GOETHE SETTINGS BY JOHANN FRIEDRICH REICHARDT AND CARL FRIEDRICH
ZELTER: TEXT, MUSIC AND PERFORMANCE POSSIBILITIES

Wes C. Moore, B.M., M.M.

Dissertation Prepared for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF MUSICAL ARTS

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS

August 2012

APPROVED:

Jeffrey Snider, Major Professor and Chair of the Division of Vocal Studies
Deanna Bush, Minor Professor
David Sundquist, Committee Member
John Murphy, Director of Graduate Studies in the College of Music
James Scott, Dean of the College of Music
Mark Wardell, Dean of the Toulouse Graduate School

The connection between text, music, and performance in the lieder of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is an integral aspect to fully comprehending the style and performance of the genre. It is also essential in order to understand the full development of the lied in its totality. The era represented a transitional period in musical development, influenced by Enlightenment values of elegance, good taste, simplicity, and naturalness which sought to eradicate the overly decorative “excesses” of the high-Baroque. In this study, emphasis is placed upon the unique development of the lied in the northern German regions by the composers Johann Friedrich Reichardt and Carl Friedrich Zelter and their musical settings of the lyric poetry of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

The study also addresses the overall development of the genre as it progressed from the Baroque through Classicism/Neo-Classicism, Sturm und Drang, and into Romanticism exploring the musical settings and performance possibilities both then and now in the context of the various treatises and correspondence between the composers and poet. It seeks to effectively address the notion that these early songs were composed and performed by those versed in the ideal of music being an improvisatory/dramatic vehicle for expressing emotion and textual meaning. In opera, and to a lesser extent other vocal idioms, musico-dramatic excesses occurred in the late Baroque and the cult of the singer reigned. However, the reforms which led to the new aesthetic of naturalness did not suddenly end this improvisatory vocal performance practice. The musical complexity of the lied was gaining in prominence but not yet to the detriment of the priority of the poetic text and its effective rendering.
Copyright 2012

by

Wes C. Moore
TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES..............................................................................................................v

Chapters

I. INTRODUCTION ..........................................................................................................................1

II. HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOR THE EMERGENCE OF LIEDER ..............................................9

III. THE RISE OF GERMAN LYRIC POETRY AND INTRODUCTION TO JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE (1749-1832) ...............................................................17

   Introduction to Goethe .............................................................................................................21

IV. JOHANN FRIEDRICH REICHARDT (1752-1814) AND CARL FRIEDRICH ZELTER (1759-1832) ..........................................................25

   Introduction to Reichardt .......................................................................................................25

   Reichardt’s Music ..................................................................................................................28

   Reichardt’s Lieder ..................................................................................................................30

   Introduction to Zelter ..........................................................................................................31

   Zelter’s Lieder ......................................................................................................................34

V. PERFORMANCE PRACTICES .................................................................................................37

   Introduction ..........................................................................................................................37

   Vocal Articulation .................................................................................................................40

   Tempo Considerations ........................................................................................................44

   Ornamentation and Improvisation .......................................................................................46

VI. REICHARDT SONGS..............................................................................................................50

   Der Abschied (The Farewell).................................................................................................50

   Mut (Courage) ......................................................................................................................54

   Prometheus ............................................................................................................................58

   Erlkönig (Erlking) ................................................................................................................64

VII. ZELTER SONGS....................................................................................................................71

   Klage Harfenspieler III (Lament) .........................................................................................71

   Erlkönig (Erlking) ..................................................................................................................74
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Page</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Reichardt, <em>Der Abschied</em>, example of melodic theme I .....................................................51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Reichardt, <em>Der Abschied</em>, example of melodic theme II ....................................................51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Reichardt, <em>Der Abschied</em>, example of text painting with descending vocal line on “schwer” .............................................................................................................................52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Reichardt, <em>Der Abschied</em>, the V7 chord on the word “Kränzchen” (wreath) .....................52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Reichardt, <em>Der Abschied</em>, excerpt showing juxtaposition of major and minor tonalities between the vocal line and accompaniment ...........................................................................53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Reichardt, <em>Mut</em>, excerpts showing three against two, propelling the rhythmic pulse ......55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Reichardt, <em>Mut</em>, examples of the melodic line denoting unpredictability within poetic text ............................................................................................................................................56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Reichardt, <em>Mut</em>, examples of a series of diminished chords and various key feelings .....57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Reichardt, <em>Mut</em>, example of the soothing and expansive nature of the music on “Herz” (heart) ...........................................................................................................................................58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Reichardt, <em>Prometheus</em>, excerpt showing declamatory style in the vocal line reflecting non-rhyming text ........................................................................................................................................61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Reichardt, <em>Prometheus</em>, excerpt of falling minor seconds illustrating a sigh motive ......63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Reichardt, <em>Erlkönig</em>, excerpt showing the monotone vocal line of the Erlkönig ...............66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Reichardt, <em>Erlkönig</em>, excerpt showing primary rhythmic germ .........................................66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Reichardt, <em>Erlkönig</em>, example of minor variation of primary rhythmic germ ....................67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Reichardt, <em>Erlkönig</em>, the monotone theme of the Erlkönig ................................................68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Reichardt, <em>Erlkönig</em>, excerpt showing the Erlkönig’s lines in the first part of theme II ....68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Reichardt, <em>Erlkönig</em>, showing the child’s lines in the second part of theme II ...............69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Reichardt, <em>Erlkönig</em>, example of altered IV 6 chord ..........................................................69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Reichardt, <em>Erlkönig</em>, excerpt showing the lowered bass part of the accompaniment of theme II ...........................................................................................................................................70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
21. Zelter, Klage Harfenspieler III, the harp-like keyboard prelude ........................................72
22. Zelter, Klage Harfenspieler III, excerpt showing the sigh-like text painting on “Tränen” (tears) utilizing falling minor second and triplet.................................................................74
23. Zelter, Erlkönig, excerpt showing lilting nature of Zelter’s setting.................................75
24. Zelter, Erlkönig, diminished 7th chord on “fast er mich an!” (He holds me!)...............76
25. Zelter, Erlkönig, harmonic rhythmic illustrating relentless aspect of Erlkönig’s seduction of the child .........................................................................................................................77
26. Zelter, Erlkönig, the elongated rhythm on leids and the Picardy Third-like chord on “gethan”..........................................................................................................................78
27. Zelter, Erlkönig, the ending of the song in D major with a Picardy Third on “todt”.......79
28. Zelter, Um Mitternacht, melismatic passage on “Stern” (star)..........................................80
29. Zelter, Um Mitternacht, coda-like phrase ending at close of each strophe....................81
30. Zelter, Um Mitternacht, secondary dominant to dominant harmonic progression.........82
31. Zelter, Rastlose Liebe, excerpt from the opening accompaniment prelude...............84
32. Zelter, Rastlose Liebe, excerpt showing tempo change......................................................85
33. Zelter, Rastlose Liebe, excerpt showing change to 16th note pattern in the accompaniment ..........................................................................................................................85
34. Zelter, Rastlose Liebe, example of octave leaps in the melody line .........................87
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The connection between text, music, and performance in the lieder of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is an integral aspect to fully comprehending the style and performance of the genre. It is also essential in order to understand the full development of the lied in its totality. The era represented a transitional period in musical development, influenced by enlightenment values of elegance, good taste, simplicity and naturalness which sought to eradicate the overly decorative “excesses” of the high-Baroque. In this discussion, one automatically thinks of Christoph Willibald Gluck and the key role he played in these musical changes and in the overall new musical aesthetic; however his work was mainly directed toward Italian Opera in France. Due to the collaborative history and travel patterns between London, Paris and Vienna, his influence was probably felt more in the Viennese school of lieder composition but not as much in the northern German states.

An emerging emphasis on musical clarity, transparency and simplicity seemed to be the tenor of the times. New melodic and harmonic vocabularies emphasizing a sense of balance and naturalness began to replace the more florid and musically complicated idioms of the late Baroque. Highly contrapuntal texted music, namely opera seria, oratorio, concerted church music and the solo cantata began to lose its preeminence as new instrumental forms emerged ushering in an era known as the Style Galant or Rococo.¹ These terms were loosely intertwined

¹ For a fuller discussion of this era, see, Mark A. Radice. “The Nature of the Style galante: Evidence from the Repertoire,” The Musical Quarterly. vol. 83, no. 4 (Winter 1999): 608. Radice begins by clarifying the meaning of the term “galante”. He traces the French etymology of the word to the verb ‘galer’ (to be merry) mainly used to describe some music of the fourteenth-century. However, the term does not appear in French, Italian or English writings about eighteenth-century music. Some Germans used the term to denote music that was pleasant, fashionable or even trendy. He points out the irony of Frederick the Great of Prussia, the father of German nationalism, continuing in his obsession with French culture.
and often interchanged to refer to music characterized by charming and sentimental melodies with transparent accompaniments. Much of the music was intended for the amateur salon and other pleasant, often passive diversions. This genre of musical composition revealed emotions, not in the frightening way of *Sturm und Drang*\(^2\) or in the pathos of later Romanticism, but in a more sentimentalized type of longing. It has been said “the Romantic artist wears his heart on his sleeve, the Roccoco style hides its tears behind a smile.”\(^3\)

This was the milieu in which the lied began to find its voice. The old Baroque *Continuo Lied* with its contrapuntal form, moved toward a leaner musical texture. The vocal line, usually strophic, declaimed\(^4\) the text over a simple, chordal accompaniment played on the harpsichord or fortepiano either by the singer himself or another performer. Vocal declamation of this type was challenging in that the performers attempted to connect emotionally to the poetry and articulate it effectively without resorting to the more overt and dramatic declamation and improvisation of earlier times. This was further complicated by the inherent challenge of melding poetic rhythm with musical rhythm within the context of a simpler aesthetic. And finally, this was usually accomplished while often singing in styles and techniques informed by the florid tradition in which they (many of the singers) had been acculturated.

---


\(^4\) "Declaimed" is to articulate or render the text in a way that the proper meaning and emotion are conveyed. This rendering was often dramatic and improvisatory especially in the Baroque. The concept of *Affektenlehre* (Doctrine of the Affections) was prominent in this style of singing. However, declamation was still important when rendering poetic texts it the new simpler style.
In this study, emphasis is placed upon the unique development of the lied in the northern German regions by the composers Johann Friedrich Reichardt and Carl Friedrich Zelter and their musical settings of the lyric poetry of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. While much of his poetry was originally written to stand on its own, Goethe also was known for writing poems which took on the character of “songs” or lyrical/musical statements occurring within larger works. These were actually referred to as lieder. Well-known are the “songs” of the young girl, Mignon, and the sorrowing Harper from the novel, *Wilhelm Meister’s Lehrjahre*. (William Meister’s Years of Learning) Other “lyrical” poems like *Wanderer’s Nachtlied* (Wanderer’s Night Song) and *An den Mond* (To the Moon) further established his lyrical gifts. Noteworthy is the fact these poems were conceived and written during the poet’s “classical period,” yet they conveyed, in an appropriate sense, an emotional sense of longing. These “songs”, according to Hamlin, “established a norm for the simple lyric as the central mode of Romantic poetry.”

An emerging romantic musical sensibility, superimposed upon the more rational and balanced style of neo-classicist poetry, created a new, simpler and more uniquely German artistic expression fusing text, emotion and music. As previously stated, this contrasted with the Baroque and even the Rococo. Simplicity was evidenced by several factors, 1) the small number of performing forces needed, namely a singer and an accompanist, 2) a single melodic line simply composed to fit the contours of the poetic text, and 3) a simple, yet independent accompaniment line for the fortepiano. The earliest songs of this period were characterized by strophic settings often with chordal-style accompaniments and no introductions, interludes or postludes.

---


6 The term *Rococo* is usually associated with art and architecture characterized as overly decorative or even frivolous and easily re-produced. It was a transitional movement between the Baroque and Neo-Classical. It is sometimes used to also describe the music of this period. See Katie Scott, *The Rococo Interior: Decoration and Social Spaces in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 1-4.
Goethe, a broadly-cultivated aesthete though not a trained musician, was most particular in how his poems were set musically and desired the music to serve the text, not the reverse. He preferred these simple, strophic settings and in this he was well served by the compositions of his friends, Reichardt and Zelter. However, these settings gradually began to evolve beyond such simple forms and eventually led to more musically-complex settings, eventually preparing the way for the lieder of Beethoven and eventually, Schubert. This environment of musical reform, emerging German identity, and the advent of lyric poetry fostered the development of the lied and its growing importance in the musical canon. A more intimate type of musical genre such as this required flexibility in style and performance, musical training, as well as in types of performance venues.

In addition to the specific works of Goethe, Reichardt and Zelter, this study addresses the overall development of the genre as it progressed from the Baroque through Classicism/Neo-Classicism, *Sturm und Drang* and into Romanticism. As previously stated, particular attention is paid to analysis of the texts of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, the musical settings and performance possibilities as evidenced through an examination of the various treatises of the time, and the correspondence between the composers and poet.

Other studies have focused mainly on specific composers, their relationship to the various poets and comparisons between various settings of the same poetic texts. In addition to several well-known sources such as the 1931 Zelter Gesellschaft edition of the composer’s autobiographical writings edited and annotated by Johann Wolfgang Schottländer and the published correspondence between Zelter and Goethe, other major essays and dissertations address issues of early lied.

Doctoral dissertations on the subject include Robert Ruetz’s 1964 comparative analysis of Goethe’s settings by Reichardt, Zelter, Schubert and Loewe and Raymond Barr’s 1968 study
of Zelter and the Berlin School lied. While useful studies, neither fully address issues of text-centered performance practice possibilities. In 1997, Stephanie Campbell’s dissertation addressed the issue of Zelter’s text settings of Goethe’s poems as compared with Beethoven’s and Schubert’s. An interesting aspect of the study is her questioning the adequacy of the label, “Berlin School” for Zelter. This is a valid inquiry and seems to concur with more recent scholarship questioning the clear lines of demarcation between the various style periods (Baroque, Rococo, Classical, etc.), as well as previously held assumptions about the Second Berlin School and Zelter’s adherence to tenets of the “school”.

Timothy Seelig’s dissertation comparing the C.P.E. Bach and Beethoven settings of the Gellert Lieder has proved to be insightful and a catalyst for further study. Michael Sheranian’s 1998 dissertation on eighteenth and nineteenth-century ballads in Germany addresses this genre mainly as a useful pedagogical tool for technique and stage deportment study. Finally, there is an important new study by Lynn Kane concerning the influence of basso continuo practice on the composition and performance of lied accompaniments from the eighteenth-century. She asserts that figured bass parts were still printed in some songs into the early part of the nineteenth-century and that Schubert, Mendelssohn, and even Brahms incorporated common continuo techniques for filling out chords into their song accompaniments. She goes on to say that the improvisatory tradition continued to play a role in nineteenth-century lied.

Other important secondary sources on the subject of the early lied range from virtual dismissal as a legitimate genre, to full appreciation of its hidden depths and complexity. Max Friedlander, writing at the close of the nineteenth century, exalted Schubert’s songs as the real beginning of the lied and tended to view its antecedents as mere preludes. Edward T. Cone’s

well-known essays dealing with the analytical aspects of lieder and other art songs are considered major works and have contributed to the ongoing debate concerning the primacy of either text or music in the art song. This is salient to the topic as it pertains to issues of interpretation and text declamation. As important as Cone’s work is, it nevertheless is thought by some to be too single-minded in its argument for the music to serve as a sort of vocal persona which completes the poetry.

Some of the most significant scholarship on the early lied has been published since 1990. Celia Applegate’s 1998 study dealing with issues of nationalism and “serious” music of the early nineteenth-century is a fascinating exploration of the emerging German identity and its extent in the conception, composition, and reception of the music of this period.

Walther Salmen published several important articles on the music, text settings, and reception histories of Johann Friedrich Reichardt in the late 1990s and early 00’s. Jane Brown’s insightful study on the origin of the lied and its partnership with German lyric poetry, most notably her discussion of “Enlightenment” poetry’s unique contribution, was needed in order to inspire further study.

Finally, James Parsons has written and edited some of the most groundbreaking new essays on the subject of the late eighteenth-century lied published in his edition of the *Cambridge Companion to the Lied*. Following notable works such as Denis Stevens’ *A History of Song*, Carol Kimball’s *Song: A Guide to Style and Literature*, and Shirley Sonntag’s *The Art of the Song Recital*, Parson’s book brings focus to the discussion of the development of the lied as well as a creative engagement with emerging scholarship.

While these works, especially the later ones have sharpened the focus on the historical and interpretive aspects of the repertoire, they have not particularly addressed the issue of a continuous performance style leading into the pre-Classical and then early Romantic eras. The
performance style, which began in the Baroque, centered upon text declamation along with the juxt. Anoposition of objective/technical and subjective/emotional aspects of ornamentation and improvisation. This practice, known as Affektenlehre, was a prescriptive method in order to convey textual meaning, as well as specific moods or “affections”.

This study seeks to explore the connection between text, music and performance of north German lieder of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It seeks to effectively address the notion that these early songs were composed and performed by those versed in the ideal of music being a rhetorical/dramatic vehicle for expressing emotion and textual meaning. In opera, and to a lesser extent other vocal idioms, musico-dramatic excesses occurred in the late Baroque and the cult of the singer moved performance away from the goals first inspired by the Florentine Camerata. However, the reforms which led to the new aesthetic of naturalness did not suddenly end this improvisatory vocal performance practice. The musical complexity of the lied was gaining in prominence but not yet to the detriment of the priority of the poetic text and its effective rendering.

There were several important composers from the so-called First Berlin School who began the process of transforming the lied into the genre we think of today. Christian Gottfried Krause, Johann Phillp Kirnberger, Rudolf Zumsteeg and Johann Neefe were the main figures of this philosophy of lied composition. As this study, however, focuses on representative Goethe settings of Reichardt and Zelter, emphasis is placed on the so-called Second Berlin School of which these two composers were major participants. While discussing issues of text-setting and performance practice, it will also explore the significant and often underappreciated role of these songs to the overall development of the lied in the nineteenth century.

At the beginning is a discussion of the historical and political context for the emergence of lieder. This is followed by issues surrounding the rise of German lyric poetry
and the works of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. I then explore the biographies of Johann Friedrich Reichardt and Carl Friedrich Zelter followed by a general discussion of their compositional processes and the characteristics of their lieder. Finally, I examine the representative songs of each composer chosen for the study as well as performance practices for the singer and forte-pianist and or pianist.
CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOR THE EMERGENCE OF LIEDER

In order to understand and appreciate the development of the lied, one must understand the historical context in which it flourished. Lieder emerged as a distinctive German art form paralleling the rise of German lyric poetry in the mid to late eighteenth century. This unique musical expression was in contrast to the more dominant instrumental genres found in France and Italy and was characterized by an emerging Pan-Europeanism fostered by the spread of enlightenment thought.

When compared to the cosmopolitan thinking of the French *philosophes*, German attitudes toward politics and culture were rather conservative and provincial. The German states were isolated in the center of Europe as well as loosely confederated under several different entities such as Prussia and the old Holy Roman Empire system. Further, there was no common military, intellectual or political infrastructure to bind them together and give them a nationalist identity.

This cultural malaise was a holdover from the devastation of the Thirty-Years-War (1618-1648) fought principally on German soil with the German people functioning as pawns in power politics. The result was a generation of French domination in all things social, literary and political. In addition, unlike the French and English, the Germans lacked a single dominant urban center where artists and other intellectuals could gather and exchange ideas. These factors contributed to a reactionary culture at best, and a capitulation of German national consciousness in literature, music and the arts, as simpler imitations of French and English models, at worst.

---

8 French intellectuals such as Diderot, Rousseau, Voltaire and others were influential during the mid eighteenth century (Enlightenment). The emergence of a more literate population made this possible. They espoused the virtues of human progress, rationality, the scientific method, and tolerance. According to Peter Gay, their work contributed to a “recovery of nerve”. See Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: The Science of Freedom*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996). 57-63.
Finally, German culture in contrast to other western European systems, valued a more reverential attitude toward mystery and subjective feeling, partially influenced by Norse folk legends and the lingering influence of medieval religious superstition. These cultural norms ran contrary to the new, enlightened rationalism of the time.

Though also subjugated under a lingering feudal system, the German peasants unlike their French counterparts, were not caught-up in a democratizing revolutionary process. There were pockets of discontent to be sure, but no general call for revolt. They were surely aware of happenings in France, yet the insular and reactionary nature of German culture did not provide fertile ground for the spread of French Enlightenment values and philosophy. Therefore, whatever “modern” ideals that penetrated this screen were felt mainly in the halls of power at the highest levels and not necessarily throughout the other levels of society.

The German kings and princes, fearing a similar loss of power and influence as the French royals, slowly began to adopt the ideals of the “Enlightened Despot”; a ruler who cared as much for his people’s well-being as his own absolute power. “Legitimacy flowed not from his divine right to rule, but from his claim to be the ‘first servant of the people,’ to use the expression of Frederick II (“the Great”) of Prussia, the most famous of these rulers.”9 This “enlightened” philosophy often dealt more with good intentions than with any actual and lasting substance.

The German ideal of Aufklärung, or enlightenment, was more limited in breadth and scope than the French model due to the previously-mentioned cultural insularity and the pervasive nature of the church. “What the Aufklärung had that the Enlightenment did not was a

---

Lutheran upbringing.\textsuperscript{10} Martin Luther laid the groundwork for an insistence that rationality and faith find a sense of reconciliation leading to the “squaring of an absolute confidence in human reason with a non-doctrinal notion of the soul.”\textsuperscript{11} So, though a less intense awakening than among the French people, the Aufkläring yet precipitated changes which would eventually move beyond the nobility and into the middle and lower classes. Perhaps in an attempt to compete with the Hapsburgs in Vienna, Frederick’s attempt to “modernize” Prussia and the other northern German states included importing many of the trappings of French culture as well as its accompanying glittering pomp and pageantry. He developed a close, yet complicated relationship with Voltaire and engaged him for a time in a residency in the palace at Potsdam. He also recruited musicians to his court including C.P.E. Bach, J.F. Reichardt and Joachim Quantz. Though German, these men were well traveled and had studied, performed and absorbed the various musical styles prevalent on the continent.

Acquaintance with outside cultural influences led these men to interesting and sometimes conflicting conclusions influencing their literary and musical output. For example, Reichardt was initially sympathetic to the aims of the French Revolution until he witnessed the results of its violent excesses. Goethe, himself belying his own ambivalence concerning the turmoil surrounding Germany, denounced the revolution and its aims saying, “It is true that I could not help disliking the French Revolution, for its horrors touched me too nearly and revolted me day by day and hour by hour, whereas it was then not yet possible to foresee its beneficial consequences.”\textsuperscript{12} Goethe then goes on to say,

But at the same time I was no friend of arbitrary tyrannical rule, and I was absolutely convinced that it is never the people who are to blame for any great revolution, but the

\textsuperscript{11} Gaines, 155.
government. Revolutions are quite impossible so long as governments remain constantly just and constantly wide awake, and can thus anticipate them by timely reforms instead of resisting until the necessary change is forced on them from below.\textsuperscript{13}

From Berlin and Potsdam, these musicians and men of letters would compose and conduct new works, as well as write influential treatises on the art and practice of musical performance. It is clear the King was determined that Berlin would become a center of wealth, power and cultural élan to rival that of Versailles, Vienna and London. He believed the cosmopolitanism of French enlightenment values was exactly the impetus needed for the backward German system to become the next great European power.

Yet as pervasive as the French influence was, Frederick still needed to build on a native Teutonic identity in order to ultimately win over the people. As a result, he sought to retain the very best of German culture as a counterbalance to the wave of Pan-Europeanism. His natural instincts lent themselves to the prospect of developing a unique German \textit{haute culture}.\textsuperscript{14} In doing so, he also embraced the emerging influence of German folk culture inspired by Johann Gottfried Herder and others who sought to continually define and champion this emerging “German-ness.” Goethe, an early protégé of Herder, remarked to Luden in 1813, “If one compares the German people to other nations one can only feel embarrassed, a feeling which I try in various ways to overcome; and in science and art, I have found the wings that can raise one above it.”\textsuperscript{15}

A significant aspect of this type of “art” revolved around the development of lyric poetry, and the collection and celebration of folk songs and other genres such as patriotic choral music

\textsuperscript{13}Luke and Pick, 127.

\textsuperscript{14}The term \textit{haute culture} in the French to mean “high culture”. It was Frederick’s aim to emulate the cosmopolitan cultural aura of the court of Versailles as well as to create a German counterpart in Berlin. Referencing the writings of Christian Daniel Friedrich Schubart, T.C.W. Blanning says, “Schubart praised Frederick for his philanthropy, enlightenment, toleration, generous treatment of artists and their dependents, and the making of ‘Berlin the new Athens’”. See T.C.W. Blanning, \textit{The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture}, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 230.

\textsuperscript{15}Luke and Pick, 93.
and lieder. In other words, strong “German” moral virtues were seen as synonymous with these simple, more artistically naïve art forms, when compared to the more polished, “enlightened” virtues already in full bloom across much of the continent. Here, simplicity began to merge with a growing sense of grandeur, and in the words of Joachim Winckelmann, “the sublime which came to be associated with elements of awe, pathos and strong emotion; precursors to the kind of musical vocabulary associated with the “feelings that persist beyond speech”.  

Though the Prussian King encouraged this sense of German identity through the arts, his aims were chiefly political. According to Pamela Potter and Celia Applegate, he and the other nobles knew that in order to face the new French cultural and military threat, they must “draw on the moral as well as the physical resources of the people”.  

The musicians and composers, however, had their own interpretation of these events and no doubt used them to further their own broader cultural reform platforms. According to the chief reformer, Zelter in his role as head of the Singakademie (School of Singing) and the Liedertafel (Song Table), “music had a communal purpose and that was Bildung, the activity of inner or spiritual forces, to the end that man realizes his complete existence and becomes nobler.”  

Lyric poetry, along with the German language, had the capacity to promote these sorts of values in a unifying manner among the numerous duchies and states. Though poetry and song were obviously not mandated by the state, they were becoming popular among the emerging middle class and many of these new songs were composed for the use and enjoyment of the Liebhaber (lover/amateur) as well as the Kenner (expert/professional)

18 Applegate and Potter, 6.
In addition to societal changes and the rise of lyric poetry, the development of keyboard instruments, namely the fortepiano, also played a significant role in fostering the emergence of the lied. The instrument as we know it, took shape in the 1770s and at that point became a serious rival to the harpsichord. There were two versions of this instrument in this era -- the heavier English action and the lighter Viennese action instruments. The Viennese fortepiano was used not only in Vienna but also in Berlin. This was the instrument familiar to C.P.E. Bach and was an important component in his songs which were the first to feature the beginnings of independent accompaniment patterns in the keyboard part. This new piano opened significant doors for the development, marketing, and performance of the solo lied and the burgeoning music publishing industry marketed these songs to this new class of tradesmen and merchants. These families had the financial resources to purchase them as well as to buy these instruments for their homes in order to give their children private musical instruction. These same people believed that song, “while obviously a source of harmless pleasure was also a part of a process of social and moral education.”

These songs were cultivated to the extent that it required a certain amount of education and leisure pursuit in order to learn and appreciate them yet they were not so formalized as to be inaccessible. Therefore, the aristocratic classes by way of court halls and theaters, continued to support more formal, “classical” music genres, both vocal and instrumental. The lower classes of course, had their more bawdy entertainments, so it was to be the middle class which promoted lied and the good German values it revealed.

In essence, the development of lied was an artistic by-product of a “counter-enlightenment” movement in Germany seeking to elevate the more subjective, mystical and folk-

---


like ideals of German “Gothic” culture. On the one hand, these songs were a reaction against the homogeneous effects of French internationalism and they germinated out of a late German Baroque milieu with its ideals of text-centered music and the implied rhetorical gestures accompanying it. On the other hand, lieder also appropriated the more refined aspects of the current musical style gallant, and in ways, this seemed to mitigate its original impetus to “counter” the French and Italian musical dominance.

C.P.E. Bach, a noted keyboardist, influenced many of the other “Berlin” song composers including Reichardt and Zelter to continue experimenting with these existing musical vocabularies as they worked within the genre of the lied. These songs were now being composed on separate staves with an independent accompaniment line for either harpsichord or fortepiano or clavichord. The call of the times was for simplicity and naturalness – a type of music which would uphold the integrity of the text so that the true emotions or Affekts could be experienced by the listener. Bach “supplied simple, heartfelt melodies, still using the substratum of late Italian opera style, but stripping off the ornamentation.”

This new style, which sought to elevate the poetry while also experimenting with a more independent accompaniment, set the stage for the lieder of those who would come after, including Beethoven and Schubert.

These “heart-felt” melodies continued to move toward a deepening sentimentality flowering into an even more subjective Sturm und Drang sense which determined that “if culture must intrude, the resulting work should be the creation of genius unhampered by the stultifying standards of neo-classicism.” This created a lively tension between an overall aesthetic still centered upon a tasteful sentimentalism within the context of a refined simplicity and a desire to experiment with more overt emotional expression.

---

The lied began to find its voice in this axis of tension. The mingling of objective (Galant) and subjective (Folk) realities, along with continual experimentation with melodic, harmonic, and stylistic vocabularies, created an art form which defied easy categorization and analysis. The ideals of dignity, clarity, simplicity and balance, along with the creative experimentation of the composers of the so-called Second Berlin School, brought about a hybrid style of sorts which seemed to have the ability to emphasize both textual clarity as well as a certain amount of musical complexity. These songs, usually set in strophic or modified strophic form and accompanied by a single fortepiano, contrasted with the older, operatic airs and solo cantatas with figured bass accompaniments which were mainly performed by a group of instrumental players.

After an initial discussion of the historical, literary and technological conditions which set the stage for the continued development of lieder, representative songs set to the poetry of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe by Johann Friedrich Reichardt, and Carl Friedrich Zelter will be examined musically and textually within the contextual framework of the performance practices of the time. A survey of the treatises of Tosi, Quantz, Hiller, Agricola, Mancini, C.P.E. Bach, Clementi and Corri along with other primary sources, such as correspondence between the composers and poets, will support the assertion that though these songs were moving toward a more coherent musical vocabulary, the declamatory/improvisatory impulse in performance was still prevalent and quite common.
CHAPTER III
THE RISE OF GERMAN LYRIC POETRY
AND JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE

While secular songs in German existed in various forms since the Middle Ages, lieder as commonly known, began to emerge in the mid-to-late eighteenth century. As stated earlier, this development paralleled the flowering of German poetry around the same time. As with much of the other arts of this time, the poetry at mid-century retained pleasant themes reminiscent of classical antiquity. Poets such as Friedrich von Hagedorn, Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim and Christian Fürchtegott Gellert composed poems on themes of love, wine and song often amid Arcadian, pastoral settings after the ancient Greek poet, Anacreon. These ideals, referred to by Jane Brown as those of “middle-class urbanites playing at being shepherds and shepherdesses”\(^{23}\) were reflected in the early works of Goethe, Schiller and Herder before 1770, mainly “in a spirit of play…Schäferpoesie…fit only to be stored away in museums for the benefit of “childish scholars”.\(^{24}\)

Then in 1773, Herder published his famous *Von Deutsches Art und Kunst* (On German Manner and Poetry) and a new emphasis on folk poetry and folk song supplanted the simple Arcadian verse as well as the literary forms influenced by French Rationalism. Herder praised German folk idioms as well as songs and poems from other northern European cultures including England. The *Sturm und Drang* was born and the movement engulfed Goethe’s and Schiller’s world.

After Goethe’s sojourn to and return from Italy, his poetry began to radiate with a newfound emotionalism. This new subjectivity found its voice in his work and proved to be a powerful influence on German poetry and literary culture as a whole. It was in the 1770s that

German poetry began to find its post-classicist and “lyric” voice. Fully embracing the ideals of Herder and the techniques of Goethe, poetry embodied the common values of das Volk. In addition, German society was beginning to shift away from the empirical ideals of its own late-coming enlightenment. Objectivity in culture and the arts was beginning to wane in favor of a growing subjectivity; an awareness of the soul and spirit and a reconnection with the past.

An emerging sense of “German-ness” now characterized this movement as the people began to see lyric poetry as a unique German contribution to European culture. The ensuing tension between the rationalist and mystical polarities thereby created a more diverse socio-cultural environment than is often noted in scholarly circles. Out of this milieu arose the idea of the German university, an institution which helped forge a unique synthesis of objective and subjective realities, providing professional education and training for bureaucrats as well as “neo-humanistic education of individual cultivation.” While Enlightenment values seemed to be an over-arching force at least until mid-century, its hegemony was not complete. A cultural dialogue between objective and subjective realities in the German-speaking countries began to take hold in this Counter-Enlightenment, setting the stage for the Sturm und Drang. In this environment, Goethe created some of his most lasting works and it was here that the dynamic confluences of text and music flowed together to give birth to the Romantic notion of the lied.

This cultural identity, however, was simpler and more folkish when compared with the cosmopolitanism throughout the rest of Western Europe. Inspired by the “enlightened” thinking of the French philosophes and often spread via the Napoleonic sword, enlightenment thought influenced the politics, literature, and music of the time. This tended to somewhat homogenize

---

25 Das Volk is a common term meaning the German people, namely, the common people. According to Terrance Mournet, the term “folklore” was eventually coined because of Herder’s emphasis on the role of das Volk in his writings on the words of Jesus in the New Testament. See Oral Tradition and Literary Dependency (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 4.

the musical style permeating France, as well as Italy and the British Isles. German lyric poetry, however, with its initial emphasis on folk narratives and mystical/spiritual themes, helped inspire a culture often at odds with the more objective, analytical and decorative cultural expressions of the Emfindsamkeit 27

C.P.E. Bach, while a part of the court of Frederick the Great and an inspirational influence on those composers who followed him, composed according to most of the Berlin School ideals. In his own words, he revealed his objective was “playing and composing as songfully as possible.” 28 Of course he was discussing his instrumental and keyboard music yet it was clear he thought of his music as “speech” in that it was to communicate specific thoughts, ideas, and emotions. He went on to compare the best of his music to the “noble simplicity of song.” 29 The composers associated with this movement were moving away from the excesses of the late Baroque and settling into the aesthetic values of the day which favored songs set in a more straightforward and strophic style.

These songs, with their simple accompaniments, were composed in a way that gave the greatest importance to the poetry and its proper setting. The music, on the other hand, lacked the intensified development often characterized by wide melodic leaps or shifting keys. This fostered the creation of simple, more “natural” melodies which followed the contour of the spoken text.

In contrast to his “developing” yet still somewhat pedantic melodic development, Bach reserved most of his skill and creativity in working with harmony and texture. Donald Ivey

27 The term Emfindsamkeit is translated from the German to mean a state of sensitivity. The term can also be used to refer to the era as the Age of Sensibility or Sentimentality. It was concerned with an ideal of personal and subjective expression often highly nuanced. For more information, see Howard Smither, *A History of the Oratorio: Vol. 3, The Oratorio in the Classical Era*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1887), 72-373.


29 Burney, 209.
states, “Perhaps because of the melodic restrictions under which Bach felt he had to work, the real interest in his songs is harmonic. And in spite of his adherence to the principles of the Berlin School, there is considerable harmonic illustration, even in the Gellert songs, which are his finest attempts in this genre.”\textsuperscript{30} One could surmise this interest in harmonic color and complexity, a long-held characteristic of northern German music, was simply a part of his upbringing and acculturation.

The settings of the religious poetry of Christian Fürchtegott Gellert were some of his most well-known and these certainly influenced the work of Reichardt and Zelter. These songs were among the first to employ a fully written-out keyboard accompaniment in contrast to earlier songs which still retained elements of the basso-continuo style with figured bass. C.P.E. Bach was moving away from the older style and toward the new while still allowing for a certain restrained version of improvisatory text declamation in order to interpret the text and reveal the proper affeckt.

He seemed to be reaching back to an earlier practice, one preceding Handel and J.S. Bach, to that of Caccini, Peri, Monteverdi, and others of the Florentines who simply wanted the music to bring out the emotions of the poetry. He “supplied simple, heartfelt melodies, still using the substratum of late Italian opera style, but stripping off the ornamentation.”\textsuperscript{31} This new style which sought to elevate the poetry while also experimenting with a more independent accompaniment set the stage for the lieder of the later Romantic composers.

While tempo and performance instructions were minimal in Bach’s time, he did prescribe some basic suggestions for each song. Despite this, vocal improvisation was still being practiced on a more limited scale. The singers and keyboard players were influenced by the performance


20
conventions of the years immediately prior, as well as by the new treatises (C.P.E. Bach, Quantz, etc.,) coming out of the salon culture of King Frederick’s court.

**Introduction to Goethe**

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe was born at Frankfort-on-Main on 28 August 1749 and died on 22 March, 1832. He was born to Johann Kaspar von Goethe, a lawyer and Katherine Elizabeth, a lively and impulsive woman only eighteen years old at his birth. It is said the poet inherited his highly imaginative, witty and impetuous disposition from her and a stoic stability from his father. The Father’s side of his personality served to balance the former and kept his inherent artistic genius in check. Goethe was a happy man and felt his literary work should serve to uplift, encourage, and promote the simple, everyday joys of life from eating and drinking to sport and finally love.  

The most productive years of Goethe’s life, in a literary sense, were from 1770-1776. He left Leipzig and journeyed to Strasbourg in 1770 to complete his law studies. Though the city was outside the German empire at this time, it was still wholly German in ethnicity, language and culture. Here he met Herder, who tutored him in the history and significance of a Northern European center of gravity. He fell under the influence of its Gothic architecture, legends and ways of thinking, as well as folk poetry and song. This worldview encompassed an unlikely synthesis of Norse and Hebrew mysticism and the works of Shakespeare whose dramas were influenced by Ossian, the mythical essence of Scottish folk poetry.

These Strasbourg experiences began to turn Goethe away from the simple, pastoral, Arcadian poetry toward more serious work which revealed deeper aspects of the human experience. At this juncture, he began an intellectual and spiritual journey which would

---

legitimize the turmoil swirling throughout his world and also within him. The *Sturm und Drang* movement seemed to burst upon the scene with the publication of his drama, *Götz von Berlichingen* in 1773. Turmoil, despair and highly charged sentimentalism characterized his *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (The Sorrows of Young Werther) of 1774. In a way, this tragic novel captured the essence of *Sturm und Drang* and made Goethe a household name throughout Europe, espousing Germanic literary ideals as a harbinger of the Romanticism to come. In Goethe’s major works of this period, the poignant sentimentalism of *Werther* leads ultimately to the utter tragedy of *Faust.*

According to Nicholas Boyle, his journey to Italy in 1786 proved to be a pivotal moment in his life. 33 He resided in Rome for the greater part of two years almost exclusively among other German intellectuals and artists. Goethe sought self-discovery and what he was convinced he needed in order to complete his artistic persona. Here, he searched for deeper insights into the minds and souls of the ancient masters while working on his own setting of *Iphigenia.* Though his residency was marked by significant moments of historical and archeological discovery, “his reaction to Rome was not straightforward, almost as if in the passage from image to reality, and desire for fulfillment, he had lost something and did not know how to deal with what instead he had found.” 34

The Roman visit was, for Goethe, not a total loss. Though failing to experience a true sensual communion with the world of classical art, he did have a transformation of sorts: “I did not think I would have to unlearn so much.” 35 His goal in Rome was to satisfy a deep longing


34 Boyle, 432.
for total artistic and personal fulfillment. The fact he didn’t find what he was looking for seemed to release him from the sense of longing after whatever it was. Through this, he found a sense of inner calm which began the process of tempering the *Sturm und Drang* aesthetic. This realization led toward his other great novel, *Wilhelm Meister’s Lehrjahre* and ultimately into the final reconciliation with his naturalistic and classicist roots resulting in his influence on Weimar Classicism. Commenting to Eckermann, Goethe said on the purpose of poems that “…reality must be their stimulus…” He goes on, though to clarify, “Reality must provide the themes, the points to be made, the heart of the matter; but to shape all this into a beautiful living whole is the poet’s business.”

Though Goethe was not a trained musician, his interest in music is well-known. He met and conversed with many of the leading musicians of his time and at one time, there was speculation as to whether Zelter actively prevented Goethe and Schubert from ever meeting face to face. While Zelter was protective of his relationship with Goethe, this has idea has been dismissed through careful examination of the many letters exchanged between the two men. For many years, some scholars interpreted Goethe’s lack of enthusiasm for Schubert and his lieder as evidence of his ignorance and lack of appreciation for music. Yet the evidence is strong in the opposing view. As a young man, he studied voice, piano and the cello. Though he never achieved technical mastery, he nurtured a deep and intuitive sense of musicality which is evidenced in his poetry, namely his lieder.

Romain Rolland, in paraphrasing a passage from *Wilhem Meister* on Goethe’s creative process asserts, “Never throughout his life, did he write a lied without humming a melody to it.”

---

When discussing thoughts concerning innate musicianship, Goethe remarked to Eckermann about Mozart, “musical talent may well be the first to show itself, because music is something altogether innate and internal which does not need much nourishment from outside or any experience of life.” These are not the words of someone who has no interest in or inkling of the significance of music. Goethe’s musicality was not just the extra-literary pursuit of a dilettante for he believed strongly that music and poetry should be integrated together in a new way. Paul Nettl commented:

The unity of Goethe’s nature explains his approach to music better than do the paradoxes of the man. For Goethe, sound and word had to fuse into an inseparable whole, in the Greek sense. The poets of Hellas never sundered the two, and for Goethe music flowed from poetry, and poetry from music.

---

CHAPTER IV

JOHANN FRIEDRICH REICHARDT (1752-1814) AND
CARL FRIEDRICH ZELTER (1759-1832)

Introduction to Reichardt

Johann Friedrich Reichardt was born in Königsberg, East Prussia on 25 November 1752. Reared in a musical family, he began his own musical studies as a child studying violin under F.A. Veichtner, lute from his father Johann Reichardt and organ with Professor G.G. Richter, who also introduced him to the music of J.S. Bach and C.P.E. Bach. Though he aspired to composition, he failed to receive a proper grounding in this and therefore struggled with various aspects of the art throughout his lifetime.

Reichardt was a chorister as a child and toured with the well-known choir directed by his Father. At the age of sixteen he fell under the influence of Immanuel Kant while studying at Königsberg University. Kant encouraged him to study law and philosophy, which he did in Leipzig from 1769 to 1771. While at Leipzig, he was able to study music with Johann Adam Hiller, Singspiele composer and artistic director of the Gewandhause concerts. There, he also accompanied the well-known soprano Corona Schröter who was also a lied composer.\(^{41}\) In addition to his work in musical composition and directing, he also practiced law for a while.

Following his studies at Leipzig from 1771-1774, he traveled widely throughout Germany in a quest to “find himself” and what he was ultimately to do with his adult life. He encountered many of the leading intellectuals and political figures of the time and was exposed to the practical application of the new rationality and Empfindsamkeit as it manifested itself in actual musical performances he attended.

---

\(^{41}\) Hers was the first-known setting of Goethe’s *Erlkönig* composed for the Singspiele, *Das Fischerin* and sung by the character Dortchen which was played by Schröter. The song was originally included in her 1786 collection of Lieder. For more information, see “Musical Women of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries” in *Women and Music: A History*, 2\(^{nd}\) Ed. ed. by Karin Pendle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 129.
In addition, he became aware of the famous English musician, critic and writer, Charles Burney. Dr. Burney’s famous essays detailing the supposed strengths and weaknesses of German music and culture provoked him to publish a series entitled, *Vertraute Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden.* (Letters of an Attentive Traveller). These published letters deftly inferred that Burney was an “in-attentive” or ignorant traveler and observer, especially when it came to comprehending music in the German lands.

In these, he not only recorded impressions of his travels and performances, but also bitingly responded to Burney’s criticisms. Concerning a performance of a Hasse opera, Reichardt remarked about his melodious and pleasing music,

> If a melody leaves an impression on one who is not a connoisseur and remains in his memory, this is unfailing proof that it is natural and unforced. Such a melody is not peculiar to Hasse; Graun and many others have it also. But something I find only in Hasse is this: once an idea has made an impression, one can never forget it.  

In response to Burney’s criticisms of Hasse, he states,

> For behold, an English gossip comes flying along and tells us things, most of which do not even deserve to stand in the footnotes of a good book of this kind; alas for him who, not knowing with whom he has to deal, may read his forthcoming little history which threatens us poor Germans with double punishment!  

After learning of the death of Kapellmeister Johann Agricola, he applied for and was appointed Royal Prussian Court Kapellmeister in the court of Frederick the Great. Following only a two-year full-time tenure in this position he married Julianne Benda, daughter of composer Franz Benda, and a professional singer and song composer in her own right. Together they had a son, Wilhelm (1777-1782) and a daughter Louise (1779-1826), who also became a significant lieder composer. His wife, however, died in 1783 and he was soon remarried.

---

43 Reichardt, 703.
During these years, Reichardt traveled widely and cultivated an interesting and diverse circle of friends and acquaintances. When he was in Potsdam, his home often functioned as a “salon” for composers, poets, artists and other intellectuals. He also made several trips to England, Switzerland and Sweden as well as France, Italy and Austria. It was in Vienna that he was introduced to both Emperor Joseph II and Christoph Willibald Gluck in 1783.

After his return to Berlin in 1786, he was re-installed as Royal Kapellmeister following the death of Frederick the Great. It was then he developed professional and personal relationships with Goethe and Schiller, as well as with Johann Gottfried Herder and Johann Georg Hamann, both original purveyors of the *Sturm und Drang* movement. In 1789, he worked with Goethe on *Claudine von Vila Bella*, the first German opera to be presented in the Prussian Court. For Reichardt, this was a moment of great professional pride and accomplishment and it began a professional relationship with the great poet during which he functioned for a while as Goethe’s musical advisor and frequent collaborator.

Although his many trips to Paris yielded him no great musical successes, he developed deep sympathies with the French revolutionary fervor in that country. He published his book, *Vertrauten Briefe über Frankreich* (Intimate Letters on France) in 1792 touting these revolutionary ideals and for these was summarily sacked from his Court Kapellmeister position. During this time he also wrote other intimate letters where it was thought he degenerated into name-dropping and critical gossip. Through these, he criticized Beethoven, alienated Zelter and virtually destroyed his relationship with Goethe.

In 1796 he was eventually pardoned for his support of the French Revolution and returned to civil service with his appointment as director of the municipal salt mine in Halle. He was also allowed to perform again and he often traveled to Berlin to publish and conduct premier performances of his compositions.
As a result of the ensuing Reign of Terror in France, Reichardt finally became disillusioned with the revolution and with French culture and politics. He also became a vocal opponent of Napoleon and as a result, suffered several wartime indignities at the hands of the occupying French army, namely the sacking and burning of his estate at Giebichenstein. He then fled northeast to Danzig, where for a brief time he served as a partisan against the French. However, Jerome Bonaparte who was Napoleon’s brother, recalled Reichardt to be named as Theater Director in Kassell in 1807.

He left this post after only nine months and journeyed to Vienna where he became aware of the music of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. He had hoped to make a showing there with his own compositions but soon realized the populace was not interested in the northern German musical genres. The Viennese classic style was now in full bloom and even Reichardt eventually became enamored with it.

After returning to Germany, he eventually died from a gastric illness in his native Giebichenstein in 1814. Although his Singspiels and stage dramas never caught on, his ballads and lieder enjoyed significant success throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.

Reichardt’s Music

Known mostly for various vocal genres, and probably due to his lack of coherent compositional training, Reichardt began to break from the conventions of the Second Berlin School. His was a dramatic vision which incorporated elements of the new Singspiel, Italian opera, the Gluck-inspired French operatic style as well as German examples of volkstümliche
music. In this, he rejected what he considered to be the worn-out opera seria. though many of his stage works were composed in styles deferential to the leading figures of this genre.

For example, his opera, Andromeda which was composed in 1787, was an intentional melding of both French and Italian idioms. Here, he combined the old virtuosic singing styles influenced by the Italians with dramatic staging ideals intentionally designed with the German public in mind while also reflecting the era of reform. Reichardt’s compositions were a bit of a contradiction in that while he was moving toward Romanticism, he still adhered to many of the old axioms of musical and dramatic practice. Established ideals such as Bel Canto vocal styles and Aristotelian and Metastasian prohibitions against mixing comedy and tragedy had implications for all his music, both vocal and instrumental. Because of this contradiction, he was able to establish his own musical persona. However, it was difficult for him to ascend any higher due to the critics and public’s belief that he was unable to fully embrace the emerging musically complex forms of classicism.

In 1789, with the blessing of Frederick the Great, he composed Claudine von Villa Bella on a German libretto by Goethe. For Reichardt, this was a watershed moment in that opera in German was finally being recognized. He hoped that perhaps this would be the beginning of something new and lasting. He was to collaborate with Goethe on other stage works such as the Singspiel, Jery und Bätely first performed in 1801. It is believed his affinity for folk melodies enabled him to excel in the less formal and more popular Singspiel. His was a gift for capturing just the right mood or Affeckt, whether in simple solo songs and arias or more complex scenes involving crowds or storms such as the instrumental storm scene in his Die Geisterinsel.

44 Volkstümliche is translated from the German as “folklikeness” or “popular” as opposed to the more highbrow or intellectual. In this discussion, it relates mainly to the ideal of folk idioms such as legends, poetry, and song in the German tradition. See Richard Taruskin’s description of the term as a rustic “authentic wisdom” associated with a peculiar “language community or nation”. This is evidenced by an “expressive culture” through its customs, dress, arts, etc. in Music in the Nineteenth Century, The Oxford History of Western Music, Vol. 3 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 121.
Less successful were his Liederspielen, a genre he invented which were inspired by the earlier Singspiels of Johann Adam Hiller. The libretti were “insufficient, scanty, one-act works built on French models.” These were different from the Singspiel in that the music was not quasi-operatic, but consisted of pre-existing poems set to new, more popular music. In these, Reichardt desired to create his own unique type of Vaudevilles which were already popular entertainments designed for less affluent suburban audiences.

Reichardt’s Lieder

Reichardt’s songs, approximately 1500 lieder and ballads set to the texts of some 125 poets, were actually quite sophisticated for the time, especially when compared to other Berlin School composers. It is interesting to consider that he alternated between times of high creativity and prolific output and relative unproductivity. These unproductive periods seemed to correspond with times of personal upheaval, such as the death of his first wife and the trauma of the Napoleonic wars. His most productive season of lieder composition was between the years of 1794 and 1798 with his first collection of Goethe songs, Goethe’s Lyrical Poems Set to Music by Reichardt (Goethe’s Lyrischen Gedichten mit Musik von Reichardt). His settings of Erlkönig and Heidenröslein were contained in this volume.

Though sometimes considered paltry when compared to the more “musically-inspired” lieder of Schubert, Reichardt’s songs, more often than not, departed from the odes and stricter strophic songs of C.P.E. Bach as he continued to experiment within the genre. As stated earlier, he desired to expand the boundaries of text setting beyond merely melodic doublings as

well as strict matching of poetic meter. He sought to maintain the simple aesthetic while also exploring the various irregularities in typical lyric poetry and music. His represented a wide range of genres and compositional styles including simple children’s songs used for educational purposes, strophic, modified strophic, through-composed, quasi-operatic *scenas*, and dramatic ballads, also known as “declamations.” He was particularly daring in his many through-composed songs where he certainly proved to be an inspiration to Schubert. Most prominent are his settings of Goethe poems.

Introduction to Zelter

Carl Friedrich Zelter was born in Berlin on 11 December 1758 and died on 15 May 1832. Unlike Reichardt, he was not born into a musical family but rather into a mercantile home of fairly prosperous means. As a part of the emerging German middle class, his father, George Zelter, was a mason and his mother, Anna Dorothea Hintze was a textile worker. His father wished nothing more than for his son to follow in his professional footsteps. Reluctantly, Zelter trained as a mason and was accepted into the trade after a three-year apprenticeship. During this time, he was also working as a composer while traveling to Berlin and Potsdam to conduct several of his works.

1787 proved to be a pivotal year in Zelter’s life. King Frederick the Great died and with him also the long tradition of arts patronage enjoyed in the Prussian Court. To commemorate this occasion, Zelter composed a cantata on the text *Warum ist euer Blick so tief gesenkt?* (Why is Your Glance Thus Cast Down?). A few months after this, he dealt with the sudden death of his own father. This left him with the full responsibility for his father’s business and the care of his ageing and sickly mother. At this point, He took over his father’s business and became a member of the famous Berlin mason’s guild enabling him to fully enter the trade and maintain
the middle class lifestyle to which he had become accustomed. It also helped to support him and his family as he later pursued his musical career more fully.

As a result of these occurrences, he felt the need to settle into a more domestic lifestyle and in 1787 he married Sophie Eleonora Flörike who already had three children from a previous marriage. She and he then had eight children together before she died in childbirth in 1795. In the following year, Zelter married the well-known singer, Juliane Pappritz, who bore two children. She then died in 1806.

Zelter, a self-taught pianist and violinist, sensed he needed more training and began formal composition lessons under Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch. In 1791, in what was to become one of the seminal moments of his early musical life, he became a part of the Berlin Singakademie which Fasch founded and directed. It was at this point that Zelter began to turn his attention away from his successful masonry business and toward music full-time.

Eventually in 1800, Zelter took over as director of the Singakademie at the death of Fasch. The organization became well-known under Zelter’s leadership mainly for the performance of large-scale sacred choral and instrumental music of previous eras. This was the first of many similar musical organizations which began to appear all over Germany and often evolved from smaller neighborhood singing circles called a Singtee. These larger organizations were involved in performances of choral music from many eras including the polyphony of Palestrina and Victoria, the oratorios and passions of Handel, J.S. Bach and Haydn, as well as the latest contemporary choral works of the day. In 1809, Zelter was appointed professor of music at the Berlin Akademie der Künste (School for the Arts).

---

47 The Singtee, or Singing-Tea was a neighborhood singing circle popular among members of the emerging middle class. Zelter was apprehensive of their influence and felt them to be a threat to the larger aims of the Singakademie. For more information, see Zelter’s August 24, 1807 letter to Goethe on the subject in Lorraine Byrne Bodley’s, Goethe and Zelter: Musical Dialogues, (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009), 99.
His belief in the importance of civic responsibility led him to establish several state-sponsored educational institutions dedicated to the teaching of music for the school, community and church. These were located in Königsberg, Berlin and Breslau. He centered most of his work at the Berlin institute and there also founded a student *collegium musicum vocale* in 1830. It was during these years where he seemed to have his greatest influence over the musical life of other well-known composers. These included Otto Nicolai, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Eduard Grell and most notable of all, Felix Mendelssohn, whom he taught, mentored and introduced to Goethe when the composer was a mere eleven years old.

Mendelssohn’s association with the famous 1829 performance of J.S. Bach’s *St. Matthew Passion* is well-known. However, it should be noted that in the previous thirty years, Zelter had long championed Bach’s music and had given these works to Mendelssohn for study. This was another example of Zelter’s far-reaching influence on the Bach revival as well in the emerging German musicology and education movement of the nineteenth century. These significant musical and cultural contributions to northern Germany and its musical heritage were noted when he received an honorary doctorate from the University of Berlin in 1829. This was the last major accomplishment of his life before his death in 1832.

Like Reichardt and many other musicians and composers of the time, Zelter was also a man of letters. His ideas and opinions were set forth in his autobiography, many music reviews and critiques, as well as public addresses for learned societies on the art of music and the need for music education. He wrote numerous articles for musical and academic journals such as the famous *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, and *Lyceum der schönen Künste*.

He is well-known for his personal correspondence, namely his many letters to Goethe, in which he and the author commiserated on culture, mutual acquaintances, personal issues and the position of the lied among the other genres of music and the arts. Through these letters, a deep
and abiding friendship was cultivated between the two men. The level of intimacy is illustrated by the professionally aloof Goethe referring to Zelter with the German “du”.

Zelter finally met Goethe in person in Weimar in 1802 where he was invited for an extended visit in the poet’s home. Here he performed several of his songs, some on Goethe texts, for Goethe and Schiller who was also present. Evidently his music was well received and greatly appreciated by Goethe who wrote, “I feel that your compositions are identical with my poems; the music simply carries them into the air, like gas does a balloon. With other composers, I must first determine how they have conceived my poem and then what they have made of it.” 48 Upon Zelter’s return from the visit, he wrote to Goethe on April 7th 1802, “I thank God hourly on the knees of my heart that I have finally seen your face…a new spirit has been awakened in me since our meeting.” 49

In some of his correspondence, Zelter states attitudes reflecting a general conservatism in music, especially when compared to the compositions of Beethoven and Schubert. However, this was not reactionary conservatism but merely a regard for the significant legacy of German musical history and the best practices that went along with it.

Zelter desired to chart a hopeful course for the continued development of these musical genres and he actively participated through composing music, namely lieder, which not only reflected these past values but also revealed a creative innovation of its own.

Zelter’s Lieder

While he conducted and promoted most of the musical genres common to the time, Zelter was not known for composing dramatic works or instrumental music of any consequence. He is mainly remembered as a church music and lieder composer. Seventy-five of his two hundred

49 Goethe/Cone, 44.
and ten songs are settings of Goethe poems. He was similar to Reichardt in that he believed in the primacy of the text in song composition. In his earlier songs, the accompaniments were so simple that many were merely chordal doublings of the vocal line. When speaking of accompaniments to his songs in a letter to Carl Loewe in 1824, Zelter revealed that they should be so nondescript “the melody could exist without it.”

These earlier songs composed in the above-mentioned style, however, are only a fraction of Zelter’s output. His is a diverse body of work which represents a multiplicity of styles from the simple folk or strophic song to the dramatic ballad and finally to through-composed expressions of the lied with independent accompaniments including preludes, interludes and postludes.

Though Zelter was thought to be “conservative” in his approach, he was actually progressive for his time, often venturing into obscure keys and meters. When compared to Reichardt stylistically, Zelter “allots a larger role to the music than straightforward presentation of the words.” In comparison to Reichardt, he was not radically innovative but according to Barr, “his habit was rather one of tentative exploring in unfamiliar territory, followed by a return to familiar areas of composition.” These returns to more “normal” and accessible keys and meters were probably partly out of consideration for the modest ranges of amateur singers.

Of the most progressive musical aspects of his lied composition were his accompaniments which were striking in comparison to other songs composed according to Berlin School rules. He experimented with various harmonic, melodic and rhythmic features

52 Raymond Barr, “Carl Friedrich Zelter: A Study of the Lied in Berlin During the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries,” (PhD diss., The University of Wisconsin, 1968), 114.
which often culminated in accompaniments similar to Schubert’s in their importance to the overall mood of the song. This was yet another example of his influential position in the overall development of the musical aspects of lieder composition.

Like C.P.E. Bach and Reichardt, Zelter held strong ideas concerning text-setting in his songs. While it was important that they be as simple and natural as possible in order to preserve the integrity of the poem and the affect, it was also believed they should continue to expand the musico-dramatic possibilities. The number of his songs composed in modified strophic and other unique forms attest to his desire to set the poems effectively as well as to convey meaning and sentiment.

Modern scholars have often relegated Zelter’s lieder output either solely to the Berlin School or have labeled him as merely a transitional figure spanning the age of the strophic, folk lied and the mature lied of Schubert. Stephanie Campbell asserts, “To maintain distinctions between categories and label Zelter a “transitional” composer would implicitly marginalize him.”53

53 Campbell, 42.
CHAPTER V

PERFORMANCE PRACTICES

Introduction

The study of musical performance practice as a movement has garnered much attention in the last thirty years. Various terms used to describe the phenomenon from authentic performance to historical performance and, now the term in vogue being historically-informed performance, have reflected the changing nature of the movement as it has moved from infancy to maturity. What has been thought to be basically a mid-twentieth-century exercise was actually begun in the early to mid-nineteenth century with the J.S. Bach Revival. Initiated by Zelter and brought to fruition by Mendelssohn with his landmark performance of the *St. Matthew Passion*, this event spawned a new and uniquely German scholarly movement. It was a movement intended to mainly research and recover lost and forgotten German classics by Johann Sebastian Bach and George Frederick Handel among others.

However, it also inspired the creation of the field of musicology. This new field continued to foster an environment of thought, discovery and documentation begun with the writings of Johann Friedrich Agricola, Johann Adam Hiller, and Johann Joachin Quantz at the end of the eighteenth century. These performers, composers, teachers, critics and theorists were writing treatises on performance style and practices which reflected the music of the recent past while also setting forth good practices for current performance. An aspect of the German *Aufklärung* was a fervent desire to discover and build upon what was great and lasting in art, literature, philosophy and music as it applied to the German states.

The court of Frederick the Great was the center for this activity. Here, Quantz, C.P.E. Bach, Agricola, Reichardt and Zelter worked to compose and conduct musical presentations as well as write letters, critiques, articles and influential treatises on musical performance practices.
of the late Baroque and present time. In these, they were commenting on and codifying the practices of what had recently occurred. Moreover, they were updating many of the dictates of the older masters such as Tosi and Mancini in an effort to square with emerging ideals befitting a newer generation of German singers and players.

While they sought a correction to the ornamental and improvisatory excesses of the late Baroque, espousing a new aesthetic of simplicity, they nevertheless continued to work within a milieu still dominated by an Italianate influence. The Italians were the first to truly cultivate vocal singing styles and the pedagogical principles behind them. Many singers and teachers from central and northern Europe traveled to Italy to study these practices. They brought them home and then incorporated them into their own national styles. While opera seria and its overt musico-improvisatory excesses were waning, the original Italian ideals of melody and rhetoric were still the overall basis for musical phrasing, both instrumental and vocal. These phrases were now, however, being shaped and formed along the contours of a cleanly-articulated vocal-like line with less emphasis on passage work separated from the text.

Consequently, the rhetorical idea of music resembling speech was far from dead. The reforms of Gluck did not do away with the ideal of text-centered music and its accompanying idiomatic vocal flourishes; these merely brought it into a new, simpler and more natural practice. So, as Will Crutchfield notes, “it is thus simplest to survey Classical vocal style in the context in which it was taught: Italian music, principally operatic.” 54 This prevalent late eighteenth and early nineteenth century “Italianate” style held that the composition was mostly a template upon which the soloist, whether vocal or instrumental, would embellish in ways that showed them at

their best. They often did so using their own turns and trills, whether they were notated in the
score or not. This was not frowned upon by composers or the audience.\textsuperscript{55}

Johann Adam Hiller, in his desire to elevate the art of German singing in this era, made
unique contributions in the areas of declamation and in the assimilation of Italianate vocal
gestures. Suzanne Beinken wrote,

Hiller was an admirer of the Italian art of singing. But he realized that the brilliant
Italian style could not be duplicated in the German language because of the different
sound structures and indigenous characteristics. Moreover, the Germans lacked the
talent and training of the Italian virtuosi. Considering the state of singing in Germany
and recognizing the taste of a predominantly middle-class audience, Hiller saw the
need for a style that would negotiate between sophistication and simplicity. \textsuperscript{56}

So Hiller, as Agricola before him, was attempting to bridge the gap from the earlier practice of
free and arbitrary improvisation toward a system which appreciated the benefits of more
prescribed notation and ornaments but one which still assumed that whatever vocal
improvisatory practices continued (whether free or written-out) would mainly serve the beauty of
the vocal line and the meaning and \textit{affekt} of the text. An example of the dichotomy of the times
is Hiller’s statement, “the singer, when adding ornaments to beautify a melodic line, must take
care not to rely on only one type of ornament and must aim for variety.” \textsuperscript{57} This is not the
statement of one seeking to eradicate the earlier practice but one who seeks to mitigate its abuses
and cast a vision for a new, perhaps more pure and “German,” way forward. Along these same
lines, one of the more interesting aspects of Hiller’s theories on ornamentation and declamation
is in the addition of the un-notated dot following a note. He feels the dot “emphasizes the accent

\textsuperscript{55} Clive Brown, \textit{Classical and Romantic Performance Practice: 1750-1900} (London: Oxford University
Press, 1999), 417.
\textsuperscript{56} Johann Adam Hiller, Treatise on Vocal Performance and Ornamentation (\textit{Anweisung zum musikalische-
\textsuperscript{57} Hiller/Beicken, 72.
of the declamation” and therefore is an effective way to clarify poetic nuance as well as the proper emotion within the phrase.  

In addition to these Prussian masters were the likes of Daniel Gottlob Türk, Muzio Clementi and Leopold Mozart. While much of what they wrote was intended for instrumentalists and keyboardists, there was also valuable information for singers to glean from these treatises. It is interesting to note that even the treatises written for a specific instrument, such as Quantz’s manual on flute playing, often mentioned how their directives applied to the singing art as well.  

Again, one can see the universality of musical expression here…the ideal that music, whether played or sung, vividly communicated thoughts, ideals, emotions and sentiment. Music of this time was intended to persuade the intellect as well as the emotions of the listener.

Vocal Articulation

The vocal styles certainly revealed the aesthetic ideals of the time. The ascendancy of melody over harmony, an overall culture of elegant simplicity, yet a desire to communicate emotion, required the singers to continue in their mastery of the old arts of improvisation while also learning to sing with a proportionally expressive sense of line. According to C.P.E. Bach, the performer “should exercise his ear as much as possible by diligent listening to good performances and, the better to understand many things, must have mastered the art of thorough bass.” He goes on to warn that the performer who has no knowledge of harmony, as taught by the Baroque masters, is doomed to “…fumbling in the dark…” when attempting to apply

—

58 Hiller/Beicken, 73.
proper embellishments.\textsuperscript{61} The desire to communicate meaning was the primary goal of singers and so they were not that different from those singers who came before them as well as those who would follow after.

A more fluid and graceful style gradually began to displace the detached and florid Baroque vocal gesture. It was a different way to articulate the vocal phrase. Instead of emphasizing vocal runs and multiple registers with their various dramatic implications and colors, singers lined-out the phrase in a more lyrical sense of line. This type of articulation minimized the “parts” of the vocal line while maximizing the “whole”. In the same way, there was an attempt to reconcile the two broad polarities of the Italianate method of free improvisation and ornamentation with the German ideal of a more scientifically prescribed system where the composer actually wrote-in the desired embellishments. This, in addition to the unique rise, fall and cadence of the German language and its manifestation within a poetic rhyme scheme, fostered a clean and simpler way of singing.

Domenico Corri instructed singers to emphasize word inflection, not so much in a clear, detached, consonant-centered approach, but from a more vowel-centered approach. He encouraged singers to practice on neutral vowels or on solfegge syllables in order to emphasize this type of vocal articulation. He used the term, “gradual notes” inferring slower passages with longer note values. Corri advises, “When the passages are, of gradual notes, slur and join them with nicety; when leaping passages, give them a well-articulated accent.”\textsuperscript{62} This implies emphasizing a more legato and song-like vocal line even when negotiating wide melodic leaps and melismatic passages. This was not yet the consistent bottom-to-top register connection of

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{61} C.P.E. Bach/Treitler, 854.
\end{itemize}
later Romantic singing, but it represented a move away from the clearly delineated chest/head
registers more common in Baroque singing styles.

In addition, the new scientific advancements of the day found their way into musical
instruments which had a tendency to standardize and line-out their tone. This too had an effect
on singing styles. It is significant that singers in the Classical and early Romantic periods were
beginning to sing with more emphasis on legato and cantabile styles. 63 It seems this was, at
least partly, due to technological advancements in the instruments and to the development of a
new violin bow by Francois Tourte in the late eighteenth century. 64 The Tourte bow was longer,
heavier, and included more hair laid out in a flat configuration. This enabled the bow to
withstand more tension against the strings allowing the player to “dig into” the instrument for a
firmer, more brilliant tone which was able to sustain longer, more dramatic musical lines. In
addition, the new fortepianos, especially the heavier English action instruments, were able to
more fully support the singer with a stronger sustaining power of their own. These
advancements, along with larger performance halls, not only supported a slightly heavier, more
sustained type of singing but they actually influenced it to develop.

The evidence from the sources seems to point to an emerging feeling that a more
cantabile style had the ability to better portray and reveal textual meaning and sentiment without
the accompanying excesses fostered by the late Baroque style. In essence, performers began to
default to legato articulation while employing detached articulation for vocal and dramatic
contrast and when specifically called for by the text.

63 Cantabile style refers to a smooth, legato, melodic line…singable and songlike. This style became more
prevalent in the pre-classical/classical period. For more information, see Will Crutchfield’s “Classical Music:
Voices” in Performance Practice: Music After 1600, ed, Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie (New York:
W.W. Norton & Co., 1989), 301-305.
64 The Tourte violin bow was developed by Francois Tourte in France in the 1780s. It eventually replaced
the smaller Baroque bows used previously. For more information, see Paul Childs, “Tourte” In Grove Music
(accessed April 1, 2012).
Non-singing sources also began to recommend this type of articulation. It is unclear as to who was imitating who – singers or instrumentalists. String treatises encouraged more slurring in the various bow techniques, perhaps in order to mimic the sound and articulation of the human voice. As previously mentioned, the Tourte bow was able to sustain a heavier, longer, more lyric line. In his 1801 treatise on keyboard playing, Clementi, an advocate of the capabilities of the English action pianos stated, “When the composer leaves the legato and staccato to the performer’s taste; the best rule is, to adhere chiefly to the legato.”

Though Pier Francesco Tosi wrote on the singing practices of the Baroque, namely that of the castrato, Johann Agricola recognized Tosi’s importance for the development of the current singing art among north Germans. Agricola translated and “updated” Tosi’s treatise to suit the “enlightened” tastes of the court of Frederick the Great. His commentary illustrated how musical tastes had changed by the mid eighteenth-century, particularly in the move from detached to more legato articulation. He stated, “One seeks hereby to express, in singing, an imitation of a certain slippery smoothness. Experts in music call this type of division “slurring”. The effect of this is very pleasant indeed, if the singer does not avail himself of it too often.”

Interestingly, he attempted to find a compromise between the two different articulatory gestures in quicker triplet passages where a slur is added above the note groupings and dots are added under the slurs. According to Julianne Baird who updated and translated Agricola’s work into English, the effect was “a kind of pulsation of vocal intensity.” Agricola instructs, “that one must neither separate nor detach the notes, but rather execute each one with a slight impulse

67 Agricola/Baird, 22.
from the chest.”  

In an effort to navigate through this transitional time, he endorsed what remained acceptable and fashionable (a pulsing type of articulation), while also detailing how tastes had changed (a lining-out of clearly detached phrases) and what was now expected from the performer.

**Tempo Considerations**

In the Baroque, tempos were often associated with specific dance movements often taken directly from the Baroque dance suites. These dances represented particular emotions, states of mind, or affects and there was little room for flexibility within the work. The *Minuet* was a stately dance in triple meter often used to portray aristocratic characters or lofty situations. The *Gigue*, on the other hand, was a lively dance usually reserved for simple characters, farce, or low-brow situations. Regarding the lack of flexibility, Aristotelian dramatic strictures against mixing tragedy and comedy within a single work were also influential in the Baroque and its idea of *Affektenlehre*. Metastasio, in his opera libretti, carried over these ideals and applied them in his philosophy of entrance and exit arias, most all in the prescribed *da capo* form. Specific moods were thus clearly insinuated and correlated with the tempo changes within each section of the aria.

Enlightenment values had a liberating effect on issues of tempo and rhythm by allowing a greater sense of dramatic flexibility within a single musical work. Composers were now free to “mix genres”, meaning they could express a multiplicity of moods or affects in one piece. Gluck, in his opera reforms, began to deconstruct the rules employed in Metastasian opera by

---

68 Agricola/Baird, 135 (Baird 160-161).
writing in a more fluid, less stratified manner. Therefore, no longer were set musical forms always in a predictable tempo from start to finish. “For example, a minuet could be slow, creating a noble and stately atmosphere, or faster, with a lighter, more graceful feeling.”

Tempo markings, as we know them today, were codified in the various treatises previously mentioned. These were further subdivided into “qualifying adjectives or diminutives” in order to relate more subtle aspects such as larghetto as being less slow than largo and the addition of molto to any of the markings, meaning “more of”. These terms took on even greater subtlety and additional ambiguity as music moved into the Sturm und Drang and then a Romantic aesthetic. As a result, composers, performers, conductors and critics were often at odds with one another over issues of tempo leading to room for various interpretations of “appropriate” performance tempos. Some adhered to an older, more stratified ideal while others were performed in a freer, more flexible approach.

Richard Taruskin argues that the modern conception of the musical “text” as an artifact that is “rescued, as it were, from tradition…and enshrined as autonomous, eternally fixed.” is a corruption. This late nineteenth-century ideal of Werktreue had not yet been established and its tenets would have been a foreign concept to most composers and performers of the time. Consequently, an emerging ideal of a performance tradition, where the performer “identified” with the spirit of the work, the composer, and interpreters who came before, while also taking into consideration objective criteria from the treatises, was the way to go.

---

71 Elliot, 102.
73 Werktreue can be translated from the German to mean “fidelity to the work”. This is the ideal of composer’s intent or fidelity to the text leading to the concept of “absolute music”. For more information, see Taruskin, Text and Act, 277-278.
This culture of flexibility also led to a developing acceptance of *rubato*, albeit nothing like the later Romantic understanding of the term. The value of playing strictly in time was a hallmark of post-Enlightenment musical performance into the classical period. However, this was not without exceptions, especially in slower, more sentimental music. The classical ideal of *rubato* was a hybrid between maintaining a steady beat while “stealing time” in another voice. For instance in a keyboard piece, the left hand would maintain strict time while the right hand would speed up and slow down appropriately in order to expressively render the passage. The same would happen in an aria or song, with the vocal line expressing a *rubato* feel over a strict-time accompaniment.

Finally, the more subtle issues of accentuation within the contextual framework of tempo and rhythm is important to consider. Singers of the late classical and early romantic eras would often “bend” a tempo or rhythm in order to more expressively accent or render a musical phrase with a purpose to clarify textual meaning and mood. There is evidence that composers sought to create music which was “liberated…from the restrictions of meter”. 74 In regard to tempo and meter according to Clive Brown, “rather more flexibility is likely to have been approved in practice than the stricter theorists seem to imply.” 75

Ornamentation and Improvisation

Embellishments and other additions to the musical text were still assumed to be a common part of any performance of vocal music of the time. Though the treatises clearly implied the waning role of the performer in favor of the composer, this seems to be more of a “conceptual” ideal rather than hard reality. The theorists and writers often failed to account for

74 Brown, 27.
75 Brown, 24.
the reality of what was actually happening in performance. Many singers of this time were either Italian by birth, trained in Italy, or significantly influenced by the Italianate style which emphasized melody along with florid ornamentation. These singers were thoroughly schooled in the arts of florid and improvisatory singing and had the capacity to employ a great variety of ornamentation choices based on the music, the text and their mood. Though the earlier songs of the Berlin School were conceived as much for amateurs in the parlor as for professionals in the court or concert hall, many of Reichardt’s and Zelter’s songs held appeal for these professional singers.

The treatises of this time reflected the prevailing fashions and these revolved around enlightened ideals of discernment and le bon goût. C. P.E. Bach believed the music being composed, however, did not always reflect what was recorded in the treatises. There was great variety ranging from the highly ornamented and improvisatory style being practiced by the Italians in comparison to the more subdued and prescribed ornaments now being written into the music by the German composers. All of these differing types of embellishments were considered to be “an essential aspect of musicianly performance in all circumstances and genres of music, without which the music would be lacking in communicative power.” So even though taste and fashion changed, the fundamental ideal of the communicative and rhetorical power of musical performance remained basically intact.

Here again, the reforms of Gluck were to be keenly felt. Gluck, feeling that music should reflect textual meaning, worked to foster an atmosphere where music, text and drama were

---

76 Mary Hunter, “To Play as if From the Soul of the Composer: The Idea of the Performer in Early Romantic Aesthetics,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 58, no. 2 (Summer 2005), 361.
77 *La bon goût* refers loosely to refined or “good taste” in Enlightenment thought. Voltaire thought it to be the opposite of *le goût sensuel* or a brutish and confused sensibility. See *The Aesthetic Thought of the French Enlightenment* by Francis X.J. Coleman (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), 35, 36.
78 Brown, 415.
79 Brown, 416.
integrated into an emotional, yet elegant and tasteful operatic experience. This precluded ostentatious vocal displays “above the simple and honest flow of the drama.” The singers were therefore encouraged to adapt to the new style while singing in the florid tradition. They did this while judiciously selecting ornamentation which coincided with and reflected the dramatic implications of the libretto.

The various ornamental figures were divided into two basic types, those written in the music as small notes, *wesentliche* (essential) and those notated by various signs and symbols, *willkürlich* (non-essential). Many of these symbols were codified first in C.P.E. Bach’s *Versuch*. Examples of these included mordents, trills, turns and various forms of *appoggiaturas*, the latter being the most important ornament used in this period. One form of the “classical” *appoggiatura*, often referred to as the *prosodic appoggiatura* due to its importance in relation to the prosody of the text, seemed to be uniformly practiced but later became a subject of some controversy. Will Crutchfield strongly professed it was employed on all feminine line endings regardless of textual meaning. In this sense, the *appoggiatura* was assumed and not necessarily considered ornamentation. Therefore, singers performed them whether or not they were written in the music.

There was some amount of confusion as to whether these *appoggiaturas* should be employed on masculine phrase endings, in other words a complete poetic line where the phrase was not followed by a rest, or in the middle of *cantabile* phrases. There were more examples of this in German music due to the nature of the language which seemed to have fewer feminine

---

80 Elliot, 112.
82 For a fuller discussion of feminine line endings and the *prosodic appoggiatura*, see Will Crutchfield in “Voices” in *Performance Practice: Music After 1600* by Howard Mayer Brown...298. Feminine line endings describe a phrase followed by a rest or some other punctuation. According to Crutchfield, quoting Hiller, these were often “blunt endings” meaning a note repetition. The *appoggiatura* was usually performed as either a falling second or fourth depending on the textual/emotional connotation.
line endings than did Italian. In spite of this, most authorities considered it excessive to add these *appoggiaturas* on anything other than feminine line endings.\(^83\)

Modern controversy erupted in scholarly debates over this practice as Frederick Neumann seemed to infer the sources were not definitive in their admonition to assume that *prosodic appoggiatura* would always be performed whether written in or not. He asserted it was mainly appropriate to do so if the text called for the added emphasis and if it “reflected the prosodic accent on the penultimate syllable of a feminine ending.”\(^84\) These ambiguities, along with the modern debate, shed light on the issue of the *appoggiatura* in general. Its inconsistency in notation and the varying methods of its employment depended on the country, region of a country and the treatise.

While the majority of the preceding discussion carries more weight for opera singers of the time, it is still significant to note that many of those who sang other genres of vocal music, namely lieder, were trained in this operatic tradition and naturally approached song interpretation from an improvisatory/declamatory context. The baritone Johann Michael Vogel, known as the leading interpreter of Schubert’s songs as late as the 1820’s, performed many of these with various trills, turns, cadenzas and speech-like recitative in appropriate places. Though there was some amount of discussion and a little controversy at times between the composer and Vogel, it appears Schubert was pleased overall with the ways in which Vogel interpreted and embellished his songs. In an 1825 letter to his brother, Schubert wrote, “The manner in which Vogel sings and I accompany, how we appear in a given moment to be united into one, is something quite new and unheard-of for these people.”\(^85\)

\(^{83}\) Crutchfield, 299.


Goethe wrote the poem in 1770 and it is believed to be a farewell to the maiden Lotte Frederica Lissetten, a friend of Goethe’s sister and a probable intimate of the poet. It is an example of Goethe’s earlier, less-complicated verse, not only in compositional style but also in subject matter. He composed the poem in a type of spondaic meter, in which the metrical feel is built around two long syllables of generally equal stress. In Reichardt’s twenty-four measure setting, he adheres closely to the poetic accent, implying the heavy shuffle of one who is walking sorrowfully. The tempo marking, *Traurig, doch nicht zu langsam* (sad but no too slow) sets the boundaries for the performer yet also implies a sense of rubato, allowing for emotional expression. The farewell text is sad and reflective of the sentimental longing for lost love. The poem makes use of the archetypal symbolism of spring as the season of love and promise with autumn reflecting a time of loss and regret.

There are two basic melodic themes which occur in this song. The first is common to stanzas one and two and is in minor. This supports textual ideas of a weighty and foreboding mood – *kalt der kuss* (cold the kiss), etc. The second theme occurs in stanza three only, begins in the major mode but returns to minor. This theme alluding to a fainting hint of hope as the poet briefly recalls beautiful flowers once gathered in the month of May. (Examples 1 and 2).

---

Example 1: Reichardt, *Der Abschied*, example of melodic theme I

In m.5, Reichardt, simply yet effectively, paints the text with the descending vocal line on *Schwer, wie schwer is er zu tragen!* (Heavily, so heavily it is to carry) This phrase relates to the harmonic minor scale with the added C-sharp on *schwer* and B-flat on *ist*. Here the words fall on the primary accents adding to the heavy and weighty mood (Example 3).

Example 2: Reichardt, *Der Abschied*, example of melodic theme II
Example 3: Reichardt, *Der Abschied*, example of text-painting with descending vocal line on *schwer* (heavily)

The first theme for stanzas one and two is in A minor throughout. Stanza three begins in F major with a I-V7-I-V7-I chord progression. There is a static switch to G minor at stanza four. The V7 chord on *Kränzchen* (wreath) along with the following upper neighbor tone of F-natural serves as a set-up for the sudden return of A minor on *keine Rose* (no rose) where the song concludes in the beginning key (Example 4).

Example 4: Reichardt, *Der Abschied*, the V7 chord on *Kränzchen* (wreath)

The modified strophic form exemplifies Reichardt’s early style and the vocal line is mostly doubled throughout in the right hand of the accompaniment. The left hand of the accompaniment functions as a counter-melody of sorts to the right hand doubling of the vocal
line, often moving in parallel motion but sometimes briefly in contrary motion. The overall musical texture is light and thin.

It is interesting to note there are sometimes major tonalities in the harmonic structure with a corresponding melodic line in minor, namely, the melodic minor scale passage in m. 5. When played and sung simultaneously, they function diatonically. Here, Reichardt shows his capacity for musical development away from the strict Berlin School practice of maintaining a predictable harmonic foundation while simply doubling the vocal line throughout in the accompaniment. These subtle compositional touches add musical complexity while more effectively painting the sentiment of the poem thus enabling the singer to simultaneously express the text with pathetic longing as well as sweet sentiment (Example 5).

Example 5: Reichardt, *Der Abschied*, excerpt showing juxtaposition of major and minor tonalities between the vocal line and accompaniment.
Goethe wrote the poem in 1776 and it is believed he was inspired to write the text after seeing a similar verse by Herder. The text alludes to the ideals of the self-made man and the traits of courage needed to face life and old age.\(^7\) The poem, inscribed in the *Teutschen Merkur* of 1776 as *Eislebenslied* (Ice-Life-Song) is an example of much of the simpler verse Goethe wrote in order to celebrate everyday joys of living, this particular joy being the acquisition of courage using the analogy of ice-skating.\(^8\)

Reichardt composed the lied in 1809 and it was included in his *Göthe’s Lieder, Oden, Balladen und Romanzen* of 1809. As in *Der Abschied*, the rhythm of Reichardt’s setting adheres fairly closely to Goethe’s poetic accent, which is predominantly trochaic. Though the duple meter of the musical setting supports an overall trochaic feel, it is not absolute. There are twists and turns in the melodic/rhythmic lines which correspond to some irregularities in the poetic meter.\(^9\) In comparison to *Der Abschied*, however, the arpeggiated accompaniment is more independent and does not primarily double the vocal line. There is a continuously driving rhythm in the right hand, suggesting a confident moving forward into the uncertainty of life. There are two measures with a strong three-against-two feel, (mm. 7 and 27) which further serves to drive the rhythmic pulse forward (Example 6).

---

\(^7\) Goethe/Loeper, 298.
\(^9\) Trochaic meter is a poetic meter emphasizing two syllables, the first accented followed by an unaccented syllable.
Example 6: Reichardt, *Mut*, excerpts showing three-against-two, propelling the rhythmic pulse.

The rhythm is steady throughout with no sense of *rubato*. The tempo marking *Mutig* (Courageous), while a bit vague, yet suggests the overall spirit and mood of the poem as well as the musical setting.

The vocal line is mostly conjunct; however, there is some unexpected melodic movement in measures three-seven at *wo vom kühnsten Wager die Bahn* (where the wildest, Wager, the train” no doubt illustrating the wildness and sudden unpredictability of the ride (Example 7).
Example 7: Reichardt, *Mut*, examples of the melodic line denoting unpredictability within poetic text.

The melody returns to a more stable and soothing motive in measure fifteen at *Stille, Liebchen, mein Herz!* (Silence, love, my heart!)

This brief song is through-composed in the key of A major but is deceptive as it appears to move through a different tonal region, as previously mentioned in mm. 4-6. Perhaps in an instance of harmonic text-painting, the music in this section seems to “travel” by way of an interesting series of diminished chords which harmonically supports the unpredictability of the melodic line implying the unpredictability of the skater’s course. The harmony moves from the home key of A major through the relative minor, f# minor leading to the key feeling of E major previously mentioned in mm. 4-6 on the words, *Wager die Bahn Dir nicht vorgegraben du siehst* (Wager, the train You before the ditch, you do not see) (Example 8).
Next is a piano interlude emphasizing a chromatically ascending line marked *forte* to *fortissimo* with a *diminuendo* to *piano*, setting up the soothing text, *Stille, Liebchen, mein Herz!* (Silence, love, my heart!) with a feeling of depth and expansion on the word *Herz* (heart). Here, there is a sense of contrary motion with an octave leap in the vocal line and a corresponding descending melisma in the accompaniment. In order to express the word correctly, the singer should not “leap” up to the octave but approach it with a deep sense of support, thereby swelling into the word, *Herz* in a warm and visceral manner (Example 9).
Example 9: Reichardt, *Mut*, example of the soothing and expansive nature of the music on *Herz* (heart)

The phrases, *Kracht’s gleich, kracht’s gleich* (crash it the same, crash it the same!) and *bricht’s gleich, bricht’s gleich* (breaks it the same, breaks it the same!) are articulated by sudden changes from forte to piano, expressing moments of violent upheaval and change. Yet, as the text and musical setting, *Bricht’s doch nicht* (breaks it not!) suggests, the race, and thus life is wild and possibly hazardous, but the intensity eventually subsides, if only temporarily. Reichardt’s deceptive nature of the musical setting is thus resolved and continuity is restored with the song ending in the starting key of A major.

The singer should sing this lied with a driving sense of purpose, clearly articulating the fricative aspects of the diction on key words denoting movement, action, and conflict (*Brichts gleich!*). This, along with the alternating brief moment of lyrical repose on *Stille Liebchen*, allows for a performance rich in dramatic declamation and emotional feeling.

*Prometheus*
*Composed: 1809*

Due to the epic, dramatic nature of this poem, a deeper examination of the text here is useful. Goethe’s poem, written in 1774, is confidently defiant in its rejection of religious dogma.
In a sense, his fist-shaking is a natural reflection of a scientific enlightenment and its claims for human progress and ultimate perfection. There seems to be an auto-biographical sub-text here: Goethe, though raised a Catholic, seemed to need the religion of his childhood less the more confidence he gained in himself as a poet. Of the poem, Boyle states, “Bitterness and anger without parallel in the rest of his work prevail in his Prometheus’ cry of defiance against the heaven from which he has stolen fire, in his explicit and savage repudiation of the God of the Pietists and their bogus consoling Savior.” While one could agree with this and surmise a bitter and angry tone, it could also be argued these are the words of someone who merely has no need of God and perhaps never really believed he did in the first place.

Goethe drew inspiration for this agnostic text from the ancient Greek mythological story passed down from several sources and eventually attributed to Aeschylus. An allegory on both the glories and limits of human innovation and technology, the original myth upholds the idea that divinity retains ultimate control over the affairs of mankind. It is the tale of the wise titan, Prometheus, who for a while was favored by Zeus, King of the Gods, for assisting him in battle. Zeus allowed Prometheus to create human life and thereby populate the earth. However, in the course of events, Prometheus rebelled against Zeus by stealing fire from the sun god, Helios. This was in order to assist his humans in cooking their food which had earlier been forbidden. Once Zeus became aware of this, he seized Prometheus, had him immediately whisked away to Mount Caucasus and there while chained to the cliff, he was to suffer a continuous death. The unrelenting death from a vulture eating his liver gave him no respite due to the daily re-growth of the liver.

---

90 Boyle, 163.
After thirty years, Zeus finally relented and granted relief. However, one of his humans would have to slay the vulture and an immortal would have to die in Prometheus’ stead. The famed Hercules slayed the vulture, and the centaur Chiron, already cursed to live in constant pain, volunteered to die for Prometheus. Thus satisfied, Zeus reconciled with Prometheus and summoned him to Olympus to be at his side.  

While Goethe’s ode takes liberties with the original text and fails to reflect a happy reconciliation with Zeus (God), it maintains the overall defiant mood. However, it is unclear whether the poem reflects the totality of his thoughts concerning religion. While some have posited that Prometheus is a microcosm of Goethe’s definite turn from a belief in God, others see it as reflection of his experience of the moment. In addition to this ode, he was also working on a full drama on Prometheus which he never finished. No doubt, this would have provided a more complete picture than just this one defiant outburst. Ronald Gray asserts, “how little of a personal utterance the poem was may be seen from Goethe’s annoyance when Jacobi published it in 1785 without his permission.”

As previously stated, while the text maintains an overall mood of defiance, there are also more nuanced passages. These basically relate the sequence of events but do not clearly support all the details of the original. For instance, does Zeus free Prometheus from his chains or does Prometheus free himself? Is this Sklaverei (slavery) the chaining to the rock or a metaphorical slavery to religious dogma or oppression? The final lines speak of Prometheus’ desire to create a race of men who know how to laugh, cry, suffer and rejoice freely, in other words, to be fully

---


92 An ode, in this era was considered to be a heroic, epic tale usually recalling the Gods and Goddesses of antiquity. Goethe’s *Prometheus* is such an epic, dramatic poem.

human, but not to heed Zeus as he has done. If Prometheus truly is the cool, confident creature Goethe’s text portrays, then perhaps these final lines suggest a only firm repudiation of the spiritual but not necessarily an emotional hatred or death wish.

In Reichardt’s seventy-seven-measure setting, the tempo marking is Kräftig deklamiert (strongly declaimed). The song is characterized by irregular rhythms illustrative of a rhetorical style befitting a poetic text with no regular rhyme scheme. Effective textual declamation from the singer is of the utmost importance and though most ornamental figures appear to be written-out, there are numerous cadential points and key words where it is appropriate for the singer to add appoggiaturas or other forms of simple embellishments (Example 10).

Example 10: Reichardt, Prometheus, excerpt showing declamatory style in the vocal line reflecting non-rhyming text.

The song is a through-composed, ballad-like expression and is mostly in recitative style. There is a brief arioso section in mm. 22-36 which contains a cantabile melodic line. Here, the poet sadly relates his naiveté when, as a child he innocently believed in the Gods’ capacity to
truly care for mankind. The song returns to a declamatory, non-melodic style in m. 37 and continues in this way until the end (Example 11).

Example 11: Reichardt, Prometheus, excerpt of arioso/cantabile section.

Reichardt composed the song in the key of B flat major, yet it moves through various tonalities and key regions. These tend to coincide with mood changes, new textual ideas and rhetorical affects. The first harmonic shift occurs in m. 13 on the words, *Ich kenne nichts Armeres unter der Sonn, als euch Göttter* (I know nothing more wretched under the sun than you Gods!). A diminished chord underscores the word, *Armeres* (wretched) which moves the tonality toward F minor, then eventually into A major. An abrupt shift to D minor at m.24, on the mocking and insincere *Ich dich ehren?* (I pay homage to you?), leads to harmonic instability in mm. 25-28. Here, the harmonies move upwards in stepwise motion, building tension as Prometheus asks Zeus what He has ever done to allay men’s fears or ease their burdens and tears. A tonicization in E-flat major in m. 30 on *angsteten* (frightened) is followed by a move to
D-flat major in mm. 31-32. The song then returns to the home key of B-flat major resolutely on the words *Hier sitz ich, forme Menschen* (Here I sit forming mankind).

Though there are no further key changes, there is one final section of harmonic instability in mm. 46-48. In the melody line, Reichardt paints the text *zu leiden* (to suffer), *zu weinen* (to weep) as a sigh-motive with falling minor seconds while the accompaniment continues in B-flat major. These falling passages basically function as written-out appoggiaturas articulating strong emotion. These cause the song to sound in the minor mode though it is actually in major (Example 12).

Example 12  Reichardt, *Prometheus*, excerpt of falling minor seconds illustrating a sigh motive.

The singer will obviously perform this lied with sturdy conviction and clear declamation emphasizing emotions of anger, defiance, sadness, arrogance, and resolve. Key words and cadential points afford opportunities for proper textual accentuation through the use of dotting or appoggiaturas. The singer should be careful to ensure these embellishments are not gratuitous, but specifically contribute to a clear rendering of the text, vocal line, and proper emotions of the poem.
Goethe’s poem, written in 1782, is based on a sixteenth-century manuscript of the Danish ballad, *Sir Oluf and the Elf-King’s Daughter* and was originally included in his *singspiele, Die Fischerin*. Rather than a father riding through the forest with his sick child, as in Goethe’s poem, here Sir Oluf is riding out to invite guests to his daughter’s wedding. In the forest, he encounters the Elf-King’s daughter who asks him to dance. When he refuses, she casts a death-spell over him.

Herder discovered, translated and then published the poem as part of his two-volume collection of folksongs entitled *Stimmen der Völker in Lieden*. The original Danish ballad was titled *Ellerkong*, literally translated as Elf-King. It is not known whether it is a mistranslation or done deliberately, but Goethe translated it into the German as *Erlkönig*, literally Alder-King, or King of the Alder Trees. These trees typically grow in wet, marshy areas or along the banks of rivers, therefore lending the suggestion of a dark, misty hollow as the frightening setting of the story. This alleged mistranslation changed the plot and characters of the story, as well as the formal structure of the poem.

As with any major translation project, there was a high margin for error and in so doing, the refrain, whole stanzas and sections of several stanzas were missing or omitted altogether. In fact, the final three stanzas were omitted which told of the death of Sir Oluf’s bride and his mother as well.

95 Gray, 107.
It is not clear whether Goethe knew of the original Danish poem. However, his version is titled *Der Erlkönig* and, as did Herder, he omitted the refrain. He also made several significant character changes. Goethe’s main characters were the *Erlkönig*, a frail, little boy, and a caring father. Herder’s, in contrast, were the *Erlkönig’s* daughter and a Knight. Goethe’s poem has thirty-two lines organized into eight stanzas composed of pairs of rhymed couplets. Goethe, not bound by a strict, regular metrical pattern, merges aspects of both iambic (a weak beat followed by a strong beat) and anapestic (fairly irregular, “trisyllabic” mode of three accents) modes which lend a lilting or galloping feel to the verse. The poet’s creative gifts are further evidenced due to the fact the insertion of this poetic meter “creates considerable strain in the scansion and it is questionable whether an academic solution is defensible or even desirable.”  

Reichardt, in his setting, also demonstrates a certain freedom from restraint in that there is no tempo marking other than the subjective performance instructions, *Sehr lebhaft und schauerlich* (Very lively and horrifyingly). Ruetz explains this as descriptive of both the pace and emotional content of horror within the poem. In alluding to the driving beat of horse’s hoofs, the stressed syllables are usually on the first beat of the measure and therefore receive the primary metric accent. Here, Reichardt is seeking to support the basic poetic meter. However it is interesting to note that in stanzas one, three and five, words receiving the accent occur on one note - D - part of the monotone vocal line of the *Erlkönig* repeated successively throughout these stanzas (Example 13).  

---

97 Ivey, 15.  
Here, the composer seems to be painting the text slightly with the lowered notes for the *Erlkönig*, yet he continues to maintain the metrical pulse of Goethe’s poem within the overall strophic context.

The ballad is characterized by specific rhythmic patterns. The primary “rhythmic germ”, according to Ruetz, is seen in the opening statement of the first stanza. It is a four-measure rhythm with an underlying pulse in eighth-notes. “The quarter-note, eighth-note figure from this germ occurs because of a predominance of the iambic mode; it suggests the galloping effect of the father’s ride” ⁹⁹ (Example 14).

Example 14: Reichardt, *Erlkönig*, excerpt showing primary rhythmic germ.

---

⁹⁹ See Ruetz pp. 12  In addition…iambic is a type of poetic meter which usually resembles duple-meter in music. It is characterized by a weak beat followed by a strong beat.
Each subsequent rhythmic pattern in the song is a slight variation of this basic germ and is determined by syllabic changes in the poem. These minor variations relate to the anapestic poetic mode due to added syllables like –men in Armen. (Example 15).

Example 15: Reichardt, Erlkönig, example of minor variation of primary rhythmic germ.

![Musical notation]

The song is set in $\frac{3}{8}$ throughout which effectively captures the iambic and anapestic implications of a pulse of three. Tempo markings of sehr lebhaft und schauerlich (very lively and horrible) denote both the continuous pace of the poem (and the rider), as well as the general mood of horror suggested by the events of the story.

Reichardt composed the song in the key of G minor. There are two basic melodic themes in the song, Theme I for the Narrator, Father and Child (stanzas one, two, four, six and last part of seven and eight) and Theme II for the Erlkönig (stanzas three, five and first part of seven). As stated before, this is a monotone theme and paints the Erlkönig as an evil, cunning, and soul-less character (Example 16).
Example 16: Reichardt, *Erlkönig*, Monotone theme of the *Erlkönig*

These themes are mostly repeated identically except for minor changes needed in order to account for syllabification in the text. For example, extra notes are added for extra syllables used for anapestic changes in the poetic meter.

In stanza seven, the lines of the child and the *Erlkönig* are combined. Thus, the first part of Theme II begins the stanza with the *Erlkönig*’s enticing words, *Ich lieb’ dich, mich reizt deine schöne Gestalt* (I love you, I’m charmed by your beautiful form) (Example 17).

Example 17: Reichardt, *Erlkönig*, excerpt showing the *Erlkönig*’s lines in the first part of Theme II.
The second part of Theme I ends the stanza *fortissimo* and in a heightened emotional state with the words of the child, “Mein Vater, mein Vater, jetzt fast er mich an!” (My Father, my Father now he’s grabbing me!) (Example 18).

**Example 18:** Reichardt, *Erlkönig*, excerpt showing the child’s lines in the second part of Theme II.

The vocal line and accompaniment are unified throughout by repeated notes on the same pitch and by the interval of the second. The song is diatonic throughout with no changes of key. The horrible and tragic events are underscored by the minor mode and the straightforward malevolent utterances of the *Erlkönig*.

Due to the consistent diatonic nature of the composition, there are no unexpected chord progressions in the song. There is a repeated use of a tonic to dominant relationship throughout the song with the exception of an altered augmented 6th chord which first occurs in Stanza 1 and re-occurs in the same progression in each subsequent stanza (Example 19).

**Example 19:** *Erlkönig*, example of altered IV6 chord.
As previously stated, there are two recurring themes in the vocal line. Theme I also occurs in each stanza of the accompaniment with just a few changes. In the *Erlkönig’s* lines, this thematic material is lowered an octave in the bass while the voice sings Theme II (the monotone theme) (Example 20).

Example 20: Reichardt, *Erlkönig*, excerpt showing the lowered bass part of the accompaniment in Theme I.

![Example 20: Reichardt, *Erlkönig*, excerpt showing the lowered bass part of the accompaniment in Theme I.](image)

The song, it could be argued, is composed in a type of modified strophic form due to the minor alterations and the occasional juxtaposition of themes I and II. Ruetz states that “Theme I could be used in the *Erlkönig’s* stanzas without disrupting the melodic line”. However, a new theme (II) occurs in order to suggest a character that is sinister, evil and supernatural. To summarize, there is one simple texture in the song with the vocal line being supported by a chordal accompaniment. When the *Erlkönig* sings his lines, the lowering of the accompaniment tends to diffuse the texture with lower, deeper overtones thereby depicting the menacing nature of the character and his evil intents.

---

100 Ruetz, 24.
CHAPTER VII
ZELTER SONGS

*Klage Harfenspieler III* (Lament)
Composed: 1795

The text comes from Chapter thirteen of Book II of Goethe’s novel, *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (Wilhelm Meister’s Year of Learning) of 1793. It is one of several “poems” or songs contained within the novel which were not named. However, it is actually the second of the Harper’s songs in the novel yet Zelter refers to it as his third song. Zelter composed this song in 1795 before he was to establish his close relationship with Goethe. The lied was published in 1796 and the collection also included four other varied strophic songs from Goethe’s famous novel.

The keyboard prelude begins with a tempo marking of *Fantasieenmässig* (Moderately Imaginative). This section is characterized by a free and improvisatory feel obviously alluding to the sounds of a harp. Once the text portion begins, the song is set in a moderately slow ¾ meter and stays basically constant throughout. There is a subtle sense of rubato, owing to the *tenuto* in the opening measure of the vocal line but more to the generally plaintive mood and the necessity for articulating the sad text. The song functions as a mournful sigh of regret.

Melodic interest actually begins in the rhapsodic, eight-measure harp-like prelude and concludes with the four-measure postlude. Freely expressive in nature and “modern” in its use of chromaticism, it nevertheless hearkens back to the earlier fantasias and other improvisatory keyboard works of C.P.E. Bach (Example 21).

---


102 Campbell, 177.
Example 21: Zelter: *Klage Harfenspieler III*, the harp-like keyboard prelude.

Following this, the vocal line begins slowly in a mournful fashion with characteristic long lines denoting the pathetic sorrow of the Harper. One can also surmise parallels with J.S. Bach in that the pace, shape and sound of the sinewy melody line seems reminiscent of a Lutheran chorale tune, north German in its sturdiness yet emotionally graphic with a pietistic-like subtext. The melodic material is quite similar between the two strophes while also allowing
for subtle differences in order to effectively portray key, sad words like Tränen (tears) and vollen Nächte (miserable nights).

Analyzing this song is a challenge in that it is written in C-sharp minor yet the piano prelude sounds like C-sharp major, the relative major key. Tonal ambiguity and frequent chromaticism continue throughout the song while the overall texture is rich and homophonic. The text portion of the lied returns to minor before the postlude ends again in C-sharp major. According to Barr, this was a “somewhat radical” departure from other Berlin School lieder in that these were both keys rarely used in this time.\(^\text{103}\) While he is correct that this is a significant departure from “other” Berlin School songs, Barr’s implication that Klage is also a Berlin School composition oversimplifies the matter and seems to place Zelter’s complete oeuvre within this limiting classification.

The two-stanza, forty-five measure song is composed in a modified strophic form. Zelter was meticulous in making the necessary adjustments between the stanzas in order to facilitate textual changes. He set the word Tränen (tears) so that it had the proper emphasis and “sigh”. He accomplished this by utilizing the descending minor second along with a triplet pattern which was in contrast to stanza one. Barr refers to this interval as a “Sturm und Drang idiom”, implying it was commonly utilized in music of this era.\(^\text{104}\) This is an example of a written-in appoggiatura which would have been implied prosodically and performed instinctively in an earlier era and might well have been performed by a singer of Zelter’s time even had he not written it in. (Example 22).

\(^{103}\) Barr, 134.
\(^{104}\) Barr, 147.
Example 22: Zelter: Klage Harfenspieler III, excerpt showing the sigh-like Text painting on Tränen (tears) utilizing falling minor second and triplet.

Erlkönig (Erlking)
Composed: begun in 1797 but not completed until 1808

Zelter’s setting of this poem is in $\frac{9}{8}$ meter with several measures beginning on an eighth-note pick-up beat. He takes even more sense of liberty in the way he set Goethe’s poem than Reichardt. In a sense he swings the iambic pulse with the lilting gait of the rhythm. This, along with the tempo marking of andante, initially seems light-hearted and pedantic for this text. However in keeping with a prevailing nineteenth-century reading of the poem, it assumes the father and child are riding home calmly, not in a wild panic. This view seems to be supported by Goethe and others who preferred to “leave imaginative construction of the poem’s action up to the listener…they insisted on an unobtrusive musical setting.” The song, though longer (81 measures), lacks the intensity and drive of the Reichardt setting at least in the beginning, and in ways seems more akin to the older Schröter setting, yet more musically varied (Example 23).

---

Example 23: Zelter: *Erlkönig*, excerpt showing lilting nature of Zelter’s setting.

The form for *Erlkönig* defies easy classification. It is unique in comparison to the other songs of this study. There is debate about whether the song is in a modified strophic form or in some type of rondo form. According to Ruetz, since the repeating theme is “B” and not “A”, which is normally the repeated rondo theme, it would be classified as “rondo-like”. ¹⁰⁶

The song is set in the key of D major yet it moves through various major and minor tonal regions before returning to D major at the very end. This is somewhat unusual for this dark and menacing text. Most of the other settings of the poem are in the minor mode throughout. However, in his creative use of tonalities, Zelter is able to capture the dramatic and menacing nature of the poem while also allowing for more ambiguity of emotion and intent within the various characters. As opposed to the more conventional tonalities in Reichardt’s version, Zelter employs the diminished VII7 chord mostly it seems to highlight either the *Erlkönig*’s temptations or the panic of the child (Example 24).

¹⁰⁶ Ruetz, 47.
There is a pattern to the tonal shifts which corresponds to the textual ideas and emotions in each of the eight stanzas. In stanzas one, two, four and six, the lines of the narrator, father and boy, all contain the same pattern of D major, G major, E minor, and D major. In stanzas three and five, the entreaties of the Erlkönig, are in G minor followed by D minor. Stanza seven and then eight breaks the pattern and add significant harmonic interest as the song reaches its dramatic climax. Ruetz feels the “constancy of the harmonic rhythm” especially in the first half of stanza seven (the Erlkönig’s lines) suggests an unrelenting aspect to the Erlkönig’s seduction of the child107 (Example 25).

107 Ruetz, 149
Example 25: Zelter: *Erlkönig*, harmonic rhythm illustrating relentless aspect of *Erlkönig’s* seduction of the child.

When the *Erlkönig* speaks for the final time in stanza seven, it is now in G minor, followed by D minor. As previously mentioned, the rhythmic and harmonic intensification toward the end of the song, leads into the boy’s final words with increasing apprehension as he sings *Mein Vater, mein Vater*, also in D minor.

Zelter brings the song to a climax as the child utters a final scream on the words *Erlkönig hat mir ein Leids getan!* (The Erlking has hurt me!) in a sudden turn to A minor. Effectively, he illustrates the child’s pain by elongating the note values on the word *Leids* (hurt) over a V7 chord. *Gethan* (has done), though still sounding minor, is actually on the tonic A major chord, an altered chord in this key, which functions like a Picardy third (Example 26).
Example 26: Zelter: *Erlkönig*. The elongated rhythm on *Leids* and the Picardy third-like chord on *gethan*.

Based on knowledge gleaned from the various sources, it seems plausible that singers would feel free to add a vocal flourish on the extended note on *Leids* (hurt, suffer) in light of the text and emotional context. An appropriate un-notated ornament might be a combination of a dot, as prescribed by Hiller, along with an upper or lower neighbor tone to imply a moan or wail. If Vogel was doing this in Schubert’s songs several years after this, it is easy to imagine singers performing this earlier version of the lied utilizing these types of simple embellishments.

By this point, the lied is something quite different from the lilting, lyrical expression it was in the beginning. In this, Zelter has shown himself fully capable of moving beyond the Berlin School strictures. Though staying within the context of a modified strophic form with his creative use of harmonic tension and rhythmic variation, he has composed a song which effectively remains true to the textual/syllabic ideal of Goethe’s poem but also gives the singer a vehicle to express powerful emotion and drama.

The final stanza is similar to one, two, four and six except that the narrator concludes the sad tale through a series of minor tonalities and then ends the song in the home key of D major.
with the final keyboard postlude bringing the dramatic scene to full closure with the use of a Picardy third on the final word, *todt* (dead) (Example 27).

Example 27: Zelter: *Erlkönig*, The ending of the song in D major with a Picardy third on *todt*.

Goethe wrote the poem in February of 1818 and sent it along with one of his many letters to Zelter hoping he would set it to music.\(^\text{108}\) It is a narrative of a man’s life and loves, and quite possibly autobiographical in nature. Though the text seems almost random and conversational in that there is no definite rhyme scheme, the chief unifying factor of the poem is the increase in the intensity of light from verse to verse with the “moon itself appearing as it were in diapason”.\(^\text{109}\)

\(^{108}\) Barr, 259.

\(^{109}\) Gray, 179.
Not only the moon, but also the stars illumine the midnight journey of an old man who relishes his memories of past midnights over his lifespan as a boy and a passionate young man.  

The song is set in $\frac{8}{8}$ meter throughout and maintains and easy and steady tempo from beginning to end. Zelter set it in a modified strophic in form, with each stanza containing rhythmic alterations to correspond with the changes in the poetic text. It is also unique and for this reason that each stanza is set on its own individual staff.

Zelter begins each stanza with different rhythms while he engages in various examples of text-painting, first on the words *Vaters Haus* (Father’s House) in m. 12. This phrase is significant and ripe for interpretive speculation. Is the youth going to the priest’s house, the rectory, or his own father’s house? Then in m. 14, in the original version, Zelter set the word, *Stern* (star) on a thirty-second-note melismatic passage which is not repeated anywhere else in the song. Another example of text-painting, this suggests a glittering star in the heavens and is a startling rhythmic and melodic passage within an otherwise serene and lyric setting. Max Friedlander, believing it to trivialize the song, asserts “...the music is impaired owing to excessive and needless melismatic passages.”

Example 28: Zelter: *Um Mitternacht*, Melismatic passage on *Stern* (Star)

---

With respect to Friedlander, who believed any song composed before Schubert was innately inferior, this does not impair the song but rather enlivens the textual ideals. Zelter did from time to time include coloratura-like passages in his songs. His *Gleich und Gleich* sounds in places almost like a baroque arioso. While we cannot know for sure all his motivations in this, part of it was certainly a desire to break from Berlin School *Volkstümliche* style as well as the continued popularity in Berlin of the Italian operatic style. \(^{112}\) The singers of this period would have known they had the freedom to sing the melismas as written, alter them, or delete them as the occasion permitted.

Returning to issues of rhythm, while each stanza is rhythmically unique, each also ends with a consistent “coda-like” phrase on the repeated words *Um Mitternacht* (at midnight). (Example 29)

Example 29: Zelter: *Um Mitternacht*, Coda-like phrase ending at close of each strophe.

\[
\text{Example 29: Zelter: *Um Mitternacht*, Coda-like phrase ending at close of each strophe.}
\]

The basic melodic outline is consistent throughout each strophe of the song. However, there are melodic alterations which relate to syllabic changes of the poetic text. As stated before, each stanza ends with a consistent coda-like melodic phrase on the words, *Um Mitternacht* (at midnight) which ties them back to the same theme in the opening line of each stanza. See musical example number twenty-nine.

\(^{112}\) Barr, 129.
The song is composed in the key of D major but moves through the key-feeling of A major before returning to the home key to end the song. There is a prominent tonic to dominant relationship in the opening measures followed by a more complex harmonic progression of VI chords and a diminished 7th chord in m. 10. This series sets up a sense of harmonic instability that then leads toward A Major with a secondary dominant chord in m. 15. There is a strong secondary dominant to dominant harmonic progression in mm. 17-18 leading to a tonicization of A major in m. 20. (Example 30)

Example 30: Zelter: *Um Mitternacht*, Secondary dominant to dominant harmonic progression

Following a one-measure interlude, the tonality returns to D major in m. 22.

There is a three-measure piano prelude and a three-measure piano postlude which serves as an interlude between strophes as well as a postlude to end the song. The overall texture is simple in that the independent vocal line is supported mainly by a chordal accompaniment. This beautiful and serene setting allows the singer to lyrically and artistically render the poem and paint the nocturnal scene. Though simple and certainly not considered a staple of recital programs, “a song like Zelter’s subtly varied strophic setting of Goethe’s *Um Mitternacht* would
fit without shame into any lieder recital and might prove that the Berlin composer could craft a
beautiful melody and a fine accompaniment.”

*Rastlose Liebe* (Restless Love)
Composed: 1812

The text was written in May of 1776 in Weimar after Goethe had met Charlotte von Stein, also known as the “Lida” in many of his poems. She was to be one of the main love interests of his life. As a Lady in Waiting at the Ducal court, it is said she helped to refine the rough and rugged poet and introduce him to aristocratic society. His relationship with Charlotte seemed to unlock a torrent of feelings and passion not previously experienced and it certainly influenced his poetic output during this time.

The poem is a tribute to the wild, restlessness of young love; a poignant example of *Sturm und Drang* sensibility. Besides the desire to shock and induce fear, this sensibility also hearkened back to a medieval ideal of love, one which often desired the eternal consummation of death in the manner of a *Tristan und Isolde* type of longing. While this poem does not particularly espouse the literal desire for death, it certainly speaks of the intense pain of love in which lovers often express death-wish rhetoric. Here, Goethe seems to be pouring out his soul with “an expression of ardour and of the jolting force of a love which is almost as painful as suffering would be.” This picture of tortured love captures the true essence of the Romanticism that was to eventually come out of the *Sturm und Drang*.

---

115 Gray, 20.
Composed in 1814, the song-setting is an example of the increased musical complexity of Zelter’s later lieder. It is one of his few through-composed songs with a form that can be described as ABCA. The two A sections have similar fiery music underscoring the tempestuous text while the music in sections B and C reflect subtle differences in the poem which portray contrasting feelings of longing. The song is set in the key of A minor, then moves through various key feelings before returning to the home key at the end. Zelter begins the song in \( \frac{2}{4} \) meter with an extended piano prelude, no doubt symbolic of the restlessness and angst of the poem, and maintains a steady, fast tempo in duple feel for the first twenty-nine measures. The tempo marking is *Rasch und kräftig* (Quick and strong) (Example 31).

**Example 31: Zelter: Rastlose Liebe, excerpt from the opening accompaniment prelude**
At measure twenty-nine, the continuous melismatic material in the right hand of the accompaniment comes to an abrupt halt in a two-measure *marcato* chordal passage. This sets up a static change to $\frac{6}{8}$ meter at m. 30 on the words *Lieber durch Leiden* (rather through suffering) representing a definite turn of thought and mood toward reflective and also more anxious thoughts. As an example of his desire to stretch musical boundaries while also maintaining a sense of enlightenment proportionality, Zelter crafts this meter change while keeping the basic rhythmic pulse constant (Example 32).

Example 32: Zelter: *Rastlose Liebe*, excerpt showing tempo change

![Example 32: Zelter: Rastlose Liebe, excerpt showing tempo change](image)

There is a sudden move to $\frac{9}{8}$ meter at m. 43 to begin the second strophe. Here, Zelter begins to experiment with the accompaniment line as it departs from the vocal line rhythm after four measures where it changes to a sixteenth-note pattern under the vocal line (Example 33).

Example 33: Zelter: *Rastlose Liebe*, excerpt showing change
To sixteenth-note pattern in the accompaniment
The breathless and conflicted nature of the text is then expressed with the relentless accompaniment continuing in sixteenth-note triplets under the vocal line in 6/8 meter. The last stanza begins with eight measures of simple accompaniment followed by a return to the sixteenth-note triplet pattern which carries the song to its climatic ending. In his use of such a rhythmically exciting piano prelude and postlude, Zelter is painting a picture of the restless young lover’s state of mind. In the lied, the accompaniment takes on a sort of “virtual persona”, one who speaks of young love with a sense of both exhilaration and angst. In this song, Zelter seems to foreshadow Schubert, the master of text-painting *persona* in many of his lieder. One can recall the relentless pianistic sound picture of the spinning wheel in *Gretchen am Spinnrade*, the babbling brook in the opening of *Die Schöne Müllerin*, and the galloping horse’s hooves in his setting of *Erlkönig*. Here, Zelter is breaking from his previous attempts to simply set Goethe’s verse in a strophic or modified strophic style; He is also speaking with and from the music. Stephanie Campbell, in an attempt to harmonize these two positions, asserts, “for Zelter, as for Goethe, all music is connected to the visual imagination, so the specific details are not out

---

of place should the text suggest them; and the music functions on its own, even if the tone painting is not recognized.”

Regarding the melody line, it is not a wholly lyrical expression but also an angular one which lends support to the unsettled mood of the text. The text (the snow, the rain, etc.) as well as the music alludes to a howling winter’s snowstorm as analogous to the restlessness of love. The melodic line, at the beginning, is characterized by octave leaps and short, clipped phrases (Example 34).

Example 34: Zelter: Rastlose Liebe, example of octave leaps in the melody line.

The melody then turns more reflective and corresponds to rhythmic changes in order to paint

emotions turned toward longing for the beloved. The vocal line then turns back to the more angular style of the beginning section and brings the song full circle.

The dramatic nature and through-composed form of the melody coupled with the turbulent and virtuosic aspect of the accompaniment set this song off from many of the other settings of Zelter and certainly from most all of Reichardt’s. As an example of the most musically sophisticated of his early songs, it stands on its own as a part of any lieder recital program.
CHAPTER VIII
CONCLUSION

This study has provided perspective on the connection between text, music and performance of the lieder of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the northern German regions. Representative poems of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe set to music by Johann Friedrich Reichardt and Carl Friedrich Zelter provided a framework by which to explore the notion that these songs were conceived and performed by those thoroughly versed in an improvisatory and florid tradition of singing. This included both the amateur and professional singer.

Though the newer Enlightenment aesthetic of naturalness began to move music away from contrapuntal and florid styles toward a simpler way, it was certainly not the end of improvisation in performance. It is true that Reichardt, Zelter and later composers were beginning to prescribe more clearly performance instructions as well as writing many of the ornaments into their songs. The north German culture, German language, and the unique accent and cadence of lyric poetry had as much to do with this type of prescription as did anything the treatise writers were doing. As a result, the singers who performed these songs were naturally practicing a craft within the context of their native region and this evolving declamatory method. Singers, audiences and composers lived and worked as a part of this literary and musical sound world. An example of proper text declamation, including executing ornaments both written and implied as well as spontaneous feeling, were assumed to be part of a sensitive, tasteful and emotionally compelling rendering of any poetic text. The key word for this era was tasteful, whereas this notion of le bon goût was certainly not a priority in the earlier Baroque manifestations of more virtuosic improvisatory singing practices.
Schubert, even in his day, understood the singers’ position in this equation. In his thoughts concerning the singing style of Vogel in particular, he was flexible and commented of his satisfaction of how his songs were performed by the two of them. Here, Schubert is describing the unique manifestation of lieder singing as he brought it into being – a hybrid of quasi-operatic drama, spontaneous expression, and intimate chamber music consisting of singer and keyboardist. Granted, the trend away from freely-improvised embellishments toward those written into the music was well underway, especially in lieder singing. However, the performance practice and assumptions on the part of composers, artists, and audience were far from settled on the matter. Therefore, it should be expected that those who performed the earlier lieder of C.P.E. Bach, Schultz, Reichardt and Zelter would have naturally employed this type of declamatory singing, albeit tasteful and in the spirit of the time.

The question of whether these performance practices are excessive for an enlightened and more objective musical style or whether they are appropriate and naturally expressive ways to perform the literature is up to the individual singer, teacher, or critic. For those who identify with this type of performance aesthetic, and who after studying the source materials in context find a legitimate basis for doing so, will find, as I have shown, that these songs of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries stand on their own and were not yet part of a determined musical canon. Neither are they guided by an even more strict and regulated performance style. They were composed with the express purpose of being published, sold, and given over to the performers. They were intended for daily music-making by both amateurs and professionals to make of them whatever was possible.

If “tasteful” yet passionate improvisation were hallmarks of an assumed and expected practice of creating, consuming and performing the music of the time, then it seems natural the lieder of Reichardt and Zelter would have been sung and played in a similar manner. While we
cannot know for sure, it also seems plausible to consider that this improvisatory “chamber-
music-like” performance style carried forward later into the century and probably did not begin
to wane significantly until Schumann’s highly musical and pianistic development of the lied in
the late 1830’s-1840’s.

The sources give us guidelines and codifications of what was occurring at the time, the
conventional wisdom of how the songs were approached, performed and how they were
received. However, they do not restrict in a binding way nor do they place rigid and arbitrary
date lines of historical periods, corresponding performance practices or scholarly prohibitions
intended to enshrine “uncreative correctness”\textsuperscript{118} thus prohibiting a more human approach to the
exploration, teaching and performing of these songs so worthy of serious consideration.

\textsuperscript{118} Taruskin, 287.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Theses and Dissertations


Articles in a Journal


Campbell, Stephanie. “Visuality in the Friendship of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and


Hunter, Mary. “To Play as if From the Soul of the Composer’: The Ideal of the Performers In Early Romantic Aesthetics,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 58, no. 2 (Summer 2005), 361.


**Dictionaries and Encyclopedias:**


Books:


Other Sources:


Seaton, Douglass. *A Composition Course with Karl Friedrich Zelter,* College Music Symposium Facsimile, USA vol.XX1/2, 126-38, (Fall 1981).

Scores:


Zwölf Lieder am Klavierzn singen /componirt von Carl Friedrich Zelter. Berlin
Und Leipzig: bey Carl August Nicolai. Speck Music z27 y 796.


Goethe’s Lieder, Oden, Balladen und Romanzen mit Musik. M1620.3 R351.
  659+oversize.

Göthe’s Lyrische Gedichte /mit Musik von J.F. Reichardt, 227 y 793 z
  Berlin: im Verlage der neue Berlinischen Musikhandlung.

Treatises:

Agricola, Johann Friedrich. Anleitung zur Singkunst (1757), incorporating a translation of Tosi.
  Bern, Switzerland: G.L. Winter, 1757.

Bach, C.P.E. Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen, ii (Berlin,

Bach, C.P.E. Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen, (Essay on the Proper Manner
  Of Playing a Keyboard Instrument), transl. by Oliver Strunk and ed. by Walter Neiman


Corri, Domenico. Treatise on Singing: A Four Volume Anthology, ed. With intro. by

Corri, Domenico. The Singer’s Preceptor, London,1810/R1968 in Edward. Foreman,
  Ed., The Porpora Tradition.

Hiller, Johann Adam. Anweisung zum musikalische-zierlichen Gesange, Leipzig, 1780
  /R1976.

*Hiller, Johann Adam. Anweisung zum musikalische-zierlichen Gesange, (Treatise on Vocal
  Performance and Ornamentation, ed. and transl. by Suzanne Beicken, Cambridge:

Mancini, Giambattista. Pensieri e reflessioni pratiche sopra il canto figurato, (Vienna,
  1774), rev. and enlarged 1777 as Riflessioni pratiche sul canto figurato. Trans.

