wo der Punct befindlich ist, eine förmliche Cadentz, eine rechte vollkommene Clausel, und letztlich einen gänzlichen Endigungs-Schluß im Haupt-Ton anzubringen. Ibid., 195. And negatively: Die Erkenntniß eines Periodi verbindet mich, ehender keinen förmlichen Schluß in der Melodie zu machen, als bis der Satz aus ist. Die Erkenntniß aber eines Paragraphi verbietet mir, irgend sonstwo, als am Ende desselben, einen gänzlichen Schluß anzubringen. Beide Schlüsse sind förmlich; der erste aber ist nicht gänzlich. Ibid., 9. 14.

7 Mattheson shared this usage, including the occasional gender error (counterintuitively, *Periodus* is feminine), with Marpurg and Koch, though Marpurg later renamed it to “paragraph,” calling “periods” only groups ending in a large half cadence, *halbe Cadenz*. The antecedent-consequent period, less common in the Hasse-Graun style than in Viennese classicism, is included in this definition; what makes it a period, however, is not how the phrases begin (‘parallel period’) but how they end.

the last one in the tonic.⁸ Most of Mattheson's examples confirm this coincidence. In the recitative extracts, full-stops are aligned with the characteristic melodic descent and subsequent continuo cadence; in most aria examples, periods close with a perfect cadence. Only one text example ending with a full stop is followed by a setting ending with a half cadence:

**Laß nur alle Liebes-Zeichen
von dir weichen;
Laß der Treue Bande schwinden,
die dich binden.**

alsdenn gibt es leichte und artige Versetzungen in Ansehung der Relativorum; und gute Wiederholungen in Betracht der Reime.
ardito.



Laß nur alle Liebeszeichen von dir weichen; laß der Treue Bande
schwinden, die dich binden etc.

Example 2.2: Example from Mattheson, *Capellmeister*, 189.

It is likely that this is no period in any sense. Not only does the music require a continuation (due to the half cadence), but what is shown as a full stop in the poem suddenly reads “etc.” in the music example. Rather than periods, Mattheson illustrated a way of responding to parallelisms in the text, namely the rhymes connecting two lines and the parallel beginning (“laß...”) connecting the couplets, with musical repetitions and sequences.

8 Cf. Johann Philipp Kirnberger's recommendation not to close in the main key before the end of the piece, except in Ritornellos: *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik* [...] *Zweyter Theil, Erste Abtheilung* (Berlin, Königsberg: Decker, Hartung, 1776), 139. In late-century Viennese music, where such early tonic cadences are common, a Kirnbergerian reading might involve an opening ritornello.

Less clear-cut than Mattheson's definition of the period are those of its constituents, colons and semicolons. In language, Mattheson acknowledges that a host of different cases hide behind the two punctuation marks; in music, on the other hand, much of his advice concerns melodic contour and motivic connections rather than closure, on which his clearest word is that semicolons must not close with perfect cadences, much less in the main key.⁹ With regard to commas, he calls for even more vague "natural cadences of the voice" (*Natürliche Stimm-Fälle*) that need not be accompanied by rests.¹⁰ Clearly, the role of harmony decreases as Mattheson progresses from greater to lesser forms of punctuation: cadences are defined by harmony and melody, commas are only melodic.¹¹ It also becomes clear that Mattheson's approach is to determine musical punctuation by harmony and melody while that of the text results from syntax and rhetoric; they are independent in definition. In vocal music, however, the text can "show the way" on the condition – the demand, rather – that equivalent phenomena actually coincide.

The second category is emphasis. This, as Mattheson explains in the chapter *Vom Nachdruck*, must be distinguished from "accent": in language a prominent word within a sentence is *emphasized*, while a stressed syllable within a word has *accent*.¹²

9 "The semicolon must never have a formal, much less a total cadence." "...das Semicolon [muß] niemals eine förmliche, viel weniger eine gänzliche Cadenz haben." Mattheson, *Capellmeister*, 191. For the cadence distinction, see 195.

10 "Stimm-Fälle," *ibid.*, 185.

11 In the minuet, periods close with perfect cadences (the last one in the tonic), colons and semicolons with half or imperfect cadences, commas with none at all.

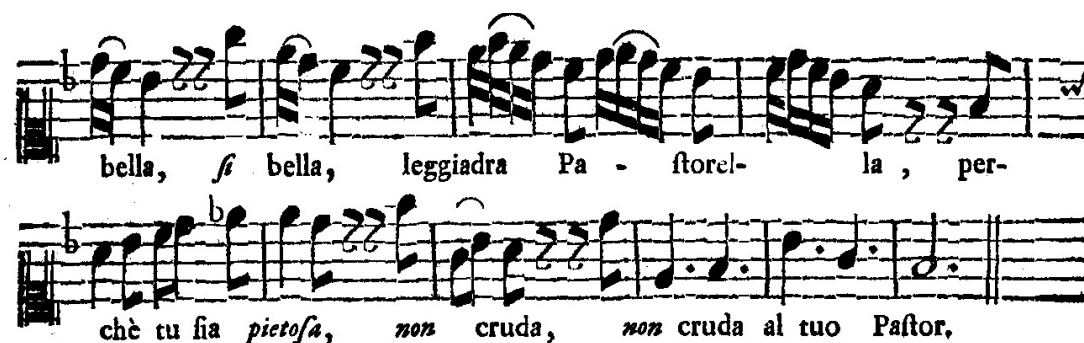
12 *Capellmeister* 174. Eighteenth-century synonyms are oratorical/rhetorical vs. grammatical accent (Marpurg, Koch [?]), declamation vs. scansion (Marpurg). While the meaning of a sentence hinges upon the emphasized word and shifting emphasis modifies that meaning, changing an accent results in a word's mispronunciation.

This was a useful distinction for text setting: German poem often deature important monosyllabic words in metrically weak positions, a misalignment of rhetoric and scan-sion which would have resulted in contradictory demands for the musician unless a parallel distinction was available. And Mattheson had one: Musical accent consisted in a note's strength or weakness as imparted by the measure; emphasis resulted from a melodic peak, "an appreciable, though not necessarily large rise" culminating in the ac-cented syllable of the emphasized word. Therefore metrically weak notes, if they stuck out like this, could be said to carry emphasis.¹³ Such a case is the e" in m. 11 of the minuet (example 2.1). In vocal music, this meant that word prominence in the text was to be expressed by melodic excellence; the strength and weakness of beats, meanwhile, was only relevant for the prominence of stressed syllables. Such an alignment of accent and emphasis can be seen in the following example:

Arietta.

Il Ciel ti fè *fi* bella, leggiadra Pastorella, per-
 chè tu fia *pietosa*, non crudo al tuo Pastor.
 il Ciel ti fè *fi*

¹³ Emphasis "almost always demands a heightening, an appreciable though not necessarily large one, even though the emphasized note may not always be accented." Sothane Emphasis [erfordert] fast allemahl eine Erhöhung, und zwar eine empfindliche, obgleich nicht grosse Erhöhung, [...] unerachtet die nachdrückliche Note nicht allemahl accentuirt seyn darff." Mattheson, *Capellmeister*, 175; cf. 176, § 17.



Example 2.3: Arietta; emphasized words in italics. Mattheson, *Capellmeister*, 175.

In each of the two solos, the middle syllable of the emphasized word ‘pietosa’ is melodically prominent and accented; the words *si* and *non*, on the other hand, are unaccented but emphasized, as are the corresponding notes.

We have so far been able to identify two of Mattheson’s categories as directly relevant to text setting. It is more difficult to say the same of his conception of musical feet (*Klang-Füße*), however, both as indicated in the minuet and described in the respective chapter. With the symbols – and *v*, commonly used by modern poets to distinguish stressed and unstressed syllables, Mattheson exclusively describes the relative length of notes, in analogy with the quantitative prosodies of ancient Greek and Latin. Modern composers, however, as we have just seen, matched stressed syllables with metrically accented notes, choosing larger or smaller note values at their discretion; in other words, Mattheson would never have used the short-long rhythm opening the minuet to set an iamb | *v* –|. This subject, therefore, deserves a more thorough investigation, which I will provide in the next chapter.

Mattheson called his final category, the one indicated in the minuet by daggers, *Metrum, numerus sectionalis, geometrischer Verhalt* (“geometric relation”) and *Reimge-*

bände ('verse structure'), interchangeably.¹⁴ He insisted that this art of "measuring off whole orderly verses, lines, end-rhymes etc... by which means a matter seems easily comprehensible, familiar and certain to the ear" was properly at home in poetry, not music;¹⁵ nevertheless, composers, especially vocal composers, "must be well-apprised in each and every manner of verse; if only to show better ways to those many unmusical poetasters... Moreover a melopoet must be able, in a pinch, to write a good verse himself, or at least have the judgment to choose something good."¹⁶ Hence both professions were addressed in the tenth *Capellmeister* chapter *Of Verse Structures Fit to Music*,¹⁷ although, as the title implies, this matter was treated differently by poets and musicians and required musical rules that regulated poetic practice, i.e. musical poetry. Mattheson restricted poetic meters because the text-setter had to reflect them in the musical composition. His somewhat obscure rule for this transformation is "that melodies have to conform in some ways to the verse structure and also establish such

14 The word 'Reimgebände' reads 'Vers-Gebände' in the pagehead, reflecting Mattheson's interchangeable use of *Reim* and *Vers*. In the table of contents, the second word reads *Gebäude* (structure) rather than *Gebände*, a different spelling slightly too common for a misprint: cf. Christian Gottfried Krause, *Von der musikalischen Poesie* (Berlin: Voß, 1752), 207, 223; Joseph Riepel, *Grundregeln zur Tonordnung insgemein* (Frankfurt, Leipzig, 1755), 127; *Oden mit Melodien. Erster Theil*, Berlin 1761, 11; the same passage, however, is quoted as *Reimgebände* in the commentary in Marburg's *Kritische Briefe*, 85. Concerning the vagaries of the words *Metrum* and *Rhythmus*, see my glossary and appendix.

15 Was [die Metric] dem Gesange für Gesetze gibt, das gehöret eigentlich in der Dichtkunst zuhause. Mattheson, *Capellmeister*, 195. Abgemessene, gleichförmige Schrancken ..., durch welche dem Gehör eine Sache leicht begreiflich, bekannt und gewiß vorkömmt; Mattheson, *Capellmeister*, 195f. Nur die Metra oder Reimgebände sind in ungebundener Rede nicht vorhanden, d. i. die Abmessung gantzer ordentlicher Verse, Zeilen, Reimschlüsse etc; *ibid.*, 209.

16 Inzwischen muß doch ein Melopoet von allen und ieden Vers-Arten guten Unterricht haben; wenn es auch sonst zu nichts diene, als den häufigen unmusikalischen Reimschmieden bessere Wege zu zeigen. ... Noch mehr, ein Melopoet muß sich zur Noth selber einen guten Vers setzen können, oder doch wenstens so davon zu urtheilen wissen, daß er sich was gutes erwehlen könne. *Ibid.*, 196–7.

17 Von den zur Melodie bequemen Reim-Gebänden.

bounds; but never the same.”¹⁸ His example is more informative, showing the kinds of choices a composer has in realizing the same text: two realizations are in even, two in uneven metre, and they display a variety of note values (including dots).



Example 2.4: Settings of a single verse. Mattheson, *Capellmeister*, 198.

In all their apparent variety, these four treatments have something important in common. The difference from example to example concerns the translation of syllables and feet into musical rhythms, the question Mattheson had not addressed in the context of *Klangfüße*; within each example, however, this rhythm is constant, and each foot (best described as an amphibrach $v — v$)¹⁹ occupies the same length throughout.

<i>Erschüttert,</i>	$v — v$
<i>Erzittert,</i>	$v — v$
<i>Ihr Pforten der Hölle!</i>	$v — v v — v$

¹⁸ Daraus folget, daß die Melodien sich in einigen Stücken nach den Reim-Gebänden richten, und auch dergleichen Grenzen setzen müssen. Doch nimmer einerley. Ibid., 196.

¹⁹ Mattheson assumes a three-syllable iambic mixed with other feet, presumably amphibrachs. Applying Occam's razor leads to my reading.

In the first example, the three syllables of each foot are set as an eighth note surrounded by sixteenths (except the first and last foot, in which one of the sixteenths is an eighth); their length is a bar in the remaining examples (which are incomplete, presumably continuing the same way). This consistency in scansion results in a direct translation of the each line's quantity, measured in feet, into a musical quantity counting as many rhythmic units; in examples 2–3, for instance, the final dimeter (*Ihr Pforten der Hölle*) corresponds to a two-bar group, while all four feet make up a four-bar phrase. It is plain to see how Mattheson applied this method to the textless minuet, where one foot occupies one measure: the “geometric sections” (*Geometrische Absätze*) are four units long, four-bar phrases which might just as well set tetrametric lines.

All this casts the instrumental character of the piece into even greater doubt. Yes, the words are missing; but so are the characteristics of any particular instrument. It would work as a *menuet zum Tanzen*, but we do not have the steps, either; more plausibly, we should read it as a generic template adaptable to all three purposes. As a dancing master could add choreography or a player apply figurations specific to an instrument, a poet could translate the piece to the vocal idiom by adding words. Strictly speaking, he would never need to hear or see the notes; it would be enough to fill the space between Mattheson's punctuation marks with words that justify them syntactically, that require emphasis where indicated, conform with the specified versification and have a moderately merry subject. Only the makeup of the poem's feet would remain in doubt.

Let us now consider what the minuet and its context tell us about Mattheson's conception of music. There is a striking resemblance between this minuet and Schei-

bean song, not the original crude one, but rather its modern reincarnation, nature refined by art. First, we have here a melody without chords and without words, but neither without harmony nor language; it permits being accompanied and underlaid with text, and it largely determines how. Secondly, the crucial element of Scheibe's anthropology of music, prosody, also guides Mattheson's analysis. The implied text we find in the minuet, stripped of symbolic signification, concerns only its prosody: punctuation, emphasis and versification are concerned with the delivery of words more than their significance, with the stop and go, rise and fall of a reader's voice; added to written language, such symbols facilitate its transformation into speech, no matter whether the words are unfamiliar, foreign or plain gibberish. Taking into account the indicated affect, which need not be stated in the words, but may be called for as a speech pattern, we can say that Mattheson cast music in the image of prosody, not language. Hence his reliance on melody, which becomes nearly total when prosodic or text-setting matters are at stake. There is not an accompanied example to be found in the chapters on accent/emphasis, musical feet and versification; the few exceptions in other chapters are often counter-examples. Mattheson summoned figured bass cadences in the context of commas and colons, but disparagingly, arguing that the punctuation force of the bass is limited, "whereas there is a thousandfold more reason that the bass has to yield to the melody, the servant to the master, or the maid to the mistress."²⁰ He also relegated the 'painting' of objects to the accompaniment, restricting melody's semiotic function to that of a conveyor of emotion.²¹ Thus, the melody

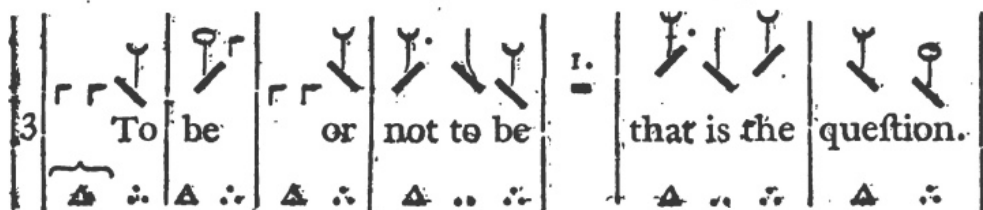
²⁰ *Dahingegen sind tausendmahl mehr Ursachen vorhanden, warum sich die Grund-Stimme nach der Ober-Melodie, der Knecht nach dem Herrn, oder die Magd nach ihrer Frauen zu richten habe.* Ibid., 186.

²¹ Even Mattheson, who ruined his posthumous reputation as a composer by (allegedly) painting a rainbow with rising and falling notes in multicoloured ink, stressed the dangers over the merits of such procedures

SINCE writing the foregoing treatise, I have heard Mr. Garrick in the character of Hamlet; and the principal differences that I can remember, between his manner, and what I have marked in the treatise, are as follow:

In the first place, that speech, or soliloque, which I (for want of better judgement) have noted in the stile of a ranting actor, swelled with *forte* and softened with *piano*, he delivered with little or no distinction of piano and forte, but nearly uniform; something below the ordinary force, or, as a musician would say, *setto voce*, or *sempre poco piano*.

Secondly, as to measure, the first line thus:



Thirdly, as to accent and quantity, thus:



The words, *as flesh is heir to!* he pronounced as I have marked them in my variation, page 46.; where the two syllables, *heir to*, are both acuted, and by that modulation, give the idea of the

Example 2.5: Garrick's Hamlet Monologue. Joshua Steele, *Prosodia Rationalis*, London 1779

was music's primary link to language, **prosody its counterpart; in song, the two locked** music and language together.

It is crucial to understand the symmetry of this model. Instrumental music was not considered deficient for "logocentric" reasons, since mere poetry, let alone prose, had the opposite defect; as songs without *words* lacked clear signification, songs without *tones* were wanting in harmonic order. Rather, the rationale was melocentric, fixed on the potential of emotional prosody, its realization in modern song and its traces in poetry and instrumental music. It is tempting (though slightly out of time and place) to illustrate this point by holding the *Capellmeister* example against one of Joshua Steele's speech transcriptions from *prosodia rationalis* (p. 53). Both Mattheson and Steele used a kind of vocal music notation, though incomplete; **on the one hand, a** full-blown melody with an uncertain, rudimentary text, and **on the other hand, the** complete words with a (musically) indistinct melody. In principle, **these fragments** of communication were in part congruent, in part complementary. Both have an inarticulate or disorderly, but prosodically clear **element, paralleling Scheibe's 'natural song,'** that holds together the complements, the individually acquired powers of music and language. Musical intervals and note values, adapted to the grids of scale and measure, simplified or substituted the complicated relations of speech prosody, making it compatible with accompaniment, counterpoint and other specifically musical techniques. The words, conversely, clarified the melody's articulation phonetically: while instrumental performance, however articulate, was restricted to little more than one

when wearing his theorist hat, banishing such "puns" to the accompaniment and instruments. This restriction prefigures Johann Jakob Engel's position in his 1780 treatise "Über die musikalische Malerey," in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 4 (Berlin 1802).

consonant (the attack) and one vowel (the sustain/release), the speech apparatus was able to utter intelligible words and signify the objective world. The more poetry was prosodically musical, the more instrumental articulation was speech-like, the easier the marriage was.

It remains to be seen, as we continue to trace music theory in Mattheson's tradition, whether and to what degree his approach survived; and, if it shifted, whether this was toward a more abstract conception of instrumental music being a parallel language, with analogical construction and meaning, or whether the treatment of all music as vocal music, and vocal music as the text's enhanced prosody, was rather expanded. The first place to look for answers is the problematic domain of musical and poetic feet.

3. A Vocal History of Feet

As indicated in the previous chapter, Mattheson's concept of musical feet (*Klangfüße*) did not clearly imply a text setting rule. This fact might be interpreted, according to the modern notion of linguistic terms in music theory, as an analogy taken from an extramusical art, a vague metaphor to make up for the inherent difficulty of describing music. Going one step further, it seems plausible to read Mattheson's feet as part of the beginning of a shift from a terminology of correlation, which describes how language is set to music, toward one based on abstract analogy, culminating in the entirely metaphorical usage Dahlhaus ascribed to Heinrich Christoph Koch. On the other hand, the opposite might be true: the feet may have been an analogical piece of tradition that awaited being turned into a text setting term by Mattheson's successors. By placing Mattheson's theory of feet into a history of similar attempts spanning the century and a half from Mersenne in 1637 to Koch in 1793, we should be able to find an answer.

Parts of such a history have been written before, for instance by George Houle (*Meter in Music*) and Claudia Maurer Zenck (*Vom Takt*).¹ Houle concentrated on what he called *rhythmopoeia* (following Mattheson's usage), a quantitative theory of rhythm modeled on ancient prosody and its relations to dance and affect. Zenck, meanwhile, has traced a selection of eighteenth-century sources with more attention to qualitative meter or what she calls *Tactgewicht* (following Kirnberger). As theories of syllable-set-

¹ George Houle, *Meter in Music, 1600–1800* (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, c1987); 52–84; Claudia Maurer Zenck, *Vom Takt. Überlegungen zur Theorie und kompositorischen Praxis im ausgehenden 18. und beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Böhlau, 2001), 141–55.

ting, however, designed to ensure that sung words will be recognized and understood just like spoken ones, these accounts cannot be reduced either to quantitative or qualitative concerns, nor, indeed, to the temporal dimension; theorists conceptualized the prosodic verisimilitude of vocal music on a constantly shifting parametric basis, sometimes including pitch. That makes the big picture more complicated; in fact, it becomes a history of confusion and misunderstanding.

Since the most blatant of these misunderstandings concerned the nature of ancient poetry, let us first review **the quantity/quality distinction in prosody**. In simplest terms, ancient poets created regular rhythms of longer and shorter durations by using syllables that were actually longer and shorter as a result of the time it took to produce the constituent sounds; specifically, a syllable counted as long or short depending on the kind and number of vowels contained, and the kind and number of consonants intervening between vowels.² In Latin, a syllable counted as short when a short vowel was followed by only one consonant (or a *muta cum liquida* combination such as ‘tr’ or ‘cl’); a long vowel or any additional consonant made a syllable long. The first syllable of the word *malus*, for example, would be marked |*v*|, as the ‘a’ was short and only followed by one ‘l.’ The first syllable of *grātus*, on the other hand, would be represented as |—| on account of the long vowel; the first syllable of *cantus* is long because of the consonant cluster ‘nt’ and **despite the short vowel ‘a’**. **In Latin poetry, this length prominence, called quantitative, was the sole criterion for the classification of feet and the construction of verse.** Lengths could also arise from vowels and consonants belonging to different words (i.e. position length): in *malus cantor*, for instance, the word-bridg-

² The following is a simplified summary; for a fuller treatment, see e.g. Sandro Boldrini, *Prosodie und Metrik der Römer* (Stuttgart, Leipzig: Teubner, 1999).

ing consonant cluster ‘sc’ made the second syllable of *malus*, normally short, count as long.

Meanwhile, Latin polysyllabic words also had accent, a rise or peak in vocal pitch. This accent, which has more or less survived in all the romance languages,³ fell on the penultimate syllable of a word as long as this syllable was long or there was no antepenultimate to which the accent could shift. Thus, the long middle syllable of *fidēlis* is accented; the short one of *genūus* is not, ceding the accent to the first syllable, regardless of its length. In *malus*, the penultimate (i.e. first) syllable is short, but the accent remains because it has nowhere else to go. As this rule shows, prosodic length and accent were interconnected, but did not necessarily coincide: there were words like *nócēns* with a short but accented and a long but unaccented syllable. Not surprisingly, accent played no role in Latin or Greek versification.

In modern poetry, however, accent became the sole criterion of prominence while quantity, at least as previously understood, became irrelevant.⁴ This new accent, especially in Germanic languages (where the stress is on the significant root syllable), is not restricted to pitch; it is expressed redundantly in multiple parameters, including force and length. This fact, along with the continued prestige of the ancients, accounts for poets’ continued use of the words ‘long’ and ‘short’ despite the shifted prosodic basis. It also explains modern speakers’ difficulties in scanning a Latin line with correct accent and quantity, which resulted in the development of two pronunciations of Latin: the

3 In French, the accent is on the penultimate syllable as long as there is a not-so-silent ‘e,’ sometimes even pronounced in words such as ‘lac,’ where no ‘e’ is written; the apparent end-stress is caused not by a shift, but by the loss of an unaccented ending in Latin (*cantātus* – *chanté*).

4 Romance prosodies, even French, have and use the criterion of word accent, if only in determining feminine/masculine or piano/tronco endings.

common pronunciation, where word stress receives attention while quantitative factors such as vowel length fall in line (as a result, *nócēns* turns into *nōcens*⁵); and the less common school scansion, where such care is taken with quantities that all long syllables become stressed (*nócēns*, in other words, becomes *nocéns*). Both pronunciations get it half right and half wrong, prevented from separating accent and length by a false assumption based on modern speech habits. Nevertheless, these alternatives were heatedly discussed in the eighteenth century; the assumption, based on the people of Rome's reported ability to judge the scansion of poets and actors, was that there could have been only one pronunciation. Yet while the 'prosaic' or 'rhetorical' pronunciation seemed more intuitive, authorities like Vossius and Gottsched had come out strongly in favor of the 'poetic' or 'prosodic' pronunciation, arguing that the familiar accents had been introduced in the middle ages along with rhymed 'monk verses.' Apparently, the first scholar to make the necessary separation was John Foster in his 1762 *Essay on the Different Nature of Accent and Quantity*.⁶

One would think that things should have been clear from a musical perspective: by the eighteenth century, music theorists had developed a notion of accent fully independent of a note's length, conferred only by its position in the measure. While these accented and unaccented notes were called 'long' and 'short' like their poetic equivalents, no serious music theorist confused this 'intrinsic' quantity with the 'extrinsic' one of note values. Nevertheless, Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg came to the rescue of 'prosaic pronunciation' in a chapter of *Anleitung zur Singcomposition*. Since the debate was

⁵ Marpurg, making an unrelated point, transcribes *nohtschens* (Italian), *nohßens* (French) and *nohtzens* (German); *Anleitung zur Singcomposition* (Berlin: Winter, 1758), 138.

⁶ John Foster, *An Essay on the Different Nature of Accent and Quantity* [...] (London: Pote, 1762).

flawed as a discussion of classical pronunciation, Marpurg's specific arguments, often spurious, need not concern us unduly. Many of them, however, were musical, routinely involving notes, time signatures, barlines and the reader's ear, resulting in a prosodic system that is instructive as a reflection of eighteenth-century sacred music, and also of New Latin verse, which he cited despite its disrepute. Marpurg devised a scheme for composers that reduced all the twenty-eight named feet of ancient poetry to nine main feet (*Hauptfüße*); some of these groups were interchangeable, further reducing the number of relevant groups to five. I have printed the main feet in bold face and separated non-interchangeable groups with line breaks:

– <i>v</i> Trochee (1)	– <i>v</i> – <i>v</i> Ditrochee (5)
<i>v</i> – Iamb	– – – – Dispondee
– – Spondee	– <i>v</i> – – Second epitrit
<i>v v</i> Pyrrhic	– – – <i>v</i> Fourth epitrit
	<i>v v</i> – <i>v</i> Third Peon (6)
– <i>v v</i> Dactyl (2)	<i>v</i> – – <i>v</i> Antispast
– <i>v</i> – Amphimacer (3)	<i>v v</i> – – Ionic minor
<i>v v v</i> Tribrach	<i>v</i> – – – First Epitrit
<i>v v</i> – Anapest	
	<i>v</i> – <i>v</i> – Diamb (7)
<i>v</i> – <i>v</i> Amphibrach (4)	– – <i>v</i> – Third Epitrit
<i>v</i> – – Bacchius	<i>v v v</i> – Fourth Peon
– – <i>v</i> Antibacchius	<i>v</i> – <i>v v</i> Second Peon (8)
– – – Moloss	– – <i>v v</i> Ionic major
	<i>v v v v</i> Proceleusmatic
	– <i>v v</i> – Choriamb (9)
	– <i>v v v</i> First Peon

Example 3.1: List of feet as grouped by Marpurg for the purpose of setting Latin.

How this system works becomes clear in a remark Marpurg had to insert after finishing the first group: He was talking about words, not feet, whose limits could (even should) be staggered rather than aligned with word boundaries. Evidently, this classification of feet is the rule of Latin accent in disguise: all disyllabic words are in one group while the common feature of all other groups and supergroups is the quantity of their penultimate syllable. As a result of this organization, all words from one supergroup are accented on the same syllable, thus being subject to the same musical treatment. This method deserves Scheibe's joke about Mizler's composing machine: It is as easy a way to set Latin texts "as the one a traveler would take to get to Leipzig as quickly as possible by way of Frankfurt, Augsburg and Vienna."⁷ We will see, however, that it was not an unprecedented approach.

As I discuss the major theories of feet in chronological order, I will concentrate on two topics which regularly attracted debate and proved to be the test of an author's theoretical basis. The one is the rhythm that opened Mattheson's minuet, a short note on the downbeat followed by a long note, specifically the sequence | ♩ | in triple meter. Being the exact musical equivalent of our word *nócēns*, a short and accented unit followed by a long and unaccented one, it was subject to much debate and conflicting, even opposite interpretations. I will call it the *contrarius*, borrowing its only unique name from Wolfgang Caspar Printz. A second bone of contention was the spondee, a foot made up of two long syllables. While that was a perfectly straightforward notion quantitatively, its existence was questionable from a qualitative perspective, as it

⁷ *Ein ebensoleichter Weg [...] als etwa ein Reisender nehmen würde, wenn er auf das eiligste über Franckfurt, Augsburg u. Wien nach Leipzig reisen wolte.* Cited in Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740), 422.

requires two subsequent notes or syllables with the same accent. It is generally typical of qualitative prosodies that the 28 di- to tetrasyllables of ancient poetry are reduced to three: trochee, iamb and dactyl. Applying to the iamb the same mechanism that excluded the shifted dactyls (anapests and amphibrachs), Joseph Riepel ended up with trochees and dactyls only, the equivalents of 2/4 and 3/4, the two basic time signatures he recognized.

The three quantities, 1637–1739

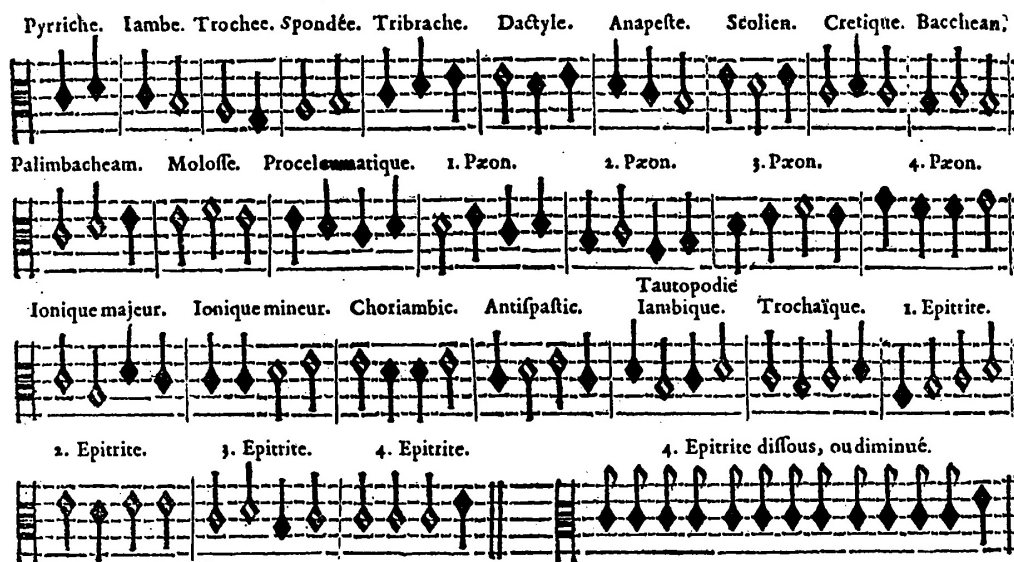
In Mersenne's 1637 *Harmonie Universelle*, feet are the chief organizing element in a quantitative theory of neoclassical dance-song, a codification of French court dance and, somewhat belatedly, efforts by late-sixteenth-century poets and composers to create a French poetry and *music mesurée à l'antique*.⁸ The ease with which Mersenne was able to apply the same theory to both genres illustrates their early interrelation.⁹ In addition, Mersenne drew on an ancient tradition of assigning each foot a characteristic passion. Mersenne formed the musical equivalents or settings of these feet according to length only; he preferably used just two note values, rejecting the modal and mensural systems of rhythm in favor of a foot-based system that included 'harmonic' relations such as 3:2 or 4:3.¹⁰ The contrarius, as a short note followed by a long one, accordingly appears as an iamb in Mersenne's catalogue. Two equally slow notes make up the spondee.

8 Marin Mersenne, *Seconde Partie de l'Harmonie Universelle* (Paris: Ballard, 1637), 374–433.

9 Mersenne about feet and dance steps: *Ibid.*, 394.

10 He simultaneously opposed the received systems of *modi* and *prolationes*; 398.

Table de vingt-sept pieds Métriques ou mouemens Rythmiques.



Example 3.2: List of feet from Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, Seconde Partie (Paris, 1737), 376.

The situation is different in Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia rhythmica sive poetica*¹¹ which includes "a certain and apt way by which metrical feet can be accommodated to musical feet without danger of solecism in the pronunciation of syllables."¹² As the title indicates, this is not an exercise in analogy but another theory of text setting. In comparison to Mersenne's method, however, Kircher's is based on a more inclusive prosody. Although he wrote exclusively on (and in) Latin and some of his examples seem quantitative, Kircher was openly critical of Mersenne's approach. He opened by asserting a 'triple quantity' of syllables: The first was duration (long and short), the second pitch accent (acute, grave and circumflex); the third, also called accent, was the

¹¹ Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis* (Rome, 1750), vol. 2, 27ff.

¹² *Modus certus et aptissimus quo metrici pedes harmonici, exacte et naturaliter sine periculo et syllabicae pronunciationis soloecismo accommodari possunt.*

acoustic extension and persistence of sound, comparable to strings struck with more or less force; loudness, presumably.¹³ This is a useful distinction; after making it, however, Kircher immediately started conflating the three again. An acute syllable, he declared, also lasts longer and makes more noise than a grave one. In language, therefore, his three quantities were so many redundant manifestations of the same quality, stress.

That Kircher was not an advocate of ‘poetic pronunciation’ as a guide for text setting becomes clear when he claims that musicians pay exclusive attention to the quantity of the penultimate syllable, which is implicated, as we saw, in the determination of word accent.¹⁴ His first foot catalogue, however, is perfectly quantitative on both sides:

Pedes poetici correspondentes pedibus harmonicis .

	1	2	3	4	5	
Spondæus — —						mores
Choræus — u						mufa
Pyrrichius u u						bona
Iambus u —						pares

Example 3.3: Foot list. Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*, Tomus II (Rome: Grignani, 1650), 32.

¹³ Kircher, *Musurgia*, 29.

¹⁴ *Magna tamen inter pedes Musurgis et Poetis usitatos differentia est. Poetae enim quantitatem syllabarum in pedibus metro alicui debitis exactius servant. Musurgi vero uti et paulo ante quoque dictum est, ad omnium syllabarum correptionem productionemque non respiciunt, sed mediarum tantum sive penultimarum syllabarum quantitatem cum primis servant; reliquas vero syllabarum quantitates non curant, sive eae longae sint, sive breves, ita bissyllabarum pedes promiscue pro spondaeo, choraeo, iambo, pyrrichio accipiunt Musurgi, cum auditui in bissyllabis brevis aut tarditas motus sit imperceptibilis...* Ibid., 30.

Parēs, a textbook iamb, is represented here as in Mersenne as a contrarius. Kircher's analysis of poetry, however, is more unconventional. He always regards isolated words, for instance, citing the words *sursum corda* as 'trochaic' despite the position length (making *sursum* a spondee in this context) that is caused by the colliding consonants '-m' and 'c-'. Occasionally, Kircher even reverses the quantity of words, as in the alleged trochee *avē*, in fact an iamb like *parēs*; the next one, *maris*, ought to be labeled a pyrrhic. This approach looks suspiciously qualitative. Indeed, *Ave maris stella* is hardly classical poetry; in the medieval verses cited by Kircher, the word *āve* owes its place to the initial accent, not the final length. Kircher's *modus certus et aptissimus* has the same tendency: The method is based, just as Marpurg's, on a classification of all 'feet' (recte: words) according to the quantity of their *penultimate* syllable. The words with a short penultimate, *mesobrachyes*, anticipate Marpurg's main trisyllables 2 and 3 and his tetrasyllabics 7, 8 and 9; the long-penultimate *mesomacri* are identical with Marpurg's feet 4, 5 and 6.

Despite this resemblance, however, Kircher's accent-based scansion did not result in a metric setting. As can be gathered from his catalog (example 3.3), the 'first quantity' still played a role. In his rules, it becomes clear that length matters both relatively and as an absolute magnitude (he requires minimum note values for certain long syllables). On the other hand, he directly contradicted Mersenne and his exclusively quantitative approach:

Behold, this is the way of those who think that poetic feet have to be adapted to musical modes by giving short syllables notes of smaller value and long syllables larger ones; of which I cannot approve. It can cause enormous errors in the har-

*mony of syllables and entirely ridiculous pronunciations, especially if the ascent and descent of the notes is not in order.*¹⁵

Kircher consequently assigned the ‘second quantity,’ that of intonation, a major role. As the details of his system reveal, he liked long penultimates to be contained in rising contours or peak notes, and the reverse with short syllables. He then pitted these quantities against each other, healing defects here with more clarity there.

But what about the third quantity? Only occasionally does it seem as if Kircher is about to introduce musical accent: he criticizes Mersenne, for instance, by underlaying his example of dactyls with dactylic text, claiming that the rhythm “necessarily makes the naturally short second syllable a little longer”:¹⁶



Example 3.4: Mersenne's dactyls underlaid with text by Kircher, *Musurgia*, II, 34.

He does not specify, however, what makes these syllables long despite the short note value; their metric position with respect to the third syllable, the modern reader is tempted to say.

¹⁵ Ecce hic est modus quorundam, qui putant pedes metricos, ita modulis harmonicis adaptandos esse, ut syllabae breves respondeant notis minoris temporis; longae, maioris. Quod ego nulla ratione probo; ingentesque in syllabica harmonia errores & ridiculas omnino pronunciationes causare potest praesertim si ascensus descensusque notarum nulla ratio habeatur. Ibid., 43.

¹⁶ ...Is necessario secundam syllabam natura brevem longiusculam efficeret. Ibid., 43; also: quis enim non videt in hac dactylica pronunciatione mediam semper ferè proferri longam cum maximo aurium cruciatu, quorum asperitas tanto plus crescit, quanto notae fuerint temporis maioris, aut maioris saltus. Ibid., 34.

In summary, Kircher marked a turn towards accent only with regard to language, placing redundant stress on syllables regardless of their quantity. In music, he wanted the linked quantities of speech to be expressed by the decoupled ones of length and pitch, with no tangible intrusion of metric accent. Which practice, if any, Kircher's theory described, remains to be determined; to the modern German ear, about half of his licit settings sound no less mispronounced than Mersenne's.¹⁷

The first theorist to explicitly connect feet with musical meter was Wolfgang Caspar Printz. The first edition of *Phrynis* (1676) contains the earliest recorded mention of *quantitas intrinseca*;¹⁸ Printz explained this apparent difference in the length of actually isochronous notes as being caused by “a peculiar power of number” (because the even or odd number of the note in the measure determined its accent) and having relevance chiefly in dissonance treatment and text setting.¹⁹ He illustrated this point with Latin and German examples, both right and wrong:



Example 3.5: Texted demonstration of intrinsic quantity. Wolfgang Caspar Printz, *Phrynis, oder Satyrischer Componist* (Quedlinburg: Okels, 1676), B iii verso.

¹⁷ E.g. *orator, componit*, *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁸ Wolfgang Caspar Printz, *Phrynis, oder Satyrischer Componist* (Quedlinburg: Okels, 1676), fol. B iii; also *Compendium Musicae* (Gubena: Gruber, 1668), chh. 2 und 7.

¹⁹ ...daß die Zahl eine sonderbare Kraft und Tugend habe, welche verursacht, daß unter etlichen der Zeit nach gleichlangen Noten oder Klängen, etliche länger, etliche kürzer zu seyn scheinen, welches sonderlich zu mercken, sowohl wegen des Textes als der Consonantien und dissonantien. *Ibid.*, B iii r.

Printz's ear felt "horrible vexation" at the example B,²⁰ illustrating how twenty-five years after Kircher, the link of word accent and meter had become second nature. The next chapter introduces musical feet, as a means of classifying the rhythmic modes that can open, continue and close sections (*modi incipiendi*, *progrediendi* and *finiendi*).²¹ The beginning modes have most in common with verse feet; in the first edition of *Phrynis*, they were spondaic, iambic and trochaic:²²



Example 3.6: List of foot-coded modes from Printz, *Phrynis*, [B iv recto].

In the second, 1696 edition, the number of modes increased to five:

²⁰ Da ... dem Gehör ein greulicher Verdruss verursacht wird. Ibid., B iii v.

²¹ Ch. 7, ibid., B iv–C ii.

²² The *modi progrediendi* included more names not taken from poetry as well as more quantitative elements, some of which were removed by Printz in the 1696 edition (such as the *Modus progrediendi Trochaicus*, initially restricted to triple meter [B iv v] but then extended and relabeled into *jambicus* and *trochaicus proportionatus*, leaving open the possibility of duple iambs and trochees. In the *modi finiendi*, an interesting take on the theory of cadences, the foot labels are even less helpful.



Example 3.7: List of foot-coded modes from Printz, *Phrynis Mitilenæus, oder Satyrischer Componist* (Dreßden, Leipzig: Mieth, Zimmermann, 1696), 21.

In the first edition, all of Printz's iambic beginnings start with unaccented pickup notes that are not always shorter (and never longer, incidentally) than the following note. Conversely, the trochees begin with a not necessarily longer note on the downbeat. All this testifies to Printz's qualitative prosody. His spondees, however, still consist in two long notes, like Mersenne's, and thus might be interpreted as a return to quantitative thinking. But according to Printz, this is not the case. One of his rules of intrinsic quantity (§ 11) states that

*Every semibreve or whole note [gantzer Tact] is long according to intrinsic quantity because it is counted with an uneven number, namely 1, since the counting must always start in the downbeat of the measure [Tact].*²³

²³ Daß eine jede Semibrevis oder gantzer Tact, auch der innerlichen Quantität nach lang sey, weil sie mit einer ungeraden Zahl, nemlich 1. gezehlet wird, sintemahl allezeit, im Niederschlage des Textes [recte: Tactes, cf. 1696], das Zehlen sich anfangen muß. Ibid., B iii v.

According to § 15, moreover,

*Because a very slow tempo [Tact] is in use today, each minim [halber Tact] is also commonly considered long, especially in 6/4.*²⁴

According to these rules, the first, second, fourth and fifth feet are all qualitative spondees. (Note, however, that the next-to-last foot, a trochee, is identical with the first spondee.)

The third spondee is the one Printz would soon call *contrarius*;²⁵ rather than calling it an iamb like Mersenne and (with qualifications) Kircher, he argued that “each and all syncopated notes are long because here, the even and uneven numbers meet and unite.”²⁶ In the second edition, Printz excluded the mode from the spondee category and made it a foot of its own, the *contrarius*; its characteristic was that “the first is long according to intrinsic, the second to extrinsic quantity.”²⁷ It becomes clear in both labels, ‘spondee’ and ‘contrarius’, that length was still a valid prosodic category for Printz; had he paid regard only to accent, the natural step would have been to call these two notes a trochee. Other additions in the second addition were a set of all-qualitative dactyls and a distinction between common and cut time in the remaining spondees: half notes count as long in 4/4 while it takes whole notes in *alle breve* (then

24 Weil heutiges Tages ein sehr langsamer Tact gebraucht wird, wird gemeiniglich auch ein jeder halber Tact lang geachtet, sonderlich in sesquialtera minore, da sechs Viertel auf einen Tact gesungen werden. Ibid., B iv r.

25 Here also “Enantius” Ibid., B iv v.

26 Imgleichen seyn alle und jede Syncopirte Noten lang, weil in denselben die gerade und ungerade Zahl zusammen kommen und sich vereinbahen. Ibid.

27 Die Contrare, wenn in einer Proportion, unter denen Noten, so aus der division per numerum ternarium entstehen, die erste Quantitate Intrinsicâ, die andere Extrinsicâ lang. Printz, *Phrynis Mitilenæus, oder Satyrischer Componist* (Dreßden, Leipzig: Mieth, Zimmermann, 1696), 21.

commonly considered to be twice as fast); we will not meet these qualitative spondees again until a century later.

In the third part of *Phrynis*, first published in 1677, a year after the first and second parts, Printz applied all these distinctions to practice, an experience which may well have prompted his later revisions in the foot list.²⁸ Printz concentrates on homophony (*genus monodicum*) and what he calls poetic melody (*melodia ligata*),²⁹ introducing musical verse analysis:

*Just as several feet in poetry make up a verse and several verses a song, a section or caesura in musica rhythmica arises from several feet, a melodia ligata from several sections.*³⁰

He also introduces the term *Numerus Sectionalis*, measuring phrase rhythms based on prime numbers and their multiples. What becomes evident here is that the vocal examples with which Printz has initially demonstrated *quantitas intrinseca* remain isolated: in this whole section, not a single example has a text. **Rather, Printz meticulously** classifies dances types and subtypes according to their rhythmic construction. In comparison to Mersenne and Kircher, then, Printz had all but abandoned the connection of musical feet and text setting. Unlike them, also, he apparently did not attempt to find musical equivalents of all poetic feet; rather, he seems to have collected rhythmic motives in music and then categorized them either by finding Greek feet or, if unavailable, making up his own; the contrarius was unknown in poetry, nor did Printz com-

28 Of Printz's discussion of *Musica Rhythmica*, starting in chapter 11, I have only been able to consult the second edition.

29 Ibid., part 3, 98.

30 Gleichwie in Oratione Ligata etliche pedes einen Verß, etliche Verse aber ein Carmen machen: Also entsteht in Musica Rhythmica aus etlichen Pedibus eine Section oder Cäsar, aus etlichen Sectionibus aber eine Melodia Ligata. Ibid., 111.

ment on its function in text setting. That raises the question what advantage Printz gained from grounding this system on intrinsic quantity; what it could have been – the ability to distinguish dances with a pickup from those without – it was not, as Printz ignored the pickup in the first Courante that came his way. For his purposes, he might as well have kept with a quantitative system like Mersenne. And Mattheson, who shared these purposes, did just that.

We have already familiarized ourselves with Mattheson's minuet analysis, first published in his 1737 *Kern melodischer Wissenschaft*; he added a full chapter on musical feet in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739). In many ways, his treatment marked a return to the Mersennian model. He listed twenty-six feet (Mersenne's twenty-seven minus di-iamb), on a quantitative basis; Printz's contrarius accordingly resumed its place as an 'iamb' while two half notes, on account of their length, made up a spondee. Also like Mersenne, Mattheson confined his feet to the boundaries of a measure, though he restricted himself to duple and triple meters, often ending up with three different note values, including dotted rhythms. He also assigned affect to feet and used them to used them to characterize and transform dance melodies: the contrarius is typical of the minuet, especially in alternation with subsequent 'trochees';³¹ emotionally, as expected, it is "moderately merry."³²

But what about the relation to text setting? As I mentioned, Mattheson stated a clearly qualitative rule in the chapter following the one on feet: "the word accent

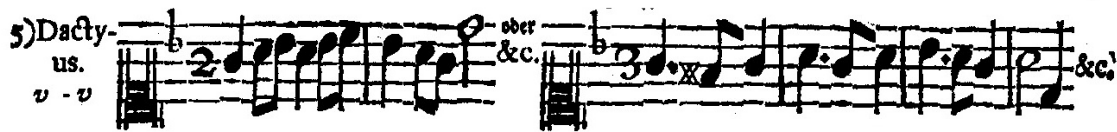
³¹ Es ist dieser Jambus vor allem in den Menuetten gerne mit dem folgenden Trochäischen Fuße vermischet, und daselbst häufig anzutreffen. Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Herold, 1739), 165.

³² Die Eigenschaft des Jambi ist mäßig lustig, nicht flüchtig oder rennend. *Ibid.*, 165.



Example 3.8: Unidentified 'ambic' melody by Reinhard Keiser, cited in Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Herold 1739), 165.

This discrepancy did not escape Mattheson, but he delayed addressing it until a few paragraphs later, when he found himself confronted with another problem: The widely diverging note values in his second dactyl example forced him to explain how two notes, one twice as long as the other, could both be "short":



Example 3.9: Dactyls from Mattheson, *Capellmeister*, 166 [scansion *v – v recte – v v*].

In response, Mattheson suddenly introduced accent:

The last or third note in the measure, even though it seems twice as long as the second or middle note by external appearance, is nevertheless intrinsically just as short because of the upbeat.³⁷

And out of nowhere, as if cued in by this ad-hoc explanation, appeared the subject of text setting:

Those meters of German poets that are called dactylic do not exactly oblige the composer to also use dactyls in his melody; the tribrach and other melodic feet of-

37 [...] Wobey der letzte oder dritte im Tact, ob er gleich dem äusserlichen Ansehen nach zweymal so lang scheint, als der zweite oder mittlere: dennoch an seiner innerlichen Geltung, wegen des Aufschlages im Tact, eben so kurtz ist. Mattheson, *Capellmeister*, 166f. Mattheson's ambiguity is further illustrated by the fact that he had labeled the same rhythm an amphimacer | – v – | in the minuet (see example 2.1, previous chapter).

*ten serve a better turn in this case. This remark holds true universally; just as we saw above that the words Non mi dite, etc. consist in iambs [sic!] and yet, the notes display the trochee. [sic!] Therefore one need not always adjust the melodic feet to the prosodic ones.*³⁸

This glaring and uncorrected error – Mattheson of course meant trochaic text and iam-bic melody – must have carried the confusion to extremes. At least, one likes to think, the subject of text setting has finally come up, and in the context of intrinsic quantity to boot; what better occasion for Mattheson to anticipate the following chapter and clearly state his actual rule of text setting? Instead, he obscured the subject by invoking a vague freedom, apparently suggesting that his feet did serve as settings of their equivalents, at least in principle; but according to his accent rule, Keiser's use was not a license. In fact, it is unlikely that the two ever used these melodic "iambs" as anything but trochees, as such 'Greek' arias would probably have failed on the Hamburg stage. In the long term, this gap could not be maintained; the question was how to close it.

Accent prevails, 1739–1793

Johann Adolph Scheibe avoided such ambiguities by adapting his foot terminology to text setting, with the result of an increasingly exclusive attention to word stress and metric accent. In two issues of *Der critische Musicus*, he constructed a theory of musical meter, not for its own sake but as a necessary digression from a text-setting question,

³⁸ Diejenige Reim-Gebäude der deutschen Poeten, die man dactylische nennet, verbinden eben den Componisten nicht, daß er auch in seiner Melodie dabey lauter Dactylos gebrauche: der Tribrachys und andre melodische Füße thun oft bessere Dienste in solchem Fall. Diese Anmerkung gilt schier durchgehends von allen; wie wir denn bereits oben gesehen haben, daß die Worte: Non mi dite, etc. aus Jambis bestehen, und doch die Noten den Trochäum aufweisen. Man hat also gar nicht nöthig, sich mit den melodischen Füßen allemahl nach den prosodischen zu richten. Ibid., 167f.

namely which syllables were susceptible to *Dehnung*.³⁹ Systematically associating notes with syllables, Scheibe fluctuated freely between drawing analogies and describing correlations – a distinction he rarely made, working on the assumption that all musical rules derive from vocal music. He began with a definition of word accent (not restricted to any language) that included intensity, length and pitch.⁴⁰ After an abridged prosody of German words and an introduction to verse (by now freely interchanging the adjectives ‘accented’ and ‘long’), he turns to musical meter because “the syllables, if they are to agree with the notes in size, must stand in the right place.”⁴¹ We learn that iambic verse is to be compared with beginnings with an upbeat, while downbeat rhythms are trochaic;⁴² the difference between duple and triple meter is inessential to the foot character because only *quantitas intrinseca* is relevant.⁴³ The *contrarius* had a special importance for Scheibe as a kind of triple meter, whose up- and downbeats could form the pattern either | ♩ | or | ♩ |. Both, however, were trochaic:

*Even when, in triple time, the strong note is succeeded by a note twice as long as the preceding, the first retains its accent and the latter remains unaccented. This way of dividing the measure is truly a trochee.*⁴⁴

39 Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der critische Musicus* 37 (1739), 81ff. 38 (1739), 89f.

40 “Accent is either when I elevate a syllable with greater violence, or when I stretch it.” *Der Accent ist, wenn ich eine Sylbe entweder mit grösserer Heftigkeit als die andere erhebe, oder ausdehne.* Scheibe, *Der critische Musicus* 37 (1739), 82.

41 *Weil aber die Sylben, wenn sie nach ihren Grössen mir den Noten übereinkommen sollen, an ihrem rechten Orte stehen müssen...* Ibid., 85.

42 *So ist zu merken, daß alle steigenden Tactarten mit den jambischen, alle fallenden aber mit dem trochäischen Sylbenmaasse zu vergleichen sind.* Ibid., 86

43 Ibid., 86.

44 *So gar wenn auf die anschlagende Note [im ungeraden Tact] eine Note folget, welche noch einmal so lang ist als die vorgehende, so behält die erste dennoch ihren Accent, und die letzte bleibt unaccentuirt. Diese Art den ungeraden Tact zu theilen, ist eigentlich ein Trochäus.* Ibid., 88.

In 1745, Scheibe added that the *contrarius* was the closest expression of a spondee, even though such a foot was unthinkable in music:

*Although the so-called spondee is expressible in the same manner. Indeed, it cannot easily be expressed in any other way because in music, an accented note always has an unaccented one at its side. Therefore two long notes of one and the same quantity and accent are completely impossible in music; which is why the spondee can only be regarded as a trochee musically, even if one assigns the last syllable a longer duration through the value of the note.*⁴⁵

This axiom of inequality, characteristic of qualitative prosodies in general, would continue for decades to make the spondee an aporia. That was unproblematic for Scheibe, who was not interested in finding equivalents for all ancient feet. His concern was how modern poetry could be set to modern music, and he drew radically qualitative conclusions, rejecting length as a criterion of foot classification altogether. For a moment, though, he did consider pitch:

*As a final remark, the rising [i.e. iambic] syllables should ascend while the falling ones should descend; however, this is not a rule, because otherwise one would strip many a melody of its amenity. It is enough and perfectly appropriate to the quantity of the syllables to attend to the difference of accented and unaccented notes.*⁴⁶

45 Wiewohl der sogenannte Spondäus auf eben diese Art auszudrücken ist. Es kann auch dieser nicht leicht auf eine andere Art ausgedrückt werden; weil in der Tonkunst immer eine accentuirte Note eine unaccentuirte neben sich stehen hat. Und es sind also in der Musik zwei lange Noten von einerley Größe und Accent ganz unmöglich; dahero ist auch der Spondäus in der Musik nur als ein Trochäus zu betrachten, ob man schon der letztern Sylbe durch die Größe der Note, einen längern Verhalt ertheilet. Johann Adolph Scheibe: *Critischer Musikus*. Neue, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1745), 349.

46 Noch ist zu bemerken, daß die steigenden Sylben aufwärts, die fallenden aber abwärts gehen sollen, doch ist dieses keine Regel, weil man sonst mancher Melodie ihre Annehmlichkeit entziehen würde. Es ist schon genug, und bereits der Größe der Sylben vollkommen gemäß, wenn man den Unterschied der accentuirten und unaccentuirten Noten in acht nimmt. Scheibe, *Der critische Musicus* 38 (1739), 93.

Remarks like this, beginning with the claim that stressed syllables should ‘naturally’ be set higher and ending with a reinforced assertion of accent, are frequent; they can be traced back to the late seventeenth century and forward to Marburg. In the course of these decades, however, the balance gradually tipped away from pitch and toward accent.⁴⁷

While Scheibe adapted musical feet to the qualitative practice of text setting, his Leipzig nemesis, Lorenz Christoph Mizler, and the circle of scholars writing in his *Musikalische Bibliothek*, went the opposite way. In 1737, Mizler had reviewed the recently published first volume of J.F. Gräfe’s ode collection,⁴⁸ complaining, with respect to song after song, that “the naturally short syllables have been made long and the long ones short, contrary to the nature of language.”⁴⁹ Here is what he meant:



Example 3.10: Anonymous, "Die Geduld," in *Samlung verschiedener und auserlesener Oden* [ed. Johann Friedrich Gräfe,] I. Theil (Halle, 1737), 1.

47 More evidence for a shift away from pitch and length can be found in F.W. Marburg’s review of Ahle’s *Sommer-Gespräche*; Marburg, *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Birnstiel, 1763), 210–33.

48 Johann Friedrich Gräfe, *Samlung verschiedener und auserlesener Oden*, part 1 (Halle 1737); review in Lorenz Christoph Mizler, *Neu eröffnete Musikalische Bibliothek* 1/3 (1737), 76–78; review of Gräfe’s second volume (1739) in Mizler, *Bibliothek* 2/1 (1740), 149–155.

49 Gleich in der ersten Ode [...] sind die von Natur kurtzen Sylben zu langen, und die langen zu kurtzen wieder die Natur der Sprache gemacht worden. Es heißt: Höffnung, Zeit und Glück, nach der Composition aber heißt es: Höffnung, Zeit und Glück. Mizler, *Bibliothek* 1/3, 77.

For contemporary composers, this objection may have been hard to take seriously – the next “heinous blunder” being a diminished fifth “of which the ancients have justly said that [it] is the devil in musica”⁵⁰ – but it helped instigate a debate that climaxed around 1740. After the publication of Scheibe’s remarks about text setting, Mattheson’s *Capellmeister* (now including the foot catalogue) and a second volume of Gräfe odes, dismissed by Mizler in 1740 for the same “errors,” Mizler published his own ode collection, *Sammlung auserlesener moralischer Oden*,⁵¹ announced in the first Gräfe review with the promise of error-free text setting. Mattheson, glancing at these rather bizarre pieces (which would garner additional derision from Telemann and Graun), made a last-minute decision to attach a sarcastic review letter he had just received from a certain Alphonso – one of Scheibe’s pseudonyms in *Der critische Musicus* – to his biographical work *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*.⁵² One of “Alphonso’s” scathing remarks was that

*in the twenty-first ode, in the third measure, a short syllable even coincides with a note that is long according to the measure or quantitas intrinseca; plausibly proving that it is not always necessary to join the poetic meter with the properties of the parts of a measure.*⁵³

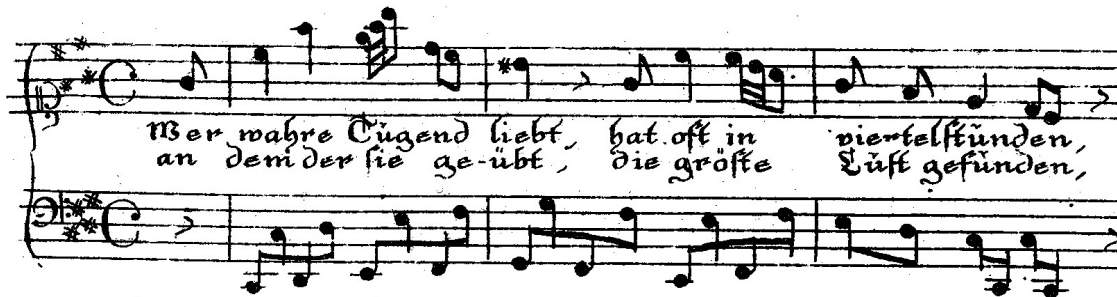
Here is the passage in question:

50 “...wovon die Alten mit Recht gesagt: mi gegen fa ist der Teufel in der Musica.” ... “daß es der ärgste musikalische Schnitzer ist. Ibid., 77.

51 Lorenz Mizler, *Sammlung auserlesener moralischer Oden zum Nutzen und Vergnügen der Liebhaber des Claviers* (Leipzig: Mizler, 1740).

52 Mattheson, *Ehrenpforte*, 420–6. Although Scheibe later half disowned the letter, which he claimed had been heavily redacted (presumably by Mattheson), the passage in question clearly reflects his opinion.

53 ...in welcher letztern [the 21st ode], und zwar im dritten Tact, so gar eine kurtze Sylbe auf eine, nach Eigenschafft der Zeitmaasse oder quantitate intrinseca, lange Note zu stehen kömmt; zum sinnreichen Beweise, daß es eben nicht allemahl nöthig sey, das poetische Sylbenmaaß mit den Eigenschafften der Theile einer Tactart zu vereinbaren. Ibid., 424.



Example 3.11. Lorenz Mizler, "Als er sich in einer Viertelstunde eine zu lieben beschloß," in *Sammlung auserlesener moralischer Oden* (Leipzig: the author, [1740]).

Indeed, the first, accented syllable of "Stunden" falls on beat 2 while the weak ending rests on the stronger third beat. Scheibe's observation is technically correct, although it must be added that this rhythmic profile could have been a legal license from the accent rule if the final weak syllable had coincided with the harmonic arrival; Mizler's tonic arrives on beat 2 in concert with the accented syllable. Such subtleties, however, escaped Mizler, who did not even take Scheibe's point; he replied in 1742:

Look up the third measure of the twenty-first ode, and be sure to use the lamp of Diogenes, and see whether you can find that I have put a long note on a short syllable.⁵⁴

He was, of course, still referring to 'extrinsic' length. In light of such resistance to even considering the role of metric accent, Scheibe continued to clarify the matter in his 1745 re-edition of *Der critische Musicus*. He added:

Many also opine that all accented syllables require longer notes [...] no matter to which part of the measure the note belongs, even if it is unaccented according

⁵⁴ Man sehe doch den dritten Tact der 21ten Ode nach, und nehme Diogenis Laterne darzu, ob man finden kan, daß ich auf ein[e] kurtze Sylbe eine lange Note gesetzt? Mizler, *Bibliothek* 2/1 (1742), 287.

*to the division of the measure. That way, it is said, setting verses does not come down to the natural accent of notes but to their length value.*⁵⁵

Scheibe went on to demonstrate where this conception leads, namely to iambic verse composed with quantitative “iambs” or *contrarii*:

*How unnatural is the result! It is more than certain that no accented note, even if it is shorter with respect to [extrinsic] quantity than the preceding or following note, can lose its accent; just as an unaccented note cannot possibly gain an accent by being prolonged.*⁵⁶

On the other hand, “neither the ear nor the scansion is violated” in the trochaic usage of the *contrarius*:

*Evidently, it is by no means the quantity or value of the notes that one has to take into consideration, but rather the quality or intrinsic quantity, the position of the note, which bestows on the syllables both their due accent and the consequent euphony. Indeed, very often it is a great beauty when one expresses the accented syllables with short but accented and the unaccented syllables with long but unaccented notes; which one can gather every day from the arias and vocal pieces of our greatest musical masters. It is therefore an indisputable truth that the accent of the notes cannot be separated from the accent of the syllables, and that it is an intolerable mistake to put notes on top of long and short syllables without paying regard to accent.*⁵⁷

55 Viele stehen aber auch in der Meynung, es müßten alle accentuirte Sylben längere Noten, als die unaccentuirten haben, und dießfalls gehörte es sich, über eine accentuirte Sylbe eine solche Note zu setzen, die einen längern Zeitraum erfordere, als eine solche Note, die über einer unaccentuirten Sylbe stünde; es käme auch hierbey gar nicht darauf an, zu welchem Theile des Taktes sie gehöre, und wenn sie auch der Eintheilung des Tactes nach unaccentuirt wäre. Auf diese Weise käme es also in der Unterlegung der Verse nicht auf den natürlichen Accent der Noten, sondern auf ihre Taktgröße an. Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus* 1745, 356.

56 Wie unnatürlich würde dieses nicht herauskommen? Es ist aber mehr als zu gewiß, daß keine accentuirte Note, wenn sie schon in Ansehung ihrer Größe kürzer, als ihre vorhergehende oder darauf folgende, ist, ihren Accent verlieren kann, eben so wenig, als es möglich ist, daß eine unaccentuirte Note durch Verlängerung ihrer Geltung einen Acent erhalten kann. Ibid., 358.

57 Aus allen diesen Anmerkungen erhellet nun zur Genüge, ... daß es keineswegs die Größe, (Quantitas) oder Geltung der Noten ist, die man in Betrachtung ziehen muß, sondern daß es vielmehr die Beschaffenheit, (Qualitas seu Quantitas intrinseca,) oder die Stellung der Note ist, die den Sylben ihren gemäß Accent [sic!], und daraus

This could well have been the last word. Scheibe, however, could not resist adding another venomous footnote that referred the reader to Mizler's odes for "particularly unnatural examples" of mismatched accent, thus provoking Mizler's associate Christoph Gottlieb Schröter, who retaliated (in his review of *Der critische Musicus*) by denying all of Scheibe's foot labels on quantitative grounds.⁵⁸ Unlike Mizler, however, Schröter apparently knew about the role of accent in text setting: While he denied the name of 'dactyl' both to the three equal notes in triple time that Scheibe had claimed and to the verses called 'dactylic' by German poets (arguing that both were really molossi or tribrachs with the first syllable pronounced 'sharply'), he did concede that composers set the one as the other, thus exposing his own criticism as mere logomachy.⁵⁹

Scheibe, having made his point, now retired from the debate. He may not have convinced his opponents, but he had given a clear example of his own principle that the rules of vocal music, based on human nature, ought to be those of music in general; the practical observation that accent was the chief, if not sole, criterion for correct text setting made it unthinkable for him to categorize musical feet based on anything but

erfolgenden Wohllaut ertheilet. Ja, es ist so gar sehr oft eine große Schönheit, wenn man die unaccentuirten Sylben mit langen, doch unaccentuirten Noten, die accentuirten Sylben aber mit kurzen, doch accentuirten Noten ausdrückt; wie man dieses aus den neuesten und schönsten Arien und Singestücken unserer größten Meister der Musik täglich sehen kann. Es ist also eine unstreitige Wahrheit, daß der Accent der Noten von dem Accente der Sylben nicht zu trennen ist, und daß es zugleich ein unerträglicher Fehler ist, wenn man ohne Ansehen des Accents die Noten über lange oder kurze Sylben setzt. Ibid., 358–9.

58 [Christoph Gottlieb Schröter,] "Die Nothwendigkeit der Mathematik bey gründlicher Erlernung der musikalischen Composition, dem hier mit nachdrücklicher Bescheidenheit beurtheilten critischen Musico erwiesen, [...]" *Musikalische Bibliothek* 3/2 (1746), 239–244.

59 Hierdurch widerspreche ich nicht, daß man obige Aria, oder andere von solcher Art, in 3/4, 3/8 oder auch in vermischten Tactarten, nämlich in 6/4, 6/8, 12/8 setzen könne. Man muß mir aber auch, nach nunmehr beygebrachtem Beweise, eingestehen, daß solche Einrichtung nicht dactylisch sey. Ibid., 243.

accent, even when text setting was not overtly the issue. This position, however, would have to be defended for another 15 years. On the one hand, Mattheson had lent a good deal of his prestige to quantitative feet,⁶⁰ seemingly reinforcing the position of the Mizler school; on the other hand, there were younger music professionals who aligned their terminology with vocal music like Scheibe.

In 1746, Mattheson's feet had made it, by way of Mizler, into the *Tractatus Musicus compositorio-practicus* by Father Meinrad Spieß, a Jesuit priest and member of Mizler's learned society. Joseph Riepel, also from a Jesuit background but, more importantly, a self-declared enemy of esoteric "compass harmonists," had found a convenient proxy for settling his implicit dispute with Mattheson. On the last pages of his 1755 *Grundregeln zur Tonordnung insgesamt*,⁶¹ he denied the traditional claim that musical feet carried an inherent affect (arguing that tempo and accompaniment could infuse all of them with opposite passions) and pointed out that "according to the prescription of all experienced masters, I may use all these four species for a single [trochaic] word":⁶²



Example 3.12: Spiessian feet underlaid with text. Joseph Riepel, *Grundregeln zur Tonordnung insgesamt* (Frankfurt, Leipzig, 1755), 128.

60 Mattheson's account even made it into Krause's *Von der musikalischen Poesie* (220–2), but without the music examples.

61 Joseph Riepel, *Grundregeln zur Tonordnung insgesamt* (Frankfurt, Leipzig, 1755), 127f.

62 Ich darf ja auch nach Vorschrift aller erfahrenen Meister diese gedachten 4 Gattungen zu einem einzigen Wort gebrauchen. Ibid., 128.

Riepel added a phrase with an upbeat, correctly setting an iambic assault on Spieß (“drivel delights, reason suffocates”):



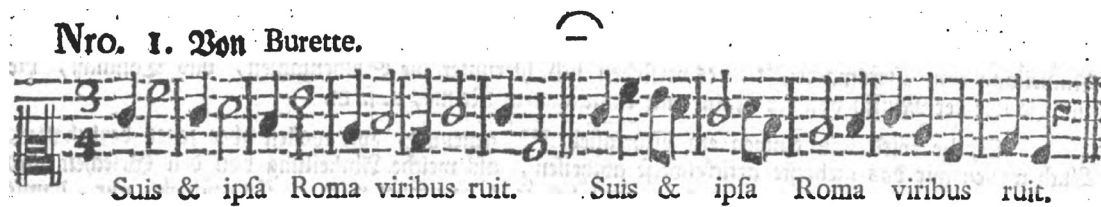
Example 3.13: Riepel's orthodox iamb treatment. Ibid., 128.

That he “used” the musical feet, of course, meant that he used them as *settings* of their poetic equivalent, while Spieß had not even claimed (though probably assumed) that this could be done; but Riepel, like Scheibe, assumed that poetic analogies had to describe a correlation in vocal music as a matter of course.

Apparently the qualitative approach still had to overcome resistance when Riepel revisited the subject in the opening of his vocal music treatise (*Harmonisches sylbenmaß*, published in 1777 but probably written much earlier).⁶³ In his trademark dialog design, the teacher or *Praeceptor* represented the author-composer while the student acted as a reader wavering between the teacher’s position and that of the Mizler school. The *Praeceptor*, therefore, begins by making sure that no trace of quantitative text setting is left in the *Discantist’s* brain. Citing Gottsched and Burette on the poetic pronunciation of Latin, he confronts the latter’s example of correct text setting with his own, galant version; the test case is once again the iamb.⁶⁴

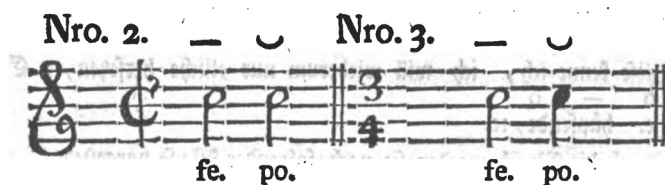
⁶³ Joseph Riepel, *Harmonisches Syllbenmaß ... Der erste Theil, von dem Recitativ* (Regensburg, 1776), 4.

⁶⁴ The text is the second line of Horace’s 16th epode, *Altera iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas*.



Example 3.14: Unnatural and natural. Riepel, *Harmonisches Syllbenmaß, der erste Theil* (Regensburg, 1776), 5.

In Burette's completely quantitative setting, qualified by the preceptor as "anything but iambic" and "unnatural to the bone,"⁶⁵ the barlines coincide with foot boundaries, thus putting musical accents on all the short syllables, some of which do happen to be accented (such as the first syllables of *súis*, *ruít*), some not (like the second syllables of *ípsă* and *vírĭbus*). In the teacher's five-bar minuet phrase, on the other hand, every word accent falls on a downbeat. The teacher, however, first has to explain accent in principle:



Example 3.15: Accent. Riepel, *Syllbenmaß*, i, 5.

The student understands immediately: There are downbeats and upbeats, the first representing accented, forte (*fe*) and expansible, the latter unaccented, piano (*po*) and non-expansible syllables; he also knows that both patterns are called trochees. But after the teacher has explained the analogues of iambs and dactyls, the student hesitates: In one example, he observes, the notes for the iamb *are* short and long. "Consequently, those two scholars were entirely right; except the desolate example by Burette." The

⁶⁵ ...nichts weniger als jambisch... von Herzen widernatürlich. Riepel, *Syllbenmaß*, 4.

usual experiment follows, demonstrating that short syllables in a text can very well be set as long notes and vice versa, i.e. trochees as Printzian *contrarii*:



Example 3.16: 'lambs' as spondees. Riepel, *Sylbenmaß*, i, 7.

But, the student wonders, could not a listener think they are iambs? The teacher responds with false iambs:



Example 3.17: 'lambs' as iambs. Riepel, *Sylbenmaß*, i, 8.

After exclamations of disgust from both, the proof is done: nature “tumbles over” in the wrong examples, and the student revels in a fit of admiration for the power of arsis and thesis.

We can find the same assumptions and many similar experiments in Marpurg’s *Anleitung zur Singcomposition* and *Unterricht vom Vocalsatz*. Like Scheibe and Riepel, he criticizes “the comparison that certain music scholars have attempted to make between the various musical meters that arise from the variety of longer and shorter, long and short notes, and the feet of Latin and Greek prosody.”⁶⁶ He proved all his points with vocal examples and text-setting arguments, betraying his assumption that these

⁶⁶ Die Vergleichung, die gewisse Tongelehrte zwischen den aus der verschiedenen Abwechslung der langen und längern, kurzen und kürzern Noten, entstehenden verschiedenen musikalischen Metris, mit den Klangfüßen der lateinischen und griechischen Prosodie anzustellen, versucht haben. Marpurg, *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*, vol. 1, 493–506.

“comparisons” ought to reflect the practice of contemporary vocal music. His original contribution was to attempt a systematic codification of syllabic and melismatic text setting on the basis of qualitative feet, but also accounting for the vocal composer’s choice of note values. In this system, ‘intrinsic quantity’ decides on right and wrong scansion while ‘extrinsic quantity’ accounts for how ‘natural’ or ‘artificial’ the expression is. The contrarius suffered an interesting fate in the course of this discussion. Marpurg made it clear that this rhythm was an expression of the trochee; but while he initially seemed to include it in the ‘natural’ category (which was characterized by a maximum length relation of 2:1), he subsequently modified his definition so as to render the contrarius ‘artificial’ along with all other expressions where the unaccented syllable was longer than the accented syllable.⁶⁷ As a result, the contrarius ended up a ‘warped artificial expression’ (*verzogener künstlicher Ausdruck*) of the trochee; a license, in other words, not wrong but to be handled with care.⁶⁸ Thus, with some tinkering, Marpurg was able to capture and explain some of the Mizler school’s discomfort with the contrarius without calling it an iamb or demanding long notes for long syllables.

Marpurg also devoted a few words to the role of melody in text setting, largely paralleling Scheibe’s position: While accented syllables should ‘naturally’ be set higher than unaccented syllables, especially in emphasized words, this could not be a general rule because it would unduly restrict the composer and, in poetry, result in a constantly

⁶⁷ For the original criteria of ‘natural’ and ‘artificial’ expressions, see Marpurg, *Kritische Briefe*, vol. 1, 475; for the amendment, see vol. 2, 1, footnote.

⁶⁸ Marpurg, *Kritische Briefe*, vol. 1, 488.

zig-zagging melody. “One would have to be more than a pedant” to require a consistent pitch scansion.⁶⁹ Ultimately, metric accent dominated all other parameters:

*For a syllable in the arsis always remains short and that in the thesis remains long even if the former be expressed in a much higher note than the latter; just as the long syllable remains intrinsically long, the short one short, when one divides the 2/4 measure into four eighth notes and assigns only the first one to the long syllable and the other three to the short syllable.*⁷⁰

Ironically for Mattheson, who liked to present himself as the spearhead of modernism, his quantitative conception of musical feet had by now been brushed off like some pedantry from the seventeenth century.

Marpurg rejected the spondee on the same grounds as Scheibe, but with some ambiguities. He repeatedly cited the axiom of inequality – two or more notes/syllables of the same intrinsic length are impossible – to deny the existence of spondees both as a poetic and a musical concept.⁷¹ Even in compound words such as *Abkunft* or *Eintracht*, which he did consider as potential spondees, he found more accent on the first syllable and categorized them as trochees by declamation (though he had trouble with derivatives such as *Abkünfte* or *eintragen*).⁷² And by underlaying trochaic text, he ‘proved’ that the same applied to the two half notes traditionally cited as a musical

69 *Man müßte mehr als ein Schulfuchs seyn, wider die fallenden Jamben und steigenden Trochäen, das geringste einwenden zu wollen. Ibid., 480.*

70 *Denn eine in Arsi stehende Sylbe bleibt allemahl kurz, und die in Thesi lang, wenn die erste gleich in einer, in sehr großem Grade höhern Note ausgedrückt wird, als die letzte; eben so wie, wenn man den Zweyviertheiltact in vier Achttheile theilet, und nicht mehr als den Wert des ersten der langen Sylbe des Trochäus, und alle drey letztern Achttheile der kürzern Sylbe giebt, die lange Sylbe dennoch innerlich lang bleibt, und die kurze kurz. Ibid., 478ff. Similarly Riepel, *Sylbenmaaß*, 195f; Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Anleitung zur Singekomposition* (Berlin: Decker, 1782), 4–6, footnote g).*

71 Marpurg, *Singcomposition*, 26, 27, 44, 142–3, 158; *Kritische Briefe*, vol. 1, 478, 484.

72 Marpurg, *Singcomposition*, 27; likewise Riepel, *Sylbenmaaß* 40f. More on *unbequeme Füße* in Marpurg, *ibid.*, 13–14, 16, 18–19, 24, 29–30, 76, 139, 161; Riepel, *ibid.*, 40, 112–3.

spondee. In some cases, however, Marpurg ended up codifying spondees in all but name. In prose and neoclassical verse, he repeatedly came into situations where two accented syllables collided, such as this:⁷³

Keines Höflings bedarf, Thränen geliebt zu seyn,

Marpurg represented the model for this line, the ancient asclepiad, as a trochee | – v | (*keines*), two choriambes | – v v – | (*Höflings bedarf, Thränen geliebt*) and a pyrrhic | v v | (*zu seyn*):

– v | – v v – | – v v – | v v

Musically, however, Marpurg counted six feet here; as Claudia Maurer Zenck has pointed out with regard to similar cases in *Unterricht vom Vokalsatze*, Marpurg preferred to have exactly one accented syllable in each foot, analogous to the single downbeat of a measure; thus he made the problematic syllable *-darf* a foot in its own right, consequently counting one measure.⁷⁴ Based on this practice and the assumption that all downbeats were ‘virtually’ equivalent⁷⁵ (which, as I will propose in the next chapter, had important consequences for his conception of measures and feet), Marpurg could have further formalized Printz’s rules by concluding that spondees were expressed by two notes both beginning on downbeats; this step, however, was left to Heinrich Christoph Koch.

Koch’s treatment of *Metrum oder Tactgewicht*, accompanied by foot catalogues both in the third volume of his composition treatise (1793) and the respective article in

⁷³ Marpurg, *Singcomposition*, 44, 136.

⁷⁴ Cf. Zenck, *Vom Takt*, 147.

⁷⁵ *Virtualiter von gleichem Wehrte*, Marpurg, *Kritische Briefe*, vol. 2, 22.

Musikalisches Lexikon (1802), was securely based on the accentual principle.⁷⁶ Thereby, he inadvertently guaranteed that his musical feet were usable as vocal settings despite making no mention of text setting (except for a footnote vaguely remarking that vocal composers need to know poetic meter) and giving separate poetic and musical examples rather than vocal ones. His instrumental focus had other consequences, such as his observations on the role of accompaniment in complementing the melody's rhythm and creating a steady pulse of small note values.

In distinction from Scheibe, Riepel and Marpurg, however, Koch readmitted a number of feet in addition to trochee, iamb and dactyl; many of these, such as the spondee |—|, bacchius |v —|, antibacchius |— — v| and moloss |— —|, included adjacent longs, the very feature Scheibe and Marpurg had declared impossible. Koch, too, as if to apologize, footnoted that “arguably, one has to ask whether the spondee and the moloss can be realized in music with absolute purity.”⁷⁷ He included them nevertheless:

⁷⁶ Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*, vol. 3 (1793), 13–38; article ‘Metrum’ in *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt am Main: Herman, 1802), columns 953–964.

⁷⁷ *Bey dem Spondeus und Moloßus kann man allerdings die Frage aufwerfen, ob sie beyde völlig rein in der Tonkunst ausgeübt werden können.* Koch, *Anleitung zur Composition*, vol. 3, 17.



Example 3.18: Spondees (figures 5, 6), Molossus (12), Bacchius (14) and Antibacchius (15). Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*, Dritter und letzter Theil (Leipzig: Böhme, 1793), 16–18 (compiled).

As Maurer Zenck has pointed out, Koch's solution expanded on Marpurg's occasional practice of assigning these feet more time than one measure; all the adjacent longs, consequently, begin on downbeats, and most of them fill an entire measure. Thus, Koch reanimated Printz's spondee and underpinned it with his understanding of the downbeat as an absolute intrinsic length.

Die höchste Glückseligkeit.

**Clavier.
Erhaben.**

Wie er = höht, Welt = herr = scher, bei = ne Be = wunderung der Geist des Staubs! den = ket er

dich, Herr = li = cher, wel = ches Ge = fühl flammt — in ihm! wel = cher Ge = dank hebt

ihn den = ket er dich!

Wie erhöht, Weltherrscher,
Deine Bewunderung den Geist des Staubs!
Denket er dich, Herrlicher, welches Gefühl
Flammt in ihm! welcher Gedank' hebt ihn, denket er dich!

In dem Staub' hier, droben,
Dann noch zu nennen, wenn Gottes Wink
Wonnegefühl seiner Vollkommenheit dir
Sandt', und du freudig erschrockst über Gott, wie in Traum,

Ist ein Mensch glücklich?
Einer der Waller am Grabe das?
Du! der es ist, rede, dich frag' ich allein!
Kennest du, würdest du etwas Seeligkeit dann,

Vor dem Anschau'n selig?
Flüge durch Welten? Ein Freund zu sehn
Derer, die schon Ewigkeit hinter sich sehn,
Dachten, und thaten? . . . Es ist nur Glückseligkeit auch

Example 3. 20: Johann Friedrich Reichardt, "Die höchste Glückseligkeit," in *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* (Berlin, 1782), 58.

Koch may have found further reasons for readmitting these feet in text setting practice. At the very least, he was inspired by the rise of poetry in neoclassical meters, spearheaded by Klopstock, Bodmer and others from the late 1740s on; his poetic examples of spondee, pyrrhic, anapest and tribrach are all from Klopstock; the dactyl comes from Ewald von Kleist's *Der Frühling*, a pioneering essay in German hexameter.⁷⁸ As indicated by Klopstock, Koch's spondee (*würdigst du etwas Seligkeit dann?*) is actually part of a dispondee (*würdigst du etwas Seligkeit dann?*),⁷⁹ a foot more than impossible according to the inequality axiom. In the second strophe of Johann Friedrich Reichardt's 1782 setting, however, these four syllables all fall on downbeats (see next page).

Missing from Koch's catalogue, though featured again as a trochee in *Musikalisches Lexikon*, was the *contrarius*. Reichardt, analyzing an aria by (again!) Keiser, had previously confirmed that it was a correct trochee setting, but he had also begun to question it as an instance of *tempo rubato* taken too far by previous generations.⁸⁰ Similarly, Johann Abraham Peter Schulz complained about Pergolesi's abuse of this 'syncopation' (*Verrückung*) in this famous melody:⁸¹

78 The spondee example is from *Die höchste Glückseligkeit*, Klopstock; pyrrhic and anapest from *Die Gestirne*, Klopstock; the dactyl from *Der Frühling*, Kleist; the tribrach from Klopstock's *Der Messias* (there serving as a dactyl); the amphibrach from *Die beyden Musen*, also Klopstock.

79 This reading, prescribed by Klopstock in a scansion blueprint ahead of the poem, is possible because all four syllables exist or once existed as standalone monosyllables or roots.

80 The most general sense of the word *tempo rubato* included syncopation. Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Reichardt, 1782) 36f.

81 ...wo diese Verrückung so unschicklich angebracht ist, daß jedem Sprachkenner bey Anhörung derselben die Haut schaudert. "Verrückung (Musik)" in *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste*, ed. Johann George Sulzer, part 2 (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1775), 857.



Example 3.19: Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, *Stabat mater*, cited in Johann George Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* (Leipzig, 1771), Article "Verrückung."

Having ceased to be a theoretical problem, the contrarius had become a stylistic embarrassment. When the 75-year-old Marburg came to Pergolesi's defense, attacking Schulz as if he had called for text setting à la Mersenne, Schulz was offended for being taught truisms; the ensuing debate, dragged into the nineteenth century by Dittersdorf and Carl Spazier, was therefore less about text setting than about the artistic value of the *Stabat mater* and Marburg's personal reputation.⁸²

⁸² [Friedrich Wilhelm Marburg,] "Über die Verziehung eines Tonfusses in dem Pergolesischen Stabat mater," *Berlinische Musicalische Zeitung* 40 (1793), 157–160; Carl [Ditters] von Dittersdorf, "Korrespondenz," *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 1 (1800), 201–5; [Johann] A[braham] P[eter] Schulz, "Ueber die in Sulzers Theorie der schönen Künste unter dem Artikel Verrückung angeführten zwey Beyspiele von Pergolesi und Graun, zur Beantwortung einer Aeusserung des Hrn. v. Dittersdorf [...]" in *AMZ* 2 (1800), 257–80; [Johann Gottlieb] Karl Spazier, "Einige Worte zur Rechtfertigung Marburgs, und zur Erinnerung an seine Verdienste," *ibid.*, 553–600.

4. Marpurg's Measure of Song

In this chapter we have to do with feet and measures again, but from a different perspective. Here, my concern is with measures and feet considered **not as groups of** notes, syllables, beats or accents, but as units on a larger scale, as the undivided building blocks of phrases, periods, lines and strophes. As we have seen repeatedly, such units had a special significance for eighteenth-century conceptions of vocal music: Scheibe considered countable phrase rhythm one of the qualities that linked music with poetry, an element of song lost and found again; Mattheson, in turn, was keenly interested in the musical expression of verses and strophes (*Reimgebände*) and assigned pieces a *numerus sectional*, a number that counted and grouped its sound feet; similarly, Printz counted his musical feet to categorize dances in a way analogous to poetry. In all these cases, a unit is required, a representative of the number 1, with which binaries, *Dreyer*, tetrameters, 'rhythms of five measures' etc. are compared.

I am specifically concerned with Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg's 1759 *Theorie vom Tact*,¹ which introduced the term 'compound meter' (*zusammengesetzte Tactart*) to describe a phenomenon, also described *avant la lettre* by Joseph Riepel, that has received persistent scholarly attention in recent decades,² although primarily with respect to

1 Amisallos [i.e. F.W. Marpurg], "Theorie des Tacts," in *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*, vol. 1 (1760), nos. 13, [97]-104, 14 [105]-109, 15, 16, [121]-125 (1759).

2 Siegfried Maier, *Studien zur Theorie des Taktes in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1984); Claudia Maurer Zenck, *Vom Takt. Überlegungen zur Theorie und kompositorischen Praxis im ausgehenden 18. und beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Böhlau, 2001); Helmut Breidenstein, "Mozarts Tempo-System. Zusammengesetzte Takte als Schlüssel," in *Mozart-Studien* 13 (2004), 11-85; Floyd K. Grave, "Common-Time Displacement in Mozart," in *Journal of Musicology* 3/4, (1984), 423-442; "Metrical Displacement and the Compound Measure in Eighteenth-Century Theory and practice", in *Theoria* 1 (1985), 25-60. James Webster,

Heinrich Christoph Koch, who adopted the theory from Marpurg.³ Marpurg's theory of 'compound meter' is relevant to our subject because Marpurg justified it by drawing analogies between the musical measure and the poetic foot, analogies which, once again, seem to indicate something more material: I suggest that Marpurg linked foot and measure in this particular way as a prerequisite for his oft-promised but never realized theory of text delivery speed in vocal music.

In a central part of my argument, the role of measures as units, I must depart somewhat from an established perspective on eighteenth-century metric theories. Wilhelm Seidel in 1975 proposed a framework suggesting a shift from 'unitary' or 'deductive' theories that divide the measure, considered a unit, into smaller fractions, to bottom-up theories that explain the measure as resulting, secondarily, from a group of smaller units, i.e. beats; this 'inductive' or 'progressive' view is associated primarily with articles in Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*.⁴ More recently, the deductive/progressive hypothesis, an offshoot of the rationalism-vs-empiricism narrative I questioned in Chapter One, has been adopted by Christopher Hasty, who stresses Mattheson's conception of a (well-put) "divisible but undivided" measure, and Roger Grant, who emphasizes Kirnberger's contribution to the 'progressive' development.⁵

"Irregular Metric Notation in Haydn's Autographs," in *Festschrift Otto Biba zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Ingrid Fuchs (Tutzing: Schneider, 2006), 139–149; Danuta Mirka, *Metric manipulations in Haydn and Mozart: Chamber Music for Strings, 1787-1791* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); William Rothstein, "National Metric Types in Music of the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," in *Communication in Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. Danuta Mirka and Kofi Agawu (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 112-159.

³ Concerning the theoretical agreement of Marpurg and Koch, see Maier, *Theorie des Taktes*; Markus Waldura, "Marpurg, Koch und die Neubegründung des Taktbegriffs," *Musikforschung* 53 (2002), 237–253.

⁴ Wilhelm Seidel, *Rhythmustheorien der Neuzeit* (Bern: Francke, 1975).

⁵ Christopher Hasty, *Meter as Rhythm* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Roger Mathew Grant, "Epistemologies of Time and Metre in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 6 (2009), 59-75.

Minus the implied teleology, I agree with this trajectory: clearly, seventeenth-century theories of meter are as deductive as modern ones are inductive, often, as in ‘hypermeter,’ extending the internal properties of measures to even larger levels. But the notion that introducing compound measures was a step in this direction, as claimed by Nicole Schwindt-Gross,⁶ contradicts the evidence and, although partly revised by Markus Waldura,⁷ needs to be questioned further. For that purpose, I will first summarize the chief innovations of Marpurg’s theory, pointing out how the distinction of ‘simple’ and ‘compound’ not only left the unitary measure intact, but laid the ground to its realization. In a second section, I will trace the meaning of Marpurg’s new conception for his theory of vocal music.

Simple and compound measures

I should first point out what is a truism for some and a source of confusion for others, that the words ‘simple’ and ‘compound,’ with respect to meter, can mean two fundamentally different things. In today’s dominant usage, which was already in place in the early eighteenth century and appears in Marpurg’s earlier writings,⁸ a meter is ‘com-

6 Nicole Schwindt-Gross, “Einfache, zusammengesetzte und doppelt notierte Takte. Ein Aspekt der Takttheorie im 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Musiktheorie* 4 (1989), 203–222.

7 Waldura, “Neubegründung des Taktbegriffs.” His (tentative) idea that Koch’s actual unit was the four-bar phrase, however, goes to the opposite extreme. If this were the case, one would expect Koch to be far less comfortable with 5- and 7-bar phrases; his stance is consistent, on the other hand, with a simple-measure unit.

8 Sébastien de Brossard, “Tripola,” in *Dictionnaire de Musique* (Paris: Ballard, 1703); Brossard distinguishes between 6- and 12-part *triples mixtes* and 9-part *triples composés*. This distinction was abandoned: J.D. Heinichen uses *trippla composita* for both; *Der General-Baß in der Composition* (Dreßden: Heinichen, 1728), 290. Similarly, Marpurg calls all these meters ‘compound’ in *Anleitung zum Clavierspielen* (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1755), 18, 19–25.

pound' when its constituent beats are divided into three (or two unequal) rather than two (equal) values, as illustrated in the following examples:



Example 4.1: Original.⁹



Example 4.2: 'compound meter.'

In 1759, Marpurg renamed this concept and changed the meaning of 'compound,' causing predictable confusion.¹⁰ He now called the phenomenon above 'mixed' (*vermischt*) and used 'compound' for the notation of two adjacent measures as one "by means of omitting a barline;" see examples 4.3–4.¹¹

9 The example is from Christian Gottfried Krause's setting of Klopstock's "Die Feinde des Kreuzes Christi" (*Geistliche Oden in Melodien gesetzt von einigen Tonkünstlern in Berlin*, 1758).

10 Scheibe, for instance, used the term 'compound' in both senses in 1773, interchangeably with 'mixed' (*vermischt*), and 'pulled together' (*zusammen gezogen*); *Ueber die musikalische Composition* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1773).

11 Amisallos, "Theorie des Tacts"; Koch, *Anleitung zur Composition*, vol. 2, 86–87. Kirnberger's departing opinion is that omitting barlines does not create what he regards as compound meter, in which half-measures are of different strength; this, in turn, is to be distinguished from genuine quadruple time, which must not be confused with duple time. Thus, in Kirnberger, the span of a whole note can have four different metric interpretations: 2/2, ordinary 4/4, compound 4/4 and 2/4 with every other barline omitted. *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik, Zweyter Theil, Erste Abtheilung* (Berlin, Königsberg: Decker, Hartung, 1776), 122, 131–2.



Example 4.3: Original.



Example 4.4: 'Compound meter.'

The shorter measures, called 'simple,' each contain one downbeat (*thesis*) and upbeat (*arsis*) and count as a unit in measuring phrase lengths; phrase elisions delete exactly one such measure. The longer, 'compound' measures, in contrast, contain two down- and upbeats, "virtually equivalent" in strength according to Marpurg;¹² phrases are built from half-measures and can start or end in mid-measure; finally, elisions delete just half such a measure. In all these respects, the simple measure is an indivisible unit while the compound measure is an aggregate. "These are not essential meters," in Marpurg's words, but variants that "arise but accidentally" in notation.¹³

¹² *Virtualiter von gleichem Wehrte*; Marpurg, *Kritische Briefe*, vol. 2, 22. Generally, *Virtualis* may not even express a qualification: the word has been used (by Heinichen, for example) like *intrinsic*, referring to the accent of a note as opposed to its length, the 'extrinsic' value. Marpurg, however, never unambiguously used 'virtual' this way; moreover, asserting an equal intrinsic value to two notes would have contradicted the 'axiom of inequality' (see Chapter Three).

¹³ *Diese letztern sind keine wesentliche Tactarten, sondern entstehen nur zufälliger Weise, wenn zween einfache Tacte von eben derselben Art verbunden, und in den Raum eines einzigen Tactes geschrieben werden*. Amisallos, "Theorie des Tacts," 107.

Representing simple measures as two measures in notation (i.e. the opposite of ‘compound’) offended Marpurg’s ‘ear,’ Riepel’s ‘nature’ and Koch’s ‘feeling’ because it separated events such as appoggiaturas and their resolutions, beginnings and endings of notes, masculine arrivals and feminine endings.¹⁴ These phenomena were considered so interdependent that the intervening barline produced measures in the clear strong-weak relation that was characteristic of the parts of a measure.¹⁵



Example 4.5: Original



Example 4.6: Measures split in two.

Especially the fourth measure of example 4.5 shows the hallmarks of a simple measure, its down- and upbeat coinciding with an arrival and an ‘echo’ in the bass, an appoggiatura and its resolution in the melody. Although it is theoretically conceivable to give the notation of example 4.6 a name of its own and legitimize it, like ‘compound meter,’ Koch refused to accept this representation of up- and downbeat in the ‘external

¹⁴ Koch, *Anleitung zur Composition*, vol. 2, 301–307.

¹⁵ Ibid., 288. Despite some hints in Vogler and Kirnberger (see note 11 above), the notion that measures can alternate in strength did not gain currency until the nineteenth century.

shape' of separate measures, ridiculing and prohibiting it like Riepel, Marpurg and Kirnberger.¹⁶

Because of the “virtual equivalence” of simple-measure downbeats, it was of marginal importance in which half of a compound measure the piece or the phrase began: example 4.3 could be turned both into example 4.4 and, shifted by a simple measure, into the following example, without implying a shift of accent.



Example 4.7: Compound meter, shifted by one simple measure.

This staggered type of compound notation was associated with Gavottes, Tambourins, Contredanses and, according to Riepel, with French and older composers in general while the aligned notation of example 4.4 was typical of Germany and “new music”.¹⁷ Moreover, both types could occur within a single piece, either when phrases did not amount to an even number of simple measures (a five-bar phrase appears as two and a half compound measures), or if a simple measure was elided.¹⁸

While Marpurg’s and Koch’s concern with metric orthography is significant for us, their specific demands are not. Rules like the one that pieces in duple meter be

¹⁶ Joseph Riepel, *De Rhythmopoeia, oder von der Tactordnung* (1752), 66; Marpurg, *Kritische Briefe*, vol. 2, 205–6, 208; Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, 126; Koch, *Anleitung zur Composition*, vol. 2, 301–307, 319–321, 397–399.

¹⁷ Riepel, *Tactordnung*, 49–50; Oikuros [i.e. Marpurg], “Unterricht vom Vocalsatz,” in *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*, vol. 2, 18–21. Rothstein, “National metric types.”

¹⁸ Marpurg, “Lehre vom Tact,” 108. Koch, *Anleitung zur Composition*, vol. 2, 336–7.

notated as \mathbb{C} or $2/4$ when the meter is simple, and as $4/2$ or \mathbb{C} when it is compound, did not nearly cover established notation practices in the eighteenth century: scores of renowned composers commonly showed time signatures that would have been labeled as false by Marpurg and Koch, who blamed the inconsistency on composers' and copyists' neglect as well as insufficient equipment of type presses.¹⁹ Such a misnotated piece had even found its way into Marpurg's *Kritische Briefe*, as a reader named "Hilaros" gleefully pointed out (while "Amisallos" blamed the composer). The significance of these unsuccessful attempts at harmonizing metric notation is that theorists ceased to understand the composer's time signatures and barlines as an essential part of the composition and instead began to view meter, independent of its graphic representation, as a quality inherent to the composition. We will return to this line of thought.

The immediate achievement of the new simple-compound system was to rationalize and simplify metric theory, especially with regard to phrase construction. The traditional rule that the closing gestures should arrive on downbeats had traditionally led to exceptions legalizing mid-measure arrivals in certain time signatures, typically identified as $4/4$ and $12/8$.



Example 4.8: 12/8 with mid-measure caesuras.

¹⁹ Amisallos, *ibid.*, 109. Koch, *ibid.*, 295–296

The new concept explained these apparent upbeat arrivals as downbeat arrivals in simple measures, thus eliminating the exceptions.²⁰



Example 4.9: 6/8 with downbeat caesuras.

The classification into simple and compound, combined with ‘mixture’ (triple subdivision) and beat values ranging, normally, from eighth to half notes, generated all the known time signatures plus two: On the one hand, a fictional time signature of 18/8 can be derived, representing triple (3/4), mixed (9/8) and compound meter, simultaneously.²¹



Example 4.10: Simple, pure.



Example 4.11: Simple, mixed.

²⁰ Marpurg and Koch still recognized and distinguished actual offbeat arrivals, which they considered exceptional in all time signatures.

²¹ Amisallos, “Theorie des Tacts,” 108.



Example 4.12: Compound, mixed.

On the other hand, the separate principles of ‘mixed’ and ‘compound’ resulted in two distinct meters with the same time signature, 6/8 (or 6/4 etc.). The triply subdivided 2/4, as seen above in examples 4.2 and 4.9, shared the time signature 6/8 with a compound meter that arose from two measures of 3/8 written together:



Example 4.13: Compound (pure) triple, cf. ex. 4.9.

For Marpurg and Koch, these examples were different in kind, the time signature a coincidental homonymy. Sensing ambiguity, Marpurg banned the compound 6/8 as ‘improper’ and ‘false’ (*uneigentlich, falsch*) and decided in favor of the simple, ‘proper’ and ‘true’ (*eigentlich, wahr*) 6/8.²² His answer to the old question whether the time signature was duple or triple was ‘it depends’: The 6/8 derived from 2/4 was duple (*gerade*), because it had two parts, while the compound one, being another way of writing 3/8, was triple (*ungerade*). The double 6/8 further illustrates theorists’ shifting attitudes toward notation: a metric theory that predicted more meters than the

²² Ibid., 121. Koch accepted both simple and compound 6/8 as legitimate: *Anleitung zur Composition*, vol. 2, 322–331, 338–341.

notational system could provide must have puzzled readers used to equating ‘meter’ with ‘time signature.’ Indeed, earlier theorists rarely made this distinction, as it was common to treat 6/8 as a single phenomenon for which one explanation was enough. Even Scheibe, who used both explanations, did not imply two distinct meters; he apparently handled the matter as one of perspective.²³ Such double explanations were irreconcilable with Marpurg’s concern for counting units, as they would have led to the contradictory conclusion that a measure of 6/8 counts as both one and two measures, simultaneously. Rather than explaining time signatures and their supposed nature, Marpurg developed and tested theories of meter without regard for graphical representation. While Scheibe criticized composers for violating the rules of a given time signature, always calling for care “in which parts of the measure they put their ideas and thoughts,”²⁴ Marpurg began to ask, conversely, whether a given melody was correctly notated. Koch even assumed that meter was created in the act of invention and thus confined his instructions to ‘dressing’ this melody in a ‘garment’ of barlines and time signature that fit its inherent organization.²⁵ This, as we will see, was one of the qualities that made the simple measure compatible with poetry.

23 Scheibe, *Der Critische Musicus* 38 (1739), 90–1. For Heinichen (*General-Baß*, 290ff.), smaller 3/8 measures are the *only* explanation for these meters. Rather than true theories of compound meter in the Marpurg-Koch sense, these are ad-hoc arguments attempting to demonstrate that the small notes of these measures are grouped in threes rather than twos, i.e. that 6/8 is not 3/4; the same argument, when applied across the board, would lead to every 2/4 being composed of two 2/8 measures, etc.

24 ...*Da es dem Componisten nicht gleichgültig seyn darf, in welche Theile des Taktes er [...] alle seine musikalische Ideen und Gedanken setzen, vertheilen, oder stellen soll...* Scheibe, *Ueber die musikalische Composition* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1773), 191.

25 Koch on invention: *Anleitung zur Composition*, vol. 2, 385. The metaphor of dressing (*Einkleidung in den Tact*) appears throughout his discussions of meter. He tended to blame notation unless a melody could not be dressed at all, which he apparently did not consider a great danger: in one instance, he unfavorably compared an example of unmetrifiable music to indigenous Oceanian music, implying that to blunder against metric nature was difficult not just for Europeans.

Before Marpurg adopted these views in *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*, in his previous engagement with meter in *Anleitung zum Clavierspielen* (1755), he had still used the word ‘compound’ in its earlier sense. While there was a sign of the later meaning in his declaration that 4/4 measures are “nothing but two measures of 2/4 pulled together,” he also derived 2/4 from 4/4, as a measure cut in half.²⁶ These earlier pulled-together and torn-apart meters did not occupy separate categories; both consisted of one downbeat and one upbeat and were equally valid. Missing, in other words, was the preference for the simple measure: if anything, Marpurg showed a bias toward the long meters, beginning all his accounts prior to 1759 with ‘common time’ rather than the ‘simple’ meters of 2/4 and 3/4.²⁷ Nor did he propose a double 6/8, refusing or forgetting to ‘pull together’ triple measures. At that point, Marpurg was still theorizing time signatures, not meter, and his quest for a musical unit did not show until 1759.

Another conspicuous departure from Marpurg’s earlier treatments of meter is related to his intermediate work on vocal music. As soon as he begins to justify meter and intrinsic quantity in 1759, song makes its entrance: “when two notes of a similar species are *sung* one after the other...”²⁸ He drew on poetry to explain that measures have parts: “the measure in music is what a foot is in poetry; and just as every foot consists of more than one syllable, every measure consists of more than one part”.²⁹

²⁶ Marpurg, *Anleitung zum Clavierspielen*, 19–20.

²⁷ This is also true of his theory in *Der critische Musicus an der Spree* 4 (1749). 31–32.

²⁸ ...im selben Zeitabstand “gesungen.” cf. *Anleitung zur Singcomposition*, 5–6.

²⁹ *Was aber in der Poesie ein Tonfuß ist, das ist in der Musik der Tact; und so wie jeder Tonfuß aus mehr als einer Sylbe besteht: so bestehet auch jeder Tact aus mehr als Einem Haupttheile.* Amisallos, “Theories des Tacts,” 106.

And, finally, a hint why Marpurg changed the meaning of ‘compound’: “Just as there are simple and compound feet in poetry, there are simple and compound meters in music.”³⁰ Such evident efforts to adapt the theory of meter to poetry, along with the publication of *Anleitung zur Singcomposition* a year earlier, suggest that a concern with vocal music may be among the reasons for Marpurg’s sudden departure from established terminology.

Measures as Feet, Feet as Measures

In *Anleitung zur Singcomposition*, Marpurg adopted and deepened a long-standing tradition by constantly drawing analogies between foot and measure, sometimes explicitly, sometimes by conflating or exchanging the terms. His definition of ‘rhythm’ (cited in the appendix as passage 31) is an early example: after the formal definition, which includes both poetry (“syllabic feet”) and music (“sung in one breath”), Marpurg continues to mention measures (*Rhytmi [...] von zween oder vier Tacten*), feet (*dreyfüßig, vierfüßig*) and a combination, “the number of syllabic feet or measures of a rhythm.”³¹ Both feet and measures thus serve as the building blocks of ‘rhythm,’ i.e. phrases or lines. The origin of Marpurg’s new meaning of ‘compound’ is revealed in the third chapter:³² the term ‘compound foot,’ received from classical prosody, denotes two successive feet regarded as one, such as the ditrochee (– *v* – *v*), a sequence of two trochees (– *v*).

³⁰ So wie es in der Dichtkunst einfache und zusammengesetzte Tonfüße giebt: so giebt es auch in der Musik einfache und zusammengesetzte Tactarten. Ibid., 107.

³¹ Die Anzahl der Sylbenfüße oder Tacte eines Rhytmi. Marpurg, *Anleitung zur Singcomposition*, 51f.

³² Ibid., 27–32.

Often, Marpurg mentioned the value of certain feet in musical measures, even when the comparison contributed nothing to his point, as in his classification of feet into feminine and masculine.³³ The passage reveals two details about how Marpurg translated feet into measures: On the one hand, he assigned almost all simple feet one measure while counting almost all compound feet as two measures, i.e. the equivalent of the later ‘compound’ measure. The two exceptions reveal that Marpurg’s poetic equivalent of the measure was not actually the foot: he counted the amphimacer (– *v* –), a simple foot, as two measures and the compound third peon (*v* *v* – *v*) as one. This confirms our observation (in the previous chapter) that Marpurg’s real measure-making criterion was the accented syllable: third peon, supposedly covering two simple feet, only contains one stressed syllable while the amphimacer, traditionally designated as a simple foot, contains two accented syllables. We can see here that Marpurg was not merely adapting a musical concept to poetry: instead, he also furnished the foot with qualities of a musical measure. Besides frequently mentioning ‘poetic measures’ alongside ‘musical feet,’ he added vertical lines to his text examples that resembled barlines not just in a visual respect:³⁴ in the following example, Marpurg counted two iambs and an amphimacer, technically three feet, but his lines showed otherwise.

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} v & - & v & - & - & v & - \\ \text{Der} & | \text{mein Ge} & | \text{bet} & | \text{nicht ver} & | \text{wirft} \end{array}$$

We have earlier seen Marpurg adapt music theory to poetry; he takes the reverse approach with these vertical lines. Just as musical measures cover the span from one

³³ Ibid., 31. Perhaps realizing this problem, Marpurg omitted the comparison when he published a new version of this table in *Kritische Briefe*: Oikuros, “Unterricht vom Vocalsatz,” 467.

³⁴ Marpurg, *Anleitung zur Singcomposition*, 136.

downbeat to the next, these ‘poetic measures’ begin with one accented syllable (thereby precluding the possibility of iambs) and last until before the next (hence the isolated monosyllable ‘-bet’). Apparently, Marpurg’s general approach to sext setting was no more logocentric than Scheibe’s or Mattheson’s: by systematically viewing music as language and language as music, he treated vocal music not as a combination of elements from separate domains, but as arising from their common ground. With this systematic confusion, Marpurg essentially created a measuring unit shared by music and language, a measure of song.

Things were not that simple, however. As we have seen, Marpurg was normally ready to imply text-setting rules when he drew analogies between music and language; in this case, this would mean that a (simple) foot is always set as a (simple) measure. Apparently expecting that his readers would understand him in this way, he added disclaimers to most of his analogies:

*Anyway, much remains to be remarked, musically, with regard to this comparison of feet with the measure; but this belongs elsewhere. This comparison merely serves the poet as a preliminary instruction because of the following chapter on the quality of a musical poem.*³⁵

*When a composer for song turns a rhythm of three feet into four measures, or one of four feet into five, this is a matter which does not concern us here, where we have to do with poetry.*³⁶

³⁵ Überhaupt ist noch vieles in Ansehung dieser Vergleichung der Klangfüße mit dem Tacte, musikalisch zu erinnern. Aber dieses gehört an einen andern Ort hin. Diese Vergleichung dient bloß dem Dichter, wegen des bald folgenden Capitels: von der Beschaffenheit eines musikalischen Gedichts, zu einer vorläufigen dienlichen Nachricht. Ibid., 31.

³⁶ Wenn ein Singecomponist aus einem Rhythmo von drey Füßen vier Tacte, oder einem von vier Füßen fünf Tacte, etc. macht: so ist dieses eine Sache, die uns allhier, wo wir es mit der Dichterey zu thun haben, nicht angeht. Ibid., 51.

The book in which Marpurg planned to write more about music, the second volume of *Anleitung zur Singcomposition*, never appeared. He continued to promise further theory on this subject in *Unterricht vom Vocalsatz* (1760–61) until, after a final announcement that he would teach “how two or more musical measures can be formed from a single poetic measure” and “how two, three and more poetic measures can be contracted into a single musical measure,”³⁷ the treatise also breaks off, leaving its goal, to prove that modern music was superior to ancient music, unrealized. How Marpurg hoped to arrive there, however, can be guessed from his allusions:

*This tugging of a syllable not just through one, but through several measures is known to be as permitted in today's music as the procedure that allows three or four feet to be pronounced in a single measure that is subdivided into smaller notes. Both possibilities, incidentally, were unknown in ancient Greek music – where, in a given tempo, each syllable was assigned an intransgressible time interval – and they are an advantage of modern music, if one knows how to use them properly.*³⁸

In a section I cited in the previous chapter, Marpurg already codified licenses and artifices with respect to the accent and length of syllables; yet, the realized foot took up **exactly one measure in all these examples. His melismatic expressions were confined to**

37 ...Wie aus einem einzigen poetischen Tacte, d.i. aus einem einzigen Klangfuße, zween oder mehrere musicalische Tacte gebildet werden können; wie zween, drey und mehrere poetische Tacte in einen einzigen musikalischen Tact zusammengezogen werden können. Oikuros, “Unterricht vom Vocalsatz,” 3.

38 Aber dieses Zerren einer Sylbe nicht allein durch Einen, sondern durch mehrere Tacte, ist bekanntermaßen in der heutigen Musik so sehr erlaubt, als dasjenige Verfahren, vermittelst wessen man drey oder vier Tonfüße in einem einzigen Tacte, bey einer Untereintheilung desselben in kleinere Noten, kann hintereinander aussprechen lassen. Beyde Stücke, im Vorbeygehen es zu sagen, waren in der alten griechischen Musik, wo, nach dem gefaßten Tempo, jede Sylbe ihre bestimmte Zeitfrist hatte, die man nicht überschreiten konnte, nicht bekannt, und sind ein Vorzug der heutigen Musik, wenn man gehörig damit umzugehen weiß. Amisallos, “Theorie des Tacts,” 107 (similarly, 100). A few issues after the interruption of “Unterricht vom Vocalsatz,” the anonymous ‘remarks’ on the preface to the mysterious 1761 *Oden mit Melodien* (not the famous Ramler/Krause Collection, though likely edited by them) also says that these ‘transformations’ are necessary. Marpurg, *Kritische Briefe*, vol. 2, 83f.

the ‘mechanical’ kind, a diminution of a syllable’s natural note value, excluding lengthy *rhetorische Dehnungen* and *Haltungen*, where a syllable may last for measures. Further concerns are revealed in his advice, in *Anleitung zur Singcomposition*, that poets shorten their last lines to prevent situations such as this:



Example 4.14: Marpurg, *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*, ii, 41.

Marpurg objected not that the last, unaccented syllable fell on a downbeat, which was a common technique in cadences; as a result of this technique, however, and in order to arrive at four measures, the composer was forced to realize the syllables of the third measure “in rapid succession.”³⁹

It becomes evident from these re- and deferrals that Marpurg was preparing a theory of text-setting velocity, a set of rules for the pace of word delivery, with respect not to external time but to a passage of musical material that – so much also becomes clear – he was going to measure in bars just as he measured the text in ‘poetic measures’ or feet. Furthermore, as his expressions ‘rapid,’ ‘compressed,’ ‘tugging’ and ‘stretching’ make clear, the ‘relaxed’ or ‘natural’ state would be a 1:1 relation, one foot per measure. Although Marpurg never formally labeled quicker or slower deliveries as ‘artificial,’ he dissuaded composers from using them unless they knew “how to use them properly,” warning that this “often necessary transformation”⁴⁰ may cause “inconvenience” and

³⁹ Die Erhaltung dieses Zwecks nöthigt den Componisten, einige vor dieser letzten Sylbe hergehende Wörter geschwinde hintereinander aussprechen zu lassen. Marpurg, *Anleitung zur Singcomposition*, 68f.

⁴⁰ ...zur öfters nöthigen Verwandlung... Marpurg, *Anleitung zur Singcomposition*, 68f.

“melodic coercion.”⁴¹ In a stance toward nature and art resembling Scheibe’s, Marpurg preferred crude nature to unsuccessful art, but valued their modern combination most highly.

The Foot Measure

We now have the elements in place that enable us to speculate on how Marpurg’s revised theory of meter, published between the two vocal treatises, may have assisted him in developing this vocal theory. A measure that was to serve as the unit of comparison for the foot and predict the practice of vocal composers had to fulfill several conditions. One was that it had to be qualitative, providing the accents to which stressed syllables could attach; as we know from the Chapter Three, this was a property of the measure by definition. Marpurg had introduced a second criterion, that the measure in question had to be unequivocally a unit, not rivaled in its priority by multiples or fractions of itself, along with the poetic ‘single/compound’ distinction. Translated to poetry, his earlier conception of mutually explanatory long and short measures would have resulted in the absurd-sounding definition of a trochee, for instance, as half a double trochee; especially in German poetry, the simple feet, trochees, iambs etc., were the ones that counted, while compound feet were considered derivatives, not essential.⁴² “When one speaks of a foot in general,” Marpurg announced in *Anleitung zur Singcomposition*, “one always understands the simple, never the compound foot”;⁴³ as of 1759, he was able to speak of a measure in general and always mean the simple measure.

41 *Unbequemlichkeit... Zwang im Gesange...* Ibid., 69.

42 Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Grundlegung einer Deutschen Sprachkunst*, (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1748), 489.

43 *Wenn man überhaupt von einem Tonfuß redet, so versteht man allezeit den einfachen, niemals einen zusammengesetzten Tonfuß.* Marpurg, *Anleitung zur Singcomposition*, 33.

The third criterion was that the musical unit must not be arbitrary: as the feet of a poem were knowable without additional lines or symbols, so the musical measure had to be evident from points of reference in melody and harmony rather than defined by the composer's time signature and barlines; as we have seen in Marpurg's ideas about metric orthography, the simple measure met this requirement, too. Thus it allowed him to distinguish between real and imagined deviations from his one-foot-per-bar rule. Early in *Unterricht vom Vocalsatz*, he was able to explain how feet were 'naturally' applied to compound measures:

*Just as a diamb or ditrochee arises from the conjunction of two simple iambs or trochees, the 4/4 measure springs from composing two 2/4 measures. [...] Thus, it is self-evident [...] and needs no further explanation under which beat of a 4/4 measure each syllable of these feet must be brought.*⁴⁴



Example 4.15: Setting trochees in simple and compound meter. Marpurg, *Kritische Briefe* i, 481.

Only on paper, in other words, did the lower example appear as a 'contraction of two feet into one measure'; music and text were the same, as was their relation, a simple

⁴⁴ So wie ein Doppeljambus oder Doppeltrochäus aus der Verbindung zweier einfachen Jamben oder Trochäen entsteht, also auch der Vierviertheiltact aus der Zusammensetzung zweyer Zweyviertheiltacte erwächst. [...] so giebt es sich [...] ohne weitere Erklärung von selbst, unter was für einen Haupttheil des Vierviertheiltacts jede Sylbe dieser Klangfüsse zu bringen ist. Oikuros, "Unterricht vom Vocalsatz," 481.

6. *Alles, was ich nur von der Natur empfangen, ist mir ein Geschenk der Natur. Ich will es nicht anders annehmen, als es ist. Ich will es nicht anders annehmen, als es ist. Ich will es nicht anders annehmen, als es ist.*

7. *Ich will es nicht anders annehmen, als es ist. Ich will es nicht anders annehmen, als es ist. Ich will es nicht anders annehmen, als es ist. Ich will es nicht anders annehmen, als es ist.*

II. T.

Die 6. Ober.

Sie in Dorn gleich den aufrechten Fichten,
Die Zeit und freier Stolz beiecht,
Die fern in fester Ruhe stehen,
Dem rauhen Wind des Stolz erbebt;
Die Erde gönnt ich großen Leuten,
Und wünsche mir auf dieser Welt
Nur den Genuss der Gattlichkeit,
Die Zeit und Regen nicht vergesse.

Sie als lebensfähig ist zu leben,
Hat uns die nackte Natur
Mit unferm Stolz ins Dorn geschrieben,
Und das erfüllt dem Alter nur.

Erhöhet zweier Eifermuths - Gründe:
Wenn man bey einem Stücken lacht,
So schmeckt der Natur im Grunde,
Dass sie die Lust so reichend macht.

Sie erbeut und Gabel in verhöhen,
Will ich mich unbenutzt erheben;
Nicht viel geherden noch gebieten,
Sein Glück und auch kein König sein;
Nicht bloß mit Göttern und Göttern prangen,
Die nur der Stöbel treulich heif.
Nur: wenn Stücken und verlangen
Die ganz allein trägt meinen Glück.



Example 4. 16: From Johann Friedrich Gräfe, *Sammlung verschiedener und Auserlesener Oden*, 2, 1739. Text by Hagedorn.

Die 3. Voss.
An seine Laura.

Ich liebe dich, wenn ich dir ist so, so,
Dass noch der Zeit vergangen Tag
Sich dir getrennt, derge nicht:
So stumme nicht, wie ich dich habere?
Sich dir die Natur vermindern,
Die mich auf deine Schönheit führt?

Ich magst dem Wechsel schneller Zeiten
Die Stilleheit hoher Freuden,
Und mit dir das, was mich erregt,
Sich hat kein folger. Ich in betrogen?
Was ich gelte, hab ich erregt,
So bleibst du ewig noch geliebt.

Die Schönheit ist dich in der Jugend:
Doch dein Zustand in alter Jugend.
Kannst noch was vollkommener sein?
Ja, was ich es, was in erregt,
Kannst ich unendlich noch verdrängen:
Zu schiff mit immer tiefer ein.

Ich magst dem Wechsel schneller Zeiten
Die Stilleheit hoher Freuden,
Und mit dir das, was mich erregt,
Sich hat kein folger. Ich in betrogen?
Was ich gelte, hab ich erregt,
So bleibst du ewig noch geliebt.

Ich magst dem Wechsel schneller Zeiten
Die Stilleheit hoher Freuden,
Und mit dir das, was mich erregt,
Sich hat kein folger. Ich in betrogen?
Was ich gelte, hab ich erregt,
So bleibst du ewig noch geliebt.

An seine Laura.

Die 3. Voss.

Ich magst dem Wechsel schneller Zeiten
Die Stilleheit hoher Freuden,
Und mit dir das, was mich erregt,
Sich hat kein folger. Ich in betrogen?
Was ich gelte, hab ich erregt,
So bleibst du ewig noch geliebt.

Ich magst dem Wechsel schneller Zeiten
Die Stilleheit hoher Freuden,
Und mit dir das, was mich erregt,
Sich hat kein folger. Ich in betrogen?
Was ich gelte, hab ich erregt,
So bleibst du ewig noch geliebt.

Ich magst dem Wechsel schneller Zeiten
Die Stilleheit hoher Freuden,
Und mit dir das, was mich erregt,
Sich hat kein folger. Ich in betrogen?
Was ich gelte, hab ich erregt,
So bleibst du ewig noch geliebt.

Ich magst dem Wechsel schneller Zeiten
Die Stilleheit hoher Freuden,
Und mit dir das, was mich erregt,
Sich hat kein folger. Ich in betrogen?
Was ich gelte, hab ich erregt,
So bleibst du ewig noch geliebt.



Ich magst dem Wechsel schneller Zeiten
Die Stilleheit hoher Freuden,
Und mit dir das, was mich erregt,
Sich hat kein folger. Ich in betrogen?
Was ich gelte, hab ich erregt,
So bleibst du ewig noch geliebt.

Ich magst dem Wechsel schneller Zeiten
Die Stilleheit hoher Freuden,
Und mit dir das, was mich erregt,
Sich hat kein folger. Ich in betrogen?
Was ich gelte, hab ich erregt,
So bleibst du ewig noch geliebt.

Ich magst dem Wechsel schneller Zeiten
Die Stilleheit hoher Freuden,
Und mit dir das, was mich erregt,
Sich hat kein folger. Ich in betrogen?
Was ich gelte, hab ich erregt,
So bleibst du ewig noch geliebt.

Ich magst dem Wechsel schneller Zeiten
Die Stilleheit hoher Freuden,
Und mit dir das, was mich erregt,
Sich hat kein folger. Ich in betrogen?
Was ich gelte, hab ich erregt,
So bleibst du ewig noch geliebt.

Example 4. 17. From Gräfe, Oden.

foot per simple measure in the first, a compound foot per compound measure in the second example. This ability to tell actual from merely notated text ‘expansions’ and ‘compressions’ was the chief merit of the simple measure concept with respect to vocal music.

To further support my claim that the received practice of notating meter precluded a delivery speed theory as imagined by Marpurg, I would like to introduce two examples from Gräfe’s 1739 *Sammlung verschiedener und Auserlesener Oden* (examples 4. 16–17)⁴⁵ that seem to differ widely in their foot-measure relation. Both poems are written in iambic tetrameter:

<i>I</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>v</i> –	<i>v</i> –	<i>v</i> –	<i>v</i> – (<i>v</i>)
<i>Mein Hertz</i>	<i>gleich</i> <i>den</i>	<i>zufried</i>	<i>nen Hertzen</i>
<i>Gelieb-</i>	<i>te, wenn</i>	<i>ich dir</i>	<i>itzt sage</i>

or, measured musically in Marpurg’s ‘poetic bars,’

<i>I</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>v</i> – <i>v</i>	– <i>v</i> – <i>v</i>	– (<i>v</i>)	
<i>Mein</i> <i>Hertz</i> <i>gleich</i>	<i>den zu-</i> <i>friednen</i> <i>Hertzen</i>		
<i>Ge-</i> <i>liebte,</i>	<i>wenn ich</i> <i>dir itzt</i> <i>sage</i>		

While the composer of example 4.16 in 3/8 appears to comply with Marpurg’s standard by setting one foot as a measure, the measures of example 4.17 in 12/8 seem to contain four feet, an entire line (the three feet of m. 1 are complemented in the last measure). At face value, the words of the 12/8 song seem ‘compressed,’ rushing over the music four times faster than those of the first example. What they rush over, however, is not the same: Both songs are dominated by three types of note value, with the larg-

45 Johann Friedrich Gräfe, *Sammlung verschiedener und Auserlesener Oden*, vol. 2, 1739. The composers are unknown, probably Gräfe himself or Conrad Friedrich Hurlebusch. See Marpurg’s review of these collections in *Kritische Briefe*, vol. 1, 160–1.

est, the quarter, occupying two thirds of a $\frac{3}{8}$ measure but only a sixth of a $\frac{12}{8}$ one. Also, according to the notated measure, the rate of harmonic change is four times greater in the $\frac{12}{8}$ song; the rate, however, is the same at the dotted-quarter level (1–3 or 1–2 chords per dotted quarter, depending on whether one counts passing or neighboring chords). When we further look at relatively standardized musical events such as phrase endings, we once more find that they are related at the $\frac{3}{8}$ -level, not at that of the notated measure:



Example 4:18: Comparison of cadences in both songs.

Compared to the notated measures, these events appear to occupy four times as little space in the $\frac{12}{8}$ piece than in the $\frac{3}{8}$ piece, and so on. Better than saying that one measure contains four times as much text and music than the other, therefore, would be to say that the rate of text per music is identical, and that the examples depart from one another only with respect to notated barlines and time signature. Clearly,

the notated measure is an inappropriate standard for this kind of analysis. When one takes the time signatures as tempo instructions, of course, assuming, for instance, that eighths in 12/8 are faster than in 3/8, example 4.17 may display a faster text, melody and harmony delivery in relation to the metronome; the speed that Marpurg was interested in, however, that of text delivery in relation to musical events, remains identical in both pieces.

The spelling of the 12/8 piece is a species of compound meter that Marpurg briefly considered but ultimately rejected along with the ‘false’ 6/8,⁴⁶ four measures of 3/8 in a row with three barlines omitted. This 12/8 is distinct from both Marpurg’s legal type (a compound of two 6/8 bars, see example 4.8) and the non-compound one as proposed by Kirnberger.⁴⁷ Both Gräfe odes are in 3/8, and both texts are delivered at a rate of one foot per measure.

If my reasoning is accurate, Marpurg’s reform of meter fits our general perspective in two ways. On the one hand, it is another case of analogy being turned into correlation: By deepening the theoretical correspondence of measure and foot, already considered each other’s *equivalents*, Marpurg arrived at a measure that was also the standard *setting* of a foot, thus giving the seemingly metaphorical relation a material

46 Amisallos, “Theorie des Tacts,” 121.

47 According to Kirnberger, who recognizes non-compound measures with four main parts, the quarter notes of a non-compound 4/4 can be ‘tripled’ into an equally simple 12/8. Kirnberger, *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, 129–30, 132. Kirnberger failed to produce an example, however (his two examples on 132 are both compound). The first example of a simple 12/8 known to me is in Daniel Gottlob Türk’s *Klavierschule, oder Anweisung zum Klavierspielen für Lehrer und Lernende, mit kritischen Anmerkungen* (Leipzig, Halle: Türk, 1789), 96. This is the meter of both themes in the first movement of Beethoven’s ‘Appassionata,’ op. 57. In Marpurgian terms, the accent structure of quadruple meters results from the division and subdivision of the measure: in this strictly hierarchical reading, non-compound 4/4 is in fact 2/2, and the eighths of non-compound 12/8 are not *Tactglieder* (parts of parts of the measure, like those of 6/8), but *Tactnoten* (parts of parts of parts).

dimension in vocal composition. The statistical question whether Marpurg's standard of one foot per measure actually predicted a significant portion of 1750s practice is relevant, but cannot be answered here, as this would entail an extensive empirical study; I can only estimate, judging from the evidence I have gathered, that there are more 'compressions' than 'expansions' and that some verses, especially those counting three and five feet, are rarely set in the relaxed way predicted by Marpurg.⁴⁸ Half-predicted, I should say, since he either never got around to writing it or gave up; the latter is conceivable in light of the many rhetorical and coincidental elements that might go into a full theory of text delivery speed, such as affect, word meaning, the convenience of a vowel, a singer's breath, etc.

I have already alluded to the second more general significance when calling Marpurg's poetic barlines and musical feet 'measures of song'; by conflating and mutually assimilating the concepts of foot and measure and thus systematically blurring the boundary of music and language, he invoked, on a technical level, the symmetrical model of vocal music I extracted from Scheibe and Mattheson in Chapters One and Two, that of a prosody common to music and language. On the side of music, Marpurg's song measure is formed by melodic gestures that in turn are supported by harmony; on that of language, the units are tied, by stress, to the simple polysyllabic word that defines its extent, and thus secondarily with individual ideas, things and actions; and as measure after measure passes, both unfold in time in a synchronized way. This is how I imagine, on a level of detail, the workings of Forkel's "equal progression of ideas among poetry and music," a notion that will occupy us in Chapter Six.

48 The goal of these compressions is not always an even number: Graun, for instance, had a preference for setting tetrameters as three-bar phrases.

5. The Essence of Arias

All the music examples we have seen so far are short, simple and syllabic; it is the kind of music that first comes to mind when poetry is said to be the mistress and music the maid. This raises the question whether the prosodic character we have found in eighteenth-century theories of music extends to larger, more complex forms. Also, because those theorists that did treat large forms proceeded from small ones, the question can be rephrased: how is the text extended when the music is? Any answer, however, will likely remain somewhat speculative because direct theoretical evidence is scarce and the indirect evidence involves an aria without words and a theorist who is silent about text setting. Rather than pretend to a full treatment of this subject, therefore, I would like to approach the question with an analytical experiment that incorporates the evidence we have gathered in previous chapters.

The theorist who concentrated on instrumental music is Heinrich Christoph Koch. While he continued to view vocal music as the model of instrumental music in principle,¹ asserting that any separation from poetry was to music's disadvantage, he clearly departed from the practice of his predecessors by using instrumental examples almost exclusively and by explicitly rejecting Marpurg's arguments when they relied on the text.² Koch also wrote a section on symphonies that dwarfed those devoted to

¹ Heinrich Christoph Koch. *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Böhme, 1787), 28–35. Carl Dahlhaus, "Der rhetorische Formbegriff Heinrich Christoph Kochs und die Theorie der Sonatenform," in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 3 (Laaber: Laaber, 2001), 605–627; Felix Diergarten, "Auch Homere schlafen bisweilen": Heinrich Christoph Kochs Polemik gegen Joseph Haydn," in *Haydn-Studien* 10 (2010), 78–92.

² Koch, *ibid.*, 276–7.

arias and songs. This is why his theories appear to relate to language only by analogy and indeed, I would be hard pressed to demonstrate that his notions of musical ‘subjects’ and ‘predicates’ were derived from text-setting practice. Koch clearly speaks of two separate but analogous entities here, just as he occasionally compares music and architecture;³ moreover, phrases like ‘music is a language’ or ‘music is the language of...’ also seem to gain currency in the last decades of the eighteenth century. To this extent, Koch’s pleas for vocal music read like the lip service of a closet absolute musician for whom instrumental music, in fact, was the actual music; which would also account for his relative success with posterity.

None of these arguments, however, touch upon the substance of Koch’s theoretical procedures. As we have seen, he owed many of his rules to the theoretical tradition of Scheibe, Mattheson, Riepel and Marpurg. Two volumes of Koch’s composition manual are filled with the very theories that his predecessors had either expanded because they were relevant to text setting or adjusted so as to describe this practice.⁴ In punctuation and phrase analysis, Koch’s ‘period’ was still Mattheson’s and Marpurg’s; his *Absätze* were congruent with Mattheson’s colons and semicolons; his musical feet were the ones that Scheibe, Riepel and Marpurg had turned back into a vocal concept; his theory of meter was Marpurg’s from 1759, including the simple/compound distinction imported from poetry. By retaining the theoretical substance while suppressing the justification, Koch inadvertently ensured that most of his linguistic and poetic terms continued to describe correlations in galant vocal music. His terminology was

³ Koch, ‘Taktordnung,’ in *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt am Main: Herman, 1802), 1490.

⁴ Koch exemplified most of his arguments on these subjects with purely melodic examples, like Mattheson, and taught that the composer must begin with “harmonically conceived” melodies, which parallels Scheibe’s doctrine of melodies’ inherent harmony.

more, not less literal than Mattheson's; had he written a similar minuet analysis, it would have given a poet an even better blueprint for texting.

I suspect that this should also be true of the subject of one element of phrase analysis, shared by Koch and Riepel, that does not directly betray its vocal significance through linguistic terminology. I am referring to the methods that allowed a composer to turn a small piece, such as a sixteen-bar dance movement, into a symphony or concerto movement by extending and multiplying its short and few phrases. This involved various forms of repetition, continuation and parenthetical insertion, the multiplication of cadences as well as supplementary codettas or *Anhänge* following the completion of a phrase, "explaining" or "shedding more light on" it, as Koch put it.⁵ In reverse, large pieces could be reduced to small ones by identifying and eliminating this additional material until nothing was left but a few essential, irreducible phrases or *Enge Sätze*.

The distinction between 'essential' and 'accidental' (i.e. inessential) is key to these procedures, and must not be misunderstood. It is a grammatical distinction, as it were, not a rhetorical one: by saying that two measures were an appendix to a phrase, Koch did not discard them as unnecessary or suggest that the piece might as well be performed without them; rather, essential though the two measures may be for the convincingness, power or beauty of a passage, they were omissible in the sense that taking them away did not lead to musical discontinuities. Omitting two measures of substance, on the other hand, would result in gibberish. Koch actually recommended that composers start their work not by beginning in measure 1 and ending at the double

⁵ Koch, *Anleitung zur Composition*, vol. 2, 424ff; vol. 3, 231ff, 341ff.

bar, but by first inventing a string of irreducible, directly connected phrases, the *Anlage*, and then, in the process of *Ausführung*, give the piece its final form by extending and supplementing these phrases and rotating through the *Anlage* more than once.⁶

That these techniques were not, or at least not specifically instrumental, is suggested by Koch's introduction of the *Anlage* concept in the second part of his essay, where he boils down a paradigmatic aria, *Ein Gebet um Neue Stärke* from Graun's *Tod Jesu*.⁷ Like Koch, I will concentrate on this particular kind of da-capo aria, or more specifically, on the form of its "A" part, the one repeated at the end. This part is formally closed; it starts and ends in the main key. It contains two solos, flanked by ritornellos, each delivering the complete "A" text once and each closing with a perfect cadence, the first in the subsidiary, the second, often longer one in the main key. Just as in instrumental music, this binary form is often difficult to distinguish from the more pronounced three-partness of sonata form.⁸

Koch presumed that the twenty-two measures he extracted from Graun's aria were in fact the initial invention from which the 143 measures of the complete "A" section were subsequently worked out. Nevertheless, they contained the whole piece in a nutshell:

When one considers this Anlage and holds it against the aria as Graun realized it, one will find that it contains all essential parts of the whole aria (up until

⁶ I have borrowed the term 'rotation' from James Hepokoski, Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

⁷ Koch, *Anleitung zur Composition*, vol. 2, 270–341.

⁸ In some cases, the sonata-style 'double return' of theme and principal key after the middle section can become a 'triple return' including the beginning of the text. (I am still referring to the "A" part – sonata-form arias where the development section delivers the "B" text and the recapitulation is the Da Capo, an early case of double function form, are a separate matter.)

*its second part, on which I will say a word hereafter). No new idea which is not already contained in the Anlage occurs in the remainder of the movement; everything is either repetition, explanation or continuation of the main ideas contained in the Anlage.*⁹

Koch is characteristically reticent about the text in his presentation of this concept; he might have mentioned that it is also reduced by his procedure, and also to its essence, namely to a single complete statement of Ramler's poem, albeit with some adjustment. On the one hand, Koch leaves in place some text repetitions where he considers the music essential;¹⁰ on the other, as Dahlhaus has pointed out, he retains some musical repetitions because he would otherwise lose parts of the text.¹¹ Otherwise, however, he eliminates all phrases that contain text repetitions or no text at all (such as ritornellos and coloratura passagework), extracting, apparently on musical grounds, four phrases each of which contain a line of Ramler's poem. This indicates that Koch's concept of essential and accidental seems to say something about the text along with the music.

As a musical form, the *Anlage* had a tradition in music theory. Unlike Koch, who normally cited such modulating four-phrase periods without text,¹² Mattheson had used the vocal version as a punctuation example.¹³ Such periods, which can be

9 *Betrachtet man nun diese Anlage, und hält sie gegen die Arie wie sie Graun ausgeführt hat, so wird man finden, daß sie alle wesentlichen Theile der ganzen Arie (bis zum zweyten Theile derselben, von dem ich hernach ein Wort reden will) enthalte. Kein neuer Gedanke, der nicht schon in der Anlage enthalten ist, kommt in der Folge des Satzes vor, alles ist entweder Wiederholung, Erklärung, oder Fortsetzung der in der Anlage enthaltenen Hauptgedanken.* Koch, *ibid.*, 62.

10 Such is the repetition of *Der Herr erhört es gern* in 19–22 of Koch's *Anlage*, corresponding to 45f. and 60f. in Graun. There is also a melodic sequence with text repetition (first 4 mm.) and a passage that Koch reduced only with some reluctance, a cadence restatement with repeated text.

11 Dahlhaus, *Formbegriff*, 616.

12 E. g. Koch, *Anleitung zur Composition*, vol. 3, 226.

13 Mattheson, *Capellmeister*, 185. See above, example 2.3 (*Il ciel...*), for a full arietta cited (written?) by Mattheson; it consists of two solos, separated by a four-bar ritornello.

described as the first solo of an arietta, constructed just like an aria solo but without ritornellos or phrase extensions, had a precisely circumscribed function in text-setting theory: they were the shortest possible way to compose a closed poetic form once through. Later, Marpurg (characteristically) tended to replace this genre with the ode, where no further reduction was necessary, or indeed possible; these odes are the vocal equivalent of Riepel's minuets. Riepel himself, however, also used half ariettas; one of them is of particular interest to us because he demonstrates how it can be enlarged into a full aria.¹⁴

Toward the end of Riepel's *Harmonisches Sylbenmaaß*, the *Discantist*, who no longer sings soprano, has students of his own and does most of the talking, suddenly begins to jot down what he remembers of a so-called aria written by an individual named Peterchen; what he writes down is half an arietta, without text (which he does not remember):

The musical notation for Peterchen's Aria is presented in three staves. The first staff begins at measure 16 and concludes with a repeat sign. The second staff starts at measure 23. The third staff begins at measure 28 and features a trill (tr) and a triplet (3) before a 'Tutti' marking.

Example 5.1: Peterchen's Aria

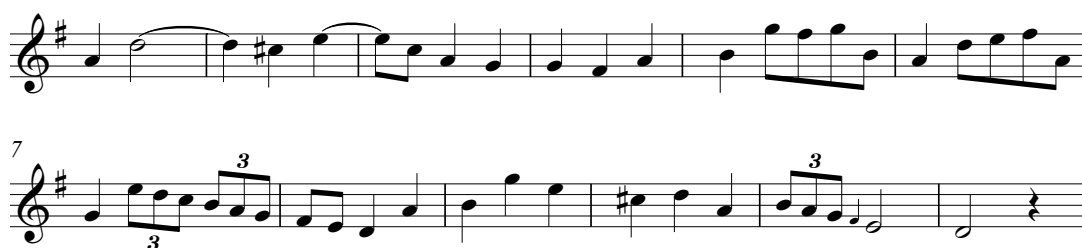
¹⁴ Joseph Riepel, *Harmonisches Sylbenmaaß*, *Dritter Theil*, MS, D Bsb, Es, Rp; GB Lbl, ed. in *Sämtliche Schriften zur Musiktheorie*, vol. 2, ed. Thomas Emmerig (Wien: Böhlau, 1996), 67ff.

The Discantist's initial point is not directly related to the text: he complains that the piece is too long for a 'common song' but too 'meager' for an aria (despite the indicated ritornellos). As he begins to 'feed' this piece into the first solo of an aria, he uses the same techniques he has learned to apply to minuets in Riepel's treatises from the 1750s; now, however, he describes them as methods of text treatment. 'Text repetition', for instance, makes the first 'nurture':



Example 5.2: First extension (text repeats)

Later, he extends the third phrase with what he says "can be imagined as the expansion of a vowel" (*eine Dehnung über einen Vokalen*):



Example 5.3: Further extension (*Dehnung*) of material beginning in m. 29 of previous ex.

At the last stage, the solo counts fifty-eight measures, more than three times its original length. So what are we to make of the lack of text? The *Praeceptor*, who finds all of this perfectly obvious, does not seem to miss it. Both seem to be able to tell what the

text does from the notes, so Riepel's point was probably not that the words did not matter, not that they could be applied arbitrarily to the music after it had been composed like any instrumental piece. Koch's *Anlage*, I believe, can shed more light on the issue. The arietta presumably contains a complete poem without text repetitions, one line per phrase; and the techniques that add musically inessential material will add no text substance either, but repeat and expand existing text. Thus Riepel can assume that the techniques he applies to the music will also do the text justice.

This synchronized reduction and extension of music and text is the subject of our experiment. Let us use Koch's tools to reduce the music of a third aria and observe the effect on the text; then, let us complete Riepel's analysis by applying those findings to Peterchen's aria. Of course we need a text for this second step. But since rhetorical concerns such as the repetition of an insignificant word or the expansion of the wrong vowel will not affect our findings, we merely require four lines that fit into the musical phrases prosodically. It is clear from the melody (see example 5.1) that the first three lines should have feminine, the last a masculine ending. Thanks to the Discantist's slurs, we can also identify a trochaic meter; the first, third and fourth phrases clearly contain four feet each. The ten notes of the second, syncopated phrase leave various possibilities: we might assume that Peterchen's librettist slipped us a pentameter, or repeat a word, or use the melismas I did, or perhaps different ones; how we set individual words is of no consequence to our analysis, and I have taken more liberties with respect to the textless version. Therefore, any arbitrary poem will do, including one of Riepel's self-written German *ottonari*:

– *v* | – *v* | – *v* | – (*v*)
Der bekriegte Flor der Erde
Läßt sich endlich wieder sehen
In grün schimmernden Trophäen,
O Triumph beglückter Flur!

The warred-against bloom of the earth
 Is finally revealed again
 In green-shimmering trophies,
 Oh triumph of delighted nature!

16
 Der_ be- kriegt - te Flor_ der Er - de läßt sich end - lich, end
 23
 - lich wie - der se - hen in grün schim - mern - den Tro -
 28
 phäen, O Tri - umpf be - glück - ter Flur!
 Tutti

Example 5.4: Original underlaid with with Text.

Our third piece, the first aria from Leonardo Vinci's 1730 opera *Artaserse*, has the advantage of brevity, it is already very close to an arietta. The text, by Metastasio, runs:

<i>Conservati fedele</i>	Remain faithful;
<i>Pensa ch'io resto e peno</i>	Consider that I stay and suffer,
<i>E qualche volta almeno</i>	And, at least sometimes,
<i>Ricordati di me.</i>	Remember me.

Music example 5.5 shows the complete score (although the melody, the voice if available, will concern us most). I have added bar numbers, counting two *simple* bars of 2/4 per notated 4/4 bar.¹⁵ The first solo (m. 1–18) begins without a ritornello and is, at

¹⁵ The actual time signature happens to 'obey' Marpurg's rule for compound notation; as explained in the previous chapter, however, the analysis would not change even if the time signature indicated some kind of

Violino primo

Violino secondo

Viola

Mandoline

Basso continuo

Organo

Organo

Organo

Organo

Organo

Conser = uati fedele

qualche volta almeno ricordati di me

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

Example 5.5: Leonardo Vinci, *L'Artaserse*. MS, Folio 11v–13r. Source: Biblioteca del Conservatorio S. Pietro a Majella (via imslp.org).

Handwritten musical score for a vocal piece, measures 16-30. The score is written on ten staves. Measures 16-17 show a vocal line with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). Measures 18-22 show a vocal line with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). Measures 23-30 show a vocal line with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written below the staves. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'p' and 'f'.

Measures 16-17: *Conser = uati fedele*

Measures 18-22: *pen = sa ch'io resto e di*

Measures 23-30: *no e qualche volta meno ricordati di me pen =*

Example 5.5, continued

Handwritten musical score for a vocal piece, measures 31-46. The score is written on ten staves. Measures 31-33 are in treble clef, and measures 34-46 are in bass clef. The lyrics are in Italian. Measure numbers 31 through 46 are written below the staves.

Lyrics (measures 31-46):

31. *Ma ch'io ve l=to*
 32. *pensa ch'io peno*
 33. *conservati fedele*
 34. *ricordati di me*
 35. *ricordati di me*
 36. *ricordati di me*
 37. *ricordati di me*
 38. *ricordati di me*
 39. *ricordati di me*
 40. *ricordati di me*
 41. *ricordati di me*
 42. *ricordati di me*
 43. *ricordati di me*
 44. *ricordati di me*
 45. *ricordati di me*
 46. *ricordati di me*

Example 5, continued

first, all substance: the first line of poetry covers two measures (1–2), an *Einschnitt* in Kochian terms; so does the next line (m. 3–4). Together, they form a tight four-bar phrase (*Enger Vierer*; m. 1–4), which ends with the half cadence in m. 4, a *Quintabsatz*. Then, however, we do not proceed to the next phrase until after two repercussions of the closing formula (m. 5, 6), *Anhänge*, inessential additions to the phrase. We can take them away without losing musical substance,¹⁶ and *voilà*, we do not lose any text either because the first double *settenario* is also complete where the melody closes, in m. 4, and text repetition follows. We then reach the next stage of the *Anlage* with the simultaneous beginning of the third line and another two-plus-two phrase beginning in m. 7 and ending, together with the fourth line, in m. 10. The cadence is confirmed (m. 12) after another two-bar *Anhang* with text repetition. An elision of the second cadence links all of this with the following ritornello (m. 12–18),¹⁷ another *Schlussatz*; elision and (grammatically) redundant cadence give this section a dependent character that accords with its lack of text. Thus, by removing all appendices (and stitching only a little in the bass), we can reduce the eighteen measures of the first part down to eight, obtaining half an arietta with the complete and unrepeatable text, the *Anlage* (see the first half of example 5.10).

2/2. The musical reference measure always starts with the accent ending a group, the Kochian *caesura* (such as the downbeat of m. 2) and lasts until the one opening the next (m. 3). Accordingly, the standard span in the text begins with the last accented syllable of one *settenario* (the beginning of the rhyme) and ends with the first one of the next: *fe|dèle...|pénsa, e |péno...e|quálche*. By this standard, musical measure and poetic foot coincide only at the seams; the four or five syllables or two feet that make up the bulk of each line are ‘compressed,’ in Marpurgian terms, into one measure: *e |quálche vólta al-|meno*. This is the most common *settenario* rendition, however, and thus ‘compressed’ only in principle. Cf. example 2.1.

¹⁶ See Koch, *Anleitung zur Composition*, vol. 2, 435–115, on *Anhänge*.

¹⁷ See *ibid.*, 453–456 on elision or *Takterstickung*.

This can easily be applied to Peterchen's aria. Since the discantist creates an *Anhang* by repeating the last two bars, his text repetition will probably look something like this:

Example 5.6 shows a musical score in G major (one sharp) with a treble clef. The first line starts at measure 16 and ends at measure 22. The lyrics are: "Der be - krieg - te Flor_ der Er - de, Flor_ der Er- de,". The second line starts at measure 23 and ends at measure 29. The lyrics are: "läßt sich end - lich, end - lich wie-der se-hen,sich end-lich wie- der - se-hen,". The score includes trills (tr) in measures 27 and 29. The text repetition is aligned with the musical development.

Example 5.6: Text repeats.

And not like this:

Example 5.7 shows a musical score in G major (one sharp) with a treble clef. The first line starts at measure 16 and ends at measure 22. The lyrics are: "Der be - krieg - te, der_ be - krieg-te Flor_ der Er- de,". The second line starts at measure 23 and ends at measure 29. The lyrics are: "läßt sich end - lich, läßt sich end-lich wie - der - se-hen, wie- der - se-hen,". The score includes trills (tr) in measures 27 and 29. The text repetition is not aligned with the musical development.

Example 5.7: Text repeats not aligned with musical development.

Never mind the rhetorically nonsensical repetition of *der bekriegte* in example 5.7. My grammatical point is that the substance of the line is not complete at the closure and is thus dragged into the *Anhang*; the method of extending a music-text complex makes this a counter-intuitive solution. It could come from a composer who just writes 'music' and then considers the text secondarily; someone, for example, who starts with extended phrases (perhaps because they are fashionable) and then needs to repeat words; or someone (though not in this case) who writes too short a phrase and then needs an *Anhang* to accommodate the remaining words.

We can also begin to understand why the *Discantist* describes the passage in example 5.3 as a coloratura. Because its closure (m. 8) is a variation of the imperfect cadence of the previous phrase (m. 4), it is another *Anhang*; that means that the *Anlage* has not moved on, hence there is no new text. A repetition, on the other hand, is also unlikely because the phrase is so different from the preceding, text-delivering one: its melody is *sonabile* rather than *cantabile*, consistently figured and descending sequentially (in parallel tenths, presumably, with the bass). We can find a model in the second solo of *Conservati fedele* (m. 19–40). The expansion of the word *peno* (m. 22–26) is melodically equally figurative and for the most part also goes in parallel tenths with the prolonging bass. Its closure, moreover, repeats the one the previous phrase would have had were it not for the elision that interlocks the two phrases.¹⁸ Where the first arrival would have been, the text would also have ended; both are delayed until m.26, where the *Anlage* moves on to the next section.

Back in Peterchen's aria, however, the two phrases are separate; presumably the text line closes in m. 4 and the *Dehnung* starts from m. 5 with a previous word:

Example 5.8: *Dehnung*

After the cadence, the *Discantist* adds a section closing with another cadence (example 5.9): in a return to previous material, the two 2-bar snippets starting in m. 5 compress

¹⁸ Technically, one four- and one five-bar phrase form a *Zusammengeschobener Satz*. Ibid., 453–456.

the second phrase (cf. examples 5.1–3); they are followed by two versions of the last phrase, each ending with a cadence. The obvious solution for text-application would be to use text from the corresponding lines:

Example 5.9: Post-cadential development.

Demanding the same text for similar melodies, however, may go too far, at least after the first cadence. As can be observed in the second part of *Conservati*, post-cadential music may be precisely where licences tend to accumulate. Text and music are complete in m. 30, but the melodic cadence is undermined by the bass; then, the first *Anhang* (m. 31–32) repeats, the second (m. 33–34) surpasses the cadence melody in thirds. Despite their melodic dependence upon the preceding phrase, however, these codettas repeat text from an earlier, the second line. Similarly, the separation of the clause *ch'io resto e peno* into *ch'io resto*, *ch'io peno* or the metric displacement of “pensa” are most likely desired for rhetorical effect. From a grammatical point of view, however, all this is dispensable, because this is an off-*Anlage* interplay of inessential music and text. The essential part of the second solo ends in m. 30; like the first, it boils down to two four-bar phrases, as in the second half of example 5.10.



Example 5.10, *Conservati fedele* reduced.

Predictably, this experimental approach has not provided a generalizable theory of aria form. But it does give a technical sense of how a text may respond to Riepel's and Koch's extension techniques and still retain its connection to the music, even in the large form, namely by a distinction of musically and textually inessential sections from those which constitute, in themselves, a **simple kind of song, the aria's essence**. The experience replicates on a larger level what we have found in Marpurg's measures: when style and theory are thus attuned to each other, music and text appear to proceed in a synchronized way. They begin each essential section together and remain locked-in until its completion; after that, their connection loosens until the next section begins with new music and new text, **simultaneously**. It also becomes clear that Koch's *Anlage*, the distinction of essential and inessential passages and the extension techniques, were not instrumental, absolutely musical categories but had been adjusted to describe correlations between music and text. Koch's role was to adopt and refine these techniques while omitting the justification.

6. Klopstock's Odes, or Song vs Song

*In setting Klopstock's odes to music, Mr. Neefe has taken upon himself a task that our best composers have dreaded, and wisely shunned, ever since their publication.*¹

In this final chapter, I will concentrate on one specific case, indeed a textbook case for applying our newly-gained knowledge and skills, a problem of prosodic text-setting that involved poetry as well as composition, preoccupying producers and critics alike. It is the case of Christoph Willibald Gluck, Christian Gottlob Neefe and Johann Friedrich Reichardt attempting to set Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock's neoclassical odes to music, a task not previously undertaken and indeed considered, as Forkel's remark makes clear, an intractable puzzle. What made these poems so unsettling? And is the problem, which surfaced in the late 1770s, related to the song-centered framework of musical thought that had been founded half a century earlier? My preliminary answer to the second question is that it was its undoing. The case confirms Laurenz Lütteken's thesis that "Klopstock became the object of text-setting whenever there was a fundamental compositional reorientation, which was to say, a readjustment of the relationship of music and poetry."² This readjustment, however, had little to do with the emancipation of instrumental music or the victory of Viennese classicism;

¹ Herr Neefe hat an der Composition der Klopstockschen Oden eine Arbeit übernommen, die unsere besten Componisten, schon seit sie bekannt sind, gescheuet, und sich deswegen auch weislich dafür gehütet haben. Johann Nikolaus Forkel, review of "Oden von Klopstock, mit Melodien von Christian Gottlob Neefe," *Musikalisch-kritische Bibliothek*, vol. 1 (Gotha: 1778), 211.

² Laurenz Lütteken, "Identifikationsfigur Klopstock: der Dichter als musikalische Bezugsgrösse," in *Klopstock und die Musik*, ed. Peter Wollny, (Beeskow: Ortus, 2005), 34.

rather, it was the rigorous application of the song paradigm itself that brought forth its internal contradictions and thus caused its crisis. The case thus promises to shed new light the history of 18th-century music, and thus we must return to the beginning, to the 1730s.

The Other Rebirth of Song

The genre of the ode (or *Lied*) seems an unlikely candidate for a site of crisis in eighteenth-century vocal music. It was, after all, revived and promoted by the very writers who contributed to that theory and, indeed, as its paradigm: from the 1730s on (following what has since been called a ‘songless time’) the ode was considered the purest manifestation of music-poetic nature. It may be necessary to emphasize, however, that this nature had nothing to do with an imitation of folk song.³ When an interest in poetry and music perceived as popular did surface from the mid-1770s, in publications such as G.A. Bürger’s *Herzensausguß über Volks-Poesie* (1776), Herder’s *Volkslieder* (1778–79) or J.A.P. Schulz’s *Lieder im Volkston* (1782), it was attacked by earlier advocates of the genre such as Carl Wilhelm Ramler, who opened a 1778 anthology with the following remark on fashionable poetry for “the greatest crowd”:

Most inhabitants of our villages and cities, who may be good men in other respects, indeed love no work of art with all their heart unless it is of a certain

3 Among the earlier historians, Max Friedlaender acknowledged this in the sense of rejecting the majority of 18th-century songs for their lack of national romanticism: *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert. Quellen und Studien* (Stuttgart, Berlin: Cotta, 1902). With this expectation removed, recent evaluations are more sober: Siegfried Kross, *Geschichte des deutschen Liedes* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1989); William H. Youngren, *C.P.E. Bach and the rebirth of the strophic song* (Lanham: Scarecrow, 2003); James Parsons, “The Eighteenth-Century Lied,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied*, ed. James Parsons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 37–38.

*mediocrity or, one is tempted to say, if it is not written so that they, in a pinch, could have made it equally well.*⁴

The early ode was ‘natural’ in the sense of human expression as theorized by Gottsched, Rousseau and Scheibe, not in the romantic sense of fieldwork and empirical data.

The idea that songs should be natural, easy, and memorable had already been the consensus in countries without a songless time, especially England, where Vossius wrote that “songs cease to be songs unless they have easy and recurring numbers, so that everyone can learn and memorize them quickly and without labour”⁵ and the *Guardian* demanded “great Regularity, and the utmost Nicety; an exact Purity of Stile, with the most easie and flowing Numbers.”⁶ When Johann Christoph Gottsched advocated the ode as a poetic genre in his 1730 *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst*, he imported this notion and embedded it in his pre-history of poetry:

*We follow the order of nature. Above it has been proven that music gave the first occasion to the invention of poetry. The first poets made nothing but musical texts and sang these to people. Hence, songs are the oldest genre of poems, and we may begin with them with good reason.*⁷

4 Unsre meisten Bewohner der Städte und Dörfer, so gute Menschen sie in anderer Betrachtung sind, lieben in der That kein einziges Werk der Kunst von ganzem Herzen, wenn es nicht von einer gewissen Mittelmäßigkeit ist, man möchte sagen, wenn es nicht so beschaffen ist, daß sie es selbst zur Noth eben so gut hätten machen können. *Lyrische Blumenlese*, ed. by Karl Wilhelm Ramler, 1778, xxi-xxii.

5 *Cantica desinant esse cantica, nisi faciles & subinde redeunt habuerint numeros, ita ut à quibusvis etiam aliud agentibus addisci & memoriae insculpi possint celeriter & sine labore.* [Isaac Vossius], *De poematum cantu et viribus rythmi* (Oxford 1773), 39.

6 Joseph Addison [Amprose Philips?], *The Guardian* 16, 30 March 1713.

7 Wir folgen der Ordnung der Natur. Oben ist erwiesen worden, daß die Music zu Erfindung der Poesie den ersten Anlaß gegeben. Die ersten Dichter haben lauter musicalische Texte gemacht, und dieselben den Leuten vorgesungen. Die Lieder sind also die älteste Gattung der Gedichte, und wir können mit gutem Grund von denselben den Anfang machen. Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst vor die Deutschen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1730), 327.

In the original genre of poetry and music, words and notes were by definition in equilibrium:

*Because a song must be singable, a melody belongs to it; and because the text and the music shall fit, each must adjust itself to the other. It is easily understandable that sometimes the poetry will accommodate to the tune, sometimes the tune to the poetry, as either the former or the latter was done first.*⁸

Gottsched added that text and music of the first songs may have been improvised in the same creative act.⁹ While his following anecdote of such an improvising *Meistersänger* makes it clear that Gottsched dissuaded poets from this practice (his general stance toward crude nature), he did advise them to take song's origin in emotional expression, which he regarded as a musical origin, as a guideline for subject matter: even though his idol Horace had written odes about everything, their most 'natural' subjects were either love and wine (as associated with the poet Anacreon) or heroic deeds (the field of Pindar), the former requiring a 'natural,' the latter a sublime stylistic register.¹⁰

8 Weil ein Lied muß können gesungen werden, so gehört eine Melodie dazu, und weil der Text und die Musik sich zueinander schicken sollen, so muß sich eins nach dem anderen richten. Es versteht sich aber leicht, daß sich zuweilen die Poesie nach der Weise: zuweilen aber die Weise nach der Poesie bequemen wird, nachdem entweder jenes oder dieses am ersten fertig gewesen. Gottsched, *Dichtkunst* 1730, 327; erratum in the second sentence ('Melodie' instead of 'Poesie') corrected.

9 Zwar die alten Poeten, weil sie zugleich auch Sänger waren, und weder in einem noch dem andern Stücke gar zu viel Regeln wusten, mögen wohl zuweilen aus dem Stegreife gantz neue Lieder gesungen haben, davon vorher weder die Melodie noch der Text bekannt gewesen. ... Ich habe selbst einen alten Meistersänger, der ein Musicus und ein Poet zugleich seyn wollte, in großen Gesellschaften zur Lust, auf jeden insbesondere ein gantz neues Lied singen hören. Er dichtete und componirte also aus dem Stegreife; wie man theils aus den Knittelverßen, theils aus der Melodie leicht hören konnte. Ibid., 328.

10 ...obgleich im Anfange die Lieder nur zum Ausdrucke der Affecten gebraucht worden. Dieser ersten Erfindung zufolge, würde man nur traurige, lustige und verliebte Lieder machen müssen. ... Doch wenn man die Natur der Sachen ansieht, ist es wohl am besten, wenn man sich von der ersten Erfindung so wenig entfernt als möglich ist, und das Lob der Helden und Sieger, den Wein und die Liebe darinn herrschen läßt. Ibid., 332–3.

Through the 1730s and -40s, most ode collections were inspired either directly by Gottsched or by one of his students. In 1736, a member of Gottsched's circle, Johann Sigismond Scholze or "Sperontes", began to publish *Die Singende Muse an der Pleiße*, a collection of keyboard music he had underlaid with selected poetry. The volume became popular, but critics soon complained about the general poverty of the words, the music and, most of all, their combination. The collection that would establish a first model was Johann Friedrich Gräfe's *Sammlung verschiedener und auserlesener Oden*, provided with "proper melodies" by "the most famous masters of music" including, besides Conrad Friedrich Hurlebusch, Carl Heinrich Graun and C.P.E. Bach. Gottsched congratulated Gräfe on his achievement in subsequent editions of *Kritische Dichtkunst*.

The most influential Gottschedian to advocate the ode was J.A. Scheibe, who devoted an issue of *Der critische Musicus* to the genre in 1739,¹¹ defending it both against its devotees (such as Sperontes) and its enemies, namely "great masters" who tried (unsuccessfully according to Scheibe) to give the word *Lied* a pejorative sense by applying it to all music that is simple and natural.¹² To "smack of the inspiration of the muses" and attain their true character, odes needed to be easy and catchy:

A natural song [Gesang] is, first and foremost, best applicable to all genres of odes. An ode melody must be free, flowing, pure, and altogether natural, so that

¹¹ Scheibe, *Der Critische Musicus* 64 (1739), 295–302.

¹² Cf. J.S. Bach about Hasse: "Dresdner Liederchen."

*even someone who is inexperienced in music can repeat it instantly and without particular difficulty.*¹³

Scheibe did not mention harmony in his definition, assuming, in the genre that first sprang from 'nature,' that it was less essential; neither did he explicitly demand that odes must be singable without accompaniment, which he considered a condition of all melodies.¹⁴

Georg Philipp Telemann dedicated his 1741 *Vier und zwanzig theils ernsthafte, theils scherzende Oden* to Scheibe,¹⁵ crediting him with the impetus for their composition and making sarcastic allusions to an anonymous imitator of ancient music. The dedicatee, in his 1745 re-issue of *Critischer Musikus*, identified this cobbler as Lorenz Christoph Mizler (whose universally lampooned ode collection had appeared in Leipzig a year earlier) and praised Telemann's collection in footnotes to *Der Critische Musikus*. Telemann's collection introduced a significant novelty: While ode lyrics had hitherto tended to praise the virtues of contention and serenity (drawing on a Baroque tradition of moral poetry), Telemann had obtained a number of unpublished poems, written by the Hamburg patrician Friedrich von Hagedorn, that belonged to the genre identified as oldest and most natural genre by Gottsched, the praise of jest,

13 Ein natürlicher Gesang ist aber vor allen andern [...] in allen Gattungen der Oden am besten anzuwenden. Eine Odenmelodie muß frey, fließend, rein und überhaupt natürlich seyn, damit sie so gleich und ohne sonderliche Mühe auch von einem, der in der Music unerfahren ist, kann nachgesungen werden. Scheibe, *ibid.*, 302.

14 "Thus, a melody must be so constituted that it can be combined with other melodies, and also that it can exist on its own [...] it must contain in itself the basis of its own harmony." Eine Melodie muß also so beschaffen seyn, daß sie kann mit andern zusammengefüget werden, und auch, daß sie für sich selbst bestehen kann [...] Sie muß den Grund ihrer eigenen Harmonie in sich selbst haben. Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus* (1745), 204 (footnote).

15 *Vier und zwanzig theils ernsthafte, theils scherzende Oden, mit leichten und für alle Hälse bequemen Melodien versehen*, von G. P. T. (Hamburg, 1741).

love and wine. In the preface to *Sammlung Neuer Oden und Lieder* (1742),¹⁶ Hagedorn acknowledged that the anacreontic genre, in which “the free Britons and especially the singing French have long excelled,” was “by all appearance the oldest”.¹⁷ This collection, accordingly, was not one of mere poetry: through three volumes, each poem came with music (a ‘melody’) by Johann Valentin Görner.

At the hands of a younger generation of poets including E.C. v. Kleist, J.W.L. Gleim, and J.P. Uz and C.F. Weiße, anacreontics continued to dominate the Berlin offshoot of the ode movement, founded in the early 1750s by Krause and Marpurg, who enlisted virtually every notable composer in the city. The two critics had only slightly different agendas: both found the model for German song in the French *chanson*; but while Krause admired the French custom of social singing and drinking (as opposed to the German one of getting drunk), Marpurg was intrigued by the simple elegance of French composition, citing an anecdote of Lully reportedly offering all his operas to Lalande in exchange for a certain Christmas tune.¹⁸ Also, both theorists emphasized the melodic character of the genre by theorizing a kind of ode that could be sung without accompaniment (*Singode*); while Krause, who hoped to foster outdoor singing, held that the composer of an ode must not even think of a bass during composition, Marpurg insisted that unaccompanied melodies must accommodate a fitting bass. Because of the consistent perfection required in so short a piece, “the composer

16 [Friedrich von Hagedorn, Johann Valentin Görner,] *Sammlung Neuer Oden und Lieder* (Hamburg: Felginer, Bohn, 1742).

17 *In dieser dritten Art der Ode, welche, allem Ansehen nach, die älteste ist, haben sich die freyen Britten und insonderheit die singenden Franzosen vorlängst hervorgethan.* Hagedorn, preface to *Sammlung Neuer Oden und Lieder*, [a2r].

18 *Or nous dites, Marie.* See Marpurg, *Kritische Briefe*, vol. 1, 19.

must emulate the chemists, who know how to concentrate the virtue of a full drought in a few drops.”¹⁹ Marpurg treated the ode as a natural essence of music; consequently, he studded his journal *Kritische Briefe* with odes, in part as entertaining inserts, in part as generalizable examples for text setting, form and meter.

One component of the ode’s nature, however, was generally acknowledged to cause complications: its “frequently recurring numbers,” the organization into strophes. Early ode collections rarely featured settings of non-strophic poetry, and if multiple strophes were not set to the same melody, the result was often labeled a cantata rather than a song. The source of the problem was simultaneously the justification for the procedure. Composer’s efforts to tie the music to the text, to make it its enhanced prosody, turned the poet’s recurring meter into an unmistakable musical instruction; but having to write a single melody to different words raised the question *which* prosody, which emotions, emphases and punctuations to set. Krause blamed the songless time on precisely this difficulty.²⁰ How great a problem the strophic form was, however, depended on the poet, who could make the different words of multiple strophes as prosodically similar as possible, even beyond keeping a consistent verse and rhyme pattern: to be sure, it was not possible for German poets to put emphasized words in the same positions because German sentences are pronounced according to their specific meaning, but it was possible to maintain one emotion and to place similar punctuation marks in the same spots in every strophe. By thus alleviating the inher-

¹⁹ Der Componist muß, mit dem Zuschauer zu sprechen, den Chymicis gleichen, die die Kraft eines ganzen Tranks in wenig Tropfen zu concentriren wissen. Ibid., 19–20. Youngren tracked down the original passage by Joseph Addison, from *The Spectator* 124, which refers to essay writers: C.P.E. Bach and the Strophic Song, 157.

²⁰ [Christian Gottfried Krause,] *Von der musicalischen Poesie* (Berlin: Voß, 1752), 113.

4 8 12 16 20 24

11.

Der Welt das Wasser anzupreisen
Erlaubt man Aergern oder Weisen,
Das will die Pflicht:
Allein des Vorrangs dich berauben,
Du Freudenvoller Gast der Trauben,
Das will sie nicht.

Die frommen Blicke nicht verschmähn,
Wo wir nur Zucht und Unschuld sehen,
Das will die Pflicht:
Doch deren Vorrugs-Recht verkennen,
Im weichen Lieb und Jugend brennen,
Das will sie nicht.

Die scharfen Mütter nicht belachen,
Die schlaue Tochter stets bewachen,
Das will die Pflicht:
Allein der Tochter List verrathen,
Die das thun, was die Mütter thaten,
Das will sie nicht.

Den Alten, die uns bessern können,
Mehr Zehenden an Jahren gönnen
Das will die Pflicht:
Allein zu ihrem längern Leben
Von unserm eine Stunde geben
Das will sie nicht.

Der Welt das Wasser anzupreisen, welches man Aergern oder Weisen, Das will die Pflicht: Allein des Vorrangs dich berauben, Du Freudenvoller Gast der Trauben, Das will sie nicht.

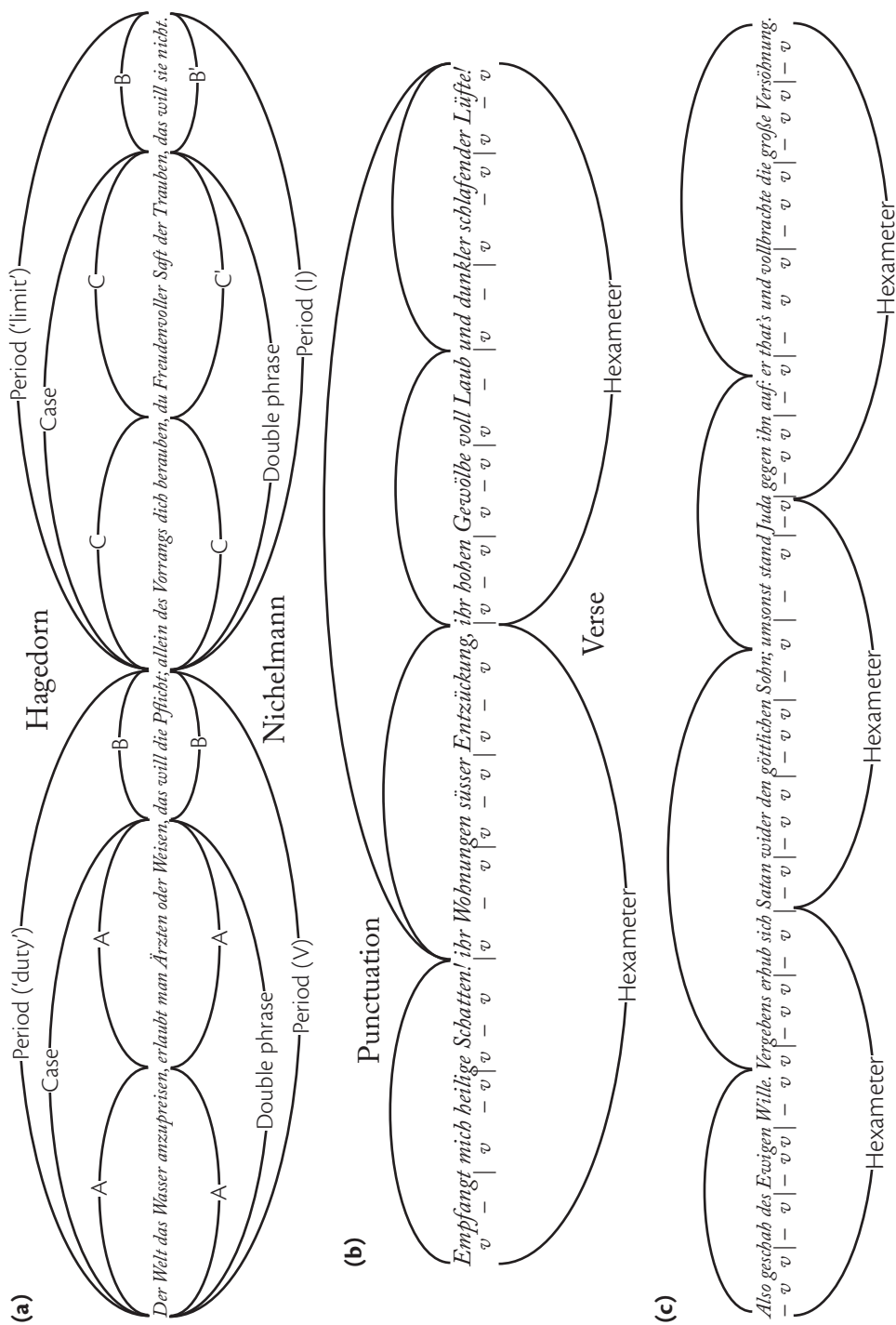
Die frommen Blicke nicht verschmähn, Wo wir nur Zucht und Unschuld sehen, Das will die Pflicht: Doch deren Vorrugs-Recht verkennen, Im weichen Lieb und Jugend brennen, Das will sie nicht.

Die scharfen Mütter nicht belachen, Die schlaue Tochter stets bewachen, Das will die Pflicht: Allein der Tochter List verrathen, Die das thun, was die Mütter thaten, Das will sie nicht.

Den Alten, die uns bessern können, Mehr Zehenden an Jahren gönnen Das will die Pflicht: Allein zu ihrem längern Leben Von unserm eine Stunde geben Das will sie nicht.

Example 6.1: Fr. v. Hagedorn, C. Nichelmann, No. XI from *Oden mit Melodien*, Berlin 1753.





Example 6.2: Phrase diagrams for Nichelmann/Hagedorn's Grenzen der Pflicht, Kleist's Der Frühling (b), Klopstock's Der Messias (c)

ent contradiction of the strophic form, poets were able to make the ode attractive to musicians.

An example of the potential extent of this collaboration is a Hagedorn setting by Christoph Nichelmann from Ramler/Krause's 1753 *Oden mit Melodien* (example 6.1).²¹ All of Hagedorn's strophes make arguments with the same internal organization: the first half of the strophe describes a moral duty while the second points out its limit; thesis and antithesis, in turn, are parallel in that a couplet, containing the respective case, is opposed to a third line with a different rhyme, the conclusion.

<i>To praise water to the world</i>	A
<i>is granted to doctors or sages,</i>	A
<i>Duty requires that;</i>	B
<i>But to strip thee of priority,</i>	C
<i>Thou joy-filled juice of the grape,</i>	C
<i>Is not required.</i>	B

Thus a musical strophe that displays a similar hierarchy of phrases is guaranteed to fit all strophes. As can be seen in the diagram of example 6.2 (a), Nichelmann sets the overarching antithesis as two interdependent periods, one ending in the dominant, one in the tonic; the first two phrases of each period, the exposition of a duty or its limit, are tied together first by repetition, then by sequence, and end with a half cadence, while the different, third phrases end with perfect cadences. The text repetitions that turn Hagedorn's shorter lines into four-bar phrases, normally a risky technique in strophic songs, is possible here because the text is identical in all strophes.

21 [Carl Wilhelm Ramler and Christian Gottfried Krause, eds.,] *Oden mit Melodien* (Berlin: Birnstiel, 1753).

Klopstock

It seems that as early as 1750, Klopstock regarded anacreontics as a blissful memory from his adolescence, if we can judge from the sixth strophe of *Der Zürchersee*:

*Hallers Doris, sie sang, selber des Liedes werth,
Hirzels Daphne, den Kleist zärtlich wie Gleimen liebt,
Und wir Jünglinge sangen,
Und empfanden, wie Hagedorn.*

Haller's Doris, worthy of song herself, sang
'Daphne' by Hirzel, whom Kleist loves as tenderly as [he loves] Gleim,
And we lads sang,
And felt, like Hagedorn.

With regard to both 'singing' and 'feeling,' if we translate them into technical terms as 'verse' and 'style,' the mature Klopstock had left Hagedorn for Vergil, Horace and Pindar. The style for which he was idolized was that of the heroic Jesus epic *Der Messias*, the first three cantos of which had appeared in 1748; most of his odes were in an even more sublime register, extolling heroic figures or invoking the infinity of god and the universe. Concerning choice of verse, Klopstock was among the first to consistently apply the measures of ancient Greece to German prosody, as already advocated and practiced but never emphasized by Gottsched and his generation. These verses differed from the inherited practice (continued in anacreontics) by forgoing rhyme, using more than one kind of foot per line and employing tetrasyllabic feet, including – with the usual caveats – those with neighboring longs such as the spondee. *Der Messias* was written in hexameters, the long lines of the Iliad and the Metamorphoses, which were

not grouped into strophes. Most of Klopstock's odes, on the other hand, were imitations of strophic poetry from the ancient Aegean (as transmitted by Horace, who declared himself to be "the first to spin the meters of Aeolic song into Italian verse"²²). *Der Zürchersee* was written in a strophe attributed to Asclepiades of Samos, of which we will see more examples shortly.

Was it with these lofty styles and neoclassical meters that composers struggled when setting Klopstock? Likely not. Sublime subjects, as we have seen in Gottsched's ode theory, were considered supremely favorable to music; indeed, his habit of taking every image or idea as an occasion for sentimental reflections was consistent with the theory of music's origin in emotion and the concomitant requirement, most strongly stated by Krause, that indifferent reasoning and logical conclusions be avoided in song lyrics. It was in this emotional sense that Friedrich Schiller, now in a critical tone, called Klopstock a "musical poet."²³ His ideas and style, instead of dissuading composers from setting his poetry, rather brought them to accept the challenge (along with some persuasion, perhaps). With regard to neoclassical meters, there is evidence of some reservation on the part of musicians. There was the problem of spondees and other feet, for example, that were difficult to translate into stress-based prosody: an anonymous composer and contributor to a 1761 ode collection (close to Marpurg, if not Marpurg himself) remarked that feet with a succession of three long or short syllables were "extremely unfit" for music, coyly adding: "unfortunately! (but between you and me) the measures in the odes of the ancient Greeks and Romans are, for the most

²² Some odes are in free verse, Klopstock's radicalization of the neoclassical tendency. These, however, though grouped into larger and smaller blocks, are not strophic in a strict sense.

²³ Dieter Borchmeyer, "Klopstock: Poeta Musicus," in *Klopstock und die Musik*, ed. Peter Wollny (Beeskow: Ortus, 2005), 17.

part, the most inconvenient for our present musical odes.”²⁴ But the theoretical impossibility of musical spondees was a fragile concept, as we have seen in Chapter Three, and was increasingly abandoned with the rising Klopstock cult. What about the feature that different feet can be mixed in the same line? Marpurg, devoting some pages to German neoclassical verse in *Anleitung zur Singcomposition*,²⁵ ruled that a mixture of different feet was “not only suitable” to music “but more convenient than all other kinds of verse,”²⁶ pointing out that all feet could be expressed in all time signatures (obviating the need for a time-changing *musique mesuree a l’antique*) and that Italian poets, who produced models of musical poetry, never used the consistent feet of their German counterparts. He therefore described these meters, including ode measures such as the asclepiad, and cited examples from Klopstock and others. Finally, the most obvious hallmark of neoclassical verse, the lack of rhyme, was rarely mentioned in this context unless to stress that this was the feature of verse with which musicians could most easily dispense. Also, there can be no question of the “impossibility” of setting the hexameter because of its accented beginning, as proposed by Andreas Waczkat: his Riemannian idea of music favoring upbeat hardly applies in a style where iambic lines were commonly set beginning on a downbeat (see example 6.1, for instance).²⁷ The problem clearly lay elsewhere.

24 Weiter merke ich an, daß diejenigen Sylbenfüße, in welchen drey lange oder drey kurze Sylben hintereinander kommen, der Musik äußerst unbequem sind [...] Leider! (aber im Vertrauen gesagt,) sind die Versarten in den Oden der alten Griechen und Römer zu unsern heutigen Sing-Oden größtentheils die allerunbequemsten. “Vorrede” to *Oden mit Melodien. Erster Theil* (Berlin: Birnstiel, 1761), 10.

25 Marpurg, *Anleitung zur Singcomposition*, 42–47.

26 Ich halte solche nicht allein für bequem, sondern für ebenso bequem, und noch geschickter, als alle anderen Versarten. *Ibid.*, 119f.

27 Andreas Waczkat, “Vertonungen des ‘Messias’ in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts,” in *Klopstock und die Musik*, 300f.

A less-considered feature of Klopstock's writing, his handling of syntax, looks more promising as a source of musicians' trouble. Klopstock typically cast his sublime ideas in long, breathtakingly discontinuous constructions that frequently straddled caesuras, line breaks and even the ends of strophes. Consider the difference between his hexameters and other early attempts in the genre, such as Ewald von Kleist's *Der Frühling*:

*Empfangt mich heilige Schatten! | ihr Wohnungen süßer Entzückung
Ihr hohen Gewölbe voll Laub | und dunkler schlafender Lüfte!
Die ihr oft einsahmen Dichtern | der Zukunft Fürhang zerrissen
Oft ihnen des heitern Olymps | azurne Thoren eröffnet
Und Helden und Götter gezeigt; | Empfangt mich füllet die Seele
Mit holder Wehmuth und Ruh! | O daß mein Lebensbach endlich
Von Klippen da er entsprang | in euren Gründen verflösse!*

Receive me, holy shades! Ye abodes of sweet rapture,
Ye kind vaults of foliage and dark sleeping airs,
Who have often torn apart the future's veil for lonely poets,
Often opened them the azure doors of serene olymp
And shown them heroes and gods; receive me, fill the soul
with kind sorrow and calm! O may the stream of my life, finally,
from the cliffs whither it sprang, run down in your grounds.

These lines are distinguished from Klopstock's neoclassical version by two concessions to the baroque equivalent of the hexameter, the French-inspired Alexandrine, the beginning with an additional unaccented syllable on the one hand, and the careful observation of a mid-line caesura on the other, splitting each verse into so-called hemistichs. The contrast becomes obvious only a few lines into Klopstock's *Messiad*:

Klopstock, *Der Messias*, first canto, lines 5–7, vertical lines added.

*Also geschah des Ewigen Wille. | Vergebens erhob sich
Satan gegen den göttlichen Sohn; | umsonst stand Juda
Gegen ihn auf: | er that's und vollbrachte die große Versöhnung.*

Thus was done the will of the eternal one. In vain rebelled
Satan against the divine son; to no avail rose up Judah
against him: he did it and achieved the great reconciliation.

Klopstock abandoned Kleist's pickup, an addition he condemned as sacrificing the perfect length of the ancient line,²⁸ unlocked the caesura and frequently let his thought spill over into the next line.

In his liberal use of enjambment in all kinds of verse, including strophic odes, Klopstock followed the ancients on a point where the previous generation had dismissed them. For Gottsched, limiting enjambment was one of the euphonious achievements of his time. He wanted verses to be constantly realized and made perceptible by syntax: "it sounds twice as good if one is always compelled to linger a little in certain places without tearing apart the sense or affecting the syntax too much."²⁹ He resented "having to stop reluctantly where one cannot yet think anything proper."³⁰ In this respect, he even refused to pay allegiance to Horace:

28 Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, "Von der Nachahmung des griechischen Sylbenmasses im Deutschen," in *Der Messias*, vol. 2 (Kopenhagen: 1755), [unpaginated]. Ramler, in adapting Kleist's *Frühling* for *Oden mit Melodien* 1753, also adopted shifting caesuras.

29 *Es klingt noch einmahl so gut, wenn man selbst durch die Worte und den Sinn des Dichters, allezeit an einer gewissen Stelle, etwas inne zu halten genöthiget wird, ohne daß der Verstand zerrissen werden oder der Wortfügung zuviel geschehen darf.* Gottsched, *Dichtkunst* 1730, 320–323.

30 [...] *daß man mit Widerwillen daselbst stille halten muß, wo man noch nichts rechtes denken kann,* Ibid., 320.

*The ancients were in the habit of not always closing the full sense at the end of a strophe, as can be seen in Horace's odes. This has, however, been introduced in our times, and it certainly sounds much better than when one has to look for the end of a sentence in the following strophe.*³¹

Similarly, Hagedorn complained:

*Even Petrarca, like Pindar and Horace, did not pay too close attention to the order and arrangement of full-stops, and often let his words run too far, contrary to euphony.*³²

If these features were considered detrimental to general poetry, they were errors in musical poetry, as Marpurg repeatedly pointed out.³³

Technically, two distinct phenomena are at stake here: On the one hand, there is enjambment, where the sense carries through a line-ending or caesura and discourages the declaimer from punctuating; on the other hand, there is the opposite phenomenon (which might be called 'arrestment'), an unexpected syntactic conclusion before the verse is over. Both phenomena involve a disjunction of verse and syntax, and one often appears as a result of the other; we can therefore treat them simultaneously. Such disjunctions can be visualized in the same way as the conjunction in the Hagedorn/Nichelmann song: in example 6.2 (b), we can see how Kleist allows the reader to breathe every three feet, emphasizing the organization in hemistichs as a basis for

³¹ Die Alten pflegten bey dem Ende einer jeden Strophe den völligen Verstand nicht allemahl zu schliessen, wie man aus Horatii Oden sehen kann. Bey uns aber hat mans mit guten Grunde eingeführt, und es klingt gewiß noch einmahl so gut, als wenn man das Ende eines angefangenen Satzes erst in der folgenden Strophe suchen müste. Ibid., 330.

³² [...] wie denn Petrarcha selbst, so wenig als Pindar und Horaz, gar zu genau auf die Ordnung und Einrichtung der Schlußpuncte gesehen, und, dem Wohlklange zuwider, seine Worte oftmals zu weit fortlaufen lassen; Hagedorn, *Sammlung neuer Oden und Lieder*, [a2v].

³³ Marpurg, *Anleitung zur Singcomposition*, 50, 53–59, 83–84.

periods. In example 6.2 (c), Klopstock's clauses of four and three (or six) feet can be seen bridging the prescribed line breaks.

Finding a musical equivalent for such texts was problematic because verse and syntax or punctuation, as we have seen, were never fully distinct in music and increasingly coalesced in the course of eighteenth-century theory. While Mattheson distinguished theoretically between *Sectionalzeilen* (the equivalents of lines, constituted by a succession of feet) and the similarly-sized colons and semicolons (delineated by harmonic and melodic closure), they coincided in practice, as a glance at his minuet (Chapter Two, example 2.1) reveals: the four 4-bar *Sectionalzeilen* marked with daggers are congruent with the spans marked off with colons, semicolons and periods. It is hard to imagine a case where Mattheson would have decided that, for instance, a new sectional line begins a measure before the phrase ends, or vice versa; in other words, the poetic ban on enjambment was already a musical reality. Subsequently, verse and punctuation became increasingly conflated in theory, as well: Marpurg's lines (*Sectionalzeilen* or *Rhytmen*) were the constituents of periods;³⁴ in his 1761 treatment of resting points (*Ruhepunkte*), he defined 'rhythmic lines' or 'sectional lines' as the space from one *Absatz* (a lesser form of punctuation) to another, just as periods and paragraphs lasted from one half or full cadence to another.³⁵ At this point, musical line and phrase had become a single entity that combined a verse character (apparent in the number of measures contained) with a syntactic one (to be judged from its ending); the poetically possible disalignment of syntax and verse had become a musical aporia.

³⁴ Marpurg, *Kritische Briefe*, vol. 1, 472; see passage 32 in the appendix.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 4f; see passage 33 in the appendix.

Enjambments, therefore, confronted the vocal composer with the technical dilemma that to follow the syntax required contradicting the verse, or vice versa:

*The composer must halt at the end of a period and, if a new proposition starts with the next period, [...] even write a cadence. This, however, interrupts the symmetrical order of rhythm as determined by the verse; [...] by letting the whole line be sung continually, on the other hand, without observing the full stop, the composer confuses the sense and violates the declamation.*³⁶

The severity of the problem depended on genre, however. Enjambments were least unwieldy in recitative, where the text's verse character was secondary and could be temporarily ignored; they caused more difficulties in arias, whose rhythm was in part determined by the verse; and they turned into a serious problem in strophic songs. This was because any enjambment, unless it was the same in all strophes, resulted in strophes with different punctuation; by following the syntax of one strophe, the single melody would contradict not only the latent syntax of an abstract verse design, but the manifest syntax of another strophe. The same formula that correctly ended a clause in one strophe would tear another apart, a phenomenon known from old chorales but considered unacceptable in original songs.³⁷ Hence, in treatises of musical poetry, calls for brevity of expression, restriction of enjambment and consistent punctuation were

³⁶ Die Ursache ist, weil man am Ende eines Perioden absetzen, und, wenn mit dem folgenden Perioden ein neuer Vortrag angeht, und der vorhergehende folglich nicht fortgesetzt wird, wohl gar eine Cadenz gemacht werden muß. Dieses aber unterbricht die nach der Versart an sich festgesetzte symmetrische Ordnung des Rhythmi, und streitet wider eine bald vorzutragende Regel. Lässet aber der Componist die ganze Zeile hintereinander wegsingen, ohne Beobachtung des Puncts: so wird dadurch der Sinn verwirret, und wider die Declamation verstoßen. Marpurg, *Anleitung zur Singcomposition*, 57.

³⁷ Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel's example for the resulting distortions of sense cannot be translated without destroying the bawdy pun: *Sey Gott getreu, laß keinen Wind / des Kreuzes dich abkehren*. Id., *Abhandlung vom Recitativ* (MS, A-Wgm), ed. in W. Steger, *Gottfried Heinrich Stölzels 'Abhandlung vom Recitativ'* (diss., University of Heidelberg, 1962).

typically intertwined.³⁸ It was on these grounds that Gottsched, Scheibe and Krause doubted that all the strophes of Horatian odes could have been sung to a single melody.³⁹ Marpurg, to ensure that modern odes would be free of such contradictions, gave this advice to song writers:

*Punctuation must be similar throughout all strophes [...] Where a full stop closes a perfect period [in the first strophe], there must not be a comma in the second [strophe], etc. [...] Furthermore, the sense of a strophe must end with the last line and not be dragged on into the next by lengthy comparisons or other relative delays.*⁴⁰

Poets were aware of this musical rule, but they had higher motivations. Carl Wilhelm Ramler, defending his editorial interventions in *Oden mit Melodien*, wrote:

The musician wishes certain symmetries in the strophes to allow the recurring melody to fit each. It is known, however, that these are not at all the odes of a fiery poet, who takes pride in breaking the laws of uniformity, who changes his

38 *Oden mit Melodien* 1761. Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Anleitung zur Singekomposition* (Berlin: Decker, 1782), 3. Joseph Riepel, *Harmonisches Syllbenmaß. Dichtern melodischer Werke gewiedmet, und angehenden Singcomponisten zur Einsicht mit platten Beyspielen gesprächsweise abgefaßt, Zweiter Theil, von Arien* (Regensburg, 1776), 82–83.

39 In den meisten Oden Horatii hengen etliche Strophen so an einander, daß man an dem Ende der einen gar nicht stille stehen kan. Da möchte ich nun gerne wissen, wie das nach ihrer Music im Singen geklungen. Bey uns klingt es nicht, wie wir aus etlichen alt-fränckischen Kirchen-Liedern sehen. Gottsched, *Dichtkunst* 1730, 323. Man nehme einmal eine oder die andere Ode des Horatii, und versuche solches, so wird man so fort sehen, daß es ganz nicht wahrscheinlich ist, daß man sie auch auf solche Art habe absingen können, als wohl mit unseren Liedern geschieht. Scheibe, *Der Critische Musicus* 64 (1739), 297–8. Krause, *Von der musicalischen Poesie*, 16–17.

40 In Liedern mit mehr als einer Strophe, die alle nach einer Melodie gesungen werden sollen, muß durchaus in allen Strophen die Interpunction einander ähnlich seyn, und solche nach der ersten Strophe eingerichtet werden. Wo in selbiger ein Punct einen vollkommenen Periodum schließet, da muß in der andern Strophe kein Comma vorkommen, u. s. w. Diese Gleichheit der Interpunction ist in einem deutschen Liede so nöthig, als die Gleichheit des Syllbenmaßes oder die Scansion in einer welschen canzonetta oder in einem französischen chanson. Mit jeder letzten Zeile einer Strophe muß ferner der Sinn derselben gänzlich geendet, und nicht durch weitläufige Gleichnisse, oder andere relativische Aufhaltungen in die folgende Strophe herüber gezogen werden. Mehr kann man nicht mit Recht von einem Liederdichter fordern. Marpurg, *Anleitung zur Singcomposition*, 83–84.

*resting points, who wraps his lines into each other, who departs from his subject matter and loses himself in bold digressions. Which poets are more beautiful than Horace and Pindar? And which odes are less made for singing than theirs?*⁴¹

Besides being beautiful and expressing fire and boldness, enjambments could also be used for poetic tone painting: Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel reported that the “misfortune” of enjambment was most often suffered by words signifying interruption,⁴² while Marpurg condoned the device as a ‘natural expression’ of exhaustion or feebleness;⁴³ Klopstock, in the *Messias* example above, starts a series of enjambments while describing futile riot and ends it with the word “reconciliation.” Proving to be a consistent classicist, he considered the ancients’ liberties an essential expressive device even in odes:

When Horace wants to rise the highest, he chooses the Alcaic, a measure sonorous enough for a psalm. It is here that he most often takes his thought into the next strophe, for to do so accords best with the enthusiasm of the ear and the imagination; since the former often desires more than the poetic period, which is locked into one strophe, and the latter not seldom demands the torrent of rapidly continued thought. Either Horace was not aware of the objection that, for the sake of singing, strophe and period must close together (because the singers and

41 Der Musicus wünscht gewisse Symmetrien in die Strophen, damit sich die wiederkehrende Melodie zu jeder Strophe schicke. Man weiß aber, daß dieses gar nicht die Oden eines feurigen Dichters sind, der sich ein Verdienst daraus macht, die Gesetze der Einförmigkeit zu brechen, der seine Ruhepunkte verändert, der seine Zeilen in einander schlingt, der seine Materie verläßt und sich in kühne Ausschweifungen verliert. Welche Dichter sind schöner als Horatz und Pindar? und welche Oden sind weniger zum Singen gemacht, als die ihrigen? Rample, Krause, “Vorbericht” to Oden mit Melodien 1753.

42 Stölzel, *Recitativ*, 40. As a particularly illustrative but not serious example, he added the lines: Wenn Leib und Seel' sich tren-/nen, nennt man es den Tod.

43 In einem andern Falle würde diese Trennung des Adverbii von seinem Zeitworte bey dem Ruhepunkte vor dem Einschnitte ein Fehler seyn. Aber hier giebt die mit der Sache übereinstimmende Poesie: Die Kräfte entgehen - - mir völlig, dem Componisten zu dem besten natürlichen Ausdrücke Gelegenheit. Marpurg, *Anleitung zur Singcomposition*, 59.

4 Größlich.

1. St. man fröh = li = chen Lenz ward ich und sog um = her! — Die = sen fröh = li = chen Lenz. Ich = re = te for = sam mich mei = ne

Mut = ter, und sag = te: Sung, Bar = da = le, den Größ = ling durch!

Achte Strophe.

Welch ein neu = es Ge = fühl glühete mit! Mich der Blick — ih = res Auges, der Weiß hielt mich, ich fand schon Gut! sprach die Glim = me den

Neunte Strophe.

Blick aus; o so wür = de sie süß = ser seyn, als mein lei = se = ster Laut, als mein ge = sun = gen = ster — und ge = fühlte = ster Son, wenn mich die jun = ge

Zust vom dem Zwei = ge des Strauches, in die Wi = pfel des Sporns ent = führt!

(Die 10 und 11 Strophe werden wie die 8, und die 12 wie die 9 getungen; eben so werden auch die 16 und 17 Strophe zusammengezogen.)

Langsamer. Letzte Strophe.

Was nicht, Gan- m, der Sag, wars nicht der zwölff-te May, der mir,

neil ich al- kein war, ab- und trau- rig vor- u- der- floß?

2. Hört der Wald dich allein, deine Gespielen,
Flattern pochend nur sie dir um den Schattens;
Singe dann, o Dardale,
Nachtigallen Gesänge nur.
3. Aber tritt er daher, welcher erschauert ist,
Als die Geisse des Hays, kommt er, der Erde Gott,
Singe dann, glücklicher Sänger,
Zückerlicher und lyrischer.
4. Denn sie hören dich auch, die doch unsichtbar sind!
Ihren göttlichen Fried laßt dem Gesang hervor.
Ach Dardale, du singest
Liebe zu, den Unsichtlichen!
5. Ich entfloß ihr und sang, und der kenneste Hays
Und die Fiedel umger hörten mein stotzend Lied!
Und des Waldes Gespielen
Sprechen leiser am Ufer hin.
6. Doch der Flügel, der doch war nicht, die Erde selbst
War der Gott nicht, und bald senkte den Ton mein Lied.
Denn ich sang dich, o Liebe,
Nicht Stimmen und Göttern nicht!
7. Eines Jünglings sie sich, der die Zerknirschtheit
Dieser Augen und auch spühet, ihr Trübsal
Und den Geist der dich alles schuf.
8. Was ein neues Gefühl glühe mir! Ach der Blick
Ihres Auges, der dich dich mich: ich kam schon hin!
Sprach die Stimme der Blick aus;
D so würde sie süßer sein.
9. Als mein letzter Laut, als mein gesungenster
Und gesüßter Ton, wenn mich die junge Lust
Von dem Schwelge des Strauches,
In die Wipfel des Hays entführt!
10. Aug', ach Auge, dein Blick flücht umhergeschlich mir:
Und nie nimmer das Lied? singen die Zöne dich?
Nimm dich, singen sie: Seele?
Bist du's, das die Unsichtlichen
11. Zu Unsichtlichen machst? Auge wenn gleich ich dich?
Bist du Bläue der Luft, wenn sie der Abendstern
Süß mit Geiste beschimmert?
Der gleicht du jenem Bach.
12. Der dem Quell kaum entfloß? Schöner erlöste nie
Seine Wöden der Blick! Führt ich selber nie
Nicht in einem der Bäche,
Niederhinauf am Frühlingssproß.
13. O, was sprach ist ihr Blick? Hörest du, Göttern, mich?
Eine Nachtigall du? Sang ich von Liebe dir?
Und was flücht gelinder
Dir vom schmachtenden Aug herab?
14. Ist das Liebe, was dir täuschlich vom Auge rinnt?
Deinen göttlichen Fried, laßt ihn mein Lied hervor?
Welche sanfte Bewegung
Führt dir deine besetzte Brust?
15. Sag, wie heißt der Fried, welcher dein Herz bewegt?
Nicht ihn sich dich Jungs gelobte Schale noch?
Ist er himmlische Jugend?
Doch Freud in dem Hays Wallhals?
16. O gequert sey mir, blumiger zwölfter May,
Da die Göttern ich sah, aber geseyter
Geist du unter den Mayen,
Wenn ich in den Umarmungen
17. Eines Jünglings sie sich, der die Zerknirschtheit
Dieser Augen und auch spühet, ihr Trübsal
Und den Geist der dich alles schuf.
18. Was nicht, Gan- m, der Sag, wars nicht der zwölff-te May,
Der mir, weil ich allen war,
Doch und traurig vorüberfloß?

Klopstocks Oden.

*the lyrical music of his time did not raise it), or he sacrificed the lesser rule to the greater.*⁴⁴

Crucially, Klopstock could not have achieved the same effect by turning to prose or free verse or writing a longer line or strophe; considering enjambments as heroic gestures in which the artist shakes off his self-applied fetters, these had to be there in the first place. Thus, the very quality that made his poetry musical, in an aesthetic sense, had rendered it technically unmusical. Nevertheless, composers rose to the challenge.

The Dilemma

Song composers confronted with enjambments and shifting punctuation were faced with two unacceptable choices: By following the lines of the poem, they contradicted the clauses, and by consistently following the clauses, they had to give up on writing a single melody for all strophes. Before we return to the assumptions underlying this dilemma and question its legitimacy, let us first consider the two alternatives it seemed to offer. They are represented in the following two examples, both by Christian Gottlob Neefe.

By including *Bardale* (example 6.3) in his 1776 collection *Oden von Klopstock*,⁴⁵ Neefe chose a particularly challenging case for proving his claim that he had “truly

44 Wenn Horaz am höchsten steigen will, so wählt er die Alcäen, ein Sylbenmaß, welches, selbst für den Schwung eines Psalms, noch tönend genug wäre. Er läuft da am oftesten mit dem Gedanken in die andere Strophe hinüber, weil es, so zu verfahren, dem Enthusiasmus des Ohrs und der Einbildungskraft gemäß ist; da jenes oft noch mehr als den poetischen Perioden, der nur in Eine Strophe eingeschlossen ist, verlangt, und diese den Strom des schnellfortgesetzten Gedanken nicht selten fordert. Horaz wußte entweder den Einwurf nicht, daß, wegen des Singens, die Strophe und der Periode zugleich schliessen müßten, weil ihm die Sänger und die lyrische Musik seiner Zeit diesen nicht machten; oder er opferte die kleinere Regel der größeren auf. Klopstock, “Nachahmung des griechischen Sylbenmasses.”

45 Christian Gottlob Neefe, *Oden von Klopstock, mit Melodien* (Flensburg, Leipzig: Korte, 1776).

expressed the sentiments and correctly declaimed the words” after carefully examining the melody against all strophes. As noted above, the challenge did not lie in the design of the strophe itself, which was an Asclepiad like *der Zürchersee*, represented thus by Klopstock in the 1771 ode edition:⁴⁶

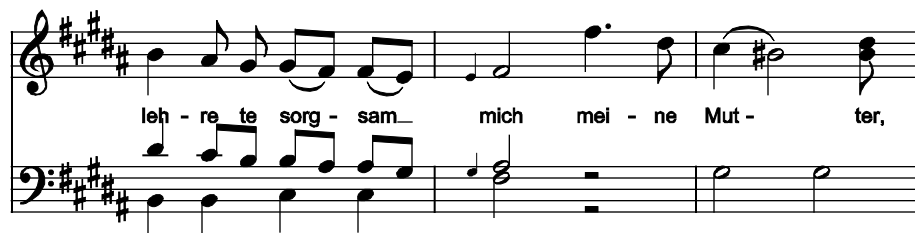
– v – v v –, – v v – v v ,
 – v – v v –, – v v – v v ,
 – v – v v – v ,
 – v – v v – v – .

Neeffe’s terse binary form clearly reproduces this structure in that the first two lines of the poem are delivered as the first and second of two three-bar phrases (m. 1–3, 4–6), ending with a half cadence and a perfect cadence in the dominant, respectively. The shorter third and fourth lines are more closely linked: the third line is punctuated by an arrival on C#, which becomes ii of the home key in the last phrase, whose final cadence is subsequently echoed in the keyboard part.

Klopstock’s syntax, on the other hand, is rarely in line with this verse arrangement, and thus potentially out of step with the music. Indeed, Neeffe managed to mitigate the most glaring cases of sentences extending into the next strophe (strophes 8–9, 10–12 and 16–17) by writing out two run-on strophes, of which the first differs from the original chiefly in that the voice evades the final cadence and the keyboard skips the

46 The commas in the scansion scheme indicate ‘word feet’, Klopstock’s basic unit of rhythmic-syntactic organization (he also called them ‘rhythms’). They either contain a word, or a few words that belong together. Klopstock adheres to these word-feet by rarely extending a word beyond the commatized boundaries; he also ends and begins syntactic units at these seams, in contrast to the traditional metric foot, which is independent of word boundaries. On this small scale, therefore, the situation described by Kirnberger that in one strophe, “there is a caesura [...] where, in another strophe, a di-, tri- or polysyllabic word occurs”, does not easily arise in Klopstock.

interlude. An open-ended, slower version in minor accounts for the sad tone and final question mark of the last strophe. Within the strophes, however, non-congruences are frequent. In the first, for instance, the clause that begins in the second line runs on at least until the middle of the third, bridging the central axis of the strophe, traditionally a place for a colon or period; here, Neefe's medial cadence cuts off the clause before the subject has appeared ("... carefully taught me. My mother...").



Example 6.4: Neefe, *Bardale*, m. 5, strophe 1.

In the fifth strophe, the half cadence of Neefe's first phrase divides a compound subject ("...the moving grove; and the hills heard..."):



Example 6.5: Neefe, *Bardale*, mm. 2-4, strophe 5.

Conversely, the music often carries through Klopstock's arrestments ("what new feeling glowed in me oh the gaze; of her eyes..."):



Example 6.6: Neefe, *Bardale*, mm. 1–3, strophe 8.

The merit of Neefe's approach, if that is what it is, is that by clinging to the strophic pattern and not concealing Klopstock's enjambments, he allows the poet's thoughts boldly to bridge not just an imagined meter, but audible musical phrases. It also allowed intelligent performers such as the collection's dedicatee, Frau von Alvensleben, to showcase their skills:

*Only when one has grasped the ode entirely with the intellect and the heart will one be able to perform it correctly; one will then know how to appropriately place forte and piano in the remaining strophes of an ode; for the strengthening and weakening of the tone of the voice and the keyboard cannot remain in the same place in every strophe. Sometimes one will have to dot a note that is undotted in the first strophe in order to sufficiently accentuate in song an underlying word with a distinct logical accent. On the other hand, it will sometimes be necessary to shorten a note by half and to replace the other half with a rest, so that what does not belong together is not connected either.*⁴⁷

47 Erst [wenn man die Ode ganz mit Verstande und Herzen gefaßt hat] wird man sie richtig vortragen können; dann wird man das Forte und Piano in den übrigen Strophen einer Ode gehörig zu versetzen wissen; denn die Verstärkung und Verminderung des Tons der Stimme und des Klaviers kann nicht in allen Strophen einerley Sitz behalten. Bisweilen wird man eine in der ersten Strophe unpunktirte Note in einer folgenden punktieren müssen, um das darunter liegende Wort, das vorzüglich viel logischen Accent hat, auch im Gesange stark genug zu accentuiren. Hingegen wird es manchesmal nöthig seyn, eine Note um die Hälfte zu verkürzen, und statt der andern eine Pause hin zu denken, damit das, was nicht zusammengehört, auch nicht miteinander verbunden werde. Neefe, preface to *Oden von Klopstock*.

What Neeffe demands here may go only slightly further than what eighteenth-century singers would have done anyway. similar recommendations ensuring the intelligibility of the text by Johann Adam Hiller are not limited to strophic song but amount to the general principle that the singer should reconcile the composer's instructions with the nuances required for a clear declamation of the text.⁴⁸ Such passages are a useful reminder that poets and composers were not the only artists involved in creating vocal music, that the song was finished only in performance. Neeffe, however, by passing on such a large portion of the problem to the singer, may have taken too easy a way out. In his 1778 review of the collection, Johann Nikolaus Forkel accused Neeffe of either failing to realize that Klopstock's was not musical poetry, or realizing it and failing to capitulate.⁴⁹ Misplaced caesuras were one of Forkel's chief complaints; he established as a rule that "the ear demands an equal progression of ideas among poetry and music".⁵⁰ Although it is indeed difficult to imagine how a single melody could meet such strict requirements in all of *Bardale's* eighteen syntactically diverging strophes, we will later examine a setting that comes much closer to this goal.

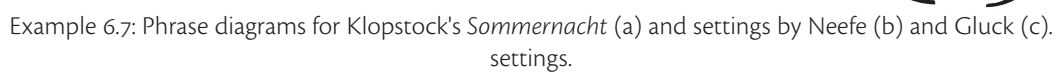
The other alternative left by the enjambment dilemma was to exclusively follow the syntax of the text and ignore its verse character, sacrificing the poet's euphony for what Forkel dubbed the "equal progression of ideas." While strophic settings seemed superior in principle and were widely favored by poets, including Klopstock,⁵¹ who did

48 Johann Adam Hiller, *Anweisung zum musikalisch-zierlichen Gesange* (Leipzig: Junius, 1780), 30–33.

49 Ibid., 222.

50 ...[das Ohr verlangt] gleichen Fortgang der Ideen zwischen Poesie und Musik; Forkel, review of "Oden von Klopstock," 220.

51 This also included the Weimar circle of Wieland, Herder, Schiller and Goethe; Frederick Sternfeld, "The musical springs of Goethe's poetry," *Musical Quarterly* XXXV, 4 (1949), 524. ...Überzeugte er sich, wie verwerflich alles sogenannte Durchcomponiren der Lieder sey, wodurch der allgemein lyrische Charakter ganz aufgehoben



Die Sommernacht.

Feyerlich.

Wenn der Schim: mer von dem Mon: de nun her = ab in die Thä: ler sich er = gießt, und Ge = rü = che mit den

Dü: ten von der Ein = de in den Rüh = lun = gen wehn; so um = schatten mich Ge

dan: ken an das Grab der Ge = lieb = ten, und ich seh in dem Wal: de, in dem Wal: de nur es dämmern, und es

weht mir von der Blü: the, von der Blü: the nicht her, und es weht mir von der Blü: the, von der Blü: the nicht her!

Ich ge: noß einst, o ihr Tod: ten, ich ge: noß einst, ihr Todten, es mit

euch! Wie um = weh = te — uns — der Duft, wie um = weh = te — uns — die Rüh = lung, der Duft und die

Rüh = lung! Wie ver = schönt warst von dem Mon: de du, o schö = ne Na = tur! — von dem Monde wie ver

schönt — wie ver = schönt warst du, Na = tur!

not want their labor to go to waste, eighteenth-century theorists frequently legitimized composing a different melody for each strophe in such difficult cases.⁵² That, however, was not enough when strophes hung together; then, the composer had to abandon the strophic character entirely and effectively through-compose a prose text.⁵³ Neefe went almost as far in his setting of Klopstock's *Die Sommernacht*.

<i>Die Sommernacht</i>	<i>The Summer Night</i>
<i>Wenn der Schimmer von dem Monde nun herab In die Wälder sich ergießt, und Gerüche Mit den Düften von der Linde In den Kühlungen wehn, So umschatten mich Gedanken an das Grab Der Geliebten, und ich seh in dem Walde Nur es dämmern, und es weht mir Von der Blüthe nicht her. Ich genoß einst, o ihr Todten, es mit euch! Wie umwehten uns der Duft und die Kühlung, Wie verschönt warst von dem Monde, Du o schöne Natur!</i>	<i>When the gleam now spills down from the moon into the woods, and smells blow with the scents from the lime tree in the coolness, Then thoughts of the grave of the beloved enshade me, and I see in the woods only dusk, and it blows to me from the blossom no more. I enjoyed it once, o ye dead, with you! How scent and cooling blowed about us, How thou wast beautified by the moon Oh fair nature!</i>

These strophes, metrically designed by Klopstock in an ancient spirit, turn Mar-purg's rules of ode poetry on their head syntactically. Every strophe is punctuated in

und eine falsche Theilnahme am Einzelnen gefordert und erregt wird; Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, "Tag- und Jahres-Hefte als Ergänzung zu meinen sonstigen Bekenntnissen," in *Werke*, vol. 31, 91.

52 Scheibe, *Der critische Musicus* 64 (1739), 299, 301–2. In allen solchen Fällen kann daher der Komponist nichts weiter thun, als solchen abweichenden Strophen eine eigene Melodie zuzueignen; Kirnberger, *Anleitung zur Singekomposition*, 3.

53 Kirnberger wrote that "whoever wants to set the poems of Horace to music first has to have total command over a prose text without rhyme because in such poems, there is no other means available to the composer than to treat them in the same way as prosaic works." *Wer die Gedichte eines Horaz in Musik setzen will, der muß einen ungebundenen Text ohne Reim schon völlig in seiner Gewalt haben, weil in dieser Art Gedichten für den Komponisten kein ander Mittel vorhanden ist, als mit solchen Gedichten auf eben die Art, als mit prosaischen Sachen zu verfahren*. Kirnberger, *Anleitung zur Singekomposition*, 4. Consequently, the ode collection attached to this statement includes a single strophic setting of neoclassical verse but ten through-composed ones.

different places: as illustrated in example 6.7 (a), the opening clause (a) of the first strophe stretches to the second foot of line 2 (...*ergießt*), its counterpart in the second strophe arrives a foot earlier (...*der Geliebten*); only in the last strophe, it coincides with the opening line. The remainder (b) is relatively continuous in the first strophe (*und Gerüche...*), but split in the other strophes (b, c), though not in the same place. Finally, the sense of the first strophe is only fulfilled at the end of the second, so that three strophes only contain two periods. Concurrent lines and clauses are the exception here; enjambment is the rule.

While Neeffe's setting (example 6.8) appears at first glance to be through-composed, the details are more complicated. At the highest level, the piece is divided (in m. 32) into two parts that begin and end identically; the difference is that the first part's developmental section (m. 13–20) is missing in the second part, where the last phrase begins directly in m. 45. Because the first part cadences in the tonic and the second part begins from the beginning, this is not a binary form; it is a modified strophic form, derived from the text by wrapping two strophes into one and setting the third with a shortened version of the same music. On the level of lines and clauses, on the other hand, Neeffe abandons the strophic approach and treats the text as prose. As can be seen in example 6.7 (b), his phrases ignore Klopstock's verse organization each time the sentences do; the 'poetic' quaternary phrase rhythm of m. 13–32 does not originate in the text, which has to be repeated to fill up the space. In the second musical strophe (m. 33–), Neeffe again circumvents the pitfalls of strophic form, deepened by the fact that text phrases must fit music originally set to longer or shorter ones: the first line of music, for example, which originally contained five feet of text (*wenn der Schimmer...*

sich ergießt) returns in m. 33 with only three feet (*ich genoß einst ... es mit euch*) of which the first two (*ich genoß einst, o ihr Todten*) are repeated. The additional word repetitions and syntactic deformations employed in this section produce, as a side effect, an emphatic text-setting more characteristic of arias.

This procedure, therefore, is not exactly one of through-composing; it is better described by Kirnberger's "maxim that [the composer] treat rhymes as prose, and prose as rhymes."⁵⁴ Neefe begins by treating poetry as prose, responding to the enjambment dilemma by choosing syntax over verse. In the musical composition, however, he uses word repetition and flexible declamation to reconvert this prose into a strophic design with controlled phrase rhythm, a form whose poetic character does not originate in the text but replaces the initially discarded euphony.

The Third Declamation

As we have seen, the stark choice of either preserving the text's syntax or its verse was caused by a lack of distinction between two potentially separate parameters. In a way, this dilemma is reminiscent of the apparent choice between the 'poetic' and 'prosaic' pronunciations of Latin explained in Chapter Three, the question whether ancient Romans stressed the traditionally accented syllables of Latin words or the ones counting as long in poetry. These were false alternatives, as we have seen, because intonation accent and syllable length were partly independent in Latin prosody, not aligned as in modern stress accent, and once modern speakers were ready to dissociate them, the dilemma disappeared. Similarly, lines and clauses, potentially independent parameters

⁵⁴ *Der Komponist braucht bey Texten aller Art die Maxime, daß er Reime wie Prosa, und Prosa wie Reime behandelt.* Kirnberger, *Anleitung zur Singekomposition*, 13.

in poetry, were tied to each other in the homophonic conception of phrases, whose extent was redundantly determined by multiple voices, melody and harmony, pitch and rhythm. It is therefore conceivable that the dilemma of enjambment could be obviated by uncoupling the prosodic elements that make up musical verse and syntax, as a declaimer does who pauses at the end of a line but (as the sense is not yet complete) does not lower the voice. The third way to treat both enjambments and syntactically diverging strophes, therefore, would be to unlock the parameters of musical phrases; this was indeed attempted, although it required a new kind of composition and a new theory.

At first, this new theory looked rather old. Marpurg's 1761 recommendation for such passages of an ode "where, because of the inequality of punctuation, there is occasion for a full cadence in one strophe, but not in another,"⁵⁵ was a disalignment of voices in a cadence, conceived polyphonically as an event in which voices may or may not participate. In contrast, Riepel and Koch found stronger or weaker phrase-forming events in the melody, assuming that the 'bass,' i.e. the harmony, complies. Rather than contrapuntal parts, the "artificial" arrangements recommended by Kirnberger in 1782 only bring melody and bass into conflict.⁵⁶ Carl Friedrich Rellstab, publishing the first in-depth discussion of enjambment in his 1786 *Versuch über die Vereinigung der*

55 In [...] einer Ode, können diese Arten von Absätzen [...] an solchen Oertern des Textes [...] ihre Dienste thun, wo, wegen der Ungleichheit der Interpunction, in einem Verse zu einer ganzen Cadenz Gelegenheit ist, in dem andern aber nicht. Marpurg, Kritische Briefe, vol. 2, 12.

56 Findet sich in der ersten oder einer andern Strophe ein Ruhepunkt oder ein Fragezeichen, als welches durch Töne am leichtesten, deutlich und fühlbar gemacht werden kann, und hingegen in andern Strophen, statt jener Zeichen der Rede, nur ein Komma oder vielleicht der Text gar zerrissen: so muß die Einrichtung im Satze so künstlich geschehen, daß die Melodie entweder unbedeutender eingerichtet werde, oder die beygefügte Grundstimme den völligen Ruhepunkt schwäche. Kirnberger, Anleitung zur Singekomposition, 10.

Example 6.9: Christoph Willibald Gluck, *Die Sommernacht*.

10 *Moderato e Ligato* *Die Sommernacht*

Wenn der Schimmer von dem Monde nun herab in die Wälder sich ergießet, und Sternchen mit dem

Düften von der Linde in den Kühlungen wehn!

Da Capo

Sommerschatten mich Gedanken an das Grab
Der Geliebten, und ich seh in dem Walde
Nur es dämmern, und es weht mir
Von der Blüthe nicht her.

Ich genoss einst, o ihr Todten, es mit euch!
Wie umwehten uns der Duft und die Kühlung,
Wie verschönt warst von dem Monde,
Du o schöne Natur!

73

musikalischen und oratorischen Declamation, similarly played out harmony and melody against each other, but also included rhythm and text:⁵⁷ he disentangled the parameters of homophonic phrases by expanding or compressing bits of text and music and evading cadences in every way possible. This conception of phrases no longer permitted taking the melody for the whole musical texture, or the music for the text, for that matter; it required spelling out all these elements.

From a number of pieces that appear to attempt such a third declamation of Klopstock's odes, I have selected two that contrast with each other and that have the benefit of sharing texts with the Neefe odes discussed above. Given the need to accommodate a constantly shifting punctuation, Gluck's strophic setting of *Die Sommernacht* (example 6.9)⁵⁸ seems appropriately continuous, a single phrase with no clear caesuras, lending a new significance to the performance instruction 'ligato.' The elided interlude may count as Gluck's remedy for the logical connection of the first and second strophes ("wenn... so"): it begins like a confirming coda, but, after a deceptive cadence, ends on what could be called a half cadence except for the reattacked ninth A \flat (the G in Friedlaender's edition is obviously an improvement for the worse⁵⁹), which is not resolved until the beginning of the next strophe, thus maintaining the momentum.

Perhaps we can find a way to parse the musical strophe by regarding harmony and melody separately. The harmonic design seems somewhat archaic: while all the

57 Johann Carl Friedrich Rellstab, *Versuch über die Vereinigung der musikalischen und oratorischen Declamation, hauptsächlich für Musiker und Componisten mit erläuternden Beyspielen* (Berlin: Rellstab, 1786), 4–20.



58 Klopstock's *Oden und Lieder bey dem Clavier zu singen, in Musik gesetzt von Herrn Ritter Gluck* (Vienna: Artaria, [178-?]).

59 Gluck, *Lieder und Arien*, ed. Max Friedlaender (Leipzig: Peters, [195-?]), 5. Also missing is the first slur in the keyboard part.

individual chords are part of a strictly tonal chord collection (the rule of the octave in C minor), the barely mediated diminished fourth in the bass (m. 2–3) and the move from V to IV⁶ (m. 6–7)⁶⁰ would have sounded like seventeenth-century revenants in, say, a Graun aria from the 1740s. Further complicating a harmonic analysis of this piece, the necessary consistency in deciding whether something constitutes a harmonic progression or not becomes impossible in the first four measures. The last sonority of each measure gradually turns from figuration to progression: whereas the bass note C in m. 1 is nothing but a re-struck bass note, the G in m. 2 can be interpreted as the sixth of a first-inversion chord or, alternatively, the bass of a fleeting root position; the neighbor motion at the end of m. 3 is a little more chord-like (V₅⁶); and in m. 4, the last quarter note is unambiguously the root of a dominant. The characteristic two-chord preparation of the cadence having thus been ‘faded in,’ not a tonic follows, but the aforementioned IV⁶ chord; nor does the quasi-sequential bass motion in m. 3–5 suggest a cadence, but it ties the passage together. Another sequence approaches the cadence in m. 7–9. The only clear harmonic arrival is the one on the dominant in m. 6, unless one wants to grant an evaded cadence from 6 to 7; indeed, given such a lack of phrase articulation in other parameters, it is hard to distinguish half cadences with subsequent tonic beginnings from cadences. I indicated both readings (the latter with dashed arcs) in example 6.7 (c).

The melody, when regarded on its own, can be segmented easily: While the key-board melody is completely dominated by Gluck’s expression of the third peon (“wenn

60 I am aware that some (Schenkerians?) would prefer to hear VI before the F appears, i.e. an orthodox deceptive cadence; by the same token, however, one could hear VI⁶ at the beginning of the previous measure. I see no reason to resort to implicit harmonic progressions as long as the explicit ones have ample precedent.

der Schímmer”, , the voice melody is interrupted every time an anapest occurs (m. 3 and 5, “nun heráb,” “sich ergíeßt,” ). Both of these gaps also follow the note C, increasing the sense of closure; I have indicated this melodic segmentation in example 6.7 (c). Of course, this is hardly a melody to be regarded on its own: the two caesuras on C (mm. 3, 5), two measures apart, seem bland, almost awkward; they certainly require harmonic support. The melody also requires accompaniment for another reason: for the first two measure, it barely leaves the note G, so that the key could be E \flat major as well as C minor, and as late as m. 5, it has achieved little more than outlining a tonic chord. Harmonic progressions, in other words, cannot be predicted from the melody with any certainty. Scheibe in the 1740s would probably not have found much ‘melody’ here, in the sense that true melodies determine and simultaneously not require an accompaniment; he might have decided that Gluck’s music, below its songful surface, was all barbarian harmony, dead and frosty – like moonlit woods and graves dressed in neoclassical verse.⁶¹ With its emphasis on non-alignment of harmony and melody, the composition thus kills two birds with one stone: it is stylistically appropriate and at the same time, as can be seen in example 6.7 (c), accounts for most of the rests required by Klopstock’s syntax (except the first one in the second strophe), punctuating individual strophes in individual parameters; the remainder is left to the performer.

⁶¹ Gluck’s other setting of this piece, which appeared in Johann Heinrich Voß’s *Musenalamach* for 1785, is equally uncanny, and may well be a (speculative) imitation of ancient Greek music: the melody moves in tetrachords and (for half the piece) in parallel octaves with the bass.

Johann Friedrich Reichardt, following on the heels of Neefe, had already come out with two Klopstock settings in 1779⁶² when he published six more in his journal *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* (1782), along with an essay exploring the aesthetic and technical challenges of the undertaking.⁶³ After relating Klopstock's religious poems to the chorale, tracing a fantastical history of that genre as a progenitor of modern harmony, Reichardt revealed his approach to Klopstock's "greatly meaningful" (*großbedeutend*) measures (deciding to let them float freely atop a steady harmonic chorale), his bold ideas (reflected in bold harmony) and the "dense, convoluted, boldly streaming language" (*gedrungene verschlungene kühnhinströmende Sprache*) (also to be expressed harmonically with ties, suspensions and dissonant chords).⁶⁴ He also addressed "the most difficult part":

*To truthfully declaim the whole ode in a single melody for all strophes. One melody it must be in odes that have unity of sentiment, if the impression is to be the single, appropriate and deeply penetrating one. Indeed, to make the melody fit multiple strophes with such different sections and caesuras, one frequently exhausts all harmonic, melodic and rhythmic artifice to place and hide a double meaning in this cadence, that caesura, that rhythm – even multiple meaning, at least for intelligent performance. Here, it becomes twice as important that he who wants to sing the ode well must first learn to read it.*⁶⁵

62 Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Oden und Lieder von Klopstock, Stolberg, Claudius und Hölty. Mit Melodien bey dem Klavier zu singen* (Berlin: Pauli, 1779).

63 Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*, vol. 1 (Berlin: 1782), 13–23, 56–63.

64 Reichardt, *Kunstmagazin*, 62.

65 *Das Schwereste: In einer Melodie für alle Strophen die ganze Ode wahr zu deklamieren. Eine Melodie muß es seyn bey Oden, die Einheit der Empfindung haben, wenn der Eindruck der Eine treffende tiefeindringende seyn soll. Daß diese nun für mehrere Strophen von so sehr verschiedenen Abschnitten und Einschnitten passen soll – da erschöpft man oft alle harmonische melodische und rhythmische Kunstgriffe, um in dieser Kadenz, in jenem Einschnitte, in jenem Rythmus doppelte Bedeutung, wenigstens für den verständigen Vortrag mannichfache Bedeutung, hineinzulegen und zu verbergen. Dabey wird das nun aber zu einem doppelt wichtigen Bedürfnis, daß der, der die Ode gut singen will, sie auch erst zu lesen ganz verstehe.* Ibid., 62.

Example 6.10: J.F. Reichardt (1872)

Bardale.

Zeiter aber nicht geschwind.

Einen fröhlichen Lenz ward ich, und flog umher! diesen fröhlichen

Clavier.

Lenz lehrete sorgsam mich meine Mutter und sagte: sing, Bar-

dale den Frühling durch.

The musical score is written for voice and piano. It consists of three systems of three staves each. The top staff is the vocal line, the middle is the piano accompaniment, and the bottom is the bass line. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are in German. The first system ends with a double bar line. The second system ends with a double bar line. The third system ends with a double bar line.

Aug', ach Auge! dein Blick bleibt unvergeßlich mir!
Und wie nennet das Lieb? singen die Löhne dich?
Nenn's dich, singen sie: Seele?
Wißt du's, daß die Unsterblichen

Zu Unsterblichen macht? Auge! wem gleich' ich dich?
Bist du Bläue der Luft, wenn sie der Abendstern
Sanft mit Golde beschimmert?
Oder gleichst du jenem Bach,

Der dem Quell kaum entfloß? Schöner erblickte nie
Seine Rosen der Busch! heller ich selber nie
Mich in einem der Bäche,
Niederschwankeud am Frühlingsproß.

Was sprach iſt ihr Blick? Hörteſt du, Göttinn mich?
Eine Nachtigall du? Sang ich von Liebe dir?
Und was flieſſet gelinder
Dir vom ſchmachtenden Aug' herab?

Ist das Liebe, was dir zärtlich vom Auge rinnt?
Deinen göttlichsten Trieb lockt ihn mein Lieb hervor?
Welche sanfte Bewegung
Hebt dir deine beseelte Brust?

Sag, wie heisset der Trich, welcher dein Herz bewegt?
Reicht ohn' ihn dich Iduns goldene Schaaale noch?
Ist er himmlische Tugend?
Oder Freud' in dem Hain Walhalls?

O gefehert fey mir, blumiger Zwölfter May,
Da die Götinn ich ſah! aber gefehert
Sehſt du unter den Mayen,
Wenn ich in den Umarmungen

Eines Jünglings sie seh, der die Beredsamkeit
Dieser Augen, und euch fühlet, ihr Frühlinge
Dieser lächelnden Minen,
Und den Geist der dieß alles schuf!

Was nicht, Fanny, der Tag? wars nicht der Zwölfte
May,
Als der Schatten dich rief? wars nicht der Zwölfte May,
Der mir, weil ich allein war,
Ded' nnd traurig vorüberloß?

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Musikal. Kunstmagazin, 2. Stück.

In insisting on a single melody, Reichardt tacitly retracted his earlier, passionate rejection of the strophic song.⁶⁶ Now, he decided to face rather than avoid its challenges, reiterating the by now familiar positions: the problem primarily concerns punctuation, and while the final polish is left to the intelligent performer, the composer's task is to employ artificial craft that results in ambiguity. In the religious odes *Die Gestirne* and *Die höchste Glückseligkeit*, Reichardt's means to create syntactic ambiguity were the same that expressed the bold ideas and the complicated language: bold harmonic progressions, in effect recitative harmony, with a constantly shifting tonal center and each chord relating only to its neighbors.

The text of *Bardale* precluded such an approach. The poem goes back to 1748, when its first-person subject was still named Aedon, which is Greek for 'nightingale.' For the official print publication in 1771, Klopstock adapted the poem to the latest Ossianic standard by replacing all references to Greek antiquity with ones to Norse and Celtic mythology, leaving only the asclepiadic measure as a trace of the original, classicist design. The bird's new name, according to Klopstock's footnote, meant a lark "in our old language" but would be more appropriate for the nightingale, as it allegedly derives from 'bard.' The first seven strophes are narrative, the rest mostly reflective: After the bird is born, his mother teaches him to sing like a nightingale for his mates and for the woods, but "more tonefully and lyrically" for Him who is "more sublime than the sages of the grove: [...] the god of the earth"; the reason, and the central idea of the poem, is that Bardale's song is capable of instilling love into the immortals. Everything goes as predicted when the goddess appears in the seventh strophe. For the remaining

⁶⁶ Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Über die deutsche comische Oper: nebst einem Anhang eines freundschaftlichen Briefes über die musikalische Poesie* (Hamburg, 1774), 117–120.

eleven strophes, Bardale reflects on the encounter, contemplating the gaze of the deity for five strophes and its meaning (love?) for three. In the last three strophes, the singer unsuspectingly starts to specify what kind of youth he would like to see in the arms of the goddess; then, all masks slip, Bardale turns out to be the poet while the goddess is identified as “Fanny,” Klopstock’s cousin Maria Sophia Schmidt.

Reichardt’s setting (example 6.10) probably began as an attempt to improve on Neefe’s, with which it shares a near-identical first phrase (see example 6.3). He admitted to such a motive with regard to his 1779 setting of *Die frühen Gräber* (also by Klopstock), a ‘correction’ of Gluck’s song that, Reichardt prided himself, drove the original out of fashion in the poet’s circle.⁶⁷ Reichardt commented on *Bardale* by saying that he did everything in his power to make the melody fit all eighteen strophes while primarily striving “to set the tone of the whole through melodic charm.”⁶⁸ Indeed, this second point becomes evident even from a superficial glance at the score: Reichardt’s setting surpasses even Neefe’s in simplicity, approaching the populist style known as *Volkston*, now established in defiance of the first Berlin school. Reichardt thus conveys the folkloric subject, invoking springtime, birdsong, childhood, love and a supernatural that is an exaggeration of nature (“more alive than the grove, ... more beautiful than the fields”) with a melody that leaves little doubt about the (two) underlying chords, that frequently repeats itself (further declassicizing the song with musical rhymes) and falls into distinct two- and three-bar sections that cast doubt on Reichardt’s claim to having written a multi-purpose melody.

67 Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Autobiographische Schriften*, ed. Günter Hartung (Halle: mdv, 2002), 116–117. In *Die frühen Gräber*, the beginning of Reichardt’s vocal line follows that of Gluck’s keyboard introduction.

68 Reichardt, *Kunstmagazin*, 63.

There is one connecting device, however, in the way Reichardt uses quick text delivery to gloss over caesuras. While slowly articulating the choriambbs that dominate the first two lines (♩ ♪ ♪ | ♩), he compresses both the initial trochee (“einen,” “diesen”) and the final cretic (“flog umher,” “sorgsam mich”) so that, at the seam of the two phrases (m. 4), together they fill one measure. Joined by a passing note in the bass, the resulting construction is appropriate both for punctuation and for enjambments such as this:



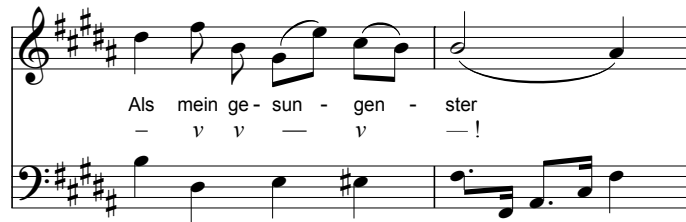
Example 6.11: Reichardt, *Bardale*, mm. 3–6, strophe 5.

Incidentally, the melodic ascent after the downbeat makes up for the loss of metric accent on the final syllable, thus accounting for Klopstock’s use of both accented and unaccented syllables in this position:



Example 6.12: Reichardt, *Bardale*, mm. 3–4, strophes 9 and 1.

Compare this with Neefe placing those syllables on downbeats, using the longest note available and adding an appoggiatura:



Example 6.13. Neefe, *Bardale*, m. 2–3, strophe 9

And yet, this passage cannot account for another, subtly bewildering coherence of the piece that results as much from the exposition of the melodic material as it does from punctuation. The section from m. 5 begins like a direct repetition of the preceding four-bar phrase (Reichardt may have found inspiration in the first strophe of the text, where lines 1 and 2 begin almost identically). Indeed, if we had no text and attempted to divine it from the music, as we did in Chapter Five, by assuming that the two materials unfold in a synchronized way, m. 5–6 would suggest a repeat of text as well as music. What begins in m. 7, however, casts doubt on this reading: different material enters (as does new text, in the first strophe) before the phrase is complete. What began in m. 5, then, was either a pseudorepeat, retrospectively exposed as the beginning of a new phrase, or we have not yet left the repeat and are stuck in a variation or parenthesis thereof – after all, the material (m. 7–8) is only new in pitch contour, not in rhythm (cf. m. 3–4). Ordinarily, the next phrase ending would help us decide: if it is another half cadence, we have not progressed from the unfolding of the first phrase; if it is not, we have moved on. The new two-bar fragment, however, is open-ended and, once again, repeated (m. 9–10), the tension being maintained and increased in a written-out fermata (m. 11). Then, abruptly, an abbreviated first phrase cuts in and closes

with a perfect cadence. Retrospectively, then, the second phrase that stretches from m. 5 to the end might be labeled as new on account of its different closure; on the other hand, the phrase begins and ends with material from the first phrase, giving m. 7–11 the looks of a temporary digression.

What this piece seems to call for is a clearer separation of punctuation, melodic material and rhythmic correspondence. The multiple meanings entering with m. 7 can be explained as resulting from a contradiction between these parameters: the ambiguous fragment of m. 7–8 belongs to what precedes it because no punctuation has intervened after m. 6, and because a four-bar phrase paralleling the first can be expected. On the other hand, on account of the new and instantly repeated melodic material, the passage is separate from the preceding and belongs to what follows. Similarly Janus-faced, in retrospect, are mm. 5–6: on the one hand, they look backward to the first phrase (m. 1–4) because of the identity with mm. 1–2 and the difference with mm. 7–8; on the other hand, they are separated from mm. 1–4 by punctuation and connected, by lack thereof, to mm. 7–8. The next fragment (m. 9–10) repeats the previous (m. 7–8), but with its extension (m. 11) forms a ternary rhythm that corresponds with m. 12–14. This is the end of the piece; or is it? Does not the final fragment, on account of its melodic material and brevity, connect to the beginning of the next strophe despite the cadence, and thus help the text spill over?

These subtle ambiguities are difficult to cast in a diagram. There is an easy way, however, to remove them: turn the pseudorepeats into true repeats by adding two more measures and removing the fermata-like extension of m. 11:



Example 6.14: Reichardt's *Bardale* recomposed.

In this straightened-out version, the formerly disorienting passage (following the added measures) would be distinguished from the first half of the strophe and unambiguously open the second; the music's straightforward syntax that would leave little room for enjambment.

As it is, however, the syntax is complex and ambiguous, even deceptive, defying our notion that an analysis based on eighteenth-century linguistic analogies predicts a text that will unambiguously fit the music; if we were to look for such a text here, it would have to display a parallel syntactic ambiguity, likewise promoted by an elision of a redundant element. This would likely be a so-called garden path sentence, one that leads the reader 'down the garden path,' i.e. astray:⁶⁹

The horse raced past the barn fell.

The phrase initially creates the illusion that 'raced' is the predicate, until, with the word 'fell,' the reader is forced to return and re-interpret 'raced' as a passive participle:

The horse [that was] raced past the barn fell.

⁶⁹ A few months after I first considered the musical equivalent of garden path sentences, I was pleased to discover that others had made similar attempts with respect to ambiguous passages in the canonic repertory: PyoungRyang Ko and Kian Geiselbrechtinger, "Der Holzwegeffekt in der Musik" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the *Gesellschaft für Musiktheorie*, Würzburg, Germany, October 7–10, 2010).

Since an asclepiadic garden path period will be hard to come by, the existing text fits Reichardt's music well enough, especially when we remember both his and Neefes' inculcations that whatever awkwardness remains in the composition can be removed by an intelligent singer who heeds Hiller's motto, "well spoken is half sung."⁷⁰

Thus, the solution of the enjambment dilemma resulted in the dissolution of the single musical syntax that used to be expressed in redundant, interlocked parameters. These redundancies had been at the heart of the earlier prosodic conception of musical nature; whether it was the coincidence of musical phrase and verse, the parallel construction of strophes, the musical replication of the text's prosody or the unfolding of chord progressions in a melody, their historical role was, in effect, to replace a harmonious plural of voices, polyphony, with a permanent singular, the musical equivalent of the first person in lyric poetry. Scheibe constructed his narrative of the rebirth of song around this technical singular, calling it, variously, 'melody,' 'rhythm' or 'poetry.' As Klopstock's enjambments collided with the strophic form, composers' solutions removed these technical underpinnings by reaching back to what Scheibe's system had reigned in, thus recovering, even without explicit polyphony, Marpurg's 'pleasant confusion of rhythm' as well as the dependent voice of the dark ages, a non-melody from which no automatic accompaniment accrued. They had created a second art to compete with Scheibe's second nature.

* * *

⁷⁰ *Gut gesprochen, ist halb gesungen.* Hiller, *ibid.*, 25.

In conclusion, what have we learned from investigating the terminology and context of eighteenth-century vocal music theory? I think that my central claim – that linguistic terms in music theory had palpable implications for the relation of music and text – has stood examination; the concept of the ‘metaphor of music and language,’ on the other hand, has proven to be less obvious than perpetual reiteration suggests. On this basis, I have proposed that eighteenth-century views on music and language are best described as ‘melocentric’ or ‘prosodic’ in the sense that they derive both domains from a common, non-verbal and non-harmonic origin; modern vocal music, in this view, plays the role of a second nature, a projection of the original utterance into the previously lacking, rational elements specific to language (fully phonetic articulation) and music (harmonic relations in tone and rhythm). The text of vocal music, then, is but one in a complex of several interlocked parameters that resist individual manipulation.

That this complex was dissolved not under the pressure of instrumental music but in an attempt to *maintain* the vocal bond raises additional questions about how we use the music-language relation to construct the historiography of eighteenth-century music. To be sure, the prosodic paradigm can be forced back into the received ‘transitional’ and ‘emancipatory’ narratives – on the journey from language to music, why not make a stop at the intersection of song and speech? On the other hand, this intermediate perspective invites a more nuanced and self-critical approach. Let me recall Scheibe’s seemingly paradoxical claim that natural song was not ‘musically arranged’ but nevertheless ‘musical in nature,’ a statement that ceased to be paradoxical once we assumed that the first ‘musical’ concerns what is specific to music, i.e., its complement

to language, while the second sense involves what the two have in common, their intersection. This double sense, I believe, has survived. Consider what we mean, on the one hand, when we describe terms like ‘punctuation’ or ‘rhetoric’ as extra-musical makeshifts, used for want of more appropriate ‘musical’ terms? ‘Specifically musical,’ presumably. On the other hand, we do not think of ‘music’ as a self-referential game of tones and durations; indeed, in a second, equally familiar sense, we can say that a performer with perfect pitch and metronomical timing lacks precisely a quality we call ‘musical,’ one that involves expression, phrasing and articulation, a sense of emphasis, that is to say: the categories of Mattheson’s minuet, the very concepts that have struck historians as metaphorical. In what sense, then, can an instrumental piece be ‘free of textual restraints’? What is an ‘emancipation of music from language,’ and has it occurred yet? The answer of eighteenth-century theory, pointedly put, is that there is no such thing as music without language, or language without music, and that by analyzing the one, we are also dealing with the other. The theorist’s choice is merely whether to do so consciously.

Appendix: Source Passages about Rhythm and Meter

I have so far made an effort to use the ambiguity-ridden but central terms ‘rhythm’ and ‘meter’ in the modern vernacular senses indicated in the glossary, and annotated quotations whenever there was a chance of ambiguity. To allow readers to trace these terms in the sources, I have appended the following collection of quotations, with a minimum of commentary and consecutively numbered for easier reference. Besides formal definitions, I have included casual usages in the case of authors who applied the terms inconsistently. This collection can serve as an addendum to the two respective articles in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*,¹ which is justified, on the one hand, because these two frequently confused and conflated terms deserve to be treated simultaneously and, on the other hand, because the word-based approach of HMT raises the impression that a single entity named ‘rhythm’ was subject to reinterpretation; it requires a complementary approach based on a pair of concepts and their changing labels (such as ‘arithmetical,’ ‘geometric,’ *Klangfüße* and *Reimgebände*).

Although the writers included here all participate in the confusion and disagreement they deplore, their statements allow drawing some generalizations. **First**, all apply the two terms to music and language equally, sometimes grounding their definition directly on song (cf. passages 31–32). **Second**, they apply one concept to a smaller, the other to a larger unit (the first being called ‘meter,’ the second ‘rhythm’ by all major theorists, except Mattheson, who swaps the labels).

The remaining theoretical differences line up to suggest two historical trends. First, the question ‘what kind of foot is at hand’ (i.e., whether the verse or melody is ‘iambic,’ ‘trochaic’ etc.) migrates from the larger to the smaller concept (from ‘rhythm’ to ‘meter’ in most cases). With regard to the designation ‘iambic tetrameter,’ for instance, Vossius would call both elements ‘rhythmic’ (whereas ‘meter’ only governs the quantity of individual syllables); Scheibe, however, called iambs ‘meter’ and the tetrameter ‘rhythm;’ so did Mattheson, in opposite terms. Marpurg formalized Scheibe’s usage and transmitted it to Koch; Riepel (whose references to ‘rhythm’ are scarce and cursory) conformed at least in calling the art of phrase measurement ‘rhythmopoeia’ (chiding Spieß and, implicitly, Mattheson for their departing usage). Others using

¹ Wilhelm Seidel, “Rhythmus/numerus,” section III; Frauke Schmitz-Gropengießer, “Metrum,” sect. III (1,2), in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, issue 8 [loose leaf], 1981 (Stuttgart: Steiner).

‘rhythm’ in this sense include Kirnberger, Forkel, Reicha and Beethoven (‘ritmo di quattro battute’).²

The second shift concerns the larger concept, particularly the musical criteria that define the extent of a group. Mattheson (like Printz) derived *numeri sectionales* from the sequence or arrangement of feet (see passage 11), thus making larger- and smaller-scale concepts, feet (‘rhythm’) and lines (‘metrum’) interact and define each other. Scheibe, on the other hand, began to shift the focus toward the ending of phrases, their ‘punctuation,’ which Mattheson had treated separately. Marpurg continued this trend by including the punctuation terms ‘period’ and ‘paragraph’ in his definition of ‘rhythm’; Koch took it to its extreme by juxtaposing phrase length (‘rhythm’) exclusively with ‘punctuation’ while treating ‘meter,’ the makeup of individual feet, as a separate matter (36, 37). The practical consequences of this transformation are described in Chapter Six.

In the quotations, I have consistently rendered emphasis in italics while ignoring the typographical distinction (increasingly abandoned around 1730) between German- and foreign-derived words. In the translations, my goal is terminological clarity rather than easy comprehension. Instead of modern near-synonyms, I have often used cognates (*Rhythmus* renders as ‘rhythm,’ *Metrum* as ‘meter’); in thus renegotiating between letter and spirit, I have chosen to risk confusion rather than to conceal it, assuming that the unchanged German form would falsely suggest a geographic problem while marking the words in some way as ‘eighteenth-century’ would have implied an agreement that did not and does not exist.

² Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik* [...] Zweyter Theil, Erste Abtheilung (Berlin, Königsberg: Decker, Hartung, 1776), 137–8; Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Musikalisch-kritische Bibliothek*, vol. 1 (Gotha: 1778), 222. Antoine Reicha, *Traité de Mélodie* (Paris, 1814), 24ff.

Issac Vossius, *De poematum canto et viribus rythmi* (Oxford, 1673).

1. Concerning the word [rhythm], not all think the same of it, as even the most reliable writers often confuse foot, meter and rhythm; others do not distinguish them as clearly as they should. It would take too long to explain their opinions in detail, as neither grammarians, nor musicians, philosophers or orators agree with each other, and transmit not only conflicting, but contrary meanings. This confusion of words arose, unless I am mistaken, from the different uses of the word 'meter,' whose sense only involves the quantity and measure of syllables, but which is applied by many, in a broader sense, to the quality of feet and entire poems, ascribing, indeed erroneously, to meter what solely belongs to rhythm.³

2. As [the first poems] lacked feet, they also lacked all rhythm; because rhythm arises from the proper disposition of feet.⁴

Quod vocabulum attinet, de eo non eadem omnes sentiunt, cum sæpe etiam apud probatissimos scriptores pes, metrum, & rythmus, idem prorsus sint; alii vero non ea, qua debeant, ratione distinguant. Longum foret singulorum explicare sententias, cum nec Grammatici, nec Musici, nec Philosophi, aut Rhetores satis sibi constent, & non discrepantia tantum, sed & sæpe contraria prodant. Hæc vocabulorum confusio nata, nisi fallor, ex diversa acceptione metri; cujus tota ratio cum versetur solum circa quantitatem et mensuram syllabarum, à multis tamen latiori significatu refertur ad pedum totiusque carminis qualitatem, dum nempe perperam metro tribuunt id quod soli convenit rythmo. (11)

Quod si pedibus, omnino etiam rhythmō destituta fuere, cum ex apta pedum constitutione rhythmus oriatur. (3)

3 J.N. Forkel (ibid. iii, 1776, 1ff.) translates: *Was das Wort Rhythmus betrifft, so ist man in der Bedeutung desselben nicht miteinander einig. Oft die bewährtesten Schriftsteller nehmen Fuß, das bloße Sylbenmaaß, und den Rhythmus für einerley. Andere unterscheiden sie zwar; aber nicht so genau, wie sie wohl sollten. Hier würde es zu weitläufig seyn, alle verschiedene Meynungen zu erklären, indem weder alle Sprachlehrer, noch Tonkünstler, noch Weltweise, noch Redner mit einander übereinstimmen, sondern nicht nur verschiedene, oft aber gar widersprechende Dinge vorbringen. Die Verwirrung ist, meines Erachtens, daraus entstanden, daß man die Benennung Sylbenmaaß, oder Metrum nicht in einerley Bedeutung genommen hat. Denn obgleich dieses Wort nur allein von der zahl und dem Maaß einzelner Sylben gebraucht werden kann; so ist es doch von vielen im weitem Verstande auch von der Einrichtung der Füße, und des ganzen Verses gebraucht worden, und man hat dem Metro, oder [Forkel paraphrases:] dem einzelnen Sylbenmaaß dasjenige zugeeignet, was ganz allein dem Rhythmus, oder [Forkel:] der geschickten Folge der Füße und Sylben hätte beygemessen werden müssen; ibid., 25.*

4 *Sind nun keine Füße in den Gedichten gewesen, so haben sie auch keinen Rhythmus gehabt; denn aus der geschickten Stellung (apta constitutione) der Füße entsteht eben dieser Rhythmus. Forkel, ibid., 15.*

3. [Feet] are a precondition to rhythm.⁵

[pedes] ordine rythmo priores sunt.
(3)

4. Most of the more ancient Greeks agree that rythm is the ground or walkway of a poem. I think that those have defined it better who said that rhythm is a system or collection of feet, the times of which have a ratio or proportion among one another.⁶

In eo enim consentiunt fere inter se antiquiores plerique græci, rythmum esse basin seu incesum carminis. Melius itaque quam ceteri mihi definivisse videntur illi, qui dicunt rythmum esse systema seu collectionem pedum, quorum tempora aliquam ad se invicem habeant rationem seu proportionem (11)

5. If that proportion is apt, the poem or song is called eurhythmic, if the opposite, arrhythmic. For if the rhythm is to be harmonious, care has to be taken that feet of discrepant times not be mixed with each other.⁷

Quod si illa proportio apta sit, jam carmen seu cantus dicitur *εύρυθμος*, sin contra, *άρρυθμος*. Ut itaque rythmus sit concinnus, maxime cavendum, ne pedes temporibus discrepantes invicem misceantur. (11)

6. Nor should one think that the rhythms that consist of simple feet are less strong and effective than those that have been built from compound feet.⁸

Nec tamen putandum rhythmos, qui è simplicibus constant pedibus, minus habere roboris & efficaciz, quam qui è compositis construuntur. (13)

7. ...Since [the word] rhythm does not denote every proportion, but only that which is composed of a pleasing and

Cum rythmus non quamlibet notet proportionem, sed eam tantum quæ ex diversorum temporum & motuum con-

5 [Füße] sind ihrer Natur nach eher als der Rhythmus. Forkel, *ibid.*, 15.

6 Denn darinn stimmen fast alle ältere Griechen mit einander überein, der Rhythmus sey der Grund, auf welchem der Vers eines Gedichts einhertrete (rythmum esse basin, seu incesum carminis.) Ich glaube daher diejenigen haben das Wort am besten erklärt, welche sagen: der Rhythmus sey eine Zusammenordnung solcher Füße, deren Sylbenmaaße ein Verhältniß gegen einander haben. Forkel, *ibid.*, 25.

7 Ist nun dieses Verhältniß geschickt und bequem, so hat der Vers und der Gesang Eurhythmie; wo nicht, so mangelt sie. Soll also der Rhythmus schön und wohlklingend seyn, so muß man hauptsächlich vermeiden, daß nicht Füße von gar zu verschiedener Sylbenzahl [!] untereinander gemischt werden. Forkel, *ibid.*, 25.

8 Man muß auch nicht glauben, als ob die Rhythmen, welche aus einfachen Füßen bestehen, weniger Kraft und Wirksamkeit hätten, als diejenigen, welche aus zusammengesetzten Füßen entstehen. Forkel, *ibid.*, 28.

convenient measure of different times and movements.⁹

8. [...] Not every movement makes up a rhythm but only that which has commensurable parts and times.¹⁰

cinna & convenienti componitur mensura. (61)

[...] non tamen omnium motum efficere rhythmum, sed eum tantum, qui partes & tempora habeat commensurabilia. (66)

Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Herold, 1739).

9. In this field of the science of melody, composers with all their practice have gained no more than a confused and vague concept [...]: Just as the rabble uses rhetorical tropes without recognizing them as such.

Die Componisten haben in diesem Stücke [...] der melodischen Wissenschaft, mit ihrer ganzen [Ü]bung noch nichts mehr erhalten, als einen verwirrten oder undeutlichen Begriff [...]: So wie der Pöbel rhetorische Redens-Arten braucht, ohne sie als solche zu erkennen. (160)

10. [To achieve a flowing melody] it helps, firstly, that one pay constant attention to the rhythmic agreement and correct variation of the sound feet. This is not to say that one should maintain a single rhythm, which would cause unseemliness and disgust; rather one must needs interchange different sound feet, just as it is done, in its own way, in Latin poetry. But in the melody, those rhythms which have been in one place must recur in a different and appropriate place, so that they respond to each other, as it were, and render the melody flowing.

Dazu hilft erstlich, daß man die rhythmische [Ü]bereinstimmung und richtige Abwechselung der Klang-Füße stets vor Augen habe. Es ist hiemit nicht gesagt, daß man etwa einerley rhythmum beibehalten müsse, als welches einen [Ü]belstand und Eckel verursachen würde; man muß vielmehr nothwendig verschiedene Klang-Füße miteinander verwechseln, eben wie solches in der lateinischen Dicht-Kunst, nach ihrer Art, geschiehet. Aber in der Melodie müssen diejenigen rhythmici, so an einem Orte vorgewesen, am andern und rechten

9 Da der Rhythmus nicht ein jedes Verhältniß, sondern nur ein solches bezeichnet, welches aus einem schönen und gut zusammenstimmenden Maaß verschiedener Zeiten und Bewegungen besteht. Forkel, *ibid.*, 79.

10 ...Daß...nicht eine jede Bewegung einen Rhythmus hervorbringe, sondern nur eine solche, die meßbare Theile und Zeiten hat. Forkel, *ibid.*, 84.

wiederum erscheinen, daß sie gleichsam einander antworten, und die Melodie fließend machen. (150)

11. The order that is observed in this presentation and alternation of sound feet is called a geometric relation; since, while the arithmetical relation regards these feet (on which the melody walks along, as it were) in themselves, the geometric relation shows how they must be joined together and correctly declare their separations. E.g.

Die Ordnung, welche in solcher Anführung und Abwechselung der Klang-Füsse beobachtet wird, nennet man einen geometrischen Verhalt: denn, wie der arithmetische diese Füsse, worauf die Melodie gleichsam einhergeheth, an und für sich selbst betrachtet; so weiset hergegen der geometrische Verhalt, wie sie zusammengefüget werden, und ihre Absonderungen richtig angeben müssen. Z. E.



(a) is a certain sound foot of three notes with different values; (b) is another one with the same number [of notes], but [each] with the same value. There is a separate arithmetical quality in each of these; (c) and (d), on the other hand, taken together, represent the orderly alternation of the previous feet, and turn them into an entire geometrical section.

a, ist ein gewisser Klang-Fuß von dreyen Noten, die am Gehalt unterschieden sind. b, ist wiederum einer von eben der Zahl, aber einerley Geltung: Da ist in jedem derselben eine besondere arithmetische Beschaffenheit; c und d hergegen, beide zusammengenommen, stellen die ordentliche Abwechselung voriger Füsse dar, und machen daraus einen ganzen geometrischen Absatz. (150)

12. All words, whether in poetry or prose, have their syllabic feet, their measures even outside of poetry and verse-making. [...] only the meters or verse bonds are not available in prose, i.e. the

Alle Worte, in gebundener oder ungebundener Rede haben ihre Sylben-Füsse, ihre Maasse auch ausser der Dichterey und Vers-Verfassung [...] Nur die Metra oder Reimgebände sind in ungebundener Rede nicht vorhanden,

measure of entire orderly verses, lines, rhyme cadences etc.

13. [The geometric and arithmetical relations, respectively,] are also called sectional number and rhythm.

14. One should pay diligent attention to the uniformity of the tone feet or rhythms.

15. The meaning of the word *rhythm* is nothing but a *number*, namely a certain act of measuring or counting syllables [in poetry] and sounds [in music], not only with respect to their number but also with regard to their *brevity and length*.

16. The rhythms represent in music what the feet are in poetry [...] The conjunction and arrangement of these sound feet, however, is technically called *rhythmopoeia*.

17. Hence in the science of melody, *rhythmics* is a measurement and orderly arrangement of time and movement [with respect to] how slow or quick it is to be; whereas *rhythmopoeia* only studies the length and shortness of sounds. In a word, it is the tact [i.e. meter and

d. i. die Abmessung gantzer ordentlicher Verse, Zeilen, Reimschlüsse etc. (209)

Man nennet [den geometrischen Verhalt, sowohl als den arithmetischen] sonst numerum sectionalem und rhythmum. (224, fn.)

Man soll die Gleichförmigkeit der Ton-Füsse oder Rhythmen fleißig vor Augen haben. (141)

Die Bedeutung aber des Worts *Rhythmus* ist nichts anders, als eine *Zahl*, nemlich, eine gewisse Abmessung oder Abzählung, dort der Sylben, hier der Klänge, nicht nur in Betracht ihrer Vielheit; sondern auch in Ansehung ihrer *Kürtze und Länge*. (160)

Was die Füße in der Dichtkunst bedeuten, solches stellen die Rhythmi in der Tonkunst vor [...] Die Zusammenfügung aber und Übrige Einrichtung dieser Klang-Füsse heisset mit ihrem Kunst-Worte *Rhythmopöie*[...] (160)

In the following passage, Mattheson introduces the rare term 'rhythmics,' meter in the modern sense, as distinct from the foot-based 'rhythm.'

Die *Rhythmic* ist demnach eine Abmessung und ordentliche Einrichtung der Zeit und Bewegung in der melodischen Wissenschaft, wie langsam oder geschwind solche seyn soll; da hingegen die *Rhythmopöie* nur die Länge und Kürtze der Klänge untersucht. Mit

tempo], in common parlance, which derives its origin from the sense of feeling (a tactu).

18. The fourth rule of clarity rests on the number of measurements in tact, otherwise called measures; [...] one usually does best [...] to prefer the even to the uneven number of measures.

19. Also, one should [...] maintain exactly the geometric relation of certain similar phrases, namely the musical number, i.e. the melodic counting-measure.

20. A meter or verse bond is the orderly connection of different or like syllabic feet, by which means they are enclosed in certain limits and measured off.

Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der Critische Musicus* (Leipzig: 1745).

In this re-edition of his periodical, Scheibe added the word *Rhythmus*, which did not appear in the original, to sections describing it in all but name (such as passage 23), but he also added new sections (21–22) and footnotes (24–27) devoted solely to rhythm.

21. Thus similarly, the last parts or the rhythm of a melody must fall nowhere but on the first note of the downbeat or of the upbeat; because, as it were, the last foot of a musical measurement of notes, or of the musical scansion, must enter

einem Worte, es ist der Tact, nach gemeiner Redens-Art, welche vom Sinne des Gefühls (a tactu) ihren Ursprung nimmt. (171)

Die vierte Regel der Deutlichkeit beruhet auf der Anzahl der Abmessungen im Tact, welche man sonst Mensuren nennet [...] Gemeinlich thut man am besten, [...] daß man die gerade Zahl der Tacte vor der Ungeraden wehlet. (146f)

Man soll [...] auch den geometrischen Verhalt gewisser ähnlicher Sätze, nemlich den numerum musicum, d.i. die melodische Zahl-Maasse genau beibehalten. (141)

Ein Metrum oder Reim-Gebäude ist die ordentliche Verknüpfung verschiedener, auch wohl einerley Sylben-Füsse, mittelst welcher sie in gewisse Schrancken eingeschlossen und abgemessen werden. (195)

So sollen auch die letzten Theile, oder der Rhythmus einer Melodie an keinem andern Orte, als auf der Anfangsnote des Niederschlages oder des Aufschlages, stehen; weil daselbst gleichsam der letzte Fuß einer musikalischen Abmes-

there without exception. [...] This is the true indicator of whether a composer has understood what rhythm is [...].

sung der Noten, oder der musikalischen Scansion ohne Ausnahme eintreten muß. [...] dieses [ist] das eigentliche Kennzeichen, [...] ob der Componiste verstanden hat, was der Rhythmus ist. (352)

Scheibe's expression *Durchschnitt der Takte* refers to the question whether, in a given time signature, a phrase can end in the middle rather than at the beginning of the measure.

22. This investigation and elucidation of the caesura of measures is all the more important because hence the proper rhythm in music can be explained and recognized.

Diese Untersuchung und Erläuterung des Durchschnittes der Takte, ist aber um so viel wichtiger, weil daraus der eigentliche Rhythmus in der Musik zu erklären, und zu erkennen ist [...] (354)

In the following passage, Scheibe's expression *gerade/ungerade Tacte* intuitively reads as if he meant duple and triple meter (*gerade/ungerade Tactart*). However, keeping a single time signature in the course of a movement was so common that theorists seldom bothered to make an explicit rule of it.

23. [...] a strict observation of rhythm, or when an orderly progression of measures is maintained. Thus, if the main invention or melody has consisted of [an] even [number of] measures, all the following phrases or melodies maintain just this order. If the main melody has consisted of [an] uneven [number of] measures, then what follows also has to conform. Even when this order is interrupted, this must happen in a **very distinct manner and only to introduce something strange** and peculiar, and hence for special reasons. Ultimately, the original order must return and resolve the inserted strange phrases. This is exactly what a poet has

[...] eine genaue Beobachtung des Rhythmus, oder wenn ein ordentlicher Fortgang der Takte gehalten wird; also daß, wenn die Haupterfindung oder Hauptmelodie aus geraden Takten bestanden hat, alle darauf folgende Sätze und Melodien eben dieselbe Ordnung halten. Hat der Hauptsatz aus ungeraden Takten bestanden: so soll sich auch die Folge des Zusammenhanges darnach richten. Wird auch diese Ordnung einmal unterbrochen: so muß sich solches sehr genau unterscheiden, und bloß als etwas Fremdes und Sonderliches, und folglich auch aus besondern Ursachen eingeführet werden. Und endlich muß

to observe with regard to the exterior of his poems.

24. After I have been able to glance at the treatise of the famous *Isaac Vossius* a few years ago, *De poematum Cantu et viribus Rhythmi*, I see even less reason to doubt the certainty of the aforesaid, for I discovered that this keen critic has almost the same thoughts about rhythm.

25. Rhythm does not only concern the beginning and ending parts of melodies or phrases or sections of an entire piece [...] but also pertains to the middle parts in general, even though these are, in themselves, actually organized by meter.

26. Meanwhile, it is curious that so little of clarity has been written on a subject which is so beneficial to the beauty of a piece. Most musical writers of modern times, and I may well say almost all, generally confuse meter and rhythm, or they ascribe something to the one which only applies to the other; consequently, all clarity is lost. I am especially astonished that Mr. *Mattheson* in his *Vollkommener Capellmeister* has not treated this

doch die erste Ordnung wieder eintreten, und die eingerückten fremden Sätze wieder ablösen. Es ist aber eben dasjenige, was ein Dichter bey dem [Ä]ußerlichen seiner Gedichte zu beobachten hat. (624)

Nachdem mir vor ungefähr ein paar Jahren des berühmten *Isaac Vossius* Tractat: *De poematum Cantu et viribus Rhythmi*, zu Gesichte gekommen: so habe ich an mehrerer Gewißheit dieser itzt angeführten Sätze desto weniger zweifeln können, da ich finde, daß dieser scharfe Kunstrichter von dem Rhythmo fast eben diese Gedanken heget. (625, fn.)

Der Rhythmus betrifft daher nicht allein die Anfangs- und Schlußtheile der Melodien, oder der Sätze, oder der Clauseln eines ganzen Stückes [...] sondern er geht auch auf die mittlern Theile überhaupt, ob diese schon an sich selbst eigentlich durch das Metrum geordnet werden. (626, fn.)

Es ist inzwischen merkwürdig, daß noch so wenig deutliches von dieser, die Schönheit einer Musik befördernden Sache aufgezeichnet ist. Die meisten musikalischen Skribenten neuerer Zeiten, und ich darf wohl sagen, fast alle, vermischen insgemein das Metrum und den Rhythmus miteinander, oder man schreibt dem einen etwas zu, welches doch dem andern zukömmt; dahero denn hernach alle Deutlichkeit wegfällt.

important matter with the diligence and thoughtfulness that one could have desired from him, especially since he had the aforementioned *Isaac Vossius* as his guide, whom he, however, incorrectly calls *Gerhard Johann Vossius* on page 160. Properly, the quality of sound feet properly concerns meter, but their conjunction and proportion in distinct and consecutive poetic lines or melodies belongs to rhythm. Vossius distinguished this quite correctly; however, we read in Mr. *Mattheson's* book that he has by no means appropriately followed this predecessor and has hence not seemly explained this important property.

Insbesondere aber wundert es mich, daß Herr *Mattheson* in seinem *vollkommenen Capellmeister* diese wichtige Materie nicht mit demjenigen Fleiße und Nachdenken abgehandelt hat, wie man doch von ihm hätte verlangen können, zumal da er unsern angeführten *Issac Voßius*, den er aber auf der 160 Seite unecht *Gerhard Johann Voßius* nennet, zum Wegweiser gehabt hat. Die Beschaffenheit der Klangfüße geht eigentlich das Metrum an, aber die Zusammensetzung derselben und ihre Proportion in verschiedenen poetischen Zeilen oder Melodien, die auf einander folgen, gehöret dem Rhythmo. *Vossius* hat dieses ungemein richtig unterschieden; allein wir lesen in Herrn *Matthesons* Buche, daß er diesem Vorgänger keinesweges gehörig gefolget ist, und also auch diese wichtige Eigenschaft nicht angegeben hat.” (626f, fn.)

The dutch scholar Gerhard[us] Johann[es] Voss[ius] (1577–1649) was Issac's father. Regarding the son's alleged assignation of “the quality of sound feet” to meter, cf. passage 1, “the word ‘meter’ [...] involves the quantity and measure of syllables, but [...] is applied [erroneously], in a broader sense, to the quality of feet and entire poems.”

27. Hence, meter orders only the individual members or sound feet in music; just as it contains the metric feet in poetry.

Das Metrum ordnet also nur die einzelnen Glieder, oder Klangfüße in der Musik: So wie es in den Gedichten die Füße des Sylbenmaaßes enthält. (626, fn.)

Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Grundlegung einer Deutschen Sprachkunst* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1748)

Aus diesen bisher erzählten Füßen nun entsteht das sogenannte Sylben-

28. From these aforementioned feet arises the so-called meter, the euphony or rhythm of verse. Indeed I know that some nitpickers who like to make a great fuss about trifles seek a vast difference between these words, accusing others who do not share their whimsies of barbaric ignorance and stupidity; however, the old orators and grammarians whose authority they invoke as if they alone knew and read them, contradicted each other here as in other respects, and left us the freedom to choose. In this matter, I adhere to Isaac Voß, who understands by 'meter' only the quantity of the syllables themselves, but by 'rhythm' or euphony the system of many feet that make up a whole verse.

29. And yet, one must not insist on this [definition] as if everybody had to talk like this; for even the ancients did not stick to it. In such matters, which are arbitrary, one has to abandon all pedantry and not incite wars, merely because of names, over things that are invented for the pleasure of the ears, which only exposes the free arts to ridicule. How easily a word changes its meaning! The whole is often called the same as the part and vice versa.

maas, oder Metrum; der Wohlklang oder Rhythmus der Verse. Ich weis zwar wohl, daß einige Mückensäuger, die gern in Kleinigkeiten groß thun, unter diesen Wörtern einen himmelweiten Unterschied suchen, und andern, die ihre Grillen nicht gut heißen, eine recht barbarische Unwissenheit und Dummheit Schuld geben. Allein, die alten Redner und Sprachlehrer, auf die sie so trotzen, als ob sie selbige ganz allein kannten, und gelesen hätten, haben sich hierinn, wie in andern Stücken, vielfältig widersprochen; und uns also die Freyheit gelassen, zu wählen. Ich halte es hierinn mit Isaak Vossen, der durch das Metrum oder das Sylbenmaas nur die eigene Größe der Sylben; durch den Rhythmus, oder den Wohlklang aber, den Inbegriff vieler Füße, die einen ganzen Vers ausmachen, versteht. (489f.)

Gleichwohl kann man darauf so sehr nicht trotzen, als ob alle Menschen so reden müßten. Denn selbst die Alten blieben nicht dabey. [...] Man muß in solchen Dingen die willkürlich sind, alle Schulfüchserey fahren lassen, und über Sachen, die zum Vergnügen der Ohren erfunden sind, wegen der bloßen Namen keine Kriege erregen, die nur die freyen Künste lächerlich machen. Wie leicht kömmt es, daß ein Wort seine Bedeutung ändert? Heißt doch oft das Ganze auch so, wie der Theil, und umgekehrt. (490)

Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Anleitung zur Singcomposition* (Berlin: Lange, 1758)

30. Before we explain the rules themselves, we must clarify a couple of words that are commonly confused. These are *rhythm* and *meter*.

31. *Rhythm* is a certain number of syllabic feet that can be sung in one breath and are thus contained within the space of a caesura. *Meter* consists in the prosodic quality of the feet contained in a rhythm. Hence, meter relates to rhythm, generally speaking, as a part to its whole. A number of rhythms contained in the space of a cadence or full stop is called a *period*.

Ehe wir die Regeln selbst erklären, müssen wir ein paar Wörter, die man insgemein mit einander zu vermengen pflegt, verständlich machen. Diese sind *Rhythmus* und *Metrum*.

Der *Rhythmus* ist eine gewisse Anzahl von Sylbenfüßen, die in einem Othem gesungen werden können, und also in dem Raum einer Cäsur enthalten sind. Das *Metrum* besteht in der prosodischen Beschaffenheit der Sylbenfüße, die ein Rhythmus enthält. Das Metrum verhält sich also gegen den Rhythmus, überhaupt gesprochen, wie ein Theil gegen sein Ganzes. Eine Anzahl von Rhythmen, die in dem Raume einer Cadenz oder eines Puncts eingeschlossen sind, heißt ein *Periode*. (50f.)

Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst, I (Berlin: Birnstiel, 1760).

32. A number of syllable or tone feet that can be sung in one breath and are thus contained within the space of a caesura is called *rhythm* or *number*. The prosodic quality of the feet contained in a rhythm is called *meter*. A number of rhythms contained in the space of a cadence or full stop is called a *period*.

Eine Anzahl von Sylben- oder Tonfüßen, die in einem Athem gesungen werden können, und also in dem Raum einer Cäsur enthalten sind, wird *Rhythmus* oder *Numerus* genennet. Die prosodische Beschaffenheit und Ordnung der in einem Rhythmus enthaltenen Tonfüße, heißt *Metrum*. Eine Anzahl von Rhythmen, die in dem Raum einer Cadenz oder eines Puncts eingeschlossen sind, heißt eine *Periode*. (472)

Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst, ii (Berlin: Birnstiel, 1763).

33. The space from one section to the next is called a *rhythmic line* or *sectional line*, or plainly *rhythm*. The parts of a rhythm are marked with the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4 etc., according to the number of measures; the rhythm of four measures is called a *quaternary*, one of three a *ternary*, of two a *binary* and of one a *unit*. Two or more sections, the last of which is ended by a half cadence, make a *period*, and two or more periods, the last of which is ended by a full cadence, make a *paragraph*.

Der Raum von einem Absatze zum andern heißt eine *rhythmische Zeile*, oder *Sectionalzeile*, insgemein schlechtweg *Rhythmus*. Die Theile eines Rhythmus werden nach der Anzahl der Tacte, durch die Zahlen 1. 2. 3. 4, u. s. w. bemerkt; und zwar heißt ein Rhythmus von vier Tacten ein *Vierer*, einer von dreyen ein *Dreyer*, von zweyen *Zweyer*, und von einem *Einer*. Zween oder mehrere Absätze, wovon der letzte durch eine halbe Cadenz geendigt wird, machen einen *Perioden*, und zween oder mehrere Perioden, wovon der letzte durch eine ganze Cadenz geendigt wird, machen einen *Paragraph*. (5)

This redefinition of 'period' was as unsuccessful as the following attempt to tie the word 'symmetry' to 'meter.'

34. The relation that these different parts have with each other (such as the paragraphs among themselves, the periods among themselves and the sectional lines among themselves) *with respect to the number of measures* is called the rhythmic relation or the counting measure of a piece of music. In general, one briefly says *rhythm*. Not to observe a good relation is *to go against rhythm*; and a piece in which a good relation prevails is *eurhythmically beautiful*.

Der Verhalt, den diese verschiedenen Theile, jede in ihrer Art, als die Paragraphen unter sich, die Perioden unter sich, und die Sectionalzeilen unter sich, *in Ansehung der Anzahl der Tacte*, machen, heißt der *rhythmische Verhalt* oder das *Zahlmaaß* eines Tonstückes. Insgeheim sagt man kurzweg *Rhythmus*. Keinen guten Verhalt beobachten, heißt *wider den Rhythmus fehlen*; und ein Stück, in welchem ein guter Verhalt herrschet, ist *eurhythmisch schön*. (6)

35. Since one is in the habit, given the common confusion of the words *meter* and *rhythm*, of applying the word *sym-*

Da man bey der gewöhnlichen Verwechselung der Wörter *Metrum* und *Rhythmus*, das Wort *Symmetrie*, anstatt

metry instead of *eurhythmy* to the former case, it must be noted that the *similarity of tone feet*, i.e. the similarity of number, shape and movement of notes between two or more distant or adjacent sectional lines, determines the *symmetry* of a piece. Hence a piece in which no line resembles the other with respect to meter has no symmetry. Furthermore, when, for instance, passages occur in 2/4 time where one quarter is split into eight thirty-second notes and the next into a triplet: then no good symmetry reigns therein, etc.

Eurhythmie, in dem vorigen Falle zu gebrauchen pflleget: so ist zu merken, daß die [Ä]hnlichkeit der Tonfüße, d. i. die [Ä]hnlichkeit der Anzahl, Figur und Bewegung der Noten, zwischen zween oder mehrern, entfernten oder benachbarten Sectionalzeilen, die *Symmetrie* eines Stückes bestimmt. Ein Stück also, wo keine Zeile der andern in Ansehung des Metri ähnlich ist, hat keine Symmetrie. Wenn ferner, z. E. im Zweiviertelact Paßagen vorkommen, wo auf ein Viertheil acht Zwey und dreyßigstheile genommen werden, und hernach wieder auf ein Viertheil eine Triole gesetzt wird: so herrschet daselbst keine gute Symmetrie u.s.w. (6)

Heinrich Christoph Koch: *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*, ii (Leipzig: 1787)

36. [punctuation concerns the relation of melodic parts with respect to their ending formula,] whereas the extent of these parts, and the symmetry or relation they have with each other regarding the number of measures, is denoted with the term *rhythm*.

Der Umfang dieser Theile hingegen, und das Ebenmaas oder das Verhältniß derselben, welches sie in Ansehung der Anzahl der Tacte untereinander haben, wird mit dem Ausdrucke *Rythmus* bezeichnet. (346)

37. [...] The [...] similarity in the movement of the parts and sub-parts of the measure, [...] which is usually described by the expression *meter*. In the first chapter of this Section, therefore, we need to treat of *meter* or *metric weight*.

[...] Die [...] Ähnlichkeit in der Bewegung der Theile oder Glieder des Tactes, [...] die man mit dem Ausdrucke *Metrum* zu bezeichnen pfllegt. In dem ersten Kapitel dieses Abschnittes muß daher von dem *Metrum* oder *Tactgewichte* gehandelt werden. (6)

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Glossary

- Absatz** <Marpurg, Koch> a group of measures considered the musical equivalent of a clause, a constituent of →*periods*, or the ending of such a group.
- accent** **1** <music> (*Nachdruck*) the quality or strength of notes that begin a metric unit; <Mattheson, Scheibe, Marpurg> **accented** = **striking** (*anschlagend*), **intrinsically long**; unaccented = passing (*durchgehend*), intrinsically short. **2** <language> a syllable's →*qualitative* prominence (that of the root syllable in German) over others within the same word, determining its use in scansion; **1** and **2** = **grammatical, prosodic, metric accent**, whereas: **oratorical, rhetorical accent** = *emphasis*.
- anacreontic** (referring to the Greek poet Anacreon) **1** <style> concentrating on the subjects of wine and love; **2** <verse> a non-strophic poem in iambic tetrameter.
- Anhang** <Koch> at least one measure following the one containing the →*caesura* **2** (b), but still considered part of the same phrase.
- arithmetical** referring to →*meter* **3**.
- arsis** = *downbeat*.
- caesura** **1** <poetry> a) the division of a line, often called-for and regulated in lines longer than four feet; b) a line segment delineated by a), a hemistich; **2** <music> a) <Marpurg> the musical equivalent of **1**, replace 'feet' with 'measures'; b) <Koch> metrically strong moment of phrase closure = *Tactgewicht* **1**
- colon** a section of speech that can be pronounced without intermittent breathing, the constituent of →*periods*.
- comma** a section of speech smaller than a →*colon* or *semicolon*.
- compound** **1** <general, Marpurg –1755> the property of meter that beats are divided unequally, e.g. 6/8 vs. 2/4; **2** <Marpurg 1759–, Kirnberger, Koch> the property of metric notation that two simple measures are written as one, e.g. 4/4 vs. 2/4.
- downbeat** the first part of the measure preceding the →*upbeat*.
- Dehnung** the →*melismatic* (**1**) expansion of a syllable beyond its assigned note value, a term sometimes encompassing →*Haltung*; also **lange, rhetorische Dehnung**, whereas: **kurze, mechanische Dehnung** = *melisma*.
- Dreyer, Vierer etc.** three, four etc. measures considered as a group or phrase in →*rhythm* **2**.
- Einschnitt** <Koch> a section of music smaller than an →*Absatz*, the equivalent of a →*comma*.
- emphasis** <Mattheson> the prominence of one word over others within the same sentence (oratorical, rhetorical accent); cf. *accent*.

enjambment <poetry> the passage of sense or syntax from one line into another.

extrinsic quantity the relative length of notes, as opposed to their *intrinsic* quantity or →*accent* 1

foot a group of syllables or notes, considered the building block of a verse or phrase.

geometrical referring to →*rhythm* 2 a) b).

Grundabsatz <Koch> a group of more than four measures that end with an imperfect cadence.

Halbe Cadenz a half cadence occasionally distinguished from →**Quintabsatz**, stronger than the former but weaker than a perfect cadence.

Haltung the suspension of a syllable beyond its assigned value at a single pitch. Cf. *Dehnung*.

hemistich →*caesura* 1.

intrinsic quantity = *accent* 1.

madrigal verse a mixture of shorter and longer lines (iambics in German, *settenari* and *endecasillabi* in Italian) with an inconsistent rhyme pattern; common measure for 18th-c. recitative.

melisma 1 <general> a group of different notes carrying a single syllable; 2 <Marpurg> a group of different notes carrying one syllable by subdividing rather than expanding its assigned value; = **kurze, mechanische Dehnung**, whereas **lange, rhetorische Dehnung** = *Dehnung*.

meter 1 <general, music> everything pertaining to time signatures, barlines, hierarchical note divisions and accent distribution (*Tact*); 2 <general, poetry> the prosodic arrangement of a poem; 3 <Scheibe, Marpurg, Koch> everything pertaining to the syllabic makeup of a →*foot*; <Koch> = *Tactgewicht* 3, <Mattheson> = *rhythm* 2.

mixed <Marpurg 1759–, Koch> = *compound* 1,

paragraph 1 <Mattheson> a chain of periods ending with a perfect cadence in the tonic, often tantamount to a complete movement. 2 <Marpurg 1761–> = *period* 1

period 1 <Mattheson, Marpurg –1760, Koch> group of rhythms or →*Absätze* ending with a perfect cadence. 2 <Marpurg 1761–> group of rhythms ending with a →*Halbe Cadenz*.

pindaric (referring to the Greek poet Pindar) 1 <style> elevated, concentrating on sublime subjects; 2 <verse> a poem organized in long strophes that are in turn divided into (metrically identical) strophe and antistrophe and (different) epode.

position in →*quantitative* prosody, the ability of short ending syllables and subsequent consonants from a different word to form a long syllable.

prose language not organized according to prosody 2, as opposed to →*verse*.

prosody 1 <general/linguistics> the variation and contour in pitch, length, tempo and loudness of speech; 2 <poetry> the

definition and classification of syllables for the purpose of versification (→*verse* 1).

punctuation <music> the hierarchial meaning of a phrase as revealed in its ending; →*comma, colon, period*.

qualitative <prosody> based on the stress or →*accent* (2) of syllables.

quantitative <prosody> based on the length of syllables that results from the number and kind of constituent phonemes.

Quintabsatz <Koch> a group of more than four measures that ends with a (weak) half cadence (whereas: →*Halbe Cadenz*).

Reim-, Versgebäude, -gebäude the prosodic arrangement or →*meter* (2) of a poem.

rhythm 1 <general> concerning the →*quantitative* relation of units; **2** <Scheibe, Marpurg, Koch> a) concerning the length of lines or phrases as counted in feet or measures, b) these lines or phrases themselves, c) <Scheibe> also = *caesura* **2** (b); **3** a) <Mattheson> = *meter* **3**, b) <Mattheson, Marpurg> **Rhythmic** = *meter* **1**.

rhythmopœia 1 <Riepel> the numerical art of phrase construction or →*rhythm* (2); **2** <Mattheson> the art of →*meter* (3).

scansion 1 a pattern ordering syllables by →*quantitative* or *qualitative* criteria; **2** the pronunciation or setting of syllables according to **1**.

Schlußsatz <Koch> a group of more than four measures that ends with perfect cadence and thus completes a →*period* (1).

Sectionalzeile = *rhythm 2* b).

solecism a grave mispronunciation (of ancient Greek, originally; named after the inhabitants of Soloi in Asia Minor).

stress = *accent 2*

strophe

syllabic the property of text-setting that assigns each syllable a single note; opposite: melismatic (→*melisma*).

Tactgewicht 1 <Marpurg> = *Caesur 2* b); **2** <Koch> = *meter 2*.

ternary, quaternary, etc. used here as a translation of →*Dreyer, Vierer etc.*

thesis = *downbeat*.

upbeat 1 the second part of the measure following the →*downbeat*; **2** one or more opening notes preceding the downbeat, a pick-up.

verse 1 language organized according to →*prosody* (2), as opposed to prose; **2** a line of poetry.

Table of Twenty-Eight Ancient Feet

Monosyllables

— *Long*

υ *Short*

Disyllables (simple feet)

— — *Spondee (choree)*

— υ *Trochee*

υ — *Iamb*

υ υ *Pyrrhic*

Trisyllables (simple feet)

— — — *Moloss*

υ — — *Bacchius*

— υ — *Amphimacer (cretic)*

— — υ *Antibacchius*

— υ υ *Dactyl*

υ — υ *Amphibrach*

υ υ — *Anapest*

υ υ υ *Tribrach*

Tetrasyllables (compound feet)

— — — — *Dispondee*

υ — — — *First epitrit*

— υ — — *Second epitrit*

— — υ — *Third epitrit*

— — — υ *Fourth epitrit*

— — υ υ *Ionic major*

— υ — υ *Ditrochee*

— υ υ — *Choriamb*

υ — — υ *Antispast*

υ — υ — *Diamb*

υ υ — — *Ionic minor*

— υ υ υ *First Peon*

υ — υ υ *Second Peon*

υ υ — υ *Third Peon*

υ υ υ — *Fourth Peon*

υ υ υ υ *Proceleusmatic*