

JOHANN MATTHESON'S WRITINGS ON MUSIC AND THE ETHICAL SHIFT AROUND 1700

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Abstract — Résumé

It is well-known that the tractates of the courtier — first and foremost these ones of Castiglione, Faret, Gracián and Méré —, which were written from the early 16th century onwards, informed the life of the higher social classes, the aristocrats and, later, in the 18th century, the bourgeoisie. It is also well-known that the cultural determinants of the courtier manifested itself in music: in the emphasis on rhetoric and aesthetic ideas such as simplicity and musical ineffability, the so called »je ne sais quoi«. Yet, musicologists neglected so far that the tractates of the courtier had far more »serious« an impetus than defining manners of conversation and other leisure time activities such as art, dance, and music. Advising the individual how to behave and act appropriately in various social situations, they defined a specific ethics of behaviour, an ethics centring around political prudence, *simulatio* and *dissimulatio*. It is the decades around 1700 when the feudal ethics of behaviour which ruled all over Europe has

slowly been replaced by modern bourgeois-oriented ethics, ethics which can be categorized as ethics of virtue.

This moral transformative process and its impact on music and musical thought manifest itself most clearly in Johann Mattheson's writings on music, especially his use of the term 'galant', an originally clearly feudal term. In contrast to the courtly meaning of the term 'galant', Mattheson adopts a re-ethicized notion of the term, a notion as propelled by Thomasius, Barth, and the moral weeklies. In this framework, Mattheson avails himself of the virtuous-ethical idea of inner-outer coherence and applies it to music.

Key words: Johann Christian Barth; Baldassare Castiglione; Nicolas Faret; Baltasar Gracián; Georg Friedrich Händel; Johann Mattheson; Chevalier de Méré; Christian Thomasius; Ethics and aesthetics; Galant; Galanterie; Inner-outer coherence; Moral weeklies; Tractates of the courtier

I. Ethical Concerns in the Context of Music

The title page of Johann Mattheson's *Beschütztes Orchester*¹ of 1717 declares: »Das Beschützte Orchestre, oder desselben Zweyte Eröffnung/ Worinn Nicht nur einem würcklichen galant-homme, der eben kein Profeßions-Verwandter, sondern auch manchem Musico selbst die *alleraufrichtigste und deutlichste* Vorstellung musicalischer Wissenschaften/ wie sich dieselbe vom Schulstaub tüchtig gesäubert/ *eigentlich und wahrhaftig* verhalten/ ertheilet [my italics]«.² What is striking about this beginning of the title page is Mattheson's stress on truthfulness and sincerity. Similarly in *Der musicalische Patriot* from 11 years later, in 1728, Mattheson explains that »nur ein tugendhafter, weil gesitteter Mann [...] ein guter Musicus sein [kann]«.³ In both passages, Mattheson combines a general moral attitude with considerations of music. Additionally, he dedicates his music-theoretical and -aesthetic writing to moral purposes: »[A]lle seine melopoetischen Lehren [of *Der musicalische Patriot*] haben [...] kein anders Augenmerk, als die *Besserung des menschlichen Willens und Verstandes* [my italics]«.⁴ His moral-ethical focus regarding music can also be observed in the indices of his books that list as key words ethically-morally associated terms such as »Verschlagenheit« in *Critica Musica* of 1722⁵, or, in the *Searching Orchestra* of 1721, »Morale« and its Latin synonym »mos« as well as »Puritaner«, »virtu« and »Wahrheiten«.⁶

What is the reason for this engagement with and emphasis on ethical issues in the context of music? — One important source for ethical considerations is certainly the ancient tradition of connecting ethics and aesthetics, a tradition that was undoubtedly alive at the beginning of the 18th century. Not only Plato, but also the Greek music theorist Damon, Aristotle, and the Stoic Diogenes of Babylon proclaimed that music affects the moral behaviour of human beings, especially adolescents.⁷ Where Mattheson differs from the ancient discourse on ethics and music, however, is in his emphasis on truth and his idea that civility is a pre-condition of musicianship or, as he writes in *Der Brauchbare Virtuoso*⁸ of 1720, that a musician

¹ MATTHESON 1717.

² The treatise »conveys the *most sincere* and clearest idea of the musical sciences — [; it conveys] how they are *actually and truthfully* — not only to the true galant homme [...], but also to the musician [my italics]« (MATTHESON 1717, title page).

³ Mattheson explains that »only a civilized and, thus, virtuous man [...] can be a good musician« (MATTHESON 1728, 6).

⁴ »[A]ll melopoetic doctrines [of my writing] have only one purpose and this is the *improvement* of the human will and intellect [my italics]« (MATTHESON 1728, 6).

⁵ »Cunning« (MATTHESON 1722, index, without pagination).

⁶ »Morals«, »puritans«, »virtue«, »truths« (MATTHESON 1721, index, without pagination).

⁷ Cf. NEUBECKER 1994, 18ff. Plato, for instance, attributes music the ability to imitate good and bad characters, as the Athenian Stranger suggests by means of a rhetorical question, expecting an affirmative answer, in the *Laws*: »Do we still put our trust in those former statements of ours, in which we said that matters of rhythm and music are imitations of the manners of good or bad men?« (PLATO 348 BC, 37).

⁸ MATTHESON 1720.

can only be useful if he abstains from »Fressen/ Sauffen/ Unverschämtheit/ Toback-Gestanck/ Unhöfflichkeit/ Unreinlichkeit/ Gottlosigkeit/ Schweren/ Fluchen/ Verläumden/ Schelten/ garstige Reden und Thaten/ Falschheit/ Vergeudung/Faulheit/ Müßiggang und der gleichen«.⁹

In light of this, the question that I raised above remains unsolved: namely, what is the reason for Mattheson's unusual emphasis on ethics in the context of music? — In what follows, I will investigate the cultural-ethical climate that existed in Germany around 1700, a climate that was crucially influenced by the so-called tractates of the courtier which, in addition to Christian moral theology, shaped contemporary ideas of moral behaviour.

II. The Tractates of the Courtier and Their Influence on European Culture

It is well-known that the tractates of the courtier, which were written from the early 16th century onwards, informed the life of the higher social classes, the aristocrats and, later, in the 18th century, the bourgeoisie. As Norbert Elias as well as Philippe Ariès and Michel Foucault have demonstrated, these tractates acted as decisive factors in and engines behind the culturalization and domestication of human beings in western societies.¹⁰ The ideas, put forward in Baldassare Castiglione's *Libro del cortegiano*¹¹ (1528), were repeated, modified, and completed by such tractates as Nicolas Faret's *L'Honnête Homme ou l'Art de plaire à la cour*¹² (1630), Balthasar Gracián's *Oráculo manual y arte de prudencia*¹³ (1647), and Antoine Gombaud Méré's *Discours de l'Esprit. De la Conversation*¹⁴ (1677) and *De la Justesse ou Critique de Voiture*¹⁵ (1669), to mention only the most well-known. It was on this basis that Peter Burke threw light on how the reception of Castiglione's writings contributed to the »Europeanization of Europe: in other words the gradual integration of European culture over the centuries«.¹⁶

In this context, it is important to be aware that the tractates of the courtier belonged to the category of ethics of behaviour, i.e. they functioned as ethical instructions for their readers on how to behave and act appropriately in various social situations. As various scholars have pointed out, common characteristics of

⁹ »[...] stuffing oneself, boozing, impudence, the smell of tobacco, impoliteness, uncleanness, ungodliness, swearing, cursing, backbiting, vituperating, nasty speech and deeds, deceitfulness, wastefulness, laziness, idleness and the like« (MATTHESON 1720, 3).

¹⁰ ELIAS 1939; ARIES 1986, cf. especially the sections written by Jacques Revel and Jean-Louis Flandrin; Foucault 1975.

¹¹ CASTIGLIONE 1529.

¹² FARET 1630.

¹³ GRACIÁN 1647.

¹⁴ MÉRÉ 1677.

¹⁵ MÉRÉ 1669.

¹⁶ BURKE 1995, 12.

these ethics of behaviour written during the 17th century are the twin concepts of *simulatio* and *dissimulatio*, which had been pre-figured in Castiglione's concept of *sprezzatura* (nonchalance) and, in the first place, set in motion by Gracián's *Oráculo* from the mid-17th century onwards. The concepts of *simulatio* and *dissimulatio* are based on the conviction that the neighbours, colleagues, and friends of an individual are potentially enemies intending to do him harm. In light of this, the tractates advise the individual to protect him- or herself against these enemies by hiding his or her true intentions, i.e. dissimulating, and at the same time deceiving the — potential — enemy by simulating false intentions. In sum, as Ursula Geitler¹⁷ and Manfred Hinz¹⁸ pointed out in 1992, the society of the 17th century was principally a society of mistrust. These ethics, which I dub *feudal ethics* because they were conceived in the context of the manuals for the courtiers, centred on political prudence and pure pragmatism and were primarily based on a discrepancy between outer appearance and inner attitude and beliefs.

The pan-European reception of the tractates of the courtier thus formed the ethico-cultural climate in which Mattheson developed his own musical ethics in early 18th-century Germany. Comparably often, for instance, he uses the term 'galant' in order — positively — to evaluate music: In *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*¹⁹ of 1739 for instance, he praised the quality of Händel's harpsichord suites (HWV 426-433)²⁰ by attributing to the invertible counterpoint of the fugues a 'galant' character: Händel »macht sich so verbindlich nicht mit seinen Sätzen und Gegensätzen, als Kuhnau; sondern springet ab und zu. Indessen führet er das Hauptthema galant ein, und bringt es sehr oft an solchen Stellen an, da es keiner vermuthet noch suchet«.²¹

By using 'galant' in this manner when discussing music Mattheson employed a term that was traditionally connected with feudal ethics. For the denotative scheme of the term 'galant' in the 17th century was clearly derived from courtly behaviour modes: it was attributed to the frivolous lover, the elegantly dressed chevalier à la Mode, the wanton person, especially to the woman of easy virtue, as well as the witty, pleasing, amiable, and refined individual.²² To put it into a nutshell, the

¹⁷ GEITLER 1992.

¹⁸ HINZ 1992.

¹⁹ MATTHESON 1739.

²⁰ Mattheson so much appreciated these suites that became popular in only a short time (cf. Zywiets 1996/1997, 118f) that, in his writings, he praised several times Händel's art of composing fugues, especially double fugues (cf. for instance MATTHESON 1740, 45).

²¹ Händel »is less constrained with his themes and counterthemes than Kuhnau; but sometimes [i.e. irregularly] [Händel] switches. However, he introduces the principal subject gallantly, and delivers it often at points [in the composition], as one would neither suspect it or look for it« (MATTHESON 1739, 440).

²² Cf. THURAU 1936.

term 'galant' suited a character who pursued pleasure, tended to lack a sense of responsibility, and succeeded by possessing wit, i.e. a type of intellect that was rather unconcerned with ethical questions. Quite obviously, this idea of the 'galant' or 'galanterie', as well as the doctrines of political prudence, contradicts the ethical position which Mattheson articulated in his writings and which corresponded with those of the emerging bourgeois class during the early German Enlightenment at the beginning of the 18th century. Indeed, Mattheson's emphasis on truthfulness, sincerity, and morals belongs rather to an ethics of virtue, i.e. a type of ethics that, in the classical definition of Aristotle, requires a resolute inner attitude²³ that complements the visible behaviour. An ethics of virtue in this sense is marked by the coherence and correlation between inner essence and outer appearance. Such an ethical framework, not surprisingly, prohibits *simulatio* and *dissimulatio*, i.e. the discrepancy between internal attitude and external deeds.²⁴ So, how does Mattheson manage to reconcile these obviously contradictory ethical standpoints: feudal ethics and an ethics of virtue?

Until now, the contradiction between Mattheson's early-Enlightenment bourgeois ethics and his preference for the term 'galant' as a feudal-ethical concept has been overlooked in musicology to the same extent as the significance of ethics for music of the decades around 1700 has not yet been paid attention. In order to ascertain the meaning of the term 'galant' in Mattheson's writings, scholars such as Wilhelm Seidel²⁵, Werner Braun²⁶ and Dora Wilson²⁷ did not commonly relate Mattheson's use of 'galant' to the term's meaning in the decades *before* his writings and *outside* of the musical context, but preferred to situate it in the context of musical writings, most of which came from the cultural period *after* Mattheson, such as the writings of Marpurg, Scheibe, and Quantz who were mostly more than a generation younger than Mattheson.²⁸ On the basis of this, scholars believed that 'galant' in Mattheson's writings referred to compositions that consisted of only a few voices, were based on free voice-leading, possessed lots of ornaments²⁹ or pleased the

²³ »[A]cts done in conformity with the virtues are not done justly or temperately if they themselves are of a certain sort, but only if the agent *also* is in a certain state of mind when he does them: first he must act with knowledge; secondly he must deliberately choose the act; and choose it for its own sake; and thirdly the act must spring from a *fixed and permanent disposition of character* [my italics]« (ARISTOTLE c.350 BC, Book II, 4, 85).

²⁴ Manfred Beetz differentiates between »Individualethik« [individual ethics] and »Sozialethik« [social ethics] or »Interaktionsmoral« [morals of interaction] (BEETZ 1990, 288).

²⁵ SEIDEL 1995.

²⁶ BRAUN 1970.

²⁷ WILSON 1981.

²⁸ Marpurg and Scheibe were born in 1718, Quantz in 1697; whereas Mattheson was born in 1681.

²⁹ Seidel summarizes in his article on »Galanter Stil« in *Die Geschichte in Musik und Gegenwart*: »Galant meint vielfach leicht, beweglich, zierlich, natürlich und frei. Auf Musik bezogen: wenig- oder freistimmig, solistisch, ornamentiert« ['Galant' often means light, flexible, delicate, natural, and free. As regards music: music for a few voices only, free voice-leading, solo, ornamented] (SEIDEL 1995, col. 986).

»ears of the *galant homme*«. ³⁰ Unlike these scholars, David A. Sheldon published a considerable in-depth investigation into the term 'galant' in 1975, though still without taking into account the ethical character of this term. ³¹

III. Ethical Connotations of the Term 'Galant' and Their Impact on Musical Thinking

During the last decades of the 17th century, French moralists such as La Rochefoucauld, La Bruyère, and Molière carried out a kind of reform of courtly maxims, redirecting, or, one could say, re-ethicising them toward an ethics of virtue and goodness. This reform process is most clearly seen in Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel* of 1727 (new edition enlarged by Jean Baptiste Brutel de la Rivière) as well as — though too late to be a significant source for Mattheson's time — Diderot's *Encyclopédie* of 1757. ³² All three reference books oppose the *galant homme* to the *homme galant* or simply 'the galant', attributing vicious or at least neutral qualities to the latter. Correspondingly, the new edition of Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel* explains: »Il est difficile de bien définir toutes les qualitez qu'on attache à la personne d'un *homme galant*, ou d'un *galant homme*. Car remarquez que ce mot mis devant, ou après, a des significations très-differentes. VAU BOU. Il y a beaucoup de differences entre un *galant homme*, & un *homme galant*. Un *galant homme* est plus de tout dans la vie ordinaire. Il a des agrémens plus profonds [i.e. a 'fixed and permanent disposition of character' as Aristotle conceived virtue³³], & le temps a moins de prise sur lui. Un *homme galant* devient à la fin le rebut & le mepris du monde.« ³⁴ »Un *homme galant*«, the *Encyclopédie* defines, »est plus autre chose qu'un *galant homme*; celui-ci tient plus de l'honnête homme [the concept that had been developed in the writings of Faret³⁵ and the Chevalier de Méré³⁶ in 17th century France], celui-là se rapproche plus du petit-maître, de l'homme à bonnes fortunes.« ³⁷ Distinguishing the »honnête homme« from the »homme à bonnes fortunes« the concept of the *honnête homme* that is by no means simpler than this one of the *galant homme*, both the *honnête homme* and the *galant homme* receive a moral touch.

This significant change regarding feudal ethics is also reflected in the work of German writers: for instance in Christian Thomasius' lecture »Über die Nach-

³⁰ »Der galante Stil ist [...] rezeptionsästhetisch orientiert. Was der gebildete und urteilsfähige Dilettant fasst und goutiert, was ihm gefällt, was seinen Ohren schmeichelt, ist galant und kunstgerecht, es sei im übrigen, wie es wolle« (SEIDEL 1995, col. 986).

³¹ SHELDON 1975.

³² The article: »Galant«, in: FURETIÈRE 1727; article: »Galant«, in: DIDEROT/D'ALEMBERT 1757.

³³ Cf. footnote 25.

³⁴ The article: »Galant«, in: FURETIÈRE 1727.

³⁵ FARET 1630.

³⁶ MÉRÉ 1677.

³⁷ DIDEROT/D'ALEMBERT 1757, 427.

ahmung der Franzosen«³⁸ presented at the University of Leipzig in 1687 and Johann Christian Barth's *Galante Ethica*, a book of manners that was published for the first time in 1720.³⁹ Whereas Thomasius avails himself of the equalization of the *galant homme* with the *honnête homme*,⁴⁰ Barth's *Galante Ethica* campaigns *expressis verbis* against the iniquitous or anti-virtuous behaviour modes of *simulatio* and *dissimulatio*. »Der Finis einer veritable Politesse muss tugendhafft seyn: denn, obgleich viel bey der heutigen Welt mit dem Nahmen eines Politici pralen, so durch listige Anschläge, falsche Caressen und dergleichen simulirtes Wesen, bloß ihr eigenes Interesse mit des Nächsten heimlichen Schaden zu befördern suchen; so wolte ich doch dergleichen, wegen ihres lasterhafften Endzweckes, lieber Schmarotzer und Betrüger nennen.«⁴¹

A similar impetus articulates itself in the moral weeklies, invented in England, to whose launching and distribution, starting in 1713, Mattheson decisively contributed in Germany.⁴² Reflecting the dual meaning of the term 'galant', as is manifested in the differentiation between the *galant homme* and the *honnête homme* and their moral implications, the authors of *Die Vernünfftigen Tadlerinnen*⁴³ of 1725/1726, for instance, distinguish between two types of gallantry: true and false gallantry.⁴⁴ Whereas the »tugendhaffte und wahrhafftigt galante Schöne«⁴⁵ possessing »wahrhaftige« or »wahre Galanterie«⁴⁶ is connected with the »Sittenlehre«⁴⁷ as

³⁸ »On the imitation of French men« (THOMASIUS 1687).

³⁹ Three additional editions followed in 1722, 1728 and 1731.

⁴⁰ The title page of »Über die Nachahmung der Franzosen« refers to both the *galant homme* and the *honnête homme*: »Christian Thomas eröffnet der Studirenden Jugend Einen Vorschlag/Wie er einen jungen Menschen/der sich ernstlich fürgesetzt/Gott und der Welt dermahleins in vita civili rechtschaffen zu dienen/und als ein *honnêt* und *galant homme* zu leben/binnen dreier Jahre Frist in der Philosophie und singulis Jurisprudentiae partibus zu informiren gesonnen sei« [Christian Thomas proposes the studying youth how he conceives to inform a young person, who is seriously willing righteously to serve god and the world in *vita civili* and to live like a *honnêt* und *galant homme*, in philosophy and singulis Jurisprudentiae partibus within three years] (THOMASIUS 1687, title page).

⁴¹ »The aim of action of true politeness must be virtuous. For, although many people today boast about being political [in the sense of political prudence] by advancing their own interest by means of crafty assaults, false cordiality and alike simulated character [i.e. deceiving behaviour] and at the expense of the stealthy damage of the neighbour, I want to call such people parasites and beguilers because of their vicious purpose« (BARTH 1720, 4-5).

⁴² Mattheson was the editor of the first German and, at the same time, second continental moral weekly *Der Vernünfftler* (1713-14). *Der Vernünfftler* basically contained translations and adaptations of articles published in the English moral weeklies *The Tatler* (1709-11) and *The Spectator* (1711-12 und 1714) (cf. MARTENS 1968, 24). Furthermore, the composer and music theorist was connected with the *Patriotische Gesellschaft* that, founded in 1723, edited the moral weekly *Der Patriot* between 1724 and 1726. Mattheson dedicated his *Grosse General-Baß-Schule* (MATTHESON 1731) to the members of the editing board of *Der Patriot*. The title of his music journal *Der musicalische Patriot*, founded in 1728, not only clearly draws on the title of the *Patriotische Gesellschaft's* moral weekly, but also propagates the ethical rhetoric so typical for moral weeklies.

⁴³ Reasonably rebuking women.

⁴⁴ Regarding true vs. false intention cf. also: VIALA 1997, 72.

⁴⁵ The virtuous and truly gallant beauty.

⁴⁶ True gallantry.

⁴⁷ Morals.

promoted by Thomasius⁴⁸, the »gar zu galantes Frauenzimmer«, i.e. a woman of false gallantry, signifies a morally rotten personality, first and foremost a whore. Zedler's *Universal-Lexikon* of 1735 puts forward the same idea: »Man könnte [galante] Leute eintheilen in Schein=galante und wahrhafftige galante. [...] Ein Schein-galanter Mensch ist, der zwar ein angenehmes Exterieur an Sitten, Reden und Gebährden hat, allein nicht reelles [the firm inner attitude in the sense of Aristotle] dahinter ist.«⁴⁹

To cut a long story short, the *galant homme* and the term 'galant' in general were assigned a double character, consisting both of virtue and vice, that, at the same time, contributed to an ethical rehabilitation, a re-conception of the idea of the 'galant' that Sheldon mistook as »Teutonic solidity«.⁵⁰

Like Thomasius und Barth, Mattheson, discussing the double character of the term »galant« in a footnote to the *Searching Orchestra*, takes a stand for the re-ethicised, virtuous meaning of 'galant': »Zwischen galant und galant ist ein Unterschied. Wenn der Herr Rector Hübner von der Pedanterie und Galanterie als zwei Pesten der Schulen schreibt, so versteht er durch die letztere eben nicht viel Gutes. So wie man heutigen Tages manches verdächtiges Frauenzimmer, ja wohl garstige Kranckheiten, mit einem galanten Praedicato zu belegen pflieget. Die Italiäner aber verstehen durch einen galant huomo, einen wackern, geschickten, tüchtigen und redlichen Kerl, un valent' uomo [...]. Und in solchem, als seinen rechten genuinen Verstande, nehmen wir das Wort auch hier.«⁵¹ By listing craft-oriented adjectives alongside the ethical word 'candid' in order to define the term 'galant', Mattheson links skilfulness with moral concerns. In Mattheson's view, a dexterous, adept, and brave fellow can only be considered as 'galant' if he manages to use these qualities for candid, i.e. honest, virtuous purposes. In other words, skill in the gallant sense is virtuous skill. In light of this definition, the ethical nuances of the above-quoted passage on the fugues of Händel's harpsichord suites⁵² become evident:

Regarding the invertible counterpoint in the fugues, Mattheson observed that Händel — as I quoted above — introduces »das Hauptthema galant [...], und bringt

⁴⁸ Cf. *Die Vernünftigen Tadlerinnen* 1726, 68ff.

⁴⁹ »One could distinguish people into pseudo-gallant and truly gallant ones. [...] A pseudo-gallant person is somebody who possesses a pleasant outside comprising mores, speech, and gestures, but of whom nothing real is behind it« (Lemma: »Galant«, in: ZEDLER 1735, 79).

⁵⁰ SHELDON 1975, 243.

⁵¹ »There is a difference between 'galant' and 'galant'. [...] If the Herr Rector Hübner describes pedantry and the gallantry as two epidemics, he considers the latter as not much good, similarly as today various women and nasty diseases are attributed the praedicatio 'galant'. The Italians however consider a *galant huomo* a dexterous, adept, brave and candid fellow, *un valent' uomo* [...] And in the same [...] meaning we use the word here« (MATTHESON 1721, 276).

⁵² Mattheson especially refers to »double fugues«. With the term »double fugue« Mattheson means neither a fugue with two subjects that are exposed and developed one after the other nor a fugue whose themes are stated simultaneously at the outset, but any fugue, that has two or more themes, and invertible counterpoint in general.

es sehr oft an solchen Stellen an, da es keiner vermuthet noch suchet.«⁵³ In this passage, Mattheson basically describes how the irregular and thus unanticipated change in the distances of fugue theme entries exceeds the usual variability of the entries sequence.⁵⁴ This context of the use of 'galant' is significant. It indicates that it has more serious connotations (serious in an ethical, not a music-academic sense). For Mattheson's use of the term 'galant' to characterize a polyphonic, i.e. a compositionally demanding piece of music, a piece that calls for the dexterous, adept, and brave composer-master, contradicts the common definition of 'galant' as light and playful — which corresponds, by the way, with recent findings by Gregory Butler on Marpurg. According to Butler, Marpurg attributed the term 'galant' particularly to the canonical techniques in *Das Musikalische Opfer* by Bach, i.e. polyphony again.⁵⁵ Concerning Händel's invertible counterpoints, the predicate 'galant' conveys the idea that Händel's variability actually proves mastership, instead of simply a lack of artistic competence. The predicate's virtuous connotations also suggest — without further argument — that the irregular entrances of the fugal subjects are not only *aesthetically*, but also *ethically* right.

What is most striking, however, is that, in the context of the virtuous notion of 'galant', Mattheson also transfers the idea of inner-outer-coherence, which has strong ethical implications to the musical realm, as I demonstrated above. This manifests itself in *Das Neu-eröffnete Orchestre* written some 26 years earlier: »Zum Beschluß dieses Capitels [Von den Special-Regeln der Dissonantien] möchte noch überhaupt angemerckt werden/ dass/ da man sonst zu einer bereits erfertigten Composition nur die zwey Stücke/ nemlich: Melodiam & Harmoniam erfordert/ man bey jetzigen Zeiten sehr schlecht bestehen würde/ wofern man nicht das dritte Stück/ nemlich die Galanterie hinzu fügte/ welche sich dennoch auf keine Weise erlernen noch in Reguln verfassen läst/ sondern bloß durch einen guten gout und gesunden Judicium acquiriret wird.« And in order to explain what gallantry is, Mattheson compares it with a dress »an welchem das Tuch die so nöthige Harmonie, die Façon die gezimende Melodie, und denn etwann die Borderie oder Broderie die Galanterien vorstellen möchte«.⁵⁶

Needless to say, in this context the term 'gallantry' can easily be interpreted in the traditional sense: i.e. as ornamentation and decoration. For the French term

⁵³ Händel »introduces the principal subject gallantly, and delivers it often at points [in the composition], where one would neither suspect it nor look for it« (MATTHESON 1739, 440).

⁵⁴ In the fugue N° 4 in G, HWV 429, for instance, the themes entries vary between three (alto — soprano), over four (tenor) to five and four and a half bars (bass and soprano respectively) (Händel 1720, bars 1, 4, 8, 13 and 17).

⁵⁵ BUTLER 2002.

⁵⁶ »At the end of this chapter [a chapter on the resolution of dissonances] I want to remark that, whereas in the past one needed only two components, namely melody and harmony, in order to create a composition, today a third component, gallantry, must be added«. And in order to explain what gallantry is, Mattheson compares it with a dress »of which the fabric is the necessary harmony, the cut or working [façon] is the proper melody, and the broderie is the gallantry« (MATTHESON 1713, 137-138).

'broderie' has to be translated by the embroidery meaning in the context of music, as Johann Gottfried Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon* of 1732 defines, »Broderie (gall.) s, f. eine Ausschmückung, wenn z.B. grosse Noten in kleinere zertheilet werden«. ⁵⁷ Yet, why does Mattheson highlight the significance of ornamentation in addition to harmony and melody, especially in the context of the chapter's topic, the resolution of dissonances? Drawing on Michel Foucault, this unusual context could be explained by the different mental order of things that early-modern people such as Mattheson, born in 1681, possessed. ⁵⁸

However, in view of the ethical connotations of the term 'galant' in the non-musical field, I will try an alternative interpretation. Decoration denoted by embroidery is also related to 'ornatus' and 'decorum', terms which, originating in the rhetorical tradition, only marginally refer to accessory embellishment. Instead, rooted in the Latin word 'decere' — »to accept or approve« —, 'ornatus' and 'decorum' primarily signify »appropriate presentation and appearance«. According to the ancient rules of rhetoric, speech and gesture comply with the principle of decorum if their outer appearance — the presentation and decoration — deeds correspond to their inner content or purpose. It is Thomasius again who, in 1692, lends ethical implications to this inner-outer-relationship: »So ferne als man in dem decoro tugendhafte oder lasterhafte Thaten zu imitiren sucht/ muss eben dasjenige davon gesagt werden/ was wir von der Tugend und Lastern selbst alsobald erinnern wollen.« ⁵⁹ In this sense, decoration, etymologically connected with decorum and decree, has primarily to be understood metaphorically, not literally. An individual is metaphorically decorated if he/she possesses invisible inner values that are mirrored by his/her outer deeds. This is his or her adornment.

The ethical inner-outer-paradigm, in the light of which Thomasius interpreted the traditional category of decorum, also applies to the notion of 'galant'. Drawing on the French differentiation between the virtuous *galant homme* and the non-virtuous *homme galant* and related to the differentiation between true and false galantry in *Die Vernünftigen Tadelrinnen*, Zedler's *Universal-Lexikon* of 1735 distinguishes between the *truly* gallant individual whose outer deeds corresponds to his or her inner character and the pseudo-galant individual whose deeds are mere superficial habit. »[...] ein Schein=galanter Mensch ist, der zwar ein angenehmes Exterieur an Sitten, Reden und Gebährden hat, allein nichts reelles dahinter ist. Denn die würckliche Auszierung dieses reellen Wesens machet erst einen

⁵⁷ »[D]ecoration such as the division of larger notes into smaller ones« (Entry: »Broderie«, in: WALTHER 1732).

⁵⁸ This explanation additionally corresponds with recent observations of Joel Lester (LESTER 1992, 158ff).

⁵⁹ »If one imitates virtuous or vicious deeds by means of decorum, [i.e. if one avails oneself of behaviour modes that indicate a virtuous or evil attitude] the decorum has to be considered as equivalent to virtue or vice« (THOMASIVS 1692, 102).

wahrhaftig galanten Menschen.«⁶⁰ Similarly, Thomasius differentiates between »wahrem«⁶¹ and »rechtem«⁶² decorum on the one hand, and »lasterhaftem«⁶³ decorum, i.e. false gallantry, on the other.⁶⁴ In this light, Mattheson's emphasis on gallantry as an essential aspect of music complementing harmony and melody refers as much to musical ornamentation as to the ethical quality that true gallantry — as opposed to pseudo-gallantry and false gallantry — implies: the inner-outer-coherence of the composition, i.e. the congruence between content and form in modern aesthetic terminology.

How much the virtue-related inside-outside dyad that articulates itself in the notion of decorum and virtuous gallantry shaped Mattheson's thinking on music is also demonstrated in another passage of *Das forschende Orchestre*, in the chapter »Von den *rationibus*« in which Mattheson comments on Quintilian. According to the Roman, pleasure is no more than a marginal experience accompanying music. Music's final purpose however is virtue alone.⁶⁵ Contrary to Quintilian, Mattheson sets gracefulness emerging from ornamentation (as the cause of pleasure) and virtue in a relationship and, not coincidentally, defines it as an inner-outer-relationship: »Das [to serve the seizure of virtue] ist das obengedachte moralische Ziel: deswegen möchte ich lieber diese utilitatem ad capessendam virtutem [i.e. music's usefulness for virtuous purposes] den *innerlichen* Zweck[,] die Lieblichkeit aber und Anmuth den *äusserlichen* nennen [my italics].«⁶⁶ What Mattheson indicates is that the outer part, gracefulness, is not simply a supplement to the artwork, but rather the indispensable indicator, the cipher of the inner invisible part, its virtuous quality.

To finish then: Mattheson's idea of an inner invisible essence of the artwork — a kind of virtue as value in itself that can be deciphered by the artwork's outer quality — is remarkable for its time. Furthermore, it foreshadows a similar thought figure from later-18th-century aesthetics: the correspondence between inner ethical and outer-aesthetical qualities that was articulated particularly clearly in the literary field. Schiller, for instance, declares the beautiful soul to be the moral soul; in his view, visible external beauty mirrors virtue, operating as internal beauty.

⁶⁰ ZEDLER 1735, vol. 10, 78-79. Similarly, though less clearly under the lemma 'honneste' 45 years earlier, Furetière differentiates between the air of an *honnête homme* and his essence or nature: »il a le mine d'un honneste homme, & cependant c'est un filou« (Entry »Honneste«, in: FURETIÈRE 1690).

⁶¹ True.

⁶² Right, appropriate.

⁶³ Vicious.

⁶⁴ THOMASIVS 1714, 219, 220 and 216.

⁶⁵ »Aristides Quintilianus, wenn er von dem Endzweck der Music redet, gibt seinen Sinn ungefähr also zu erkennen: 'Es ist weder alle Lust, die man aus der Music schöpffet, zu tadeln, noch auch diese Lust die eigentliche Absicht bey der Music. Die Lust ist zwar zufälliger Weise eine Gemüths-Ergötzung; aber der recht vorgesetzte Zweck ist der Nutz zur Ergreifung der Tugend'« (MATTHESON 1721, 174).

⁶⁶ »I will call the utilitatem ad capessendam virtutem the *internal* purpose; the suaveness and gracefulness the *external* one [my italics, B.K.]« (MATTHESON 1721, 174).

Goethe explains that the beautiful object — first and foremost the beauty of nature [the *Naturschöne*] — operates as a sign or symbol for its ethical quality. Also in the musical field, though here less clearly, the inner-outer coherence shaped the aesthetic discussion. In his *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*⁶⁷, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach advises his pianist readers to vibrate in sympathy with the affects of the music. »Indem ein Musicus nicht anders rühren kann, er sey dann selbst gerührt; so muss er nothwendig sich selbst in alle Affecten setzen können, welche er bey seinen Zuhörern erregen will; er giebt ihnen seine Empfindungen zu verstehen und bewegt sie solchergestalt am besten zur Mit=Empfindung. Bey matten und traurigen Stellen wird er matt und traurig. Man sieht und hört es ihm an.«⁶⁸ Only by being moved himself, is the *musicus* able to move his audience. For, the inner emotion articulates itself in outer manifestations: both the sound which the musician creates and his look, i.e. his bodily gestures.

In light of this, the resonance model on which Bach's advice is clearly based and that becomes fashionable from the 18th century onwards must be considered in line with the earlier historical reflections on the inner-outer coherence in the context of an ethics of virtue and the rejection of the concept of *simulatio* and *dissimulatio*. In the course of this development, the artwork's ethical function of morally improving the listener is replaced by the idea of the artwork's inherent ethical quality. The ethical entered the artwork.

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⁶⁷ BACH 1753.

⁶⁸ BACH 1753, 122.

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Sazetak

NAPISI JOHANNA MATTHESONA O GLAZBI I ETIČKI POMAK
OKO 1700. GODINE

Dobro je poznato da su rasprave o dvorjaninu — prije svega one Baldassarea Castiglionea, Nicolasa Farceta, Baltasara Graciana i Chevaliera de Méréa — napisane od ranog 16. stoljeća nadalje, informirale o životu viših društvenih klasa, aristokrata i nakon 18. stoljeća građanstva. Također je dobro poznato da su se kulturne odrednice dvorjanina očitovale u glazbi: u naglašavanju retoričkih i estetičkih ideja kao što su jednostavnost i glazbena neizrecivost, tzv. »je ne sçais quoi«. Pa ipak, muzikolozi su do sada zanemarivali činjenicu da su rasprave o dvorjaninu imale daleko »ozbiljniji« poriv od određivanja načina konverzacije i drugih aktivnosti u dokolici kao što su umjetnost, ples i glazba. Savjetujući pojedinca kako da se prikladno ponaša i djeluje u raznim društvenim situacijama, oni su definirali osobitu etiku ponašanja. Ova etika, koju nazivam *feudalnom etikom* jer je bila zamišljena u kontekstu priručnika za dvorjane, usredotočila se na političku opreznost i čisti pragmatizam — *simulatio* i *dissimulatio* — i bila je primarno temeljena na nesuglasju između izvanjske pojavnosti s jedne strane i unutarnjih stavova i vjerovanja s druge strane. Upravo u desetljećima oko 1700. godine feudalnu se etiku, koja je vladala Europom, polagano počelo zamjenjivati modernom građanskom etikom koju se može kategorizirati kao etiku vrline, a koju karakterizira, pozivajući se na Aristotela, koherentnost između vanjskih djela ili izgleda i unutarnjeg stava ili biti.

Ovaj moralni transformacijski proces i njegov utjecaj na glazbu i glazbenu misao najjasnije se očituje u napisima Johanna Matthesona. S jedne strane, njegovi napisi o glazbi ističu se svojim izrazito moralističkim tonom koji glazbu i glazbeništvo povezuje s istinosnošću, iskrenošću i moralom, otkrivajući ga kao zagovornika etike vrline. S druge strane, Mattheson se u namjeri da opiše i procijeni glazbu koristi pojmovima — prije svega idejom 'galantnog' — koji jasno pripadaju feudalno-etičkom području.

Dok je označavajuća shema termina 'galantno' u 17. stoljeću jasno proizlazila iz dvorskih načina ponašanja — bila je prikladna za karakter koji je težio užitku i pomanjkanju osjećaja za odgovornost, te doživljavao uspjeh promicanjem duhovitosti, tj. tipa intelekta koji se nije previše brinuo za etička pitanja — Mattheson je usvojio re-etificirani pojam termina 'galantno', u kojemu je (pokretana Thomasiusom, Barthom i tzv. moralnim tjednicima) postojala razlika između istinske i lažne galantnosti. U tim okvirima Mattheson je također primijenio na glazbu ideju etičke vrline o koherentnosti unutarnjeg i vanjskog. Zamijenivši etičku *funkciju* moralnog usavršavanja slušatelja, kako je to razvijala antika, idejom o inherentnoj etičkoj *kvaliteti* umjetničkog djela, Mattheson je anticipirao estetičke ideje kasnoga 18. stoljeća.

