Shaping the nation with song
Johann Friedrich Reichardt and the German cultural identity

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Abstract
The primary aim of this dissertation is to study the nationalistic worldview as it emerged in the German lands in the second half of the eighteenth century. The research focuses on how this influenced the artistic practices of Prussian composer, writer and court Kapellmeister Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814), and likewise how Reichardt’s activities influenced and formed this field. Reichardt was one of the musicians most actively involved in the development of this field at the time, both as a composer and as a writer. The nationalistic view that a society ought to have as its foundation a common cultural identity, and that this identity should be the guiding principle for organization and government, was groundbreaking at the time. In line with this Reichardt’s ambition involved a transformation of the composer/musician’s role in society, turning music into a means to influence and alter the state. As the dissertation shows, this was done in a variety of ways. Above all Reichardt was advocating, and helped shape, a German national cultural identity. This identity he sought to induce in the people, for instance through songs composed specifically for children.

The study focuses on a variety of sources, above all a selection of Reichardt’s writings, songs and song collections. These are subjected to a substantial discourse analysis. Following the conviction that a discourse is formed and expressed not just in writing, but also in musical compositions, musical practices, institutions et cetera, the analytical approach vary throughout the study, depending on the researched material. Identified in the analyses are things and signs that point towards a new nationalistic system of meaning.

Following a chapter on the historical background, including an analysis of Herderian nationalism, an exposition of the idea of expressive communities, and an account of Reichardt’s biography, the analytical part of the study is divided into two parts, dealing with two different kinds of music and fields of musical application. The first is devoted to music for the community, used in private and semi-private company. Here it is shown how Reichardt contributed to the formulation of a German national musical style founded on folksong ideals and the concept of Volksstimmen. The second is devoted to music for school and education and study the strong interest and belief in education that characterized the eighteenth century, and which Reichardt fully embraced. Here Reichardt’s views on education, and their importance for his activities, are examined.

A secondary aim of the study is the theoretical development of the concept expressive communities. This is founded on a central view of Johann Gottfried Herder’s (1744–1803) that acknowledges a natural expressive desire in man. On a community-level this leads to the cultural identity (national or other) being characterized by a particular expressiveness, and being acquired through an active cultural practice. This view is particularly applicable when regarding the late eighteenth century German lands.

One result of the study is a better understanding of Reichardt’s activities and works. At the same time, as Reichardt was not the only one involved with the emerging nationalistic ideas, the study serves also as an example and its results are valid on a wider scale, providing a more nuanced understanding of the period on the whole.

Keywords: Johann Friedrich Reichardt, nationalism, lied, education, German cultural identity, expressive community, Herder, Rousseau, 18th-century music history, Volksstimmen.

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Mårten Nehrfors Hultén
To my grandfather
Figure 1. Johann Friedrich Reichardt, portrait, after a painting by Franz Garci. INTERFOTO / Alamy Stock Photo
# Contents

Acknowledgements

Introduction ........................................................................................................ 5
  Theory ........................................................................................................... 9
    Nation and nationalism ............................................................................. 10
    Identity ....................................................................................................... 14
  Method and material .................................................................................... 16
    The discourse analysis ........................................................................... 16
    The music analysis .................................................................................. 19
    The practice analysis ............................................................................. 21
  Research material ....................................................................................... 21
    Disposition ............................................................................................... 22
  Literature review ....................................................................................... 23
    Nationalism ............................................................................................. 23
    Society ....................................................................................................... 27
    Herder ......................................................................................................... 30
    Reichardt .................................................................................................... 31

Historical background ................................................................................. 35
  National tendencies .................................................................................... 38
  Herderian nationalism ................................................................................. 41
  An expressive community .......................................................................... 43
  Johann Friedrich Reichardt ...................................................................... 46

Music for the community .......................................................................... 56
  National musical styles and national characters ...................................... 57
  Songs for the German community .............................................................. 71
    Volkslieder ................................................................................................. 77
  Musical practice .......................................................................................... 83
  Reichardt's song collections ...................................................................... 84
    Expanding the national culture of song .................................................... 108
    Lieder geselliger Freude .......................................................................... 122
    Le Troubadour italien, français et allemand .............................................. 137
    Summing up .............................................................................................. 150

Music for education .................................................................................. 152
  The burgeoning interest in education ....................................................... 155
    Rousseau – Émile ou de l'éducation ......................................................... 156
  Education and the bourgeois family ........................................................ 158
Leben des berühmten Tonkünstlers Heinrich Wilhelm Gulden nachher genannt
Guglielmo Enrico Fiorino ................................................................. 160
What is a German education? .......................................................... 168
Music as an educational means ...................................................... 170
Reichardt's songs for children/education ........................................ 174
Reichardt & Campe................................................................. 174
Lieder für Kinder...................................................................... 178
Wiegenlieder für gute deutsche Mütter........................................... 190
Summing up ............................................................................. 197

Conclusions .............................................................................. 199

Sammanfattning ......................................................................... 203

Bibliography ............................................................................... 205
Primary sources........................................................................ 205
Reichardt's works ................................................................... 205
Other works.......................................................................... 208
Secondary sources................................................................... 211
Reichardt studies and biographies ............................................ 211
Other works.......................................................................... 226
A note on the citation of primary sources

To the largest extent I have chosen to use the original sources, even when modern editions have been available. I have also chosen to retain the original spelling in all quotes.

I have translated all quotes into English, and put the original in the footnote. Unless otherwise stated all translations are my own.

All musical scores are my own transcriptions based on the original prints.
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Introduction

Upheaval.

No that is really taking it too far! Even the cantor
leaves the organ, alas! and dabbles with the keys of the state.

—Friedrich Schiller/Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, “Xenien”

In 1796 Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) set out on a literary campaign against critics and other objectionable persons. Their weapons of choice were *Xenien*: biting satirical elegiac distichs inspired by the ancient Roman poet Marcus Valerius Martialis. One of their main targets was the former Prussian court Kapellmeister Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814), who had become an outspoken revolutionary political commentator. Of the 414 *Xenien* published by Schiller in his *Musens-Almanach für das Jahr 1797*, thirty-six were directed at Reichardt and his two journals *Frankreich* and *Deutschland*.


infuriated Schiller, criticizing the journal’s dishonest declaration to remain distant from the ‘favourite subjects of the day’, when it nevertheless took an obvious stance against the French revolution. Schiller had little difficulty enrolling Goethe in his attacks against the composer.

Goethe’s willingness to join in the campaign against Reichardt may, at first, seem a bit surprising. After all, Reichardt had been one of the earliest advocates of Goethe’s poetry, making it known to the public through his musical settings ever since the second volume of his Oden und Lieder (1780).\(^4\) Moreover, the two had once enjoyed a fruitful working relationship. Corresponding since 1787, they began to work intensively together on Goethe’s Singspiele texts in 1789. This collaborative relationship deepened for a couple of years, but then cooled down markedly as a consequence of their political differences. Even if Reichardt may never have realised how deeply involved Goethe was in the attack against him, Goethe’s attitude towards Reichardt became strikingly reserved and reticent by the mid-1790.\(^5\)

The epigraph above is an attack on Reichardt’s intellectual ambitions. No doubt, the step from Kapellmeister to revolutionary commentator is large, and it is in many ways a previously unheard-of ambition for the musician. That a musician would be suited for making political commentary seems like a preposterous idea according to the Xenia. Yet, what becomes clear when looking at Reichardt’s works is that the Weimar Dioscuri were grossly mistaken in their assumption that leaving the organ was betraying Reichardt’s intellectual arrogance. On the contrary, if anything his subversive ideas were projected in his music, more than in his writings. This was all the more significant, for his music took on a new role in society. Hence the Xenia’s implicit exhortation that Reichardt ought to return to the keyboard was basically misguided. Reichardt had the ambition to transform the musician’s role in society, in which the music they created was tantamount to a means to influence and alter the state, politically as well as culturally.

Although deliberate attempts to raise the status of the musician can be found throughout the eighteenth century, the focus had been to improve the musician’s moral image.\(^6\) This strategy was consistent with the disreputable

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\(^4\) Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Oden und Lieder von Göthe, Bürger, Sprickmann, Voß und Thomsen, mit Melodien beym Klavier zu singen (Berlin: Joachim Pauli, 1780).


\(^6\) In the hierarchy of professions listed by Hans Sachs and Jost Amman in the Ständebuch of 1568, musicians are ranked at the very low end (100\(^{th}\) and 105\(^{th}\)–109\(^{th}\) positions out of 114). See Stephen Rose, The Musician in Literature in the Age of Bach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 8–9. Rose offers a useful account of how musicians were regarded, and their strategies for improving their status in early seventeenth century Germany. See also T.C.W. Blanning, “The status of the artist,” in The culture of power and the power of culture: old regime Europe 1660–1789 by T.C.W. Blanning (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 78–99. For a wider outline see Walter Salmen, Herbert Kaufman, and Barbara Reisner, eds.,
character most musicians were considered to have, a view commonly held ever since the Middle Ages. Convincing society of the musician’s unimpeachable morals would grant him a more assuming and noble position within it. This had arguably been a somewhat successful strategy, but it clearly offered few possibilities for the musician wishing to step outside his given role. He would remain a servant, more or less, although hopefully not as despicable as before. No doubt, he would not be expected to give political commentary.

Within the stratified society, opportunities for advancement were slim, not least for such lowly professions such as musicians. However, this system had weakened throughout the course eighteenth century. As a consequence of the widened worldview obtained by exploration and colonialism, as well as the epistemological revolution of the European enlightenment, the class society no longer provided the definitive system of meaning organizing society. The French revolution might have provided the most striking and radical contestation to the old system, but other, less violent visions, were emerging at the time as well. One of the most important, at least when historical significance is regarded, was the idea of nationalism, which in the words of philosopher Ernest Gellner can be described as “[…] a political principle which maintains that similarity of culture is the basic social bond.” The view that a society ought to have as its foundation a common cultural identity, and that this identity should be the guiding principle for organization and government was groundbreaking at Reichardt’s time.

One radical aspect that nationalism provided was an idea of the absolute equality of all members of society. For instance, in a German nation a king is no more German than a peasant, or a musician for that matter. Hence nationalism offered a more promising strategy for an intellectually aspiring musician such as Reichardt to gain a prominent part in society than trying to raise the standing of the profession within the existing system. At the same time, there ought to be particularly promising prospects for anyone who is professionally involved in creating a cultural identity, since nationalism attach such great

The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century (New York: Pendragon Press, 1983). For an insightful study of musicians’ attempts to create a significant role for themselves in society at the end of eighteenth and in the first half of the nineteenth century see David Gramit, Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-1848 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).


8 For an account of the difficulty for a musician to achieve any higher status within the court society in the second half of the eighteenth century see Norbert Elias, Mozart: Portrait of a Genius, ed. Michael Schröter, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993). Elias argues that the possibilities for Mozart were particularly slim since he had “… absorbed the canon of behaviour of the ruling class of his time. At the same time his musical imagination was formed by and steeped in the court-aristocratic tradition of music making.” Elias, Mozart, 32.
importance to it. With nationalism, culture takes centre stage, (at least in theory); hence literature, art and music, as well as writers, artists and musicians, become increasingly important.

Since these were novel ideas at the end of the eighteenth century they were not yet clearly formulated, and also subject to conflicting views.9 To a certain extent, they were open for interpretation, and presented unplumbed possibilities and potential for people seeking a new, better, order of society, like Reichardt. Viewed from today’s perspective this ambiguous and potential character of nationalism is easy to overlook, but at the time it was very much the case. Also, later developments of nationalism, and its historical consequences, were not apparent, except as imagined possibilities at most. One should also take into consideration that it was in no way given at the time that nationalism would be an accepted and implemented way to understand the world. Hence, for a musician to engage in these ideas at Reichardt’s time must be understood as quite an uncertain strategy, no matter how promising it might have appeared in theory.

The main aim of this dissertation is to examine the nationalistic views and ideas of the late eighteenth century, and their impact on the artistic practice of Johann Friedrich Reichardt. Also, how these views and ideas was influenced and formed by Reichardt’s activities will also be studied. The focus on this particular composer is motivated by the fact that he was one of the musicians most actively involved in the development of nationalistic views and ideas at the time, both as a composer and as a writer. Nationalistic views and ideas manifest themselves in many of his activities, and I argue that they clearly influenced his work throughout his life. But Reichardt was not the only one involved with these ideas; he was clearly part of a wider movement. The emerging nationalism was available for all who found it promising and relevant. Of course, the results will also lead to a better understanding, and possible revaluation, of Reichardt’s activities and works. Although his nationalistic leanings have often been acknowledged, their influence on his work has not been studied to any higher degree.

The choice to focus on Reichardt is also practical. Since Reichardt was active both as composer and writer, his works make it possible to observe how nationalism was expressed in the writings and heard in the music of the same person. It makes it possible to observe the practical consequences of Reichardt’s nationalistic views and ideas.

A second aim of the dissertation is the theoretical development of something I have chosen to call expressive communities. This is founded on a central conception of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) that acknowledges a natural expressive desire in man. On a community-level this leads to the

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9 Associated with republican ideas in the years around the French revolution, nationalism took on clear royalistic implications during the Napoleonic wars, not least in Prussia.
cultural identity (national or other) being characterized by a particular expressiveness, and being acquired through an active cultural practice. This view is particularly applicable when regarding the late eighteenth-century German lands.

In order to gain a detailed understanding of the research issues there are a number of questions that need to be addressed. To what extent was there a nationalistic worldview at the end of the eighteenth century? What did it entail, culturally and politically? How did Reichardt view and adapt to such a worldview? How was the nationalistic worldview reflected in his works and practices? How did he promote and shape it? Why was music such an important aspect of this worldview? What role was music meant to play? How did music help express a nationalistic agenda? What were the political implications of Reichardt’s works?

These questions can all be honed down to three main basic questions:

- What were Reichardt’s views on the nation and nationalism?
- What role was a composer meant to have in society according to these views?
- How does music come into this?

The first two questions will each be addressed in a separate chapter of the dissertation. The third question on the other hand will be dealt with continuously, since it is an intrinsic part of the whole nationalistic issue.

Finding the answers to these questions will lead to a fuller and a more detailed understanding of the works, insights into the views and ideas of Reichardt, and also provide important insights that will help to shed light on the wider issue of nationalism in the German lands, as well as generally, at the end of the eighteenth century.

Theory

The way to approach these questions will be through a thorough study of Reichardt’s works, both musical and written. However, in a transitional period like this, when a novel worldview was emerging, the objects of study will not necessarily show all their implications at first sight, particularly since the system of nationalism was not at all defined yet. Also, one must not limit one’s search for characteristics with proven nationalistic connotations of later conceptions. Phenomena might very well have had nationalistic implications at the time that are not as obvious today. Indeed, this is exactly one of the crucial issues of the dissertation.
The analytical approach will be slightly faceted. As the method section will explain, the research material will be subject to a substantial discourse analysis. However, since it is my conviction that the discourse is formed and expressed not just in writing, but also in musical compositions, musical practices, institutions and even buildings, the analytical approach needs to be adapted to the studied objects. Hence the analyses will vary throughout the dissertation, depending on the research material. The analyses will seek out things and signs that point towards a new nationalistic system of meaning. Transformations and re-evaluations of genres and practices will be of special interest. New musical ideas and styles will be easier to discern when compared to older existing ones. Also, identifying differences between the two systems regarding ideas and practices will be one of the chief objectives, hence all transformations and re-evaluations, all shifting strategies will be of crucial importance.

The reason for the multifaceted approach, is my conviction that there are distinct aspects of the research material, each in need of acknowledgement and study: how does the music sound? How is the music perceived and conceived, and how does it relate to a nationalistic discourse? How is the music performed and practiced? Furthermore, such aspects are intertwined in the sense that they affect, influence and inform each other; they are all part of the overall discourse. In many cases, characteristic traits will appear in different aspects (e.g., in writings and in music) at the same time, in some cases though, such traits might be clearly detectable only in one or two, and hence easy to overlook if focusing only on one aspect. Indeed, there might be cases where some things can only be expressed in one aspect for different reasons (e.g., political, aesthetic). In some cases, there might also be discrepancies between the different sides revealing decisive circumstances.

Given these conditions there is a clear advantage to approach the research material from more than one side. At the same time this does not mean that it will be necessary to analyse everything from all sides. The different aspects all need to be investigated, as does the relationship between them, but the target is not to present a systematic survey of the analysed material. The aim is rather to reach an exhaustive overall account of the research issue, where the different aspects are fully considered and thoroughly studied, contributing to the overall picture.

**Nation and nationalism**

A phenomenon under intense discussion since the nineteenth century, nationalism and its discourses have naturally amounted a vast output of literature,
not least in recent years. One of the most influential, as well as enlightening works on the subject is Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*. Although not without its critics, Anderson’s interpretation still remains a point of departure for many scholars of the topic.

Anderson provides a concise and insightful definition of the nation:

> [T]he nation […] is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.

It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. […]

The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind. […]

It is imagined as *sovereign* because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm. Coming to maturity at a stage of human history when even the most devout adherents of any universal religion were inescapably confronted with the living *pluralism* of such religions, and the allomorphism between each faith’s ontological claims and territorial stretch, nations dream of being free, and, if under God, directly so. The gage and emblem of this freedom is the sovereign state.

Finally, it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.

Characterizing the nation as an imagined community places emphasis on certain significant qualities worth pointing out. First of all, an imagined community is an *experienced* community. The nation is grounded in an experience of it, and in a conviction of its reality and its validity. Indeed, imagination and experience are the decisive factors for a nation, rather than realised phenomena such as language, history, and customs.

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During the second half of the eighteenth century, there was an increased notion of the nation as a community of significant validity, not least in the German lands. As Anderson has pointed out, the increased significance of the national community at this time was due to the previous communities’ loss of validity. Neither the religious community, nor the dynastic realm provided a sufficient sense of community as they once had. This was particularly true in the German lands, where conflicting religious communities were at war in the seventeenth century, and dynastic wars had ravaged the lands in the eighteenth. A community that could overcome these conflicting issues would clearly be an attractive one.

Defining the nation as a community, Anderson points to another important characteristic. Although sovereignty is a crucial component of the nation, nationalism according to Anderson should not be understood as a political ideology. First and foremost, it is a cultural system, a frame of reference “linking fraternity, power and time meaningfully together.” No doubt nationalism entails a number of political consequences, but these are to a large extent implicit rather than explicit. This was particularly the case during the eighteenth century when the concept was under development.

If Anderson provides a definition and description of the crucial characteristics of the nation, as well as an account of the determining factors for establishing a nation (print-capitalism and popular language), he does not offer any characterization of the cultural traits that define the national identity. Of course, since these traits naturally differ between nations, and their composition is also largely arbitrary, to offer any detailed descriptions would not be particularly meaningful. Indeed, the discussion of essential criteria for identifying and postulating a nation is as old as nationalism itself.

Eric Hobsbawm states in *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* that it is impossible to define the nation *a priori* with any satisfaction, regardless if the definition is based on objective or subjective criteria. Hence, any study of the nation and nationalism will be wise to take an agnostic initial posture. Furthermore, he claims that the emergence of nations and nationalism is a consequence of historical changes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Hence, a nation must not be understood as an unchanging social entity. Finally, nations, according to Hobsbawm, are invented, not discovered. Although a nation might be based on a pre-existing culture, it is still a construction. And essentially it is a construction from above, even though it cannot, according to Hobsbawm, be understood unless also analysed from below, from the

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15 An alternative explanation is offered by Ernest Gellner, who connects the emergence of nationalism with the industrial revolution. See Gellner, *Nationalism*.
16 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 12, 36.
viewpoint of ordinary people. Clearly, these insights all have bearing on the
nationalistic, nation forming views and practices of Reichardt that will be
studied here.

Nationalism and the construction of a nation develops over time. For this
purpose, Miroslav Hroch has offered a very lucid periodization of the national
movement, dividing it into three phases. Initially, during Phase A, the na-
tional is a concern solely for a limited group of intellectuals focusing on the
nation’s language, culture and history. The next phase, Phase B, establishes a
broad national consciousness coupled with patriotic agitation. In Phase C, fi-
nally, there is the rise of a mass national movement. It is useful to have this
periodization in mind when studying how contemporaries approached the na-
tion in the German lands in the eighteenth century. It has long been a general
opinion that German nationalism was triggered by, and did not exist prior to
Napoleon’s ravages across the German lands in 1805-06, although this view
has begun to be challenged. Actually, it is my conviction that this focus on
1806 is a consequence of the erroneous assumption, pointed out by Linda Col-
ley, that national consciousness is synonymous with political nationalism.
Utilizing Hroch’s periodization I would like to argue that 1806 marks not the
advent of German national consciousness, but rather the transition from Phase
A to Phase B.

With this in mind, my study falls within Phase A. This means, for instance,
that one should not expect to find any political agitation. At the most, political
aspirations are tacitly implied.

It is not my intention to fuse these different theories into a general con-
glomerate master theory, particularly since there was no general consensus of
what nationalism entailed were in place at the time. That later nineteenth and
twentieth century conceptions of nationalism would be anachronistic does not
mean that there was a different, complete view present in the eighteenth cen-
tury which one could attempt to identify in Reichardt’s works. What will be
studied here are initial nationalistic views and suggestions, that does not

19 Miroslav Hroch, *Social preconditions of national revival in Europe: a comparative analysis
of the social composition of patriotic groups among the smaller European Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 22–44.
20 See for instance: Stephen C. Meyer, *Carl Maria von Weber and the Search for a German
21 See for instance: Nicholas Vazsonyi, “Montesquieu, Friedrich Carl von Moser, and the ‘Na-
tional Spirit Debate’ in Germany, 1765-1767,” *German Studies Review* 22, no. 2 (1 May 1999):
225–46; Langewiesche, *Nation, Nationalismus, Nationalstaat*; Michael J. Sosulski, *Theater
and Nation in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate
*Past & Present* 113 (01 november 1986): 100.
necessarily form a well thought through entirety. Therefore, to study Reichardt’s views, works and activities in the light of the theoretical framework just presented will reveal much more than what is perceived at first glance.

Identity

As a general logical philosophical concept, identity has a very strictly defined meaning that essentially offers no leeway regarding its interpretation. Things are either identical, or they are not: non tertiam datur. Transferred to the issue of cultural national identity this would imply a quite strict understanding of that idea, and at times such a strict understanding has no doubt been imagined. Such an understanding could lead to quite severe usage with possibly dire consequences, as Francesco Remotti has recently pointed out. The binary set-up promotes a binary worldview, defining national identity negatively, i.e. in opposition to all other nations, effectively turning them into conflicting others.

Regarding the question of cultural identity in particular, Stuart Hall discusses the de-centering of the twentieth century subject, contrasting it to the stable and coherent subjective identity conceived in the eighteenth century.24 According to Hall:

The Enlightenment subject was based on the conception of the human person as a fully centered, unified individual, endowed with the capacities of reason, consciousness, and action, whose “center” consisted of an inner core which first emerged when the subject was born, and unfolded with it, while remaining essentially the same – continuous or “identical” with itself – throughout the individual’s existence. The essential center of the self was a person’s identity.25

In the eighteenth century, the idea of subjective identity was quite accepted according to Hall. Indeed, even David Hume’s (1711–1776) well-known critical discussion of personal identity in *A Treatise of Human Nature* does not contest the perceived identity of the subject, but is directed at its epistemological foundation.26

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As Hall explains, this conception of an unproblematic individualistic subjective identity emerged with the early modern age, between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. It was enforced by, among other things, the advent of Protestantism, and was expressed for instance in the philosophies of René Descartes (1596–1650), John Locke (1632–1704) and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716). Eventually, in the nineteenth century, this view began to be challenged and greater weight was credited to the surrounding world’s impact on the subject, as well as to the subject’s influential interactions with this world. In a sense, I would like to argue, Herder’s ideas of language as the ultimate vehicle and transmitter of national culture, as the medium shaping the subject’s thoughts, could be regarded as the first step of this continual de-throning of the autonomous subjective identity.

In a similar fashion, also the idea of a national cultural identity was accepted in the eighteenth century, as will be discussed later in the dissertation. Albeit, in the German lands it was debated at the time whether an identity really existed on a national level, or if it could be found first and foremost on a regional level. However, it should be noted that although the term national cultural identity is commonly and frequently used in modern literature on the period, in eighteenth-century German writings (as well as in English and French) the concepts under discussion were above all Charakter (character) and Geist (spirit).

Even though it was quite common in the eighteenth century, the implications and importance attached to the concept of national cultural identity in later centuries did not necessarily exist at the time. Returning to Benedict Anderson’s view that nationalism was replacing the sense of community previously provided by religion and dynastic realm respectively, it should be clear that the foundation for those previous communities did not disappear with the advent of nationalism. No doubt, the acknowledgment of a national cultural identity did not make earlier identities obsolete. Identifying oneself as a German, one could still remain for instance a devout Protestant, as well as a loyal subject to king Friedrich II of Prussia (1712–1786). Albeit less complex than the allegedly de-centralized subjective identities of the twenty-first century,

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27 This development evolved further in the twentieth century with an escalating de-centralization of subjective identity as a consequence. Hall lists the development of Marxist, Freudian, Saussurean, Foucauldian and feminist theories as decisive for the conceptual shifts the Enlightenment subject’s stable identity suffered in the past century. Hall, “The Question of Cultural Identity,” 602–11.
28 As pointed out by Vicki Spencer: “Herder thinks language is always to a certain extent beyond our individual control. It is not simply a tool, which we use to communicate our pre-formed thoughts, but is responsible for the actual forming of our thoughts.” Vicki Spencer, “Towards an Ontology of Holistic Individualism: Herder’s Theory of Identity, Culture and Community,” History of European Ideas 22, no. 3 (1 May 1996): 248.
29 Anderson, Imagined Communities, 12.
neither the eighteenth-century subjects were as simple as one might assume at first sight.

Method and material

As mentioned, the research material will be subjected to a broad and multi-facetted discourse analysis. This, since included in the total discourse are a variety of sub-categories with different characteristics, each in need of particular analysis methods. The most notable of these sub-categories are verbal discourse, music and musical practice.

The discourse analysis

One obvious source to understand Reichardt’s views on nationalism and a German nation is to examine his political writings. Another complementary, and maybe more revealing source is the way Reichardt was disseminating his views in his works. I suggest that Reichardt was promoting, forming and seeking to establish a nationalistic (view of) society through his works. Reichardt achieved this by forming and transmitting a worldview through words and images where nation and nationalism played a significant role. Although Reichardt was not alone in this mission, (indeed, he was part of a wider movement), arguably he was among the most active and prolific in this movement.

To grasp this worldview this dissertation analyses the discourse Reichardt is disseminating. Discourse analysis comes in a variety of approaches and methods, adapted to different disciplines and theoretical traditions. From an overall perspective discourse analysis can be described as the study of the relationship between language and society. The analysis I will practice focus on how worldviews are accessed and transmitted through language, and is informed by the sociology of knowledge approach to discourse (SKAD)

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31 In general, it is possible to identify two main strands of approaches depending on which side of the language-society relationship focus is placed on. With language in centre the analyses typically take on a more linguistic approach, whereas analyses with society in centre chose a more sociological approach. Among the former one finds an interest for example in how language and language use varies between different social classes and contexts, and how power relations are expressed and effectuated through specific language use. The second strand on the contrary focuses for instance on the worldviews accessed and transmitted through language, and how language use relates to social life. Taylor, *What Is Discourse Analysis?*, 2–3.
proposed by Reiner Keller.32 Founded on the combination of Peter L. Berger’s and Thomas Luckmann’s sociology of knowledge with the discourse theories of Michel Foucault33, this qualitative and interpretative approach focuses on “/…/ the discursive construction of symbolic orders, which occurs in the form of competing politics of knowledge.”34 Keller understands discourses as “[…] attempts to freeze meanings or, more generally speaking, to freeze more or less broad symbolic orders, that is, fix them in time and by so doing, institutionalize a binding context of meaning, values and actions/agency within social collectives.”35 Since this description closely corresponds to Reichardt’s suggested agenda, i.e. disseminating a nationalistic (view of) society, SKAD promises to offer a suitable analytical approach. This is strengthened when one considers SKAD’s intended aims:

SKAD research is concerned with reconstructing the processes which occur in social construction, objectivization, communication, and the legitimization of meaning structures in institutional spheres and issue arenas. It is also concerned with the analysis of the social effects of these processes. This includes various dimensions of reconstruction: sense making as well as subject formation, ways of acting, institutional/structural contexts, and social consequences; how, for example, they become apparent in the form of a dispositif.36

Both the focus on the processes seeking to establish a discourse, as well as the social effects of these processes are in line with the dissertation’s research issues. The study of how, and to what extent, Reichardt was disseminating a nationalistic worldview, as well as its intended and actual effects are central questions. Also, SKAD’s particular interest in the material side of discourses, for example in its highlighting of dispositifs37, is relevant for the present study.

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37 “The social actors who mobilize a discourse and who are mobilized by discourse establish a corresponding infrastructure of discourse production and problem solving, which can be identified as a dispositif.” / “Dispositif then refers to what could be called an infrastructure established by social actors or collectivities in order to solve a particular situation with its inherent problems of action.” Keller, “Entering Discourses,” 65.
(for instance to correctly acknowledge the importance of the many German national theatres opened in the second half of the eighteenth century).

In SKAD the discourse is approached and analysed via four “sensitizing concepts”: interpretative schemes, classifications, phenomenal, and narrative structures. With these four concepts a discourse’s “interpretative repertoire”, as Keller calls it, can be studied, and it can be disclosed how a system of knowledge is formulated and what it entails. For the present study these particular concepts would probably be less suitable. Designed as they are for the discursive wholes SKAD is generally concerned with, they would not necessarily acknowledge all relevant discursive elements in the present case. Here instead the concepts used will be less general, identifying more specific phenomena. One such concept will be recurring themes, for instance views and ideas that are often present in the discourse and that continue to have important and symbolic meaning over the course of time. Conspicuously absent themes, too, would be valuable to recognize, particularly themes that disappear suddenly and surprisingly. Another concept to look for are phenomena with practical consequences, effectuating actual influential change. And of special interest will the acknowledgment of ideas and views that entail definitions and demarcations of central phenomena be.

Since this is a qualitative method, interpretation of the studied objects will be of central importance. Indeed, it would be wise to notice that SKAD could be described as a hermeneutical approach. Its interpretational method contains a lot of the characteristics of traditional hermeneutics, and hence it would be valuable to acknowledge the particular qualities entailed therein.

It will be wise to take into consideration what consequences the limitations of the research material might have. Is it feasible to apply an analytical approach such as SKAD, which normally would be used on a considerably wider corpus, on the work of a single person? Although Keller states that “[t]he topics of SKAD’s analysis are both public discourses, as well as special discourses performed in close arenas for special publics”, one might ask how limited the scope of a discourse can be. Is it possible to analyse a discourse with a general scope, such as a nationalistic discourse (whose target ultimately must be the whole nation), studying just one writer? The answer is probably both yes and no. Just as studying a national musical style in only one composer creates certain conditions, the same is true also for the nationalistic discourse. The focus on Reichardt will lead to a risk of mistaking personal characteristics for general ones. But just as in the case of the musical style this need not necessarily pose a problem neither when the discourse is considered. Again, focus here lies more on Reichardt’s adoption, elaboration and dissemination of a German nationalistic discourse than on the general definition of it. Also, even

though the discourse will not be studied to any larger degree in any other writers, a general aspect will be at hand in the study of wider occurrences such as dispositifs. The crucial thing is to be aware of the scope of the researched material and not mistakenly overreaching the gained research results.

The music analysis

The national and nationalistic themes found in Reichardt’s music play a key role in the dissertation. I seek to uncover the following questions: To what extent did Reichardt conceive of a specifically German music? To what extent did he compose such music? How did Reichardt’s music convey a particularly German character? How did it express and perform a German national character?

Just like the ideas of nationalism were novel and ambiguous at the time, the ideas of national music were also subject to investigation and debate, and were not at all set in stone in the late eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{40} This was particularly the case in the German lands where the characteristics of a specifically German music, in opposition to Italian and French music, had been argued for throughout the eighteenth century, an issue that will be studied closer in the third chapter.\textsuperscript{41}

Just as with nationalism, one must be cautious not to impose later conceptions of national music upon earlier material. The familiar national styles of the 19th and 20th centuries were not developed until the later nineteenth century, and elements that would connote nationalism in the 19th century did not necessarily do so in the eighteenth.\textsuperscript{42} Hence it will not be possible to adopt methodologies used for analysis of later nationalistic music, at least not without considerable adjustments and reservations.\textsuperscript{43} Instead, a more open

\textsuperscript{40} Although distinct national musical styles had been around for quite some time, until the eighteenth century they did not instigate debate to any higher degree. (Carl Dahlhaus identifies the thirteenth century as the period when national styles began to emerge, whereas Richard Taruskin points out the fifteenth century as a period with contrasting international and vernacular styles; see Carl Dahlhaus, “Nationalism and Music,” in \textit{Between Romanticism and Modernism: Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 79-101; Richard Taruskin, “Nationalism,” in \textit{The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians}, 2nd ed., vol. 17, eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 689–706.

\textsuperscript{41} See for instance Mary Sue Morrow, \textit{German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century: Aesthetic Issues in Instrumental Music} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

\textsuperscript{42} Pointed out for instance by Richard Taruskin. See Taruskin, “Nationalism”.

approach will have to be adopted, initially searching with a very generous attitude for elements connoting nation and nationalism. In the early stages of the musical research assistance from the other analytical approaches will be particularly significant, (e.g., of Reichardt’s writings). Comparison with earlier, and with overtly non-national musical styles will also be of crucial importance.

I shall also look beyond the musical material in order to identify musical nationalistic traits that actually lack any national characteristic. The arbitrariness of what is characterising a particular nation, (the invented quality highlighted by Hobsbawm)\textsuperscript{44}, can extend also to the musical material to the point where the conception of a nationalistic trait is based only on a mutual agreement, not on any musical material facts. Nonetheless, such traits have real bearing and must be acknowledged. As Carl Dahlhaus has pointed out, “if a composer intended a piece of music to be national in character and the hearers believe it to be so, that is something which the historian must accept as an aesthetic fact, even if stylistic analysis – the attempt to ‘verify’ the aesthetic premise by reference to musical features – fails to produce any evidence.”\textsuperscript{45} In such cases analysis of the related circumstances will be particularly important. The possibility of national characteristics overlapping different nations must also be taken into consideration.\textsuperscript{46} One also has to be open to the possibility that it is rather the lack of some specific traits than the presence of other traits that characterizes a national style, i.e. it might be defined negatively as opposing some other national characteristics.

Although Dahlhaus is correct in his observation that a national style cannot consist of the sum of common traits of all music from a nation’s composers,\textsuperscript{47} it still has to be a public style based on a mutual understanding of which its distinctive traits are. Studying the style of one composer exclusively will no doubt lead to a risk confusing the national style with the composer’s personal style. For the present study, however, this need not necessarily pose a major problem. Since focus here lies more on Reichardt’s adoption and elaboration of a German national style than on the general definition of such a style, the mixing of national and personal style need not alter the overall conclusions to any considerable degree. Still, it will be wise to keep the limitations of the material in mind so that one does not overreach the given prerequisites. Moreover, style is a very general concept, that can be rather blunt, not least as it was used in the eighteenth century, opposing Italian melodiousness to French focus on harmony, and possibly German learnedness. Some more specific and

\textsuperscript{45} Dahlhaus, “Nationalism and Music,” 86-87.
\textsuperscript{46} Dahlhaus, “Nationalism and Music,” 95.
\textsuperscript{47} Dahlhaus, “Nationalism and Music,” 87.
detailed traits would be desired, although at the same time it will be wise to keep an open mind and not presuppose which characteristics that connote national style and nationalism at this stage.

The practice analysis

The ways Reichardt’s music was used in society, i.e. the social practice it was part of, no doubt also belongs to the discourse as regarded in SKAD. Since it plays such a crucial part for the understanding of the music it will be given particular notice in the dissertation. Music naturally was a privileged channel for Reichardt’s discourse dissemination, and hence it needs special attention. Also, since language constitute the main part, as well as the easiest attainable part, of a discourse, it is only too easy to overlook the less obvious components, such as music, and focus completely on language. To prevent that from happening is another reason why the musical side of the discourse needs to be dealt with specifically.

What will be studied in the practice analysis above all is how and where Reichardt’s music was practiced, and for what intentions. A comparison with earlier practices will be of particular relevance, since that will be a manifest way to detect novel characteristics.

Research material

This dissertation draws on a number of sources, Reichardt’s writings and compositions above all others. As I am concerned with how Reichardt was seeking to shape the community in practice, I shall focus on the public discourse as it is expressed in Reichardt’s books, journals, prefaces, music, and public actions and life. The private side expressed in letters will be given less attention. Of all Reichardt’s writings the Musikalisches Kunstmagazin deserves special attention, as it is the work where he declared his music philosophical and social views and ideas more than anywhere else. Hence this will be a key source in uncovering Reichardt’s understanding of what a German nation might entail. However, most of his writings will be taken into consideration as Reichardt continued to deal with these issues throughout his life.

The study will focus on Reichardt’s songs and song collections. This was a central genre for Reichardt, both qualitatively and quantitatively. As such, song collections were eagerly consumed by the public sphere, and played an important part shaping the discourse in question. For the same reason, they were intertwined in everyday life; at least they were in no way bound to any limited stage or performance practice. As will become apparent, this was
particularly true for Reichardt’s songs because most of them were not necessarily intended for professional singers, but also for amateurs. I am particularly interested in the many collections he composed specifically for children and youth, collections that have so far been generally overlooked in the research.

One might suggest that Reichardt’s Singspiele would be a more suitable research material, since they arguably take part more manifestly in the public sphere and hence play a more overtly influential and political role. A successful Singspiel would have a symbolic value on par with the opera serias of the dynastic courts, ideally challenging and ultimately replacing their hegemonic position.\(^48\) However, I would argue that the nationalistic importance of the Singspiel is dependant on the national style of the songs that gives the Singspiele their typical character. Particularly since they are largely modelled on French opéra comique and Italian opera buffa. Hence the songs are primary, and it is important to understand their national character first in order to understand the meaning of the Singspiel. Therefore, Reichardt’s songs, and not his Singspiele, are the most important material to study.

I shall turn to sources not directly related to Reichardt to supplement my study. A few theories and ideas, such as national characters and national musical styles as well as Volkston have direct implications on Reichardt’s works and will be analysed as well. Therefore, I also look at the music and song collections of Johann Abraham Peter Schulz (1747–1800). The dissertation will also entail readings of Jean–Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and Herder among others.

\textit{Disposition}

Following a chapter on the historical background, which will include also an analysis of Herderian nationalism, an exposition of the idea of expressive communities, and an account of Reichardt’s biography, the study will be divided into two parts, two chapters, dealing with two different kinds of music and fields of musical application. The first will be devoted to music for the community, used in private and semi-private company. The second will be devoted to music for school and education. These two parts will each deal with a specific research issue. The first will focus on the nationalistic discourse, uncovering its prerequisites and characteristics. The second will study the

new, ideally prominent, position for composers as modellers and educators of the nation. Finally, there will be a concluding discussion of the research issues summing up the dissertation.

**Literature review**

The scope of this dissertation, spanning a number of interdisciplinary fields, means that the existing literature on the topics it covers is vast. However, the literature dealing with the specific research issues is limited. This is especially the case when it comes to the interrelatedness of the different fields and aspects. In other words, there is an immense number of background research on which to build that needs to be taken into consideration and evaluation. At the same time, there is an explicit lack of research on the central questions of the dissertation.

Above all the dissertation is related to four research fields: nationalism, society, Herder and Reichardt. Admittedly, the second of these is quite broad and vague, but it will soon become clear what is intended. For convenience and clarity, when previous research is now considered it will be viewed in relation to these fields, even though the most interesting and relevant studies are those that focus on the intersection between the four fields, just like it is the dissertation’s intention to do.

**Nationalism**

As would have become clear already in the theoretical section research on nationalism has been a thriving and prosperous field for quite some time. As discussed, a number of central theoretical works (Anderson, Hobsbawm, Gellner, Hroch) provide crucial theoretical grounding for this study. As general studies with a theoretical focus none of these deals specifically with any of the issues of the dissertation. However, over the past decades there have been a number of studies dealing particularly with nationalism in the German lands. There have also been studies on nationalism and music, both on a very broad scale and with a more narrow and specialized perspective. Particularly relevant for this dissertation, a special interest in music and German nationalism has been shown by a number of scholars in the past decades.

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49 For a useful overview of the field see Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism*.
The question of nationalism and Germany has been of particular interest to historians Hagen Schulze and Dieter Langewiesche. Especially the latter’s thoroughgoing work in this field has provided a number of insights relevant for this dissertation. Langewiesche’s recognition of German nationalism well before the nineteenth century, and the identification of certain streaks of tradition that remains the same and hence connects German nationalistic views of the medieval period with the modern conception, are crucial for a better understanding of the nationalistic ideas emerging in the eighteenth century.

Focusing particularly on late eighteenth century German nationalism, Wolfgang Burgdorf and Nicholas Vazsonyi have produced invaluable work contributing to a more nuanced and detailed view regarding the phenomenon, as has Hans-Martin Blitz. These scholars all have a rather broad outlook, applying a pan-German perspective. A correlative, more detailed account of the Prussian situation is provided by Matthew Levinger. Although his chosen timespan falls outside of the eighteenth century, and the events he studies are clearly post-Napoleonian, the Prussian perspective he provides is still very valuable, particularly as he starts out with a concise retrospect.

Common for all these studies are their purely historical and political outlook; none discusses music, or even general culture, to any noticeable degree. A deliberate attempt to broaden the perspective and to reach interdisciplinary gains can be found in a Vaszonyi edited anthology, where the contribution by Mary Sue Morrow is of particular relevance for this study. A similar anthology of some relevance was edited by Tim Blanning and Hagen Schulze, although the articles here are more general.


54 Tim Blanning and Hagen Schulze, eds., Unity and Diversity in European Culture c.1800, (Oxford; New York: The British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2006).
Moving to studies of nationalism and music the work of Philip V. Bohlman should not be overlooked.\textsuperscript{55} Although the general perspective of his study makes it less directly relevant for the dissertation, it is still significant for the field. The same is true also of the work of Benjamin W. Curtis, as well as the contributions to an anthology edited by Harry White and Michael Murphy.\textsuperscript{56} More important, naturally, are studies that have looked specifically on the connection between German nationalism and music. One central researcher in this field is Celia Applegate; above all with her major work on Mendelssohn’s Bach revival, but also as joint editor of an anthology on music and German national identity.\textsuperscript{57} Further studies on the subject have been undertaken by Sanna Pederson and Stephen Rumph; both aptly criticized by Applegate, though, for adopting rather anachronistic interpretations of nationalism.\textsuperscript{58} Recently, Katherine Hambridge has offered a more nuanced view of the nationalistic conceptions in Prussia and Berlin at the time, adding for instance a layer of historical awareness and nostalgia.\textsuperscript{59}

What all the studies mentioned here have in common is their focus on the post-1806 period, with an implied view that German nationalism really came about as a consequence of Napoleon’s conquering the German lands. Although this standpoint leads to a negligence of earlier manifestations of German nationalism the studies still provide thoughts and input relevant for the dissertation, even though none discuss its actual issues. The same is true also of Stephen C. Meyer’s work on Carl Maria von Weber.\textsuperscript{60}


\textsuperscript{60} Meyer, \textit{Carl Maria von Weber}.
Of more direct importance is the recent dissertation of Miriam Noa.\(^{61}\) Studying folksongs and folksong collections as a means to German nation building in the nineteenth century Noa’s focus partly coincides with this dissertation’s, particularly since she starts out from the ideas of Rousseau and Herder. Still, her objects of study are all from the nineteenth century, and she deals with the eighteenth century purely as a prerequisite period.

The connection of German nationalism and song is studied particularly in an anthology edited by Friedhelm Brusniak and Dietmar Klenke, but just like Noa the contributions here have their focus solely on nineteenth century occurrences.\(^{62}\) The same is true also of an anthology edited by Beat A. Föllmi, Nils Grosch and Mathieu Schneider.\(^{63}\) The nineteenth century perspective predominates also a Hermann Danuser and Herfried Münkler edited anthology with a more general outlook,\(^{64}\) although here a few contributions does apply a broader view acknowledging also the eighteenth century German nationalistic discussions. Especially the articles by Bernd Sponheuer and Adolf Nowak provide useful insights on a general level.\(^{65}\)

Taken together these studies are a clear indication of a considerable interest in the field, particularly in the past decades. However, almost all research has been focused on the nineteenth century, either from a conviction that earlier occurrences of German nationalism, particularly in connection to music, were non-existent, unimportant, or simply less interesting. Also lacking in a lot of these studies is an interest in the reasons for the emergence of a German national cultural identity and of nationalistic convictions, in the eighteenth as well as the nineteenth century.

This kind of interest can be found, however, in a couple of studies of the national theatres emerging in the German lands in the end of the eighteenth

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century. These studies provide a very enlightening complement to the music history research mentioned so far. A useful general outlook can be found in an anthology edited by Roger Bauer and Jürgen Wertheimer. A more detailed account, highly relevant for the dissertation, is the work of Michael Sosulski. Although not at all concerned with music, Sosulski’s description of nationalism as a political strategy for the theatre offers insights that are clearly transferable to the field of music as well.

Society

This very broad term is meant to pick out research that deals with societal changes in the second half of the eighteenth century, particularly in the German lands, and particularly changes with an effect on music and musical practices. It is also meant to accommodate studies of the relationship between music and society dealing for instance with music’s role in society as well as its intended effects upon the same.

Here one cannot refrain from mentioning the highly influential works by Norbert Elias and Jürgen Habermas. Although neither Elias’s Die höfische Gesellschaft, nor Habermas’s Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der Bürgerlichen Gesellschaft have been unchallenged they are still in many ways foundational for the field, and for this dissertation. The notion of a transformation of the comprehension of society in the eighteenth century, conscious and unconscious, connected to an emergence of the expanding middle classes, is decisive for the strategies and activities of Reichardt. Particularly the notion of the emergence of a new kind of public sphere, as described by Habermas, is crucial. This was where Reichardt

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67 Sosulski, Theater and Nation.
For some recent discussions on Elias see for instance Claudia Opitz-Belakhal, ed., Höfische Gesellschaft und Zivilisationsprozess. Norbert Elias’ Werk in kulturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive (Köln: Böhlau Köln, 2005) and Jeroen Duindam, Myths of Power: Norbert Elias and the Early-Modern European Court (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014). Habermas’s ideas has been discussed and argued about for instance in Craig J. Calhoun, ed., Habermas and the Public Sphere (MIT Press, 1992) and Klaus Günther and Lutz Wingert, eds., Die Öffentlichkeit der Vernunft und die Vernunft der Öffentlichkeit: Festschrift für Jürgen Habermas, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2001).
and his contemporaries were active in their attempts at shaping a new community alternative to the existing court society.

Acknowledging this foundational transformation there have been a number of recent studies that investigate the new emerging society from different angles, some particularly studying active attempts at shaping the community. One of the most intriguing, with direct bearing for the dissertation, is the work of David Gramit.69 Working to a certain extent from the same sources, and with a similar premise, Gramit’s study is of particular relevance for the dissertation. His suggestion that German musicians in the late eighteenth century were attempting to shape a society where music, and therefore themselves, had a central role, shows apparent similarities with this dissertation’s issues. However, Gramit devotes little attention to either the question of the German national cultural identity or the question of why music ought to have a central role in society. Possibly taking his views from the nineteenth, rather than the eighteenth century, music is regarded more as an aim in itself, rather than a means for something else. Indeed, the eighteenth-century ideas and activities are viewed and interpreted as precursors to the nineteenth century implemented views. This is a common enough error in a lot of research, yet quite detrimental for an exhaustive understanding of many of the eighteenth-century attempts and activities. Also, the Herderian perspective and philosophical ideas are lacking.

Highly relevant for the dissertation is also the work of Benjamin W. Redekop.70 Studying Gotthold Ephraim Lessing’s (1729–1781), Thomas Abbt’s (1738–1761) and Herder’s attempts at shaping the German public, Redekop’s research offers enlightening examples of the kind of influencing practices Reichardt were attempting, even though he never touches on the area of music. A similar kind of useful and relevant complimentary insights can be found in the research of James Van Horn Melton, above all regarding the idea of public schooling in eighteenth century Prussia and Austria.71

Moving to research concerning the connection between music and society, two works focusing on late eighteen century German music critique provide useful general insights to this area in which Reichardt was quite central.72

69 Gramit, Cultivating Music.
However, Mary Sue Morrow’s main concern being the establishing of instrumental music’s importance, and the reporting character of Gudula Schütz’s study, relinquishing any far-reaching discussions of the aims and consequences of the music critique, means they mainly offer background information, albeit relevant such.

Research focusing precisely on the issues of the dissertation is scarce, but a few studies can be found. Although the dissertation of Tobias Lund deals with Schubert and early nineteenth century Vienna its comprehension of the research issue provides a number of useful and enlightening similarities. The same is true also of a fairly recent article by Estelle Joubert.

Dealing directly with the dissertation’s subject, although unfortunately on a quite facile level, is a joint work of Gabriele Busch-Salmen, Walter Salmen, and Christoph Michel. Focused on the cultural practices around the Weimar court, both Reichardt and Herder are covered, as well as ideas and attempts of actively shaping the community through music and singing. The writers’ connecting community and cultural practices is highly admirable and interesting. However, the scope is too limited, geographically as well as when profundity is concerned, to offer any exhaustive conclusions. A similar grasp of the situation in Berlin, though limited to the area of music, is offered in a recent anthology edited by Eduard Mutschelknauss. Particularly Walter Salmen’s contribution, discussing the impact of singing on the character of the community offers a number of relevant points, although the article format naturally limits any desired thoroughness. And while none of the other contributions deals specifically with the dissertation’s research questions, the important position of music in the Berlin community is still developed with clarity. Further analysis of the Berlin salon culture and community around 1800 is offered by Petra Wilhelmy and also by Detlef Gaus.

Not surprising the Herder scholarship has been considerable throughout the years, with a number of studies of particular relevance for the dissertation published recently. For a comprehensive account of Herder’s social and political views the work of Frederick M. Barnard is invaluable, and also Frederick C. Beiser’s research in this field provide useful insights. More specific focus on Herder’s views on society and the public sphere is offered in the research of Anthony J. La Vopa, and Brian J. Whitton, as well as the already mentioned works of Benjamin W. Redekop. On Herder and nationalism Robert R. Ergang’s work is still very useful; valuable research in this field have also been produced by Holm Sundhaußen.

For an understanding of Herder’s philosophy and its implications the recent studies of Sonia Sikka and Vicki A. Spencer offer both lucid and comprehensive insights. In this field also the works of Isaiah Berlin and Charles Taylor should not be overlooked. These studies are all important for this dissertation.

In none of these studies is Herder’s views and relationship to music studied. There are however a few works that focus on this question. Philip V. Bohlman’s inciteful and original work provides an invaluable overview of the field. Hans Günther’s dissertation is still a valuable source, as is the work of


Joseph Müller-Blattau. Unfortunately less useful is the recent work of Alexander J. Cvetko. Although with a most promising inception and research issue, the end result is confused and fails to produce much relevant insights and conclusions.

Finally, the relationship between Herder and Reichardt has been studied specifically, both by Georg Schünemann and Walter Salmen, although the issue has only been touched upon so far.

Reichardt

The Reichardt scholarship/research, initiated in 1865 with Hans Michael Schletterer’s uncompleted *Johann Friedrich Reichardt: Sein Leben und seine Werke*, has for the past 150 years produced a not inconsiderable amount of studies. Even though far from everyone of these have any direct relevance for this dissertation, I have still chosen to include all in the bibliography (see page 211), to provide a complete overview of the field. This particularly since no such overview exist anywhere else. Here, though, a short overview of the most relevant studies will suffice.

The academic interest in Reichardt has been coming and going throughout the past century, laying dormant for long stretches of time. After Schletterer’s pioneering beginnings, it took almost forty years until Walther Pauli continued and put focus on Reichardt as song composer. Then, in the 1920s, Reichardt was suddenly shown considerable interest by a number of scholars. F. Jenkel studied Reichardt’s political writings, Hermann Güttler focused on his Königsberg upbringing, Franz Flössner looked at Reichardt’s later years, Hanns

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Dennerlein studied his clavier compositions, Max Faller focused on Reichardt as musical journalist, and Paul Sieber studied Reichardt’s views on music aesthetics. 1932 came Erich Neuss’s work on Reichardt’s years in Giebichenstein, and his relationship with the young generation of romantic writers. The Reichardt research continued in the 1940s with two dissertations. Walter Westphal wrote on Reichardt and Kant, and Hedwig Wahl Reinhardt on Reichardt and the romantic movement in German literature. Then in the 1960s came the next significant period of Reichardt research with three major works: Walter Salmen’s biography, which continues to be the standard source on Reichardt’s life and work, Günther Hartung’s study on Reichardt as writer and publicist, and Rolf Pröpper’s work on Reichardt’s work for the stage.

Since the 1960s only three more works have appeared focusing specifically on Reichardt. 1992 saw a biographical account by Dieter Fischer-Dieskau that unfortunately lacks proper references, 1995 came a study by Iris Winkler on Reichardt’s Liederspiel Kunst und Liebe, and in 2011 Roman Hankeln produced a larger work on an aspect of Reichardt’s song compositions. In the
smaller format, though, there have been a number of studies, above all in connection with four conferences dedicated to Reichardt research. Actually, throughout the years there have been more than 130 Reichardt articles published. Unfortunately, only few of these have any direct bearing on the research issues of this dissertation.95

Additionally, Reichardt has been studied also in a few works with adjacent research issues. He is naturally given a significant role in Susanne Johns’s study on the Reichardt conceived genre Liederspiel.96 He is also given ample room in Carl Dahlhaus’s and Norbert Miller’s work on romantic music.97 He also figures in the dissertation of Wilhelm Voigt studying the music pedagogy of the Philanthropin schools, a work of particular relevance for this dissertation.98

Reichardt has always been significant in research on Goethe and music, as can be seen in both Hans Joachim Moser’s and Norbert Miller’s works on this subject.99 Particularly interesting here is of course the extant letters between Goethe and Reichardt, published by Volker Braunbehrens, Gabriele Busch-Salmen and Walter Salmen.100 And in similar fashion Reichardt almost always figure in studies on eighteen century German song as can be found for instance in the works of Max Friedländer, Gotthold Frotscher, Heinrich W. Schwab, Margaret Mahoney Stoljar, John William Smeed and Mi-Young Kim.101

96 Susanne Johns, Das szenische Liederspiel zwischen 1800 und 1830. Ein Beitrag zur Berliner Theatergeschichte (Frankfurt am Main; New York: Peter Lang, 1989).
100 Braunbehrens, Busch-Salmen, and Salmen, J.F. Reichardt - J.W. Goethe Briefwechsel.
The amount of literature mentioned in this review might suggest a well-researched field. On a closer look, though one finds that this is not the case, particularly not when the dissertation’s research questions are considered. Of the literature mentioned very few works deals specifically with its issues. Looking at the Reichardt literature, the situation is very similar. The aspects that will be in focus here, that is his role as a herderian nationalist shaper influenced by the Sturm und Drang movement, have at most been dealt with quite superficially. The same goes also for most of the works that will be studied here.

One might identify two reasons for the negligence shown the aspects and questions that will be the focus of this dissertation. First, the urge to study an artist’s most aesthetically accomplished and highly developed works has often led to a common disinterest in less esteemed genres, such as songs intended for amateur communal singing, particularly if the intended singers are children. Second, the teleological character of much traditional music history has meant that Reichardt has often been viewed as a transitory and precursory composer and writer. One finds this for instance when song, when opera and also when music journalism is considered. One can even find it in the field of Goethe and music, where Reichardt can sometimes be regarded as a step on the way to Goethe’s relationship with Zelter. These two reasons have meant that only a limited selection of works have been studied with any particular thoroughness. A limitation can also often be detected when the formulation of research questions is considered. Only rarely have they been designed with considerable wit and imagination.

Kim, Das Ideal der Einfachheit im Lied von der Berliner Liederschule bis zu Brahms (Kassel: Bosse, 1995).
In order to better understand why nationalism was a desirable and relevant issue in the German lands in the second half of the eighteenth century, one must begin with a general view of the historical situation. At this time, the German lands were fragmented into more than a thousand disparate pieces, from the smallest knightly estate to vast Habsburg Monarchy. Most entities were part of the Holy Roman Empire, although far from every one had representation in the Reichstag (314 were represented in the one assembled 1780). At the same time, there were additional German-speaking territories outside of the Empire, for instance considerable parts of Prussia. And within the Empire there were lands ruled by foreign powers, such as Sweden, which ruled over Western Pomerania. In the eyes of many subsequent commentators, the Empire was an institution in decline.

Above all, a century after the Peace of Westphalia, the German lands were still suffering from the consequences of the Thirty Years War. Although not all German lands were affected directly, the overall demographic and

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105 In recent years the question of the Empire’s relevance and vitality at the end of the eighteenth century has received particular scholarly attention. See Joachim Whaley, Germany and the Holy Roman Empire 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Peter H. Wilson, The Holy Roman Empire: A Thousand Years of Europe’s History (London: Allen Lane, 2016). An interesting musical perspective on the issue is offered in: Austin James Glatthorn, “The Theatre of Politics and the Politics of Theatre: Music as Representational Culture in the Twilight of the Holy Roman Empire” (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2015).

106 It has been debated whether the Thirty Years War was the sole cause of the decline, or whether it just deepened an already present recession. For a further assessment of the situation see Stephen J. Lee, “The Effects of the Thirty Years’ War on Germany,” in Aspects of European History 1494–1789, 2nd ed., by Stephen J. Lee (London: Routledge, 1984), 110–16.
economic losses had been enormous. The population was reduced by more than half, and it took 100 years for it to recover to pre-war figures (15–17 million).\(^{107}\) The period also saw a huge decline in culture and trade, with significant consequences for society. As described by historian Rudolf Vierhaus:

> Cultural and social life became narrower and more provincial in Germany at the end of the Thirty Years War. Social differences rigidified; the distance increased between the courts—as poverty-stricken as they were in comparison to others in Europe—and the life of the people in city and countryside. A living style developed at the courts that was enormously different from the life experience of the great mass of subjects.\(^{108}\)

The gulf between the courts and the people also widened because the elite turned their backs on a German culture characterized by religious rigidity, narrowness and poverty, and instead adapted the culture of the ‘world’, that is to say French and Italian customs, languages, architecture and music. Thanks to the absolutism characterizing the period, this foreign influence then spread throughout society. In Vierhaus’s words:

> Absolutism—more precisely, absolute monarchy—was not simply a system of rule, but it also oriented social life from above around the ruling princes, the dynasty, and the court by forcing, more or less successfully, the entire set of courtly values upon society as a whole.\(^{109}\)

This was a period when territorial rulers and their governments actively intervened in the economy, and in public life as a whole, to an unprecedented degree. (To be sure, this was not something unique for the German lands, but rather a pan-European change, though it arguably had a stronger impact there than in most other countries.) Although the reasons for these interventions were ultimately economical, expressions of the cameralistic and mercantilist ideas that were developing in the German lands, the laws and regulations issued often dealt with purely cultural matters. For instance, a considerable part of the state policies of the period dealt with regulating and restricting the public aspect of family events such as christenings, betrothals, weddings, and funerals. As historian Marc Raeff has pointed out, this was partly to prevent the loss of productive time, but it was also to monopolize the public display of


\(^{108}\) Vierhaus, *Germany in the Age of Absolutism*, 7.

\(^{109}\) Vierhaus, *Germany in the Age of Absolutism*, 33.
ceremonial pomp and assert the court’s authority.\textsuperscript{110} All in all, this led to the suppression, if not the obliteration, of traditional patterns of public life.

One significant consequence of the Thirty Years War that most likely made these changes possible was the near-elimination of the middle class outside of a few trading cities like Hamburg and Leipzig:\textsuperscript{111} there was not a proper bourgeoisie in the German lands until the end of the eighteenth century. Another circumstance that probably had a similar effect was the fact that the German territories lacked larger cities at the time. Even Vienna, the largest German-speaking city with 175,000 citizens in 1750, was small compared to Paris’s 576,000 or London’s 675,000. Admittedly, France and England might have to be regarded as quite exceptional states at the time, with single, centralized governments that was unthinkable with the Holy Roman Empire’s constitution. Yet, also a comparison with the Italian lands reveals the small size of most German cities. The five biggest Italian cities in 1750 all had populations over 100,000: Naples (305,000), Rome (156,000), Venice (149,000), Milan (124,000) and Palermo (118,000). Of the five most populous German cities in 1750, only Vienna had a population over 100,000: Vienna (175,000), Berlin (90,000), Hamburg (75,000), Königsberg (60,000), and Prague (59,000). Continuing with the next five in line one finds Breslau (55,000), Dresden (52,000), Danzig (46,000), Cologne (43,000) and Leipzig (35,000).\textsuperscript{112}

Yet this list of German cities reveals the particular character of the German territories. First, no less than three of the ten biggest German cities at the time lay outside of the Empire (Königsberg, Breslau, Danzig). And second, in 1750 Danzig was actually not a German city at all, at least not in the sense that it belonged to any German state: it belonged to Poland. At the same time, it had previously been ruled by the knights of the Teutonic Order in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and it would soon be returned to German rule when, in 1793, it was annexed by Prussia; above all it had had a large German population ever since the middle ages. Actually, it would probably be better to characterize it as a German–Polish city than a German, a characterization that would be suitable also for Breslau. This mixed character of Danzig’s population (besides Germans the city also had large Polish, Polish–Jewish and Curonian populations), was shared to some extent also with Königsberg and Prague, which were also peopled by a number of different nationalities.

Taken together, the numerous German states, many with a court of their own dictating the culture, the lack of larger cities with a strong bourgeoisie

\textsuperscript{110} Marc Raeff, \textit{The Well-Ordered Police State: Social and Institutional Change through Law in the Germanies and Russia, 1600-1800} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 78–82.

\textsuperscript{111} Vierhaus, \textit{Germany in the Age of Absolutism}, 7.

upholding and cultivating their own culture, and the different nationalities and cultures present in many cities meant that there was no proper resistance to the absolutist regimes’ influence on society. That this situation had led to a weakened sense of a German national spirit and culture in the eighteenth century should come as little surprise. However, in the second half of the century a regained interest began to appear.

National tendencies

A desire for national unity in the German lands was not something new in the eighteenth century. On the contrary, this had been a topic since at least the early sixteenth century, when writers such as Konrad Celtis (1459–1508), Jacob Wimpfeling (1450–1528) and Heinrich Bebel (1472–1516) expressed their dissatisfaction with the situation in the German-speaking territories, particularly in comparison with a more gloriously conceived past. For some, like Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523), a hope of improvement was set to the teachings of Martin Luther (1483–1586). Luther’s break with the papacy was regarded as a call for national independence and unity. It did not come to fulfil those wishes. Instead, in the German lands the reformation led to further division and ultimately to the devastating Thirty Years war.\textsuperscript{113} Still, Luther’s translation of the bible into German was no doubt instrumental for a stronger sense of a national German community, and its effects to that matter should not be underestimated.

Similar effect, albeit on a more limited scale, was achieved when in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries scholars began to lecture and publish in German instead of Latin. Most notably this change was undertaken by Christian Thomasius (1655–1728) and Christian Wolff (1679–1754), both active at Halle University, and prominent figures for the initiation of the Enlightenment in the German lands.\textsuperscript{114} Also the growing number of journals which saw the light throughout the eighteenth century helped support a German linguistic community. Regardless of these occurrences though, the overall feeling in the German lands at the middle of the eighteenth century was one of national cultural poverty. In a sense, therefore, one could argue that there where good reasons for the Germans to import their culture from foreign, more developed sources. There simply were no national alternatives on offer. This also makes the imitative strategy of writers like Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1766) quite understandable. With national culture in destitution the

\textsuperscript{113} Ergang, \textit{Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism}, 11–12
only way to make it blossom again was to mimic foreign models; which in Gottsched’s case meant that German literature ought to strictly adhere to the rules of French classicism.

In the second half of the eighteenth century this view began to be challenged, and other strategies were presented. Above all this was one of the main agendas of the literary *Sturm und Drang* movement of the 1770s\(^{115}\). From the very outset, one of its crucial demands was for a German literature that did not seek to imitate and adhere to foreign models, but instead grow out of a distinctive German nature, history and experience. In the manifesto *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* (1773) Johann Gottfried Herder complained that contemporary German poetry had become insecure, lame and tottering, since it was no longer a natural expression of the national spirit.\(^{116}\)

According to Herder the poor state of German poetry, and by extension the German language, was a sign of a nation in need of reform. In order to regain its natural strength Herder advocated a study of traditional folk poetry. There, the connection between people and language was still vital, and the poetry remained a natural expression of the national spirit.

For Herder language is of particular importance since it is intimately bound to a people’s national spirit. In the words of political scientist Vicki Spencer: “[…] languages are seen to act as a mirror of the history, actions, joys and suffering of the people who speak them.”\(^{117}\) Moreover: “[…] language is the form in which human thoughts are moulded and shaped, and it is thereby credited with constituting the very contents of our consciousness.”\(^{118}\) That is, a people’s language, culture and spirit are intertwined, and dependent on each other. Hence all attempts, for example, to base one’s culture on foreign models, (as the Germans had previously done in the eighteenth century), would have a severe impact on one’s national spirit. For instance, it would be highly detrimental to a people’s feeling of self-esteem as well as their sense of community.\(^{119}\) So, when Herder suggested that the German writers study folk poetry he was not merely offering literary advice, but rather advocating a means to reform the national spirit and enhancing the sense of community.

Herder was not the only one focusing on the national spirit and identity at the time. The idea was just as central for the German national theatres emerging at the time. The idea was just as central for the German national theatres emerging at the time. From the start these took it upon themselves to explore what


\(^{117}\) Spencer: “Towards an ontology of holistic individualism,” 250.

\(^{118}\) Spencer: “Towards an ontology of holistic individualism,” 249.

\(^{119}\) Spencer: “Towards an ontology of holistic individualism,” 257.
it meant to be German. Theatre theorists such as Johann Elias Schlegel (1719–49), Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–81) and Friedrich (Maler) Müller (1750–1825) sought to investigate and model not only German theatre and acting, but also a German national identity.\textsuperscript{120} As Michael J. Sosulski has pointed out, the national theatres “[…] were conceived in the spirit of the Enlightenment as educational institutions, and certainly an important part of the intended education was how to be(have as) a nation.”\textsuperscript{121}

The emergence of national theatres around the German lands in the last third of the eighteenth century is thus a clear indication that the idea of a national culture was receiving growing attention at the time. This phenomenon will be studied particularly in the last chapter of the dissertation.

Before moving on, the idea of a German national identity needs to be taken into further consideration. Given the divided character of the German lands it is not surprising that the idea of a common German cultural identity might not necessarily have been regarded self-evident in the eighteenth century. Indeed, patriotic sentiments at the time were more likely to concern the different countries rather than the Empire. For instance, when Thomas Abbt (1738–1766) was writing about dying for one’s Fatherland\textsuperscript{122} the country he had in mind was Prussia, not the Reich.\textsuperscript{123}

The difficulties of finding a common national cultural identity embraced throughout the German lands should also come as no surprise, considering the diversity of government, geography and religion for instance. A common language might be a particularly strong phenomenon bringing a people together, but it is only one aspect of the national identity, albeit no doubt a privileged one. Clearly the cultural traits shared for instance by Bavaria and East Prussia might not necessarily have outweighed the differing ones. Also, it is not unimaginable that the Germans living, for instance, in Danzig or Breslau might have shared a number of cultural traits with their Polish neighbours which at the same time separated them from Germans living in the western parts of the Reich.

Moreover, there clearly was a desire among many Germans, particularly of the middle classes, to transcend the local identities and allegiances and embrace a common German identity. It might also be worth noting that the most elaborate views on cultural identity and its importance for the national community was developed by Johann Gottfried Herder, a thinker born, raised and educated in the nationally and culturally heterogenic East Prussia.

\textsuperscript{120} For the case of Lessing particularly, see Redekop, \textit{Enlightenment and Community}, 58–122.
\textsuperscript{121} Sosulski, \textit{Theater and Nation}, 6.
\textsuperscript{122} Thomas Abbt, \textit{Vom Tode für das Vaterland} (Berlin: Friedrich Nicolai, 1761).
\textsuperscript{123} On Thomas Abbt’s views on the German people see Redekop, \textit{Enlightenment and Community}, 123–67.
Herderian nationalism

Herder’s ideas and theories on nations and nationalism were the most elaborate, as well as the most influential at the time.\textsuperscript{124} Indeed, his works influenced musicians like Reichardt and informed his practices. As I will discuss elsewhere, Reichardt came into contact with Herder’s ideas as early as 1774 and they remained of crucial importance throughout his life.\textsuperscript{125}

The theories and analyses of nationalism looked at thus far, (i.e. the views of Anderson, Hobsbawm and Hroch) are all studies of an existing phenomenon that has been around for a couple of centuries. Herder’s ideas on the other hand coincide with the emergence of this phenomenon; to a certain extent they contributed to its formulation. No doubt this is reflected in Herder’s views, which sometimes lean towards a utopian rather than analytical standpoint. Placing Herder’s ideas and work in the developmental scheme of Hroch, they clearly belong in his Phase A, when the national is a concern solely for a limited group of intellectuals focusing on the nation’s language, culture and history.

According to Herder a nation (\textit{Volk}) is “[…] a plant of nature, like a family; only spread more widely.”\textsuperscript{126} It is an organism, an integrated and connected community, unlike most states at the time. Crucially essential for Herder this community is founded in a common culture; it is by no means a political community. Opposing earlier philosophies, such as that of Rousseau, Herder does not regard the nation a result of a contract, of an agreement. Indeed, there is nothing voluntary in the formation of a nation; on the contrary it is the involuntary consequence of natural factors such as climate and history. It is something given, something man is born into, not something chosen.

As Herder maintains, the national identity is determined by a number of factors.\textsuperscript{127} Chief among them is the physical environment, the climate. Intimately connected with nature man has adapted his way of thinking and feeling to the surroundings in which he dwells. Nature also incites man to gain knowledge and science hence these phenomena will also depend on the

\textsuperscript{124} Thorough, important and relevant studies of Herder’s views on nation and nationalism are provided, for instance, in: Ergang, \textit{Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism}; Barnard, \textit{Herder’s Social and Political Thought}; Beiser, \textit{Enlightenment, Revolution and Romanticism}; Sikka, \textit{Herder on Humanity and Cultural Difference}; Spencer, \textit{Herder’s Political Thought}.


\textsuperscript{127} Particularly discussed in Ergang, \textit{Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism}, 89–95.
climate. Another crucial factor is education, which must be understood in broad terms including instruction and example. Although man is born into a national culture, he still needs to adopt it growing up. Hence the national culture is actively, as well as passively, passed on. A third factor is international interaction. Contact with other nations will unmistakably influence the character of the own national identity. Yet an important factor is tradition. This has the dual quality of being both an integral part of national identity, as well as being an influential factor forming the identity. As most, if not all, of these factors reveal, national identity is subject to constant influence and possible change. Some factors may be more open to alteration than others, but ultimately none is unchangeable. Working opposite of change is a certain inherent resistance, which accounts for the lingering characteristics that remain even when a national community has moved to another physical environment, or when some other determining factor has altered. This inherent resistance is efficacious enough that it makes sense to talk about heredity as a determining factor besides the environmental factors.

At the heart of a nation’s cultural identity lies language. In its language, a nation’s history, values and traditions are preserved and mediated, and through language man adopts her national cultural identity. Since language is the necessary prerequisite that makes thoughts possible at all it is impossible for man to exist outside of it, and hence it is also impossible for man to exist outside of her national community.

One final aspect of Herder’s views on the nation also needs mentionning. According to Herder it is one’s purpose to develop and fulfil her humanity, her *Humanität*; indeed, this is the end goal of human nature. And this end can only be achieved within a national community; actually, the community, not the individual, is the vehicle for this fulfilment. This purpose is common for all national communities, and each has to do it according to its natural character. Only when every nation has fulfilled its specific humanity, mankind as a whole has reached its final goal. In this Herder’s special combination of universalism and particularism is discernible. All nations are just as valid, and are so in themselves. Each nation has to fulfil its humanity according to their particular identity. At the same time the fulfilment of humanity is a universal quality, and the universal end of mankind.

To sum up, the nation, according to Herder, is the community within which each man finds his cultural identity. It is not a voluntary community since man is born into it. At the same time, its identity is not permanently fixed, but open to change, preferably changing towards a higher fulfilment of its particular humanity. It is the crucial community in which all human life takes place, especially since it is intimately intertwined with language rendering life outside of it virtually impossible.
Viewing Herder’s ideas in the light of the theories of Anderson and Hobsbawm it is striking that they have such a non-political character; (although to a certain extent this might be explained by their falling within Hroch’s Phase A).

An expressive community

Regarding the national community Herder envisioned that there was one particular character worth highlighting, namely its expressiveness. Actually, this character is central enough that it would be wise to talk specifically about the community as an expressive community. This characteristic is particularly relevant to this dissertation, because it helps to explain the importance of composers like Reichardt who provided the material possibilities for the members of the community to actively express their culture.

As discussed by philosophers Charles Taylor and Sonia Sikka, as well as by political scientist Vicki Spencer, there is a particular expressivist side to Herder’s philosophy, to use a term coined by Taylor.128 This means that man ought to be regarded above all as an expressive being, i.e. a being that, according to Taylor, reaches his “highest fulfilment in expressive activity”.129 One consequence of this is that for Herder language is not primarily about “communication for the purpose of achieving practical ends”, as Sikka has pointed out. Instead, Herder

\(/\ldots/\) emphasizes, rather, the poetic character of language, as a ‘living expression’ that gives voice to nature in song and speech \(/\ldots/\). For Herder, the idea that language is fundamentally poetic means not only that it involves creativity, but also that this creativity arises from a deep impulse to find the right expression for experiences and to share these with others. It is not motivated exclusively, or basically, by the need for practical communication.130

This does not mean that language should somehow be non-communicative, but rather that its communicative aspects go beyond the mere literal. Equally important is the ability to express oneself that language offers. It provides the absolutely necessary possibility for man to express one’s emotions, to express one’s attitude towards the surrounding world, and to express one’s relationship to the surrounding world.

128 Taylor, Hegel and Modern Society, 1–3; Sikka, Herder on Humanity and Cultural Difference; Spencer, Herder’s Political Thought.
129 Taylor, Hegel and Modern Society, 2.
130 Sikka, Herder on Humanity and Cultural Difference, 165.
More than a means of literal communication, language is the fabric in which a people express itself and its culture. And at the same time, it is in language that the national spirit is reflected and reproduced. One acquires one’s national spirit and is brought into one’s national community with one’s mother tongue.

According to Herder the expressivist character of man is also revealing an instinctive communal desire. It is not enough to experience an emotion silently, it has to be expressed, be shared with the community, and be met with sympathy. The community needs to be experienced; it needs to be acknowledged in practice. Language, and poetry might be the primary medium for this, but the same is true also of other cultural expressions such as art, dance and music.

One of the most striking phenomena indicating this emerging German expressive community was the growing interest in song and the habit of singing together in more or less organized circles in cultivated homes and salons, as Walter Salmen has recently pointed out.131 This was a widespread phenomenon: people met for singing, dancing and tea not only in cities such as Berlin, Dresden and Königsberg, but also in smaller places such as Rudolstadt, Wandsbeck and Basel. In Weimar, for instance, Goethe organized a bi-weekly ‘Mittwochskränzchen’ for the season 1801/02, where friends met for supper, singing and discussions. Writers such as Goethe and Schiller composed poetry specifically for this type of activity, and musicians increasingly composed suitable settings.

Expressive communities brings to mind Barbara H. Rosenwein’s concept of emotional communities, and there clearly is a relationship between the two.132 Rosenwein has defined emotional communities as “[…] groups – usually but not always social groups – that have their own particular values, modes of feeling, and ways to express those feelings.”133 Just like social

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133 Rosenwein, Generations of Feeling, 3.
communities they exist in a variety of sorts and sizes, for example guilds, monasteries, parliaments and courts. They might be very unique, or they might be more general, sharing elements with other communities nearby. They might be quite small and limited, or broad enough to contain different variants and ‘sub-communities’. Indeed, according to Rosenwein, it is unlikely that there should be only one emotional community in society at any given time. Rather, there will be a number of communities, often overlapping, sharing different characteristics.134

Comparing this concept to the idea of a national community grounded in a common cultural identity, there are clearly a lot of aspects relating the two. Reviewing national cultural identity, it should be clear that it consists to a large extent of a mutual emotional spectrum. Actually, it could be argued that most, if not all, aspects of the identity manifest themselves in emotional fashion. For instance, the moral character so central for the eighteenth-century concept of man could be understood as emotional consequences or reactions towards different actions. Perhaps one could even summarize the national identity as a common emotional attitude towards the surrounding world. In a sense, it might be honed down to a mutual feeling of recognition and belonging.

With this in mind it should be clear that although there might be further aspects to national identity, aspects that will not be best understood through emotion, it would surely be appropriate to describe it as an emotional community in Rosenwein’s sense, albeit an emotional community of the very broadest kind.

At the same time, one should acknowledge that in reality there are always more than one version or aspect of the national community and identity. The actual existing community did not fully coincide with the ideal community Herder and Reichardt envisaged. Also, one can imagine countless varieties and sub-communities to the general German national community, all more real and clearly defined than a more general one. For example, one such sub-community at the time would have been the Prussian community, a community which itself probably contained further west and east varieties. Possibly, one could even identify a pietistic variety of an east Prussian emotional community. All of these different late eighteenth century German communities were actually shared by Herder and Reichardt.135

Conceived as emotional communities, the expressiveness discussed here could be regarded as a particular character of said communities. It could be seen as a distinguishing quality, a common stance among the communities’ members advocating an expressivist attitude towards emotions and towards

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135 For the influence of pietism on Herder see Gerhard Kaiser, Pietismus Und Patriotismus Im Literarischen Deutschland: Ein Beitrag Zum Problem Der Säkularisation (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1961).
the world. This would be one possible way to interpret the expressiveness of these communities, although it would be an interpretation that failed to acknowledge the philosophical foundation of the communities’ expressiveness. Indeed, according to Herder, expressiveness is a crucial quality of all communities, being a result of man’s particular expressivist character. Indeed, this character is not something arbitrary that one can choose to embrace at times and ignore at others. On the contrary, it is something fundamental, defining man and his relationship towards language and the world.

Still, the question remains to what degree the communities at the time were conceived as emotionally expressivist and to what degree as philosophically expressivist. At the same time though, it is certain that both scenarios were leading to a particularly important position and role in society for writers, artists and musicians. They are all crucial for the expressive community.

Furthermore, there are plenty of examples that fit Herder’s view particularly well among the cultural activities of the German lands at the end of the eighteenth century. Whether or not one can show a tangible Herderian influence might be doubtful, but also beside the point. In a sense, it could possibly be argued that Herder was describing an existing occurrence rather than instigating it. With or without the philosophical foundation, the fact still remains that for many Germans this expressiveness was a deliberate strategy to rediscover and to form the national spirit, and thereby strengthening a German national community.

Although, as Herder would argue, all communities are expressive, the possibilities for expression might still vary considerably between different communities. A community’s culture, for instance, will clearly influence the way the community is designed and conceived. No doubt, the desire among people like Herder and Reichardt to use culture to strengthen and influence the character of the community was a result of the existing court culture and community. Here culture was used as a means to endorse an absolutist society, emphasizing, above all, its representative qualities and possibilities. This had led to a community culture where the possibilities for personal expression were limited.

Johann Friedrich Reichardt

Johann Friedrich Reichardt was born on 25 November 1752 in Königsberg, provincial capital of East Prussia. The city, founded in 1255 by the Teutonic knights, was a major Baltic port, and since 1701 coronation city for kings of Prussia. Although predominantly German, the city also included large Polish and Lithuanian populations. Influential to the city’s cultural life at the time of
Reichardt’s early years was also the Russian occupation of East Prussia during the Seven Years’ War (1758–1762).\footnote{Christopher Clark, \textit{Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600-1947} (London: Allen Lane, 2006); Fritz Gause, \textit{Königsberg in Preußen. Die Geschichte Einer Europäischen Stadt} (Leer: Rautenberg, 2001); Jürgen Manthey, \textit{Königsberg: Geschichte Einer Weltbürgerrepublik} (München: Hanser, 2005). For the cultural situation in Reichardt’s time see particularly Hermann Güttler, \textit{Königsbergs Musikkultur Im 18. Jahrhundert} (Königsberg: Bruno Meyer & Co., 1925).}

Reichardt received his first musical training from his father Johann Reichardt (1720–1780), lutenist and \textit{Stadtmusikus}, who prepared him for a career as a musical prodigy. Additionally, he would also get occasional lessons from travelling musicians staying in Königsberg; above all others, the violin lessons received from renowned virtuoso Franz Adam Veichtner (1741–1822) was most important, and also the most thorough. The violin was indeed Reichardt’s primary instrument. At this stage, he did not show interest in any composition; the few composition lessons he got he did not commit to with any enthusiasm. He later stated that when he eventually began to compose as a child, he did it quite intuitively. That these minor works for the most part still adhered to general musical rules, Reichardt later thanked his performance diet of works by Bach, Benda and Graun.\footnote{Reichardt, \textit{Autobiographische Schriften}, 26.}

Johann Reichardt’s career plans for his son were quite soon accomplished, and the younger Reichardt frequently performed as a guest in the many noble houses of Königsberg. At the age of ten he travelled with his father throughout the Baltic, performing together.

Reichardt’s general education was also marred by an unsystematic and scattered character: a couple of attempts in public schools turned out to be unsuccessful, and the stretches of home schooling did not lead to any remarkable results either.\footnote{Salmen, \textit{Johann Friedrich Reichardt}, 18.} Regardless of these poor qualifications, Reichardt still managed to enrol in the faculty of law at the University of Königsberg at the age of 16, and had the privilege to study under Immanuel Kant. Although Reichardt later claimed that Kant’s lectures were decisive for his intellectual development, taught him to think and philosophize about his art, and saved him from the usual degrading life of most contemporary artists, he still left his university studies without completing a degree.\footnote{Reichardt, \textit{Autobiographische Schriften}, 49. “Dem Hrn. Prof. Kant einzig und allein verdank ichs, daß ich von meinen frühsten Jugendjahren an, nie den gewöhnlichen erniedrigenden Weg der meisten Künstler unserer Zeit betrat, und seinen akademischen Unterricht, den er mir früh, ganz aus freiem Triebe, antrag, und dreys Jahre auf die ällerneneignnutzigste Weise gab, dank ich das frühe Glück, die Kunst von Anfang an aus ihrem wahren höhern Geschöpfkunst beachtet zu haben und nun das größere Glück, seine unsterblichen Werke mit Gewinn studieren zu können.” Johann Friedrich Reichardt, “Fingerzeige für den denkenden und forschenden deutschen Tonkünstler,” in \textit{Musikalisches Kunstmagazin} vol. 2 (Berlin, 1791), 87.} During his three years at
university Reichardt had spent more time focusing on his music (performing, teaching and composing) than on his education. This career choice was confirmed when in 1771 Reichardt set out on a journey that took him through the musical centres of northern and middle Germany, acquainting him with the leading composers of the northern German school.

He first went to Danzig where he struck up a lifelong friendship with Johann Abraham Peter Schulz. He next went to Berlin, where he made the acquaintance of writer, publisher and Enlightenment advocate Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811). Reichardt was welcomed into the home of violinist and composer Franz Benda (1709–1786) whose daughter, Juliane (1752–1783), he would later marry. Refused music lessons by Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721–1783), he decided to continue his journey to Leipzig, seeking instead compositional guidance from composer and writer Johann Adam Hiller (1728–1804). In Leipzig Reichardt got to study above all the works of Johann Adolph Hasse (1699–1783), and attempted also at composing in that style in order to support his romantic infatuation with singer Corona Schröter (1751–1802). Another fortunate acquaintance made in Leipzig was with the Breitkopf family.

After sojourning in Leipzig, Reichardt headed for Dresden where he managed to focus with more concentration on his composition studies. Above all, the lessons he got from composer and organist Gottfried August Homilius (1714–1785), former student of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750) and Hiller’s teacher, who Reichardt held in the highest esteem. From Homilius he received "[...] the first thorough instruction in the historically critical way, which is probably the most appropriate and effective for a lively genius."\(^{140}\)

The next destination on the journey was Prague, after a shorter stay in Schluckenau where Reichardt spent a couple of months studying Rousseau and Tissot. The stay in Prague was less rewarding and in the beginning of 1774 he returned instead to Berlin in time for carnival season. Here he got to

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see operas of both Hasse and Carl Heinrich Graun (1704–1759), and also to hear Händel’s oratorios for the first time. He also had the opportunity to resume his close acquaintance with the Benda family, which he then followed to Potsdam. From there he journeyed on to Magdeburg, Harleshausen, Hannover and eventually Hamburg where he remained for a while, becoming acquainted with writers Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724–1803) and Matthias Claudius (1740–1815), and also got to meet Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788).

With St. Petersburg as his goal, Reichardt left Hamburg and travelled on over Lübeck, Stettin and Danzig, where he quite coincidentally made the revelatory and revolutionary discovery of Herder’s *Von deutscher Art und Kunst*. His next stop was Königsberg, which he reached in September 1774, and although his intention was to continue to Russia, an acute illness led to a change of plans. With health restored Reichardt took up a position as extraordinary chamber secretary and put his musical career on hold, although this new life would not last very long. In the fall of 1775 Reichardt learned of the position as *Kapellmeister* to the Berlin court opera, which had suddenly become vacant. He dared to submit an application, and to much astonishment got the appointment. This was quite an achievement for a young musician, though the position did not entail specifically glamorous work. The musical taste of king Friedrich II was notoriously conservative, and Reichardt’s role was not to compose new operas, but solely to direct old ones by Hasse and Graun. Unproductive as this situation might have been (Reichardt still got to compose some occasional pieces, and new additional arias specifically designed for the court’s singers141), it gave him ample time to venture into other projects.

Already at the end of his long journey, Reichardt had compiled letters sent to his Königsberg friends about music encountered on his trip into the publication *Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend*142. This critical enterprise was cultivated further with books on German comical opera and on the Berlin music scene, and was continued also after his employment at the court opera.143 The year after his arrival in Berlin, he began also a prolific

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141 For instance, the prologue *Il genio della Russia e il genio della Prussia* for the engagement celebrations of future emperor Paul I of Russia to princess Sofia Dorotea of Württemberg in 1776. In his autobiography Reichardt describes at length how he composed this piece under the scrutiny of king Friedrich II. See Reichardt, *Autobiographische Schriften*, 151–59.


sejour as chief music critic to Friedrich Nicolai’s influential *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* that would last nearly five years.\textsuperscript{144}

It was the outspoken aim of Nicolai’s journal, this beacon of Berlin and German Enlightenment, to be a rallying and gathering point for the diverse scholarship scattered throughout the German lands. With the journal, Nicolai hoped to aid the Germans becoming familiar with their own fatherland.\textsuperscript{145} Given this overall objective, it is not surprising that Reichardt committed himself to this enterprise.

At this time Reichardt also wrote and published the first part of his never-completed novel *Leben des berühmten Tonkünstlers Heinrich Wilhelm Gulden nachher genannt Guglielmo Enrico Fiorino*, a Rousseauian exposition on the education of musicians, more on which in the fourth chapter.\textsuperscript{146}

Reichardt’s critical and social ambitions were further manifested when he became a member of the Berlin *Montag-Club* that met once a week for dinner and enlightened discussions.\textsuperscript{147} In line with this engagement he also expanded his writing beyond pure music criticism and contributed articles to the journals *Ephemeriden der Menschheit* and *Deutsches Museum*. Music was still the subject of his contributions, but Reichardt now began to develop his views on music’s role in society. With one exception, these articles would later appear in the first volume of Reichardt’s own journal *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*, which he published in 1782. This journal reads to a large extent as a music philosophical manifesto in which Reichardt declared his views on music and society. It contained articles on the use of music in education, on instrumental music, folksongs, church music, choirs, on the German *Singspiel*, and on edification of the home through music, among other subjects. Interspersed within its pages, one finds plenty of musical examples, both by Reichardt and other composers, as well as reviews and commentaries on musical and literary works, anecdotes and news. This was without doubt a very ambitious journal, and an exhorting one as well, that sought to raise the standard and importance of music and the ambitions and societal responsibility of musicians.

The public *Concerts spirituels* Reichardt arranged for the winter seasons of 1783 and 1784, too, had a similar edifying side to them. Besides offering well-chosen programs of vocal and instrumental music, to a considerable part religious music, by new and old composers, Reichardt also presented audiences

\textsuperscript{144} Schütz, *Vor Dem Richterstuhl Der Kritik*, 105–6.

\textsuperscript{145} Schütz, *Vor Dem Richterstuhl Der Kritik*, 63.


\textsuperscript{147} Salmen, *Johann Friedrich Reichardt*, 46.
with detailed and ambitious printed programmes with enlightening comments on the music.\textsuperscript{148}

With little compositional work required at the court, Reichardt continued to focus instead on the public sphere, publishing chamber music, cantatas, a couple of duodramas and \textit{Singspiele}. From the late 1770s and onwards throughout his life, one major interest for Reichardt was song composition. This was an area he soon mastered, and one in which he would be most prolific, composing some 1500 \textit{Lieder} in total. As will be demonstrated in the next chapter, this was also the area above all where Reichardt influenced and shaped the expressive community, providing the means for the nation to express itself and its cultural identity. A model for this could be found in Reichardt's own hospitable home on Friedrichstraße in Berlin, which was generally brimming with spiritual conversations and musical performances.

The lack of official work also gave Reichardt the opportunity to embark on lengthy travels. In 1783, after the unfortunate loss of first his son and later also his wife, Reichardt went, by way of Zürich, on a journey to Italy. On his way back, he also visited Vienna, where he became acquainted with Gluck. He also visited Weimar and Hamburg, where he remarried widow Johanna Wilhelmina Dorothea Alberti (1754–1827). And most of 1785 was spent in London and Paris instead of at court in Berlin. He returned to Paris early in 1786 hoping to realize two projected operas (\textit{Panthée} and \textit{Tamerlan}), but had to leave them off as he was summoned to Berlin for the funeral of his employer King Friedrich II.

With the ascension of Friedrich Wilhelm II (1744–1797), the circumstances in Berlin altered dramatically for Reichardt. Now he was requested to compose large Italian \textit{opere serie} for the royal court opera, a duty that led to four major works: \textit{Andromeda}, \textit{Protesilao} (a joint effort with Johann Gottlieb Nau mann (1741–1801)), \textit{Brenno} and \textit{Olimpiade}. Another change was the new king’s foundation of a royal national theatre built on the Doebbelin theatre company.\textsuperscript{149} There is little doubt that Reichardt must have viewed this new feature in Berlin quite positively, not least since it coincided with the intensive working relationship he struck up with Goethe in 1789. Their joint work on Goethe's \textit{Singspiele} texts clearly meant more to Reichardt than his orders for the royal court opera. At the same time, the Goethe \textit{Singspiele} were not works completed without the support and interest of the court. Reichardt’s setting of \textit{Claudine von Villa Bella} was premiered at the Charlottenburg Palace in July 1789, and then performed on the National theatre for the birthday celebrations

\textsuperscript{148} For a detailed account of these concerts see Carl Friedrich Cramer, \textit{Magazin der Musik} 2 (1784): 132–162. See also Salmen, \textit{Johann Friedrich Reichardt}, 48–50.

\textsuperscript{149} For a fruitful deliberation on this foundation see Lena van der Hoven, \textit{Musikalische Repräsentationspolitik in Preußen (1688-1797). Hofmusik als Inszenierungsinstrument von Herrschaft} (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 2015), 255–67.
of the crown prince on 3 August. For these performances, Reichardt was allowed to use the orchestra of the royal court opera. During the next ten years, this Singspiel was performed at the royal opera on six further occasions. When Reichardt, in 1791, applied for a pension and the retirement from his duties at the court, it could be interpreted, as an attempt to change fields, trading court service at the royal opera for a more independent existence, although still a kind of court composer. However, this request was denied. Eventually he was allowed a three-year leave of absence, mainly to recover from a severe illness.

Initially he withdrew to his newly-acquired country estate in Giebichenstein outside of Halle an der Saale, but his insatiable desire to travel and general curiosity led him in early 1792 to set off on yet another trip to Paris. This time he undertook the journey with the purpose to learn about the French Revolution and its consequences first hand. On his return, he published anonymously an account of his experiences, which although firmly anti-jacobin in character still presented a quite pro-revolutionary picture. It is not hard to imagine that the publication was not particularly well received by the Berlin court, although it was not mentioned as a reason for Reichardt’s abrupt dismissal from his position in October 1794. According to the king’s order it was Reichardt’s pro-revolutionary Hamburg acquaintances that cost him his job. Devastated, he took his refuge in Altona near Hamburg and begun to focus more on political writings, publishing the two journals: Frankreich and Deutschland. Additionally, Reichardt’s political convictions also led to the unfortunate dissociation from Goethe and Schiller, culminating in the Xenien attacks. Returning to Giebichenstein, Reichardt’s financial situation eventually improved as he was appointed director of the Halle saltworks in 1797. Though less active musically during these years, Reichardt still continued to compose and publish mostly songs and song collections. The period also saw a continued interest in music writing, with the publication of the second volume of the Musikalischer Kunstmagazin in 1791, and the journal Musikalisches Wochenblatt and Musikalische Monathsschrift in 1791 and 1792. The Lyceum der schönen Künste of 1797 attempted to combine Reichardt’s musical and political interests, although it failed to make any lasting impression.

In November 1797, Friedrich Wilhelm II died and was succeeded by his son Friedrich Wilhelm III (1770–1840). This meant that Reichardt was back in favour at the Berlin court, although he was not reinstated as court...

151 Pröpper, Die Bühnenwerke Johann Friedrich Reichardts, 83–84.
152 Reichardt’s letter can be found in: Salmen, Johann Friedrich Reichardt, 71.
He was now able to return to the Berlin music scene, which he did with a concert performance of *Brennus* commemorating Friedrich II on his birthday 24 January 1798. That year also marked the premiere of Reichardt’s *Singspiel Die Geisterinsel* at the National theatre on 6 July, celebrating the *Huldigungstag* for the new king. The latter was probably Reichardt’s greatest success and saw fifty-five performances at the National theatre until 1825. A significant register of Reichardt’s renewed status was the commission for a new *opera seria* for the 1801 carnival season (*Rosmonda*).

Reichardt spent most of his time at his Giebichenstein home, where he continued to host the same kind of culturally expressive, open and welcoming house he had in Berlin. His home and its garden were visited by most of the period’s renowned artists, writers and thinkers, particularly of the younger romantic generation. Here people such as Ludwig Tieck (1773–1853) (who also married Reichardt’s wife’s younger sister), Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder (1773–1798), Achim von Arnim (1781–1831), Clemens Brentano (1778–1842), the brothers Jacob (1785–1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786–1859), and August Wilhelm (1767–1845) and Friedrich von Schlegel (1772–1829), Jean Paul (1763–1825), Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), Novalis (1772–1801), Joseph von Eichendorff (1788–1857), and Johann Heinrich Voss (1751–1826) gathered and enjoyed the nature as well as the cultural expressiveness of Reichardt’s musical family.

During these years Reichardt also continued his lengthy travels. In 1802 he returned to Paris to experience the new political situation, a trip that resulted in a similar report as his last visit there, as well as the anonymously published, more politically focused *Napoleon Bonaparte und das französische Volk unter seinem Consulate* (Germanien, 1804). To what extent Reichardt was the writer, or just editor of the last work is still under debate. See Günter Hartung, “Der Autor Des Buches Napoleon Bonaparte Und Das Französische Volk Unter Seinem Consulate, Germanien 1804,” in *Johann Friedrich Reichardt Zwischen Anpassung Und Provokation/Goethes Lieder Und Singspiele in Reichardts Vertonung: Bericht Über Die Wissenschaftlichen Konferenzen in Halle Anlässlich Des 250. Geburtstages 2002 Und Zum Goethejahr 1999*, eds. Manfred Beetz, Kathrin Eberl, Konstanze Musketa, Wolfgang Ruf, Katrin Keym, Götz Traxdorf, and Jens Wehmann (Halle an der Saale: Händel-Haus, 2003), 33–50. See also Gudrun Busch, “Spuren Aus Dem Viewegschen Briefarchiv: Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Joachim Heinrich Campe Und Carl Friedrich Cramer Zwischen Musik, Pädagogischer Aufklärung Und Revolutionsbegeisterung,” in *Johann Friedrich Reichardt Und Die Literatur: Komponieren Korrespondieren Publizieren*, ed., Walter Salmen (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2003), 121–50.

153 Eventually he got the right to use the title, even though he did not uphold the position. See Salmen, *Johann Friedrich Reichardt*, 92.
made yet another attempt at a music journal with the *Berlinerische Musikalische Zeitung* published between 1805 and 1806. In this journal, he published also the first instalments of his autobiographical writings.

With the arrival of French troops in Halle in October 1806, Reichardt had to flee Giebichenstein together with his family, and followed the Prussian court to its North-Eastern exile. In 1807, he served as secretary to General Kalkreuth (1737–1818) in Danzig during the French siege of the city. The flight then continued to Königsberg and finally to Memel. Following the final Prussian defeat, Reichardt was surprisingly appointed general director to the theatre and orchestra of the court of king Jérôme Bonaparte (1784–1860) in Kassel, Westphalia. For this newly established kingdom, Reichardt had to organize the court music from the ground up. However, although his administrative skills surely were sufficient, aesthetically he seems to have lacked the desired views of his new employer. In October 1808, he was sent to Vienna to engage new singers for the opera, whilst, behind his back, the court tried to hire Beethoven as new *Kapellmeister*. Although with poor auspices, Reichardt’s trip still proved successful, not least on a personal level. He was quite well received by the Viennese nobility, and enjoyed a pleasant stay in the Habsburg capital as evidenced by the travel account he later published.

Unfortunately, Reichardt’s remaining years were spent in increasing destitution. He failed to secure any new position, and was rarely given any compositional commissions. However, he continued to compose and publish songs, above all the two collections *Goethe’s Lieder, Oden, Balladen und Romanzen* in four parts, and *Schillers lyrische Gedichte* in two parts, which can be seen as a kind of musical testament, signalling what Reichardt saw as his most important achievement.

On 27 June 1814 Reichardt died in Giebichenstein. Because of the large debt he left his family, they had to leave their home in Giebichenstein and move to Berlin to live with one of Reichardt’s daughters. Reichardt’s vast library was auctioned off and scattered.

What Reichardt’s biography exhibits, is an intellectual musician and writer constantly reflecting on his art and on society. Above all, his interests lay in the national, expressive community in which he was a part. Throughout his

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156 *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 10 (1808), 333.
life, he continued to cater for this community providing means for its expressiveness, particularly with his many song compositions.\textsuperscript{160}

\textsuperscript{160} In order to emphasize the uniqueness of Reichardt’s biography, a comparison with careers of a few other court Kapellmeisters can be worthwhile; see Owe Ander, “‘Four Marriages and a Funeral’: Die Institution des Hofkapellmeisteramtes in Stockholm 1792–1818,” in Das Amt des Hofkapellmeisters um 1800: Bericht des wissenschaftlichen Symposiums zum 250. Geburtstag des dänischen Hofkapellmeisters Friedrich Ludwig Aemilius Kunzen (1761-1817), Det Kongelige Danske Videnskaberernes Selskab / Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 27. September 2011, eds. Joachim Kremer and Heinrich W. Schwab (Neumünster: Bockel Verlag, 2018), 59–90.
Music for the community

“Nationality is a condition; nationalism is an attitude.”

It is wise to bare this statement of Richard Taruskin’s in mind when seeking to grasp the nationalistic contents and intentions of Reichardt’s music. Although the national and the nationalistic are no doubt closely connected, and the latter dependant on the former, the former does not necessarily entail the latter. Indeed, national traits in music were not a novel phenomenon when nationalism emerged in the eighteenth century. On the contrary, according to Carl Dahlhaus national traits in music can be found already in the thirteenth century.162 Also, when music printing begun in the sixteenth century, national vernacular songs were the earliest genres disseminated. Sprung from the various vernaculars of the time, this was music that demonstrated a variety of national styles (e.g. French chanson, Italian frottola, German Hofweise).163 At this time national musical styles were not particularly discussed, they were simply a matter of fact. But in the eighteenth century this innocent outlook would dramatically change, and national musical styles would be subject to fierce debate with the French Querelle des Bouffons of 1752–54 as the high-water mark. The issue was intensely discussed also in the German lands.

With national musical styles being considerably older than the eighteenth-century debates regarding them, a transformation of their conception clearly must have occurred. This transformation will be the point of departure for this chapter. It will be followed by an account of how the issue was regarded and discussed in the German lands. Then it will be time to move into the heading’s area: music for community. This will above all mean a study of Reichardt’s different song collections. In connection with that, the idea of music im Volkston, as presented by composer Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, will be discussed. In the light of that concept it will then be time to return again to Reichardt’s songs and their political implications. With this chapter, the first steps towards answering the overall research questions will be taken.

161 Taruskin, “Nationalism,” 689.
163 Taruskin, “Nationalism,” 690.
National musical styles and national characters

At the initial stages of the debate on national styles in music, the arguments focused on pronounced musical characteristics. In A Comparison between the French and Italian Music and Operas, published in 1702, Abbé François Raguenet (1660–1722) contrasted Italian audacity and inventiveness with French conformity and prudence, strongly favouring the former. Using the very same characteristics, although interpreting the Italian music as piquant, forced and discontinuous as opposed to the sweet, coherent and natural French, Jean-Laurent Lecerf de la Viéville (1674–1707) argued for the opposite assessment in his Comparison of French and Italian Music of 1704.164 For both authors the issue was a purely musical one, and compliance with general composition rules an essential matter (either positive or negative).165

For the first half of the eighteenth century the debate continued to be a discussion of musical rules. Was their foundation to be found in melody or in harmony? The Italians seemed to have chosen melody whereas the French favoured harmony. Some writers expressed a mediating position in the debate, advocating either the benefits of plurality, convinced that there was pleasure to be found both in Italian and French music, or recommending a union of the national musics, assured that an amalgamate of the best traits would outshine the individual national styles. The latter was for instance the position of Encyclopedist Jean Le Rond d’Alembert (1717–1783), who argued for the combination of Italian music and French poetry.166

A view like d’Alembert’s was clearly expressing the cosmopolitan ideals of the French Enlightenment. Seeking general truths and rights, the standpoint that the best music would be international does not come as particularly surprising. Although in 1759, when d’Alembert was arguing for this standpoint, the question of different national musical styles was no longer a purely musical one. Seven years earlier the great Querelle des Bouffons had commenced in Paris. This pamphlet quarrel, associated with the engagement of a visiting


165 It should be noted that the different national musical styles were available for all composers to utilize. One can think for instance of François Couperin’s Les Nations suites, or Georg Philipp Telemann’s Ouverture des Nations anciens et modernes, all works of the 1720s.

Italian troupe at the Opéra, was in many ways a continuation of the existing
debate regarding the respective merits of French and Italian music, but the
stakes had heightened severely. It was no longer just a matter of the assess-
ment of different musical rules; scantily hidden under the surface of musical
issues lay a serious political agenda. Critique of French music was now re-
garded as critique of French court culture, the monarch and absolutism on the
whole. Italian music on the other hand stood for individual freedom of thought
and Enlightenment. The quarrel connected also to an already existing political
and religious struggle between Jesuits and Jansenists, with similar implica-
tions.\(^\text{167}\)

The fiercest blow to French music throughout the *Querelle* was dealt by
Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In the pamphlet *Lettre sur la musique française*, pub-
lished in November 1753, he concluded:

> I believe I have shown that there is neither meter nor melody in French Music,
because the language is not susceptible to them; that French song is but a con-
tinual barking, unbearable to any ear not prepared for it; that its harmony is
crude, expressionless, and uniquely feels its Schoolboy padding; that French
arias are not at all arias; that the French recitative is not at all recitative. From
which I conclude that the French do not at all have a Music and cannot have
any; or that if ever they have any, it will be so much the worse for them.\(^\text{168}\)

In this vitriolic attack, Rousseau did not confine himself to favouring Italian
music over French. On the contrary, he went so far as declaring French music
utterly unmusical. The grounds for this annihilating judgement Rousseau
found in the French language, which, as he stated, completely lacked suscep-
tibility to meter and melody. The third musical characteristic, harmony, so
central to French eighteenth century musical thinking, Rousseau deemed
purely material and unspecific, a quality mere supportive to the other two.
Indeed, according to Rousseau, the French focus on harmony served only to
cover up the defects of its music, and led to a music consisting only of accom-
paniment.

Significantly also of harmony’s pure materiality is its lack of impact on any
national musical style. As a simple physical quality, it is international. Ac-
cording to Rousseau:


Harmony, having its principle in nature, is the same for all Nations, or if it has some variations they are introduced by those in the melody; thus, it is from melody alone that the particular character of a National Music must be derived; all the more so, as, its character being produced principally by the language, song strictly speaking should be affected by its greatest influence.169

In itself harmony lacks specific character. In the rare occasion that it does express any character this is derived from the melody. It is only melody and meter that has the possibility to express any specific character, and this possibility is an effect of their intimate connection to language. Thanks to this connection, on the other hand, music is not only able to express national character; it is ultimately intertwined with that character. Hence, for Rousseau, the debate on national musical styles was not just a matter of taste. It had serious philosophical and political consequences. Indeed, as has been convincingly argued for recently, both by Downing A. Thomas and John T. Scott, Rousseau’s views on music holds a central position in his philosophy on the whole.170

The issue was further developed in Rousseau’s Essay on the Origin of Languages, published posthumously in 1781.171 Here Rousseau argues that the emergence of language, and music, was stimulated by the passions aroused when man came into contact with other human beings; a contact characterized by pleasure and not by need. In Rousseau’s words: “The heart was moved by these new objects, an unfamiliar attraction made it less savage, it felt the pleasure of not being alone.”172 From this initial encounter with others evolved the social and moral passions that got expressed in speech and song. Intertwined with the development of language and music is the development of a community, founded on the mutual moral passions. It is because of these close ties between language, music and moral passions, Rousseau argues, that music has the possibility to express national character.

The depicted development characterizes the formation of the languages of the south according to Rousseau. However, the situation differs when the northern languages are concerned as a consequence of the crucial influence of climate. As Rousseau explains: “In southern climates, where nature is prodigal, needs arise from the passions, in cold countries, where nature is miserly,
the passions arise from the needs, and the languages, unhappy daughters of necessity, show their severe origin.”

Because of the harsh physical circumstances of the north, here man’s passions, and consequently language and music, get a different character than in the south. As Rousseau put it: “[…] the first word among them was not ‘love me,’ but ‘help me.’” Clearly, the character of a community developed out of passions of need would not be the same as one developed from passions of love.

It should be noted, however, that according to Rousseau neither national characters, nor languages are permanently fixed. “Languages are naturally formed according to men’s needs; they change and decay in accordance with the changes in these same needs.”

Unfortunately, in Rousseau’s regard the development throughout history has not been particularly favourable.

Popular languages have become perfectly useless to us as eloquence has. Societies have assumed their final form; nothing is changed in them any longer except by arms and cash, and as there is no longer anything to say to the people but, give money, it is said to them with placards at street corners or with soldiers in their homes, it is not necessary to assemble anyone for this: on the contrary, the subjects have to be kept scattered; this is the first maxim of modern politics.

According to Rousseau this was the situation in France, and the problem with the French language. Ultimately, also, this was the reason why Rousseau attacked French music with such vitriol in the Lettre. He saw French music supporting the absolutist monarchy, not just symbolically as his opponents did, but in its actual confirmation of servile passions and character. Hence his fervent insisting on Italian music’s advantages was an attempt at altering, not just the taste of the French public, but its language, passions, character and political volition. As he states in the Essay: “There are languages favorable to liberty; these are sonorous, prosodic, harmonious languages, in which discourse can be made out from a distance. Ours are made for the murmuring in sultans’ Council-chambers.”

Long-lasting political change is achieved through adequate alteration of language, passions and character, something that at least could be aided through the influence of suitable (i.e. Italian) music.

There is a universalistic stance in Rousseau’s thinking here that I think is worth noticing. The national character, expressed for instance in music, does not seem to have any particular importance in itself. If some people, like the French, have a character detrimental to just government, they would be wise

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to change their character. In that sense, Rousseau cannot be regarded as a particularly nationalistic thinker, even though he, at the same time, does hold that a proper community can only exist if it is founded on mutual passions and character, expressed in a mutual language. However, for Rousseau it is more important that the character is politically benevolent than that it is connected to climate and history. This is a rather different standpoint from most nationalistic ones, like for instance Herder’s, something that it can be useful to keep in mind. It also explains Rousseau’s lauding in the *Lettre* of the Germans, the Spanish and the English, which have overcome their vanity and abolished their national operas in favour of Italian ones, unlike the prejudiced and ridiculous French.178

Returning to the *Querelle*, it becomes clear that with Rousseau’s contribution an essential connection between national character and national musical style had been established. The two were intertwined in a crucial way, and the question of national musical style was no longer just a matter of taste. The prerequisites for a nationalistic understanding were at hand.

Before moving on to the German lands now, and how the issue of national musical styles was regarded and debated there, a short overview of how the idea of national characters was regarded in the eighteenth century will be useful. Just like the issue of national musical styles, also national character was a subject open to lively debate in the eighteenth century. One reason for this can be found in the increased acquaintance and interest in the foreign world. An effect of this was the growing amount of travel literature published throughout the century, a literature abundant with accounts and comments on national differences and characteristics.179 Mainly descriptive, the travel literature aimed above all at the reader’s curiosity. At the same time, the issue was dealt with also from a philosophical and scientific point of view by thinkers such as Montesquieu (1689–1755) and David Hume.180 Recognizing different national characters they sought explanations, causations and a better understanding of resultant effects. One central question was whether material or immaterial causes had the stronger influence, and it seems both Montesquieu and Hume

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argued in favour of the latter. Factors like tradition, religion and government were considered more determining than for instance climate.\textsuperscript{181}

The issue was widely debated also in the German lands.\textsuperscript{182} For instance, during the 1760s there was a fierce debate on whether there was a German national spirit or not, and if so what were its characteristics. Initiated by Friedrich Carl von Moser’s (1723–1798) \textit{Von dem deutschen National-Geist} (On the German national spirit)\textsuperscript{183}, published in 1765, the debate was a consequence of the German Montesquieu reception. In 1753 a German translation of \textit{De l’Esprit des lois} by Abraham Gottshelf Kästner (1719–1800) was published, and Montesquieu’s idea that a nation’s laws ought to be appropriate to its national spirit inexorably led to an investigation of the situation in the German lands. Because of the complex political system supporting multiple identities the issue was not one easily resolved. Was there, or could there even be, a German spirit common for all Germans, a spirit not in conflict with the diverse local identities present? And would such a common German spirit be more relevant than for instance a Prussian, a Saxon or an Austrian spirit? To a certain degree the debate can be viewed as an intellectual commentary and continuation of the recent Seven Years’ War fought by Austria and Prussia between 1756 and 1763. For instance, Moser concludes \textit{Von dem deutschen National-Geist} stating that the German fatherland would clearly benefit if only the Germans would recognize a common national spirit transcending the different religions and estates.\textsuperscript{184}

The general conception of different national characters was also widely dispersed in the German lands, for instance through the Swiss doctor and author Johann Georg Zimmermann’s (1728–1795) popular \textit{Vom Nationalstolze} (On national pride) which ten years after its publication in 1758 was already on its forth edition.\textsuperscript{185} Discussion of national characters was also frequent in Immanuel Kant’s pre-critical writings and teachings, not least in his works from the 1760s, the period when both Herder and Reichardt were his students. (It can be noted that this was also a period when Kant was showing a substantial interest in Rousseau.)\textsuperscript{186} In an announcement Kant made, presenting his 1765–66 winter lectures, the curriculum is made up of four parts: metaphysics, logic,\textsuperscript{187}

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\item\textsuperscript{181} Hayman, “Notions on National Characters,” 12–14.
\item\textsuperscript{183} Friedrich Carl von Moser, \textit{Von dem Deutschen National-Geist} (Frankfurt, 1765).
\item\textsuperscript{185} Johann Georg Zimmermann, \textit{Vom Nationalstolze}, 4th ed. (Zürich: Orell, Gessner, und Compagnie, 1768).
\item\textsuperscript{187} See below, note 181.
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ethics, and physical geography. The last of these deals on the one hand with the varied physical, moral and political nature of the world, and on the other hand with the varied natural properties and moral character of the human beings of the world. Particular consideration, Kant states, will be given to the reciprocal interaction between the two.\textsuperscript{187}

In Kant’s view, physical geography was something quite significant. For instance, he regarded it as the foundation of all history, without which “history is scarcely distinguishable from fairy stories.”\textsuperscript{188} Also, without it “general judgements about the human being would scarcely be possible.”\textsuperscript{189} Perhaps this conviction is the reason why Kant included a section on national characters in his \textit{Beobachtungen über das Gefühl des Schönen und Erhabenen} (Observations on the feeling of the beautiful and sublime) of 1764. National characters are essential to the degree that they influence the way different nations are disposed regarding the concepts Kant is investigating. Hence different people will be affected differently, which can be detected, according to Kant, for instance in different nations’ different sentiment for honour. This, in turn, will have an effect on a nations attitude towards, among other things, religion and science.

The idea of national musical styles was also prevalent in the German lands in the eighteenth century. The debate here clearly reflected, and was influenced by, the French one in many ways. Here, too, one crucial issue was the controversy between French and Italian music; the major combatants were \textit{Der critische Musicus an der Spree} (the critical musician on the river Spree), i.e. music theorist and critic Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718–1795), and Flavio Anicio Olibrio, i.e. organist and Prussian court composer Johann Friedrich Agricola (1720–1774).\textsuperscript{190} The first strongly advocated French music while the second were a staunch spokesman for the Italian. In a sense the issue was even more vital in the German lands than in France since here the question was not just which style one preferred, but also which style German music was supposed to have. Were the best role models Italian or French?

D’Alembert’s standpoint that a mixing of the two styles would result in the most favourable music also had its advocates. Indeed, in the treatise \textit{Versuch
of 1752 Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1773) suggested that a mixed style (vermischter Geschmack) was actually what the Germans had ventured at recently. Now all they had to do was to cultivate this style for the German music to prosper, and implicitly gain worldwide acceptance.191

Although one was acquainted with the Querelle in the German lands, thanks to reports and reviews in German journals, no equivalent debate was established here. Of course, the political allusions would not have been directly transferable so it is understandable that it was more or less seen as a continuation of the earlier discussion. When reviewed in Marpurgs Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik 1754 Rousseau’s contribution was regarded above all as being about musical issues, about melody contra harmony.192

That national musical styles were not reserved to only Italy and France can be seen, for instance, in Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart’s (1739–1791) posthumously published Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst.193 Schubart organizes the music history part, (which makes up more than two thirds of the book), nationally, and each nation’s account is initiated with a description of the specific national musical character.194

If not before, then one finds with Herder also in the German lands a heightened sense of a connection between musical style and national character. As part of a nation’s culture music, just like any other cultural expression, influences and determines as well as reflects the national identity. However, the crucial function and position music upholds in Rousseau’s writings one does not find in Herder. He does not acknowledge, or at least does not concern himself particularly with Rousseau’s view that music directly reflects a people’s political disposition. However, Reichardt clearly recognized this view. He was no doubt convinced of music’s possibility to express a national character; in his view, it could even do so with some detail. And, as one article in the Musikalisches Kunstmagazin of 1782 shows, he did not think it needed words to achieve this.

191 Ottenberg, Der Critische Musicus an Der Spree, 125–33.
192 Ottenberg, Der Critische Musicus an Der Spree, 161–65, 170–73.
194 It can be noted that the conception of national musical styles was still at hand in the 1830s, as for instance the entry “Styl” in Gustav Schilling’s music encyclopedia shows. Gustav Schilling, ed. Encyclopädie der gesamten musicalischen Wissenschaften oder Universal-Lexicon der Tonkunst (Stuttgart: Franz Heinrich Köhler, 1835–1838). For a deeper discussion on the Encyclopädie and its views on national musical styles see Gramit, Cultivating Music, 43–62.
Polnisch.

Reichardt suggests that the piece is to be played by violin. The clavier part is not really intended as accompaniment to the violin part, but offered for those who do not play the violin. After the opening section, reproduced here, comes a second section, followed by a trio, after which the first two sections are to be played da Capo. Reichardt uses this polonaise (Ex. 1) (by Grabowiecki according to Reichardt) as an example, which “has completely the true national character”. It also expresses this character with nothing but musical traits.

There may not be a dance so completely image and expression of the national character as the Polish. Just as a peculiar mixture of pride, court fashion, and groveling nature is the main feature of the Polish national character, so too is the rhythmic course of the Polonaise a striking mixture of majesty and smallness. The long three-quarter-note rhythm, the many syncopated notes, the often free and fast melodic gait, the frequent strong accents, all that makes a striking contrast, with the fast and often alternating forte and piano, and with the unprepared short endings on the second, so-called bad part of the last bar. Yes, the final melodic note is actually only heard on the last, that is, worst, part of the bar, and very weakly, because the appoggiatura before the last note is accented, and the last note itself is played so briefly that one hardly hears it.

Music’s connection to language, so crucial for Rousseau, is completely absent here. On the other hand, the national characteristics presented in the music are mirrored also in the dance, which expands Reichardt’s discussion and description.

Their dance is just like that: it consists of nothing but majestic steps, three in each bar, and then inbetween come small bends, where the man grovels for a moment like a slave – the woman however – who on the whole seems to be of a better, nobler nature in Poland; and also really rules there - continues on her


proud course. Then suddenly the ending comes just as unprepared as in the music; in the middle of a step, the dancer stops and bows to the ground. 197

Cultural expressivity is clearly not limited to language, poetry and song. The cultural national identity can be danced as well.

In a later issue of the *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* Reichardt presents another *Volkstanz*.


Similar to the previous Polonoise, this piece is also suggested to be played by violin or clavier. The clavier part is offered for those who do not play the violin, and is not really intended as accompaniment to the violin part. This time it is a Hanakish dance (Ex. 2), and his discussion of this gives some further aspects of his views.\textsuperscript{198}

Incidentally, this Hanackish dance, which is played much more vivaciously than the Polonoise, has a great similarity to it in its endings and delivery. It too is a common folk dance in Poland. Perhaps it is a more original Polish national

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{198} Johann Friedrich Reichardt, "Volktänze. Hanakisch," in Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Musikalisches Kunstmagazin (Berlin, 1782), 156–57.}
dance than the Polonoise itself, which was perhaps created later at the time of
the aristocratic constitution, perhaps initially only a dance of the nobles, and
only afterwards spreading down to the people. Since, for me the Hanackish and
Polish dances seem to be as different in their characters, as happiness of the
people and happiness of the masters in a highflown nation.199

It becomes clear that a national character is more nuanced and complex than
one might have guessed at first. According to Reichardt these two dances ex-
press two different, although to a certain extent similar facets of the Polish
national character.

An even more complex picture emerges when one takes into account
Reichardt’s comparison of the Hanakish dance with a description of the
Hanakish people which he quotes from August Ludwig Schlözer’s (1735–
1809) Briefwechsel meist historischen und politischen Inhalts.200 Here it is told
how the Hanakish have immigrated to the middle of Mähren, and are now
living there completely separated from the surrounding peoples, with different
customs, language and costume. Schlözer describes them as quite reserved,
and continues:

Their way of life is very lazy and lethargic. They rarely laugh, are serious and
thoughtful; more withdrawn in their pleasures than extravagant; staunch in the
Catholic religion, though not very zealous; vigilant and stubborn about their
acknowledged rights; proud of the old and oral teachings of their forefathers,
which they gently impart to each other.201

Reichardt finds this characterization quite conflicting with his understanding
of the dance. "[T]he lively movement, the constant return and ending on the
keynote, expresses a very lively almost wild joy. So, also, is the step of their

199 “Dieser hanackische Tanz, der viel lebhafter als die Polonoise gespielt wird, hat übrigens
mit ihr in seinen Schlübfällen und Vortragmanier große Ähnlichkeit. Auch ist er in Pohlen ein
allgemeiner Volktanz. Vielleicht ist er ursprünglicher der polnische Nazionaltanz als die Po-
lonoise selbst, die vielleicht erst in spätern Zeiten, bey der aristokratischen Regierungform ent-
standen, erst vielleicht nur Tanz der Edlen gewesen und so hernach unters Volk gekommen.
Denn mir scheinen der hanackische und polnische Tanz in ihrem Charakter, eben so verschieden
t zu seyn, wie Volkfreude und Herrenfreude einer hochtrabenden Nazion.” Reichardt,
200 August Ludwig Schlözer, Briefwechsel meist historischen und politischen Inhalts, 10 vols.
(Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1776–1782).
201 “Ihre Lebensart ist sehr faul und träge. Sie lachen selten, sind ernsthaft und nachdenkend;
bei ihren Ergötlichkeiten mehr eingeogen, als ausschweifend; in der christlichkatolischen Re-
ligion standhaft, obwohl nicht sehr eifrig; über die ihnen eingestandene Rechte wachsam und
hartnäckig; stolz auf die alten und mündlichen Lehren ihrer Voreltern, welche sie einander
dance wild, bold and free.”202 As a hypothesis for this conflict Reichardt suggests a late change of character as a consequence of the new environment and pressure from regents and neighbours. Possibly the dance is not even known anymore. Actually, it would be a worthwhile task to find out if that was indeed the case, Reichardt concludes the article.

Clearly, national characters were not static in the eyes of Reichardt. Just like Rousseau and Herder, he thought them susceptible to influence. In the case of the Hanakish, Reichardt interprets the changed character as a sign of deteriorated circumstances. At the same time, there lies implicit in his interpretation the potential to change it back to something more in line with the dance. In a sense Reichardt’s account of the Hanakish presents a parallel to Rousseau’s view of the French. Their wanting national musical style is proof of a wanting political situation, just like the changed national character of the Hanakish is. And, following Rousseau’s view, just like a different music would hopefully spur on a different political situation in France, so a reintroduction of the national dance to the Hanakish (on the assumption that it is indeed unknown to them) would spur on an open and positive national character, one may assume that Reichardt meant.

One should note that Reichardt is not stating that the character of the dance should be more genuine than the Hanakish’s present one. There is of course the possibility to interpret it that way, but that would probably be a somewhat anachronistic interpretation. Reichardt seems to be concerned above all with the bad political circumstances of the Hanakish, and not with any lost origin. Anyway, the important thing to gather from this discussion is Reichardt’s understanding of national characters as intertwined with musical styles, and as something evident, crucial and susceptible to influence. These are all necessary prerequisites for his undertakings with the German situation.

Returning to the Taruskin quote opening this chapter it should be noted that although no developed nationalistic arguments are at hand in Reichardt’s discussions of these folk dances, they are not far away. It could be argued that they are implied. Although Reichardt does not state it, the view that every nation ought to be able to enjoy their own culture, and live life in line with their cultural identity, is clearly not foreign.203 More explicitly nationalistic, though, are his discussions on songs, as will soon become apparent.


203 It can be noted that Reichardt wrote this at a time when Poland had experienced its first partition just ten years earlier on 5 August 1772. One third of its population (5 out of 14 million) was suddenly under foreign rule. See Jerzy Lukowski and Hubert Zawadzki, A Concise History of Poland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 93–98.
Songs for the German community

In the opening article of the *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* of 1782, entitled *An junge Künstler*, Reichardt put forward advice for young aspiring composers describing their situation, role and purpose in society. Here he also identified some crucial flaws in the German expressive community, flaws he implicitly encouraged the young composers to address and remedy. Above all he meant that the Germans lacked songs suitable for communal use. This was particularly distressing according to Reichardt since, as he stated: “Happiness is the highest purpose of all society: through nothing is this purpose faster, safer, more generally achieved than through song.” Singing and songs are central and important for a community.

Reichardt had explicitly sought to address this lack himself recently with the song collection *Frohe Lieder für deutsche Männer*, published in 1781. As he explained, in this collection he had chosen the poems, types of melodies, form and format with the purpose to make joyous singing more common in the German communities. Of the poems chosen five were taken from Herder’s recently published *Volkslieder* collections, two were written by Matthias Claudius, one each by Klopstock, Goethe and Königsberg poet Simon Dach (1609–1659), and two were Reichardt’s own. In this collection two things are worth noticing in particular. First, the songs were all without any accompaniment, and second, according to Reichardt they were attempts at composing im Volkton.

In the *An junge Künstler* article, selections of which Reichardt had used also as a preface to the collection, Reichardt emphasized the central role of the melody. Indeed, he regarded a song’s ability to hold one’s own and be enjoyed and understood without accompaniment as a crucial quality, especially if it was to be sung in a community. According to Reichardt it was this quality in particular that was missing in most German songs, something that had also led to the lack of communal singing in the German lands. As he explained:

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206 Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Frohe Lieder für deutsche Männer* (Dessau: Buchhandlung der Gelehrten, 1781). Although no extant copy seems to exist, the collection was discussed and described by Reichardt both in the article as well as elsewhere. See *Berichte der allgemeinen Buchhandlung der Gelehrten von Jahre 1781*, ed. Carl Christoph Reiche (Dessau und Leipzig: Buchhandlung der Gelehrten, 1781), 81–84.
Song melodies in which everyone, who has ears and throat, should instantly join in, must be able to stand for themselves without any accompaniment, must in the simplest sequence of tones, in the most definite movement, in the most exact agreement of the changes and sections and so on, precisely fit the tune - as Herder aptly calls it, which one would otherwise merely call the melody of the song – fit the tune of the song so that it would be impossible to imagine the melody, once one knows it, without the words, and the words without the melody; so that the melody would be all for the words, and nothing by itself.

In any case, such a melody will – to put it for the artist in one word – have the true character of unison (Unisone), that is, no together-sounding harmony is required, or even allowed admission.209

In stressing the melody’s primary importance Reichardt was clearly echoing Rousseau’s standpoint, particularly considering his description of the intertwined relationship between word and melody. It is a poor melody that needs accompaniment in order to come across. This was more or less a variant of Rousseau’s view that harmony was only a way to cover up a lacking sense of melody.

Of course, there was also a practical side to Reichardt’s standpoint. If one wants to encourage communal singing, it is better to do so with music that does not require instruments and accompanying musicians. But focus lies on the melody’s quality in itself. Finding the right melody for a poem is a matter of understanding the poem’s musicality, and being aware of the intimate connection between word and music.

The idea that music and language were intimately connected played an important role for the German Lied aesthetics of the late eighteenth century. As Heinrich W. Schwab has shown, an essential idea, often recurring in aesthetic discussions was singability (Sangbarkeit).210 This was a concept expressing the desired and crucial quality of a Lied making it suitable for musical setting. This quality was not something optional and arbitrary; on the contrary, singability was regarded as a necessary aspect of a Lied. Indeed, a Lied was seen as incomplete without its musical side, and was conceived as something to be heard, not silently read, in order to be fully apprehended.

209 “Liedermelodien in die jeder, der nur Ohren und Kehle hat gleich einstimmen soll, müssen für sich ohn’ alle Begleitung bestehen können, müssen in der einfachsten Folge der Töne, in der bestimtesten Bewegung, in der genauesten Uebereinstimmung der Einschnitte und Abschnitte u. s. w. gerade die Weise – wie’s Herder treffender nennt, als man sonst nur die Melodie des Liedes benannte – die Weise des Liedes so treffen, daß man die Melodie, weiß man sie einmal, nicht ohne die Worte, die Worte nicht ohne die Melodie mehr denken kann; daß die Melodie für die Worte alles, nichts für sich allein seyn will. Eine solche Melodie wird allemal – um es dem Künstler mit einem Worte zu sagen – den wahren Charakter des Einklanges (Unisono) haben, also keiner zusammenklingenden Harmonie bedürfen oder auch nur Zulaß gestatten.” Reichardt, "An junge Künstler," 3.

210 Schwab, Sangbarkeit, Popularität Und Kunstlied.
It should be noted that this concept was not just an exhortation directed at the literary side of a song, but rather emphasized the interdependence of word and music. As music critic Friedrich Rochlitz expressed it in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in 1799: “Away with the poem that does not also sound; but even further away with the musical composition that does not say anything.”211 Both words and music of a song ought to be transcending their immediate characters and express the desire of a higher union. As Reichardt had explained, ideally words and music should be so closely intertwined in a song that the one could not be imagined without the other.212 With that union achieved, there would be no need for any accompaniment.

Reichardt’s understanding of the connectedness of words and music is further enlightened looking at his song composition method. In his second *Oden und Lieder* collection, published in 1780, Reichardt described this in the preface.

My melodies arise every time from repeated reading of the poem, without my searching for it, and all that I do then is that I repeat it for so long with small modifications, and do not write it down, until I feel and realize that the grammatical, logical, emotional, and musical accents are so well connected, that the melody speaks correctly and sings pleasantly, and not for one strophe, but for all. However, in order to feel and recognize this in a performance as well, the singer must first read the words altogether, and read them until he feels that he is reading them with true expression, and first then sing them. For the strength and weakness alone, which the singer must place differently in different passages for many strophes, it is necessary that he reads the whole song with deliberation before he sings it.213

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213 “Meine Melodien entstehen jederzeit aus wiederholtem Lesen des Gedichts von selbst, ohne daß ich darnach suche, und alles was ich weiter daran thue, ist dieses, daß ich sie so lang mit kleinen Abänderungen widerhole, und sie nicht eh’ aufschreibe, als bis ich fühle und erkenne, daß der grammatische, logische, pathetische und musikalische Akzent so gut mit einander verbunden sind, daß die Melodie richtig spricht und angenehm singt, und das nicht für eine Strophe, sondern für alle. Soll man das nun aber so gut im Vortrage fühlen und erkennen, so muß der Sänger vorher die Worte ganz lesen, und so lange lesen, bis er fühlt, daß er sie mit wahrern Ausdruck liest, und dann erst sie singen. Schon allein der Stärke und Schwäche wegen, die der Sänger, bey vielen Strophen, verschiedenen Stellen verschieden beylegen muß, ist es nöthig, daß er das ganze Lied, eh es singt, mit Ueberlegung gelesen habe.” Johann Friedrich Reichardt, "Auch ein guter Rath statt Vorrede,” in *Oden und Lieder von Göthe, Bürger, Sprickmann, Voß und Thomsen, mit Melodieen beym Klavier zu singen, Zweiter Theil* (Berlin: Joachim Pauli, 1780), *2–3.*
With the melody naturally evolving out of reading a poem the relationship between the two was clearly not regarded as something arbitrary. Indeed, the composer’s task could almost be described as one of discovery rather than creation. A successful composer is one with acute sensitivity to the meaning and tone of the words and with delicate ability to clothe the words in music, combining the musicality of the words with meaningful music, creating a unity transcending the individual parts. And, as suggested in An junge Künstler, the ideal melody should need no accompaniment for its fulfillment.

Turning to the other characteristic of the Frohe Lieder für deutsche Männer, the aimed at Volkton, one can assume that also this was chosen by Reichardt for the purpose to make joyous singing more common in the German communities. The concept itself was conceived of and coined by Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, and explained in the preface to the second edition of his song collection Lieder im Volkston.

In all these songs it is and remains my goal to sing more in the manner of the folk than in the manner of art, namely, so that even unpracticed lovers of song (as long as they don’t completely lack a voice) can easily sing along and keep them in their memory. To this end, I have selected only those texts from our best lied poets that seem to me made for this folk singing [Volkgesang], and sought in the melodies themselves for the greatest simplicity and comprehensibility, indeed sought in every way to attain the appearance of the familiar [Schein des Bekannten], because I know from experience how helpful, even necessary, this appearance is to the quick reception of the volkslied. In this appearance of the familiar lies the entire secret of the Volkston; but one must not confuse it with the familiar itself; the latter awakens boredom in all artists. The former, by contrast, has its place in the theory of the volkslied as a means of making it alive and quickly comprehensible to the ear and is sought by the composer, often diligently and often in vain. For only through a striking similarity of the musical and poetic tone of the lied; through a melody whose progression never exceeds the pace of the text, nor sinks below it, that molds itself to the declamation and meter of the words like clothing to the body, that flows on in very singable intervals in a range suitable to all voices and with the simplest modulation; and finally through the greatest perfection of the relationships of all its parts, which gives the melody that rounding that is so crucial to every artwork in the realm of the small – does the lied obtain the appearance under discussion here, the appearance of the unforced, the artless, the familiar, in a word, the Volkston, whereby it impresses itself in the ear so quickly, returning unceasingly.214

214 “In allen diesen Liedern ist und bleibt mein Bestreben, mehr volksmäßig als kunstmäßig zu singen, nemlich so, daß auch ungeübte Liebhaber des Gesanges, so bald es ihnen nicht ganz und gar an Stimme fehlt, solche leicht nachsingen und auswendig behalten können. Zu dem Ende habe ich nur solche Texte aus unsern besten Liederdichtern gewählt, die mir zu diesem Volksgesange gemacht zu seyn schienen, und mich in den Melodien selbst der höchsten Simplicität und Fälllichkeit beflossen, ja auf alle Weise den Schein des Bekannten darzubringen gesucht, weil ich aus Erfahrung weiß, wie sehr dieser Schein dem Volkslied zu seiner
As Schulz describes it here the Volkston was conceived above all for practical purposes, i.e. with the intent to get untrained singers to sing. Clearly this coincides with Reichardt’s aim for the Frohe Lieder für deutsche Männer. At the same time it must be recognized that this is only one aspect of the concept; neither its aesthetic signification, nor its cultural import should be forgotten. To avoid artfulness, aiming at simplicity, comprehensibility and the unsought have unmistakable aesthetic bearing. One should note that also Schulz seeks the intimate closeness of words and music. No doubt, also the aesthetic and above all the cultural aspects were essential for Reichardt’s interest in the Volkston idiom. Indeed, that Reichardt placed particular weight on these aspects can be gathered from his review of the first edition of Schulz’s collection. Emphasizing its importance Reichardt writes in the Musikalisches Kunstmagazin:

Truth, noble simplicity and popularity distinguish this collection of songs quite eminently above all other collections of every nation. One can have favorite songs in it [...] but certainly there is not a single piece in it where you do not recognize the feeling, thinking and well-founded artist. This collection can do much to make our nation return from the foreign, vain, lavish, clanging and fashionable singing to truth and touching simplicity, and thus once more enjoy the true pleasures of art.215

The accessibility of Schulz’s songs to untrained singers ought to be something highly desirable in Reichardt’s view, considering his concern for communal singing. In the review though, that is only implied, at the most. Instead focus lies on the positive effects Schulz’s collection will have on the national cultural community. Aesthetically it will guide the German nation back from foreign superficialities to a true, touching simplicity and the nobility of nature. Furthermore, culturally it will guide the nation back to its homeland (Heimat). Hence, when Reichardt states that the *Frohe Lieder für deutsche Männer* was an attempt at composing *im Volkton* it can be assumed that his scope was wider than just the endorsement of communal singing. The overall objective was the improvement of the German national expressive community. No doubt, communal singing was a crucial component of the community, far more so than just being a means to an end considering the importance of expressiveness. Still, Reichardt’s songs clearly had a larger purpose, and a more overarching aim. Above all, being composed *im Volkton* they were meant to provide a national cultural expression, musically as well as textually. Leaving the textual side for the time being, it will be useful and worthwhile to look at the musical characteristics. What did it mean, musically, to compose *im Volkton*; and how did this, and the resulting music, express, convey and instil a national character and identity?

Herr Bachus.

Herr Bachus ist ein braver Mann,
Mr. Bachus is a good man,
Das kann ich euch versichern,
I can assure you,
Mehr als Apoll, der Leiermann,
More so than Apollo, the lyre man,
Mit seinen Notenbüchern.
With his music books.

Des Armens ganzer Reichthum ist
All wealth of the poor man is
Die goldbemalte Leier,
His gold-painted lyre,
Von der er pralet, wie ihr wist,
Of which he brags, as you know,
Sie sey entsetzlich theuer.
That it is terribly expensive.

Doch borgt ihm auf sein Instrument
But, on his instrument
Kein Kluger einen Heller;
no wise man would lend him anything;
Denn frohere Musik ertönt
For happier music sounds
Aus Vater Evans Keller.
From father Evans cellar.

Und ob Apoll sich gleich voran
And though Apollo comes first
Mit seiner Dichtkunft blähet;
Puffed up with his poetry;
So ist doch Bachus auch ein Mann
So Bachus too is surely a man
Der seinen Vers versteht.
Who understands his verse.

Wie mag am waldigen Parnaß
How can his treble be favoured
Wol sein Diskant gefallen?
On forested Parnassus?
Hier sollte Bachus Kantorbaß
Here Bachus’ cantor bass
Fürwahr weit besser schallen.
Should sound far better.
Auf! Last uns ihn für den Apoll
Zum Dichtergott erbitten;
Denn er ist gar vortrefflich wohl
Bey grossen Herrn gelitten.

Apoll muß tief gebückt und krum
In Fürstensäle schleichen;
Allein mit Bachus gehn sie um,
Als wie mit ihres Gleichens.

Dann wollen wir auf den Parnaß,
Vor allen andern Dingen,
Das große Heidelberger Faß
Voll Nierensteiner bringen.

Statt Lorbeeräume wollen wir
Dort Rebenstöcke pflanzen,
Und rings um volle Tonnen, schier
Wie die Bachanten tanzen.

Man lebte so nach altem Brauch
Bisher dort allzunüchtern.
Drum blieben die neun Jungfern auch
Von je und je so schüchtern.

Ha! Zapften sie sich ihren Trank
Aus Bachus Nektartonnen,
Sie jagten Blödigkeit und Zwang
In Klöster zu den Nonnen.

Fürwahr! Sie liessen nicht mit Müh
Zur kleinsten Gunst sich zwingen,
Und ungenunen würden sie
Uns in die Arme springen.

Up! Let us ask for him as god of poetry
instead of Apollo;
Since he is very well tolerated
By great men.

Apollo must bend low and stoop
Sneak into prince's halls;
But with Bachus they spend time,
As with their equals.

Then up to the Parnassus,
We want, above all else,
To bring the great Heidelberg barrel
Full of Nierenstein wine.

Instead of laurels we want
To plant grapevines there,
And, around full barrels, well-nigh
Dance like the Bachants.

One lived up there after old customs
Far too soberly until now.
That's why the nine virgins remained
Ever so timid.

Ha! Would they tap their drink
From Bachus' nectar barrels,
They would chase weakness and restraint
Into cloisters to the nuns.

Surely! They would let themselves be compelled
without difficulty to do the smallest of favours,
And, without being asked, they would
Leap into our arms.

Looking at one of the songs from the first part of Schulz' Lieder im Volkston collection, Herr Bachus (Ex. 3), one can study what means Schulz used to create a folksong style.\textsuperscript{216} First, it is supported by the text; Bürger's words convey a notable rustic tone. Even though it is about Greek gods, it depicts a modern popular opinion about them, locating Herr Bachus with the ordinary people of the eighteenth century. Parnassus is described as a place to visit, almost like any other place, and there is talk about both Heidelberg barrels and Nierensteiner wine for local connection. However, just as important for the

\textsuperscript{216} Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, "Herr Bachus," in Lieder im Volkston, bey dem Claviere zu singen, Erster Theil, Zweyte verbesserte Auflage (Berlin: George Jacob Decker, 1785), 6.
The folk-song character is of course the musical setting. Here one finds a number of qualities that all help convey the feeling of a folk-song.

Immediately apparent is the song’s easy accessability. It is quite unde-manding and instantly graspable. It is short, a mere eight bars long; symmetrical, built up by four equal two bar phrases; and strophic, consisting of twelve metrically identical verses. Besides the initial and closing octave jumps it basic-ally contains no large melodic leaps. Contrapuntal elements are absent, and the simple accompaniment is scarcely necessary for the performance of the song. Recalling Reichardt’s words in the An junge Künstler article, the possi-bility to function without accompaniment is instrumental for the song that is supposed to sound as if it could be sung by everyone, (or was even created with the ambition that it should be sung by everyone). Although all Schulz’ Lieder im Volkston songs have accompaniment, few need it for their perfor-mance. Schulz’ focus lies above all on creating melodies that can easily stand on their own.

The qualities mentioned so far are all fairly general; instrumental in creat-ing that directness and simplicity essential for a folk-song, but not necessarily conveying a folk-song feeling of their own accord. In order to study the character-istics that do create that folk-song feeling one has to look closer at the melody, and at the harmonic structure of the song. Beginning with the latter, it is built solely on the relationship between the tonic D and dominant A. The song begins with a very firm statement of D for one bar, then moves quickly to A for two bars, and then straight back again to D, closing the first half of the song. The second half begins directly in A for two bars, then cadences in the next bar moving from the subdominant G to A, and then closing on D in the last bar. This very basic harmonic structure is closely intertwined with the melodic movement of the song. Melodically the whole song can be said to emanate from the initial octave jump that sets the song off. The repeated crotchet D’s of the first bar contributes to the strong tonic statement, which makes the following stepwise downward movement back to the initial D feel both natural and logic. Then the second half of the song is melodically a mir-roring of the first half, now moving stepwise back up to D again, followed by an octave jump downwards closing the song. This whole movement, harmonic and melodic, is supported rhythmically by a steady driving crotchet beat; a beat that it would not be foreign to describe as rustic. This beat more or less permeats the whole melody, and is clearly important for the overall folk-song feeling.

No doubt also these specific qualities are quite simple and easily graspable. Yet they clearly convey something distinctive and characteristic, and not the least something natural. This feeling of naturalness is supported, no doubt, by the closed conflation of the song’s different aspects. Together with rustic drive of the song, not just rhythmically but also harmonically and melodically, this
perceived naturalness is essential for making the song appear as a folksong. It is precisely this naturalness that makes the folksong the obvious opposite to the artificial court culture with its foreign superficialities. At the same time, it should be noted that there is a mannered restraint to the overall character of this song, as well as most of Schulz’ songs. It is a song suitable for the cultured salon and home, more than a rural peasant dance.

According to Schulz the key to the Volkston lies in the creation of a Schein des Bekannten. Without drifting into straightforward copying, something that would only lead to a feeling of tedium, the composer should seek to emulate the familiarity of a folksong. As already touched upon, although the appearance of familiarity was held up by Schulz as a means to promote singing amongst untrained music lovers, the promotion of the folksong was no doubt done for a number of other reasons, aesthetic as well as cultural. Clearly, if familiarity was the decisive issue one could imagine a number of other types of music that would work just as well. Indeed, given Reichardt’s statement that the German nation was lacking true folksongs at the time, one could wonder if that really was the most suitable choice when familiarity was concerned. Connected with this is the question to whom Schulz was addressing his collections, and his preface. This question will be discussed shortly. First, though, a look at how Schulz himself was creating that sought-after appearance of familiarity in his songs.

The issue was analysed by Heinrich W. Schwab in his already mentioned study of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century German song and song aesthetics. What he showed there was how Schulz built his melodies on a few general simple musical models. For instance, one finds in Schwab’s list of examples also the opening phrase of Herr Bachus, with its striking initial octave jump. With adjustments and variations Schulz were able to create songs all giving off that appearance of familiarity, without being plain copies. At the same time the musical models were general enough for the resulting songs not being imitations of specific songs.

To compose in "Volkston" ultimately means to apply the principle of variation to a narrowly limited selection of topics. The goal is intuitive melodies. Themes are chosen from old well-known models or new ones gained from those, which permit the simplest harmonic functions and the patterns of symmetrical and equally-periodic dance. Everything new, previously unheard of and therefore surprising is frowned upon.

217 Schulz, Lieder im Volkston, 2.
219 "Im ‘Volkston’ zu komponieren heißt letztlich das Prinzip der Variation auf eine engbe- grenzte Themenauswahl anzuwenden. Das ziel sind eingängige Melodien. An Themen wählt man allbekannte Modelle oder gewinnt neue aus dem, was einfachste harmonische Funktionen und Muster gleichaktigen und gleichperiodischen Tanzes zulassen. Alles Neue, bislang
As Schwab points out, the same kind of practice was used also by the poets of the time, such as Bürger and Goethe, who were writing new folksongs based on old models and formulas. In a sense, then, one could actually claim that the Volkston was particularly apt considering the desired closeness between words and music of a song.

In the concept of the Volkston, especially as described by Schulz and Reichardt, lies a closer association with the people/lower classes of the population. The desire to promote communal singing, and to cater to uneducated singers signals an interest in a wider public for the songs. This is clearly in line with the enlightenment ambitions of Reichardt and Schulz. The idea that music could improve the mental disposition and morals of the listener/musician was fairly common among the eighteenth-century German music theorists, advocated for instance by Christian Gottfried Krause (1719–1770) and Christoph Nichelmann (1717–1762). With Reichardt and Schulz though the issue was regarded from a national standpoint. An explicit manifestation of this scope was Schulz’s pamphlet Gedanken über den Einfluß der Musik auf die Bildung eines Volks, published in 1790. Although the pamphlet’s main agenda was the development of a basic music education for the teacher seminars in the Danish states (where Schulz was court Kapellmeister), it was also suggesting that the nation and people would benefit from the kind of songs one finds in Schulz’s Lieder im Volkston collections. This will be further studied in the next chapter.

One should realise that the song collections of Reichardt and Schulz were not really intended for the common people but for the emerging middle classes. Their interest in the lower classes must be understood as idealistic and rhetorical. For instance, Schulz’s preface, with its technical language and


aesthetic considerations, was clearly addressed at skilful connoisseurs and not the uneducated people, as David Gramit has pointed out.223 Above all one should remember that the song collections were directed at a paying public, i.e. a public with at least some money to spend, and with an interest in spending them on music. Since it can be assumed that the song collection buying public were not identical to the uneducated singers Schulz was discussing, the Volkston ideal should be viewed first and foremost as an aesthetic and cultural standpoint. Actually, that goes also for the composers’ declared concern for the lower classes. Above all it should be noted that this concern has political implications. The inclusion of the uneducated lower classes clearly conveys a conception of a national music, culture and identity shared by the whole people. That conception is also conveyed in the idea of the Volkston as a style gathered from the lower classes and then spread/transferred to the middle and higher classes. Actually, when the middle classes sing songs im Volkston they sing as the people. Doing this they also become representatives of the people and the nation. And in their singing of these songs they are expressing a nationalistic conception of society. Hence, with their writings and their Volkston compositions Reichardt and Schulz were, albeit indirectly and to a certain extent rhetorically, advocating a nationalistic system of society as defined by Anderson and Gellner, i.e. an imagined limited and sovereign community founded in a common culture.

**Authenticity**

Associated with the concept of folksongs is the question of authenticity. This was a crucial criterion ever since folksongs began to be collected and published as such in the beginning of the eighteenth century. One famous example of the kind of heated debates the question could arouse was the attacks against James Macpherson’s Ossian publications of the 1760s.224 Similar accusations of forgery, although on a smaller scale, was directed also against a collection such as Achim von Arnim’s and Clemens Brentano’s Des Knaben Wunderhorn with its many ‘restored’ old folksongs, (i.e. newly composed poems based on some older, collected, material).225

In one sense the Volkston concept could be seen as being genuinely inauthentic, focused as it is on the creation of ‘fake’ folksongs. But, as I would like to argue, that would be to miss the point. Reichardt’s and Schulz’ aim was

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223 Gramit, Cultivating Music, 67–68.
224 For a fruitful discussion of these issues see Matthew Gelbart, The Invention of ‘Folk Music’ and ‘Art Music’: Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Herder’s contribution to the German Ossian debate is discussed in Herder and Bohlman, Song Loves the Masses, 135–85.
not to recreate an old culture, but to encourage a new. In their view a genuine authentic culture was not an old one restored, expressed in the singing of old songs, but a present one intimately connected to genuine authentic practices and life. What they desired were genuine contemporary folksongs rather than a revitalisation of old ones. Indeed, the most important quality of folksongs was their natural connectedness to a living culture. Therein laid the authenticity Reichardt and Schulz sought, not in any ideal origin. In this Reichardt and Schulz recognize Hobsbawm’s understanding that nations are inventions, not discoveries. Although a nation might be based on a pre-existing culture, that is not crucial in any way. More important is the experience of the culture. It needs to be experienced as true and genuine, regardless of any real historical connection. A nation, and its culture are always constructions.

**Musical practice**

Returning to Reichardt’s diagnosis of the German expressive community in the *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* there is another flaw he discussed that is worth looking at. Conjuring up a time still rich with singing amongst the German people Reichardt describes how then everyone would happily and unself-consciously experience and rejoice in their feelings, (and implicitly would do this in singing). Nowadays, on the other hand, that natural emotional expressivity was completely lost. As Reichardt explained: “Now one stands and waits for the feeling that is expected to come to him from most of our songs!”226 What Reichardt describes here is nothing less than an alteration of the function of singing. Ultimately, he is describing a community that has lost its natural expressivity and instead has become culturally passive.

Again, Reichardt identified a lack of suitable songs as a reason for this cultural deficiency, although in a sense this lack could in itself be interpreted as a symptom of more comprehensive corruption of the musical life at the time. As Reichardt described it, songs were now composed only to cater for a commercial market, not for an expressive life.

But why does not even the most attentive observer find any new true folk songs among all European peoples? Of course, state constitution does a great deal, but that suppressed also in other times. I think the most important thing is that the beautiful natural urge has become art, and art has become a craft! From the prince’s chief *kapellmeister* to the beer fiddler who plays operettas in the peasant’s inn, almost all are now imitating manual workers available for the viable market price. For the complete misfortune, they are so many that the competition can never be between the buyers, always between the sellers. Therefore,

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226 “Nun stell sich einer hin und wart’ aufs Gefühl, das ihm durch die meisten unsrer Gesänge werden soll!” Reichardt, ”An junge Künstler,” 3.
the highest aim of the so-called artist is to satisfy the greatest number of his payer’s follies all at once. And this has such a fatal influence on the whole people, that even when authorities and tenants for once allow a happy feeling to rise in the human beings, they have no longer straight, unclouded sense enough to express anything out of themselves and of their own nature, always the ever-ready minstrel sings out of them. Unlike old hunter's songs being quite in the character of night-loving eavesdropping and tracking, fisherman's songs breathing the secret water life, quiet serenity emerging from shepherd's songs, and all living expressions sounding of true joy and true sorrow.227

This depressing situation, too, Reichardt hoped to at least begin to remedy with the *Frohe Lieder für deutsche Männer* collection.228 This point towards another crucial characteristic of the ideal song according to Reichardt, namely that it be connected to and imbedded in people’s daily life. Music’s primary function is to be a natural part of common everyday life, as expressed by the concept *Hausmusik*. The songs should function as an expressive output of the daily work and events, expressing its meanings, values and emotions.

This aspect of Reichardt’s music also conveys the idea of a nationalistic society, since it clearly manifests the view that a common expressive culture has a crucial place in people’s lives.

### Reichardt’s song collections

Unfortunately, there does not seem to be any extant copy of the *Frohe Lieder für deutsche Männer*. Hence the most obvious source to study how Reichardt implemented the views discussed here is not available. However, since his

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interest and concern for the German community was no passing phase but rather permeated his entire life, it is reasonable to assume that one will find similar considerations and characteristics in a lot of his music. This would be particularly probable in his other song collections, given that this was a genre directed at the emerging middle classes in particular.

The rest of this chapter will look at Reichardt’s work as song composer, focussing on his continued utilization of folksong and Volkston ideals. A substantial selection of his many song collections will be studied, tracing Reichardt’s development from his earliest publications to the ones at the end of his life. Particular attention will be given his four Oden und Lieder collections published in the years around 1780, which show Reichardt very prolificly exploring the song genre. This will be followed by a look at his Cäcilia collection of the early 1790s, dedicated to religious songs of different varieties. Then, the late 1790s compilation collections Lieder gesellige Freude will be studied. Published by Reichardt as a sort of summary of the German song it conveys the picture of a flourishing song culture with Reichardt himself as the central composer. Finally, in the collection Le Troubadour italien, français et allemande, published in 1805–06, it is examined how a German national style here seems to exist on par with the Italian and the French styles. This thanks to the aesthetic and compositorial developments achieved by Reichardt and his fellow composers in the previous thirty years.

This selection is chosen to show Reichardt’s continuous work shaping a German national musical style. It is not meant to portray Reichardt’s song ouvre as a whole. Hence his two crowning achievements in the genre, the large collections with his Goethe and Schiller settings published in Reichardt’s final years will not be studied.229 Also, his vast output of songs for children will not be covered here. They will be the attention of next chapter.

In the songs of his early years, published above all in the two collections Vermischte Musicalien, 1773, and Gesänge fürs schöne Geschlecht, 1775, Reichardt was still composing in an older galant style, suitable for polite society.230 The poems bear titles such as An die Grille (To the cricket) and Über die Linde vor Phillis Fenster (On the linden before Philli’s window) and are filled with precious depictions of a gracious nature. As Reichardt states in the preface to the Vermischte Musikalien, they were designed to please and delight their intended recipients, perhaps a friend or a girl. Also, they were to be considered products of an uneducated composer, honing his skills through

229 These are the collections that have received the most interest in previous research. Both because of the continued interest in the poets, but also because these are arguably Reichardt’s most accomplished, aesthetically masterful compositions.

230 Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Vermischte Musicalien (Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1773); Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Gesänge fürs schöne Geschlecht (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1775).
imitation of the models of the time.\textsuperscript{231} Although nearly all of the poems are German, many by Reichardt’s Königsberg friends (and two by Reichardt himself), they are not specifically German in character. The same is true also of the musical style. Indeed, the galant style was markedly cosmopolitan.\textsuperscript{232}

Associated with the refined tastes and manners of a \textit{Galant homme}, the galant style in music was coined by Johann Mattheson (1681–1764) who spoke about it in \textit{Das forschende Orchestre} of 1721.\textsuperscript{233} Mattheson used it to identify music by the latest Italian opera composers, such as Giovanni Bononcini (1670–1747), Antonio Caldara (1670–1736), Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725) and Antonio Vivaldi (1678–1741) together with a few German ones composing in a similar style such as Georg Friedrich Händel (1685–1759) and Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767). According to Mattheson these composers were all creating music in a modern, light and tasteful fashion.

The style originated above all from Naples where it flowered in the 1720s, and can be described as a simplified Italian baroque style. It quickly spread throughout Europe and became the dominating style of the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{234} As maintained by David A. Sheldon, the style was best defined at the time by Johann Adolph Scheibe (1708–1776), who described that it “[…] must be particularly witty, pleasant, and flowing. Beauty and naturalness are its main attributes; it must avoid the odd, dissolute, and wild, as well as the crude, silly, and commonplace. The harmony must be subservient to the melody and function to make it more clear and perceptible. The melody, served in an unaffected way by all sorts of well-devised ornaments, is clear, lively, flowing, free, natural, but nevertheless clever and always new.”\textsuperscript{235} Stemming from French and Italian music, particularly opera seria, it was a truly international style, and an expression of cosmopolitan ideals.\textsuperscript{236}

The dominant musical style of the polite culture cultivated in the houses of the Königsberg nobility where Reichardt performed in his youth\textsuperscript{237}, it is not

\textsuperscript{231} Reichardt, \textit{Vermischte Musicalien}.
\textsuperscript{233} Johann Mattheson, \textit{Das forschende Orchestre} (Hamburg: Benjamin Schillers Wittwe & Johann Christoph Külner, 1721), 276, 352.
\textsuperscript{234} Heartz, \textit{Music in European Capitals}, 18–23.
\textsuperscript{235} Sheldon, “The Concept Galant in the 18th Century,” 96. Scheibe’s original description can be found in Johann Adolph Scheibe, \textit{Der kritische Musicus} 1, no. 13 (20 August 1737): 101–102.
\textsuperscript{236} Sheldon, “The Concept Galant in the 18th Century,” 102.
surprising that this was the style of many of his early compositions. One can look for instance at the song An die Grille from the Gesänge fürs schöne Geschlecht collection, which exemplify many of the traits Scheibe identifies: a pleasant, clear and flowing melody, neither burdened by any excessive use of ornamentation nor by any complex harmonic scheme (Ex. 4).238 The scarce accompaniment is simply supportive of the melody, which in itself is void of particularly emphatic or conspicuous characteristics. The unassuming character of the music is mirrored also in the rococo language of the words, with their unspecific imagery of general emotions. As one can see, the accompaniment contains a number of smaller notes. Those might be omitted “if the pretty hand will not stretch,” as Reichardt explains in his preface to the collection.239 Also this polite attitude towards the collection’s intended recipients is a clear manifestation of the galant style characterizing the whole collection.

An die Grille.


239 "... wenn die kleine schöne Hand nicht hinreichen will ..." Johann Friedrich Reichardt, "Nachricht," in Gesänge fürs schöne Geschlecht (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birmstiel, 1775), VIII.
Singe, liebe Grille, singe,
stüß und lieblich ist dein Lied!
Wenn du singest, liebe Grille,
schweigt der Sturm im Herzen stille,
und das Heer der Sorgen flieht.

Singe, dear cricket, sing,
sweet and lovely is your song!
When you sing, dear cricket,
the storm is silent in the heart,
and the army of worries flees.

Wonnigliche Ruh’ umwallet
mich in diesem Buchenhain;
denn du lehrest mich die Gabe,
frohes Muth’s bey dürst’ger Habe,
und mein eignes Glück zu seyn.

Wondrous peace surrounds
me in this beech grove;
because you teach me the gift,
good courage in thirst,
and to be my own happiness.

Komm in meine stille Hütte;
sieh der Winter, eilt herbeey!
Dort sind Garben dir bereitet,
und dein ländlich Lied begleitet
meine leichte Feldschalmey.

Come into my quiet hut;
Behold the winter, hurry up!
There sheaves are prepared for you
and your rural song accompany
my gentle country shawm.

At this point it is necessary to make a short comparison between the galant style and the Volkston. At first glance it seems that they actually share some essential musical ideals. Both put melody first, giving harmony a subservient role, and both emphasize a natural expression, avoiding all affected ornamentation. Indeed, these are crucial qualities for both styles. However, one should be aware that they are at the same time quite general qualities. Looking closer at the more specific characteristics one will find that there are also marked differences.

Returning to Scheibe’s description of the galant style one finds that he emphasizes an aim for wit and cleverness. He also points out the fundamental desire to please the listeners. And although affected and exaggerated ornamentation should be avoided, suitable and tasteful ornamentation on the other hand is definitely an essential compositorial means helping to attain the desired cultured refinement and artificiality. Finally, and not to be forgotten, a galant piece of music should always be fashionable and new (albeit not necessarily in any musically innovative sense; it is purely a desire to always be à la mode).

No doubt this last point clearly goes against the Volkston, where instead recognizability, Schulz’ Schein des Bekannten, is of crucial importance. A Volkston song might very well be new, but it should appear to be already known. For the Volkston comprehensibility is the desired quality above all, much more than witty and clever artfulness. And although pleasant and cultured refinement might not be foreign to many Volkston songs, this is nothing fundamental and must not stand in the way of a natural and simple expression. Ornamentation is clearly foreign to the style, no matter how tasteful it might be.
Here one senses a telling discrepancy between the two styles. Although both emphasize naturalness, their interpretations of that concept clearly differ. For the galant style naturalness seems to mean the avoidance of exaggerated affection and counterpoint. For the *Volkston*, on the other hand, naturalness stands in opposition above all to the artful/artificial. Since the artful is one of the fundamental and most desired qualities of the galant style, one realises that the *Volkston* and the galant style are actually oppositional styles, regardless of their partly shared ideals. This opposition is obvious also when the question of nationalism is considered. Again, the galant style epitomizes that cosmopolitan court culture that provoked the interest in national culture the *Volkston* is perhaps the most telling expression of.

Looking again at *An die Grille*, comparing it now with Schulz’ *Herr Bachus*, one can study this opposition. As already noted neither song is particularly long or structurally complex, none offers any contrapuntal elements, and both songs’ accompaniment is quite rudimentary. However, the accompaniment actually plays a more important role for *An die Grille* than it does for *Herr Bachus*. This particularly since the harmonic structure of the former is more developed and complex. Whereas *Herr Bachus* basically does not go beyond tonic and dominant, *An die Grille* adds also the dominant to the dominant (in this case A). This makes the harmonic scheme more fleeting, and the accompaniment plays a central part to support the harmonic progression, not least in bar 16, where the accompaniment’s c aids in the reinterpretation of D major from temporary tonic to dominant. No doubt, the harmonics of *An die Grille* are more artful and refined than what one finds in *Herr Bachus*.

A higher artfulness is clearly detectable also in the melody of *An die Grille*. Whereas *Herr Bachus* is built up by two quite complete phrases with very strong closure, the phrases of *An die Grille* are considerably more delicate and have weaker endings since none but the last end on the keynote. This is clearly one expression of this song’s aim towards clever artfulness and refinement, something its ornamentation, albeit only one trill, is also a sign of. For a more direct comparison of the songs’ melodic artfulness one can look at bars 9–15 of *An die Grille* which contain a similar upward movement as bars 5–8 of *Herr Bachus*. Here the former offers a considerably more developed, and clever attempt at the octave leap with three jumps, each slightly bigger, which ultimately fails, ending on g instead of a, followed by a stepwise fall back down. The latter on the other hand has no problems whatsoever with its industrious and triumphant climb that ends the song. Here one can clearly see the pleasant artfulness of *An die Grille*’s galant style contrasted to the ingenuous straightforwardness of *Herr Bachus*’s *Volkston*. Looking at the text, a similar difference can be identified. Whereas *Herr Bachus*’s language is rustic and direct, *An die Grille* is much more gentle and polite.
Of all the songs in Reichardt’s two early collections there is one that stands out, and that should be noticed particularly. In the *Vermischte Musikalien* one finds a setting of Klopstocks *Vaterlandslied (Das deutsche Mägdchen)*, which I believe should be understood as a patriotic statement by Reichardt, signalling an early interest in national culture (Ex. 5).\(^2\) However, musically this setting does not offer anything different from the other songs of Reichardt’s early collections. Just like those, also this setting is firmly steeped in the galant style, showing no musical equivalents to the patriotic sentiment of the words.

Das deutsche Mägdchen.

\(^2\) Johann Friedrich Reichardt, "Das deutsche Mägdchen," in *Vermischte Musicalien* (Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1773), 9.
Example 5. Reichardt/Klopstock, "Das deutsche Mägdchen," *Vermischte Musikalien*.

Ich bin ein deutsches Mägdchen!
Mein Aug ist blau und sanft mein Blick;
Ich hab ein Herz,
Das edel ist und stolz und gut.

Ich bin ein deutsches Mägdchen!
Zorn blickt mein blaues Aug auf den,
Es haßt mein Herz
Den, der sein Vaterland verkennt.

Ich bin ein deutsches Mägdchen!
Mein hohes Auge blickt auch Spott,
Blickt Spott auf den,
Der Säumens macht bey dieser Wahl.

Ich bin ein deutsches Mägdchen!
Erkörere mir kein ander Land
Zum Vaterland,
Wär mir auch frey die große Wahl.

Du bist kein deutscher Jüngling!
Bist dieses lauen Säumens werth,
Nicht werth, wenn du's nicht liebst, wie ich.

Du bist kein deutscher Jüngling!
Mein ganzes Herz verachtet dich,
Des Vaterland
Verkennt, dich Fremdling und dich Thor.
Ich bin ein deutsches Mägdchen!
Mein gutes, edles, stolzes Herz
Schlägt laut empor
Beim süßen Namen Vaterland.

So schlägt mirs einst beim Namen
Des Jünglings nur, der stolz, wie ich,
Aufs Vaterland,
Gut, edel ist, ein Deutscher ist.

Ich bin ein deutsches Mägdchen!
Mein gutes, edles, stolzes Herz
Schlägt laut empor
Beim süßen Namen Vaterland.

So schlägt mirs einst beim Namen
Des Jünglings nur, der stolz, wie ich,
Aufs Vaterland,
Gut, edel ist, ein Deutscher ist.

Although its well-defined and complete phrases perhaps give this song a more folksonglike feel than *An die Grille*, at the same time its bipartite structure and additional closing strophe clearly make it much too complex and artful to fit any *Volkston* characterization. Its ornamentation too, albeit scarce, bear witness of its galant ideals. The same is true of its harmonics, which is considerably more developed than anything one would find in a *Volkston* song. As in *An die Grille* Reichardt modulates also here in the first phrase from tonic C to dominant G with a recurrent use of the dominant’s dominant D, whereas in the second phrase he modulates to the subdominant F reinterpreting the tonic C as dominant to the subdominant. These artful, yet at the same time quite unassuming harmonic practices clearly places this song well within the confines of the galant style. In addition, the song’s (and its melody’s) main character is above all pleasantness, regardless of the lyric’s talk of hatred (*haßen*), mockery (*Spott*) and contempt (*verachten*) for him who does not appreciate his fatherland. Reichardt’s decision to set this poem, and include it in the collection, no doubt was an act of determination. At the time though, he was still lacking the musical means to match the patriotic sentiment and ideas.

When Reichardt next published a song collection, in 1779, his ambitions were different, and considerably higher. With the title *Oden und Lieder von Klopstock, Stolberg, Claudius und Höltÿ*241, focus has shifted from the recipient *schöne Geschlecht* (fair sex) of the previous collection to the poets and the songs.242 The choice of poets is significant; all were associated with the nationalistic literary *Sturm und Drang* movement. Klopstock was the symbolic father figure, Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stolberg (1750–1819) and Ludwig


242 Reichardt’s songwriting in the period of the three first *Oden und Lieder* collections have been studied in detail in Stoljar, *Poetry and Song in Late Eighteenth Century Germany*, 173–209. Offering insightful analyses of Reichardt’s songs, as well as the poignant observation that Reichardt’s approach to musical goals was philosophical rather than sociological, “[…] in which patriotic feeling is linked with the expression of sentiment in an instinctive way […]]”, 192, she fails to acknowledge the philosophical meaning of this, and its wider implications for society and nation.

92
Hölty (1748–1776) had both been members of the Göttinger Hainbund, and Claudius had been editor of the influential journal Der Wandsbecker Bothe. Not insignificant, both Claudius and Hölty wrote in a particularly direct and accessible idiom, often depicting simple country life. The emotions expressed in most poems are also generally natural and straightforward.

Reichardt’s decision to put focus on these poets clearly signals an interest in their ideas and agendas and should, according to my meaning, be understood as an attempt to be associated with these ideas. Indeed, at the time it was not usual to name any poets in the title to a song collection. Reichardt followed this up with Oden und Lieder von Göthe, Bürger, Sprickmann, Voß und Thomsen in 1780, and then Oden und Lieder von Herder, Göthe und andern yet another year later. These were all poets directly or indirectly connected (more or less) to the Sturm und Drang movement.

With the first Oden und Lieder collection Reichardt had moved away from the galant style of his previous collections and instead managed to create a more natural, simple and direct musical form and expression. As will become apparent after a closer look at one of the songs from this collection, Reichardt’s style here has clearly more in common with the Volkston than with the galant style. However, it is important to be aware of the timeline here. Schulz coined the term only in 1782 when his first Lieder im Volkston collection was published, and his style-defining preface did not appear until 1785 with the second edition of that collection. At the same time, once coined it was used also retrospectively, albeit to quite a limited extent. As discussed, Reichardt claimed in the Musikalisches Kunstmagazin that his 1781 Frohe Lieder collection was an attempt at composing im Volkston. And the second part of Schulz’ Lieder im Volkston published in 1785 was in reality an extended edition of his 1779 collection Gesänge am Clavier. The concept and its definition did not appear out of nowhere, but was rather a consolidation and acknowledgment of an emerging style. At the same time, it should be noted that when Reichardt reviewed Schulz’ Gesänge am Clavier for the Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek he did not put emphasis on any folksong qualities. Instead

243 The few exceptions were above all collections dedicated to one particular poet, such as Carl Philipp Emmanuel Bach, Gellerts geistliche Oden (Berlin: George Ludewig Winter, 1758), and Christian Gottlob Neefe, Oden von Klopstock (Flensburg; Leipzig: Korten, 1776). See Friedlaender, Das Deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert, 1–26.
245 Reichardt, Musikalisches Kunstmagazin, 209.
246 Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, Gesänge am Clavier (Berlin: Decker, 1779).
Schulz’ songs were lauded for their successful combination of theoretical correctness with melodic beauty and vivid expression.247 Therefore, when looking at Reichardt’s four Oden und Lieder collections, which were all published before Schulz’ Lieder im Volkston, it might appear somewhat questionable to use Volkston as a stylistic concept for the analysis. However, I believe that it will still serve as a useful ideal that will help with identifying significant aspects in the studied songs. The Volkston could be regarded as a refined conception relating to a wider spectrum of folksong traits appearing in German songs in the late 1770s.

Indeed, at the time the interest in folksong was abundant enough in the German lands that Carl Friedrich Cramer (1752–1807) likened it to an epidemic in his review of Schulz’ first Lieder im Volkston collection. Interestingly Cramer here held that the songs in this collection were not markedly folksonglike, and suggested that Schulz had named them im Volkston only to give off a promise of accessibility. The folksong traits Cramer nevertheless identified in Schulz’ songs were simply to be seen as characteristics of good songs.)248 That Reichardt was afflicted by, and contributed to this epidemic, too, becomes obvious reading the Musikalisches Kunstmagazin. And there is ample evidence his interest in the field was initiated earlier even than his encounter with Herder’s Von deutsche Art und Kunst in 1774. No doubt though, his interest intensified after that.249

Worth noticing, Reichardt’s interest clearly went beyond collecting songs (something he did to a large extent throughout his life). In 1776 and 1778 he contributed melodies to both volumes of Friedrich Nicolai’s parodic folksong collection Eyn feyner kleyner Almanach.250 These melodies are quite

250 Friedrich Nicolai, ed., Eyn feyner kleyner Almanach vol schönerr echters lüblicherr Volckslieder, lustigerr Reyen vand kleglicherr Mordgeschichte, gesungen von Gabriel Wunderlich weyl. Benkelsenrnu zu Dessaw, herausgegeben von Daniel Seaberlich, Schustern zu Rizmück ann der Elbe (Berlin; Stettin: Friedrich Nicolai, 1777, 1778). Of the 64 songs in the
convincing emulations of traditional folksongs and show a familiarity with the
idiom, as one can see for instance in *Eyn Jeger-Lied* which appeared in the
first volume (Ex. 6).\textsuperscript{251}

\textbf{Eyn Jeger-Lied.}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{EynJegerLied.png}
\caption{Example 6. Reichardt/Anon., "Eyn Jeger-Lied," *Eyn feyner kleyner Almanach...*, I.}
\end{figure}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
Es ryt eyn Je-ger & Wol ynn der Mor-gen-stun-de, Wol-
gemut wol & ynn gen ynn dem gru-nen Wald mit
yun der Mor-gen & sey-nem Roß und
stan - de. Wolt & Vnndt aß er kam uff gruner Hayd,
da fand seyn Her-ze Lust & Then the hunter’s horse begun
vndt vndt gruner Hayd, & Zu schnarchen unndt zu schnawben.
Im Mayen, am Rey-en, sich frewen, & Das Jagen kann noch warden gut.
\hline
A happy hunter rode out & The cuckoo calls, the capercaillie courts,
Well in the morning hour; & And the turtle doves as well,
Wished to hunt in the green forest, & Then the hunter’s horse begun
With his horse and hounds, & To snore and snort.
His heart found delight and joy, & The hunter thought in his good mood
In May, in row, rejoice, & The hunting could yet turn out good.
All boys and maidens. & All boys and maidens.
\end{tabular}

\footnotesize{two volumes Reichardt contributed melodies to 16. See Heinrich Lohre, “Zur Entstehung von
\textsuperscript{251} Johann Friedrich Reichardt, “Eyn Jeger-Lied,” in *Eyn feyner kleyner Almanach* vol schöner
echter lüblicher Volkslieder, lustiger Reyen vnd kleglicherr Mordgeschichte, gesungen von
Gabriel Wunderlich weyl. Benkelsengern zu Dessaw, herausgegeben von Daniel Souberlich,
Schusterin zu Rizmück ann der Elbe*, ed. Friedrich Nicolai (Berlin; Stettin: Friedrich Nicolai,
1777), 48–51.}
With its distinct phrases, stepwise melodic build-up, clear A-A-B-Refrain structure, strophic form, and basic harmonic structure this song clearly shows a lot of similarities with Schulz Herr Bachus. This should not be particularly surprising. After all, both songs were composed with a similar ambition to imitate a traditional folksong idiom. Although Reichardt’s Eyn Jeger-Lied might have been composed with the intention to be perceived as an actual folksong (indicated also by the medieval imagery and the spelling), thereby contrasting Schulz’ idea of simply using folksong traits in order to give his very contemporary songs a desired feeling of recognition, both composers were adopting the same style, using the same stylistic traits. Which is also why the characteristics identified in the analysis of Herr Bachus are applicable on a much wider scale than just songs composed in the 1780s. With a wider perspective in mind, perhaps it would not be completely wrong to consider Eyn feyner kleyner Almanach as a kind of model, musically, for Reichardt’s Frohe Lieder collection. Its short unaccompanied strophic songs with their striking and easily recognizable melodies no doubt demonstrated precisely those qualities Reichardt was calling for in his preface to that collection.
Further indication of Reichardt’s changing aesthetic preferences and ideals in the second half of the 1770s can be seen in the many reviews he wrote as chief music critic for Friedrich Nicolai’s *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* between 1778 and 1781.252 Given the issues discussed earlier in this chapter, three are of particular relevance. First, one can find a plain disregard for the galant style and culture, as can be exemplified by the following characterization of some trio sonatas by Friedrich Hellmuth: “Dull, everyday thoughts, vulgar, often also impure harmony, irregular rhythms, in a word - vain gallant character.”253 Clearly the galant style has here lost any worth it might still have upheld to Reichardt earlier in the decade. Even more scathing is a joint review of a number of instrumental music collections by Johann Franz Xaver Sterkel (1750–1817), André Ernest Modeste Grétry (1741–1813) and a number of other composers, where Reichardt simply refrained from any discussion of the music and instead gave a mocking caricature of a group of *galant hommes*, emphasizing their elegance, wit, nonchalance, and artificial hairdos.254

A second issue pertained to the exchange of Italian words for German, something Reichardt criticized on several occasions.

The submission of German words to Italian music is, in our opinion, highly unrewarding work. Anyone who knows the nature of the two languages and the Italian music, especially the Italian comic operas, can easily see how little the newer Italian music suits the German language [...].255

This could be viewed as a purely technical matter, emphasizing the difficulty to fit German words to music composed for a foreign language. However, given the debates at the time on the connection between national culture and language, Reichardt’s objections were at least implicating the more profound

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252 See Schütz, *Vor Dem Richterstuhl Der Kritik*. Besides a thorough and enlightening study of the music critique in Nicolai’s important journal Schütz also provides a list of all its music reviews identifying in most cases their authors which were all anonymous at the time.


issue of providing music in line with the national language and national culture.

Third, one can find Reichardt expressing already here an inception of the views on communal singing he would develop further in the preface to the Frohe Lieder collection and in the Musikalisches Kunstmagazin. In a review of two song collections by Wolfenbüttel organist Johann Friedrich Hobein, Reichardt strongly objected to the songs’ instrumental preludes and postludes, and stated: "A social song must be composed to be sung without clavier, otherwise it will miss its final end.”

Although perhaps only initiated, the idea of songs as a means to a communal end is no doubt not far away. Songs are not seen as just pleasurable objects, but have a more important role to play in society.

When Reichardt published his Oden und Lieder von Klopstock, Stolberg, Claudius und Hölty in 1779 his ideals had clearly changed and developed. As can be assumed from Reichardt’s reviews for the Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek he no longer found the galant style suitable; instead a more genuine, national style would be advisable, particularly when composing for the German language. Given Reichardt’s engagement with folksongs at the time perhaps it is not particularly surprising that he saw this as a possible way for the development of a new musical style suitable for the development of a national culture.

Examining the songs in the collection one can clearly detect a development in precisely such a direction. Although Reichardt’s songs here are more refined than the typical Volkton song, most are still created in a similar vein and give off the same kind of ingenuous directness.


Grüner wird die Au, Greener turns the meadow,  
Und der Himmel blau; And the sky turns blue;  
Schwalben kehren wieder, Swallows return,  
Und die Erstlingslieder And the first songs  
Kleiner Vögellein Of little birds  
Zwitschern durch den Hain. Twitter through the grove.

Aus dem Blütensstrauch From the flowering shrub  
Weht der Liebe Hauch: Blows the breath of love:  
Seit der Lenz erschienen, Since summer appeared,  
Waltet sie im Grünen, It reigns in nature,  
Malt die Blumen bunt, Paints the flowers colorful,  
Roth des Mädchens Mund! Red the girl’s mouth!
Brüder, küsset ihn! Brothers, kiss it!
Denn die Jahre fliehn, Because the years fly,
Da wir küssen können, When we can kiss,
Und von Liebe brennen! And burn of love!
Küßt ihn, Brüder, küßt, Kiss it, brothers, kiss,
Weil er küßlich ist. As it is kissable.
Seht, der Tauber girrt, See, the dove coo,
Seht, der Tauber schwirrt See, the dove flits
Um sein liebes Täubchen! Around his sweet little dove!
Nehmt euch auch ein Weibchen, Take a little woman too,
Wie der Tauber thut, Just like the dove,
Und seyd wohl gemuth! And be well and happy!

For instance, this Hölty setting conveys a sense of direct and untainted contact with nature in springtime (Ex. 7).257 The song’s light and sprightly expression is perfectly aligned with the emotions of the lyric. Its depiction of springtime’s call for enjoyment of nature and life, and its invitation to love is expressed also in the music where the lively and bustling rhythm created by the dotted figures conveys the expectant promise of springtime. A sense of clarity and immediacy is brought about by the nicely crafted symmetry of the song, which is made up of six short segments in an A-A-B-B-A’-C structure, where the A and C segments consist of three bars each, and the B segments of four. The slightly longer B segments create a somewhat broader feeling in the middle of the song, an effect enhanced also from only one bar out of four being dotted here. The straight eighth notes of the next to last bar of the C segment create a calming rounding off of each strophe. The overall scheme is enhanced also by the changing melodic movement; upwards in the A segments and downwards in the B and C segments.

Just like the ideals of the time dictated, the music is not commenting or mirroring the lyric but is rather entwined with it, achieving that sought-after unity that transcends the individual components. The musicality of language is fused with the relating character of music.

Compared with the songs in Reichardt’s earlier collections this is clearly more accomplished, in the sense that Reichardt has achieved a more well-composed and balanced song. As far as the composition is concerned this is no doubt a more refined work. At the same time, it has to be emphasized that this refinement is not of the sort associated with the galant style. There is nothing particularly witty or clever here, and the artfulness is not aiming towards any extravagant artificiality, but rather towards an unassuming naturalness. There is no ornamentation at all, and the chords are basically restricted to

tonic, dominant and subdominant. However, compared to a Volkston song such as Schulz’ Herr Bachus, Reichardt’s Maylied is no doubt considerably more refined and artful. For one thing, its overall structure is more complex and accomplished. The carefully thought-out variation of phrase length has already been mentioned; one should also note that the phrases are less complete than in Schulz’ song. Unlike Herr Bachus’ bipartite structure, with its two distinct phrases both ending with cadences, Reichardt’s Maylied basically consists of one strophic whole. Its phrases are more fragmented and do not offer any proper rest, rather they all urge on a continued movement towards the end of the whole strophe. This is achieved because no phrase, but the very last, neither end on the keynote nor cadence to the tonic. Although the B segments do end with a cadence to the dominant, that only provides a temporary broadening of the tempo, no real rest or closure.

Comparing Reichardt’s Maylied to the Volkston conception there is one final aspect worth considering. Although its perceived naturalness and immediacy are no doubt significant qualities connecting it to a wider folksong style, it still does not have that desired feeling of recognition, the Schein des Bekannten of the Volkston. At least not in the music, one might add. Because, even though the song does not convey any real notion of being already known when first heard, it still mediates a feeling of recognition when it comes to its substance. I would like to argue that regarding the cultural identity this song does indeed create a feeling of recognition. What is recognized here, though, is not any musical shape or form, but the expressions of springtime emotions. Which, ideally, would be a feeling of recognition of the national cultural identity.

As described, one main objective of the Volkston according to Schulz was to create means for communal singing. Reichardt’s Oden und Lieder collections do not adress this in any way. However, one finds in the first collection two songs with the remark Auch im Chor zu singen (Also suitable to sing in choir). Contrary to many other songs of the collection these two could actually be described as composed in Volkston style. As this setting of Höltys Lebenspflichten shows (Ex. 8), the overall structure is quite symmetrical, steeped in an A-A-B-A form where each segment consists of four bars, and the A segments are basically identical. Contrary to the Maylied, here all segments are quite distinct and complete. The A segments contain the basic harmonic progression tonic-subdominant-dominant-tonic, and although the B segment add both the minor parallel to the subdominant and modulate from D to A with an added dominant’s dominant E, and at the same time double the harmonic changes per bar, the overall harmonic structure is very straightforward. Regardless of the modulation, the expansion provided by the B segment does not

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express any particularly galant cleverness or artificiality. The very down-to-earth directness of the song is well retained also here.

It is on the whole a song easy to grasp, and easy to recall. Höltz’s text, with its *Carpe Diem* theme, also conveys a familiar notion, particularly as it is depicted in quite rustic scenes of springtime dancing and outdoor drinking.

**Lebenspflichten.**


Rosen auf den Weg gestreut, 
Und des Harms vergessen! 
Eine kleine Spanne Zeit 
Ward uns zugemessen.

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Roses scattered on the way, 
And forgetting all indignation! 
A small span of time 
Was us given.
Heute hüpf im Frühlingsstanz
Noch der frohe Knabe;
Morgen weht der Totenkranz
Schon auf seinem Grabe.

Wonne führt die junge Braut
Heute zum Altare;
Eh die Abendwolke thaut
Ruht sie auf der Bahre.

Gebt den Harm und Grillenfang
Gebet ihn den Winden;
Ruht bey hellem Becherklang
Unter grünen Linden.

Lasset keine Nachtigall
Unbehorecht verstummen,
Keine Bien’ im Frühlingsthal
Unbelauscht entsummen!

Schmeckt, so lang’ es Gott erlaubt,
Kuß und süße Trauben,
Bis der Tod, der alles raubt,
Kömmt, sie euch zu rauben!

Unserm schlummernden Gebein,
Von dem Tod’ umdüstert,
Dufet nicht der Rosenhain,
Der am Grabe flüstert;

Tönet nicht der Wonneklang
Angestoßner Becher,
Noch der frohe Rundgesang
Weinbelaubter Zecher!

As a song suitable for singing in choir it invites to communal singing and to mutual expressing of the national culture. Actually, this song seeks to convey also that image of the national cultural identity, that the German nation is a nation that expresses itself in communal singing. This practice is inscribed in the song, not just in the sense that it is written in four parts and hence suitable for singing in choir, but in the sense that it conveys an image of a particular kind of community; i.e. an expressive community in a very literal sense, expressing itself communally in song.

Whereas the first Oden und Lieder collection consisted almost solely of short strophic songs (a few dramatic, more varying songs are the only exception), in the next two instalments of the series Reichardt widened his scope through the inclusion of a number of more dramatic Singspiel songs. In the
second volume one finds three songs from Goethe’s *Erwin und Elmire* and one from his *Claudine von Villa Bella*, and almost half of the third volume consists of a large scene from Reichardt’s own *Liebe nur beglückt*, which he had composed the previous year.\(^{259}\) These are by no means composed in any *Volkston* style, although folksong influences can be found, particularly in the short *Das Veilchen auf der Wiese stand* from *Erwin und Elmire*. However, as I would like to argue, they still clearly relate and contribute to the national cultural identity.

As the *Singspiel* was the most national genre (regardless of its obvious debt to French *opéra comique*), by including these songs in his collections Reichardt was connecting to the genre’s national sentiments. With the inclusion, he was also arguing for the genre’s importance, something he had done also earlier in his *Über Die Deutsche Comische Oper*.

It should be noted that, besides the addition of *Singspiel* songs, the second volume also contains a number of songs composed in a more galant manner, albeit of a modest kind. This could perhaps be interpreted as an attempt at a more folksonglike galant style. Most songs in this volume, however, are composed in the same folksong style as the songs of the first volume; some even in a *Volkston* style similar to Schulz’ (*e.g.* *Das Mädel das ich meyne* on a poem by Bürger). The third volume, on the other hand, consists solely of folksong style songs, apart from the long *Liebe nur beglückt* excerpt.

Important was also the connection to Goethe, explicitly initiated in the second and third volumes of the *Oden und Lieder* collections. Without doubt no one was as important for the renewal of the German literary culture as Goethe, practically as well as symbolically. That Reichardt sought to associate himself with Goethe is not surprising. It is also reasonable to believe that Reichardt thought Goethe’s *Singspiele* texts particularly valuable, and hoped that Goethe would develop the genre into something more serious.

Besides Goethe, the third volume also signals an association with Herder. Not surprising, considering Herder’s importance for Reichardt. Noticable is that of the eleven Herder lyrics in this collection all are translations, and all but one are taken from Herder’s *Volkslieder* collection (the eleventh being a translation of the Song of Solomon). Hence one would expect them not to be any expressions of the German cultural identity, but of the Scottish and English. Their function in Reichardt’s collection could then be considered as either presenting a contrast to the other, culturally German songs of the collection, or simply providing attractive lyrics regardless of any national cultural identity. Given the important philosophical and ideological role of Herder’s *Volkslieder* collection, the second option seems less likely. But then, the first

\(^{259}\) Reichardt published the libretto, together with a lengthy preface discussing the genre, as a sort of encouraging model. Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Liebe nur beglückt: Ein deutsches Singschauspiel* (Berlin: Winters Erben, 1781).
option does not seem particularly convincing either. After all, these are songs specifically intended for the German expressive community, published in a collection with Herder’s, and Goethe’s name on the cover. However, there is another option to consider as well. National cultural identities are not necessarily mutually exclusive. What is expressed in these songs could very well be recognized as German as well as Scottish or English characteristics. So even though the lyrics originated elsewhere they could be perceived as genuinely German just the same. Another option is that the songs express qualities that Reichardt thought ought to be German although they might not have been considered such at the time. As Herder believed, a national culture was not something unchanging, set in stone. On the contrary, it was something changeable, preferably for the better, gaining in Humanität (humanity). Hence, one might want to expose the people for suitable positive influences. It could also be a way to regain characteristics that have been lost during culturally less favourable times. After all, if culture were something rigid and unchangeable, then there could not have been any lack of German culture at the time.

One thing that suggests that Reichardt viewed matters according to the latter scenario is that he included one of these songs, Schlaf sanft, mein Kind, schlaf sanft und schön!, of Scottish origin, in his 1798 collection of lullabies, Wiegenlieder für gute deutsche Mütter, which was explicitly intended to shape the future German generations. More on that collection in the next chapter; here instead it might be useful to look a little closer at another one of the Herder songs, Das Mädchen am Ufer, translated from English (Ex. 9).

260 One can observe this attitude, for instance, in the German Ossian reception of the time. See Lund, “Enthusiasm, Contemplation, and Romantic Longing,” 168.

Das Mädchen am Ufer.

Nicht zu langsam


Im säuselnden Winde, am murmelnden Bach
Saß Lilla auf Blumen und weinet' und sprach:
"Was blüht ihr, ihr Blumen? Was säuselst du West?
Was murmelst du Strom, der mich murmelnd verläßt?

Mein Lieber, er blühte am Herzen mir hier,
War Frisch wie die Welle, war lieblicher mir
Als Zephir; o Zephir, wo flohest du hin?
O Blume der Liebe, du mußtest verblühn!"

Vom Busen, vom Herzen riß ab sie den Straus
Und seufzet und weinet die Seele sich aus;
Was weinst in die Welle? Was seufzet in Wind?
O Mädchen, Wind, Welle und Leben zerrinnt.

In the whispering wind, at the murmuring brook
Lilla sat on flowers and wept and spoke;
"Why do you bloom, flowers? Why whisper West?
What do you murmur stream, that leaves me mumbling?

My love, his heart was blossoming for me,
Was fresh as the wave, was lovelier to me
Than Zephyr; O Zephyr, where to did you flee?
Oh, flower of love, you had to cease flowering!"

From bosom, from heart she tore off the bouquet
And sighed and cried out her soul;
What cries in the wave? What sighs in the wind?
Alas girl, wind, wave and life melts away.
Der Strom kommt nicht wieder, der Westwind verweht,
Die Blume verwelkt, die Jugend vergeht,
Gieb, Mädchen, die Blume dem Strome, dem West;
Es ist ja nicht Liebe, wenn Liebe verläßt.

The stream never returns, the west wind ends,
The flowers fades, the youth perishes,
Give, girl, the flowers to the stream, to the west wind;
It is not love, when love leaves.

Just like the earlier *Maylied* also this setting goes beyond the standart *Volkston* song. True, the bipartite structure and the four-bar melodic phrases are quite easily grasable and folksonglike, not least because of the isorhythmic pattern that is sustained throughout the song. However, in a similar fashion to the *Maylied* none of the phrases offer any closure; save for the final phrase they all end on either the fifth or the seventh, forcing the melodic movement to continue until the very last note. And although harmonically the first part is very basic, consisting only of tonic, dominant and subdominant, the second part is considerably more developed, moving from tonic parallel to subdominant parallel to the dominant parallel’s dominant to the dominant parallel, and then back down to the dominant and tonic. This heightened emotion of the second part is further intensified by the chromatic baseline that is initiated already in the fifth bar.

No doubt the emotional tension is considerably higher in this setting than in any standart *Volkston* song. And at no point is there even any relief from this tension. The hopelessness expressed in the lyrics, where a woman cries out to nature about her lost love, is musically mirrored in dramatic gestures and melodic leaps. The small possible consolation offered in the final line of the last strophe, where it is stated that love that has passed away is not love at all, is not given any correspondence in the music. However, although Reichardt’s setting does not adhere to the *Volkston* ideal, the song still conveys Reichardt’s strong interest in folksongs. This was an interest that clearly went beyond his *Volkston* compositions. Indeed, as Reichardt suggested to the aspiring young artists: "*[Folksongs] are truly what the real artist, who begins to suspect the aberrations of his art, relies upon, like the sailor the north star, and what he most observes for his profit.*" Folksongs are a foundation for true art, a sign of artistic genuiness. By using folksong as an inspiration and point of departure the resulting song will be natural and an organic part of life. What true folksongs manage to provide is music that grows naturally out of life, directly reflects life, and plays a natural part in life.

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262 For further discussions on this issue see Salmen, “J. F. Reichardt Und Die Europäische Volksmusik.”; Salmen, *Johann Friedrich Reichardt*, 234–246.
As touched upon earlier, the familiarity experienced in songs such as *Das Mädchen am Ufer* is not musical, as a *Volkston* style setting would try to achieve, but of life. The ideal that folksong presents, is of music and art as authentic expressions of communal life, authentic expressions of the community. One can compare this to earlier songs in a galant style, which basically expressed a precious, artificial, and cosmopolitan life.

Returning to the question whether the Herder songs are expressing an English and Scottish cultural identity and not a German, one could perhaps see them as quite general rather than expressing any distinct nationality. After all, the picture presented in *Das Mädchen am Ufer* is not particularly specific. Brooks, winds and flowers are just as common in the German lands as in England or Scotland, as is a love lost. At the same time, it is a picture of an intimate connection to nature, the kind of direct relationship that influence the national identity, according to Herder and other theorists of the time. Noticeable, pictured in the song is no precious arcadian nature, but genuine familiar nature, just as recognizable as lost love. It is a familiar picture of natural authentic life. And therefore, it functions as a genuine expression of the community regardless of its origin.

As Reichardt published the *Oden und Lieder von Herder, Göthe und andern* in the same year as the *Frohe Lieder für deutsche Männer*, it might be worthwhile here to make a short comparison of the two (as well as Reichardt’s earlier collections). What can be said then, in light of the songs looked at, is that Reichardt’s use of the *Volkston* ideal was pretty much limited to the *Frohe Lieder* collection, just as he describes it in the preface. The songs in the other collections neither lacked accompaniment, nor were really composed in that formulaic manner characterizing Schulz’ *Volkston* songs. However, as I have tried to show, it still makes sense to speak of these songs as aiming at a sense of familiarity. But, whereas the *Volkston* ideal sought to create musical familiarity, Reichardt’s goal was to compose songs that expressed a familiar life. Created after a folksong model, they would be songs that played a natural part in the expressive community’s everyday life. In their naturalness, they would express that national cultural identity, and in that sense indeed fill that cultural lack described in the *Frohe Lieder* preface. However, they would do that in a different manner than the *Volkston* compositions.

Expanding the national culture of song

As just mentioned, the same year Reichardt published the *Oden und Lieder von Herder, Göthe und andern* he also published the already discussed *Frohe Lieder für deutsche Männer*. That year also saw the first two volumes of his *Lieder für Kinder* collection, which will be studied in the next chapter. He also
contributed musical settings to some of the poems in Karoline Christiane Louise Rudolphi’s (1753–1811) first book of poems, a book he also edited.\(^{264}\) In the fourth volume of the *Oden und Lieder*, published in 1782 Reichardt shifted his interest from the recent to the previous generation of German writers, naming Johann Peter Uz (1720–1796), Ewald Christian von Kleist (1715–1759) and Friedrich von Hagedorn (1708–1754) in the title.\(^{265}\) (Among the other writers in this collection were Johann Martin Miller (1750–1814), Christian Adolph Overbeck (1755–1821) and Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stolberg, so also the present generation was represented.) This shift continued also in the 1784 collection *Lieder von Gleim und Jacobi*.\(^{266}\)

This interest in the poetry of the previous generation could be interpreted, as it has often been, as a sign of Reichardt’s insatiable thirst for poetry to set to music.\(^{267}\) Having drained the field of the *Sturm und Drang* Reichardt had to move on to the more idyllic, anacreontic poetry of Hagedorn and his peers, regardless of its more dated appearance. However, I believe that a more reasonable way to see this move is Reichardt recognizing and advocating a larger national culture. Taking on the older generation of poets Reichardt was revitalizing an older literary school with new suitable musical settings, identifying traits that made this poetry just as relevant and natural as the most recent writers’. In a sense, he was advocating a broader understanding of the German national literary culture, highlighting national characteristics also in this idyllic poetry. And with his settings Reichardt made also this selection of the German literary culture available for practical expression, making it part of the expressive community.

Indeed, in the preface to this collection Reichardt expressed precisely such an attitude towards this literature, as he stated:

> It is not good that we leave our old brave poets so unsung. I think it is mostly lovely heartfelt songs by Uz, Kleist and Hagedorn that I offer here with new melodies. Of course, they often do not have that select, noble – often even just nauseating – expression, which the so-called good taste demands of every poem. But why should not history be rather than poetry? I mean, the song that faithfully portrays such a moment in life of the good German man who is put forward, is always more heartfelt than the most polished poem, sculpted in Greek or Roman style; and I would sooner sing, with the honest father Hagedorn, of the banks of Hamburg’s Elbe, where he rested so sweetly, even though


\(^{267}\) As Herder suggested in a letter to Hamann, this thirst might have been necessitated from financial needs. See Salmen, “‘Liebe, Musik Und Philosophie,’” 241.
I have never rested sweetly there, than, with a night-raven of the ancients, of the Acheron, where neither he, nor I, nor any equal being ever enjoyed love and good things.268

No doubt the emphasis on Hagedorn’s local connectedness, choosing German Elbe over Greek Acheron is significant. Likewise, Reichardt’s favouring the song that faithfully relates a moment in German life over any polished classicistic poem clearly indicates that this collection did not mean any departure from the nationalistic views Reichardt had established with his previous Oden und Lieder volumes. Musically too it should be regarded as a continuation of those collections, even though it contains a larger number of songs composed in a more galant style. In the overall apprehension of the collection, though, these do not stand out as unfittingly old or particularly disparate. Instead, their inclusion could be interpreted as an ambition to broaden the musical language as well as the literary. Although some of the galant songs are indeed longer and more theatrical, others are quite short, composed in a rather naïve manner. Lacking ornamentation and complex harmonics they show noticeable similarities to the collection’s folksonglike settings.

One can look for instance at Glück der Liebe on a poem by Johann Martin Miller (1750–1814) (Ex. 10).269 Its melodic character is clearly more refined than the folksonglike settings’, with several embellishing turns and phrases such as for instance bars 5–8. This character is apparent also in the accompaniment. At the same time the phrases are all well defined and symmetrical, and the structure clear and easily graspable, consisting of five 4-bar phrases with the last being a variant repetition of the next to last. Yet, regardless of the defined phrases, they still lack the independent quality of most folksong phrases, giving off instead a sense of incompletion, moving towards the end of the whole strophe.

Looking at the harmonic scheme a similar observation can be made. The song is composed with a very basic harmonic structure, keeping

268 “Es ist doch nicht gut, daß wir unsere ältern wackern Dichter so ungesungen lassen. Ich denk’ es sind meistens liebe herzliche Lieder, die ich hier von Uz, Kleist und Hagedorn mit neuen Melodieen gebe. Freilich haben sie oft nicht das gewählte, edle – oft auch nur eckle – im Ausdruck, was der so genannte gute Geschmack von jedem Gedicht fordern will. Warum soll’s aber nicht lieber Geschicht als Gedicht seyn? Ich meyne, es sey doch immer herzlicher das Lied, das uns so einen Lebensmoment des guten deutschen Mannes, ders hinwarf, treu darstellt, als das gefeilteste Gedicht nach griechischer oder römischer Manier geschnitzelt: und lieber will ich doch mit Vater Hagedorn, dem wahren, die Ufer von Hamburgs Elbe singen, an denen er so süß ruhte, hätt’ auch ich gleich nie da süß geruht, als mit einem Nachträber der Alten den Acheron, wo weder er, noch ich, noch je ein Wesen meines Gleichen Liebes und Gutes genoß.”

predominantly to tonic and dominant. The subdominant is added just for the middle cadence of bars 7–8, and for the two closing phrases. The second part of the song, beginning at bar 9, is initiated by a short digression with C functioning as temporary tonic and an added G as dominant to the dominant; however, already in bar 11 C is again ordinary dominant. One further extension can be found in the two closing phrases (bars 13–16 and 17–20) which both begin with F functioning as dominant to the subdominant. Altogether the harmonics presents a similar picture as the melody: it is quite modest for a song in the galant style, yet more complex than an ordinary folksong.

Glück der Liebe.


Dein, o Herz, auf ewig dein, Yours, oh heart, forever yours,
Soll der Engel Gottes seyn! Shall the angel of God be!
Ach! Ich faß' es, faß' es kaum, Oh! I barely, barely grasp it,
Halt's für Täuschung nur und Traum! Think it is deception only and dream!

111
Dieser Arm umfaßte sie! 
Diese Hände drückte sie, 
Küßte mich mit heißem Mund, 
That mein Glück mir stammelnd kund!

Ach, ihr Thränen, stürzet hin, 
Dankt der Wonnegeberinn! 
Holde, nimm die Thränen an, 
Wenn der Mund nicht danken kann!

Freud' und Leben kommt mit dir; 
Golden lacht die Schöpfung mir; 
Jeder Tag, mit Heil geziert, 
Wird von dir mir zugeführt!

Küss', o Engel, küsse mich! 
Engel werd ich auch durch dich! 
O! an dieser lieben Brust 
Stürb ich gern vor Liebeslust!

Dein, o Wommenreiche, dein 
Soll dieß ganze Leben seyn! 
Jedes Tröpfchen meiner Zeit 
Sey nur dir, nur dir geweiht!

Theilt sie nicht mein Herz mit dir, 
Schmecke keine Freude mir! 
Naht dir je ein Kummer sich, 
O so leg ihn Gott auf mich!

Küss, o Holde, küsse mich! 
Stürb ich, Engel, doch für dich! 
Gott, wie dank' ich, dank' ich dir! 
Welch ein Mädchen gabst du mir!

On the whole, Glück der Liebe shows how Reichardt has let his folksong ideals influence also his galant style compositions. Refinement and artfulness are still the salient character of this song, and it permeates melody, harmony and structure alike. This is also the character of the lyrics with their elevated imagery and style. However, at the same time the setting has an obvious modesty and clarity to it that makes it quite direct and easily comprehensible. The refinement is kept within a sense of unpretentiousness.

Although perhaps just an imperfect inception, I still believe Glück der Liebe could be interpreted as an attempt to model a national galant style, devoid of the style’s cosmopolitan connotations. Such an interpretation becomes particularly plausible when the song is regarded as part of the whole collection where the folktike songs outnumber the galant ones; there are fifteen folktike songs, eleven galant ones, and, in addition, also this collection contains one
Singspiel excerpt from Reichardt’s Liebe nur beglückt. An overall folklike character is enhanced also since more of the collection’s galant songs are composed in a similar modest galant style as Glück der Liebe.

That there still is a marked difference between the galant and the folklike songs, however, can be seen from a quick look at the folksonglike Hagedorn setting Der May (Ex. 11).²⁷⁰

Der May.


Der Nachtigall reizende Lieder
Ertönen und locken schon wieder
Die fröhlichsten Stunden ins Jahr.
Nun singet die steigende Lerche,
Nun klappern die reisenden Störche,
Nun schwatzet der gaukelnde Staar.

The nightingale’s lovely songs
Sound and call again
The happiest hours of the year.
Now the rising lark is singing,
Now the traveling storks clatter,
Now the gawking starling chats.

Wie munter sind Schäfer und Heerde!
Wie lieblich behämt sich die Erde!
Wie lebhaft ist itzo die Welt!
Die Tauben verdoppeln die Küsse,
Der Entrich besucht die Flüsse,
Der lustige Sperling sein Feld.
Wie gleichet doch Zephyr der Floren!
Sie haben sich weislich erkohren,
Sie wählen den Wechsel zur Pflicht.
Er flattert um Sprossen und Garben,
Sie liebet unzählige Farben,
Und Eifersucht trennt sie nicht.

Nun heben sich Binsen und Keime,
Nun kleiden die Blätter die Bäume,
Nun schwindet des Winters Gestalt;
Nun rauschen lebendige Quellen
Und tränken mit spielenden Wellen
Die Triften, den Anger, den Wald.

Wie buhlerisch, wie so gelinde
Erwärmen die westlichen Winde
Das Ufer, den Hügel, die Gruft!
Die jugendlich scherzende Liebe
Empfindet die Reizung der Triebe,
Empfindet die schmeichelnde Luft.

Nun stellt sich die Dorfschaft in Reihen,
Nun rufen euch munter Schallmeyen,
Ihr stampfenden Tänzer! hervor.
Ihr springet auf grünender Wiese,
Der Bauernknecht hebet die Lieze
In hurtiger Wendung empor.

Nicht fröhlicher, weidlicher, kühner
Schwang vormals der braune Sabiner
Mit männlicher Freyheit den Huth.
O reizet die Städte zum Neide,
Ihr Dörfer voll hüpfender Freude!
Was gleichet dem Landvolk an Mut?

This song is instantly graspable; its 2 bar melodic phrases are quite symmetrical, as is the overall structure of the song with its bipartite layout where each part is constructed of 2 more or less identical melodic statements followed by a closing phrase (the first part’s closing phrase leading over to the song’s second part, and the second part’s closing phrase rounding off the hole song). This structure is supported by very basic harmonics, where both melodic statements are accompanied merely by C and G chords (functioning as tonic and
dominant in the first part and temporary tonic and subdominant in the second), and the two closing phrases by cadences, the first modulating from C to G (with C functioning as temporary subdominant followed by an added D as dominant to the temporary tonic G), and the second closing the song with a cadence going from dominant fourth-sixth to dominant seventh to tonic. The easily graspable character of the song is achieved also by the rather simple accompaniment and the straightforward rhythmic character with its continuing propelling drive and palpable uniform pulse.

The created folklike character is suitably mirroring the lyrical side of the song. The joyful description of springtime’s return to the countryside presents a similar folklike feeling as does the music, particularly the last two strophes’ focus on country village life. Considering the preface’s advocating local connectedness, one can notice the lyric’s description of typical (albeit not exclusively) German wildlife, naming nightingale, larch, stork, starling, dove, duck and sparrow. Just as typical (but naturally even less exclusively German) is the return of leaves to the trees and the ripple of springs mentioned in the fourth strophe. All in all, this song stands out as a clear expression of a definite national culture in a herderian sense, conveying this culture to singers and listeners.

Among the fifteen folklike songs there are also three composed in what one might call a fullgone *Volkston* style, following Reichardt’s definition from the *Frohe Lieder* collection, one of which is a *Trinklied* by Kleist (Ex. 12).271

Trinklied.

Weiser Damon; dessen Haupt
Lorbeer um und um belaubt,
Soll dir Gram und Mißvergnügen
Ewig Stirn und Wange pflügen?

Wie der Glanz vom dunkeln Licht
Schwach aus Todtengrüften bricht:
So blinkt deine trübe Seele
Aus des Leibes Trauerhöhle.

Wiß, in deiner Jahre Zahl
Rechnet die der Tod einmal,
Nebst den freudenvollen Tagen,
Auch die Tage voll von Plagen!

Du schwimmst in der Zeiten Raum,
Wie auf Strömen leichter Schaum:
Kannst du nicht so schnell zur Erden,
Wie der Schaum zu Wasser werden?

Sieh mich an, wie mir das Haupt
Epheustrauch und Ros' umlaubt,
Und wie mir die Tropfen gleiten,
Wegen Kürze dieser Zeiten.

Although the song’s lyrics paint a rather gloomy picture of life, where drinking provides the only solace in a harsh reality, Reichardt have still chosen to compose quite a cheerful setting. As stands clear already at first glance this song is considerably simpler and more basic than even Der May. First, it lacks real accompaniment. What Reichardt offers instead is merely the melody duplicated one octave below. Second, here the overall structure is completely symmetrical, consisting of four rhythmically basically identical four-bar phrases, all complete and very well defined. Melodically the first three phrases are all variants of the same phrase, and the final one a closing variation of that phrase. Third, the harmonic scheme of the song is very basic and offers no surprises. The first two phrases are all in the tonic. The third restates the initial phrase in the dominant ending with a return back to the tonic. And the final phrase begins in the subdominant and then closes the song with a cadence dominant–tonic.

Clearly this song meets the demands for a true folksong Reichardt stated in the An junge Künstler article: it does not need any accompaniment to come across, it consists of the simplest sequence of tones as well as very distinct movement and structure, and no doubt anyone with ears and throat could immediately join in.272 Compared to Reichardt’s folksonglike compositions studied so far this is considerably simpler, more straightforward, and completely without artistic embellishments. It is closer to the melodies of Eyn feynner kleyner Almanach than the more accomplished folklike songs one finds in Reichardt’s own collections.

Considering the songs studied so far it should stand clear that even when regarding only his folksong influenced compositions, Reichardt composed songs of a wide spectrum. Ranging from the most simple and direct, like the Trinklied, over quite accomplished and artistic folklike songs, like the Maylied.
from the first *Oden und Lieder* collection, to galant songs with folklike elements, like *Glück der Liebe*. To merely acknowledge folksong influences and models in Reichardt’s songs would be to simplify matters quite grossly, ignoring the obvious differences in these songs. Reichardt was trying both to recreate, and to further develop a German national culture in his songs. Above all, it is important to recognize that it was not an attempt to revive an old dormant culture, but to create a new living one inspired by the idea of a previous natural living national culture. It was not a matter of reviving old songs, but to revive a cultural community founded in practical cultural expression growing out of an immediate national cultural experience. This expression and experience should be developing along side the ongoing development of national cultural life. It should never be a matter of historical imitation.

**Cäcilia**

Reichardt’s expansion of the national culture of song was continued throughout his latter song compositions, not least in his continual and extensive work with Goethe’s lyrical production.273 An interesting attempt at expansion was the Cäcilia collection Reichardt published in four volumes between 1790 and 1795.274 Dedicated to religious songs of various kinds, (and with an outspoken purpose to prepare the singing audience for a forthcoming, albeit never realized, collection of Italian religious music275), the collection contained a variation of songs, most with clavier accompaniment but also some unaccompanied choir pieces. Two thirds of the works contained were songs in the smaller, traditional format, some taken from Reichardt’s earlier song collections. Not necessarily with any clear religious subject they were generally of a solemn character and often with a spiritual quality; many were suitable for singing in choir. Besides these songs Reichardt included parts of his 65th Psalm setting, parts of his Metastasio Passion, his Trauercantate for Friedrich II, and a few other pieces of church music.

What the Cäcilia collection offers is a possibility to easily and naturally express a spiritual side of the community outside of church, thereby expanding...
its emotional spectrum. To a large extent this is done in the song genre, as exemplified by this short symmetrical strophic Jacobi setting, composed for one or two voices with rudimentary accompaniment (Ex. 13).276

Lied.


Hier auf diesem Rasensitz
Hier am kleinen Wasserfall
Hör ich von des Thurmes Spitze
Fernes Glöcklein deinen Schall.

Tönst, o Glöcklein, nennst ihn lauter
Den mein Herz entgegen bebt,
Ihn, der freundlicher, vertrauter
Hier im Grünen mich umschwebt.

Leise murmeln es die Bäche
Daß er Flur und Aue liebt,
Daß die Rose, die ich breche
Mir ein guter Vater giebt.

Daß er aus der zarten Hülle
Selbst die goldenen Früchte winkt,
Und durch ihn des Lebens Fülle
Jede neue Knospe trinkt.

Schalle Glöcklein! Ach, was bliebe
Jenem Himmel, diesem Grün?
Ach! kein Leben, keine Liebe,
Keine Freude, sonder ihn!

Morgens, wenn auf Busch und Pflamze
Frischer Thau die Perlen sät,
Stimmen froh, im Sonnenglanze
Vöglein mit in mein Gebet.

Und am Abend, wenn es dunkelt,
Seh’ ich seinen milden Schein:
Wo das Heer der Sterne funkelt
Wacht er über Thal und Hain;

Leuchtet mir auf meinen Wegen,
Laßt die Wiese, nährt das Feld,
Spricht den väterlichen Segen
Ueber die entschlafne Welt.

Seiner freu ich mich im Lenze
Wenn man Veilchenkränze flicht,
Seiner, wenn die Schnittertänze
Sturm und Hagel unterbricht.

Soll’ ich seiner mich nicht freuen?
Singen nicht, daß Wolke, Wind,
Auch die Blitze, wenn sie dräuen
In des Vaters Händen sind?

Daß an öden Felsenklüften
Liebend er vorübergeht,
Und in düstern Todtengräften
Des Erhalters Athem weht.

Sound little bell! Oh, what would
That sky, this greenery be?
Oh! no life, no love,
No joy, without him!

In the morning, when on bushes and plants
Fresh dew strews pearls,
In the sunshine, little birds
Join happily in my prayer.

And in the evening, when it gets dark,
I see his gentle glow:
Where the legion of stars sparkles
He watches over valley and grove;

Lights up my ways,
Refreshes the meadow, nourishes the field,
Speaks the fatherly blessing
Over the sleeping world.

In him I rejoice in summer
When one weaves violet wreaths,
In him, when the reaping dances
Storm and hail interrupts.

Should I not rejoice in him?
Not sing that cloud, wind,
Even the lightnings when they threaten
Are in the father's hands?

That at desolate rock crevasses
He passes by, lovingly,
And in gloomy death graves
The Sustainer's breath blows.

With its clear symmetrical structure, simple harmonic scheme and basic rhythmic build-up, this song resembles many of Reichardt’s songs studied so far. Consisting of four two-bar phrases, all with a similar rhythmic pattern (the third phrase doubling the initial dotted figure creating more tension and drive towards the end), and a harmonic scheme moving from tonic to dominant in the two first phrases, followed by quicker changes in the third, ending on the tonic parallel, mirroring the rhythmic intensification of that phrase, and then closing in the fourth phrase with a cadence, moving from tonic to subdominant to dominant to tonic. This simple song accompanies a poem of equal lightness and naivety as the music. With childlike confidence, the poet sees God’s presence in all nature, in the threatening lightning just as in the roses. Although quite general, the depicted nature could still be understood as typically
German, and so the song could easily belong in a wider national emotional expression. The same is true for most of the songs in the Cäcilia collection. Looking at the chosen poets it is obvious that this collection is a clear continuation of Reichardt’s previous collections. With the exception of two poems by Nicolas Chamfort (1741–1794), all of the songs are settings of the same group of distinctly German writers Reichardt had advocated previously (Bürde, Claudius, Gerstenberg, Gleim, Goethe, Herder, Jacobi, Kleist, Klopstock, Matthison, Moritz, Rudolphi, Salis, Stollberg and Voss).

Obvious folksong characteristics are not as conspicuous in this collection; clearly Reichardt did not believe the rusticity of any Volkston style to be suitable for the kind of sentiment expressed in these poems. However, several songs are still composed within a folksong scope, featuring easily graspable melodies, simple harmonics, and clear symmetrical structures. This is true also for the song just studied. At the same time, it should be noted that the collection also contains a number of songs composed in a more hymnlike fashion.

The Cäcilia collection might not have been designed and intended merely for the private home, as Reichardt’s other collections. The many songs suitable for choir, as well as the larger religious works make the emerging singing clubs and societies probable recipients. Still, these kinds of associations were few, and could often be regarded as a kind of larger private music making in the home. With this collection, though, Reichardt was no doubt advocating this kind of cultural practice, and the image of a people joined together in cultural expression. The collection should be seen as an incitement to communal singing. At the same time, it offers also a further expansion of the national cultural expression, adding a religious dimension.

It should be recognized that singing religious songs at home and in other private circumstances had been going on for at least a couple of centuries, as part of Lutheran Christianity. It played an important part in the pietist movement emerging in late seventeenth century German lands, of which Reichardt’s mother was a devout follower. No doubt Reichardt was well acquainted with this practice from his upbringing as he states in his autobiographical writings.

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277 An additional purpose, for instance, might have been to provide samples of his larger church works. As he stated in the preface to the first volume, anyone with an interest in a complete score to any of these works were invited to get in touch with the composer.


Considering the poor state Reichardt found the German expressive community in when he published the first volume of the *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* in 1782 it is quite remarkable how positively he described it only fourteen years later in the preface to the first volume of the song collection *Lieder geselliger Freude*.\(^{280}\) Here he stated that the Germans were actually no longer lacking songs, as he had found they did in 1782. True, the ones suitable for community singing were still scarce and unfortunately scattered throughout countless song collections, but also these kinds of songs were now available in the German community. Above all, at this time Reichardt seemed to find community singing present to the extent that he took it upon himself in these collections to gather the most suitable and singable songs of this kind by the nation’s most beloved poets and composers.\(^{281}\) Just like the *Frohe Lieder für deutsche Männer* also these collections were specifically intended for community singing, but when the earlier collection was intended to instigate a lacking practice, this time Reichardt seems to cater to an existing demand. The second volume followed in 1797, as did five parts of instrumental accompaniment, (two parts for violins, clarinets, oboes or flutes, two parts for French horns or occasionally trumpets and one part for cello or bassoon). In 1799 and 1804 Reichardt published two additional collections entitled *Neue Lieder geselliger Freude*.

The first two volumes each contain fifty songs by twelve different composers, with Reichardt himself providing forty-eight of the one hundred songs.\(^{282}\) All composers are Germans\(^{283}\), as are the poets\(^{284}\), with the exceptions of the Danes Jens Baggesen (1764–1826) and Friederike Brun (1765–1835), although their contributions are in German, not Danish. The songs in these two first volumes are sorted after season. Each collection is divided into two parts, with the first collection providing spring- and summer songs, the second

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\(^{282}\) Besides Reichardt’s forty-eight songs the collection consisted of twenty-two songs by Schulz, six by Kunzen, four each by Naumann, Schwenke, Seidel and Spazier, three by Zelter, two by Schuster and one each by Fleischer, Hiller and Seidelmann.

\(^{283}\) Although Schulz and Kunzen both worked in Denmark for long stretches of time, they could still be regarded as culturally German, particularly when this collection is concerned, considering its national aim.

\(^{284}\) With twenty-nine poems Voß stands out. Hölty provides eight poems, Salis and Stolberg six each, Claudius and Herder five, Bürger four, Baggesen, Brun and Köpken three, Blumauer, Dach, Goethe, Jacobi, Matthiessen, Reinhard and Schiller two, and Bürde, Gleim, Gotter, Heidenreich, Meißner, Mereau, Miller, Pfeffel, Rosemann, Sander, Schlegel, J.G. Schulz, Starke and Weiße one each.
one autumn- and winter songs, twenty-five songs for each season. Not all songs are thematically tied to their season though; for instance, one finds a number of drinking songs distributed throughout the volumes.

The collections offer a mixture of part-songs with two, three and four parts, and songs alternating solo verse and chorus. Some songs are mostly unison with a few part-singing passages.

The two later Neue Lieder geselliger Freude have a similar composition. Again, Reichardt’s own settings make up half of the songs, and all composers, as well as the poets, are German (again with one Baggensen poem as the sole exception). However, they do not have the same kind of seasonal structure, and only contain twenty-five songs each. The themes of the songs are a bit more varied, although one still finds a number of spring- and winter songs.

That Reichardt published three more volumes after the first one (although the second one was clearly conceived together with the first), and even provided instrumental parts for the first two, is an indication of their popularity. (One also finds them in the library of the Berlin Singakademie.) Arguably they offer a good example of songs that were sung in the German community at the end of the eighteenth century and in the beginning of the nineteenth, although all selected, of course, according to the taste of Reichardt.

For the Lieder geselliger Freude approximately half of Reichardt’s songs was taken from previous collections, in line with the compilation character stipulated in the preface. At the same time, that meant that many of his contributions were likely composed particularly for these collections. Actually, with their focus on communal joyfulness they could be viewed as a natural complement to Reichardt’s other song collections of the same time which focus instead on lament and loneliness (emotions that could arguably be characterized as more private and intimate, not as suitable for communal singing).

Indeed, in the preface to the first collection Reichardt expresses some disappointment that the nation’s most beloved poets, e.g. Goethe, Wieland and Schiller, have not paid sufficient attention to this kind of songs, and would therefore have to be found in his other collections.

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285 In the two Neue Lieder geselliger Freude volumes twenty-five songs were composed by Reichardt, three each of Frei, Mozart, Seidel and Zelter, two by Kunzen and Rust, and one each of Bornhard, Gabler, Heyne, Himmel, Hummel, Lauska, Naumann, Schulz and Zumsteeg.


288 Reichardt, Lieder geselliger Freude, vi.
For similar reasons, Reichardt states, he has had to leave out any songs by such estimable composers as Haydn, Mozart and Dittersdorf. However, in this case said composers’ disinterest in joyful communal singing might actually be predicated on an incapability to understand the proper nature of song, Reichardt suspects.\footnote{Reichardt, \textit{Lieder geselliger Freude}, viii–ix.}

Looking at the songs in these collections one can get at least an idea of what the German community was expressing at the time. It is striking how near it is an expression of a German national spirit in Herder’s sense. (Whether or not this merely is a consequence of Reichardt’s selection, or indeed true also of the broader picture cannot be fully answered just from these collections, but their popularity is at least an indication of the latter.) The most obvious characteristic is of course the language; these are all German songs on poems by German writers. Almost as obvious is the importance of nature, and more specifically how it changes throughout the seasons. Above all the songs express the singer’s/people’s emotional relation to nature throughout the seasons. That this was of genuine concern for Reichardt can be seen from the following statement in the preface: “For the dry summer songs often had to be dedicated which recite the sentiments common for all seasons: joy, contentment, freedom, and most of all the blissful friendship.”\footnote{“Dem dürren Sommer mußten oft Lieder gewidmet werden, die Empfindungen besingen, welche von allen Jahreszeiten sind: Freude, Zufriedenheit, Freiheit, und vor allen die selige Freundschaft.” Reichardt, \textit{Lieder geselliger Freude}, v.} Some emotions are general and fit to express at anytime, but some are indeed connected to a certain season, or to put it in another way: certain seasons give rise to certain emotions and expressions. From a Herderian perspective this is a crucial aspect of the national spirit. Another central characteristic is the people’s customs, also frequently featured in the songs. Present too, although maybe not as obviously, are the people’s morals, likewise a central aspect of the national spirit.

Besides the national cultural expression conveyed in the words, one could perhaps expect to find a musical counterpart, a national musical style, conveyed as well in the collections’ settings. (Naturally, also this would be according to Reichardt’s views.) Of course, the collections’ focus on communal joyfulness (\textit{geselliger Freude}) might limit the diversity, but nevertheless one can clearly discern a concerted style and character, albeit ranging within a certain spectrum.

As already mentioned Reichardt’s own settings make up nearly half of the collections’ content. Other composers contribute considerably less songs. Some, like Reichardt’s Berlin acquaintances Kunzen, Seidel and Zelter\footnote{For Reichardt’s relationship with Kunzen see Heinrich W. Schwab, \textit{Friedrich Ludwig Aemilius Kunzen (1761-1817): Stationen Seines Lebens Und Wirkens} (Heide in Holstein: 124) are
represented with eight, seven and six songs respectively (counting both the *Lieder*... and the *Neue Lieder*... collections), but most composers appear only with one or a couple of songs. There is, however, one important exception. In the *Lieder geselliger Freude* as many as twenty-two songs are composed by Schulz. (In *Neue Lieder*... however, there is only one Schulz song). Clearly, according to Reichardt, Schulz’ compositions were particularly good and suitable for joyful communal singing. It can be assumed that this was not merely a question of singability, but involved also Reichardt’s conviction that Schulz’ songs expressed a cultural content particularly well. Indeed, Reichardt ends his preface to the second volume with the statement that these collections, properly used, would improve not only German singing, but also morality and humanity.

Schulz’ songs were taken above all from his three *Lieder im Volkston* volumes; only four came from other sources. (Included was for example *Herr Bachus*, which appeared in the winter section). Clearly, the *Volkston* was perceived to be central for the national cultural identity. Reichardt’s own settings, however, continue to be composed in a wider stylistic range, albeit clearly founded on folksong ideals, in line with the development studied so far. Simple songs in *Volkston* idiom exist, like a short *Mailied* on a poem by Goethe (Ex. 14), which had previously appeared both in the third *Oden und Lieder* volume, and in the 1794 collection *Göthe’s lyrische Gedichte*.292

Mailied.

![Example 14. Reichardt/Goethe, "Mailied," Lieder geselliger Freude I.](image)

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Wie herrlich leuchtet  How splendidly does
Mir die Natur!      Nature shine for me!
Wie glänzt die Sonne! How the sun gleams!
Wie lacht die Flur!   How the meadow laughs!
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Es dringen Blüten
Aus jedem Zweig,
Und tausend Stimmen
Aus dem Gesträuch,
Und Freud’ und Wonne
Aus jeder Brust.
O Erd’! o Sonne!
O Glück! o Lust!
O Lieb’ o Liebe!
So golden-schön,
Wie Morgenwolken
Auf jenen Höhn!
Du segnest herrlich
Das frische Feld,
Im Blütendampfe
Die volle Welt.
O Mädchen, Mädchen,
Wie lieb’ ich dich!
Wie blickt dein Auge!
Wie liebst du mich!
So liebt die Lerche
Gesang und Luft,
Und Morgenblumen
Den Himmelsduft.

Blossoms burst forth
From every branch,
And a thousand voices
From the bushes,
And joy and bliss
From every breast.
O earth! O sun!
O happiness, o joy!
O love o darling!
So golden fair,
As morning clouds
On yonder heights!
You splendidly bless
The fresh field,
In a mist of blossoms,
The full world.
O girl, girl,
How I love you!
How gazes your eye!
How you love me!
So loves the lark
Song and air,
And morning flowers
The mist of heaven.

Although adapted for four voices, this naïve spring-song still retains a light and immediate character.293 The music clearly mirrors the lyrics’ images of a rejoicing nature brimming with love and joy. Its symmetrical 4+4 structure, rhythmically identical phrases, and rudimentary harmonics (moving from tonic to dominant in the first phrase and then from dominant to tonic in the second), makes it instantly graspable and gives it an appearance of both simplicity and directness. Clearly it can be sung just as easily without any accompaniment as with.

The Hölty setting Lebenspflichten, from the first Oden und Lieder collection, also appeared again in the summer section of Lieder geselliger Freude (Ex. 15).294 This selection was perhaps not particularly surprising, considering that it was suggested as suitable for singing in choir already in Oden und

293 Also the version in Göthe’s lyrische Gedichte mit Musik is set for four voices, although it differs somewhat from the one in the Lieder geselliger Freude. In Oden und Lieder, however it is set for solo voice. The melody remains the same in all versions.

Lieder, as previously pointed out. At the same time, though, Reichardt partly reset the song. Halving its length, Reichardt changed the very clear A-A-B-A structure for a less repetitively A-B structure. Building the new B section on the second phrase of the A section (that remains the same in both settings) it gets a less distinct beginning, and it appears more as a closing phrase without any sense of independent unity. Because of this, and of the more accomplished final cadence, the new setting distances itself somewhat from the clear Volkston style that characterized the previous setting. Although still founded on folksong ideals, it conveys a slightly more artistic conception, that could perhaps be interpreted as an attempt to transcend the Volkston. However, since the extant A section exudes such a strong Volkston expression, the new B section leads to a slightly disparate feeling of the whole, and the attempt appears somewhat flawed.

Lebenspflichten.


Rosen auf den Weg gestreut,  
Und des Harms vergessen!  
Eine kleine Spanne Zeit  
Ward uns zugemessen.  
Heute hüpft im Frühlingstanz  
Noch der frohe Knabe;  
Morgen weht der Totenkranz  
Schon auf seinem Grabe.  

Roses scattered on the way,  
And forgetting all indignation!  
A small span of time  
Was us given.  
Today the happy boy  
Still hops in the spring dance;  
Tomorrow flies the wreath of death  
Already on his grave.
Reichardt’s ambition to expand beyond a pure Volkston style has already been discussed in relation to his earlier song collections. There are several songs in the *Lieder geselliger Freude* that continue this expansion.

Compared to Reichardt’s earlier collections, songs in a clear Volkton style are not as frequent anymore. Also, there are no longer any clearly galant songs present. Actually, traits that previously would have signalled galant style are now used in songs that are clearly founded on folksong ideals. Instead of galant songs this practice leads to a kind of refined and accomplished folksongs, that manages to retain the naturalness and immediacy of the folksong, and clearly avoids all galant artificialities. For an example of this one can look at Reichardt’s setting of Voss’ *Die Rosenfeier*, which appeared in the summer section (Ex. 16).295

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Die Rosenfeier.


Traulich kommt zu dem Freund, ihr Freunde,  Jovial come to the friend, her friends,
Eine Freundinn gesellt am Arm.  One friend joined at the arm.
Schön gepaart ist die Schmausgemeinde,  Nicely pared is the company,
Hell von Aug' und im Herzen warm.  Bright in the eyes and warm in the heart.
Heller Augen Erfrischung,  Refreshing the bright eyes,
Prangt in fröhlicher Mischung  Blazes in cheerful mixture
Auf der Tafel ein Rosenschwarm.  On the table an armful of roses.
Jeder wähle nach Lust die Rose,
Weiβ und roth; in dem Korb' ist Wahl.
Du, o Röschen, umwebt mit Moose,
Schmückst die Frauen, wie sie das Mahl.
Schön mit Rosen umwunden,
Kreist, wie Griechen erfunden,
Um die Tafel der Festpokal.

In ambrosischem Rosenkranze
Trank Anakreon singend aus.
Rosen kränzten den Held zum Tanze;
Rosen flocht er nach Kampf und Strauß.
Ros’, auch Götteraltären,
Ros’, auch heiligen Chören
Saust du Kränz’ um den Opfersehmann.

Mit halbröthlichen Silberrosen
Und mit purpurnen hell umblümt,
Winkt der Becher uns liebzuinkosen,
Wie’s jungfräulichen Seelen ziemt.
Hört der Musen Erzählung,
Wie bei Thetis Vermählung
Einst die Ros’ ihr Gesang gerühmt:

Rosen trugen zum Mahl die Horen
Im goldstralenden Korb für Zeus,
Aus dem Ennagefilde erhohren,
Hell wie Lilien noch und weiß.
Küßt mich, sagte der König:
Dann, ihr Mädchen, verschön’ ich
Eure Blume zum Stolz des Mai’s.

Leicht mit Röthe gefärbt die Wangen,
Sehn die Göttinnen abgewandt;
Doch der Donnerer, voll Verlangen,
Zog sie näher mit sanfter Hand.
Als nach tändelndem Zwiste
Zeus Kronion sie küßte;
Stieg die Röthe zu lichtem Brand.

Eine Ros’ in der Mitt’ entbrennet
Leis’, und andere ganz von Glut.
Mädchenröthe sei du genannt!
Sagt’ der Ewige wohlgermuth:
Du sei Flamme des Kusses!
Eures holden Genusses
Angriff räche der Dorn mit Blut.

Everyone chooses the rose of her fancy,
White and red; in the basket is choice.
You, O florets, surrounded by mosses,
Decorate the women, as they do the meal.
Beautifully wrapped with roses,
passed, as the Greeks invented,
Around the table the festival cup.

In ambrosial rosaries
Drank Anakreon singing up.
Roses the hero wreathe for the dance;
He plaited roses after clash and fight.
Rose, also divine altars,
Rose, also holy choirs
Did you see wreathed for the sacrificial meal.

With semi-reddish silver roses
And with purple brightly flowered
The mug beckons us caressingly,
As befits virgin souls.
Listen to the muses’ tale,
As at Thetis’ wedding
The rose was praised in her singing:

The horae carried roses to the meal
In a gold-shimmering basket for Zeus,
Selected from the Ennagefilde,
Bright as lilies and white.
Kiss me, the king said:
Then, you girls, I beautify
Your flower to the pride of May.

With slightly blushed cheeks,
See the goddesses turned away;
But the thunderer, full of desire,
Pulled them closer with a gentle hand.
When after a flirtatious dispute
Zeus Kronion kissed them;
The redness rose to a bright fire.

One rose in the middle burned
Silently, and others in full passion.
Girl’s redness be you called!
Said the eternal good-spirited:
You are the flame of the kiss!
Your sweet pleasures’
Onset the thorn avenges with blood.

Voss’ poem could be described as quite precious, with its references to ancient myths, depicting a story of how the roses got their colours when Zeus tried to
seduce the muses. Still, Reichard has not sought to mirror that artificiality. Rather, his setting is firmly founded in folksong ideals of simplicity and naturalness. The melody is easily recognizable, and its melodic movement is kept within an octave’s range, and also avoids any wide leaps. All phrases are distinct and complete, supporting the song’s clear A-A-B structure. The harmonic scheme is quite basic; for the most part the harmonics is kept to a movement between tonic and dominant. However, to this natural simplicity Reichardt has added a few more accomplished traits, which in a different surrounding could have been described as galant. Ending all sections there is an ornamenting one-bar addition, expanding the harmonics significantly, above all in the A sections where there is a quick move to a temporary tonic via an added dominant’s dominant (the last eight-note of bar 3). The ornamentation of the B section is less elaborate, but still quite artistic with its dominant six-four five-three progression added to the final cadence. The accompaniment in general is also more accomplished than what one would find in a typical Volkston setting, albeit one might not describe it as excessively galant. Still, in the setting these additions do not stand out as contrasting elements, but go well with the context, contributing a certain refinement to the whole. The light and immediate character of the song, and the perceived naturalness is clearly retained, regardless of the additions. The folksong ideals are still clearly detectable. Relating the setting to the words it could be argued that Reichardt’s refined simplicity and directness help play down the precious character of the poem, enhancing instead a connection to the natural side of the poem, focusing on roses in springtime rather than on Greek gods.

Another kind of expansion from the Volkston can be exemplified by Reichardt’s setting of Schiller’s An die Freude, which can also be found among the summer songs (Ex. 17).296

296 Johann Friedrich Reichardt, “An die Freude,” in Lieder geselliger Freude, I, ed. Johann Friedrich Reichardt (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1796), 76. This setting is different from the one Reichardt later published in Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Schillers lyrische Gedichte in Musik gesetzt (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1810). Also, whereas that setting is of Schiller’s second, altered, version of the poem, this one is of the original version, published by Schiller in the second instalment of his journal Thalia, in 1786.
An die Freude.

Feierlich froh


132
Freude, schöner Götterfunken,
Tochter aus Elysium!
Wir betreten feuertrunken,
Himmlische! dein Heiligthum!
Deine Zauber binden wieder
Was der Mode Schwert getheilt;
Bettler werden Fürstenbrüder,
Wo dein sanfter Flügel weilt.

Chor.
Seyd umschlungen, Millionen!
Diesen Kuß der ganzen Welt!
Brüder! – überm Sternenzelt
Muß ein lieber Vater wohnen.

Wem der große Wurf gelungen,
Eines Freundes Freund zu sein;
Wer ein holdes Weib errungen,
Mische seinen Jubel ein?
Ja, – wer auch nur eine Seele
Sein nennt auf dem Erdenrund!
Und wer's nie gekonnt, der stehle
Weinend sich aus diesem Bund.

Chor.
War den großen Ring bewohnet,
Huldige der Sympathie!
Zu den Sternen leitet sie,
Wo der Unbekannte thronet.

Freude trinken alle Wesen
An den Brüsten der Natur;
Alle Guten, alle Bösen
Folgen ihrer Rosenspur.
Küsse gab sie uns, und Reben;
Einen Freund, geprüft im Tod.
Wollust ward dem Wurm gegeben,
Und der Cherub steht vor Gott.

Chor.
Ihr stürzt nieder, Millionen!
Ahnest du den Schöpfer, Welt?
Sucht ihn überm Sternenzelt,
Ueber Sternen muß er wohnen.

Freude heißt die starke Feder
In der ewigen Natur.
Freude, Freude treibt die Räder
In der Großen Weltenuhr.
Blumen lockt sie aus den Keimen,
Sonnen aus dem Firmament,
Sphären rollt sie in den Räumen,
Die des Sehers Rohr nicht kennt.

Joy, beautiful sparkle of God,
Daughter of Elysium!
We enter, fire-drunk,
Heavenly, your holy sanctuary!
Your magics bind again
What custom’s sword has parted;
Beggars become princes’ brothers,
Where your tender wing lingers.

Chorus.
Be embraced, millions!
This kiss to the entire world!
Brothers! – above the starry canopy
Must a loving Father reside.

Who has succeeded in the great attempt,
To be a friend’s friend;
Whoever has won a lovely woman,
Add in his jubilation!
Yes, who calls even one soul
His own on the earth’s sphere!
And whoever never could achieve this,
Let him steal away crying from this gathering.

Chorus.
Those who occupy the great circle,
Pay homage to sympathy!
It leads to the stars,
Where the unknown one reigns.

All creatures drink joy
At the breasts of nature;
All good, all evil
Follow her trail of roses.
Kisses she gave us, and the wine;
A friend, proven in death.
Pleasure was given to the worm,
And the cherub stands before God.

Chorus.
Do you fall down, you millions!
Do you sense the creator, world?
Seek him above the starry canopy,
Above the stars he must live.

Joy is the name of the strong spring
In eternal nature.
Joy, joy drives the wheels
In the great clock of worlds.
She lures flowers from the buds,
Suns out of the firmament,
She rolls spheres in the spaces,
That the seer’s telescopes does not know.
Chor.
Horch, wie seine Sonnen fliegen
Durch des Himmels prächt'gen Plan;
Laufet, Brüder, eure Bahn,
Freudig, wie ein Held zu Siegen.

Aus der Wahrheit Feuerspiegel
Lächelt sie den Forscher an;
Zu der Tugend steilern Hügel
Leitet sie des Duldens Bahn.
Auf des Glaubens Sonnenberge
Sieht man ihre Fahnen wehn;
Durch den Riß gesprengter Särge
Sie im Chor der Engel stehn.

Chor.
Duldet muthig, Millionen!
Duldet für die beßre Welt!
Droben überm Sternzelt
Wird ein großer Gott belohnen.

Göttern kann man nicht vergelten,
Schön ist's, ihnen gleich zu seyn.
Gram und Unmuth soll sich melden,
Mit den Frohen sich erfreuen.
Groll und Rache sey vergessen,
Keine Thräne soll ihn pressen,
Keine Reue nage ihn.

Chor.
Unser Schuldbuch sei vernichtet!
Ausgesöhnt die ganze Welt!
Brüder, überm Sternenzelt
Richtet Gott, wie wir gerichtet.

Freude sprudelt in Pokalen;
In der Traube goldnem Blut
Trinket Sanftmuth, Kannibalen!
Die Verzweiflung Heldenmuth. –
Brüder! fliegt von euren Sitzen,
Wenn der volle Römer kreist,
Laßt den Schaum zum Himmel sprützen:
Dieses Glas dem guten Geist!

Chor.
Den der Sterne Wirbel leben,
Den des Seraphs Hymne preis,
Dieses Glas dem guten Geist
Überm Sternenzelt dort oben!

Chorus.
Happy, as his suns fly
Across Heaven’s splendid map;
Run, brothers, along your path,
Joyfully, as a hero to victory.

From the fiery mirror of truth
She smiles upon the researcher;
Towards virtue's steep hill
She guides the endurer’s path.
Upon faith's sunlit mountain
One sees her banners in the wind;
Through the opening of burst coffins
One sees them standing in the chorus of angels.

Chorus.
Endure courageously, millions!
Endure for the better world!
There above the starry canopy
A great God will reward.

Gods one cannot repay,
Beautiful it is, to be like them.
Grief and poverty, acquaint yourselves,
With the joyful ones rejoice.
Anger and revenge be forgotten,
No tears shall he shed.
No remorse shall gnaw at him.

Chorus.
Our debt registers be abolished!
Reconciled the entire world!
Brothers, over the starry canopy
God judges, as we judged.

Joy bubbles in the cup;
In the grape’s golden blood
Cannibals drink gentleness!
The fearful, courage. –
Brothers! fly from your perches,
When the full cup is passed,
Let the foam spray to the heavens:
This glass to the good spirit!

Chorus.
He whom the spirals of stars praise,
He whom the seraphim’s hymn glorifies,
This glass to the good spirit
Above the starry canopy!
Festen Muth in schweren Leiden,
Hülfe, wo die Unschuld weint,
Ewigkeit geschwornen Eiden,
Wahrheit gegen Freund und Feind,
Männerstolz vor Königsthronen –
Brüder, gält’ es Gut und Blut –
Dem Verdienste seine Kronen,
Untergang der Lügenbrut!
Chor.
Schließt den heilgen Zirkel dichter,
Schwört bei diesem goldenen Wein:
Dem Gelübde treu zu seyn,
Schwört es bei dem Sternenrichter!

Rettung von Tyrannenketten,
Großmuth auch dem Bösewicht,
Hoffnung auf den Sterbebetten,
Gnade auf dem Hochgericht!
Auch die Todten sollen leben!
Brüder, trinkt und stimmet ein:
Allen Sündern soll vergeben,
Und die Hölle nicht mehr seyn.
Chor.
Eine heitre Abschiedsstunde!
Süßer Schlaf im Leichentuch!
Brüder, – einen sanften Spruch
Aus des Todtenrichters Munde!

As should be acknowledged, Schiller’s ode *An die Freude* is of a different magnitude than most other songs in the collection. Hence, it is not surprising that Reichardt choose to transcend from the *Volkston* for his setting. The solemnity of the poem no doubt required more grandeur and festive character. However, Reichardt did not leave the folksong ideals completely; there are still enough characteristics that give evidence of the ideals’ importance also for this setting. Of course, given the national scope of the collection this should not come as a surprise. A collection with the explicit purpose to support community singing in the German nation, implicitly in order to augment the national community’s expressivity, it would only be natural to found on a national expression and style, particularly considering Reichardt’s views on this matter. The national community is strengthened by its augmented possibilities to express its national cultural identity, an identity that would ideally be founded on national folk culture, such as folksong.

Looking at Reichardt’s setting, one can see how the melody has a more dignified expression than his more folklike songs, avoiding the kind of

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rusticity one often finds in the *Volkston*. The festive character called for by the song’s character designation *feierlich froh* (solemnly joyful) is achieved, for instance, by the fanfarelike opening, which does not arouse typically folklike associations. The solemn expression of the melody is continued in the second bar with the ornamental eighth note figure, and further enforced by the confident octave leap in the middle of the third bar.

The more complex A-A-B-C//A-D structure also makes this setting transcend the folksong mold, as does the more developed harmonics. Admittedly, the latter is not excessively advanced; moving between tonic and dominant remain the fundamental changes, few other functions are frequently used. At the same time, both the B section and the first half of the D section are digressions with new temporary tonics, which give the harmonics a more accomplished whole. Particularly the D section’s digression, where the subdominant F becomes temporary tonic, giving the song a particularly heightened, festive closing, clearly goes beyond the typical *Volkston* ideal.

Although distinctly transcending the *Volkston*, at the same time the setting is still founded on a national folksong style. The structure may be more complex, but at the same time all phrases are quite pregnant and defined. Although the harmonic scheme is more developed, and the closing cadences in sections C and D more artistic, the principal movements within the sections are still between tonic and dominant, as already mentioned. The accompaniment is quite basic, avoiding all elaborate ornamentation. The melodic range is kept within a ninth, and the melody is mostly constructed of natural intervals, and is quite instantly recognizable and easily graspable. Although more solemn and dignified than folksonglike, the melody still appears as both simple and immediate.

It is this kind of developing expansion of a German national musical style one can detect throughout Reichardt’s song collections. His ambition was clearly a broader stylistic spectrum than just the *Volkston*, even though that could be perceived as the clear foundation, albeit in a slightly more general folksong style. No doubt, the connection to a national folksong foundation is often amplified also by circumstantial conditions. The experienced national character of a setting like *An die Freude* is strengthened by its inclusion in an explicitly nationalistic collection such as the *Lieder geselliger Freude*. There is nothing dubious about this, even though it might perhaps appear so at first glance; particularly not if the characteristics of the expanded style are perceived as a natural continuation of the foundation. In the case of *An die Freude* I believe that was how it was perceived at the time, and that Reichardt was quite successful in his attempt to add new facets and indeed widen the German national cultural expression with these collections.
Le Troubadour italien, français et allemand.

In 1805 Reichardt published the first instalment of a song collection in three volumes called Le Troubadour italien, français et allemand. In a short afterword the publisher Heinrich Frölich describes it as a collection of unpublished songs composed by Reichardt in recent years, in Berlin and Paris. The different languages of the songs are not paid any special attention. At most, it seems implied that the French songs were composed during Reichardt’s stay in Paris in 1802/1803.

Among the Italian songs seven are on words by Prussian court poet Filistri, something that may suggest that these songs were initially composed for the Prussian court. Nine are settings of Metastasio, and eight are on words by Petrarca, revealing Reichardt’s particular interest in the fourteenth century Italian writer and humanist. Of the German songs sixteen are by Goethe and twelve by Achim von Arnim. The Arnim songs were naturally of recent date, and the same is true also of many of the Goethe settings. The French songs are not focused on any particular writers. There are three settings of poems by Louis-Philippe de Ségur (1753–1830) (called l’aîné, distinguishing him from his brother, called Ségur jeune, Joseph Alexandre Pierre de Ségu (1756–1805), also represented in the collection with one setting), but generally the French writers (e.g. Boileau, Perrier, Moncrif) are only set once each. Also, more than

299 A stay reported on in Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Vertraute Briefe Aus Paris Geschrieben in Den Jahren 1802 Und 1803 (Hamburg: B.G. Hoffmann, 1804).
301 Arnim only began his lyrical activity in the early years of the nineteenth century. Among the Goethe settings here one finds for instance Der Edelknabe und die Müllerin and Der Junggesell und der Mühlbach, poems that first appeared in Schiller’s Musen-Almanach für das Jahr 1799, and also songs from Alexs und Dora, first published in Schiller’s Musen-Almanach für das Jahr 1797.
302 According to a notice in the Zeitung für die elegante Welt, during his 1802/03 Paris sojourn Reichardt had actually promised to compose an opera on a libretto by Joseph Alexandre Pierre Ségur. See “Ehrenbezeigung,” Zeitung für die elegante Welt 3/57 (1803): 454.
half of the French settings (fourteen out of twenty-six) have no writer named at all. For comparison, there are eleven Italian settings without any writer named (i.e. slightly less than a third), but only three German. This gives the impression that whereas the German writers were considered central, and deliberatively chosen, the French and Italian poems were more coincidental, (with the exception of the renowned Metastasio, Petrarca and Filistri).

The more or less coincidental composition of this collection might make the multilingual character appear less deliberate. Rather than being a statement on national styles it seems simply a reflection of Reichardt’s activities in the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, it still reveals the attitude of Reichardt, and possibly also of his publisher, regarding that issue at the time. Some views can clearly be detected, for instance when it comes to the question of the relation between German music and Italian and French.

First and foremost, it is clear that Reichardt did not hold any language inferior to the other. In no way did he differentiate German songs from Italian or French; they are all presented in the same way, and are equally distributed throughout the collection. The number of songs in each language also indicates their equal standing; there are thirty-six German songs, thirty-five Italian, and twenty-six French. (The slightly fewer French songs probably just reflect the limited amount of time Reichardt spent in France. They are still as many as not to be perceived as exceptional in relation to the other songs of the collection.) This clearly conveys an absence of any national chauvinism. Also, there is an openness here, inviting the public to acquaint themselves with different national characters and identities. This could be interpreted as a sign of the confident character of the German national identity at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This would be in line with the attitude identified in the preface to the Lieder geselliger Freude, previously discussed. It could even be interpreted as an invitation to research whether the Italian or the French national character might have some traits that it would be recommendable for the Germans to incorporate in their identity.

Returning to this chapter’s earlier discussion on national styles one might wonder how those ideas appear in this multilingual collection. Do the songs express or project any discernible national styles or differing cultural identities? The collection’s composition out of thirty-six four-page installments means that most songs are of a similar scope. Naturally there are no songs longer than four pages, and actually, only one song is four pages long (the quasi operatic Goethe setting Der Edelknabe und die Müllerin). Less than one fourth of the songs are even as long as three pages (three Petrarca settings, two Metastasio settings, one Filistri, one Goethe, and one Jacobi setting). That means that the majority of the songs are quite short, and of similar scope. Of course, the length of a song is only one aspect, and it does not determine its overall character. Indeed, the songs in the collection varies in a number of
ways. They range from operatic arialike songs to simple folksonglike pieces. There are strophic songs as well as through-composed songs. Some are quite serious, others very light; some highly ambitious, and some more unassuming. To some degree these aspects make it more difficult to discern any national styles. Characteristics might be chosen for reasons other than nationality. Still, a closer study of the songs in the collection show that there is a noticeable difference in style between the Italian, the French, and the German songs. Overall, the Italian and the French songs fit the national styles as they were described at the time, and the German songs fit the style developed by Reichardt and his fellow composers.

To get a concise idea of these styles one can look briefly at Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart’s aforementioned *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*. Although published in 1806, it was written during Schubart’s ten-year incarceration in Württemberg state prison Hohenasperg 1777–87, and so quite contemporaneous with Reichardt’s activities. Beginning with the Italian, Schubart emphasizes their unequalled art of song and singing. A natural abundance of tone and melody, combined with highly developed craftsmanship, has made the Italian songs unsurpassed in beauty and accomplishment. However, there is at the same time an impulse towards excessive ornamentation and coloratura, leading to the loss of divine simplicity. Noticeable, Schubart points out a marked lack of proper *Volkston* in Italian song, particularly compared with the German. Looking at the French, Schubart particularly acknowledges Lully’s crucial role in its foundation. Although Italian by birth, that national spirit had vanished completely after Lully’s move to Paris, according to Schubart. A thorough exploration of existing natural French expressions throughout the country helped Lully anchor his style nationally. At the same time, Schubart emphasizes Lully’s close and careful harmonic scholarship. Pointing out that Lully was genius enough to recognize that harmony without melody would result in poor music, Schubart no doubt hints at the general fault line between French and Italian music, almost depicting Lully as a positive exception. Describing musical characteristics Schubart emphasizes the style’s solemnity and forcible simplicity, an expression almost too sacred for the theatre. Focused on truth and naturalness it generally lacks runs and ornamentation, at times coming across somewhat rigid and oldfashioned (a consequence no doubt of Lully’s continued influence a whole century after his death). Coming to the German music, Schubart describes it as standing on two foundations: church music and folksong. The former had influenced the

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303 Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*.
304 According to the editor, i.e. Schubart’s son Ludwig. See Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, III–IV.
style of most music, also the profane, giving it a certain uniform expression with limited nuances. However, the national musical character is above all detectable in the folksongs. Characterized by the noblest simplicity and ingenious, heart enhancing melody, the German folksongs were expressing both truth and nature in an immensely amiable, light and natural manner.  

To illustrate how Reichardt composes in accordance to these three national styles in the *Troubadour* collection, a comparison of three songs, one Italian, one French, and one German, will be enlightening. The songs chosen are all rather similar in scope, no one is longer than sixteen bars. The German and the Italian songs are both strophic, as is actually the French poem too (originally containing seven strophes), although Reichardt choose to set only the first strophe. All three poems could be described as exploring an emotional state, none depict any tangible development or action. Although the described emotions differ from the three poems, they are all rather melancholy, or at least none is particularly happy. A certain solemnity can be found in all three songs. Still, the three settings differ considerably, and do so in ways that clearly resembles views on national musical styles at the time, as expressed by Schubart. The three songs are chosen because of their similar scope and form. At the same time, they are representative for their respective national style, in the sense that they share salient traits with most songs of the same national affiliation.

La Speranza.

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Dolce speme del ciel dono, Sweet hope, of heaven given,
Per cui sono, That makes troubles
lievi a noi gli affanni e sola, Light to us and simply,
Con sua voce lusinghiera With its alluring voice,
Falsa, o vera False or true,
Pure un core almen consola. Consoles at least one heart.

A te grato, o bella speme Grateful to you, oh beautiful hope
Grazie insieme I thank you, and at the same time
Rendo, e voti porgo anch’io, I make a vow,
Onde, a rendermi la pace, So return the peace to me,
Non fallace Would you, not illusory,
Tu risponda al desir mio. Answer my desire.

La mia Nice, oh Dio! Lasciai, My Nice, oh God! I left,
E tu sai And you know
Quante lagrime già sparsi How many tears already scattered
Quando alfin partir da lei When in the end I left her
Jo dovei And I had to
E gelar m’intesi, ed arsi: Freeze and burn at the same time:
E sarei gia senza vita, And I would already be without life,
Se gradita Unless desired
La tua voce non giungea Your voice would not have come
Per ristoro a me in quell giorno With relief to me on that day
E un ritorno And a quick return
Sperar pronto non mi fea. Wished for, I could not make.

The Filistri setting La Speranza (Ex. 18), is clearly composed according to different ideals than the German songs studied so far. The lyrics’ elevated theme and style, and the artistic metrical form that leads to its broken sentence structure, connect it with the court culture and opera seria of the eighteenth century, as does of course the Italian language. At the time of publication (1805–1806) it might also have conveyed the memory of Friedrich II, and been associated with the growing nostalgic cult of the great king, that Katherine Hambridge has discussed recently. Reichardt had contributed to this phenomenon before, when he arranged a concert performance of his opera seria Brenno (in German translation) at the royal court opera on 24 January 1798, the former king’s birthday. Although rather modest in scope, and easy to grasp, the song is still set in quite an artistic manner, with considerable florid and operatic traits. Although a strophic song, in the sense that it consists

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of four identical verses, the strophe itself is nonetheless through-composed. None of the included phrases is repeated, and none is complete in itself. Instead, they all lead on to the next phrase, creating a continuous movement throughout the strophe, making it an indivisible whole.

The artistic character of the song is noticeable also in the structure. The song is constructed of a number of assymetrical phrases that build up a 5+8 structure, where the two segments could be understood as (2+(1+2)) and ((2+1+2)+3). At the same time, although no phrases are repeated, an overall coherence is still created by the recurring rhythmic and melodic motivic material found in all phrases. The through-composed, continuous structure is mirrored also in the harmonic scheme, which is significantly fleeting. Already in the second bar there is move over the subdominant to a digressive three bars where the dominant becomes temporary tonic. The next five bars, i.e. the beginning of the second segment, is characterized by a continuous move between tonic and dominant supporting the melodic strive towards the climactic peak in the beginning of bar nine. After an ornamental addition, the strophe ends with an elaborate three bar closing cadence, moving through temporary dominant to the subdominant, subdominant, subdominant parallel, followed by a dominant six-four five-three progression, moving to dominant seventh before ending on tonic.

On the whole, the song is characterized by a sense of accomplished decorativeness. There is an overall ornamental quality to the melody, not just in the sense of obvious adorning additions, such as the semiquaver figures in bars six and nine, but also in the general melodic attitude. For instance, the dotted quaver–semiquaver rhythmic figure appearing throughout the song is rarely directly motivated by the words. Rather, it is one of the traits that gives the song its artistic character. A similar ornamental treatment one can find in the phrase beginning at the end of bar two and ending in the middle of bar five. Here, too, the melodic development is elaborated beyond the natural melodic line, particularly at the end of the phrase where an additional ornamental turn up to e flat is added to the movement from c to d. This ornamental quality contributes to give the song a heightened sense of passion, conveying an intensity and immediacy of emotion and affect. Indeed, a characteristic typical of the Italian national style. It also helps conjure up that image of a people with a natural abundance of tone and melody as depicted by Schubart.

Looking at the French setting, the character is clearly different (Ex. 19). The florid, fleeting senation experienced in the Italian song is replaced by a stately seriousness. There is barely any ornamentation, instead, a feeling of resolute constraint permeates the whole song.

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Romance de Ségur l’aîné.

Lentement

Tran-quil-les et sombres lo-rés, où le soleil ne luit ja-

mais qu’au tra-vers de mil-le feuil-lages que vous avez pour moi d’at-

traits, que vous avez pour moi d’at-trait-s! Et qu’il est

Tranquilles et sombres forêts, Tranquil and dark forests,
Où le soleil ne luit jamais where the sun never shines,
Qu’au travers de mille feuillages except through a thousand foliages
Que vous avez pour moi d’attraits, what attraction you have for me,
Que vous avez pour moi d’attraits! what attraction you have for me!
Et qu’il est doux sous vos ombrages And it is sweet to be under your shade
De pouvoir respirer en paix Able to breathe in peace
De pouvoir respirer en paix. Able to breathe in peace.

The song has a very clear, symmetrical 4+6+6 structure, where each segment is constructed of quite similar phrases that share both rhythmic and melodic material. At the same time, no phrase is exactly the same, and although the segments are quite complete, and at least the second is followed by a short rest, the song clearly has to be regarded as a through-composed overarching whole.

The 4+6+6 structure is supported by the harmonic scheme. Whereas the first segment is well rooted in the tonic, albeit moving to the tonic parallel at

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311 Erroneously. The real author of the poem was seventeenth century writer and traveller Jean-François Regnard (1655–1709). It appeared in his *Le Voyage en Laponie* of 1681.

145
the end, the whole second segment is a digression with dominant Eb functioning as temporary tonic. The last segment begins with a move back to the ordinary tonic Ab, which is then instantly followed by a doubled closing cadence (the first interrupted) utilizing tonic/tonic parallel, subdominant parallel, dominant six-four five-three progression, ending on tonic. This well-structured harmonic scheme contributes to the stately character of the song.

The rhythm and melody, too, have a distinctly stately and solemn character. There is a certain rigid quality to both rhythm and melody that gives the whole song a declamatory character. A sense of declamation is created also by the marked three-eighthnote figure that initiates almost each of the song’s phrases. This declamatory character could easily be associated with the similar character of Frenchtragédie lyrique. Indeed, one would not be wrong in calling this typically French. The association to French opera is likewise strengthened by the marked cadences that ends all segments, and not least by the doubled end-phrases that give the song a kind of aria-like character.

Looking at the lyrics, also they could be described with the same characteristics as the musical setting. A stately solemnity permeates the depiction of the somber scene, and a declamatory feeling is present throughout the poem. Turning again to Schubart, it is not particularly difficult to see how this setting fits his characterization of the French style as focused on solemnity and forcible simplicity, avoiding ornamentation for the sake of truth and naturalness. Arguably, even a somewhat rigid oldfashioness could be a valid observation regarding this song.

Coming finally to the German setting, the style one meets here is clearly different from both the Italian and the French setting (Ex. 20).312 Neither the florid sensation of the Italian, nor the stately feeling of the French can be found here.

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Wie komms daß du so traurig bist,
Da alles froh erscheint?
Man sieht dirs an den Augen an,
Gewiß du hast geweint.
Und hab ich einsam auch geweint,
So ists mein eigner Schmerz,
Und Thränen fliessen gar so süß,
Erleichtern mir das Herz.

Wie ist es, daß du so traurig bist,
When everything seems happy?
Surely you have been weeping,
And have I been weeping on my own,
It is my own sorrow,
And tears flow so sweetly,
They lighten my heart.

Die frohen Freunde locken dich,
Your happy friends call you,
O komm an unsere Brust,
Oh come to our bosom,
Und was du auch verloren hast,
And whatever you have lost,
Vertraue den Verlust.
Confide your loss in us,
Ihr lärmt und rauscht, und ahndet nicht,
You make noise and roar, and have no idea,
Was mich den Armen quält.
What it is that torments poor me.

Ach nein! verloren hab' ich's nicht
Alas, no! I have not lost anything
So sehr es mir auch fehlt.
Although I am wanting it.

So raffe denn dich eilig auf,
Then quickly pick yourself up,
Du bist ein junges Blut!
You are a young fellow!
In deinen Jahren hat man Kraft,
At your age, one has the strength,
Und zum Erwerben Muth.
And courage to fulfil one's wishes.
Ach nein! erwerben kann ich's nicht
Alas, no! I can not obtain it,
Es steht mir gar zu fern;
It is too far from me;
Es weiß so hoch, es blitzt so schön,
It dwells as high and twinkle as beautifully,
Wie droben jener Stern.
As that star up there.

Die Sterne die begehrt man nicht,
One should not want the stars,
Man freut sich ihrer Pracht,
One delights in their splendor,
Und mit Entzücken blickt man auf
And gaze up enchanted
In jeder heitern Nacht.
Every cloudless night.
'Und mit Entzücken blick' ich auf,
Enchanted I gaze up,
So manchen lieben Tag.
So many a lovely day.
Verweinen laßt die Nächte mich,
Let my nights be spent in weeping,
So lang' ich weinen mag.
So long as I may weep.

No doubt, this setting firmly belongs to the German song style Reichardt had developed since the 1770s. As opposed to both the Italian and the French setting, it is truly strophic in every sense. The song is composed in a clear, symmetrical bipartite A+B/A'+B' structure, where each segment is four bars long. Melodically, the second part of the song is identical with the first, although it is changed from major to minor. This difference is further enhanced by an altered accompaniment. It should be noted that the bipartite structure of the setting is mirroring a similar design in the poem, where each strophe is made up of a call and a response.
The harmonic scheme clearly supports the structure, contributing a noticeable expansion in the B segments. However, compared with the Italian and French songs, the means used are considerably simpler. Here are no real harmonic digressions. Instead, the expansion is created just by an additional dominant to the dominant in bar five, and an added ninth to the dominant chord beginning bar six, (similarly also in the B’ segment). Still, this is enough to achieve the desired effect, since the harmonic foundation of the A segments are limited to tonic, dominant and dominant seventh. Indeed, apart from the tonic minor, no further chords are used for the whole song, reminiscent of the folksonglike simplicity observed in most of the Reichardt settings studied here.

That there is a folksong ideal at the foundation of this song can be seen, too, in the completeness of the four segments, something that also contributes to the clarity of the strophic structure. At the same time, it should be acknowledged that the setting is quite refined. Although clear, simple, and easy to grasp, it still is quite accomplished, and the simplicity it conveys is a refined simplicity. It is important to notice that this refinement does not entail any abundance of ornamentation, nor any precious galant traits. The accomplishment lies in the simplicity and immediacy achieved. Noticeable, this is achieved without the use of any particularly rustic Volkston expression. As has already been pointed out on several occasions, the German song style Reichardt had been part in creating, had transcended its Volkston beginnings, without losing its folksong ideals. Something this Goethe setting clearly illustrates. Turning to the lyrics, it is clear that also they have transcended all rustic folksong connotations perceptible in many of the songs studied here. Instead, a similar refined and intimate character as the setting inspire can be perceived in the words, also here without any precious galant imagery, but rather through its direct and refined simplicity.

In no way should this setting be regarded an artificial imitation of some foreign style; on the contrary, it is clearly a representative of a genuine independent German style. Returning once more to Schubart, no doubt this setting fits his description perfectly, both with its simple ingenuous melody, and with its very amiable, light and natural manner. Worth noticing in connection to this comparison is that both the Italian and the French national musical styles were connected to their different operatic traditions. (One can recall that the Querelle des Bouffons was a war on opera styles, instigated by the presence of an opera company.) The Italian and the French national music were designed for the stage. Reichardt’s German songs on the other hand were created particularly for private intimate performance. As I have argued, they were designed to naturally grow out of everyday life.313 Whereas the German song was

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313 The German song style was also present on the stage in the Singspiel. However, there was a desire to convey a genuine naturalness also here.
composed for everyone to sing, the Italian and the French rather belonged on the stage, (or in the case of the songs in the Troubadour collection, perhaps was conceived with an intention to transfer the operatic into the salon). The German song was founded in simplicity and immediacy, whereas the Italian and the French songs clearly have a more artistic character.

What becomes apparent with the Troubadour collection is that here there is a German national music just as confident and characteristic as the Italian and French. According to Reichardt there is no need to question neither the German music nor the German culture, and cultural identity anymore. Important to recognize, also, is that German song is not an expression of any mixed style, it is clearly a style of its own, and just as accomplished as the Italian and the French styles. It is in no way inferior, and it is not modeled on any foreign ideals.

**Summing up**

This chapter has been concerned above all with the establishment and promotion of a nationalistic worldview. As has been seen, the conception of national musical styles had been around for quite some time when in the eighteenth century it began to be debated with renewed interest. At the middle of the century Rousseau managed to give the issue a more profound and political dimension. A national musical style now reflected a cultural identity with clear political consequences. This was a view adopted by Reichardt who sought with his immense production of songs and song collections to cater for the German expressive community providing a natural cultural expression of everyday life.

This cultural expression was meant to be a natural part of the community. And in their conception of a natural singing people that expresses itself, as a people, in their everyday cultural practice, Reichardt and Schulz advocated a nationalistic worldview. Providing songs for a German expressive community Reichardt mediated a worldview where the national cultural identity was of central importance in life. With their songs Reichardt and Schulz activated a national cultural awareness, as well as made the community’s expressiveness possible.

Here, then, an answer to the first research question is at hand. In his collections, and in his prefaces, in his writings above all in the Musikalisches Kunstmagazin Reichardt was advocating a view where the national cultural identity, and particularly the natural active expressing of that identity was central in life. With his constant production of songs and song collections Reichardt managed to mediate a communal cultural identity where singing plays a
central role. Reichardt’s songs, and above all the active singing of those songs provided a natural expressive extension of life. This was in itself an expression of a nationalistic worldview where a common cultural identity is the foundation upon which society is built.

As described there was no recognized German musical style (as opposed to the Italian and the French styles) at the time when Reichardt began his compositorial activities in the early 1770s. At the same time, the notion that a German style could be conceived as the superior composite of the Italian and French styles was not perceived as an attractive vision any more. Following the ideas put forward by Herder and the *Sturm und Drang*, the cosmopolitan was no longer a suitable foundation. Hence, as demonstrated, Reichardt (together with fellow composers, above all J.A.P. Schulz) developed a German song style in opposition to the cosmopolitan galant style that was predominant at the middle of the eighteenth century. As seen, this national musical style was constructed by means of utilizing a folksong ideal. Although connected to the *Volkston* ideas described by Schulz, Reichardt’s conception is wider, resulting in a broader scope of compositions than one finds in Schulz’s collections. Reichardt’s conception was a national musical style and culture that went far beyond mere *Volkston* songs, but shared the same foundation. For instance, he clearly wanted it to comprise more refined and accomplished songs than would fit the *Volkston*. He was aiming at a full spectrum of cultural expressions, catering for every aspect of the natural German national culture.

What the chapter’s exposition has shown, too, is the vast and quick improvement of the German song culture perceived by Reichardt. Between the waste depicted in the *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*, and the flourishing scene described in the *Lieder geselliger Freude* lies only a couple of decades. Albeit, decades coinciding with Reichardt’s most prolific song composing period.
Music for education

I thank you, God, that I am the father of a man, let me also educate him into a human being!

In one section of the first volume of the Musikalisches Kunstmagazin Reichardt compiled a selection of “Pointers for the thinking and searching German Composer” (Fingerzeige für den denkenden und forschenden deutschen Tonkünstler). Here one finds a number of assorted passages from recently published sources such as Johann Christoph Adelung’s (1732–1806) Deutsche Sprachlehre, Johann Georg Sulzer’s (1720–1779) Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste, and Michael Ignaz Schmidt’s (1736–1794) Geschichte der Deutschen. The most extensive quote Reichardt offers from Justus Möser’s (1720–1794) Über die deutsche Sprache und Litteratur. Had he only had room for it he would have printed the whole text, Reichardt comments, and advises every German artist to read this work more than once. In the quoted passage one reads:

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314 Parts of this chapter have previously appeared in Nehrfors, “Shaping the Community through Songs.”.
The real reason why Germany has sunk again after the times of the Minnesinger, or has for so long been backwards in the culture of its language and the beautiful arts, seems to me to be chiefly because we are always being educated by Latin learned men, who despise our native Fruits, preferring to raise mediocre Italian or French, instead of seeking to perfect German style and art; without considering that in this way we would produce nothing that would please them and honor us.

They raise dwarf trees and trellised trees, and all kinds of beautiful cripples, which we cover with straw carpets against the frost, force towards the sun with walls, or need expensive hothouses to keep alive. And some of us were foolish enough to believe that we could send these half-ripened fruits as rarities to the foreigners, from where they origin; they were proud enough to think that the Italians would shudder with us in our humid grottoes; they who prefer the Geßner's shepherd's hut to all our treasures of this kind.

However, our products could become beautiful and great if we would build on the grounds which Klopstock, Goethe, Bürger, and others have recently laid down.319

Fostered by Latin learned men with foreign ideals the German artists will never create anything but poor copies of French and Italian works, Möser claimed. Although Möser was concerned with German literature, Reichardt believed the situation for German composers was exactly the same; reading Möser one could simply exchange the names Klopstock, Goethe and Bürger for Händel, Bach and Hiller.

Möser too had contributed to Herder's Von deutscher Art und Kunst with an excerpt from the preface to his Osnabrückische Geschichte published in 1768.320 Here Möser had presented his organic view of German history, declaring that the true elements of the nation consisted of the common country

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319 “Die wahre Ursache, warum Deutschland nach den Zeiten der Minnesinger wieder versunken, oder so lange in der Kultur seiner Sprache und der schönen Wissenschaften überhaupt zurückgeblieben ist, scheinet mir hauptsächlich darinn zu liegen, daß wir immer von lateinischem gelehrten Männern erzogen sind, die unsere einheimischen Früchte verachteten und lieber Italienische oder Französische von mittelmäßiger Güte ziehen, als deutsche Art und Kunst zur Vollkommenheit bringen wollten; ohne zu bedenken, daß wir auf diese Weise nichts hervorbringen könnten, was jenen gefallen und uns Ehre bringen würde. / Sie zogen Zwergbäume und Spalierbäume und allerley schöne Krüppel, die wir mit Strohmatten wider den Frost bedecken, mit Mauren an die Sonne zwingen, oder mit kostbaren Treibhütten beim Leben erhalten mußten. Und einige unter uns waren thöricht genug zu glauben, daß wir diese unsere halbreiften Früchte den Fremden, bey denen sie ursprünglich zu Hause sind, als Seltenheiten zuschicken könnten; sie waren stolz genug zu denken, daß die Italiener mit uns in unsern in feuchter Luft gebauten Grotten schaudern würden; sie die Geßners Schäferhütte allen unsern Kostbarkeiten von dieser Art vorziehen. / Schön und groß aber können unsre Produkte [sic.] werden, wenn wir auf den Gründen fortbauen, welche Klopstock, Göthe, Bürger und andre neum mehr gelegt haben.” Justus Möser, Ueber die deutsche Sprache und Litteratur. Quoted from Reichardt, Musikalisches Kunstmagazin, 47–48.

estates, and hence history was best apprehended through the changes of these. According to Möser, the nation could best be understood as a body, and the historical agents as occurrences affecting this body in positive or negative ways. One could then study how the condition of the national character altered as a consequence of historical changes.

_Ueber die deutsche Sprache und Litteratur_ was written in response to Frederick the Great’s attack on German language, literature and art in _De la littérature allemande_ of 1780. Although mainly agreeing with Frederick’s description of the poor state German culture was in, Möser did not share the king’s view that it was beyond repair. In short, the problem lay in the upbringing. An education according to foreign models was simply not suitable to the German conditions and would never lead to any great results. Luckily a true national art had begun to emerge, conveying genuine German images and notions. Although far from perfect, these new works by artists such as Klopstock, Goethe and Bürger would be much preferable as foundation for future greatness than any foreign models.

In other words, what was needed was an original national education instilling a genuine conception of an identity stemming from German conditions. This was one of the most important pointers Reichardt wanted to give the German composers, and one he no doubt embraced himself.

The idea of an education suitable for the German nation will be the focus of this chapter. Beginning with a general discussion of the eighteenth century’s burgeoning interest in education, focus will then move to Reichardt’s adaptation of this field. The role music was thought to play in education, according to Reichardt and many of his contemporaries will then be given particular scope. From these studies an answer will be obtained to the second research issue: what role was a composer supposed to have in a society with a nationalistic worldview? Because of music’s educational powers composers have a central task in the shaping of the future generation, providing the national cultural identity, as well as means for its effective assimilation. Finally, the chapter will provide detailed studies of Reichardt’s practical endeavours into this field with song collections specifically directed at children and infants.

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321 The king’s treatise was originally sent to d’Alembert, but the content was instantly mediated in the Berlin press. A German translation was also quickly provided by Prussian _Kriegs- und Archivrat_ Christian Wilhelm Dohn and was published by the court printer Decker. See Daniel Fulda, “Friedrich als Lehrer der deutschen Nation?” in _Öffentliche Tagung des Interdisziplinären Zentrums zur Erforschung der Europäischen Aufklärung an der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg und der Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg im Potsdam Museum – Forum für Kunst und Geschichte vom 28. - 29. September 2012_, ed. Jürgen Luh and Andreas Pečar (Friedrich300 - Colloquium, 8), https://www.perspectivia.net/publikationen/friedrich300-colloquium/friedrich_repraesentation/fulda_lehrer.
The burgeoning interest in education

At the time when Möser was complaining about flawed foreign schooling, an educational reform movement had actually been going on in the German lands for nearly a century. Perhaps the most important trigger for this was the establishment of August Hermann Francke’s (1663–1727) Pietist school in Halle in 1695. Originally a charitable institution for children of destitute parents, already after a few years it expanded to meet the growing interest from more well-off families to enrol their children in the school as well. The expansion was crowned with a secondary school for children of the nobility and the upper middle-classes, the Pädagogium, that prepared its pupils for university or civil service. As a sign of the school’s success, one can note that by Francke’s death in 1727 it contained more than 2000 pupils and 175 teachers. Worth noticing too, is that the Pietist model was copied also in other places. In Reichardt’s Königsberg, for instance, a Pietist Gymnasium was established already in the first years of the eighteenth century.322

Francke’s school initiated a number of changes, many with long lasting effect. Particularly important was the separation of school and church, and the professionalization of teachers which gradually led to the elevation of their social status. No doubt, this was a slow development that continued throughout the eighteenth century. Still, its effects were clearly detectable, particularly if one compares the situation at the end of the eighteenth century with the one a century earlier.

In the seventeenth century, and before, general education was above all provided by the parish or the community, and teaching was just one of many tasks the schoolmaster had to perform. What that position really meant was rather pastor’s assistant than teacher. A schoolmaster was expected to sing, lead the choir, play a little organ and if necessary fill in for the priest. He was also supposed to keep the church in good repair, as well as assist with different clerical duties. Indeed, teaching was not even a schoolmaster’s primary task.323 In the Pietist schools, however, the situation was clearly different. Here schooling was the sole focus, and both objectives and methods were subject to innovation and reform. The Pietist focus on inner conviction meant that they viewed education above all as a means to shape their pupils’ souls. Before long, this objective was recognized and approved by several rulers and authorities. Aspects of economy and the advantage of a disciplined labor force began


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to enter the educational discussions. Eventually, ideas of compulsory schooling emerged throughout the German lands, even though their implementation would prove difficult and take considerable time. Still, views like this clearly contributed to the continually growing interest that education was met with throughout the century.324

Besides the practical interest, there was also a widespread theoretical philosophical concern with these issues, originating above all with the publication of John Locke’s *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* in 1693, a work whose importance for the pedagogical discussions and development in the eighteenth century it is probably impossible to overestimate.325 Even more debated than Locke’s treatise, however, was Rousseau’s *Émile ou de l’éducation*, published in 1762.326 As will soon become apparent, this was particularly influential on Reichardt. Indeed, Reichardt held Rousseau in such high regard, that he confessed in the *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*: “It might hurt me to have readers, who did not love my noble dear Rousseau.”327

**Rousseau – Émile ou de l’éducation**

“Everything is good as it leaves the hands of the author of things; everything degenerates in the hands of man.”328 As *Émile’s* opening statement indicates, education is of the utmost importance. According to Rousseau, man is born with the prerequisites for a good existence. Unfortunately, though, since contact with the existing society is so highly detrimental, these prospects are soon ruined. What this view reveals, however, is an affirmed belief that this ruination is avoidable. And the solution lies in proper education.

Following Locke, Rousseau recognizes the absolute necessity of education for the formation of the human being. Man might be potentially good at birth, but he is, at the same time, basically a blank slate, (Locke’s *tabula rasa*). The development from infant to man is long and intricate, and needs to be dealt with carefully and seriously. This is particularly important since not just man’s happiness is depending on a proper education, but ultimately the whole society. No doubt, Rousseau found the existing education partly responsible for

324 Melton, *Absolutism and the eighteenth-century origins of compulsory schooling*.
327 “Es könnte mir wehe thun Leser zu haben, die meinen edlen lieben Roußeau nicht liebten.“ Reichardt, *Musikal isches Kunstmagazin*, 72.
the flawed society. (Yet, even the most defective education is better than none, Rousseau explains, since abandoned to himself from birth, man would end up completely disfigured).329

Given this understanding, it is perhaps not surprising that Rousseau himself regarded *Émile* as his most important work.330 Education is a practice with utopian possibilities; it is a means to reform and improve man, and consequently a means to reform and improve society. Ultimately, man is infinitely formable, and the possibilities to improve society manifold. Perhaps this radical potential of education helps explain the far-reaching radicalism of Rousseau’s educational method, as it is described in *Émile*.

For one thing, this pertains to its comprehensive scope, caring for the child throughout its growth and development, basically from infancy to adulthood. In this lies a deliberate concern to shelter the child from all society’s detrimental influences, until it has matured to the level that it can withstand those influences. The comprehensive scope is also connected with the fact that Rousseau’s pedagogy is really about upbringing rather than education. The sought outcome is not an individual who has learned a set of rules that has to be obeyed. Instead, the aim is to shape an individual with moral values that is perceived as natural and incontestable. The education should be internalized in the individual. As Rousseau states: “There is no subjection so perfect as that which keeps the appearance of freedom. Thus, the will itself is made captive.”331 A completely internalized moral is perceived as voluntary. Hence it is also the most assured safeguard against society’s detrimental influence. Indeed, with the sought moral internalized, society’s flaws will be immediately recognized and avoided. Which will provide the best foundation for a new, and better, society.

An additional aspect of naturalness pertaining to Rousseau’s pedagogy is its ambition to follow the cognitive development of the child. This, too, is reason for the withdrawal of the child from society. The educational progress have to be designed according to the physical and mental development of the child. One consequence of this view is Rousseau’s avoidance of books until very late in the upbringing. Generally, Rousseau shuns mediated knowledge and learning. True knowledge need to be obtained in practice, first hand. The child must always remain an active subject, as must, indeed, man in general.332

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329 Rousseau, *Émile or on Education*, 161.


331 Rousseau, *Émile or on Education*, 257.

332 Valuable insights pertaining Rousseau’s views on education has been obtained from Ronny Ambjörnsson, "Rousseau och den naturliga människan," in Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile eller om uppfostran*, vol. 1, trans. C.A. Fahlstedt (Göteborg: Stegelands, 1977), III–XXX.
Although Rousseau’s educational method was much debated in the eighteenth century (and later as well), his acknowledgment of education’s crucial role for society was no doubt recognized and concurred with. Still, Émile was not the all-important instigator to the educational reforms in the German lands it has often been described as. In fact, its reception by German pedagogues was characterized by a fair amount of criticism. However, his influence on Reichardt was considerable, as already mentioned. Indeed, in 1779 Reichardt even published himself the first part of a novel dealing with educational issues, Das Leben des berühmten Tonkünstlers Heinrich Wilhelm Gulden nachher genannt Guglielmo Enrico Fiorino, more on which soon.

Education and the bourgeois family

One particular reason for the growing interest in education in the eighteenth century was the emergence of the bourgeoisie; a connection that was acknowledged already at the time. As Friedrich Kittler has argued, education and upbringing lay at the heart of the bourgeois family. Contrary to the nobility, the bourgeois family could neither rely on land, nor on divine grace for its continuance; instead, that was something it had to make for itself. With the bourgeois family comes a separation of biological reproduction from cultural reproduction. The latter is no longer guaranteed for by the first, and hence it becomes crucial for the bourgeois family to focus on its cultural reproduction. Indeed, this becomes a primary task, as Kittler points out:

The bourgeois family acts as a production site not of articles or goods, but, much more elementally, of relatives. It produces 'human beings' [...], and does so in a manner which does not coincidentally attain the rank of necessity and science in the eighteenth century: through education.

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334 Developed not least by Rousseau. See Ambjörnsson, ”Rousseau och den naturliga människan,” XX–XXII.


In this, the bourgeois family has to be understood as both product and producer. With the education and upbringing of the next generation it reproduces its cultural foundation, and so secures its own continuance.337 Hence, education becomes a question of vital importance.

As a consequence of this the idea of the family shrinks, and the educational work is limited to the few children of the conjugal family.338 “Only the conjugal family can introduce such 'child-friendly' pedagogy. To the same extent as it loses its size and significance as an economic unit, the family is taking on the work of primary socialization. The formation of individuals becomes their, and only their, task.”339 In effect, the children’s education becomes the bourgeois father’s primary responsibility and task. This development is detectable in a lot of the literature of the time; Kittler for instance uses Lessing’s dramas to study and explain it. In Reichardt’s novel, too, it is clearly noticeable.

Some particular consequences of the bourgeoisie’s educational needs have been discussed by Dorothea E. von Mücke. In a passage on Rousseau’s Emilé she describes:

[Emile] cannot rely on inherited social rank; all he can become in life is determined by his education and behaviour. He will have to be socially mobile. Destination of the security of the status and norms of one class, he has to aim at a standpoint above specific class codes. He is to become a representative of humanity, in general, a free citizen who can move in all social circles, judged solely in terms of righteousness and authenticity of his behavior. Emile’s moral conduct cannot be left to chance. He has to become freed from the mimetic temptations of society; he must not be affected by the specific behavioral conventions of the circle in which he happens to be. Therefore Emile’s conduct has to be grounded more firmly on levels other than that of performance. His conduct needs to be linked to an interiorized authority that will be his guiding principle.

This need for an interiorized authority is reflected in the time’s change of pedagogical focus, from religion to moral. Dogmatic knowledge based on religious and classical models becomes less important and is superseded by an interest in practical usefulness and a new, moral disposition. Children are no longer educated via religion, but directly for life and society. This change mirrors the separation of school and church, and professionalization of teachers, mentioned earlier. This development too has direct bearing on the conception

338 Kittler, “Erziehung ist Offenbarung,” 34.
340 Mücke, Virtue and the Veil of Illusion, 53.
of the family. As Kittler states: "Thus, it is about the reduction of the political to the familial, since the family is no longer anchored legally in its origin, but psychologically in the morality of the children."341 In the children’s morals lies not just their future possibilities, but the continuance of the whole, bourgeois, family.

Leben des berühmten Tonkünstlers Heinrich Wilhelm Gulden
nachher genannt Guglielmo Enrico Fiorino

In 1779 Reichardt published the first part of a novel, depicting the flawed upbringing of a fictitious musician.342 No second part ever materialized, so the full biography promised by the title gets cut short; at the end of the published part the protagonist Heinrich Wilhelm Gulden is still just eleven years old.343

With comical, satirical tone the novel tells the story of a young boy destined by his father for a career as a profitable violin virtuoso. Although two thirds of the novel focus on the picaresquelike tour father and son undertakes, painting a series of amusing misadventures, this serves the overall purpose to exemplify (the consequences of) a pronounced defective education. In the short initial segment of the novel, relating Heinrich’s upbringing, the narrator comments above all on the irrational education the father provides. Already at the age of four his father determines that Heinrich should become a musician. This decision is partly based on the boy’s appearing musical skills, but more on an envisioned prosperous future. Two years later, the Heinrich entertains at local inns earning money for his parents. The father’s regiment is quite severe; Heinrich’s existence is restricted to violin practice during the day and playing at the inns during all evening and night. First at the age of nine he is taught to read and write, although only one hour a week, not to interfere with the music.

341 “Es geht also über die Reduktion des Politischen auf Familiales hinaus darum, die Familie nicht mehr juristisch in den Erzeugern, sondern psychologisch in der Moral der Kinder zu verankern.” Kittler, “Erziehung ist Offenbarung,” 38.
342 Reichardt, Leben des berühmten Tonkünstlers Heinrich Wilhelm Gulden.
All further knowledge is unneeded. “To be able to read passably, write his name and calculate the profit from the wedding, the father considered sufficient. Everything else, he meant, only unnecessarily encumbers the poor child’s head and keeps him from the most important occupation, the violin.”\textsuperscript{344} Actually, not even the music is really important, i.e. not in itself. It is only a means to make money. The music Heinrich performs on the tour is more about astonishing the audience with fantastic effects and impressions, than about expressing and conveying any emotional content moving the listeners. Preparing for the tour the father is above all concerned with dressing the boy up in the most fanciful and ridiculous attire; it is the spectacle, not the music, that is the important matter. Similarly, Heinrich is not brought up in the best interest of his future life, but in the interest of his father, who frequently refers to Heinrich as his capital, financially securing his own future.

The educational issues are further emphasized by the counter example that concludes the novel. Here an ideal upbringing is related, contrasting the flaws Heinrich has to suffer.\textsuperscript{345} Contrary to Heinrich, the young boy Franz Hermenfried has a father who is not just genuinely concerned about his son’s future prospects, but also in the means to best prepare him for life. Not least he has a strong and genuine interest in educational issues, something he has thoroughly investigated and thought about long before the birth of his children. At the heart of his convictions lies the standpoint that “[…] morally good education can only be taught by example.”\textsuperscript{346} Hence, a child’s upbringing is not primarily conducted through instructions and rules. Crucial instead is a morally benevolent environment. Education, therefore, is above all a matter for the immediate family. At the same time, it is a matter permeating every aspect of the family’s life. “Every act of the father, the mother, the housemates is a living lesson for the son.”\textsuperscript{347} Of course, also the world outside the family will influence the child, and this is no doubt a more problematic area, Reichardt acknowledges. Potentially, however, this is only temporary. “I gladly admit, that in the present world this would be infinitely more difficult than it now is for us to give out the twelfth of our income for the education of our boys. How


\textsuperscript{345} This episode Reichardt deemed important enough to reprint it in the \textit{Musikalisch\text-emph{e}es Kunstmagazin}. Johann Friedrich Reichardt, “\textit{Hermenfried oder über die Künstlererziehung},” in Reichardt, \textit{Musikalisches Kunstmagazin}, 105–17.

\textsuperscript{346} “[…] moralisch gute Erziehung nur durch Beyspiel gelehrt werde.” Reichardt, \textit{Das Leben des berühmten Tonkünstlers Heinrich Wilhelm Gulden}, 184.

\textsuperscript{347} “Jede Handlung des Vaters, der Mutter, der Hausgenossen ist eine lebendige Lehre für den Sohn.” Reichardt, \textit{Das Leben des berühmten Tonkünstlers Heinrich Wilhelm Gulden}, 186.
easy, though, will the education of their children be for our sons, who are thus formed into good men! Education will no longer be a special business.” In a future where everyone has been ideally brought up there will no longer be any detrimental influences corrupting the children. Reichardt’s confidence in the power of an ideal education seems to be limitless. Indeed, education is the key to the creation of a good society. However, it will take some quite drastic measures to realize this vision, as will soon become apparent.

In order to enlighten his readers about the qualities one should instill in a child Reichardt has the narrator of his Gulden novel provide the following list:

- You must live moderately in order to stay healthy.
- You must keep yourself usefully occupied, must work.
- If you work, you will have bread and clothing and enjoyment.
- You must choose such enjoyments that will strengthen, encourage, and make you capable of new work.
- You must love and serve your neighbours; so that in their turn they will love and help you.
- You must quietly do good, if you want to win the highest and purest of rewards.
- You must have faith in God and love him with all your heart, God the good father, who abandons none of his children, you must be satisfied with what he gives you, since he gives everything out of the fullness of his grace, you must love your neighbours and serve them, you must be joyful, industrious, modest, and kind, to be able to live happily, with God’s assent, with your own assent, with the assent of the good.

These are all traditional protestant virtues: live moderately, work hard, care about your neighbour, have faith in God, and be satisfied with your lot in life.

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348 “Ich gesteh es gern, daß dieses uns in gegenwärtiger Welt unendlich schwerer werden muß, als es uns iza ankommt, den zwölften Theil unsers Einkommens für die Erziehung unsers Knaben hinzugeben. Wie leicht aber wird unsern Söhnen, die so zu guten Menschen gebildet werden, die Erziehung ihrer Kinder werden! Erziehung wird alsdann kein besonderes Geschäft mehr seyn.” Reichardt, Das Leben des berühmten Tonkünstlers Heinrich Wilhelm Gulden, 186.

349 “du mußt mäßig leben um gesund zu bleiben. […] du mußt dich nützlich beschäftigen, mußt arbeiten. […] wenn du arbeitest hast du Brod und Kleidung und Vergnügen. […] du mußt solche Vergnügen wählen die dich stärken, aufheitern und zu neuer Arbeit fähig machen. […] du mußt deinen Nebenmenschen lieben und ihnen dienen; damit sie dich wieder lieben und dir helfen. […] du mußt im stillen gutes thun, wenn du die höchste, reinste aller Belohnungen dafür einernden willst. […] du mußt Gott vertrauen und ihn von Herzen lieben, Gott dem guten Vater, der keines seiner Kinder verläßt, du mußt zufrieden seyn, mit dem was er dir giebt, er giebt dir alles aus der Fülle seiner Gnade, du mußt deinen Nebenmenschen lieben, ihm dienen, mußt heiter, arbeitsam, mäßig, gut seyn um mit dem Beyfall Gottes, mit deinem eigenen Beyfall, mit dem Beyfall der Guten – glücklich zu leben.” Reichardt, Das Leben des berühmten Tonkünstlers Heinrich Wilhelm Gulden, 186–89.

350 Reichardt’s mother was a devout pietist, something that might have contributed to Reichardt’s character ideals. Pietism has often been described as excessively focused on inner
As pointed out, this moral foundation is best instilled through example. Ideally, it should be the moral foundation of the whole society. This emphasizes how upbringing is also about making the child part of the cultural community. Clearly, the moral foundation is a crucial part of the community’s cultural identity.

Regarding the further education, leading up to a profession, the views expressed are more detailed. Above all, this must not be strictly directed. Franz’s father declares that it is important not to choose any particular profession for a child, “[...] until the mental powers developed in the boy and he himself would be able to choose.” Before that, focus should be on the child’s physical stamina as well as get it accustomed to moderation and docility. As for all scientific education, this ought to follow from the interests and questions aroused when spending time outside in nature. When Franz eventually strikes up an overwhelming love for music, and proves to be sufficiently talented, his father goes to great lengths to make sure of the boy’s sincerity and conviction. It is not enough that Franz has the necessary skills to be a musician; it is utmost important that he also has the right opinion on music’s value and potential. In the words of Franz’s father: “I am very pleased that he will become a musician, if you believe that he will not remain an ordinary handyman of the art, but will become a true artist.” As a later statement by the father indicates, it is above all music’s societal potential that is of crucial importance. At the end of the segment, when Franz is offered a position as Musikdirektor to a Polish prince, he is reluctant to do service for a nobleman he perceives as unworthy. In the end he still accepts the position, following his father’s recommendation.

If you still have doubt since you consider him an ignoble man, consider that it must be a most desirable position for the artist, whom his art gives power over the heart of man, to be this tool that guides a powerful, wealthy man who requires encouragement to do good deeds, guides him to the good and noble. You

conviction at the sacrifice of outward actions, but as James Van Horn Melton has recently argued the pietists viewed good works as a consequence of renewed faith, something that led them to an emphasis on social action. See Melton, “Pietism, Politics, and the Public Sphere in Germany,” 298–99.

351 “[…] als bis sich in dem Knaben die höhern Seelenkräfte entwickelten, und er selbst im Stande wäre zu wählen.” Reichardt, Das Leben des berühmten Tonkünstlers Heinrich Wilhelm Gulden, 184.

352 Reichardt, Das Leben des berühmten Tonkünstlers Heinrich Wilhelm Gulden, 196.

have won his heart, now gain from this the happiness of many hundreds of your fellow men. 354

A profession with the potential to take part in the improvement of society is the most desirable one can imagine. Clearly, in Reichardt’s view, it is not out of reach for a musician to have such a role. Albeit, one has to take the profession seriously and become a true artist, as Franz’s father declares.

Comparing the upbringings of Heinrich and Franz emphasizes some educational issues and standpoints of Reichardt’s. First, there is a difference in purpose. Heinrich gets trained with the aim to secure his father’s financial future. Heinrich’s own future is of course also important, but in reality, only indirectly. Franz’s upbringing, on the other hand, is designed in his best interest, in order to make his future life the best possible. To that comes, also, a concern to make him benevolent to society. This concern, one senses, is directed at Franz as much as at society. An ideal life is lived in close connection with the surrounding society, ultimately in a perceived responsibility for the good of society and mankind. Looking at what they are taught reveals the different approaches further. Heinrich’s education is strictly limited to his profession. Indeed, beyond his musical training he is barely taught how to read and write. Whereas Franz’s education is designed to be both broad and solid. The strong focus on the moral foundation, and the avoidance of any professional direction until late in the child’s development, indicates an education or human life, rather than for a specific occupation. Second, there is a difference who gets to decide, not just the future profession, but also the way to get there. Heinrich has no say whatsoever. His father’s desire to make him a musician is even made prematurely, long before the boy’s abilities is fully developed, and his true calling determinable. Franz’s choice to be a musician, on the other hand, is his own, although he seeks his father’s blessing. This he gets, but only after his father has made sure his calling is true and genuine. As mentioned, also the early science education is designed after the interest of the children. Overall, the importance of, and confidence in, the child’s subjectivity is apparent.

Third, there is a marked difference in the view of the profession. Although both Heinrich and Franz are trained to become musicians, their professional education differs considerably. For Heinrich, the primary focus is technical skill. He is trained to impress above all with staginess, to deliver a spectacle. This attitude is reflected in the choice of music Heinrich mainly performs;

virtuosic variations on Polonaises, Menuets and other popular dances. Music is considered a means to show off wondrous effects, and consequently to make money. Its possible emotional and aesthetic values are clearly of secondary importance. This view is diametrically opposite the attitude of Franz’s father. As mentioned, he is initially reluctant to let his son pursue his musical interest, regardless of his apparent musical talents. Not until he is convinced Franz has a true understanding of music he gives his blessing to a musical career. Tellingly of the father’s views, during a test-period Franz is only given the most difficult pieces by Sebastian Bach and Händel to play and is also forbidden to perform before any visitors to the family. Franz has to prove that his interest is the music, not the audience flattery. Once he has convinced his father of this, and that he will not forsake his general education in other matters, the thorough musical education he gets covers all aspects, theoretical, historical, compositorical as well as practical. The musical studies are taken very seriously, mirroring the very serious view on music Franz’s father holds.355

Fourth, there is a difference in view of education on the whole. Heinrich’s father’s main educational means appears to be corporal punishment, something he is very quick to use throughout the novel. However, it does not appear to be a deliberate pedagogical strategy. The only real concern is to make sure nothing interferes with Heinrich’s technical drilling. Of Franz’s father, on the other hand, it is told that he had thought and read a lot about education long before the birth of his children. Prompted by his experiences of the world, this is a philosophical and theoretical interest as much as a personal and practical. Also, in line with Rousseau’s views, education is acknowledged as a means to change society, not just prepare children for life. No doubt, this last point was crucial for Reichardt.

In the novel Reichardt further develops the means necessary to realize his societal vision. Following the description of the desired common moral foundation, Reichardt has added a few guidelines for the noble and the rich.356

*the great and the rich shall do everything imaginable to conceal from their children that they are born masters. [...] Rich and noble parents should keep all prospects of wealth and of higher status hidden from their children. [...] If they can no longer withhold this from him, then they should make it comprehensible to him how easily an inherited happiness can turn into nothing.*357

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355 This dicotomy is clearly reflected in Reichardt’s *An junge Künstler* article. See Reichardt, *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*, 1–7.
356 When Reichardt reprinted the Hermenfried segment in the *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* he choose to exclude this section.
357 “*die Großen und Reichen sollen alles ersinnliche thun ihren Kindern zu verbergen, daß sie gebohrne Herren sind. [...] Reiche und vornehme Eltern sollen ihren Kindern alle Aussichten von Reichthümern und vom höhern Stande verborgen halten. [...] Können sie ’s ihm nicht länger*
As presented in the novel, these guidelines are primarily to be regarded as educational correctives. Potentially, wealth and inequality interfere with the educational process since that is founded on the child’s imitation of its model parents. The family of the noble and rich is simply not a suitable example. It does not naturally promote the desired moral foundation. On the contrary, it could actually be seen as contradicting it. For instance, the rich will have food on their tables regardless of whether they work or not, and the help of their neighbours is not received out of mutual love and benevolence, but out of structural superiority and possible fear of dire consequences. Hence, the added guidelines are absolutely necessary. If the rich and noble do not adhere to them, the desired education will not be possible. And in those cases, where suitable moral role-models are missing within the family, and no fortunate conflagration has consumed the father’s house and court, Reichardt argues for the drastic measure of taking the children away to be raised elsewhere.  

Reichardt admits that this is a harsh measure, but argues that, unless the noble and rich succeed in completely hiding from their children that they are born masters, it is rightfully deserved. A justification for this view is provided by the novel’s narrator:

But they deserve it, the despicable, wretched creatures, who have killed all humanity in themselves, who have turned nature’s most wholesome things into poisons, with which they wilfully intoxicate themselves, wilfully obscure their squinting eyes, so that they do not see God’s glory, nor the enchanting beautiful nature, nor the noble humanity! –

Yes, they deserve it, the despicable, wretched creatures, to have their children taken away, so that these can be more fortunate, so that the world will not loose the sympathy it is supposed to have for them. 

As described, the corruption of man’s natural connection to God’s nature manifested by the noble and the rich is particularly serious and damaging. By distorting this connection, the noble and the rich are no longer part of humanity,

359 “Aber sie verdienen es, die verächtlichen, elenden Geschöpfe, die die Menschheit in sich getötet, die sich aus den heilsamsten Dingen der Natur Gifte bereiten, mit denen sie sich vorsetzlich berauschen, vorsetzlich ihr schießendes Auge umnebeln, daß es nicht sehe die Herrlichkeit Gottes, nicht sehe die entrückend schöne Natur, die edle Menschheit! – Ja, sie verdienen es, die elenden, verächtlichen Geschöpfe, daß man ihnen ihre Kinder entreiße, damit diese glücklicher werden, damit nicht auch die Welt den Antheil an ihnen verliere, den sie an ihnen haben soll.” Reichardt, Das Leben des berühmten Tonkünstlers Heinrich Wilhelm Gulden, 195.
and unless their children are taken away, they will take after their parents and the same thing will happen to them. As a harsh solution, yes, but the only one possible according to the narrator since the influence of the family is so central for the education of the child. As already mentioned, all the virtues Reichardt describes in the desired moral foundation are potentially lacking in the noble and the rich, with the possible exception of faith in God. Particularly important is the relation to one’s neighbours: a good (virtuous) life is led in a community and cannot be achieved on one’s own. This above all is what disqualifies the noble and the rich as educators. As long as they are their neighbours’ masters rather than their fellow men, they place themselves outside of the community. And that is where their children will end up as well, unless they are taken away. The negative view of the noble and the rich is conveyed also in the first part of the novel when the Gulden company encounter the court of von Kallax. Here the nobility is characterized as completely condescending and arrogant towards the travelling musicians. This description of the higher estates is later complemented by a picture of the clergy as lecherous and paedophilic above all. Neither of these episodes depict any mutual community. The lowly musicians are simply there for the nobility and clergy to do with as they please. Clearly this has to be regarded as a corruption of God’s creation, and of mankind.

From a broader perspective the guidelines for the noble and the rich are not merely addressing an educational issue. The hope is of course that an ideal education of also the children of the noble and the rich would eventually lead to an ideal society that would be a community of equality and common mutual national cultural identity. As Reichardt envisions, with an ideal education of

360 To talk about humanity as something you can be, or not be, part of emphasizes a community aspect of mankind. This is something that needs to be fostered. This calls to mind Herder’s idea that all nations, and mankind as a whole, strive for the fulfillment of humanity (Humanität).

361 The wish to take children away from the bad influence of their parents was not new. At Hermann Francke’s (1663–1727) elite pietist boarding school in Halle, the Pädagogium, trips home as well as visits from the parents were vehemently discouraged, and letters to and from the students were inspected. Of course, the students here were not taken from their families but voluntarily enrolled. Still, the conviction that the state ought to remove children from parents who neglected their education had been expressed previously, for instance by the Austrian cameralist Joseph von Sonnenfels (1732–1817) in Joseph von Sonnenfels, Sätze aus der Polizey, Handlungs- und Finanzwissenschaft (Wien: Johann Thomas Edlen von Trattnern, 1765), 68. See Melton, Absolutism and the eighteenth-century origins of compulsory schooling, 44, 114.

362 It is significant that Reichardt discredits precisely the nobility and the clergy, the groups connected with the two worldviews Benedict Anderson describes as insufficient for explaining the world at the end of the eighteenth century. As mentioned, the position Reichardt envisions for his ideal musician Franz Hermenfried, is one where he has the possibility to serve the happiness of his fellow men. Although not necessarily implying a nationalistic worldview, at least Reichardt is advocating a society founded on a community of equals. See Anderson, Imagined Communities, 12, 36.
all children, it would only take a couple of generations until a new ideal society is in place. The hardest part is the education of the children of today, as already touched upon. But, would their education be successful, they in their turn, would have a much easier task educating their children, since they would naturally be better role models.\footnote{Zustand der Welt. Diesen müssen wir vor den Augen des Kindes, des Knaben, des Jünglings zu verbessern, oder vielmehr zu berichtigen, zurückzuführen suchen, Wir müssen, so viel an uns ist, durch unser Beyspiel, durch das Beyspiel aller und allem was um ihn ist, Gelegenheit, Veranlassung, zu rechter Zeit auch Hinderniße und Schwierigkeiten darbieten, sich zum Guten zu entwickeln, auszubilden zu bestimmen. Ich gesteh es gern, daß dieses uns in gegenwärtiger Welt unendlich schwerer werden muß, als es uns ertzänmt, den zwölften Theil unsers Einkommens für die Erziehung unsers Knaben hinzugeben. Wie leicht aber wird unsern Söhnen, die so zu guten Menschen gebildet werden, die Erziehung ihrer Kinder werden! Erziehung wird alsdann kein besonderes Geschäft mehr seyn.\textsuperscript{363}} As stated, education ideally takes place in the family, since imitation is the fundamental educational means. It is also the most natural and intimate communal entity, providing an immediate model for the larger national community.

What is a German education?

Returning to the Möser segment quoted by Reichardt, it is necessary to reflect on what the desired German education would entail. Few hints are given in the short quote, but most important is clearly to stop imitating foreign models. One could hope that an avoidance of foreign educators would help with this. However, that would just be the first obvious step; one also has to make sure that the national educators stop looking abroad for their models and begin to search instead for models at home. The crucial thing to recognize here is what Möser identifies as the main task, that is, perfecting German style and art, and what that entails. It is Möser’s conviction that this can not be achieved through imitation. This conviction is associated with the nationalistic worldview that advocates national differences and rejects the universal pretensions of the foreign models. Imitation only leads to copies, which are in themselves less valuable than the originals. Considering the prevalent aesthetic idea of the time, viewed imitation of God’s creation as the purpose of art, this view was particularly damning for a German art built on imitation of foreign models. No doubt, an imitation of an imitation has less worth than the original imitation, particularly if it is poorly executed. Also, without giving up this aesthetic foundation the solution to the German problem would be to look at God’s creation locally for inspiration. That was precisely what the national models

\footnote{Zustand der Welt. Diesen müssen wir vor den Augen des Kindes, des Knaben, des Jünglings zu verbessern, oder vielmehr zu berichtigen, zurückzuführen suchen, Wir müssen, so viel an uns ist, durch unser Beyspiel, durch das Beyspiel aller und allem was um ihn ist, Gelegenheit, Veranlassung, zu rechter Zeit auch Hinderniße und Schwierigkeiten darbieten, sich zum Guten zu entwickeln, auszubilden zu bestimmen. Ich gesteh es gern, daß dieses uns in gegenwärtiger Welt unendlich schwerer werden muß, als es uns ertzänmt, den zwölften Theil unsers Einkommens für die Erziehung unsers Knaben hinzugeben. Wie leicht aber wird unsern Söhnen, die so zu guten Menschen gebildet werden, die Erziehung ihrer Kinder werden! Erziehung wird alsdann kein besonderes Geschäft mehr seyn.\textsuperscript{363}}
suggested by Möser had done. Klopstock’s turn to ancient Germanic history, and Goethe’s and Bürger’s adaptation of German folksongs as poetic ideal all emphasized German models. Also, they all venerated the German language, and helped rejuvenate it. (Of course, Goethe himself argued precisely for the recognition of the national models in his reevaluation of gothic architecture in his contribution to Herder’s *Von deutsche Art und Kunst.* 364

In the segment it is also worth noticing the gardening metaphor Möser uses to describe the defective German art. The foreign models are not fit for the German climate and need artificial support. A national culture on the other hand is one that grows naturally on the German soil. One can note how this mirrors the dichotomy between the galant style and the *Volkston* discussed in the previous chapter, where the artificiality of the former is contrasted by the naturalness of the latter.

Turning to the educational issue, although it is not discussed in any detail in the segment, one can still make some reasonable assumptions. Above all, the issue here is not Möser’s segment in itself, but as part of Reichardt’s overall views as expressed in the *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin.* That is the context it should be interpreted in. What is ultimately at issue here is Reichardt’s views on education.

In the segment, Möser ultimately seeks a new German art with regained value, quality and presumed relevance. The way to achieve this is through a national German education, using national models, naturally conjoined with German culture and climate, instead of foreign ones. This means that the desired German education should be concerned above all with conveying a nationally founded culture. The fact that there is a perceived lack of admirable German art probably means that focus has to lay also on the national cultural foundation, that is, the qualities that make up the perceived national identity, prior to any valuable artworks. An example of that would for instance be the kind of work Möser himself did in his *Osnabrückische Geschichte,* as mentioned earlier. With a cultural foundation identified the creation of future national artworks, that is artworks that would be perceived as being naturally German, would ideally be easier to achieve. To what degree such a foundation has to be genuine, in the sense connected to history, is not really an issue. The fact that the national identity is a construction, as Hobsbawm argues, does not make a difference as long as it is perceived as natural. That means that the national education not only conveys an existing culture, but also shapes it. The most important thing is that it concerns the national culture; that it promotes

it, uses it, and generally focus on it. For the distinctly national education, the national culture is both means and end. Above all it should be concerned with the formation of the future Germans that will naturally identify with the national cultural identity expressed in the German art.

**Music as an educational means**

As an integral part of the national culture, also music should be conveyed in the national education. At the same time, music’s special ability to emotionally influence its listener made it particularly suitable for educational purposes, according to Reichardt. In 1777 he published an article with the title *An die Jugend: Aufmunterung zum reinen und richtigen Gesang, als ein Theil der guten Erziehung in unsern Zeiten* (To the youth: encouragement to pure and proper singing, as a part of a good education in our times) in the journal *Ephemeriden der Menschheit*. In this article Reichardt argues for the importance to teach children how to sing correctly and in tune (“rein und richtig”). To achieve this, he recommends Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg’s *Anleitung zur Musik überhaupt und zur Singkunst besonders*. Or, if money is not an issue, Johann Adam Hiller’s *Anweisung zum musikalisch-richtigen Gesange.* Beyond those recommendations nothing is said regarding the actual musical education, apart from the declaration that the recommended literature only offers the desired musical foundation for natural singing. For more artistic performances further education is necessary.

In the article Reichardt offers three reasons why children ought to learn to sing properly. First, because this would make the church service far more solemn and devotional (“weit feierlicher und andächtiger”). Indeed, Reichardt describes how the poor singing characterizing the present services actually

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**Notes:**

365 Music’s power to convey and instill emotions in the listener had long been recognized and discussed, not least in the eighteenth century; discussions that had above all concerned music’s ability to influence its listeners in a harmonious and virtuous direction. See for instance Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1739).

366 Johann Friedrich Reichardt, “An die Jugend: Aufmunterung zum reinen und richtigen Gesang, als ein Theil der guten Erziehung in unsern Zeiten,” *Ephemeriden der Menschheit* 2 (1777): 143–151. This Enlightenment journal, with the descriptive subtitle *Bibliothek der Sittenlehre, der Politik, und der Gesetzgebung* was edited by Basel philosopher and pedagogue Isaak Iselin (1728–1782). The journal came out in Leipzig between 1776 and 1786, and pedagogical matters was one of its chief areas of interest. Here appeared recurring articles and reviews of the latest pedagogical literature, as well as discussions on newly established schools, above all the Dessau Philanthropin.


leads to ridicule and mars the devotion. It is important for children to learn how to sing because communal singing plays such an important role in the protestant service. Improved singing would ultimately lead to an improved sense of devotion in church. \(^{369}\) Second, it would aid the general education. As Reichardt explains, good doctrines are easier and more pleasantly assimilated when sung:

> See, my dears, why does one bring you good doctrines, incitements to virtue, to love for your neighbour, forbearance in suffering, moderation in prosperity and so forth, why does one bring you these in verse and rhyme? For no other reason than to make them more comprehensible, more pleasant and more emphatic for you. […] But in order to make them even more pleasant, more emphatic, a very powerful means are well ordered tones, comprehensible and pleasant to the ear, and moving the heart.\(^{370}\)

By being presented in verse form, moral doctrines will become more comprehensible and make a stronger impression, they will appear more important and significant, and above all be more pleasant. Music makes doctrines more emphatic and memorable. However, the capacity of music does not end there. As long as the music supports the text by enhancing the same emotions that the text aims for, it even has the power to educate the singer (and listener) without the text. This phenomenon is described by Reichardt in the following passage:

> It has undoubtedly happened to you on some occasion, that you have heard a pleasant song sung somewhere, the words of which you might not have understood, at least did not keep in mind, only the melody made an impression on you, and you mumble and hum it frequently, and are thereby every time put in the emotion that the song’s poetry and melody jointly meant to arouse.\(^{371}\)

An attractive song will lead the child to the same emotion aimed for by the educational text. It might seem that an emotion is a vague representation of a

\(^{369}\) Reichardt, “An die Jugend,” 143–44.  
\(^{370}\) “Seht nur, meine Lieben, warum bringt man auch gute Lehren, Aufmunterungen zur Jugend, zur Liebe des Nächsten, zur Gelassenheit im Leiden, zur Mäßigkeit im Glück u.s.w. warum bringt man auch die in Verse und Reime? Aus keiner andern Ursache, als um sie euch fälllicher, angenehmer und eindringender zu machen. […] Euch diese Verse aber nun noch angenehmer, noch eindringender zu machen, dieses sind wohl geordnete Töne, die dem Ohre fälllich und angenehm sind, und die das Herz rühren, ein sehr kräftiges Mittel.” Reichardt, “An die Jugend,” 146–47.  
\(^{371}\) “Es wird euch wirklich schon selbst so gegangen seyn, daß ihr irgendwo ein gefälliges Lied habt singen hören, wovon ihr die Worte vielleicht nicht einmal verstandet, sie sie wenigstens nicht behielten, allein die Melodie prägte sich bey euch ein, und ihr lallt und trillert sie euch itzt oft vor, und werdet jedesmal dadurch in die Empfindung versetzt, die die Poesie und Melodie des Liedes gemeinschaftlich haben erregen sollen.” Reichardt, “An die Jugend,” 147.
moral doctrine; however, moral education is just as much about achieving common emotions as it is about achieving common values. It is first and foremost about being schooled to fit into an emotional community.

Third, music is also a means for incitement, joy, satisfaction and calming of the senses. Singing together in group spreads happiness; and harmony of the music instills harmony in the souls. However, these beneficial effects will be lost unless one learns how to sing properly, as will the possibility to spread all these effects to other listeners (that is, to the parents as well as to the whole community).372

There is a focus on the community in these reasons that it is significant to acknowledge. Would children learn to sing correctly and in tune, it would not benefit just the children, but the whole community. At the same time, it would also strongly contribute to the children finding their place in the community. If the children’s pure and correct singing helps make the service more solemn and devout, that has of course far-reaching effects. It is important for children to learn how to sing because communal singing plays such an important role in the protestant service, and the service is arguably the most central event within the community. It is particularly significant that within this event, singing is an activity everyone takes part in, an activity in which the community is joined together in a shared expression. Hence, this is one of the most obvious instances of the expressive community. On a smaller scale, there is a similar side to the role of singing in education. Whilst singing help children to better remember their lessons, singing them together, for instance in school, is likewise an obvious instance of the expressive community. Indeed, singing specifically designed songs together in school is no doubt one of the most obvious instances of being schooled into the expressive community. Here, the revolutionary role of the poet and composer, clearly recognized by Reichardt, is most obviously at hand. The musician is no longer just a servant to the rich and noble, but a servant to the future society, providing its moral and emotional expressions, shaping its hearts and minds. Acknowledging that the national identity is a construction, in the sense of Anderson and Hobsbawm, here it becomes clear that musicians, and poets and artists in other fields, are among its central constructors, particularly at the time and place studied here.

It could be noted that making singing important in the lives of children and in society is quite an ambition in itself.373 Whilst learning to sing gives access to an important means for man’s fundamental expressivity, singing is of course not the only possible means. Reichardt’s, and others’, advocating of singing in particular would actually contribute considerably to the German national identity as it would develop in the nineteenth century. This said, in the article Reichardt is at the same time careful not to overemphasize the

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373 For further development of this issue, see Gramit, *Cultivating Music.*
importance of singing for children. As he says, it is of utmost importance that
the singing does not make the children neglect their everyday duties, above all
to become useful citizens to the fatherland. With some humility Reichardt
ends with an assertion that all his arguing is merely done out of love for the
children, to improve their lives and their everyday future. However, indirectly
that would consequently be to improve the whole community.

Interestingly, in the whole article Reichardt speaks directly to the children,
ever to any educator or parent. Of course, this is just a poetic device; the
*Ephemeriden der Menschheit* was not a journal for children. However, the
manner conveys the image of addressing children in their own right and way,
conceiving them as responsible members of the community, fully able to make
wise decisions by themselves. This is clearly in line with the novel pedagogi-
cal approach of the time, where childhood was considered a particular devel-
opmental period with specific characteristics, and the ideal pedagogy adapted
to those characteristics and addressed the children’s curiosity and desire. Of
course, Reichardt does not believe that children themselves will buy
Marpurg’s *Anleitung zur Musik* and take up singing lessons after having read
his article, but he suggests that they would be naturally inclined to learn how
to sing, would their parents mediate his article and present Marpurg’s book.

On a final note, Reichardt promises that, as soon as he learns of pretty
children having Marpurg’s book in their hands, he will give them a beautiful
collection of pleasant and useful songs to sing. One could see this as Reichardt
trying to encourage a new market, or at least trying himself to get in to one
that had just began to grow. At the same time, this was a field with powerful
potential for someone with strong desires to change society. I believe Rei-
chardt’s ideological interests and expectations clearly outweigh his monetary
hopes, particularly at this stage. Also, it should be clear that the one does not
exclude the other. It is fully compatible to wish to change society, and make a
living whilst doing so.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the idea that music could aid in the
improvement of the listener’s disposition, mentally as well as morally, was
fairly common among the eighteenth-century German music theorists. How-
ever, Reichardt’s views and suggestions are considerably more practical and
hands-on than previous writers, such as Krause and Nichelmann. This change
towards a more realistic and practical take on the issue would continue in later
writers’ articles and discussions. Schulz’s 1790 pamphlet *Gedanken über den
Einfluß der Musik auf die Bildung eines Volks* have already been mentioned.
This was written specifically with the intention to develop a basic music edu-
cation for the teacher seminars in the Danish states.\footnote{Hahne, “Johann Abraham Peter Schulz’ Gedanken über den Einfluß der Musik.” Schwab,
“Die musikpolitischen Aktivitäten von Johann Abraham Peter Schulz.”} Among later writers
discussing the issue one finds Johann Friedrich Christmann (1752–1817),
Christian Friedrich Michaelis (1770–1834) and Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811).375

Reichardt’s songs for children/education

With a view that the ideal education takes children’s natural interests and curiosities as its foundation, as described in the Gulden novel, it should not surprise that Reichardt found an interest in children’s songs as a means for education. For an education stemming from the child’s own will, it would no doubt be desirable to present the knowledge one want to convey and instill in an attractive format. Placed in songs that children want to sing, the desired knowledge would positively be instilled in children through their own chosen actions. As songs also have the possibility to convey the cultural identity which they themselves ideally are part of make them particularly suitable as an educational means. In addition they form a natural part of a desired everyday life where the national cultural identity is actively expressed. Of course, Reichardt’s belief that placing knowledge in songs would make it easier to apprehend also serves as a reason for him to engage in children’s songs.

Reichardt & Campe.

Two words, most dear Herr Kapelmeister! (as burdened as I am, I can not write you more and you are the man who can feel more in two words than others in a hundred.) So – thank you, thank you very much for your beautiful melodies in the name of myself and all children! Thank you for your willingness to fulfill our wishes! Thank you, sincere thank you for your undeserved kind-hearted compliments towards me and an assured wish of the same for you! And now in the haste of a heartfelt hug with the assurance of my sincere respect and love. Campe376


376 “Zwei Worte, theuerster Herr Kapelmeister! (den belastet, wie ich bin, kan ich Ihnen mehr nicht schreiben und Sie sind der Man, der in 2 Worten mehr fühlen kan, als Andere im 100.) Also – Dank, herzlichen Dank für Ihre schönen Melodien in meiner und aller Kinder Nahmen! Dank für Ihre Bereitwilligkeit, unsere Wünsche zu erfüllen! Dank, innigen Dank für ihr unverdientes freundschaftliches Wohlwollen gegen mich und angelegentliche Bitte, um die Fortdauer derselben! Und nun noch in der Geschwindigkeit eine herzliche Umarmung mit der
In this letter of 1779 Johann Heinrich Campe (1746–1818), writer and pedagogue, thanked Reichardt for the contribution to his *Kleine Kinderbibliothek*. For a supplement to the third volume, published in September 1779, Reichardt had set to music six poems from the first two volumes, and one appearing in the third. With these settings Reichardt entered a field that would engage him considerably for the next couple of decades from time to time. This engagement would result in a number of song collections directed at children. As the *An die Jugend* article published two years earlier indicates, Reichardt’s interest in the field was not new. Reichardt had also composed specifically for children before. During his university years he had composed two children’s ballets *Orpheus* and *Trippstrill: oder die Kunst alte Weiber wieder jung zu machen* that have unfortunately not survived. To what degree these included any specific pedagogical aspects is of course impossible to know, but at least they recognized children as particular recipients.

Johann Heinrich Campe was one of the most important and influential pedagogues in the German lands of his time. He is perhaps best-known today for his pioneering work as writer of children’s literature; the impact of his Robinson Crusoe adaptation above all is hard to overestimate. He was born 1746 in Deensen, in Braunschweig–Wolfenbüttel, and after studies in Holzminden, Helmstedt and finally Halle he went to Berlin in 1769, where he got a position as private teacher for the von Humbolt family. In Berlin he got acquainted with all the leading figures of the Berlin Enlightenment, and also began to work as a reviewer for Nicolai’s *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* and other journals. In 1773 he moved to Potsdam, as he was appointed field preacher to the regiment of future Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm II, a


position he upheld for three years. In 1776 Campe became *Edukationsrat* at the *Philanthropinum* in Dessau. His strong engagement with pedagogical issues, both in practice and in his many reviews, had made him desirable for the radical and innovative school founded by Johann Bernhard Basedow (1724–1790) in 1774. However, because of the colossal workload as well as the internal disputes between different factions of the staff, Campe only stayed at the *Philanthropinum* for a year. In the autumn of 1777 he left Dessau for Hamburg. Here he continued his pedagogical writings and widened his focus to include also children’s literature. In 1779 *Robinson der jüngere* came out, which was followed by *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* in 1781, and the twelve volumes of the *Kleine Kinderbibliothek* published between 1779 and 1784. At this time Campe was approached by three esteemed Hamburg men who wanted to engage him as educator of their five sons. This led to the establishing of a *Familieninstitut* where Campe, together with his wife and two teachers, educated the children in a summerhouse in Billwerder, outside of Hamburg. Campe managed this experimental model school for four and a half years, until he handed it over to Ernst Christian Trapp (1745–1818) in the beginning of 1783. In the following years one major focus was the publishing of his major pedagogical work *Allgemeine Revision des gesamten Schul- und Erziehungswesens*. At the same time he moved to Braunschweig–Wolfenbüttel with the commission to reform the duchy’s educational system. Although the far-reaching reformwork ended in 1790, Campe remained in Braunschweig until his death in 1818. With the *Braunschweigische Schulbuchhandlung* and the *Braunschweigische Journal* Campe helped turn the duchy into a publicistic center for the pedagogical movement. This period also saw an awakened interest in revolutionary matters. Campe made two journeys to Paris, in 1789 and 1802, commenting on the situation in two publications. In his latter years Campe turned his interest above all to language issues. He was an avid advocate for the German language. Arguing against the use of foreign words in the German language he sought instead to create novel German words that would replace the foreign ones. These neologisms were

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380 Ernst Christian Trapp had worked with Campe at the *Philanthropinum* in Dessau and from 1778 lectured at the Halle university, where he held the first chair in pedagogy on a German university.


introduced in the dictionaries Campe worked on and published from the 1790s onwards.\textsuperscript{383}

It is not known when Reichardt and Campe first got acquainted; perhaps already in Berlin in the early 1770s, perhaps later in Hamburg.\textsuperscript{384} From the few extant letters between the two a quite cordial relationship can be detected. They also cooperated on more matters beyond Reichardt’s settings for the \textit{Kleine Kinderbibliothek} supplement. In 1781 Reichardt assisted in an attempt to enroll Karl Philipp Moritz (1756–1793) as teacher to Campe’s \textit{Familieninstitut}; he also helped distribute some of Campe’s publications in Berlin.\textsuperscript{385} The two shared an interest in the work of Karoline Rudolphi, and both men aided in the publication of her poetry. Reichardt was the editor, and contributed some settings to her first collection, published in 1781, and Campe was the editor of a second collection, published in 1787.\textsuperscript{386} In latter years Reichardt contributed to Campe’s work with the German language.\textsuperscript{387}

To what degree Campe was involved in Reichardt’s four collections of \textit{Lieder für Kinder aus Campes Kinderbibliothek} is hard to know. Apart form the quoted letter there are no records of any discussions on the issue between the two. However, the first seven settings for the \textit{Kinderbibliothek} supplement were no doubt done in agreement, as the letter shows. (Whether the initial suggestion was Reichardt’s or Campe’s, the supplement was no doubt


\textsuperscript{387} Johann Heinrich Campe, \textit{Wörterbuch zur Erklärung und Verdeutschung der unserer Sprache aufgedrungenen fremden Ausdrücke} (Braunschweig: Braunschweigische Schulbuchhandlung, 1813), XIV.
Campe’s decision.) Regarding Reichardt’s collections, Campe clearly supported them in so far as they were published at the same place as Campe’s own works. The first two parts was published in Hamburg by the Heroldsche Buchhandlung, the latter two by Campe’s Schulbuchhandlung. On a larger scale they are no doubt part of the same national movement. It is not difficult to see Campe’s pedagogical work as a central part of the national education that Justus Möser called for in Über die deutsche Sprache und Litteratur. In the first volume of the Allgemeine Revision Campe stated:

German contemporaries, let us not blush, to be and to make of our children what nature and providence knew to make of us and them through birth, physical character of the land and state constitution – Germans.

To foolishly ape foreign nations is working against nature, Campe says, mirroring Möser’s views. It is not difficult to identify a mutual understanding of the importance of a national pedagogy. It is likewise easy to imagine Campe’s wish to extend the aspects of the national cultural identity of the Kinderbibliothek to include also music. Given Reichardt’s manifest interests in educational issues, he was no doubt a natural choice for this task. At the same time, I believe, Reichardt’s association with Campe is an indication of the profundity of his interests in educational issues, since Campe was one of the most important and influential pedagogues of his time in the German lands.

**Lieder für Kinder**

In 1781, four years after the An die Jugend article had appeared in the Ephe-
meriden der Menschheit, Reichardt made good on the promise he had given there. In addition to the seven children’s songs he had provided for Campe’s supplement he had now set no less than forty-five more. Together with four songs taken from his first Oden und Lieder collection, and the original seven settings, these made up the collection Lieder für Kinder aus Campes Kinderbibliothek. And as if that was not enough, within the year Reichardt published also a second volume with an additional 46 settings (of which only three had appeared previously, one in the first Oden und Lieder collection, and two in the recent publication of Karoline Rudolphi’s Gedichte). A third volume


389 Campe, Allgemeine Revision, 122.
would follow in 1787 with 37 new settings, and a fourth in 1790 with a final 28 settings. Together the four volumes contain an impressive 167 settings.

As preface to the second volume Reichardt re-used the An die Jugend article, albeit with some very minor changes. Above all there is no mentioning of Marpurg’s book any more, the song collection has taken its place. Clearly, the Lieder für Kinder collections were conceived with the educational ambitions expressed in the article. These are not merely songs for children’s entertainment, they come with a pedagogical agenda. Recalling the article, Reichardt gives three reasons why singing is important to learn. For the first, to make the church service more solemn and devotional, and third, as a means for incitement, joy, satisfaction and calming of the senses, the collections provide songs suitable for practicing singing. However, when it comes to the second reason, matters are more complex, and need to be further deliberated. As Reichardt maintains, singing aids the general education, since good doctrines are easier and more pleasantly assimilated when sung.

See, my dears, why does one bring you good doctrines, incitements to virtue, to love for your neighbour, forbearance in suffering, moderation in prosperity and so forth, why does one bring you these in verse and rhyme? For no other reason than to make them more comprehensible, more pleasant and more emphatic for you. Why are you given reflections on the thousandfold beauty of nature in verse and rhyme? Likewise, to make them more noticeable, important, meaningful and enjoyable for you, to protect you from the false tastes in arts and customs through true love of true beautiful nature.

But in order to make them even more pleasant, more emphatic, a very powerful means are well ordered tones, comprehensible and pleasant to the ear, and moving the heart.

Also singing as an educational aid is of course supported by practicing singing the collections’ songs. However, looking closer at the songs one finds that

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most convey precisely those good doctrines that are described in the quote. Clearly, the songs in the *Lieder für Kinder* collections were not merely intended to make children learn how to sing properly. The songs were not just providing children with the means for their future education, they were themselves part of that education.\(^{392}\) Provided in the *Lieder für Kinder* is the moral, and cultural identity that would be the foundation of any national education. It can be noted that this is in line with the ideal education described in Reichardt’s novel.

To get an idea of the collection’s content one can begin by looking at the writers Reichardt has chosen to set. In the four volumes three poets stand out. No less than 42 songs are by Christian Adolf Overbeck (1755–1821), 24 are by Karoline Rudolphi, and 11 by Mathias Claudius. Then comes Jacobi with five settings, Aemilia and Stollberg with four each and Gleim, Hölty and Weisse with three. There are two Siewna settings; and a number of poets are only represented with one setting each. 41 poems are by anonymous writers (or are simply unnamed).\(^{393}\) Overbeck’s dominance calls for a short presentation of his poetry. As he claims in the preface to his *Fritzchens Lieder*, published in 1781, Overbeck’s ambition was to write completely from the child’s perspective. “Here speaks really a child, if I have done it well.”\(^{394}\) In all other children’s literature, Overbeck (rightfully) claims, the views and ideas of the grown-up are always detectable. Here, however, that is not the case. The viewpoint is clearly the child’s, and there is no obvious educational agenda present. The songs still have a moral sense, although this is not postulated from above but rather naturally felt and expressed by the songs’ protagonists. This means that the moral is not expressed as lessons for the child to learn, but rather as part of the child’s everyday experience. Which means as part of its cultural identity. This is particularly so, since the song’s morals are presented alongside other characteristics of the cultural identity, such as climate and customs. To further get an idea of the views that are conveyed one can look at the kind of subjects that the collection’s poems cover. Many songs depict everyday scenes children would be familiar with such as for instance *Fritzchens Tischgedanken* (Overbeck), *An die kleine Lotte zum Geburtstag*, *Badelied* (Matthisson) and *Das Kinderspiel* (Overbeck); many convey moral or general religious sentiments such as *Das Glück der Wohlthätigkeit*, *Die Güte Gottes*, *Fritzchens Gebet* and *Zufriedenheit*; life in the contryside is particularly

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\(^{392}\) It could be noted that Reichardt’s *Lieder für Kinder* was used in Prussian schools from the 1780s and onwards. See Voigt, *Die Musikpädagogik des Philanthropinismus*, 92.

\(^{393}\) The selection mirrors Campe’s *Kinderbibliothek*. Here, too, a majority of the poems are by Overbeck, and several are anonymous or listed as unnamed. See Perrey, *Joachim Heinrich Campe*, 99.

\(^{394}\) “Hier spricht, wenn ichs gut gemacht habe, wirklich ein Kind.” Christian Adolf Overbeck, *Fritzchens Lieder* (Lübeck, 1781).
adressed in songs such as *Der frohe Bauer*, *Fritzchens Lob des Landlebens* and *Der alte Landmann an seinen Sohn*; some deal directly with childhood such as *An ein neugebohrnes Kind*, the same goes for lullabies like *Die Mutter bei der Wiege*. The largest part are songs that depict nature, particularly in springtime; these make up almost a third of the songs in the collection. Here one finds songs such as *Am ersten Mai*, *Spaziergang in Februar*, *Frühlingsgedanken*, *Lob des Winters*, *Sehnsucht nach dem Frühlinge* and *Fritzchen, als der Mai da war*. There are also several morning songs, as well as evening songs. Of course, many of the songs are not as clearly-defined as this exposition might give impression of. Some cover more than one subject, and some are more general in style.

To get an idea of the character of the collection’s songs, and a more detailed understanding of the views conveyed, it is necessary to look closer at a few songs. Beginning with *Fritzchen nach der Arbeit*, this tells of the satisfaction derived from a good day’s work (Ex. 21).395

Fritzchen nach der Arbeit.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nun wohl bekomm’ es mir!</th>
<th>Now it does me good!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ich bin auch endlich müde;</td>
<td>I am tired as well at last;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doch süßer, süßer Friede</td>
<td>But sweet, sweet peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruht in der Seele hier.</td>
<td>Rests here in the soul.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ich hab mein Werk gethan. I have done my work,
Nun ruhet aus, ihr Glieder! Now rest, limbs!
Auf morgen ruf ich wieder; Tomorrow I will call on you again;
Dann gehts von neuem an. Then it begins anew.

Wie wohl ist mir zu Sinn! How well am I of heart!
Die Blumen alle winken, The flowers all wave,
Und wunderfreundlich blinken And the little stars
Die Sternchen nach mir hin. Twinkle friendly at me.

Der Abend ist so schön; The evening is so pleasant;
Mit ruhigem Gewissen With an easy conscience
Kann ich ihn nun genießen; Can I enjoy it now;
Und froh zu Bette gehen. And go happy to bed.

Wie würd' es anders sein, How would it be otherwise
Hätt' ich heut nichts gelesen, Had I not read anything today,
Und wäre faul gewesen, And would have been lazy,
Mich würde nichts erfreun. I would not enjoy anything.

Beschämt würd' ich den Kopf Ashamed I would rest
Auf beiden Armen stützen, My head on both arms,
Und in der Stube sitzen, And sit in the room,
Erbärmlich wie ein Tropf. Pathetic like a drop.

Dann fragte mich Papa: Then daddy would ask me:
"Wie ists, was kann dir fehlen?" "How is it, what can you want?"
Weißt du nichts zu erzählen?" Do you not have anything to tell?"
Kein Wörtchen wußt ich da. No word knew I then.

Dann käme Fieckchen her, Then Fiekchen would come here,
Und suchte mich mit Recken And try to raise me up
Vom bösen Traum zu wecken; Wake me from the bad dream;
Doch Fieckchen hin und her! But Fiekchen to and fro!

Verdrüßlich würd' ich dann, Troubled I would then,
Mich ärgerten die Wände, annoyed by the walls,
Und, und – ich fieng am Ende And, and – I ended up
Wohl gar zu weinen an. To cry at everything.

O, wie ists doch so gut Oh, yet how good it is
Um Arbeit und Geschäfte! With work and duty!
Wie stärkt es Muth und Kräfte, How it strengthens heart and vigour,
Wenn man was nützes thut! When one does something useful!

Dank sei dem lieben Gott, Praised be the dear Lord,
Er stärkte mich auch heute, He strengthened me today as well,
Daß ich den Fleiß nicht scheute So that I did not shun the laboriousness,
Und ehrte sein Gebot. And honoured his command.
Nun auch zum süßen Lohn,  And now to the sweet reward
Getrost zu Tisch gesessen!  Confidently sit down to dinner!
Wer schaffet, darf auch essen;  He who produces, is also allowed to eat.
Mich dünkt, ich schmeckt es schon.  I think I can already taste it.

Set to a gentle melody, expressing both confidence and satisfaction, the song tells how the exhaustion from a good day’s work brings peace to the soul and creates an intimate bond with nature as flowers and stars wave and twinkle amicably to the tired worker. Only after a good day’s work can one enjoy the pleasant evening with a clear conscience and go happily to bed. Had one shunned work, that would only lead to feeling ashamed and miserable. It is assured that when one does something useful it strengthens one’s heart and vigour. And it is stated that one is only allowed to sit down confidently to dinner after a good day’s work. Although this is quite a direct exhortation to lead a virtuous productive life, it is not expressed as a moral lesson, but as an immediate account of a direct experience. The moral is conveyed as the natural foundation to everyday life, that is, as part of the cultural identity, and not as a lesson to be learned. This lack of direct moral lessons characteristic of Overbeck’s songs can be found also in many of the other songs in the Lieder für Kinder collection. Indeed, the collection on the whole convey morals as part of the cultural identity rather than as lessons.

Turning to the musical side of the setting, this displays many of the folk-song traits identified in the previous chapter. The melodic phrases are all well-defined and complete; the melodic rhythm is quite straightforward and identical for all four phrases. The harmonics are very basic, consisting of nothing but tonic and dominant seventh. There is no ornamentation, no surprising turns and a complete lack of dissonances. It is quite direct and comprehensible, easy to learn and to recognize. The most startling characteristic is the B-A-A-B structure, following the poems construction where almost every strophe begins with a short statement, followed by a longer description. Since the B section consists of nothing but a closing cadence, the B-A-A-B structure creates a natural pause after the initial statement after which the song regains the momentum that leads to the end of the strophe. Although more accomplished than a common A-B structure, this still does not make the song leave the folksong fold in any way.

Besides the moral part of the cultural identity, also other characteristics are frequently expressed in the Lieder für Kinder. As mentioned almost a third of the songs, like this little spring song, a setting of a poem by Ludwig Hölty are rather straightforward depictions of nature during different seasons (Ex. 22).396

Die Luft ist blau, das Thal ist grün.

Example 22. Reichardt/Hölty, "Die Luft ist blau, das Thal ist grün," Lieder für Kinder I.

Die Luft ist blau, das Thal ist grün, The air is blue, the valley is green
Die kleinen Maienglocken blühn, The little lilies of the valley bloom,
Und Schlüsselblumen drunter, And primroses underneath,
Der Wiesengrund The meadow’s ground
Ist schon so bunt, Is already so colourful,
Und mahlt sich täglich bunter. And paints itself more colourful every day.

Drum komme, wem der May gefällt, Come therefore, all who love May,
Und freue sich der schönen Welt And rejoice at the fair world
Und Gottes Vatergüte, And the Lord’s fatherly kindness,
Die diese Pracht, Which such splendour,
Hervorgebracht, Has brought out,
Den Baum und seine Blüte. The tree and its blossoms.

This song offers a simple account of the beauty of nature in springtime, with an assurance that it will become ever more beautiful each day, and an expression of gratitude towards God. This account is accompanied by a short,
cheerful melody which emanates pure enjoyment. A little more accomplished than Fritzchen nach der Arbeit, also this setting is well situated within the folksong style. Here the harmonics are a little more elaborate, containing a short digression where the dominant D becomes temporary tonic for two bars. However, this is never conceived as anything particularly artificial. On the contrary, since all other parameters are quite folksonglike, that style is not challenged by the harmonics in any way. The straightforward A-B-A'-B structure, the drone-like accompaniment in the A-segments, the consistent melodic rhythm that continues throughout the song, the very simple and distinct melodic phrases all contribute to the song’s clear folksong character. The absence of ornamentation and dissonances are also in line with that character; as is the general lack of musical surprises.

Also a more rustic variant of the folksong style can be found in the collection, as in this Claudius setting (Ex. 23). As mentioned in the previous chapter, Claudius poetry was particularly direct and accessible, often depicting simple country life. In this Kartoffellied the rusticity of both the melody with its perpetual straightforward eight-note rhythm and reiterated phrases in bars 5–8, and the drone-like accompaniment, are quite congenial to the rustic, and slightly comic tone of the poem. This is particularly fitting giving the poem’s favouring a healthy local potato diet before any artificial, refined cosmopolitan bonne chere (good food), mirroring the studied opposition between the galant and the folksong style. The association of potatos with a national culture founded on the simple customs of the peasantry, rather than the sophistications of the nobility, is indeed quite symbolic for the whole construction of the German national identity at the time.

Kartoffellied.

Pasteten hin, Pasteten her,  Pâtés to, pâtés fro,
Was kümmern uns Pasteten!  What do we care about pâtés!
Die Kumme hier ist auch nicht leer,  The bowl here is not empty either,
Und schmeckt so gut als bonne chere  And tastes as good as bonne chere
Von Fröschen und von Kröten.  Of little frogs and toads.

Und viel Pastet und Leckerbrot  And a lot of pâtés and delicious bread
Verdirbt nur Blut und Magen.  Only spoils blood and stomach.
Die Köche kochen lauter Noth,  The cooks are cooking all distress,
Sie kochen uns viel eher tod;  They cook us an early death;
Ihr Herren laßt euch sagen.  Gentlemen, let me tell you!

Schön röthlich die Kartoffeln sind  Nice reddish the potatoes are
Und weiß, wie Alabaster!  And white, like alabaster!
Sie dau’n sich lieblich und geschwind  They get digested delightfully and swift
Und sind für Mann und Frau und Kind  And are for husband and wife and child
Ein rechtes Magenpflaster.  A true patch for the stomach.

Finally, it can be worthwhile to look at one of the Rudolphi settings for yet another facet (Ex. 24). Generally, Rudolph’s poetry is more precious and refined than Overbeck’s, Claudius’ or Hölty’s. Often it also expresses a more religious, moral attitude. Here, the sun’s invitation to wake up and enjoy the pleasures of light, air, and day is perhaps not as solemn as many of her other

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poems, still, it is more formal than a typical folksong. However, as this setting shows, the folksong style is still chosen also for this poetry. With its clear A-A-B-B structure, complete melodic phrases, consistent melodic rhythm throughout, basic harmonics consisting of nothing beyond tonic, dominant and subdominant, absence of ornamentation and dissonances, and overall lack of musical surprises, there is actually nothing in this setting that does not contribute to its folksong style.

Am Morgen.

Froh aber nicht geschwind


Der Tag ist da, die Nacht ist hin, The day is here, the night has passed,
Die düstern Nebelschatten fliehn; The gloomy fog shadows flee;
Die Sonn erhebt ihr Angesicht The sun raises her face
Und schmückt die Flur mit goldnem Licht. And decorate the ground with golden light.

Sie lächelt mildiglich umher, She smiles mildly around,
Als ob sie eine Mutter wär, As if she were a mother,
Und sprach: ”ihr Lieben, schlummert nicht, And spoke: “Dear ones, do not slumber,
Freut euch an meinem goldnen Licht!” Rejoice in my golden light!”

Und sprach: ”verlaßt die träge Ruh, And spoke: “Leave the lazy rest,
„Schaut meinen frühen Werken zu, “Behold my early works,
„Und les’t in meinen Angesicht “And read in my face
“Des Wohlthuns Freuden; schlummert nicht!” “The joys of benevolence, do not slumber!”
"Kommt her, ihr Lieben, kommt, genießt
"Die Luft, die euch bereitet ist,
"Seht meinen Freudenbecher voll;
"Kommt, trinkt ihn, immer bleibt er voll!"

"Come here, dear ones, come, enjoy
"The air that is prepared for you,
"Look at my full cup of joy;
"Come, drink it, it will always be full!"

So flieht denn aus der Trägheit Arm
Und trinkt euch herzlich froh und warm;
Und nehmt Muth und Lust und Kraft,
Daß ihr des Guten reichlich schafft.

"So flee from the indolent arm
And drink heartily glad and warm;
And take courage and lust and strength,
That the good has created in abundance.

Daß, wenn sie dann hinunter sinkt,
Und mild dem sanften Monde winkt,
Wenn sie zu seiner Flur entflohn,
Daß sie euch lächle süßen Lohn.

That, when she sinks down below,
And beckons to the gentle moon,
When she has fled to his grounds,
She smiles sweet reward for you.

Denn wer aus aller seiner Kraft
Nicht Gutes will und Gutes schafft,
Der, (seine eigne Seele sprichts,)
Ist unwerth jenes sanften Lichts.

Because he who with all his strength
Wants and creates nothing good,
He, (so speaks his own soul,)
Is not worthy of that soft light.

As seen, all of these settings are composed in the German folksong style studied in the previous chapter. The same goes for more or less all songs throughout the four volumes of the Lieder für Kinder. As discussed elsewhere in the dissertation, this German folksong style is not merely a musical attire, clothing the poems. It must be considered just as relevant for the cultural identity as the morals, customs and depictions of nature expressed in the songs. On the contrary, this is a most central part of the cultural education given when the songs of the Lieder für Kinder are sung. Indeed, ideally it conveys the national cultural identity, just as literally as the poems.

Given Reichardt’s use of different styles at the time, this should be regarded as a deliberate choice. When discussed in the scarce literature on children’s songs of the time, this has not been given much consideration. Seen as composed in opposition to earlier children’s songs, above all Johann Adam Hiller’s more elaborate and artistic songs, Reichardt’s (and Schulz’) folksong style are mainly recognized as particularly suitable for children to sing. However, further connotations of the style are mainly ignored. It is merely identified as Reichardt’s and Schulz’ style, an expression, above all, of the second Berlin Lieder school’s simplicity.399 However, the German folksong style was created with considerably more ideological associations, as this study has shown. Reichardt’s choice to set his children’s songs in this style should be viewed as an attempt to connect those songs with these ideological

associations. In my opinion it should be viewed as one way to make the songs part of a national German cultural identity, and of a national German education as described in the Möser segment. The style in itself is part of the national cultural identity, and must be regarded an intricate part of the national education, just like the morals and customs conveyed in the songs. One have to acknowledge that, ideally, the national style conveys a national sentiment that it is desired to instill in the nation’s future generations.

In 1799 Reichardt published yet another collection directed at children, this time for adolescents. The *Lieder für die Jugend*, in two volumes, were conceived with the intention to fit persons too old for children’s songs, but still too young for adult songs. In a sense, the collection could be seen as an adapted version of the *Lieder geselliger Freude*, published some years earlier. The subjects covered by the poems are similar, with many depictions of nature throughout the seasons; in the first volume one even finds nine songs that had appeared in the first volume of that collection, albeit all in new settings. In that collection these songs were primarily set by other composers than Reichardt. However, there are also some new settings of songs he had already set himself in *Lieder geselliger Freude*. The settings here are simpler overall; the melodies are more straightforward and almost completely lack rhythmic complexity. The accompaniments are considerably easy too, designed to function as practice pieces for beginners as Reichardt states in the preface (they also contain some fingering notations). In contrast to the *Lieder geselliger Freude*, all settings here are for one voice only. Of course, the songs could still be sung together with others in unison. However, the kind of community singing the *Lieder geselliger Freude* was conceived for is not advocated in this collection. Focus lies on the sole adolescent. Still, indirectly also this collection engages in the relation between the adolescent and the community. In the preface Reichardt states: “A joyful, pure enjoyment of nature, reproduced and heightened in images and sounds, is benevolent to every age”. In choosing poems that encourage this enjoyment Reichardt supports an active relation to the local nature, which constitute such a central and crucial part of the national cultural identity, as has been discussed in this dissertation. Without a common connection to nature there cannot be a genuine community at all. Nature is the soil in which communities develop and man’s relationship to nature will influence his relationship with the community. And, no doubt, also the *Lieder für die Jugend* plays a part in supporting this relationship.


Being schooled to fit into a cultural community naturally begins much earlier than the age for which the *Lieder für Kinder* were conceived. Ideally it should begin more or less the minute the child is born, particularly considering that imitation of the parents is the most central means of education, as Reichardt stated in his novel. That Reichardt believed in the receptivity of also very young children is evidenced by a collection of lullabies he published in 1798.402 No doubt lullabies were not a particularly prestigious genre; however, Reichardt clearly recognized their ideological importance.403 With the title *Wiegenlieder für gute deutsche Mütter*, Reichardt’s collection connected to an ongoing debate regarding maternal nursing. In the eighteenth century the use of wet nurses had begun to spread from the nobility to the rising middle classes.404 As a possible consequence of this, maternal nursing had turned into an ideological battleground; Rousseau, for example, argued in *Émile* that if mothers did not nurse their children themselves, the unity of the family would soon disintegrate, and with that society itself: “But let mothers deign to nurse their children, morals will reform themselves, nature’s sentiments will be awakened in every heart, the State will be repeopled”.405 This was a crucial issue; in the German lands the practice of wet nursing had become so widespread, and was considered so detrimental to the nation, that in 1794 a Prussian law was introduced that required women to breast-feed their own infants. In 1798, when Reichardt published his collection of lullabies, he was making a contribution to this debate. “Good German mothers breast-feed and look after their infants themselves and they gladly sing them to sleep”,406 he states in the preface; later

403 There are few collections of lullabies published before Reichardt’s. One that could have influenced him was Ernst Wilhelm Wolf, *Wiegenliederchen für deutsche Ammen, mit Melodien begleitet* (Riga: Hartknoch, 1775).
406 “Gute deutsche Mütter stillen und pflegen ihre Kindlein selbst und singen sie wohl gerne selbst in den Schlaf”. Reichardt, *Wiegenlieder*, I. Translation by Matthew Head, in Matthew
he characterizes wet nurses as unwise ("unverständig") and vehement ("leidenschaftlich"), lacking the mother’s instinctive bond to her infant. As Matthew Head has described, this standpoint is further emphasized in the songs, where both narratives and imagery convey a sense of mothering as something natural and immutable. This primeval view of the mother-infant bond is even conveyed by the title-page engraving (Fig. 2).


407 When Reichardt depicts his mother’s exemplary qualities in his *Autobiographische Bruchstücke* that she breast-fed all of her children is one of the first things he mentions. See Reichardt, *Autobiographische Schriften*, 11.

408 Head, “‘If the Pretty Little Hand Won’t Stretch,’” 235–44.
In the preface Reichardt explains how the lullabies are addressed to both mother and infant, with the lyrics directed at the mother and the melodies intended primarily for the infant. Whereas the infant only requires a gentle lulling melody (“sanfte einlullende Melodie”), the texts are chosen with the aim of keeping the singer awake and pleasantly entertained. In addition to
entertainment, the ability of the lullabies to communicate an ideology of maternity and family is equally important, and this ideology is already present in the title of the collection: these are lullabies for the mother to sing. The collection is all about creating the desired intimate bond between mother and infant, and although the primary addressee of the texts is the mother, in the preface Reichardt expresses his hope that in time the child will also sing the lullabies to its doll, and so be affected by the doctrines of the collection just like the mother.

Along with a wish to form the future generation, Reichardt’s image of the child singing to its doll conveys both a desirable view of the family, where values and beliefs are passed down through the generations, as well as a description of how children best learn these values and beliefs, that is by taking after their parents.

Looking at the collection it consists of 20 settings, five of which had appeared previously in the Oden und Lieder collections and the Lieder für Kinder. No writer dominates the collection in any sense. Herder contributes four poems, but they are all translations; one of a Sappho poem and three of anonymous folk poetry (two Scottish songs and one old Prussian). Otherwise, no one contributes more than two songs at most. Although directed specifically at good German mothers, the collection still contains one French and one English song, as well as two songs by Danish poets (Brun and Baggesen), although those are written in German. This might give the impression that the national cultural identity of the songs in this collection was less important than one would assume, but it could also mean that Reichardt considered those songs to express quite general sentiments. Given that the songs are lullabies, a genre that could be regarded as quite general in itself, that would perhaps be a plausible interpretation. All the songs are rather short, simple and quite symmetrical. Few contain any elaborate artistic traits. Indeed, many could be considered quite general, although still not without character.

Looking closer at the settings one finds that most are surprisingly galant in character. This can be illustrated by the following setting, on a poem by Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stolberg (Ex. 25).

409 Besides the four Herder translations the collection contains two Claudius poems, two F.L. von Stollberg poems and two Jacobi poems. One each are by Brun, Burmann, Campe, A. Stollberg, Schmidt, Schiller, Berquin, Bothwell, and Baggesen. One is anonymous.

Lieblicher Knab', ich wiege.


Lieblicher Knab', ich wiege
Singend dich ein in Schlummer.
Knabe, lächle noch einmal!

Eh du die Auglein schließest,
Eh du die Händchen streckest
Knabe, lächle noch einmal!

Trug ich dich nicht neun Monden
Unter gedrücktem Herzen?
Knabe, lächle noch einmal!

Säug' ich dich nicht an meinem
Klopfenden Mutterherzen?
Knabe, lächle noch einmal!

Wenn du der Mutter lächelst
Wird dich der Vater lieben,
Knabe, lächle noch einmal!

Sweet boy, I rock you
Singing you into slumber.
Boy, smile again!

Before you close your little eyes,
Before you stretch your little hands
Boy, smile again!

Did I not carry you nine months
With a heavy heart?
Boy, smile again!

Do I not nurse you on mine
Beating mother heart?
Boy, smile again!

When you smile at the mother
Will the father love you,
Boy, smile again!

Granted, the galant traits are not conspicuous. However, the song is rather refined and gives off a clear sense of decorum. And although it is quite short, a mere eight bars long, its harmonics are still accomplished enough to include a short digression in bars 5–6, where the subdominant is made into temporary tonic. The constant, arpeggiated accompaniment also contributes to the sense of quiet refinement that characterizes the song. Musically, then, this lullaby does not contribute to any national cultural identity. The words, on the other
hand, clearly conveys the ideological agenda Reichardt discusses in the preface, emphasizing the desired intimate relationship between mother and infant, referring both to pregnancy and nursing besides singing lullabies. Conveyed by the song is a strong ideological depiction of the close family, and its importance.

Although most songs of the collection share this quiet refined style, there are some set in a more folklike style. One of these is the following, on a poem by Campe, a setting that had previously appeared in the first volume of the *Lieder für Kinder* (Ex. 26).411

_Für Sophie ihrer Puppe vorzusingen._


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Schlaf, Kindchen, schlaf! Sleep, child, sleep!
Wie gut ist unser Schaaf! How good is our sheep!
Nie weinen seine Auglein, Its eyelids never cry,
Nie hört man es gewaltig schrein. One never hears it violently scream.
Schlaf, Kindchen, schlaf! Sleep, child, sleep!

Schlaf, Kindchen, schlaf! Sleep, child, sleep!
Wer liebt nicht unser Schaaf! Who does not love our sheep!
Es speist vergnügt das grüne Gras, Content it feeds on the green grass,
Zu Leide thut ihm keiner was. No one does him any harm.
Schlaf, Kindchen, schlaf! Sleep, child, sleep!

Schlaf, Kindchen, schlaf! Sleep, child, sleep!
Sei sanft wie unser Schaaf. Be gentle like our sheep.
Sei immerdar ein frommes Blut, Always be a gentle soul,
So sind dir alle Menschen gut. Then all men will be good to you.
Schlaf, Kindchen, schlaf! Sleep, child, sleep!

Just like the galant characteristics were not obviously evident in the previous lullaby, so the folksonglike qualities of this setting are likewise rather subtle. The monotonous accompaniment and rhythmically homogenous melody, which create that gentle lulling quality that puts children to sleep, do contribute to an overall folksonglike character. As does the easily graspable, symmetrical A-A-B-B-A structure; and the basic harmonic scheme, consisting of nothing beyond tonic, dominant and subdominant. In this case also the poem contributes to the folksonglike character. Albeit, the image of sheep is quite common in children’s songs, and appear in children’s songs from many nations, it is an image closely connected to the rural foundation of the typical folksong. This setting, then, more obviously convey a national cultural identity. At the same time, also this setting clearly contributes to the conveying of the collection’s ideological views. As the title states, this is a song specifically intended to be sung by the child for its doll, implementing the image of the nuclear family’s crucial role in society.

Although the musical side of the national cultural identity is not as prevalent in this collection as it is in most other song collections studied in this dissertation, there is still obvious potential for lullabies like these to contribute to the national cultural identity, nonetheless. If these lullabies would be widely spread and sung throughout the nation, that in itself would make it an essential part of the national cultural identity. Perhaps even a crucial part. Typically, lullabies are considered particularly intimate, and often sung very regularly, perhaps several times a day for years. Hence, they gain a particular importance for the national cultural identity based on their continued and widespread use in everyday practice. It is telling that Reichardt focus more on the practice than on the songs in his preface, recognizing the ultimate importance of that aspect here. It would no doubt be desirable for the national cultural identity to
have a collective collection of lullabies, recognized and used by the whole nation. The lullabies in such a collection would be perceived as national from their continued and widespread use, regardless of any real detectable traits. (One can recall Dahlhaus’ statement that if a composer has intended a piece to be national in character, and the listeners believe it to be so, that an ‘aesthetic agreement’ can be more important than any stylistic evidence.) As Hobsbawm’s recognition of the nation’s inventedness explains, there does not have to be any real objective ground for something perceived as unmistakenly national. Potentially, Reichardt’s collection of lullabies could have had such a role for the national cultural identity.

Summing up

This chapter has been about the interest in educational issues that permeated the eighteenth century. This was both a philosophical, theoretical interest, connected to the Enlightenment, but also a practical interest that led to the establishment of new educational institutions like Francke’s Pädagogium in Halle and the Philanthropin in Dessau. Education was seen as a means to improve society, a view that led both to the professionalization of teachers and schools, and to ideas of compulsory schooling. From an individual viewpoint, education was the primary means to secure a good life. This was, above all, crucial for the bourgeois family, which is dependent on the reproduction of cultural values for its continuance. The way to secure this was through a proper education, and hence educational matters became absolutely central.

As described, also Reichardt was strongly engaged in educational issues. He discussed them in the Musikalisches Kunstmagazin and other articles, and not least in his novel Leben des berühmten Tonkünstlers Heinrich Wilhelm Gulden nachher genannt Guglielm Enrico Fiorino. Perhaps not surprising, he showed particular interest for music as an educational means. As he described it in the article An die Jugend: Aufmunterung zum reinen und richtigen Gesang, als ein Theil der guten Erziehung in unsern Zeiten, Reichardt argued that knowledge conveyed in music, i.e. above all in songs, are more easily obtained and remembered.

As seen, in the German lands, education was also viewed as a means to improve a wanting national culture, as argued by Justus Möser. This view was advocated also by Reichardt. According to Möser, the education in the German lands needed to become national, acknowledging and emphasizing a national culture, and a national cultural foundation. Naturally, for Reichardt, music was a crucial part of such a national culture, and hence needed to become part of the things a national education taught and conveyed.
Clearly these views are an important part of a nationalistic worldview, where society ought to be founded on a discernable nation, identified, not least, by its cultural identity. As mentioned earlier, how this cultural identity is identified is less important than the fact that it is. The crucial thing is that it is mutually agreed upon within the nation. Here, then, an answer to the second research question, what role a composer was meant to have in society according to nationalistic views is at hand. He, and other artists, are ideally the most suitable to do the identification. And, since it is just as much a matter of construction as it is a matter of identification, as emphasized by Anderson and Hobsbawm (as well as many other theorizing nationalism) the composer and artist will actively contribute to the creation of that identity. Naturally, this is particularly true in a situation like the one studied here, where a lack of a cultural identity is both recognized and sought to be remedied. As this chapter has shown, Reichardt both acknowledged this situation and took part in an attempt to improve it. As studied in the last chapter, Reichardt was central in the formulation of a national musical style founded on a folksong influenced song style. In this chapter it has been shown how Reichardt attempted to disseminate this created national musical style as part of a national education. In the song collections discussed here, the Lieder für Kinder and the Wiegelnlieder für gute deutsche Mütter, Reichardt’s aims went beyond providing songs for a pleasant pastime. His songs for children express moral doctrines and benevolent depictions of nature, and his lullabies communicate an explicit view of motherhood and family; in both cases Reichardt sought to mould his singers and listeners, instill a national cultural identity, and ultimately to reform society.
Conclusions

In the beginning of this study I suggested that Goethe's and Schiller's exhortation for Reichardt to leave politics alone and go back to music was futile. Reichardt’s political views were expressed in his music as much as in his writings. Indeed, although Reichardt was not literally manifesting any political ideas in his music, this still instigated a nationalistic worldview, and provided the desired national cultural identity necessary for that worldview, and the means for expressing it.

As this study has shown, there was an emerging nationalistic worldview in the German lands in the last third of the eighteenth century. Albeit not overtly political at the time, it still conveyed an idea of a different, more equal society, among other things. National identity is not bound to any specific class, but unites the whole people. Moreover, as a worldview founded on language and cultural identity, it gave writers, artists and musicians a more prestigious and important role in society. In a nationalistic society writers, artists and musicians were no longer mere servants to the rich and noble, but responsible for the crucial task of providing and spreading the cultural identity. As this study has demonstrated, Reichardt adopted this worldview early on and partook in its emerging discourse both as writer, and not least as composer. Indeed, in the latter capacity he was seminal in the development of a German song style. As this study has demonstrated, Reichardt adopted this worldview early on and partook in its emerging discourse both as writer, and not least as composer. Indeed, in the latter capacity he was seminal in the development of a German song style.412 Also, his constant and continued engagement with an active song culture in close connection to everyday life must be emphasized as an important contribution to the nationalistic discourse. In this he was a practical advocate for the Herderian idea of a national expressive community.

It was the main aim of this dissertation to examine nationalistic views and ideas in the German lands in the second half of the eighteenth century, and study their impact on the artistic practice of first and foremost Reichardt. Without doubt one has to acknowledge the emergence of a nationalistic discourse and worldview in the period studied, exemplified for instance in the writings of the Sturm und Drang-movement. The ideas expressed by Herder, Mös er and others were perhaps not political in any direct and practical sense,

412 It has been beyond the scope of this dissertation to get a complete picture of all composers contributing to this. Reichardt was one of the leading composers responsible for this development, but he was not the only one. In this study Schulz’s works have been emphasized too. Further studies would identify more, no doubt.
but the theoretically implied consequences definitely were. Although mainly concerned with cultural identity at the time, the nationalistic discourse still offered the promise of a radical societal change. As described by himself, the acquaintance with the Sturm und Drang was instrumental for Reichardt, and influenced his activities throughout his life, as has been argued in this dissertation. In his writings he adopted, and developed, the nationalistic discourse, particularly in the *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*. More importantly, the adoption of a nationalistic worldview had a profound impact on Reichardt’s compositional activities. The development of a German song style, that has been identified and analysed here, must be held as one of Reichardt’s most impressive and interesting achievements. This contribution to the nationalistic discourse (which should by no means be limited to only written material) have to be emphasized as both important and influential. Given the crucial part culture has in society according to the nationalistic worldview, this is an essential contribution by all means. Following the nationalistic worldview, culture must be taken very seriously and be created with nationalistic insight and foundation. Music’s important role in this should not be overlooked. Its potential to convey emotional meaning, as described by Reichardt, makes it an ideal means for the community’s desire to express its cultural identity. Here one has to acknowledge that Reichardt clearly contributed to the future conception of the German nation as particularly musical.\(^{413}\) Naturally, his engagement in the development of a German song style is crucial for this particularly musical identity. Just as important is his continued propagating of an active song culture in close connection to everyday life. This was done in writing, for instance in the *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* and in prefaces to different song collections, as has been shown here. Also, a large amount of Reichardt’s compositions, above all his many songs, were directed specifically at the domestic music scene, supporting its importance and relevance. Here Reichardt’s own domestic music making should be noted. Both his Berlin home and, above all, his Giebichenstein house were well known for the music performances by Reichardt and his family members, as witnessed by numerous visitors.\(^{414}\)


\(^{414}\) Neuss, *Das Giebichensteiner Dichterparadies*. 200
The presented account of the nationalistic discourse has contributed to a more nuanced understanding of the society in the German lands at the end of the eighteenth century. However, the interaction of the emerging nationalistic worldview with older prevalent worldviews would be an interesting issue for further research. Clearly, a new worldview does not instantly replace a previous one completely. There will be a long transitional period of complex relations and revaluations. One has to account for numerous ways in which older worldviews remain valid. For instance, religion still contributes to making the world understandable today, although its political position is no longer that of the medieval period.\footnote{For an attempt to account for some of these complexities see Mårten Nehrors Hultén, “Conflicting agendas at the Königliche Nationaltheater? – Johann Friedrich Reichardt’s Die Geisterinsel on the Huldigungstag for Friedrich Wilhelm III,” in: Krisen- und Blütezeiten: Die Entwicklung der Königlich Preußischen Hofkapelle von 1713 bis 1806 (KultGeP - Colloquien, 6), https://www.perspectivia.net/publikationen/kultgep-colloquien/6/hulten_agendas.}

In this dissertation, the nationalistic discourse has mainly been studied through the works and activities of Reichardt. It was argued at the outset that Reichardt was one of the musicians most involved in the development of this field at the time. I believe the analyses conducted here support this argument. I also think it confirmed that there are general conclusions to be drawn from Reichardt’s example; a lot of the results are no doubt valid on a wider scale. At the same time, the specific results are worth emphasizing too, since they have provided a fuller picture and a better understanding of Reichardt’s activities and works. As I believe that this study has shown, Reichardt’s nationalistic views are essential and ought to be emphasized in order to give a truthful account of his person. The sense in which Reichardt composed his music in support of an emerging nationalistic society should not be overlooked. Reichardt engaged in creating the lacking national cultural identity throughout his life. In this, his crucial part in the creation of a German national (song)style should be particularly acknowledged. To see how this style was developed in opposition to an older galant style is a valuable result of this study. That there were political aspects and connotations connected to its creation, is also well worth acknowledging.

Equally important to emphasize is Reichardt’s interest in educational matters. Above all the way this is linked to the nationalistic issue should be noticed. Reichardt is not merely following the general interest in education characterizing the eighteenth century, but clearly appreciates its political potential as developed and described by Rousseau. The educational aims of Reichardt does not end in preparing children for the existing situation, providing their religious foundation and a future livelihood. His educational visions were more radical and far-reaching and were also connected to his interest in a nationalistic worldview. Through a well thought-out education of future
generations, the whole society would eventually change. As Reichardt argues in the *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*, the ideal society is founded on a common national cultural identity, expressed actively in the community. And, as he states in the *Gulden* novel, the most important means for the educational implementation of this society is the family. Indeed, the crucial role of the family as model and intermediary in the formation of the children, and of the future society, is particularly important to recognize. It is the clear foundation of the community, and the place where the national identity is most naturally expressed. Hence, music composed specifically for domestic music making must be considered particularly valuable and important. The same is true also for music composed specifically for children.

As shown in the dissertation, it is clear that Reichardt recognized the important role for musicians like himself in their creation of the national cultural identity, and its implementation in everyday expressive music making. In his lifelong engagement with song composition for home, and for children, there is a nationalistic, political aspect that has to be acknowledged. As his activities in connection with Campe shows, this was not merely a theoretical approach, but something Reichardt engaged in actively and continuously. Also this is something essential in order to give a truthful account of Reichardt’s person, and to fully understand his activities and interests.

In order to fully understand and appreciate the importance for the nationalistic worldview of an active engagement with music making, particularly at home and in everyday life, the idea of expressive communities was presented and developed in the dissertation. Although explained specifically out of an Herderian theoretical foundation, I believe it could have relevance also on a broader perspective. The concept’s immediate connection to the historical circumstances in late eighteenth century German lands, perhaps makes it more directly applicable to the phenomenons/things studied in the dissertation. Still, the concept of expressive communities is in no way limited to neither that time or place. The philosophical conclusions and characteristics connected to the concept are general, and could be used to enlighten phenomena of a wide variety.

As final words one could perhaps ask to what degree the adoption of a nationalistic worldview helped fulfill the ambitions of (someone like) Reichardt? No doubt, the career he had and the activities he engaged in would have been more or less unthinkable for a musician under previous worldviews. Still, one can not help thinking that he must have felt disappointed that the society he envisioned in the *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* and other writings never really materialized for him to see. At the same time, he never had to encounter any of the worst consequences of nationalism.
Sammanfattning


Efter en inledande teoretisk diskussion och litteraturgenomgång följer ett kapitel om den historiska bakgrunden, inklusive en analys av Herders

Ett resultat av studien är en bättre förståelse för Reichardts verksamhet och verk. Samtidigt, då Reichardt inte var den enda som var involverad i de framväxande nationalistiska idéerna, fungerar studien också som ett generellt exempel och dess resultat är giltiga även i större skala och ger en mer nyanserad förståelse av perioden som helhet.
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210
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