MUSIC AS THE MEANS TO AN END: AN INQUIRY INTO THE MUSICAL CONTENT OF THE WORKS OF GEORG PHILIPP HARSĐÖRFFER

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The prime purpose of this inquiry is to determine the extent and significance of the treatment of music in the literary and scholarly works of the German writer, Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (1607-1658). At the same time, his references to music are also used as a means of establishing the importance of a non-literary medium for a seventeenth-century writer, and to illustrate Harsdörffer's place in the intellectual life of his times. At the outset, the lack of strict dividing lines between the arts of music and poetry, and between the arts and the sciences in the seventeenth-century is stressed, as is Harsdörffer's own view of the close relationship of all the arts and other fields of knowledge. The seventeenth-century tripartite classification of music, *Musica Theoretica*, *Musica Practica* and *Musica Poetica*, is used as an organizing principle to allow his statements on music to be assessed in their contemporary context. The first chapter, *Musica Theoretica*, dealing with music as a subject for philosophical speculation, demonstrates Harsdörffer's wide knowledge in this area and his eclectic use of sources. The second chapter, *Musica Practica*, concerned with music as a science and a practical art, provides
information on instruments and technical musical terminology of the seventeenth-century, and shows Harsdörffer's familiarity with these. It is emphasised that his clear presentation of material here is aimed at the practical needs of readers wishing to partake in musical activities. Much of the information provided in the first two chapters is applied in the third chapter, *Musica Poetica*, which deals with the relationship of music and poetry. An examination of selected poems and songs shows the arts to have formal features in common. Harsdörffer's close collaboration with the composer Sigmund Staden is also established by the analysis of an extract from their opera, *Seelewig*, and a new source for this work is investigated for the first time.

The variety of material in all three chapters is finally put into the context of universal harmony and the Christian world view.
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Abbreviations used in the Text

AA  Ars Apophthegmatica
D  Diana
FG  Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele (Modern Pagination)
HS  Hertzbewegliche Sonntagsandachten
ME  Delitiae Mathematicae et Physicae Die Mathematischen und Philosophischen Erquickstunden
NJ  Nathan und Jotham
PT  Poetischer Trichter. Unless otherwise stated the 1647 edition is used.
SP  Specimen Philologiae
A Note on Quotations

Literary Quotations:

The following changes have been made:
- ampersand (&) replaced by "und"
- diacritical "e" replaced by Umlaut
- superior dash indicating gemination or omission of a final letter (komen, un, etc.) replaced by word in full
- apostrophe denoting omission of letters (d', od', etc.) replaced by word in full.
- other abbreviations (dz, wz, etc.) replaced by word in full
- Antiqua typeface has been underlined for purposes of differentiation.
- punctuation and spelling have otherwise been retained.

Translations from Latin, except those from Strunk, are my own.

Musical Quotations:

Unless the original is required for the discussion, modern transcriptions of musical examples are given.
Introduction

The most cursory reading of Harsdörffer's Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele reveals an abundance of musical notation and a wealth of statements on many different features of music. Not only does the work contain songs and instrumental pieces, but also musico-dramatic pageants and an opera. A number of songs with music appear, dealing with such varied themes as the four seasons (FG, II, 295-308), or the use and misuse of music (FG, IV, 46-49, 51-55). Others are included as incidental music in a play (FG, II, 393-96, 419-21). Still others are united to form the basis of theatrical spectacles, the first of which, entitled Von der Welt Eitelkeit (FG, III, 191-261) consists of instrumental sections and songs which are all connected by the theme of vanity. The second, Die Tugendsterne (FG, V, 397-435, 633-670), is also made up of a series of instrumental pieces and songs demonstrating the interrelationship of music, the virtues and the planets. The song also forms the basis of Seelewig, which is often regarded as the first extant German opera.¹

The Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele, however, is not the only work by Harsdörffer in which music appears, although it is an important source. Large sections of parts two and
three of the *Mathematische Erquickstunden* are devoted to
the subject, and include some notation, as to varying de-
grees do the *Poetischer Trichter*, *Hertzbeugelige Sonntags-
andachten*, *Nathan and Jotham* and *Ars Apophthegmatica*. Hars-
dörffer attributes all the music up to and including part
four of the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* to his contemporary
and fellow townsman, Sigmund Staden (*FG*, IV, 43). *Die Tugend-
terne* in part five of the same work is also by Staden (*FG*,
IV, 633). A selection of dance music in the *Mathematische
Erquickstunden* (III, 372-74), is by Johann Weltter, also of
Nuremberg, while the remaining quotations and examples used
for demonstration purposes in this work are drawn primarily
from other sources, although a certain amount is original,
as is the case in the *Poetischer Trichter*, and *Frauenzimmer
Gesprächspiele*, where musical notation is used in conjunc-
tion with aspects of poetic and non-poetic language. The
composer of the music to a song in the *Hertzbeugelige
Sonntagsandachten* is not given, and an attempt will be made
to determine whether it can be ascribed to Harsdörffer him-
self.

Music as a topic for general speculation, for inclusion
in stories and anecdotes, or for drawing analogies with all
nature of things pervades Harsdörffer's works. If an inves-
tigation is restricted only to those sections dealing speci-
fically with music, however, the results will be incomplete,
since references to various aspects of the subject are to be found under such apparently unconnected headings as "Die Reutkunst" (FG, V, 675-88), "Die Buchstaben" (FG, V, 177-84), or "Die Faulheit" (NJ, II, n.p.). The scattered distribution of the material in the case of one major source, the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele, is partly the result of the format chosen by Harsdörffer. The work is conceived as a series of three hundred conversations between six people:

Angelica von Keuschewitz/ eine Adelige Jungfrau
Reymund Discretin/ ein gereist- und belesener Student
Julia von Freudenstein/ eine kluge Matron
Vespasian von Lustgau/ ein alter Hofmann
Cassandra Schönlebin/ eine Adelige Jungfrau

It has been shown, however, that the six are not complete characters in their own right—they are not developed according to their individual personalities—but are basically interchangeable, and act as vehicles for passing on information and ideas. The topics used in conversation cover such diverse subjects as word games, dreams, gardening, bees, hunting, ghosts, heraldry or playing cards. Great emphasis is put on correct behaviour at court or among social superiors. There is in addition much discussion of the German language, as well as the arts, and at times the characters read poetry, sing, or act out plays.

By presenting material on all kinds of topics through
the mouths of six characters, Harsdörffer is not only able to draw in all kinds of material, but also to put forward opposing points of view, some of which are reconciled, some of which are not. At times, this results in some difficulty in ascertaining which of the contrary views Harsdörffer himself subscribes to, and it is only by taking into account statements made elsewhere that the attempt can be made to determine this. On occasion, no additional material can be found, and the contradictory statements must therefore be dealt with as they stand. Nevertheless, the information scattered throughout the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele, and throughout Harsdörffer's other works provides a wealth of material available for assessing his understanding and use of musical matter.

The name of Harsdörffer has found its way into musicological studies not so much for its own sake, but on the coat-tails of Staden, who earns his place above all as the composer of Seelewig. Harsdörffer, it is true, is referred to independently in a late seventeenth-century history of music as the writer of some fine songs, and a note is made of him and the Mathematische Erquickstunden under Staden's name in a standard eighteenth-century musical reference work--one which does not mention Seelewig. Although Harsdörffer was associated closely with music in his own time (1607-1658), and Staden was referred to as the "Nürnberg..."
Apollo,\textsuperscript{5} the eighteenth-century saw no real interest in their collaborative efforts, a fact which is basically attributable to the state of affairs as described by an important musical historian of the time, who noted that many works of seventeenth-century German musicians were "irrecoverably lost, and their talents forgotten, even by their countrymen."\textsuperscript{6}

Aside from references made in passing,\textsuperscript{7} Harsdörffer and Staden were for all practical purposes forgotten until 1864, when an analysis of Seelewig, and fourteen pages of musical extracts from the opera appeared in a general history of music.\textsuperscript{8} The rediscovery of Seelewig, however, is usually attributed to Robert Eitner, who published a new edition of the work in 1881, and suggested the reason it had escaped the attention of researchers until then was because it lay embedded in a literary work of the seventeenth-century.\textsuperscript{9} Eitner in turn prompted an essay by Eugen Schmitz in 1910 which deals with the musicological significance of the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele, and includes a new edition of Von der Welt Eitelkeit.\textsuperscript{10} The importance of this essay lies in the fact that it is the first major attempt to draw attention to Harsdörffer's own remarks on the subject of music. Although Schmitz acknowledges the material to be of interest from a general cultural point of view, his main point is that is is not particularly original, and he con-
cludes by stating that there is very little more to be found on music in the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele.

This assessment undoubtedly contributed to the subsequent neglect of Harsdörffer and Seelewig in musicological investigations, as indeed do such brief descriptions of the work in various secondary sources as "naive and insignificant," consisting mainly of "lebloses Gestüpp," the characters being "blutleere Allegorien." The critical nadir was reached with the 1947 edition of Grout's Short History of Opera, in which the music to the Tugendsterne was noted as being lost. The music in fact appears separately towards the end of the same volume of the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele which contains the words to the piece.

The recent upsurge of enthusiasm for early music has corrected this error—James Haar pointed it out in 1962, and he is duly footnoted in the latest edition of Grout's Short History. Haar himself published an English translation of the Tugendsterne, the score including the original German text, and an extensively documented introductory essay giving much useful information on the scholarly background of this work by Harsdörffer. This in turn prompted a rebuttal by Peter Keller to a statement made by Haar on the nature of the collaboration between Harsdörffer and Staden. Keller later provided the first exhaustive study of Seelewig, which takes into consideration all the major
features of the work, examines its relationship to other similar musical dramas of the time, and puts it into its proper historical context. Both Haar and Keller pay attention to Harsdörffer, and this, plus the fact that he now warrants his own entry in the latest edition of Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, one of the standard music reference books of today, suggests that musicologists are starting to turn their heads in his direction.

Undocumented references are made to a first performance of Seelewig in 1644, the year the work first appeared in print. The only contemporary indication of this, however, is a remark made in passing by Harsdörffer. In the introductory section to part four of the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele, he notes that the music "ist nach Beurtheilung aller derer/ die beygefügtes Waldgedicht [Seelewig] angehöret/ dergleichen . . . in Teutschland noch nicht in Druck kommen . . . ." (FG, IV, 43). This seems to imply that the opera had been heard, although it cannot be taken as convincing evidence that a full-scale version had been put on.

A performance certainly took place in Wolfenbüttel in 1654: "Nach gehaltener Mahlzeit/ wurden S. Fürstl. Gn. . . . nach dem Commoedien Hause begleitet/ daselbst ein schönes Theatrum bereitet/ und des Herrn Harstorffers geistreiche Sing-Comoedie, genommen aus seinem vierdten Buch der Gesprächspiele/ Gesangweise gerepresentiret worden." In
this case, Seelewig was used for a particular occasion, a birthday celebration, although it had been written ten years earlier. Many musico-dramatic works at this time were composed for a specific event, and consequently were performed only once, with no real need to have the material printed.\textsuperscript{23} That Seelewig was resurrected in 1654 not only attests to its popularity at Wolfenbüttel—as indeed does the reprint of the libretto there in 1665—but can also be attributed to the fact that the libretto and score were readily available in printed form.

A further performance of Seelewig is noted for the year 1698 in Augsburg, but it was not until over two-hundred years later that the work began appearing on stage again—revivals took place in Cologne in 1912, and in Gera in 1924.\textsuperscript{24} The latest production was staged in 1975 in Utrecht,\textsuperscript{25} and a further performance is planned for the Spring of 1983 in Saarbrücken. The performance history of Seelewig thus corresponds closely to that of its critical reception.

From a literary point of view, Harsdörffer's fortunes have been similarly erratic. The reception of the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele in particular has been noted. When the thousand copies of the first edition of part one first appeared in 1641, they were quickly sold out,\textsuperscript{26} and a second edition in a new format was printed in 1644. Enthusiasm for the work continued until the end of the seventeenth-century,
but it was subsequently received with much vituperative disapproval well into the nineteenth-century. Harsdörffer was occasionally viewed with some grace in the eighteenth-century with respect to his efforts on behalf of the German language, or as a notable son of Nuremberg. Another approach, however, was one of derision or total neglect. Two major studies on Harsdörffer appeared in the nineteenth-century, but it was not until the twentieth-century that interest in him increased. Investigations have been made into such diverse areas as language and poetics, his knowledge of authors, staging, aesthetics, emblems, and proverbs, to name but a few. The tendency in these works is generally, although not exclusively, to examine Harsdörffer in the context of his times, with the result that he has been found to be a figure worthy of scrutiny. It is therefore remarkable that the word "absurdities" is still used in connection with him in a relatively recent edition of a history of German literature.

Notable by its absence is an independent study of Harsdörffer and music, in spite of the recognition of this gap, and in spite of the appearance of Seelewig (without music) in a literary series. Recent literary critics have, however, touched on the subject to varying degrees, one of the longest assessments being a four-page contribution by Narciss. These few pages consist of a number of citations
of Harsdörffer's more striking comments on music, interspersed with restatements from Schmitz' essay. Other studies which mention music in any specific way either resort to description, or suggest Harsdörffer's understanding and use of music in a theatrical context is as accompaniment only, as "blosse Stimmung," or, using an anachronistic term, as "Gebrauchsmusik." One early twentieth-century writer, in spite of a tendency to use vague abstractions, does indicate that allowances must be made for the fact that the conception and application of music in his day has changed since Harsdörffer's time, although it is not within the scope of his work to deal with the subject in any depth.

Two major observations can be made on the studies cited. Firstly, the emphasis is on the music in the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele. There is very little consideration of the musical content in Harsdörffer's other writings. Secondly, there is a seeming reluctance to delve into musicological studies dealing with the period, or indeed into musical sources of the time. If references do appear, they are generally limited to Schmitz or Eitner, although the possible significance of the writings of musicians contemporary with Harsdörffer has recently been pointed out.

The explanation for this general neglect is that music and literature in the twentieth-century have become separate.
areas of investigation, resulting in a significant gulf between the critical approaches to the two arts today. Such a gulf, however, was by no means evident at the time of Harsdörffer. "Only towards the eighteenth-century did the interrelationships between the arts, and especially between music and literature, become a recognized field of study," which indicates that the two were previously viewed according to "universal aesthetic principles." Changes have also taken place in the manner of interpreting and appraising the content, function and general significance of the two arts since they became independent--the importance of theological or intellectual standards as the basis of criticising a piece of music or a work of literature has dwindled. Connected to this are the changes in musical and literary taste which have occurred since the seventeenth-century--what is considered good in one age may be viewed with contempt in another.

Moreover, the division between the arts and the sciences familiar today was by no means established in the seventeenth-century, as Harsdörffer's *Mathematische Erquickstunden* manifestly attests. Yet the question of whether music was an art or a science was being put forward in Harsdörffer's day. At least since the time of Pythagoras, music had been viewed in many of its aspects as a mathematical phenomenon, and traditionally, the subject had been part of the *quadrivium*,...
which also included the subjects of geometry, arithmetic and astronomy. Furthermore, by Harsdörffer's time, a great number of experiments had been carried out on the acoustic properties of various musical instruments, an area of investigation which during this century culminated above all in the violins of Amati and Stradivarius. The conception of music as a science, both philosophically and practically, is therefore basic to an understanding of the subject in a seventeenth-century context.

From a creative as well as a critical point of view, the division between music and literature evident today did not exist to nearly the same extent in the seventeenth-century. There were of course professional musicians: Kindermann, Herbst, Franck and Staden are but a few examples of those active in Nuremberg in the first half of the century. But, as will be shown, the art of music was so intimately bound up with the word, that the musician was expected to be familiar with a number of aspects of language. There were those, furthermore, who not only composed music, but also wrote the words for their own songs. Schein and Krieger are two examples of musician poets.51

The professional writer did not exist in seventeenth-century Germany, with the possible exception of Sigmund von Birken. All other writers of this time were either employed in full-time occupations, often as preachers, professors, or
town councillors, or were members of the aristocracy. Nevertheless, a large number of them were in close contact with musicians, writing with musical settings in mind: Fleming and Schein; Rist and a number of composers, including Staden; Dach and Albert; Klaj, Birken and Staden. The writers provided the words for hymns, secular songs and in some cases opera, the most notable in the last category being Opitz and Dafne, with music by Schütz. Some poets, Rist, Kaldenbach and Beer, for instance, also composed music. There was thus extensive interaction between the practitioners of the two arts.

The changes which have taken place since the seventeenth-century in the conception of the relationship between literature and music on the one hand, and arts and sciences on the other, are sufficient to explain firstly why literary critics examining Harsdörffer shy away from musicological research materials; the two areas have each become so specialized that researchers in one field are reluctant to go foraging in the other, although tentative efforts are now being made. The changes secondly explain why literary critics pay little attention to Harsdörffer's Mathematische Erquickstunden in particular, a work which in fact includes much of literary interest interspersed between or included under subjects which would today come under the heading of science. The present work therefore fundamentally repre-
sents an attempt to cross over the twentieth-century dividing lines between the two arts, and between the arts and sciences in order to examine Harsdörffer's involvement in a subject which in many of its aspects is vitally connected to his literary work. Music is the means to this basic end.

Before embarking on specifics, a few general observations can be made on Harsdörffer's own views of the arts and other areas of knowledge. Although he discusses a number of them independently, the essence of his understanding of their ultimate relationship to each other is expressed as the following analogy: "... Dann die Musik/Poeterey/Mahlerey/Wissenschaften/ und dero Zugehörung/ so genau aneinander hangen/ dass keines von dem andern sich nicht wol trennen lässt/ sondern als Glieder einer Ketten nach und nach verbunden erhalten werden können" (FG, II, 322).

In other words, all the areas mentioned retain their individuality insofar as each represents a link in the chain, but overall they are seen as conjoined into one great synthesis. With respect to the arts of music, poetry and painting in particular, the synthesis is also seen in terms of "ein Cirkel mit dreyen Spitzen/ auf einem Papyr stehend/ wie man sonst zu dem Feldmessen gebrauchet" (FG, IV, 202). They are represented by a scientific instrument. The three arts, in addition, exist "in richtiger Ebenmaase" (FG, IV, 202)—none is inferior or superior to the others in any way.
The result of this interrelationship of the arts for Harsdörffer is that the poet is not considered merely as a maker of verses, but as someone who has experience in as many other fields as possible. If he is writing for the stage, for instance, a knowledge of architecture, the rules of perspective, painting, music and dance is essential (FG, VI,162-63). Harsdörffer also notes that it would take a lifetime for an individual to excel in any one of the arts, let alone excelling in all of them at the same time (FG, IV, 135). It is nevertheless the poet's job to find out as much as possible about other areas of knowledge.

A second factor to be taken into account is Harsdörffer's understanding of the artistic creative process. His view is clear: "Etliche vermeinen dass die Lehrartige Verfassung der Poëterey nicht vonnöhten/ (da doch alles was mit Verstand vorgenommen werden sol/ nach Anweisung der Natur Kunst-ständig beschränkt werden muss) sondern dass sie nach dem Klang/ Laut und Mass/ welches ihnen etwan von Lesung eines Gedichts in dem Gedächtniss geblieben/ gute Verse machen können/ und solches aus natürlichen Trieb/ den sie mit ihnen geboren zu seyn vermeinen. Wir lassen ihnen und einem jeden seinen Wahn. . . ." There is little question here of emotional "Herzensergiessungen" as the stimulus for writing poetry. Harsdörffer continues: " . . . so wenig aber ein Knab der eine gute Stimme hat/ die Kündigung der
Noten mit auf die Welt bringet/ und sonder Übung zu einiger Vollkommenheit gelangen kann; so wenig wird einer ohne vor­gehenden Bericht und unterricht ein wolklingendes Gedicht aufsetzen können" (PT, III, Sig.) (v). The emphasis is rather on an intellectual approach to both music and poetry. Natural aptitude and a creative spark, however, are not denied, they are in fact thought to be essential (FG, VI, 260; FG, VIII, 440), but the accent is on moulding these gifts in a reason­able and studied manner.

Harsdörffer often refers to literary works of art as "Erfindungen," works which are not primarily the result of a writer's creative imagination, but are the re-working of existing material in a new way, and written according to certain set precepts. In the field of German literature before Opitz, however, there had been few set artistic precepts, and Harsdörffer, following the lead of Opitz, took it upon himself to provide them. One of the main ways in which he undertook this task consisted in translating foreign texts into German, primarily to provide examples of how the German language could be used in a literary manner. To this end, he drew on his extensive knowledge of foreign languages—he in fact also wrote a number of poems and other pieces in languages other than German, his first known pub­lication being a poem in Spanish. By turning to writings in other languages—not only literary works, but also those
dealing with all manner of scientific, philosophical or cultural matters—translating them into German, reworking or restating the ideas given, he not only helped in setting certain literary standards, but also contributed to the general knowledge of his German reader, helping to extricate him from the "Schlamm der Unwissenheit" (PT, III, 57). He made information available on all sorts of subjects, including music, much of which had hitherto been inaccessible to all but the learned polyglot of Harsdörffer's stamp.

His view of the interrelationship between different fields of knowledge and their application for artistic, scholarly or cultural purposes illustrates that it is not tenable to condemn him for lack of inspiration or originality from either a literary or a musical point of view, for his aims clearly did not consist in encouraging methods of composition based on these criteria—at least in the modern sense of the terms. Moreover, his basic intention in producing any piece of writing was to provide instruction and information for the reader in an artistically pleasing and intellectually attractive manner, the result being prodesse et delectare with a vengeance. In the case of music in particular, any question which asks what original contributions Harsdörffer made to the field will not find a satisfactory answer. The basic questions which can be asked here, however, are those dealing with the extent of his
musical knowledge, his manner of making this knowledge available to his German readers, and its significance in contributing to the understanding and assessment of his literary works.

Certain potential difficulties have to be overcome, or at least recognized, however, if the extent of Harsdörffer's involvement in music is to be appreciated, the first of which is the vast scope of the subject. As already noted, music in the seventeenth-century was not viewed only as an art, and, as will be made apparent, it also had a long tradition as a topic for speculation, and had been used since Greek times as an integral component in discussions of all manner of things. Harsdörffer's extensive reading on a great many subjects thus suggests that some familiarity with music, at least from a philosophical point of view, should be taken for granted.

Rather than imposing the traditional and/or prevailing views on Harsdörffer, the basic procedure to be followed in this dissertation will be to take his own statements on the subject, examine them on their own terms, and where necessary for a fuller understanding, to regard them in relation to what had been said by others. On occasion, the results of reliable secondary studies will also be used for explanatory purposes.

In view of the fact that more than three hundred years have passed since Harsdörffer's days, it is understandable.
that many features of music which were accepted without question in the seventeenth-century have either disappeared, changed altogether or have in general become murky through the mists of time. This is particularly evident with respect to musical terminology and instruments in use during this period. Where these are referred to by Harsdörffer, explanations and descriptions have been included, firstly to assist in determining his intentions, and secondly, in a broader sense, to provide information which may be of use to researchers investigating other poets and writers of this time who concerned themselves with music. The Appendix, giving seventeenth-century illustrations of most of the instruments mentioned by Harsdörffer will also contribute in a visual way to an appreciation of musical performance of the day.

The second difficulty facing the investigator into Harsdörffer's works is the quality of the printed texts. Nuremberg had long been an important printing centre by the middle of the seventeenth-century, and the printers were noted for their ability to produce complex and extremely ornamental work. The reproduction of musical notation represented a substantial part of their output. Nevertheless, a considerable number of printing errors identifiable as such are to be found in Harsdörffer's works, and he himself was fully aware of this. He lists five possible causes
for such errors: 1) the author, concentrating on the sense, can slip up in his spelling; 2) his secretary does not make an accurate 'fair copy; 3) the compositor uses the wrong letters; 4) the corrector misses errors, and 5) the printer, in a hurry, does not return the type face to its proper place if it falls out. "So leichtlich kan auch der aller Beredste irren" (FG, VI, 401).

Harsdörffer's readers were also aware of printing errors in his works, as was the case with Ludwig von Anhalt who pointed out the fact in a letter to Harsdörffer of May 3, 1642. In this particular instance, Ludwig refers specifically to the faulty application of signs indicating metrical stress. Harsdörffer, in his reply, suggests that the errors this time can be explained partly by the haste in which the material was printed, partly by the difference in dialects, and also by the "Unvollkommenheit Teutscher Poeterey." Ludwig, however, was not the only one to take exception to the standard of printing in Harsdörffer's works, as the publisher of the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele points out: "Hat er [Harsdörffer] aber böse Briefe bekommen/ in dem bey dem eilfährigen Drukwerk/ Kupferstechen und Holtzarbeiten an einem oder anderen Blat etwas versehen/ so ist solches niemand anders als dem leidigen Unfall beyzumessen" (FG, III, 539). Unfortunately, "der leidige Unfall" presents the modern researcher with the problem of determining whether what is
printed represents what is actually intended. This is particularly the case with respect to such matters of fine detail as metrical stress in poetry, punctuation, or the positioning of clefs in music. Where problems of this nature arise in the present work, the attempt is made to ascertain what Harsdörffer in fact meant to convey, rather than assuming out of hand that he was unfamiliar with certain aspects of a subject, or incompetent to deal with them.

A third difficulty which arises in a study of this type dealing with one major theme in Harsdörffer's works, is the placement of the material to be examined. As references to music are scattered throughout, appearing not only in sections dealing specifically with the subject, but also in obscure corners, the result is that an inherent organizational principle, drawing the various threads together does not emerge in any obvious way. In order to deal with this, an organizational method has been selected based on the tripartite division of music as set out by Johann Andreas Herbst, a Nuremberg musician contemporary with Harsdörffer. Herbst's terminology—Musica Theoretica, Musica Practica and Musica Poetica—will be used as the guiding principles of the chapters to follow, and explanations of his understanding of the terms will be supplied as an aid to ascertaining Harsdörffer's involvement in all three general areas.

The fundamental purpose of this inquiry is to determine
and assess the significance of various aspects of music in Harsdörffer's works. In Chapter One, *Musica Theoretica*, his statements on the subject are used as a means of establishing the manner in which he applies material drawn from other sources. In Chapter Two, *Musica Practica*, his knowledge of technical features of music is investigated. Harsdörffer's familiarity with a large number of musical instruments and the way in which he intends them to be used in a theatrical performance are also explored here. Much of the information given in the first two chapters is intended to provide information and prepare the way for Chapter Three, *Musica Poetica*, in which an examination is made of how Harsdörffer uses his musical knowledge for poetic purposes. This chapter is concerned initially with determining the formal relationships between music and poetry. The attempt is then made to establish the way in which he collaborated with Staden on *Seelewig*. Finally in this chapter, a new source for *Seelewig* is presented for the first time, resulting in the need for some reconsideration of the influence of the German literary tradition on the opera. Overall, this inquiry into the musical content of Harsdörffer's works will provide new means by which to assess his contribution to the intellectual life of the seventeenth-century.
Chapter One: Musica Theoretica

"Dass die Music ins gemein in drey Classes, nemlich in Theoreticam, Practicam und Poeticam abgetheilet wird," wrote Johann Andreas Herbst in 1643, "ist ausser allem streit und Zweiffel."¹ The tripartite division of music, based on various criteria, had indeed held sway for centuries. Boethius, for example, one of the most influential authorities on music up to the seventeenth-century had used the categories of worldly music, musica mundana, which was concerned with such things as the harmony of the universe and the music of the spheres; human music, musica humana, dealing above all with the effect of music on the human mind, body and soul; and instrumental music, musica instrumentalis, the practical side which strives to imitate worldly music.² Another early writer and important authority, Cassiodorus, had divided music into harmonics, rhythmics and metrics.³ Yet tripartite classifications were by no means universal in the seventeenth-century: writers of the time were also dividing music into two classes: notation and singing,⁴ elementary and harmonic,⁵ or Choralis [all notes have the same value] and Figuralis [notes have different values].⁶

Although such diverse approaches to the classification
of music existed in and around the time of Herbst, he nevertheless is adamant in his pronouncement on the subject, and with all due regard for the fact that his divisions are in no way final in the broader view, they do reflect the opinion of an expert contemporary with Harsdörffer, and were in wide use. Even though Herbst resided in Nuremberg for some time, there is no evidence in literary sources that Harsdörffer was aware of his works, although Herbst's name does appear without comment in a list of musicians given in Der Teutsche Secretarius (p.49). Nevertheless, for the purposes of the present work, given the nature of the material at hand, the divisions provided by Herbst prove the most practical and the most encompassing.

For Herbst, the *Musicus Theoreticus* is one who is concerned purely with contemplating and discussing music, not in any way with the compositional or performing aspects. By the seventeenth-century, there was indeed a large body of inherited material available for discussion. A vast array of beliefs and ideas about music as a reflection of the harmony of the universe, its effect on the human body and soul, and its place in the greater scheme of things, had been transmitted from Greek and Roman times through a long series of commentators. Many of these, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, for example, had added the Christian perspective.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the great up-
surge of interest in ancient music led to the revivification, reworking and re-application of the old myths and beliefs, as well as to the discovery of the first known piece of Greek musical notation. Many of the ancient ideas in various forms were incorporated as a matter of course into works concerning musical theory of the time, and even in the seventeenth century, they provide some of the basic assumptions for the massive tomes of some of the theorists.

For Harsdörffer then, a wealth of material originating from Classical sources, and often imbued with aspects of Christian thought, was available for use. The areas to be discussed here are those concerned with his statements on the origins and history of music, its cosmological significance and its effects on the mind and body. The theme of musical speculation will be used as a means of determining how Harsdörffer reacted to existing material, and whether he presented it consistently or questioned it in any way when passing it on to his reader.

Much deliberation on the origins of music had preceded Harsdörffer, but as a devout Christian, he put much credence in the evidence of the Bible. Drawing on Genesis 4.21, he states: "In der gar kurtzen Erzählung von der ersten Menschen Thun ihr [music's] Erfinder nicht ist verschwiegen/ und Jubal genennet worden/ von welchem wir Teutsche das Wort
Jubiliren behalten" (FG, IV, 90-91). Jubal is not the only contender for the title of originator of music, since Harsdörffer notes that "der Gottlose Tubal/ der Mörder und Ehebrecher/ die Music erfunden habe" (FG, VI, 290). In this particular instance, Harsdörffer is discussing the negative aspects of music, and the figure of Tubal provides a convenient example for showing how the misuse of music began: Tubal's Godlessness implies that any evils produced by, or attributable to music are wholly man made. Overall, however, "ist die Music/ bald nach Erschaffung der Welt/ erfunden worden" (FG, V, 399).

In addition to providing the reader with information regarding the beginnings of music, Harsdörffer uses his Biblical examples for other purposes. He takes advantage of the name "Jubal" to provide a brief etymological aside—elsewhere he notes that "Jubal" comes from the word "Jabal/ produxit sonum" (ME, II, 130). Tubal on the other hand, is used to make the reader aware of the dangers of music. Both figures then prove useful for conveying insights into areas other than those from which they are drawn.

Another explanation for the origin of music tantalizes Harsdörffer. He asks "ob die music von dem Vogelgesang/ oder von dem Rauschen dess Wassers (welches den Ton nach den Steinen/ an welche es zu stossen kömt/ ändert/) oder von dem ungleichen Hammerschlag der Schmid erfunden worden
sey"(FG,II,309-10), the last in particular being a direct reference to one of the traditional Pythagorean ideas about the beginnings of music. How some of these sounds became music is explained in another place where Harsdörffer reports what he states to be the view held by some others that "ein müsiger Hirt grosse und kleine Kießsteinlein ausge sucht/ solche in ein Bächlein gelegt/ und das lispeln und wispeln desselben so lang beobachtet/ biss er das unter schiedene Geton mit der Stimmen nachpfeiffeln können: oder man hat es von dem Wind der in die Rohr gegangen/ abgemerkt/ aus solchem allem nachgehends die Kunst mag verfasset worden seyn"(ME,II,130). The beginnings of music are thus seen as an imitation by man of the sounds in nature.

In this case, the information is passed on for its own sake, and it is in the form of an unanswered question and reported opinion. Harsdörffer is therefore not prepared to accept blindly any man made explanation for the origin of music. Nevertheless, the inclusion of this view reflects firstly his general enthusiasm for natural sounds, evident above all in his use of onomatopoeia in poetry,9 and secondly a willingness to incorporate an empirically based interpretation in his discussion of the subject. The Biblical versions, in contrast, are not presented in the form of questions or opinions, but as statements of religious faith. Their veracity is taken for granted.
There is nevertheless a contradiction in the Biblical accounts: is Jubal or Tubal the originator of music? Furthermore, how can the imitation theory be justified in light of the Christian explanation? From Harsdörffer's standpoint these are irrelevant questions. The Biblical versions on the one hand, and the imitation of nature on the other, all represent valid causes for the origins of music on earth. Harsdörffer makes no attempt to reconcile the various views, but accepts them all as possibilities.

No reconciliation is necessary, however, for the ultimate source. Music is "hier auf Erden der Echo oder Widerhall der himmlischen Freuden" (FG, IV, 91), and at bottom a gift from God for ameliorating man's journey through this vale of tears (ME, II, 130; ME, III, 349). The final answer is to be found in the religious sphere. The beginnings of music on earth may be debatable, the original source is not.

Biblical evidence provides not only explanations for the origins of music on earth, but also elements constituting the seventeenth-century view of music history. Harsdörffer certainly uses musical figures and events from the Bible to illustrate what had occurred in the past: the destruction of the walls of Jericho by the sound of trumpets (FG, IV, 86; Joshua, 6.5); David driving out the evil spirit from Saul by playing the harp (FG, IV, 87; I Sam. 16.23) or the use of musical instruments by various Biblical characters.
In general to praise God (FG, IV, 514-15; I Chron. 23:5). In addition, the statement that music is "ein Vorgeschmack dess ewigen Lebens" (FG, II, 311) is a chronological assessment drawn from a view of history explained in terms of the Christian religion, as is the line: "Es hat vor dieser Welt der Engel-Chor erschallet" (FG, IV, 86). Such ideas form the basis of a concert put on in May, 1643, to illustrate the progression of music from its heavenly beginnings to beyond the Last Judgement, and Harsdörffer speaks of this concert with great admiration (ME, III, 378). This, and his unquestioning acceptance, indicate his tacit approval of the content and the way in which is is presented. The outline of the concert will therefore provide a concise sketch of the seventeenth-century conception of music history shared by Harsdörffer.

Johann Michael Dilherr, a Nuremberg preacher, teacher and writer, had joined forces with Staden to present this concert. Dilherr gave a Latin oration to open the proceedings, and Staden selected, arranged and directed the music. Although the oration and the music are lost, a programme giving a detailed description of the concert has survived, entitled "Entwerffung dess Anfangs/ Fortgangs/ Enderungen/ Brauchs und Missbrauchs der Edlen Music." It gives the voices, instruments and the texts used to demonstrate the various stages in musical history, beginning with
three descant voices representing the angelic choir before
the creation of the world. Periodization is then as fol­
lows: before the fall; after the fall; Old Testament; Greek;
New Testament; time of the patriarchs (chorale); period of
figural music culminating with Lassus; Luther (chorale);
contemporary, including use and misuse of music; Last Judg­
ment; heaven and hell. The whole is then rounded off by
a grand tutti to the words: "MUSICA NOSTRA vale; COELESTIS
MUSICA salve!"11

The Christian interpretation reigns supreme in this
programme: the source of music is in heaven, and while man
can to a certain extent partake of this on earth by singing
or listening to sacred music, he must wait until after the
Last Judgement for full membership in the heavenly choir.
Religious truths are seen as historical truths. Indeed,
the idea of historical accuracy anywhere approaching the
modern sense of the term is nowhere to be seen. The music
representing the Greek element, for example, could not have
been historically faithful, as Greek notation had not been
deciphered by 1643. Authentic reproduction was clearly not
the point. Nevertheless, some attempt is made to duplicate
the instrumentation mentioned in the Bible—harps, trumpets
and cymbals for example (I Chron. 14.8)—but these were in­
struments in common use in the seventeenth-century, and al­
though academic interest in ancient instruments is evident
at the time, reconstruction does not seem to have been a major concern. The presence of harpsichords, viols and other seventeenth-century instruments for the purposes of the concert is therefore not surprising.

Although the division of music history into periods is based primarily on Biblical sources, other criteria are also included, especially for more recent times. The musical form of the chorale, for instance, is used to designate the period from the early patriarchs until "ungefahr vor zweyhundert Jahren," i.e. the middle of the fifteenth-century, and refers to ecclesiastical plainsong. The term then re-emerges in connection with Luther, who is considered to be an important figure in music history as the instigator and composer of church songs in German, but it clearly no longer has the same meaning. Luther's name, furthermore, is also used for period designation. Contemporary music is explained in terms of musical style: it is "von den alten weit unterschieden/ und gleichsam auf Oratorische weiss/ die affecten, so viel mëglich/ zu moviren, angegeben." There are therefore no discernably consistent criteria for determining musical epochs, but the whole is nevertheless drawn together by the common factors of sacred texts and the overall Christian world view.

Secular music receives very little mention in the programme. It was presumably used to illustrate "der Griechen/
oder Heydnische Musica," as well as the ideas about the misuse of music in the seventeenth-century, a topic of some concern for Harsdörffer which will be discussed below. Harsdörffer, however, does display some knowledge of the development of German song outside the Church, beginning with a mention of "wie die alten Teutschen ihre Gesetze zu singen pflegten/ damit sie dem groben Pövel möchten in dem Gedächtnis verbleiben" (HS, I, n.p.). This statement may represent the established view, but, says Harsdörffer, "Weil wir Teutsche aber so unglücklich/ dass wir von den ältesten und rühmlichsten Geschichten unserer geehrten Ahnen nichts aufgeschrieben finden/ ausser was Caesar und Tacitus (welche fremde und ihre Feinde gewesen/) hinterlassen/ ist hiervon keine umständige Gewiessheit beyzubringen" (FG, IV, 59). This is an instance in which the standard sources are not arbitrarily accepted as representing the facts—Caesar and Tacitus are considered biased and unreliable. This statement shows an element of critical questioning in Harsdörffer's way of thinking and for him the result is uncertainty.

Old German song, however, is not viewed in historical isolation: "Die alten Teutschen haben ihrer Helden männliche Thaten bey ihren Gräberen gesungen . . . von welchen nach und nach auch bey den Christen eine gewiese/ wiewol harte und unannemliche Art der Singreimen geblieben ist/ die noch heut zu Tage die Meistersinger behalten" (FG, IV, 56). Hars-
dörffer here sees a direct line linking the old German song with his own time, and his opinion of the art of the Meistersinger is made perfectly clear. This opinion is not based on hearsay, however, since he was familiar with their techniques (FG, IV, 57-8). The designation "Meistersinger," furthermore, is not limited to those usually considered under this heading today, for Harsdörffer refers to Walther von der Vogelweide as one of the old practitioners of the art (FG, VI, 578). The development of Meistergesang in Harsdörffer's understanding of the term is viewed as a continuous line, and the historical caesura occurs between the pre-Christian and the Christian periods.

Secular music other than Meistergesang is considered by Harsdörffer: "Die alten Poeten/ als Eschylus der Feld­oberste/ Sophocles und andere haben auf der Harffen geschlagen/ wann man ihre Freudenspiele vorgestellet/ und jedesmals den Ton/ mit der Versart/ nach Begebenheit der Geschichte verändert/ welches die Itälianer auch nachzutun pflegen" (FG, VI, 597-98). Harsdörffer was just as aware as modern writers on music that the Italians had been attempting to recreate the conditions of ancient Greek musical performance. 17

The method of research used by the Italians did not rely exclusively on using material transmitted through the ages, but also on examining evidence found in original
sources. Their aims were to some extent based on a view of the past in which the seeds of modern historiography can be detected. Harsdörffer's contact with the Italian academies and his interest in their work therefore suggest some familiarity with this type of historical assessment, as indeed does his complaint that there are no reliable sources dating from the times of Caesar and Tacitus.

In a general discussion of stage works, which for Harsdörffer usually contain music, he includes the statement made by an Italian which provides a view of the relationship between the past and the present: "... Es ist der Schau­platz/ und unsere Trauer- und Freudenspiele in solcher Voll­kommenheit/ dass uns noch die Griechen noch die Römer des­gleichen iemals ausgesonnen haben. Aristoteles ist nicht mehr der Poeterey Gesetzgeber/ und Euripides/ Aristophanes/ Sophocles/ solten von uns zu lernen haben/ als Plautus und Terentius. Wann sie wieder lebendig werden und uns zuschauen könten/ so würden sie es bekennen müssen"(FG,VI, 164). Harsdörffer continues to say that such a degree of perfection has not yet been attained in Germany, but that Seelewig is an attempt to scale these heights. The significance of these statements is that they reject the arbitrary acceptance of authority, and suggest a development to better things. Historically, the Golden Age of the Greeks is seen as surpassed by the achievements of more recent times.
Harsdörffer's view of the origins and history of music on the one hand then is caught up with the concept of the history of salvation: music began and continues in heaven, and is accessible to man during his sojourn on earth only as an echo of the divine. On the other hand, he demonstrates an interest in non-religious interpretations, including those which derive their impulse from investigating the way things actually were.

Although Harsdörffer to some extent questions the supremacy of the Greeks in an historico-artistic context, he is elsewhere fascinated by aspects of their thought. "Der tieff-sinnige Pythagoras," he writes, "hat beständig aussgesagt: Er sehe nicht allein den Himmel/ sondern er höre auch eine liebliche Zusammenstimmung der herumwallenden Sterne" (ME, III, 353). The music of the spheres had indeed provided a source of discussion and speculation for musical theorists for centuries. Initially, it had been described as a result of the friction of revolving crystalline spheres in the heavens, the singing of sirens perched on the spheres, or as the independent sounds made by each sphere in motion. The idea of the individual planets producing sound as they travelled harmoniously in their orbits represented a variation on the basic concept, and in the seventeenth-century was taken for granted by no less a person than the astronomer, Johannes Kepler, who maintained that the notes produced
by the earth were "mi, fa, mi," standing for "miseria" (misery), "fames" (famine), "miseria" (misery). 18

Discussion on the general subject not only centred around the nature and meaning of celestial harmony, but also included disquisitions on whether it existed at all. Tinctoris, a fifteenth-century Flemish theorist, for example, suggested that Cicero, Macrobius, Boethius and Isidore believed in it, while Aristotle, his commentator Thomas Aquinas, and more recent philosophers did not. Those of the second group, maintained Tinctoris, "manifestly prove that in the heavens there is neither actual nor potential sound."19

Harsdörffer, on the other hand, was not concerned with discussing the relative merits of the existence or non-existence of the harmony of the spheres. It was basically sufficient for him that the theme had been worthy of contemplation in the past, and it therefore represented a useful piece of information to be passed on to his German readers for broadening their general knowledge (also FG,III,23; FG, V,399). Yet he does not forgo the opportunity of including Classical cosmological ideas in a Christian context: "Die Himmel erzählen die Ehre GOTTES . . . Ein Tag sagets den andern und eine Nacht thut es kund der andern. Es ist keine Sprache noch Rede da man nicht ihre (der Sterne stumme) Stimme höre. Ihre Schnur (die himmlischen Kraise und Circkel) gehet auss in alle Lande/ und ihre Rede (Zeichen
All kinds of astronomical and astrological elements, as well as the idea of the harmony of the planets, are used here to demonstrate the divine order of the heavens.

The effects of the planets themselves was a topic of great interest to Harsdörffer, so much so that he used it as the theme of the musical pageant, Die Tugendsterne (libretto FG,V,397-435; score FG,V,633-70). The basic assumption on which the pageant is based is that "wie die Planeten die grosse Welt regieren/ so regieren die VII Ertztugenden die kleine Welt"(FG,V,402). The macrocosm and the microcosm have corresponding parts. There is, in addition, a relationship between the effects of the planets and the affects of the musical modes (FG,V,634). In the Tugendsterne, Harsdörffer joins all these elements together, and presents seven songs, one for each mode and its characteristics, each planet and each virtue. The whole is preceded by a song by the nymph, Echo, and each song is preceded by a short instrumental section. The arrangement given in the preface to the score appears as the following table (FG,V,635):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Die Ordnung</th>
<th>Der Ton und seine Eigenschaft</th>
<th>Der Planet</th>
<th>Die Tugenden</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Aeolius</td>
<td>lieblich</td>
<td>Liebe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Hyperaeolius</td>
<td>schwach</td>
<td>Mässigkeit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Ionicus</td>
<td>fröhlich</td>
<td>Vorsichtigkeit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Dorius</td>
<td>gravitetsch</td>
<td>Glaub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Phrygicus</td>
<td>traurig</td>
<td>Hoffnung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Lydium</td>
<td>kläglich</td>
<td>Gerechtigkeit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Mixtolydium</td>
<td>zornig</td>
<td>Stärcke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the actual score and the libretto section, the arrangement of modes is given as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Libretto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dorius</td>
<td>Dorius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrygius</td>
<td>Phrygius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeolius</td>
<td>Aeolius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lydus</td>
<td>Mixtolydius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixtolydius</td>
<td>Lydus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ionicus</td>
<td>Ionicus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyperaeolius</td>
<td>&quot;h oder b dur,&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and &quot;Spurius oder der verworfene h.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the order is more consistent here—the only alterations being the placement of the Lydian and Mixolydian, and an alternative way of naming the Hyperaeolian—it differs substantially from that given in the table.

In Mediaeval times, eight modes had been in use, referred to only by number. Later theorists had applied names to the modes, supposedly representing the ethos attributed to them by the Greeks. Glareanus, a sixteenth-century Swiss monk, had added four more to the system. Yet the order and number of modes at the end of the sixteenth-century and in the first half of the seventeenth-century was by no means agreed upon, and writers on the subject were not reluctant to say so.

Glareanus is referred to by Harsdörffer as the authority for the Tugendsterne. It was he, states Harsdörffer, who made connections between the modes and the planets (FG,V,398 and 634). Yet Glareanus' order of those modes used by Hars-
dörffer is:

Dorian
Phrygian
Lydian
Mixolydian
Aeolian
Ionian
Hyperaeolian

Significant differences are evident between this arrangement and those given in the Tugendsterne.

In the preface to the score, the reasoning behind the order of the modes is made perfectly clear: "Die Ordnung [ist] nach den Tugenden/ und nicht nach den Planeten oder Simmen gerichtet" (FG, V, 635), and the problem of justifying the modal arrangement appears to be solved. Yet it does not explain why the arrangement is different again in the libretto and in the score. The content of the last song, furthermore, contradicts the statement that the order of the virtues as they appear in the table takes precedence: "Ob ich gleich die letzte bin an der Tugend Schwester Reyen . . ." (FG, V, 429 and 668), sings the figure representing "Mäßigkeit," who appears in second position in the table. Clearly the statement explaining that the order is according to the virtues does not apply to the table appearing immediately above it in the preface to the score, but refers to the order of virtues given in the score itself. The arrangement of the virtues is then "Glaube, Hoffnung, Liebe," the three
religious virtues, and "Gerechtigkeit, Stärke, Vorsichtigkeit, Mäßigkeit," the four moral virtues.

The table, moreover, cannot be explained in terms of the order of the planets. Harsdörffer certainly was fully aware of the state of astronomy in his day—he discusses Copernicus, Galileo and Kepler (ME,II,272)—yet the persistence of the old Ptolemaic system did not allow him to come down firmly on either side of the questions of planet position or heliocentricity (ME,II,289). The order of the planets in the table nevertheless does not agree either with the old or the new solar systems.

The arrangement in the table can be explained, however, if the letters A to G are viewed as more than a convenient organizing system—more than just "die Ordnung"—and taken to represent the finals of the corresponding modes; that is to say, the Aeolian mode ending on the note A, the Hyperaeolian on B, the Ionian on C, the Dorian on D, etc. The letters A to G were possibly thought of initially purely for organizational purposes, but the subsequent attachment of modal finals to the letters resulted in an incorrect order being assigned to the names of the modes and the planets. The table is therefore made up on musical principles.

A question which now arises is whether the table and the rest of the preface preceding the score should be attributed to Harsdörffer or to Staden: 23 "... in den Sym-
phonien/An-oder Zustimmungen/ haben die Stimmen wegen des kleinen Formats/ nicht völlig durchgangen/ oder ausgeführt werden können: wie dann auch die Reimarten/ Gemähle und andere Anweisung der Gesprächspiele/ von endlicher Vollkommenheit entfernt/ und zu aller Teutschliebenden Samthülfte überlassen wird" (FG, V, 634). The inclusion of a German equivalent for the word "Symphonien" firstly, is typical of Harsdörffer in his attempts to make ideas and concepts readily understandable to his German readers. Staden, throughout the score uses the word "Symphonie" exclusively. Secondly, it is surely Harsdörffer who is taking the responsibility and apologizing for the scantiness of the work as a whole, a concern which he voices throughout the work. It would seem, therefore, that Harsdörffer and not Staden is responsible for the text of the preface, including the table.

The first six modes from Glareanus given in the list above (p. 39) are referred to as authentic—they form the basis of the modal system. Harsdörffer, however, is concerned with attaching modes to seven virtues, and chooses the Hyperaeolian to make the number up to seven, evidently drawing on Glareanus' remark that this may in fact be an authentic mode. In general, Glareanus objected vehemently to the Hyperaeolian, and refused to discuss it at any length, calling it "spurius" and "rejecto." Harsdörffer, it is
true, does pick up on the term "spurius" (PG, V, 431), and his reference to the mode as "verworffen" in the same place is the German equivalent of Glareanus' "rejcto." Herbst explains that the Hyperaeolian is "verworffen" because it contains "verwerffliche Intervallen." The final of the Hyperaeolian is B, and Harsdörffer seems to have chosen the mode to correspond to the ordering number B in the table preceding the score. He is therefore not concerned with musical acceptability, and no consideration whatsoever of the theoretical objections to the mode appears in the Tugendsterne. It was clearly not Harsdörffer's intention to deal with them.

In the score section of the Tugendsterne, the superscription "B. Hyperaeolius" (PG, V, 669) is retained. Yet an examination of the music from a modal point of view shows that Staden actually used a transposed Lydian. It is somewhat anachronistic, however, to insist on a modal interpretation, as the death knell for the modes had long been sounding by the mid-seventeenth-century, and the tonal quality of the piece is most pervasive. It should rather be considered as being in the key of B flat rather than in any particular mode.

Staden's own theoretical understanding of the modes is considerably clearer than Harsdörffer's. Although he does not discuss the modes in his musical handbook, Rudi-
mentum Musicum, a line drawing of a device showing the modes and designed by him does appear in Harsdörffer's *Mathematische Erquickstunden* (III, fol. 367). The device, which is shown here on page 44, consists of two discs which are to be cut out and superimposed. The user then turns the top smaller disc to any note with the name of a mode assigned to it appearing on the edge of the larger outer disc, and by following the lines given on the smaller disc, he can work out the intervals. In effect, it is a two-fold musical version of Harsdörffer's "fünffacher Denckring."

The arrangement of the modes here exactly follows Glareanus. Yet in the *Tugendsterne*, Staden has accommodated Harsdörffer to the extent that he alters the order of the modes, and includes the designation "Hyperaeolius" in the heading to the last song.

The affects of the modes given in the *Tugendsterne* adhere fairly closely to those attributed to them by Glareanus, which can be seen from Table 1 (p. 46). As Haar suggests, Harsdörffer's choices are probably simplifications of Glareanus' more complex descriptions. In the case of the Lydian mode, Harsdörffer has selected one from a number of possibilities. For the Mixolydian, where Glareanus does not give a clear description, Harsdörffer's choice of "zornig" finds an equivalent in the "indignans" of Gumpelzhaimer and Herbst. Harsdörffer provides a little more
Figure 1

Simplified version of Staden's musical aid (ME,II,fol.367), including names and numbers of the modes. Small corrections have been made. Modern equivalents of the intervals are: semiditonus, tertiaminor--minor third; ditonus, tertia major--major third; diatessaron--fourth; diapente, quinta--fifth; sexta minor--minor sixth; sexta major--major sixth.
information in the libretto section of the Tugendsterne which agrees with that given in the Table. Overall, the affects applied by Harsdörffer appear in at least one or more of the descriptions by theorists given here.

An outstanding feature which emerges from Table 1 is the number of contradictions regarding modal affects—not only between theorists, but also in individual cases, especially Herbst. For him the Dorian mode may be "fröhlich or "majestätisch;" the Phrygian "zornig" or leydmutig;" the Mixolydian can produce "Trawrigkeit" or "Zorn" in the listener. There is nevertheless general agreement on the affects of the Ionian and Aeolian modes, which is a significant factor, since these two became the modern major and minor keys. In general, however, the contradictions indicate that the affects of the modes, over and above their order and number, were not totally agreed upon by writers on the subject.

Haar also points to discrepancies between theorists regarding the association of the modes and the planets. It should be noted, however, that Glareanus himself is not clear on the matter: on the one hand, drawing from one source he notes that the Dorian is associated with Saturn, and on the other, drawing from a second source, that the Mixolydian and Saturn belong together. In the Tugendsterne, the Hyperaeolian is shown as the counterpart to
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Harsdörffer (L=Libretto)</th>
<th>Glareanus</th>
<th>Kircher</th>
<th>Gumpelzhaimer</th>
<th>Herbst</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dorian</td>
<td>gravitetcisch (majesty)</td>
<td>maestas</td>
<td>ad temperantiam et moderationem</td>
<td>hilarius</td>
<td>hilaris (lively) prächtig, fröhlich, lustig freudig, majestätisch</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(L) prächtig und</td>
<td>gravitas</td>
<td>(temperance and moderation)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>majestätisch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrygian</td>
<td>traurig (L) traurig und</td>
<td>lachrymabile</td>
<td>not given</td>
<td>austerus</td>
<td>austerus (grave) zornig, saurzappfig leydmütig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>betrübet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(grave)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lydian</td>
<td>kläglich (L) fast kläg-</td>
<td>querulus (plaintive)</td>
<td>ad fletus et lamentationes</td>
<td>asper</td>
<td>asper (harsh) hart, scharff, heftig, saurschlechtig, trohend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lich anzuhoeren</td>
<td>resmissus (languid)</td>
<td>(weeping and lamentation)</td>
<td>(harsh)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>resolutus (effeminate)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixolydian</td>
<td>zornig (L) ernstlich</td>
<td>not defined</td>
<td>ad commiserationem pietatisque</td>
<td>indignans</td>
<td>indignans (impatient) ernsthaft, saur, fröhlich lieblich . . . kan doch auch Trawrigkeit/ Zorn und andere affecten erwecken</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>und gleichsam zum Streit</td>
<td></td>
<td>(compassion and pity)</td>
<td>(impatient)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>reitzend</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeolian</td>
<td>lieblich (L) lieblich und sehr anmuhtig</td>
<td>jucunda (delightful)</td>
<td>suavis (pleasant) mollis (soft)</td>
<td>suavis (pleasant)</td>
<td>suavis (pleasant) lieblich, fröhlich, sanftmutig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ionian</td>
<td>fröhlich (L) fröhlich und lieblich</td>
<td>suavis (pleasant)</td>
<td>suavis (pleasant)</td>
<td>jucundus (delightful)</td>
<td>jucundus (delightful) fröhlich, leichtfertig fürwitzig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyper-</td>
<td>schwach</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>aeolian</td>
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Table I. The Affects and Uses of the Modes.\(^{32}\)
Saturn, a planet which Harsdörffer elsewhere refuses to discuss because of its malefic influence (FG,II,83). The two are nevertheless drawn together in the Tugendsterne because of their arbitrary association with the seventh virtue. It is pure coincidence that the Hyperaeolian happens to be at least a contender for the position of the seventh authentic mode in Glareanus' system, and that Saturn happens to be the seventh planet (including the sun as the first).

Harsdörffer's treatment of the modes shows that although he was familiar with the general concepts, and was aware of theoretical writings on the subject, he interpreted this received knowledge in his own way. The Christian virtues ultimately take precedence in the Tugendsterne and modal theory is adapted accordingly. And although Harsdörffer does not follow Glareanus, his quoted source, as far as the ordering of the modes is concerned, this may be excused in view of the fact that many authorities disagreed on the matter in any case. Harsdörffer's choice of the Hyperaeolian mode does not make sense from a musical point of view, but it can be explained in terms of his willingness to use information gleaned from sources without concerning himself with the whole range of implications.

That Harsdörffer who was not a professional musician, could twist the modes around for his own use is noteworthy
in itself. That Staden followed Harsdörffer in this provides evidence that the professional musician was prepared to tamper to some extent with Glareanus, a named authority in his field. The definite tonality of Staden's music in the Tugendsterne, moreover, is a fair indication that the question of the modes in general was being relegated more and more to the realm of theoretical speculation, and to whatever extent these theories were persisting, the modern key system was already taking precedence in practice. It is purely from a theoretical-speculative point of view that Harsdörffer approaches the modes—he is not concerned with the musical technicalities—and although his treatment of the subject in the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele is at times arbitrary or unclear, the basic information is nevertheless passed on, broadening the reader's general musical knowledge, and providing him with a topic for inclusion in cultured conversation.

A further subject suitable for discussion is that of the psychological effects of music—that is to say, the power of music on the mind or soul. There are not only mythological examples to be drawn on—Orpheus, Arion and the dolphin, the Sirens—but also Biblical characters, above all King David, all of whom are seconded time and again to provide proof in a pleasing and instructive manner of the universality of the affects and power of music.
The essence of Harsdörffer's understanding of the power of music on the mind or soul is to be found in the statement that, "Ob zwar die Seele ein Geist ist/ welcher durch leibliche Dinge nicht mag erregt werden/ so lassen doch alle derselben Kräfte/ der Verstand/ der Wille/ die Gedächtnüss/ die Bildung sich durch das Gehör übermeistern und bewegen" (FG, IV, 91). In order to understand the implications of these ideas fully, they should be viewed in conjunction with the contemporary conception of the soul.

The structure of the soul was considered as tripartite, consisting in ascending order of the vegetable, the sensible and the reasonable levels, all three parts housing the sundry faculties. The vegetable level is concerned with such physical elements as growth and digestion, and is to be found in man, in animals and in plants. The second or sensible level, common to man and animals, contains the five external senses, each of which reports to the first interior power, the "common sense," which in turn consults with the interior powers or faculties of imagination and memory to determine whether what is perceived is harmful or pleasant. The emotions, desires and fears are also lodged here. The first or reasonable level, belonging to man alone, contains the main principal power of the understanding, which functions in an abstract way, drawing on the imagination and memory, analyzing and distinguishing good from evil, right
from wrong. The will, the second principal power, causes action or reaction. If the understanding has been sufficiently developed by training or education, and is strong enough, the will then causes action which is right in the eyes of man and God. If the understanding is not strong enough, the will is governed by the senses and emotions, causing a loss of harmony or temper. A simplified diagram using music and the sense of hearing as examples will explain the main processes:

Although Harsdörffer himself does not refer either to a tripartite division of the soul, or to a common sense, his statements regarding the effect of music on the mind or soul can be explained in conjunction with this scheme. The sound of music, entering the soul through the sense of hearing, produces various actions and reactions according to the level of the soul it reaches, and according to the ability of the particular interior powers to deal with it.
In the case of animals, Harsdörffer notes that elephants, dolphins and bees like the sound of singing (FG,IV,429), and that sheep and cows graze better and more contentedly when they are accompanied by the sound of a shepherd's pipe or by a song. Similarly, young babies enjoy and are soothed by the singing of their nurses (ME,II,130; PT,II,2; FG,II,310). In these instances, the powers at the sensible level interpret the perceived sound as pleasurable, and low level reaction occurs accordingly.

When the sound of music reaches the reasonable soul in adult human beings, its effect depends on the ability of the understanding housed there to interpret it. "Des Menschen Verstand liebet das Ebenmaas/ weil auch sein Wesen in gleichrichtiger Verfassung bestehet," notes Harsdörffer in a discussion of music (FG,VI,288). Ideally, the understanding analyses the perceived sound of music in such a way that an even temper between it and the senses and emotions is produced, retaining or restoring harmony: "Sie [music] machet alle Sorgen aus dem Hertzen entweichen ... besänfftiget den Zorn und belustiget mit unsträßlicher Wollust ihre Zuhörer"(FG,IV,91). If the understanding is in any way deficient, the effects of music can be chaotic: "Wie uns der Wein/ so kan uns auch die Music/ mit Süßigkeit behören/ sonderlich aber zur Wollust/ und unzimlicher
Brunst reitzen/ und die Augen unseres Verstandes einschlafen" (FG, VI, 289-90). There is clearly a vast difference between plain "Wollust" and "unstraffliche Wollust;" the former is produced by the responses of the senses and emotions, resulting in disharmony and a loss of temper, and is to be avoided at all costs, while the latter is "gleichsam der Widerhall himlischer Freuden" (ME, II, 131), which can be attained through the understanding, and is to be cultivated as much as possible. It is in this context that the onus is on the composer to provide music which will appeal to the understanding before the emotions.

The understanding relies heavily on the power of memory, which Harsdörffer associates very strongly with music, maintaining that it is not difficult to remember something perceived through the sense of hearing (FG, I, 102). He furthermore refers to "die künstliche Gedächtniss" (FG, I, 70), artificial memory, a term found in classical works and later adaptations dealing with the art of memory. An example of one of the techniques of artificial memory is used by Harsdörffer in a section of the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele entitled "Die Gedächtnisskunst" (FG, I, 70), where two lines of poetry are presented in conjunction with musical notes, the names of which (ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la) assist in memorization and later recall: 35
Example 1:

Redlich solt du fahren mit mir/
Recht guts sol wiederfahren dir.

Syllables representing the names of the notes are extracted from the words and written out in musical form. The process of recall consists in visualizing firstly the musical stave, and secondly the position of the notes on the stave as well as their names. Side by side with the visual memory images, the melody resulting from the notes acts as an aural mnemonic device. Music thus becomes a means of making accessible what is stored in the memory.

The memory, as well as the other interior powers of the soul play a significant part in Harsdörffer's view of the methods to be used and the effects to be aimed at by the writer. The purposes of a literary work, are that it "I. wolvenemlich begreiffet/II deutlich beybringt/III merksam vorstellet/und IV von verdrüsslicher Bemühung entfernet/nutlich belustigt: Dergestalt dass I der Verstand/II Die Bildungskräffte (facultas imaginativa) III die Gedächtnis und IV unsere bald-ecklende Sinne zu vorträglicher Belernung angehalten werden" (NJ, I, n.p.). Both literature and music
are to be aimed at the powers of the reasonable soul.

The fact that the understanding and other powers exist in harmony with each other explains why musical dissonances are offensive (ME,III,357)—they disturb the balance of the soul or mind. The actual ability to identify a dissonance or consonance, however, goes beyond the power of understanding, and raises question for Harsdörffer: "Warumb kann doch ein jeder Gelehrter und Ungelehrter von Gleichstimmung und Missstimmung der Music urtheilen/ da von anderen Künsten nur die Künstler derselben zu reden wissen?" (FG,II,310-11). The answer for him lies in the association between music and the four elements, aspects of which the body was thought to consist. One main connection is between the four singing voices, the elements and the body (FG,II,311):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Descant</th>
<th>Alto</th>
<th>Tenor</th>
<th>Bass</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Air</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vital Spirits</td>
<td>Blood</td>
<td>Flesh</td>
<td>Bones</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the four voices produce a musical concord, they effect a harmonious interaction of the elements, a desirable state, which explains man's natural affinity for music (FG,II,311). If a dissonance is perceived through the sense of hearing, a sympathetic imbalance of the elements occurs, resulting in a natural aversion to the sound, in discomfort, and even in pain (FG,II,289). The recognition of musical harmony is then ultimately based on man's natural makeup seen in
terms of the elements, while the overall reaction to music can be regulated by the understanding and its capacity in each individual to make judgements.

Traditionally, the harmonious balance of elements in the body was seen to result in good health, and Harsdörffer was certainly aware of the view that the harmony of music favourably influenced the health of the human organism. He reports that the effects of a tarantula bite can be cured by hearing a harp played, by hearing singing and the sound of stringed instruments, or by music in general, which is also said to be a certain cure for a stitch in the side. In these instances, the idea of music as a healer, restoring bodily harmony, is passed on without comment, yet Harsdörffer also notes: "Die Musik heilet für sich keine Krankheit/ aber durch sondere Aufmerkung/ so die verursachet/ hindert sie/ die sonst von dem Haubt abtrieffende Feuchtigkeiten/ und mindert also etlicher massen das Schmerzen." In this case, music itself is not considered therapeutic, which is implied in the earlier statements. It is seen rather as distracting the sick person from his pain. On the one hand the traditional view is accepted without question; on the other, it is rejected and a more practical explanation is put forward. The overall effect of music, however, is not denied.
The influence of music on the body and soul, its cosmological associations, and its role in illustrating the seventeenth-century view of history are all used by Harsdörffer as a means of providing information for the reader. Although the material is scattered in various works, some of it is repeated two or three times, and occasionally it is applied to explain aspects of another subject—etymology, for example. In the case of the modes, it is used to explain the association between the Christian virtues and heaven. The significance for Harsdörffer of the effects of music on the mind and soul will become apparent later in connection with his treatment of music in a poetic context.

Harsdörffer's remarks in the area of speculative music in general demonstrate above all his eclectic approach to source materials. He either selects what is appropriate for each particular case, or presents opposing viewpoints without necessarily coming down on one side or the other. This results in a number of contradictions, and however troubling these may be to the modern mind, they evidently were not so for Harsdörffer. Some of the contradictions result from his own inconsistencies or from the unclear presentation of material, others stem from clashes between the Christian and Classical traditions. Nevertheless, his great interest in music as a topic for discussion, and its importance for him as a means of broadening the general
knowledge of his reader, brings him close to earning the title of *Musicus Theoreticus*. 
Chapter Two: Musica Practica

The *Musicus Practicus*, explains Johann Herbst, is one "welcher die *Music exercirt*, und übet."¹ Harsdörffer himself came from a musical family, as his father certainly is associated with music.² The name, Philipp Harsdörffer, furthermore, appears in the records of the Nuremberg Music Society ("Kränzchen"),³ but there is disagreement on whether this refers to the poet or to his father. Nagel assumes it to be the poet, while Keller suggests it is the father, noting that for the year given of 1626, Harsdörffer junior was attending the university of Strasbourg.⁴ Yet the records of the Music Society date one attendance of a Harsdörffer as May 29, 1626, while the rolls of the University of Strasbourg show the student Harsdörffer to have registered on July 10, 1626,⁵ allowing sufficient time for Harsdörffer to have attended the music meeting, made his way to Strasbourg and registered at the university. It is therefore possible that he was actively involved in the musical life of the city at an early age.

Harsdörffer's friend and co-member of the Pegnesischer Blumenorden, Sigmund von Birken, is known to have owned a musical instrument. He writes in his diary: "Meine Mandor
wieder bezogen," and he presumably also played it. Sig-
mund Staden received instruction on a number of instruments,
particularly the cornetto, the viola bastarda and the organ.
Although Harsdörffer thus associated with at least one pro-
fessional and one non-professional instrumentalist, it is
not clear if he himself was a player. His name certainly
is often closely connected with musical instruments. Carl
Gustav von Hille, for example, contributed a poem, its
music and an etching to the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele,
associating Harsdörffer with the nine muses, all of whom are
depicted playing musical instruments. In the last verse of
the song, they are exhorted to seek out Harsdörffer, who,
if not their better, is at least their equal:

Neun Göttinen eilt mit Zier!
Nemt neun Instrumenten hier.
Sucht den hochbegabten Mann/
der so trefflich spielen kan. (FG,IV,15)

The word "spielen" is a direct reference to Harsdörffer's
pseudonym "der Spielende" which he used subsequent to being
accepted into the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft. In the
preface to Hille's song, furthermore, the letters of the name
"der Spielende" are lavishly decorated with a harp, violin,
organ, drum and lute, visually demonstrating the inter-
twining of Harsdörffer's name and musical instruments, while
in Hille's etching, the initial "S" standing for "der Spie-
lende," is wound around a lyre.

Johann Rist also associates Harsdörffer with a musical instrument. In his "Sinne-Bild über das fünfte Theil der nie genug gepriesenen Gesprächspiele," he provides this description of Harsdörffer: "Der Herr Spielender sitzet auff einem schönen Hügel/ spielend auff der Lauten." Johann Rist also associates Harsdörffer with a musical instrument. In his "Sinne-Bild über das fünfte Theil der nie genug gepriesenen Gesprächspiele," he provides this description of Harsdörffer: "Der Herr Spielender sitzet auff einem schönen Hügel/ spielend auff der Lauten." Johann Rist also associates Harsdörffer with a musical instrument. In his "Sinne-Bild über das fünfte Theil der nie genug gepriesenen Gesprächspiele," he provides this description of Harsdörffer: "Der Herr Spielender sitzet auff einem schönen Hügel/ spielend auff der Lauten."9 Christoph Arnold also says of Harsdörffer: "... hat er seine Leyr gestimmet/ die uns hier gespielt hat" (FG,V,86).

Similarly, Ludwig von Anhalt, in a letter to Harsdörffer of August 1, 1643, includes a poem for inclusion in the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele beginning: "Der Spielend alZeit wol mit seiner leire spielt / In ungebundner red, darzu mit schönen Reimen..."10 Although in these instances Harsdörffer is described as playing various instruments, none of these references can be taken literally, as they are drawn from his penchant for, and association with "das Spiel," exemplified above all by the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele. In the last quotation in particular, playing the lyre is a metaphor for Harsdörffer's expert use of rhymed and unrhymed language.

In a poem written by Rist for Johann Klaj's wedding in 1648, mention is made of Harsdörffer as a performer. Referring to Harsdörffer as "Strephon," his pseudonym in the Pegnesischer Blumenorden, Rist writes:
Harsdörffer is thus depicted as a singer, while the connection between Sigmund von Birken (Floridan) and the lyre may be a poetic reference to his playing the mandora.

Although the same reservations apply here as far as taking literally any information found in a poem is concerned, Rist nevertheless was writing a piece of occasional poetry, in which facts are dressed up in poetic language. The implications therefore are that the information in this poem is based on actual events at Klaj's wedding. Although it cannot ultimately be proven from such sources as these that Harsdörffer did sing or play a musical instrument, the very frequent association of his name with aspects of musical performance suggests that metaphor may not be so far from the truth.

The designation *Musicus Practicus* in Herbst's understanding of the term nevertheless cannot be applied to Harsdörffer with certainty. But it can be applied to him in the sense of someone who is interested in all kinds of practical aspects of music and musical instruments. Although some of the material to follow, especially that concerned with intervallic experiments, would often have been found in a *Musica Theoretica* treatise, it has been included here
as it borders on the realms of modern practical science.

Harsdörffer in a number of places reveals an interest in the nature of stringed instruments and in experiments made with strings. He refers above all to the monochord, a one-stringed experimental instrument in which the string is drawn over a soundbox and sectioned by movable bridges. The position of the bridge or bridges determines the ratios of the vibrating string, and the musical intervals can thus be explained mathematically. For instance, if the string is plucked with no bridge present, and then plucked again with the bridge dividing it exactly in two, the second sound produced will be one octave higher than the first, and the ratio of the octave will be 2:1. The procedure can then be continued for all the various intervals.¹² Harsdörffer prefers to explain the process in terms of vulgar fractions: "Die helft ½ ist die Octav: die tertz 2/3 die quint 3/4 und dieses sind die vollständige Zusammenstimmungen" (ME, II, 135). In the continuation of this passage, he leaves out the fractions, and explains: "Es sind auch unvollkommene Gleichstimmungen/ als die quart und sext: die secund und septima aber sind missstimmig . . . weil diese numeri nicht harmonici sind" (ME, II, 135). Harsdörffer is not so much concerned here with the mathematical intricacies of monochordal experimentation, for he restricts his discussion to the simplest terms, and does not reproduce the
complexities found in some of the musical treatises of the time. He is rather interested firstly in the elements of harmony and disharmony exemplified by perfect, imperfect and dissonant intervals, and secondly, in the association of music and numbers.

Music and mathematics had belonged together at least since the time of Pythagoras, and in paintings and woodcuts up to the seventeenth century he is usually depicted carrying out his musical experiments with strings, hammers and bells. Daniel Schwendter, one of Harsdörffer's professors at the University of Altdorf, wrote the first part of the Mathematische Erquickstunden, and Harsdörffer may have collaborated with him on the work.¹³ It is explained here that music belongs to the area of mixed mathematics, "weil sie aus der Arithmetica, als der ersten und vornemsten Wissenschaft ihre principia nimmet" (ME, I, 229). Numbers in any context, states Harsdörffer in the second part of the Mathematische Erquickstunden, are "nichts anders/ als aller dinge Ordnung" (ME, II, 129), and the type of experimentation with the monochord is then a means of determining the order inherent in music. Such an association between numbers and music is thus drawn from the traditional Pythagorean way of approaching music, and the basic ideas are presented by Harsdörffer in simplified form, making them readily accessible to the general reader. The associations, furthermore, provide
justification for including a section on music in such a work as the *Mathematische Erquickstunden* (ME,II,129).

Harsdörffer is interested not only in arithmetical aspects of vibrating strings: "Unter anderen Wunderwerken in der Music," he explains, "ist vielleicht nicht das ringste/wann unter zwo gleichgestimmeten Lauten/ die eine berühret wird/ dass die andere dardurch gleichsfals sich hören lässet" (FG,IV,254). Sympathetic vibration between the strings is not explained scientifically in this instance, and it is sufficient that the phenomenon is something amazing which happens in music. In the *Mathematische Erquickstunden*, however, scientific explanations are attempted: "Geschihet es aus einer sonderbaren Sympathia? Oder geschihet es vielmehr darum/ weil die Saiten in einem tono gestimmet/ die impression des Lufftes leichtlich fangen/ welcher erwecket ist durch die Anrührung der ersten Saiten/ daraus folgte/ dass die auch bewegt würde nach der Mensur und Mass/ wie die andere/ so durch den Fidelbogen bewegt. Ich vor meine Person lasse beede vorhergehende rationes und Ursachen passiren/ bis eine bessere herförgebracht wird" (ME, I,233). If Harsdörffer is the author of these statements, they demonstrate that he was prepared to weigh up existing evidence, but was finally unwilling to accept the standard explanations for sympathetic vibration. No reason is given
as to why the explanations are considered untenable—general dissatisfaction is merely implied. The last sentence, furthermore, illustrates quite clearly the *modus operandi* of the author: he is not concerned with finding an acceptable answer to the question of sympathetic vibration himself, and certainly not through practical experimentation. He prefers rather to rely on the findings of others, and independent scientific research is out of the question. Even if Harsdörffer is not the author of these remarks, his association with Schwendter suggests most strongly that he was aware not only of the content but also of Schwendter’s uncertainty in the matter.

Strings for use on musical instruments, Harsdörffer tells us, can be made of hemp, silk, metal or animal gut (*ME*,II,154-5). Hemp is not particularly good, he explains, as it is not always strong enough. If silk is used, the best choice is Milanese silk which has been treated with resin. In the case of metals, the most suitable are gold and silver, as others cannot be drawn well. The best gut strings are those from a sheep which has grazed on the mountains, and which is slaughtered in the summer. Gut from the goat and the wolf may also be used, but sheep and wolf strings can never be used together on the same instrument, as it would be impossible to get them in tune. This is explained by the fact that in life there is a natural antipathy
between the sheep and the wolf—the two are natural enemies—and that this enmity remains a characteristic of the gut after the death of the animals (FG, VI, 140-41; ME, II, 137). This antipathy, furthermore, explains why beating a drum covered with wolf skin will cause a nearby drum covered with sheep skin to split (FG, VI, 133). Alternatively, the sound of the wolf skin drum will be so loud as to overpower the sound of the other (ME, II, 137).

As far as the strings in particular are concerned, "der niemals genugsam belobte Jesuit Kircherus hat eine Prob gethan/ und befunden/ dass die Schafs- und Wolfssaiten/ sich gar wolzusammen stimmen lassen/ und noch zersprungen/ noch einen misslaut gegeben" (ME, II, 137). Harsdörffer was clearly up to date with what was going on in the field of musical experimentation, and he is furthermore prepared to include at least a mention of Kircher's findings which disprove the beliefs commonly held for centuries. Yet Harsdörffer does not view either the standard beliefs or Kircher's results critically. On the one hand, the law of antipathy founded in general terms on a philosophically based interpretation of natural phenomena is accepted as representing the truth. On the other hand, evidence from scientific experimentation is also included, but no attempt is made to reconcile the two. Just as in the case of heliocentricity noted above (p. 40), Harsdörffer presents the
traditional philosophical and the modern scientific explanations, but does not himself come down on either side.

Arithmetical proportions provide the basis for Harsdörffer's statements on the subject of tuning instruments. Drawing once more from existing sources, he explains the proportionate weights, diameters and amounts of various metals required to produce bells of different pitches (ME, III, 370-71). The construction of organ pipes (ME, III, 366-367), and the xylophone, known as "das Hölzzerne Gelächter" (ME, III, 368-69) is also explained in mathematical terms, as is the tuning of drums, although Harsdörffer also includes here the actual notes four drums should be tuned to: c' e' g' c" (ME, II, 156). 15

Of interest with regard to the performance practices of the time are Harsdörffer's remarks on the scordatura tuning 16 of lutes and violins: "Die Lauten können auff viel weise ve[s]timmmt werden/ dass sie eine richtige und Musicalische Lieblichkeit haben/ so gar/ dass eine meisterliche Hand/ eine gantz ungestimmte Laute fast mit den Griffen be-stimmen kan. Auss solchem Grunde kan man auch die Geigen verstimmen/ wie hiervon H. Erasmus Kindermann ein Büchlein/ des verstimmten Violen-Lust genannt/ in öffentlichen Druck gegeben" (ME, III, 371-72). 17 There follow four short pieces of dance music, including the notes for tuning the strings of the violin in various ways, all composed by Johann Wellter,
a noted Nuremberg lutenist. 18

In this instance, Harsdörffer goes beyond a mere description of the general principles of tuning, as was the case with bells, organs and xylophones, and includes evidence that he was aware of certain aspects of string technique, although this cannot be taken as absolute proof that he himself played the instruments. This knowledge may represent merely another aspect of his wide reading on all aspects of music, and his reference to Kindermann's book shows that his search for information led him to instrumental works. In the continuation of the passage given, moreover, Harsdörffer remarks that the tuning provided by Wellter "lautet am fremdsten" (ME,III,372), and such a judgemental comment clearly results from a comparison of the scordatura with normal tuning. These words unmistakably illustrate Harsdörffer's familiarity with one of the basic aspects of playing a stringed instrument. His interest in scordatura, finally, can be associated with his love for "das Spiel," since on paper, a piece of music with scordatura tuning provided is nothing but a trompe d'oeil—it does not sound as it is written, and as a result, the art of composing in this manner may be viewed as a means of playing off illusion against reality.

Throughout his works, Harsdörffer refers to a great variety of musical instruments, and although some of them
are recognizable to twentieth-century eyes and ears, a number are not. There are, in addition, some terminological difficulties which must be resolved or at least discussed in order to understand the intentions of Harsdörffer and Staden with regard to practical instrumentation.

The first potential cause of confusion occurs with the word "Instrument" itself. It had been customary to use the word as a synonym for the harpsichord or other similar keyboard instrument, and Harsdörffer does indeed use it with this meaning when he refers to a person in Ferrara owning "ein Instrument oder Spinneta" (ME,III,371). Similarly, in the introductory music to the second scene of the Tugendsterne the instruments called for by Staden are "Discant-Violen" and an "Instrument" (FG,V,647). Praetorius had objected most strongly to such a limited application of the term, insisting that it should correctly be applied to all instruments, and Harsdörffer does use it in this sense, referring for example to a theorbo, a long-necked lute, as "besagtes Instrument" (FG,III,200), and to "die künstlichen und unkünstlichen Music-Instrumenten" (FG,IV,496). Staden also employs the word with this general meaning at the beginning of the score to Seelewig (FG,IV,534). Although Harsdörffer usually uses the term in this sense, neither he nor Staden does so exclusively, and care must therefore be taken to scrutinize the context whenever the word appears.
Only once is the harpsichord put to use as a continuo instrument, and that is in the instance of the *Tugendsterne* noted above. The first choice for continuo instrument is the theorbo—it is to be used exclusively as such in *Seel­ewig* (FG,IV,534), it is the first option in *Von der Welt Eitelkeit* (FG,III,200), and it is also to be used for the third song in the *Tugendsterne* (FG,V,651). Alternative instruments to fulfil this function are harp, lute, positive and regal (both types of small organ), and the "Geigenwerk." This last instrument seems to have been well known in the seventeenth century: Praetorius provides a woodcut of it; it is mentioned as "das new erfundene Nürnbergische Geigenwerck" in the programme for the historical concert of 1643; it was used in the musical festivities celebrating the end of the Thirty Years' War, and Harsdörffer makes no special remarks about it when he recommends it for use in *Von der Welt Eitelkeit* (FG,III,200). The "Geigenwerk" has the appearance of a bulky keyboard instrument of the time, but internally it contained five or six parchment covered wheels which were set in motion by means of a pedal or handle. Depressing the keys brought the strings into contact with the rotating wheels, thus producing the sound. The instrument represented an attempt to improve on existing keyboards, since it was capable of producing greater dynamic variation, and the sound could be sustained.
Above the introductory music for the fourth song in the Tugendsterne, the instruments required by Staden are "2 Flöten" and a "Geigen-Instrument" (FGV, 655). Keller understands this as "Geigen." However, if the second component, "Instrument," is taken to mean harpsichord or similar keyboard instrument, the the "Geigenwerk" is most certainly intended.

In the Schauspiel zu Ross, Harsdörffer demonstrates his knowledge of the various trumpet ranges in use at the time. The Schauspiel consists of a description of formations which can be taken by riders and their horses, all in time to trumpet music. Harsdörffer includes the notation, and explains: "Es sol geblasen werden durch sechs Trompeten/ als I. den Clarin. II. Gegenclarin/ oder Contraclarin. III. Principal/ oder hohe Stimme. IV. fulgant, oder Mittelstimme, V. die Gröber oder Grundstimme/ und dann VI. mit dem Flatter" (FG, VII, 506):

Example 2:
The music is marked "Clarin," and Praetorius explains that the clarino is the descant trumpet which carries the melody and ornaments.\(^{27}\) The stepwise progressions in the piece indeed require a clarino technique, which is the art of playing scales in the high register of a valveless instrument. Praetorius in the same place, further explains that the "Volgan" (Harsdörffer's "fulgant") is a fifth above the bass, and remains on the note G; the "Grob" is the bass, and the "Fladdergrob" (Harsdörffer's "Flatter") is an octave below the bass. Although Praetorius includes additional names for trumpet ranges which do not appear in Harsdörffer's list, both adhere to the same general principles.

It is important to note in this connection the use of the word "grob," meaning low in pitch. Harsdörffer often uses it in this sense, as is the case, for example, when he explains that the longest strings on a harp "die gröbsten Stimmen führen"(ME,II,134), or that the Germans "eine grobe starcke Stimme haben"(ME,II,170). In Seelewig, furthermore, the instrument chosen by Staden to accompany the character of Trügewalt, the satyr, is a "grobes Horn"(FG,IV,534 and 561).\(^{28}\) In general usage the word meant "uncouth, coarse, rough," etc., as is evident from Harsdörffer's reference to his printers as "grob and geizig."\(^{29}\) When used as a musical term, however, this sense of the word does not always apply, although a double meaning is sometimes apparent:
"Es wolte ein Cantor von einem unstudierten Studenten reden/ und sagte: Seine Studia sind wie die Noten im Coral/ wenig und grob" (AA, 288).

A potential complication arises with the word "Leyer," It may refer to the lyre, the hurdy-gurdy or a certain type of viol. Harsdörffer once uses the word with the last meaning when he describes an instrument as "eine Leyr/ oder Geigen" (FG, VII, 129), and his intentions regarding the first two options can often be deduced from the context. It is immediately clear, for instance, that when the word is used in connection with Orpheus, the lyre is meant (FG, VI, 573; FG, VIII, 69). In a description of the border of a tapestry, Harsdörffer mentions a number of instruments, including the "Leyer:"

"Die Einfassung dieses Teppichts kan seyn von Lauten/ Geigen/ Harpffen/ Flöten/ Zincken [cornettos]/ Posaunen: und über diese Musikalische Gezeug (Instrumenta) ist auff einer Seiten eine Sackpfeiffen/ auff der andern eine Schallmeyen [shawm] oder Leyern erhaben; zu verstehen gebend/ wie offt Bäurische Kurtzweil/ mehr küstliche Music vorgezogen werde" (FG, II, 157). Musical instruments are thus divided into two camps, one of which is socially and artistically superior to the other. The "Leyer" belongs to the inferior group, and is therefore a peasant hurdy-gurdy in this context. The lyra viol is certainly not meant, firstly because it comes under the general heading of "Geigen," and
secondly, because it was especially intended for virtuoso performance.

Such a division of instruments is confirmed in one of Harsdörffer's poems which describes them as "künstlich" and "unkünstlich:"

Ein jeder steckt ihm selbst erwehltes Ziel:
Der liebet etwan künstliche Musicspiel'/
erlustigt sich mit Orglen und Trompeten/
schlurffenden Zinken und grossen Flöten.
Posaunen/ Geigen/ Lauten und anders mehr/
beliebet vielen neben der Music-Lehr.
   Ein minderer Geist liebet auszuschweiffen/
Bauren und Burgeren aufzupfeiffen.
Die Citter/ Leyer/ das schallende Jäger Hifft
im Feld und in den Dörfferen Freude stifft/
Schalmayen/ Triangel/ Maultrommel
liebet der Pövel im Zechgemommel.
Ein jeder lobt das Seine so viel er wil;
Unkunst' und Künste/ Saiten und Sinne-Spiel;
ich denk' ihr keinen zu befeden/
höret mich/ höret von Spielen reden! (FG, IV, 496-97).

The poem provides firstly a convenient catalogue of various instruments in use at the time, and secondly, Harsdörffer's view of the social status of each.

Harsdörffer has no doubts about the way in which instruments are to be played: "Wer wolte nun nicht lieber einen Kunstrichtig-gestimmten Seitenklang/ als eine missgestimmte Baurenfidel hören"(PT,III,30). The emphasis is not on which instruments are used, but on whether they are played in a manner which is musically correct and pleasing to the ear. Peasant instruments certainly take on a socially different
meaning when seen in light of the passion for things bucolic: "... viel freyer erklinget das schlürffende Dudeln der Sackpfeiffer und der Schalmayen/ als die mordtönenden Trommel und Trompeten" (D, preface). The same sentiment is behind Harsdörffer's poem, "Des Friedens Siegseule," in which shawms are opposed to "Pauken, Trommel und Trompeten." An idealized rustic life is thus preferable to the realities of the Thirty Years' War. The popularity of instruments resulting from the pastoral trend is also apparent in live entertainments of the day. Hunting horns and shawms were known at the court at Wolfenbüttel, and bagpipes and shawms were played during the firework display which was a part of the festivities in Nuremberg celebrating the end of the Thirty Years' War.

Harsdörffer also has no qualms about recommending instruments associated with the peasants or town waits for use in his musical pieces. In one of the sections of Von der Welt Eitelkeit, three smiths are to appear, singing a song and beating red hot iron on an anvil in time to the song. Harsdörffer suggests that a hurdy-gurdy could also be used (FG, III, 208), and the implications are that the social status of the instrument is in accord with that of the smiths. In addition, the assumption has to be made that the hurdy-gurdy is to be played in a tuneful and musically pleasing manner to avoid giving offence to the cultivated ear. Other instru-
ments mentioned by Harsdörffer in connection with Von der Welt Eitelkeit are theorbo, "Geigenwerk," lute, positive organ and violin (FG,III,200 and 235), all of which belong to the artistic group.

The choice of instruments in the Tugendsterne appears to have devolved upon Staden, although Harsdörffer does give a suggestion. The only instruments he mentions in the libretto section of the Tugendsterne are the lute and theorbo, either of which can be used exclusively if necessary to reduce the cost of a performance (FG,V,403). In the actual score, however, the instruments chosen by Staden are: cornetto, positive organ, descant viols, harpsichord, descant violin, theorbo, recorders, "Geigen-Instrument," clarino, trombone, shawm, regal, flute and harp. All these instruments belong to, or are related to, those of the artistic category as set out in Harsdörffer's poem except the shawm. The first lines of the song in the Tugendsterne associated with the shawm suggest why the instrument might have been selected: "Weil die schwachen Menschen schweben in dem tieffen Threnen Thal/ sollen sie nicht allzumal/ einsam als die Wilden leben . . ."(FG,V,664-65). The other instrument to be used in this instance is the regal, and the juxtaposition of this and the shawm underscores the sense of these lines: the regal is associated with "die Menschen," and the shawm with "die Wilden." The song, furthermore, is
entitled "Die Vorsichtigkeit," and the evils of the world to be guarded against are characterized by the use of the shawm.\footnote{34}

In the case of \textit{Seelewig}, Harsdörffer in the libretto section does not deal extensively with the question of the instruments, but he does give some indications. Following the names of characters supplied at the beginning, he notes that the choruses are to be accompanied by "ein Saitenspiel" (FG,IV,82). At the end of the libretto section, an outline of instruments to be associated with the various characters is provided: "Bey der Music ist zu merken/ dass bey jedem Aufzug eine An- oder Gleichstimmung zu hören/ als den Nymfen mögen Geigen/ Lauten und Flöten/ den Schäferen Schalmeyen/ Zwerchpfeiffen/ Flageolet/ dem Trügewalt ein grosses Horn zugeeignet werden"(FG,IV,206). Trügewalt could also carry a large hunting horn (FG,IV,208). This is the extent of Harsdörffer's instructions as to instrumentation in \textit{Seelewig}. The remaining remarks interspersed in the libretto deal above all with explaining the meaning of the songs, suggesting all kinds of emblematic parallels with the content, and providing examples of how metre and rhyme can be used correctly in the German language.

The instruments called for at the beginning of the score section of \textit{Seelewig} are three violins, three recorders, three shawms, a "grobes Horn" and finally a theorbo to pro-:
vide the continuo. In the actual score, additional instruments are required: pommers ("Pomparten" = low pitched shawms), bassoons, trumpet and viols. The disposition of the instruments according to the characters they are to represent in the introductory music to the acts and scenes is as follows:

- Allegorical figure "Music" (Prologue) - violins
- Ehrelob and Reichimuth (I,iii) - shawms
- Seelewig and Sinnigunda (I,iv) - violins
- Trügewalt (I,iv) - trumpet or low pitched horn
- Seelewig and Sinnigunda (II,i) - recorders
- Ehrelob, Künsteling and Reichimuth (II,ii) - shawms
- Trügewalt, Künsteling, Reichimuth and Ehrelob (III,i) - pommers and bassoons
- Angels (III,vi) - viols

Staden has thus selected some of the instruments from Harsdörffer's list provided in the libretto section. Not only has he applied them to the characters as Harsdörffer suggests, but he has also increased the possibilities of variation by including additional related instruments: pommers and bassoons, for example, like the shawm, use a double reed, and produce a similar type of sound.

The choice and application of instruments in Seelewig adhere closely to the scheme given in Harsdörffer's poem above, but the instruments now take on an obvious symbolic significance in addition to any artistic and social connota-
tions. The nymphs, including Seelewig herself (violins and recorders) represent the powers of good, while the shepherds (reed instruments, horn and trumpet) represent the powers of evil. A contradiction is apparent here, in that the trumpet, otherwise an artistic instrument, is used in connection with Trügewalt. Keller provides two explanations as to why this could have occurred: firstly, trumpets may have been [and were] more readily available than hunting horns, and secondly, the sound quality of the trumpet is similar to that of the trombones and cornettos required by Monteverdi to depict the underworld in Orfeo, and the instrument may consequently have been chosen for this type of acoustic reason rather than for any particular artistic or symbolic considerations. Whatever the cause, the inclusion of a trumpet to represent Trügewalt suggests that however valid Harsdörffer's division of instruments into two socially and artistically differing groups may have been on paper, it did not necessarily apply in practice. The instrumentation suggested for performance purposes, furthermore, is never a Harsdörfferian fiat, for, as noted, factors of cost and availability are taken into consideration, allowing instrumental accompaniment according to means. Harsdörffer moreover regularly bemoans the fact that he does not have enough space for full explanations, and in such cases, he leaves the reader to make the most of what is given.36
The placing of instrumentalists for stage works is not always given in Harsdörffer's instructions. Most of his remarks on this subject explain that the music in particular instances is to be heard from behind the curtain. This is the case with the choruses and one of the echo scenes in *Seelewig* (FG,82,125,161), and with one of the songs in *Von der Welt Eitelkeit* (FG,III,200). In neither of these pieces is any further information given on the positioning of musicians. For the *Tugendsterne*, however, Harsdörffer suggests that if the aim is to keep the cost of a performance to a minimum, a painted curtain should be drawn across the stage, and all the music, vocal and instrumental, should be heard from behind this curtain (FG,III,403). In this type of production, the musician or musicians would not be seen at all.

Harsdörffer refers to a celebration at the court of the Medicis, in which singers appeared "mit verborgener Instrumental Music" (FG,VI,192). In a court situation, the invisibility of the orchestra can be explained by the fact that musicians were servants and were kept out of sight to avoid offending the sensibilities of noble onlookers. In the "freie Reichsstadt" of Nuremberg, where musicians were held in high esteem, such social considerations were not as applicable. Harsdörffer nevertheless retains the principle of an invisible orchestra.
The function of instrumental music in a stage setting it not only to accompany the singers or to provide introductory "An- oder Gleichstimmungen," which foreshadow upcoming acts or scenes. The attention of the spectators must be sustained at all times, and this can be done between acts and scenes by presenting them with a painted curtain and allowing them to hear music, sometimes a song (FG, VI, 183), to keep their eyes and ears fully occupied. Instrumental music between acts or scenes is particularly appropriate especially when played by trumpets or other loud instruments, as it covers up the noise produced by changing the scenery (FG, VI, 170).

When instrumental music is used in conjunction with the voice, however, considerations of volume are rather different. The importance of understanding the text of a song was stressed by a number of writers. Valentin Haussmann at the beginning of the century, for example, had noted: "Es kommen aus Italien vil schöne gesang zu uns in Teutschland/ so von dem mehrern theil on verstand der texte musicirt und gesungen werden." Later in the century, the question of foreign texts was no longer as applicable, but, "... vernimmt man kein Wort im Gesang/ so ist und bleibt es ein todtes Klang/ Hall und Schall/ der in der Luft vergehet/ und in den Ohren ersitzen bleibt/ und kriegt der inwendige Mensch/ Seel und Geist zu seiner Erbauung nichts
The intelligibility of the words of a song is thus a factor of prime importance. In terms very similar to those used by Gruber, Harsdörffer himself states that "der nichtige Klang/ und das in der Luft verrauschende Getöne/ kan niemals wirk- und wesentliche Begegnung bringen" (FG, IV, 92-3). He also notes in connection with *Von der Welt Eitelkeit* that the instruments must not overwhelm the voice (FG, III, 200). Harsdörffer's instructions regarding instrumental music then deal not only with the symbolic implications of the various instruments, but also with considerations of a purely practical nature.

In addition to a knowledge of various types of instruments and instrumentation, Harsdörffer demonstrates some familiarity with the nomenclature of the gamut, which was the collective name given to the range of musical sounds used in practice. It may be seen as the seventeenth-century version of the tonic solfa. The gamut is though to have been devised by Guido d'Arezzo, a eleventh-century monk, as a means of providing his pupils with a practical method of learning to sing at sight. Guido had realized that a certain six syllables of words to a Latin hymn were sung at stepwise ascending pitch levels, and he consequently chose these syllables to represent the names of the notes which were then always to be used in the same relationship to each other. Harsdörffer quotes the lines of the hymn, noting
that they are "Die Verse/ aus welchen die 6 Stimmen oder Voces genommen" (ME, II, 138):

\begin{equation}
\text{Ut queant Laxis Resonare fibris} \\
\text{Mira gestorum Famuli suorum} \\
\text{Solve pollute Labii reatum,} \\
\text{Sancte Ioannes.} \quad \text{(ME, II, 139)}^{43}
\end{equation}

The set of six notes is referred to as the hexachord, of which there were three types known as "hard," "natural" and "soft," overlapping to make up the gamut (Table II). Although Harsdörffer is not concerned with the intricacies of the hexachord system—he assumes the reader is familiar with it—he is nevertheless aware that such a method based on units of six notes was no longer working particularly well in practice: "Weil aber sieben Stimmen und hier nur sechs .. ." (ME, II, 139), he writes. The move towards a system based on the octave (actually only seven different notes) was so strong, that a number of suggestions were being made for the name of the seventh note. Harsdörffer was familiar with the suggestion "bi" (ME, II, 139), although there were others.\(^{44}\)

Harsdörffer uses hexachordal terminology in a number of ways. In the case of the tuning of drums noted above, he sets out the information as:

Example 3:

\begin{equation}
\text{ut mi sol fa}
\end{equation}
The first three notes, ut, mi and sol, starting on the note c' belong to the natural hexachord. The last note, c", however, is fa of the hard hexachord which would start in this case on g'.

In another place Harsdörffer discusses the tuning of strings on a lute or guitar, noting that the bottom string should be tuned to "G sol, re, ut" (ME,III,366). A glance at the table on page 85 will show that in this instance, the element "sol" belongs to the natural hexachord, "re" to the soft, and "ut" to the hard. From this information the pitch of the note can be determined.

Knowledge of the hexachord is also evident in Harsdörffer's comments on the American sloth, which he calls a "Haut" (NJ,II,n.p.). This animal, says Harsdörffer is as big as a cat, with malodorous breath, it has very long claws, is very slow and lives in trees. "Wundersam aber ist dieses Thieres Stimme/ in dem es bey Nacht das ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la ordentlich singet/ und darzwischen jedesmals einen halben Schlag paussieret/ also" (NJ,II,n.p.):

Example 4:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pitch</th>
<th>Hard</th>
<th>Natural</th>
<th>Soft</th>
<th>Hard</th>
<th>Natural</th>
<th>Soft</th>
<th>Hard</th>
<th>The Gamut</th>
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<tr>
<td>e&quot;</td>
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</table>

Table II.

The Hexachord System. Based on that given in Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*, p. 64.
Strictly speaking, the soft hexachord of F used here should have a B flat, so that the semitone falls in the same place as it does in the other hexachords. The flat sign is also missing the the same example given in the *Mathematische Erquickstunden* (II,150), as it is in Harsdörffer's source. In Caspar Schott's version, however, it is included. In view of the great number of printing errors evident in seventeenth-century books, it is possible that this omission in Harsdörffer's versions can be put down to lack of care on the part of the printer, or inadequate proofreading, a chore Harsdörffer himself did not have much time for (FG,V,109-10). Insouciance on the part of Harsdörffer when borrowing material from another source is another factor which cannot be ruled out.

Elsewhere he reports having seen a game concerning music,

*bey welchem man das ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la ausgetheilt/ und weil alle alldar Anwesende der Singkunst kundig waren/ hat der/ so das Spiel geführt/ mit dem Stäblein den Tact gegeben/ und anfangen zu singen ut, mi, re, etc. und ein jedes so lang/ als ein halber oder gantzer/ oder viertel Schlag/ gewäret/ auffstehen mussen/ und so lang selbe Noten gelautet/ stehen bleiben; welche dann zu bald oder zu langsamb auffgestanden/ oder gesessen sind/ haben die Pfand/ mit Beantwortung etlicher Fragen von der Music wider lösen müssen . . . Ich bilde mir leichtlich ein/ wie sie untereinander werden gehupffen haben/ wenn der schwartzen Noten viel sind gesungen worden. (FG,II,309).*  

Apart from the reference to the hexachord, this passage is
notable for the inclusion of other musical terminology. Although it is probably based on an Italian source, Harsdörffer has nevertheless had to translate the musical words into German: "Tact," "halber oder gantzer/ oder viertel Schlag," and "schwartze Noten," all demonstrating his familiarity with the rudiments of musical terminology.

Harsdörffer's concern for using German equivalents for foreign words is as evident in his statements on music as it is in a purely literary context (PT,III,8-15). To ensure that the reader will know what the German word means, Harsdörffer usually includes the original foreign term. Some examples with respect to music are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>German</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clausula intermedia</td>
<td>Mittelschluss (PT,III,95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clavis [key on an organ]</td>
<td>Holtz (HS,II,198)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrapuncto</td>
<td>Ebenmessige Gegenfügung (ME,III,350)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In genere recitativo</td>
<td>Erzählungsweiss (FG,IV,89; ME,II,144)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Instrumenta</td>
<td>Musikalische Gezeug (FG,II,157)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Semitonia</td>
<td>Die halben Tönungen (ME,III,369)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Symphonia</td>
<td>An- oder Gleichstimmung (FG,IV,535)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Harsdörffer was by no means alone in these concerns. Herbst himself noted that his work *Musica Poetica* was the first of its kind to have been written in German. There were also earlier treatises in German—parts two and three of Praetorius'
Syntagma Musicum, for example. At the beginning of the century, the first edition of Gumpelzhaimer's Compendium Musicae Latino Germanicum had appeared, a bilingual general treatise on music with the Latin original and German translation given side by side.

As it is extremely difficult if not impossible always to determine the exact moment a word appeared in the language,⁴⁹ the German musical vocabulary applied by Harsdörffer cannot ultimately be used as evidence that he was responsible for introducing it. A number of the words and phrases given above in any case appear in the earlier treatises, and Harsdörffer was familiar at least with the work of Praetorius (HS,II,198). His use of German terminology, however, does show him to be aware of the musical needs of the time, and by insisting on the use of German, he supplies his reader in a practical way with a means of understanding the material.

There can be little doubt that Harsdörffer had an extensive working knowledge of all kinds of aspects of practical music. Although a great many of his statements in this area are translations or borrowings from other sources, he has nevertheless presented the information in German in a way which clearly shows that he understood the material he was dealing with. Harsdörffer's pedagogic tendencies also come to the fore, in that readers will readily
grasp the matter at hand without the need for mathematical acrobatics, or, in the case of instruments, a brilliant technique. It is not Harsdörffer's intention to teach his readers music, as he does presuppose a certain familiarity with the subject. He is interested above all in broadening the general knowledge of the educated person, and, in a theatrical context, in providing him with the raw material for putting this general knowledge into practice.
Chapter Three: Musica Poetica

A. Music and Poetry

"Was ist Musica Poetica? Es ist eine freye Kunst/ welche Anleitung und Anweisung gibt/ wie man einen Gesang schön und zierlich/ nach den vorgeschriebenen Praeceptis und Regulis componiren und setzen soll/ damit die Hertzen und Gemäther der Zuhörer delectiret/ erfrewet und lieblich eingenommen werden."¹ The Musicus Poeticus is therefore the composer as opposed to the theoretician who merely speculates on the subject, or the practitioner who is concerned only with the problems of performing.

Herbst's understanding of the compositional side of music illustrates the intimate relationship between music and the word, a relationship which had been so strong that the traditional definition of music still found in seventeenth-century text books was "eine Kunst welche lehrt/ wie man recht singen soll,"² or, "ein Kunst recht und wol zu singen."³ Harsdörffer himself explains that "dieses Wort Musica kan zwar Sing- oder Klingkunst oder Thonkundigung geteutschet werden"(ME,III,351). The last two options indicate that a more general meaning was also attributed to the
word at the time. 4

For Herbst, composing meant setting words to music, and he makes it perfectly clear which of the two has supremacy: " . . . dann die Gesang wegen dess Textes/ und nicht die Wörter oder Text wegen der Harmony Componiret, und gemacht werden." 5 Harsdörffer does not agree completely, for, he advises, there are instances when the poet must set the words to an existing melody (PT,III,93). In either case, the poet and the musician must be familiar with the techniques of both arts in order to produce successful songs (PT,III,93).

From Harsdörffer's point of view, "der füglichste Thon ist/ welcher die aufgegebene Reimen nachdrücklich und aller-beweglichsten fasset/ und gleichsam durch eine zierliche Kunstsprache/ unsere natürliche Hertzenserregungen eigent-lisch gemäss hören lässt"(FG,III,275). The similarities between this statement and Herbst's definition of Musica Poetica cannot be overlooked. Both refer firstly to the need for an ornamental ("zierlich") style, which in Hars-dörffer's case is based on the use of rhetorical devices and imagery in language (PT,III,63-72). 6 For Herbst, orna-mention consists in expressing the nature of the material and the sense of the words in an appropriate way musically. If, for instance, a word or phrase suggests any kind of motion—running, ascending, etc.—this must be reflected by
the speed or direction of the notes. Herbst does not go as far as some writers of musical treatises of the seventeenth-century who were attempting to establish set systems of musico-rhetorical parallels: Joachim Burmeister, for instance, compiled a list of twenty-six terms taken from the art of rhetoric which were to be used in musical composition. Terms in common use included "hyperbole," extending beyond the normal range of the voice; "pathopoia," ascending or descending chromatic progression to denote grief; "apocope," the final note of a musical phrase being snapped off; "polyptoton," the repetition of the beginning of a phrase at a new pitch level. It is the application of such rhetorical figures which is behind Harsdörffer's statement that music is a part of "Redkunst" (FG, V, 178).

The second point of similarity between Herbst's definition of Musica Poetica and Harsdörffer's view of the most suitable melody for a song is the emphasis on rules. Herbst insists on following the set precepts—avoiding forbidden intervals, for instance—while for Harsdörffer, "Kunstsprache" is by definition grounded in rules. The two writers from their different standpoints thirdly agree on the same general effects the combination of ornamentation and rules is to have on the listener. As Herbst and Harsdörffer do not appear to have been in close contact, the agreement between their statements indicates not only that the two
arts were in general based on the same fundamental compositional criteria, but also that the ideas expressed were all part of the literary and musical coin of the day.

Although Harsdörffer's understanding of the art of the composer is very apparent, he himself cannot be considered a *Musicus Poeticus* in the strict sense of the term, as no music is attributed to him. By supplying the words for the composer, however, he foreshadows to a great extent the shape and nature of the music. The meaning and sound of the words will influence the composer in his choice of rhythm, musico-rhetorical figures, and key or ostensible mode. Harsdörffer, as will be shown, also draws on many aspects of his musical knowledge in preparing poetry, and he applies this knowledge in different ways. If the etymology of the words "poetica," "poeticus," "poet," etc. is traced back to the original Greek "poiein," meaning "to fashion," or "to make," then Harsdörffer can be examined as one who fashions all kinds of musical material without composing a note.

The queen of rhetorical figures in language, says Harsdörffer, is "die Gleichniss" (*PT*,III,56-7). Its importance lies in the fact that it is "der Stab unsers blinden Verstands: Was wir nicht nennen können/ beschreiben/ und finden wir gleichsam/ durch die Vereinparung mit dem/ so es ähnlich ist/ und wird unser Sinn belustiget/ wann er
durch solches Mittel fasset/ was er sonst nicht verstehen kan" (FG, VIII, 234). In addition to having ornamental and explanatory functions, the figure is also suitable for drawing analogies between all kinds of apparently disparate items or subjects, and in this way, it displays the inherent harmony which was seen to exist between all things. The use of musical material for such purposes is a common feature of Harsdörffer's poetic works, especially his "Lehrgedichte" which he describes as types of extended "Gleichnisse" (PT, II, 51; FG, VIII, 238), and in his emblems ("Sinnbilder") which include instructive interpretations of the motto and picture in verse.

The musical subject matter in Harsdörffer's poems and emblems is applied for comparative purposes in various ways. The first type deals with the art of poetry, and can be exemplified by an emblem with the motto "Nicht ohne Stimmung" appearing above an illustration of a seated figure playing the harp. Harsdörffer provides the interpretation:

Wer will auf der Harffen spielen/
    muss durch strengen Saitenzwang/
    den Kunstrechten gleichen Klang
    proben und erzielen.
sonsten bringt das Harffenschlagen/
    mehr Verdruss als Sinnbehagen;
Also muss sich weisen lassen/
    Wer will schreiben ein Gedicht
    Nach der Sprache Lehr Bericht/
    und die Red nicht Plumsweis fassen;
    Wann er nicht mit Missbehagen/
    wil die zarten Ohren plagen. (PT, III, n.p.)
The "Gleichniss" in this poem consists of the straightforward comparison of two seemingly unrelated subjects—playing the harp and writing a poem. Just as the harpist must tune and test his instrument to be able to play artistically, and thereby please his listener, so the poet must test his written invention against the rules of grammar and correct use of language. The harpist does not play just any note, and the poet does not pick just any word. The first point of reference between the two parts of the comparison is therefore the necessity for a studied approach to both arts. The second point of reference is concerned with the sound of harp music and poetry, both of which can offend the ear if the artistic rules are not followed. Harsdörffer's emphasis on the oral nature of poetry is thus very much in evidence, and the choice of musical material as the element of comparison is most appropriate.

A second type of musical subject matter is that dealing with the misuse of music. Harsdörffer in general has much to say on this subject, and overall, he directs his disapproval at those who submit to excess. The surgical operation carried out on young boys to produce castrato singers is one example of misuse (ME,III,359; FG,VI,289). A second example is the willingness to be seduced by the intoxicating effects of music, which can lead to moral turpitude and a deviation from the path of righteousness (ME,III,359-60; FG, IV, 87, 92-93).
Harsdörffer, moreover, insists "dass man die Music zu Geistlichen Sachen gebrauchen solle" (FG, IV, 89). Yet he himself is not adverse to providing secular content for songs. On one occasion in the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele, the words and music of a complaint by a shepherdess are given:

\begin{verbatim}
Mütterlein was wolt ihr sagen?
Mich trifft es am meinsten an:
Weiss ich nicht/ was heist ein Mann/
dessen Herrschaft man mus tragen?
Umsonst ist eu'r Huht und Wacht/
nem ich nicht nicht selbst in Acht

Sagt mir nicht vom Eheverbinden/
wie die Liebe Starenblind:
Es ist auch ein kluges Kind/
und kan manche Ränk' erfinden/
Umsonst ist eu'r Huht und Wacht/
nem ich mich nicht selbst in Acht.

Das/ so man dem Kind verbietet/
darnach lustet es vielmehr.
Es ist eine schlechte Lehr
die/ ders giebet nicht verhütet.
Umsonst ist eu'r Huht und Wacht/
nem ich mich nicht selbst in Acht. . . . (FG, IV, 46-48)
\end{verbatim}

This song is referred to by one of the conversationalists as "ein äppiges Buhlliedlein" (FG, IV, 50). A second character maintains that there is nothing wrong with it, and that the shepherdess is singing the truth. In order to offset this remark, Harsdörffer follows it with a religious song, in which God's omnipotence is praised. The purpose of including a song with worldly subject matter in this particular instance is to provide a demonstration by negative example.
Harsdörffer's responsibility for the words to the song is in any case diminished to some extent by the fact that it is a translation from a Spanish source.

Erotic verses appearing in Von der Welt Eitelkeit, however, are not translations. In one scene, a young man and a young woman are to appear sitting on a bed, and they proceed to sing a song replete with sexual innuendo. Harsdörffer, fully aware that this might offend the audience, notes: "So man vermeinen wolte/ dass das Lied zu frey und frech seyn solte . . . könte man wol bey dem andern oder dritten Gesetz abbrechen" (FG,III,252). The justification for including such a song in the context of the whole work is to illustrate the foolishness of submitting totally to the desires of the flesh. As this song is followed by a scene in which the figure of Death sings of the vanity, mutability and transitoriness of human life, it is put into its proper perspective, and provides another negative example.

The general theme of the misuse of music explained in terms of a musical instrument appears in the poem entitled "Die Laute redet:"

Ich könte vor der Zeit das Sorgenwachen stillen/
die Pucht/ die blasse Pucht mit meinem Ton verhüllen.
Die Winde hörten mich/ der Bäche Lispelgang
verzögert' auenwarts/ ob meinem süßen Klang.
Nun ist mein Freudenlied in neues Leid gewendet/
Ich bin ein leeres Holtz/ beraubet und geschändet
geschändet und beraubt durch eine Frevelhand/
die mir bey düstrer Nacht mein holdes Saitenband
zerschnitten und zerstückt. Komm doch/ mich zu verbrennen/
komm/ komm/ bring deine Flamm/ weil ich bin tod zu nennen/ nachdem mein Sternendach/ mein Dach von Helffenbein/ (Zu helfen mancher Pein erbaut) gerissen ein. Mein Zweck ist ohne Zweck/ mein Steg ist gantz zerstücket; Ich bin ein eitles Nichts verstummt/ und eingedrücket. Zuvor hat meinen Ton der Himmel selbst begehrt/ nun bin ich nimmer nicht so hoher Milde wehrt. (PT,III,12-13)

The comparison in this poem consists not in drawing parallels between two different things, but in presenting the lute as it used to be and as it is now. The reader must decide for himself that the condition of the lute represents the past and present state of music. In previous times, music soothed a savage breast, was in harmony with the divine. Now it is used for vain and shameful purposes. The choice of the lute to represent the descent of music is particularly apposite, as these instruments were frequently adapted and transformed into hurdy-gurdies, or cannibalized to provide parts. The words "zerschnitten," "gerissen ein," and "zerstücket" describe such treatment of the lute.

The outstanding technical feature of this poem is the use of the pun. The words "Sternendach," "Dach," "Zweck" and "Steg" have meanings in addition to the obvious. When applied to the lute, the "Sternendach" is the belly or upper surface with its rose ("Stern"); the "Dach" of ivory is the back, the "Zweck" is the peg, and the "Steg" is the bridge. By including such words with double meanings, Harsdörffer presupposes that the reader will be familiar with the names
for parts of a lute. Otherwise this demonstration of the artistic and ornamental use of language will remain unappreciated.

Although the lute in this poem can be seen to represent music in general, this is the case only when it is read in isolation, for Harsdörffer's remarks concerning the poem show that he had another "Gleichniss" in mind, namely:

"... wann wir unsren Glauben mit einer Laute/ die Wercke aber mit deroselben Säiten vereinbahren . . ." (PT,I,13, 1650 edition). Furthermore, an additional section is added in the version found in the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele which points out the comparison:

Der Glaub befreyt von Sorgen/
die in dem Menschenhertzen
verhüillet und verborgen/
und doch mit Seufftzen schmertzen/
mit Threnen/ Angst und Flehen/
sich kläglich lassen sehen.
Der Satan kan dem Glauben/
dass wir in Jammer sterben/
und Höllenbrand verderben/
aus blöden Sinnenrauben/
Der Glaub ist Geist und Leben/
in dem wir sind und schweben.
Wann wir nicht Glauben haben/
wird unser Thun und Lassen/
gleich faule Opfergaben/
der Himmelsschöpfer hassen. (FG,VIII,198-99)

The basic assumption in these cases is that just as the body and strings of a lute are equally necessary to produce a harmonious sound, so faith and good works are necessary
for man to reach a state of grace. Harsdörffer also notes that the poem may be used as the explanatory verse of an emblem containing the picture of a lute without strings to illustrate the same meaning (ME, II, 172). The poem then expresses a sense of distress at the lack of faith and good works in the lives of men. As it first appeared in the 1647 editions of the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele (Part Seven) and the Poetischer Trichter, it may also be a reflection of the lack of religious observance evident during the course of the Thirty Years' War in particular.

A further area of concern in Harsdörffer's poetry in which he draws on musical material is that of human behaviour in a Christian context:

Hört meiner Lauten Laut/ wie lieblich doch erklinget
das rundgehöhte Holz! Hört wie der Finger zwinget
ungleich vergleichten Ton!
Bevor man dieses Spiel behaglich unternimmet;
mus dieser Saiten Chor kunstrichtig seyn gestimmet/
sonst hat man Schand darvon.
Wolffssaiten taugen nicht/ so reinlich sie auch scheinen,
kann doch ihr falscher Ton niemalen sich vereinen
mit Schafgedämmer Klang/
die kan man nach und nach anstrengen und bezwingen/
dass ihr getön gesammt behaglich muss erklingen;
mit unterschiednem Zwang.
Wann man aus Ungedult die Saiten will zerreißen/
sie ziehen gar zu hoch und diese Laute schmeissen
an nechsten Mauerstein:
Was Music würde man von solchem Spiele hören?
Ach nein/ ein sanffter Mut lässt sich nicht so bethören/
und liebt der Tugendschrein.
Der Klägste giebet nach/ dem/ der zu Zeiten irret/
(gleich wie der Lautenklang ohn künstlich spielen kirret)
und weiset ihn zu recht;
Es kan ein gutes Wort den oft zu rücke ziehen/
den dess Vermahners Grimm und Schelten machet fliehen/
gleich einem Ruderknecht.
Wie sanfft verfährt mit uns der süße Geist der Gnaden
der uns verlohrene Schar pflegt täglich einzuladen
zu GOTTES Himmelreich.
Wen der Geleitesmann/ mit seinem Wink regieret/
und auf dess HERren Weg gefällig einher fähret/
verhält sich ime gleich;
in dem er mit Gedult in seinem Thun verfähret/
den nächsten Freundesmann mit linden Worten lehret/
baust auf den rechten Stein:
Wer aber mit Gewalt will die Gemüter dringen/
und was man glauben soll erpressen und erzwingen/
der reisset viel mehr ein. (HS,II,305-6)

In this poem comparisons are made between three things:
the correct tuning of a lute, virtuous behaviour towards
one's fellow man, and a tempering of proselytizing zeal.
In all three cases allowances must be made if a harmonious
sound and harmonious relationships with man and God are to
be achieved. Patience is more productive than anger. In
the first section of the poem, Harsdörffer is not content
merely to state that an untuned lute has an unpleasant
sound, but includes specialized musical knowledge to de-
scribe some of the problems of tuning. For instance, the
statement that sheep gut strings "kan man nach und nach an-
strengen und bezwingen," illustrates one of the difficulties
in using gut strings of any kind—they can be extremely
intractable, and tuning them certainly requires a great deal
of patience. This factor is evident elsewhere in Harsdörffer's works when he remarks in connection with the lute:
"Viel Stimmens/ wenig Schlagens" (FG, V, 399). The great number of strings on the lute makes tuning the instrument all the more time consuming. The visual impact of the poem given above in fact brings to mind the strings of a lute: the pairs of long lines represent the double courses of the instrument.

In order to understand this poem it is not essential for the reader to be aware of the practical problems of tuning, nor is it necessary for him to be familiar with the antipathic relationship between wolf gut and sheep gut strings, since Harsdörffer provides sufficient information for him to grasp the general meaning. The uninformed reader may learn about such things by studying the poem. For the reader who does have a knowledge of these aspects of music, the "Gleichniss" will prove to be all the more apt.

A further "Lehrgedicht" which incorporates a musical instrument as part of the comparison appears in the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele (VIII, 334-37), and with minor alterations in the Hertzbewegliche Sonntagsandachten (I, 23), and Nathan und Jotham (I, n.p.). A variant form is also to be found in the Mathematische Erquickstunden (III, 356-57). The emphasis is once again on Christian faith:

In den grünlichfalben Matten unter einer Eichen Schatten/ hat ein freyer Wandersmann seine Laute hingeleget/ weil er von dem Schlaf erreget/ Mund und Augen zugethan.
Auf nechst beygelegnen Auen
weidet' in dem kühlen Tauen/
ein darob erstaunter Knab:
Als er nun nichts mehr vernommen/
liess er dort den Hirtenstab/
und ist näher hingekommen.
Er kniet bey der Laute nider/
die zuvor so holde Lieder
und den wunderreinen Klang/
diesen Knaben zu bethören/
durch den strengen Seidenstrang/
in den Luftten lassen hören.
Er wolt dem Gehör nicht trauen/
und mit seinen Augen schauen/
wie des stummen Holtzes Stern
könte sonder Sinn und Leben/
(wolt er selbstern sehen gern)
So beliebte Stimme geben?
Als er nun nicht mögen sehen/
und nicht wust/ wie es geschehen/
rühret er die Seiden an:
bald die Laute murmeln Klagte
und das/ was der Knab gethan/
hiem rechten Herrn sagte.
Sind nicht in des Holtzes Krümmen
aller Vögel zarte Stimmen/
die ich hier noch nicht geschaut/
aber mit dem Ohr vernommen/
dass der wundersüsse Laut
ist aus diesem Holtz gekommen?
Wie kan aus des Bauches Klufften
etwas tönen in den Luftten?
Sag mir lieber Wandersmann/
Sag mir, wie doch mag geschehen
das ich hab gehöret an:
was ich doch nicht mögen sehen?
Knab/ du must den Ohren trauen/
was du hörst/ kommt nicht zu schauen:
dich vergnüge das Gehör.
Man muss seinen Sinn betauben
und der Gnadenreichen Lehr/
in des Höchsten Worte glauben. (FG,VIII,334-37)

In this poem, which is a verse-parable, the lute is once
more drawn into service. The stress is again on the con­
trast between a skillfully and unskillfully played instru­
ment. Only once is a word of a musically technical nature used, and that is "Stern." Otherwise the vocabulary and meaning can be understood by the musically uninformed reader. The version of the poem in the Hertzbewegliche Sonntagsandachten is used as the explanatory verse of an emblem which includes the picture of a boy playing a lute and the motto: "Selig sind/ die nicht sehen/ und doch glauben"(HS, I, 23). The poem then explains on the sentiment expressed in the motto. The use of the lute to explain that one should believe in the word of God without seeking causes represents a fine example of the extended "Gleichniss" based on words of the Bible: "Faith cometh by hearing"(Romans.10.17). The fact that the poem appears in four different works suggests that Harsdörffer himself valued it highly as an example of the "Lehrgedicht."

Musical instruments and their sounds can be used in various other ways for purposes of comparison, suggests Harsdörffer. The picture of an organ, for instance, would be suitable for an emblem with the motto: "Es gehört nicht zum Tantz"(ME, II, 172; HS, I, Sig.Biiij), or "Durch Kunst und Mühe" (FG, VIII, 126). Panpipes can be used to demonstrate unity and harmony in worldly matters (ME, II, 173), while the harp can do so in a heavenly context— the strings, although uneven in length nevertheless sound harmoniously together (HS, II, 231-33). Furthermore, the sound of the harp curing a
tarantula bite may also be used to show that religious doubt can be cured by the word of God (ME, II, 175-76; HS, I, 213). A cracked bell, on the other hand, is suitable for representing a bad ruler—just as the bell advertises its condition to the whole town, so the errors of a bad ruler are apparent to everyone (ME, II, 174). Harsdörffer's favourite instrument for inclusion in "Gleichnisse" is the lute, and in three of the poetic examples given above, this instrument is used. He also employs it in various stages of being strung to represent the ages of man (FG, VIII, 121-124), and it is regularly seconded in connection with worldly or heavenly harmony.

Musical instruments, their sound when they are played properly, and their constituent parts thus provide a wealth of material for inclusion in poetic works. The association of instruments with the Christian faith is particularly strong, and can very often be demonstrated even if the poem does not contain any literal reference to it. This association applies regardless of the work in which such a poem is found—it is as evident in the Frauenzimmer Gesprächsspiele and Mathematische Erquickstunden as in the Hertz-bewegliche Sonntagsandachten. Although Harsdörffer occasionally assumes a certain amount of specialized knowledge on the part of his reader, this is rare. Musical poems of the type discussed are therefore accessible to the general
reader, who will go away not only with examples of how musical subject matter can be transformed into poetic works of art, but also with suggestions for further "Gleichnisse," which he can then incorporate into his own poetry.

In the case of Latin poetry, the opportunities for applying musical material of a technical nature are greater than in German (ME,II,144). As the word order in Latin can be altered at will, nouns and their attributive adjectives can be arranged according to musical principles. If two words in agreement are placed next to each other, they can be seen in terms of the musical interval of a second (tonus). If another word intervenes, the interval then becomes a third (ditonus). If two words intervene, the interval is a fourth (diatessaron), and so on. Harsdörffer explains this method by using a Latin poem from another source (ME,II, 144; PT,10-11). He is himself, however, the author of numerous Latin poems, and this technique can be applied to the first few lines taken from the explanatory verse of one of his emblems:

Harmoniam sacram diversa haud Musica cogit: perficit una fides, quiquid in arte latet. Sola fides artis resonat miracula rara: molle melos acuit murmure tensa fides. . . .(FG,VIII,694)

(Literal translation)

Different types of music do not produce sacred harmony One faith completes whatever lies hidden in art
Faith alone echoes the rare miracles of art
Firm faith intensifies soft song with a murmur...

In the first line "Harmonium" and "sacram" belong together, forming the interval of a second, while "diversa" and "Musica" produce a third. In the following three lines, nouns and their qualifying adjectives are placed next to each other, again representing the interval of a second. The first line can be shown visually as:

```
Harmoniam sacram diversa haud Musica cogit:
```

When other parts of speech are included in this system, the number of intervals possible increases. In the second line, for instance, the interval of a fourth can be found:

```
perficit una fides, quiquid in arte latet
```

The illustration in this emblem is that of a monochord, its single string stretched tightly over the bridges, with some of the intervals marked. The "Gleicheniss" is then between the monochord and the Christian faith. In this Latin verse, the combination is extremely fitting, as the word "fides" means not only "faith," but also "string of a musical instrument." The comparison is thus based on a word with a
double meaning, and the poem takes the form of an extended
pun.

Although Harsdörffer nowhere states that he had musi-
cal intervals in mind when writing this poem, applying them
is nevertheless appropriate in view of the content. In the
first line, the two different intervals reflect the meaning
of "diversa . . . Musica," while in the remaining lines,
the intervals of a second produced by the three occurrences
of "fides" and its adjectives exemplify the consistency of
genuine faith. The single word "sola" in the third line,
moreover, can be read as the hexachordal notes "sol" and
"la," which also represent the interval of a second. The
phrase "sola fides" is therefore packed with musical meaning,
and it was undoubtedly for this reason that the words were
chosen for inclusion in the motto of the emblem: "Sola fides,
heic sola sonat!" (Faith alone, this alone resounds).

The use of the principles of musical intervals to com-
pose or appreciate a poem cannot be used successfully in
German, says Harsdörffer. "Wir Teutschen pflegen unsere
Wörter nicht zu versetzen/ wie die Lateiner/ sondern suchen
die zierliche Lieblichkeit in leichtfliessender Ordnung/
und wolschliessender Reimung"(ME,II,144). Yet this state-
ment does not exclude the possibility of using aspects of
the hexachord in connection with German poetry. This can
be done by reversing the method applied by Guido in devising the system. Where Guido extracted syllables from a Latin hymn to be used as the names of notes, Harsdörffer takes these syllables, and then finds words which include them. He then presents them in a musico-poetic manner (ME, II, 139):

Example 5:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{re fa fa re} \\
\text{Wann uns ntasey das belwerck behöft} \\
\text{fa re re mi re} \\
\text{so sst der bensafft viel ichlich lde den} \\
\text{re la ut la ut ut ut re} \\
\text{Wann uns e den g en M verneh t} \\
\text{sol la re la} \\
\text{chen Lust und F ud den Sorgen st befeden.}
\end{align*}
\]

Harsdörffer provides the names of the notes which are to be read in conjunction with the words and parts of words appearing underneath to complete the sense. Where he previously used exactly the same technique as a memory device (above, p. 53), it is used here purely for poetic purposes. When written out in full, without recourse to notation, the
poem runs:

Wann unsre fantasey das fabelwerck bethöret
so fasst der rebensafft viel reichlich milde reden
Wann unsre laute laut den guten Mut vermehret
sol lachen Lust und Freud den Sorgenlast befeden.

In most cases the names of the notes can be read as they stand—very little alteration in pronunciation is required for example in the words "unsre," "fantasey," "milde" or "guten." In other cases, the syllable contains one part of a diphthong, and its pronunciation must be adapted: "re-ichlich" becomes "reichlich," "la-ut" becomes "laut," and F-re-ud" becomes "Freud." The method in these instances is based on orthographic rather than phonetic considerations, and the reader must be aware of such a use of the names of notes if he is to recite the poem fluently.

Harsdörffer gives other examples of hexachordal terminology applied in this manner (AA,9; ME,II,140), but this is the only one which he claims as his own invention (ME, II,139). From a musical point of view, the invention cannot be considered successful—the notes are discrete, the leaps as a result are unwieldy, and the melodic line, if it can be called such, is repetitive and erratic. Harsdörffer's intention here was not to provide a charming melody to underscore the meaning, or to provide a theme for use in a musical work, but to draw the arts of music and poetry together
in a studied manner, and to present a means by which the two could be associated. One method of appreciating seventeenth-century poetry emerges here, in that the reader, seeking out hexachordal terminology or musical intervals in a poetic work will discover connections between the two arts. It is a method which is based on the principle that all things are interrelated, and the kind of evaluation which results is one which describes rather than analyzes one art form in terms of another.

Musical notation has a value for Harsdörffer other than supplying syllables for inclusion in poetry. It can also be used as a guide to the pronunciation of German. He divides vowel sounds into three main groups (FG, I, 376). The first deals with the long vowels "aa," "ee," diphthongs, as well as "ä, ö, ü," all of which are represented by a whole note. If the vowel is preceded by "h," as in "Jahr" or "mehr," it is slightly shorter, and represented by a half note, but it is still considered long. The second category consists of vowels which can be long or short: in monosyllabic root words, the vowel is long in the case of "lieb" (half note), and short as in the case of "ehr" (quarter note), but when prefixes or suffixes are attached, they are always long: "lieben" and "verehrt." Short vowels (quarter notes) are to be found in prefixes and suffixes, "er-," "ver-" or "en," and in words such as "Spiel" or "Zier" in which the
"e" following the "i" is always short. The choice of only three types of musical notes for this exercise was probably made initially to agree with the division of vowels into three groups. Harsdörffer in fact only uses two names for the vowels—long and short, and the representation of long vowels by both whole notes and half notes suggests a slight difference in pronunciation between such words as "Meer" (whole note) and "mehr" (half note).

In view of Harsdörffer's emphasis on the oral nature of poetry, the question of pronunciation becomes particularly important. He is certainly aware of the problems caused by the various German dialects, and notes that the written language can reflect the pronunciation of the author: "Der Schlesier schreibt/ wie er redet/ und reimet a [u] and o wie H. Opitz Sel. weil er Kunst und sonst gleich ausspricht" (PT, I, 116). In this particular instance, the words given do not actually show that Opitz wrote as he spoke, as "sonst" would otherwise have been written "sunst." Precise examples can be found in Zesen's Hoch-Deutscher Helikon, where Opitz is taken to task for rhyming such words as "brunnen" and "sonnen." Harsdörffer's point is nevertheless clear, and can be further demonstrated in a general way by an extract from a poem by Opitz:

Die Welt ist nichts als Träume die uns triegen/
Diss seh' ich nun nach dem mich Gott erweckt:
Ihr gantzes thun ist List/ Betrug und Liegen. 15
Das Auge schafft/ die arme Seele steckt. . . .

Where Opitz writes "triegen" and "Liegen," Harsdörffer prefers "trügen" and Lügen." That Harsdörffer perceives that "ie" and "ü" are pronounced differently in his dialect is evident from his description of the "e" in "ie" as a short vowel, and "ü" as a long vowel. In practice, however, he does rhyme the two: "betrüben" and "lieben" appear as rhyme words in the chorus of nymphs in Seelewig (FG,IV,159). In view of the influence of Opitz' work on Harsdörffer, and his subsequent exposure to such rhymes, these may have become acceptable currency in a poetic context, despite the implication that he would not pronounce "ü" and "ie" in ordinary discourse. In addition, Harsdörffer notes that as the German language has not yet become a perfect literary medium, incorrect rhymes of this type must be accepted for the time being (FG,IV,120).

Harsdörffer is rarely dogmatic about which dialect is the correct one: "Wir . . . lassen es die Meisner und Schlesier ausfechten"(PT,III,7), he explains. His main concern is that the content be clear and articulately expressed, regardless of the dialect (FG,I,373). Nevertheless, he does refer to "unsere Sprache wie sie heut zu Tage in Ober- Teutschland gebräuchlich ist"(PT,III,8) as being the one to aim for. The geographical range of language defined in this
way, however, is so vast, and includes so many dialects that Harsdörffer's statement merely shows that he personally prefers the general tendencies and characteristics of Southern and Middle German. The length of vowels explained in terms of musical notation thus gives some indication of the pronunciation preferred by Harsdörffer.

When it comes to providing instruction for writing poetry, Harsdörffer once again draws on musical notation, this time as an aid to describing various types of metre. The basic aim in his choice of any metre is to represent the natural pronunciation of the words \( (PT, I, 18) \). It is primarily in this area that he takes the Meistersinger to task: "Sie beobachten allein die Anzahl der Sylben und den Reimen; dass aber eine Sylben lang- die andere kurtzlautend sey/ das gilt ihnen gleich viel"\( (FG, IV, 57) \). Wrenched accents or syllables left out or added are not part of Harsdörffer's method. The natural rhythm of the words comes first, and this determines the choice of metre.

Although Harsdörffer's avowed intention in including musical notation in a discussion of poetic metre is also to show "die Höhe und Tiefe/ oder steigende und fallende Endung"\( (PT, I, 51) \), additional explanatory factors implicit in the notation can be identified which have varying degrees of success when applied to the spoken language.

Different notes are chosen to indicate the various types
of metrical foot. The trochee is represented by the breve and whole note (PT, I, 52-53):

Example 6:

![Example 6](image)

The same notes appear in the case of the iamb (PT, I, 56-57):

Example 7:

![Example 7](image)

Dactyls receive one whole note and two half notes (PT, I, 60-61):

Example 8:

![Example 8](image)

while anapaests are represented by two half notes and one whole note (PT, I, 62-63):

Example 9:

![Example 9](image)

The alto clef is used for the iamb, trochee and dactyl, and the relative pitch of the notes can therefore be determined: in disyllabic feet the notes are c' and b, in the
trisyllabic dactyl they are c'b b, all representing the interval of a semitone. For the anapaest, the mezzo-soprano clef is chosen, and where the pitch does vary, the notes d'd'e' appear, producing the interval of a tone. Elsewhere Harsdörffer broadens the scope of intonation of the anapaest (PT,I,64):

Example 10:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{c' d' e' f'}
\end{array}
\]

The notes here range from d' to f', producing a range of one and a half tones. In the same example given elsewhere, the mezzo-soprano clef is replaced by the soprano clef (PT,I,71; 1650 edition):

Example 11:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{c' d' e' f'}
\end{array}
\]

resulting in a range of two tones (f' to a'). The possibilities of varying intonation thus extend from a semitone to two tones.

The fact that different clefs are chosen for the same example of the anapaest in two different editions of the Poetischer Trichter, and the fact that no clefs at all are used for the iamb and trochee in the 1650 edition, suggest
either that the printing and proof-reading processes were inadequate, and a clef was intended—probably the alto clef as it predominates; or, which is more likely, that the clefs are ultimately superfluous, but were included for reasons of musical appearance. It would therefore seem that the variations in range brought about by the inconsistent use of clefs, especially in the case of the anapaest, are purely accidental.

The question of the relationship between the pitch of a note, intonation and the stress of a syllable poses a certain problem. No fixed rule emerges from the examples given, for in the instance of the trochee, dactyl and anapaest, the stressed syllable is represented by the higher or highest note, while in the iambic foot the stressed syllable is indicated by the lower note. The same occurs in an earlier example of the iamb (PT, I, 18). Harsdörffer's intention seems to be to represent the stressed syllable by a higher pitch in all metres but the iambic. Yet reciting a poem with such a regularly alternating intonational pattern becomes tedious: the trochaic "In den grünlichfälben Matten" (FG, VIII, 334), for example, would be up-down-up-down-up-down-up-down, and the iambic meter would produce the same pattern with the emphasis on the "down" element. The resulting see-saw effect does not nearly approach the intonation used in natural speech which Harsdörffer was
aiming for. Clearly there can be no real relationship between the pitch of the notes given and the syllable stress from an intonational point of view. The association is rather in terms of pitch and forcefulness depending on the type of metre—the higher the note in a trochaic, dactylic or anapaestic foot, the more forcefully the syllable is to be uttered. In iambic metre, forcefulness is indicated by the lower pitch. If a stressed or unstressed syllable is determined by its degree of forcefulness, then the pitch of the notes as given by Harsdörffer cannot describe this aspect in a literal way. Musical pitch in this connection becomes a metaphor for syllabic stress.

That varying note values are used in conjunction with poetic metre suggests initially that these also reflect the length of the vowel of a stressed or unstressed syllable. This is one area of consistency in Harsdörffer's use of notation, as the stressed syllables in all examples given above are represented by notes of longer duration than those for unstressed syllables. It quickly becomes apparent, however, that the relationship between the length of a note and the length of a vowel is not as it first appears. To demonstrate the trochaic metre Harsdörffer includes the lines: "Weh und Ach/ dienet leider nicht zur Säch" (PT, I, 54), in which the word "nicht" with its short vowel is stressed (long note). Elsewhere he writes: "Solt mich das nicht
recht betrüben . . ." (FG, IV, 121), where the same word is in an unstressed position (short note). An example of the iambic metre shows the same discrepancy between stress and length of vowel: "Er kommt nicht wieder™m zu seinen jungen Tagen" (PT, I, 57-58). The short vowel in "kommt" is stressed (long note), while the long vowel in "zu" is unstressed (short note). The length of a note is then decidedly no reflection of the length of the vowel. When dealing with normal discourse, Harsdörffer does use musical notation to indicate relative vowel lengths, but his remarks in that area no longer apply in a poetic context.

A difficulty arises if the musical rhythms are seen to represent the natural rhythm of the words. As the iambic and trochaic foot each have two syllables, the expected rhythm is duple. Yet Harsdörffer uses a breve and whole note for each of these feet, the result being an underlying triple rhythm—a breve plus a whole note equals three whole notes. Similarly, in those feet containing three syllables, a rhythm of four musical beats is given. If the musical beat is to prevail, then the stressed syllables must be twice the length of the unstressed syllables, which means that short vowels in a stressed position become long, and long vowels in an unstressed position become short. Yet it has already been shown that vowel length and stress are unconnected. The rhythm suggested by the notes therefore
cannot be taken literally. It is not "I-n den grün-
llichfa-lben Ma-tten," but "In den grünlichfalben Matten;"
not "Die Wa-ffen verro-sten wir ko-sten," (PT, I, 62), but
"Die Waffen verrosten wir kosten." The element of length
in a musical note thus provides another metaphor for syl-
labic stress.

A final feature of notation which explains an aspect
of poetic metre is the literal length of notes applied to
the different metres to indicate the speeds at which va-
rious types of feet are to be spoken in relation to each
other. If the note values given by Harsdörffer are reduced
by a half for ease in reading, the following relationships
between the four metres emerge:

Beat in \( \frac{1}{4} \): 1 2 3 4 5 6
Beat in \( \frac{1}{2} \): 1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2 3 4 5 6
Iamb
Trochee
Dactyl
Anapaest

The time required to utter two feet of a disyllabic metre
is the same as that for three feet of a trisyllabic metre.
The ratio between the two types of metre is then 2:3. In
the second two examples of the notated anapaest, however,
(Examples 10 and 11), notes are used which are half the
value of those in the first example (Example 9). If these are compared to a disyllabic foot, the proportion becomes 1:3:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Iamb} & \quad \text{Notation reduced by half).} \\
\text{Anapaest} & \quad \text{(Notation reduced by half).}
\end{align*}
\]

With such variation in proportions it is unlikely that they should be taken literally. Moreover, as note values have been shown to be unconnected to the length of a syllable, the musical proportions can have no direct bearing on spoken verse. Nevertheless, in practical poetic terms they do indicate in a general way that a verse of iambic or trochaic metre is spoken more slowly than that of dactylic or anapaestic metre. This is particularly appropriate, as disyllabic metre, especially the trochee, is suitable for melancholy subject matter (PT, I, 52), while trisyllabic metre is to be used for joyful themes (PT, I, 63).

The musical notation chosen by Harsdörffer is thus not very satisfactory for explaining poetic metre. Neither the pitch nor the note values describe in any precise way the stress, rhythm or intonation of spoken verse. Furthermore, Harsdörffer's claim that he himself was using notes to indicate the "Höhe und Tieffe/ oder steigende und fallende Endung," is not demonstrated consistently in the examples
he gives, as the strong ending of the iambic foot falls on
the lower pitched note of the series (Example 7), while
the same ending of the anapaestic foot falls on the higher
note (Example 9). This apparent inconsistency results from
the assumption that Harsdörffer intended strong and weak
endings to be shown by the pitch of the notes. If they are
indicated by the note values, then he is consistent, for
stressed syllables are always represented by the longer or
longest note of the series.

The various problems brought about by associating
note values with metrical stress can be explained by the
persistence of imprecise prosodic terminology. In Latin
poetry the system of versification depends on the length
of time required to utter a syllable—it is quantitative, and
the terms "long" and "short" accurately describe this fea-
ture. German verse, on the other hand, is accentual-syllabic.
The determining factor is the stress of syllables, not their
length.17 The use of the words "long" and "short" to ex-
plain accentual-syllabic verse is therefore not precise.

Opitz had been fully aware of this: "Nachmals ist auch
ein jeder verss entweder ein iambicus oder trochaicus;
nicht das wir auff art der griechen vnnd lateiner eine ge-
wisse grösse der sylben können inn acht nemen; sondern das
wir an den accenten unnd dem thone erkennen/ welche sylbe
hoch und welche niedrig gesetzt soll werden."18 In the
remainder of his discussion, he employs the words "hoch" and "niedrig" to describe stressed and unstressed syllables. Buchner also made a statement on the subject: "Die Syllben sind entweder lang oder kurz: welche ihre Beschaffenheit in unser Poeterey gloss und allein aus der Ausrede und dem Thone zu ermessenz." Harsdörffer also recognized the problem, for he notes that syllables in verse are "lang oder kurz (accentu)" (ME, II, 145), where the terms denoting length actually imply syllabic stress. In addition, he states that although vowels are called "breves" and "longae" they should in fact be called "clarae" and "obscurae" (SP, 136). His view of the association between Latin and German versification in general is incontrovertible: "Die jenigen/ so vermeinen/ man müsse die teutsch Poeterey nach dem Lateinischen richten/ sind auf einer gantz irrigen Meinung" (PT, I, 17). In addition, he follows Opitz and Buchner in drawing attention to the accentual nature of the German language by classifying words according to their stress (PT, I, 18-26). He nevertheless retains terminology based on considerations of length, and uses words from this terminology to describe metres used in German poetry: "langkurtz" (trochaic); "kurtzlang" (iambic); "langgekürzt" (dactylic); "gekürztlang" (anapaestic); "doppellang" (spondaic), and "doppelkurtz" (pyrrhic) (PT, I, 50).

When applying musical notation to poetic metre, Hars-
dörffer takes the concept of length literally, and he chooses different note values to indicate stressed and unstressed syllables. The words "Höhe" and "Tieffe;" almost certainly based on Opitz' "hoch" and "niedrig," are also taken literally, and are represented as notes at different pitches. Although the relationship between poetic metre and musical notation is somewhat tenuous when subjected to detailed scrutiny, for Harsdörffer, the association is based on the meaning of technical terms originating from a quantitative system of versification ("long" and "short"), and on the meaning of words which attempt to describe syllabic stress ("Höhe" and "Tieffe"). He uses note values and pitch to express the sense of these words, although he is aware that the ones which signify length are not to be taken at face value when used in a purely prosodic context. His application of notation to metre nevertheless illustrates that connections can be found between the arts of music and poetry.

Overall, musical material plays a significant part in Harsdörffer's poetry. Musical subject matter is used in an ornamental manner to form "Gleichnisse," thereby teaching various lessons in a pleasing manner. The technical aspects of music provide a means of drawing parallels between the two arts: intervals, hexachordal terminology and notation in different ways are all intended to demonstrate the rela-
tionship between music and poetry. Music is thus a source which Harsdörffer draws on to embellish and describe features of his art.
B. Poetry and Music

Harsdörffer's view of the relationship between words and music in song is clear: "Es solten es ... die unvernünftigen Vögelein den vernünftigen Menschen weit bevor thun/ wann nicht wolvernehmliche Verse und Wörter/ mit der lieblichen Stimme verbunden würden/ der Ton ohne rede ist nicht zu verstehen/ und gleichet einer frembden Sprache/ die wir nicht erlernet haben" (ME, II, 131). Words are therefore necessary for translating this arcane foreign language into a comprehensible system of sounds, and Harsdörffer becomes the translator by providing the words.

In writing the words either to an existing melody or to be set to music, the poet must follow certain rules which differ in some respects from those used in writing verse which is not intended for a musical setting. The first factor which is to be taken into consideration is the length of verses. Harsdörffer prefers to use short verses, including sonnets, "weil sich die kurtzen Verse viel besser zu singen schicken als die langen" (FG, IV, 158). Furthermore, in a discussion of the translation of foreign songs into German, he justifies obvious omissions by the fact that it is done "nach der kurtzen Art Teutscher Gesänger" (FG, II, 337).
The second factor to be considered is which of the poetic metres are to be used in general, and which ones can be mixed in the same song. The most suitable is the trochaic tetrameter (PT, I, 54 and 70), the implications being that shorter trochaic lines are not acceptable for poetry. The use of other metres in song is not excluded. If metres are to be mixed in poetry, the general rule is to use iambs and anapaests together on the one hand, trochees and dactylys on the other (PT, I, 71). In songs, more leeway is possible: metrical variations within a poem "können unzählich ausgedacht werden/ haben aber/ ausser dem Gesang wenig Lieblichkeit" (PT, I, 76). Nevertheless, Harstdörffer insists that using iambs and trochees in the same verse of a song is an "Abschritt von den Lehr-Satz" (PT, III, 96). To demonstrate the "Abschritt," he quotes part of a song by Rist which includes lines of iambic and trochaic metre. He follows this by the statement: "Dieses, wenn es den Noten zu Liebe geschiht/ kann für keinen Fehler gehalten werden" (PT, III, 97). The actual yardstick is not so much whether the poetic rules have been followed, but whether the musical rhythm has been taken into account. The indications here are that the poet who writes songs rather than verse to be read or recited has to take into consideration other musical factors which may occasionally result in a neglect of the poetic rules.

When writing words to an existing melody, the poet
must be aware of the general tone of the music—the words must reflect the mood, whether gay or melancholy (PT,III, 93-94), as well as expressing the meaning of the melodic line. When the notes ascend or descend, phrases such as "Ihr hohen Berge" or "Ihr tiefen Thäler" will combine the meaning of the text and the music (PT,III,94). Harsdörffer is just as aware of the need for this association as Herbst. The two agree in addition, that the punctuation of a text must correspond with the cadences in music (PT,III,94). The function of punctuation for Harsdörffer is to divide grammatical elements in a regular and ordered manner to make the progression of meaning clear. It is incorrect, he suggests, to place the direct object at the beginning of the first line of a song, and the subject in the third line when a cadence intervenes (PT,III,95), otherwise the meaning will be lost (PT,I,105). This is part of his general view that the word order of verse should not differ substantially from that of prose (PT,I,106).

If a composition consists of a number of verses sung to the same melody, then all these factors must be taken into consideration in every verse. If the work is through-composed, the meaning of the words is still to reflect the movement of the melodic line (PT,III,94). Harsdörffer then has a definite system to be followed when writing songs to be set to an existing tune, and although much of it is
drawn from the Italian tradition, as he himself admits, it does provide a convenient codification of those features considered important by a German poet.

Whether Harsdörffer follows his system in practice can be ascertained by analyzing a song from the *Hertz-bewegliche Sonntagsandachten*, a work which includes many texts which are to be sung to well-known melodies. The verses chosen are from the "LiebsGesang Der GOTT ergebenen Seele bey der Vögel Gesang:"

Erhebe dich flüchtige Stimm/
steig Wolken an/ schwinge dich/ klimm
und hilffe den Vögelein singen/
die lieblichen Lieder gemein/
und höre die Psälterlein klingen/
halt fleissig mit ihnen auch ein!
Mit künstlich gemischtem Chor/
schwingt eirerley Music empor!

Der Nachtigall krausslichter Klang
tiriliret das reinste Gesang/
sie fällt auf liebliche Tertzen/
und schlurffelt dem Bächlein nach:
sie lispelt und wispelt zu schertzen/
dess reimenden Gegenhalls Sprach/
und singet im höherem Chor/
den anderen Vögelein vor. . . .(HS,II,234-35)

From a purely literary point of view, a number of features stand out. Metrically, the dactyl predominates, and there is an anacrusis at the beginning of each line, with the single exception of "tiriliret" in verse two, line two. A stressed monosyllable or trochaic foot appears at the end
of each line. A trochaic foot also occurs in the fourth line of verse two ("Bächlein"). The mixing of dactyls and trochees is recommended in Harsdörffer's theoretical statements, as is the use of the dactyl to express joyful subject matter. Moreover, the word "flüchtige" (verse one, line one), reflects in its metre and meaning the speed of the dactyl. In verse one, line seven, however, the word "gemischetem" goes against one of Harsdörffer's main rules, which states that the letter "e" must not be added merely to fill out the metre (PT, I, 105). Both verses consist of four couplets, with the rhyme scheme AA BC BC DD, and the rhymes in the last two lines of each verse are based on the word "Chor," implying a recurrent refrain. The preponderance of alliteration, assonance, internal rhyme, onomatopoeia and front vowels is a hallmark of Harsdörffer's style. The combination of these features produces a typical example of some of the techniques used by Harsdörffer in poetry.

The motives behind his choice of metre, structure, acoustic elements and meaning can to some extent be explained by the music for which the words were written. The rhythm of the verses read without referring to the notes, however, does not immediately suggest that the melody to which they are to be sung is that of "In Dulci Jubilo."
Example 12:

The dominant rhythm in this melody is one long note followed by a note of half the length, \( \downarrow \uparrow \), the same proportion Harsdörffer uses in his theoretical statements to describe the trochaic metre. For the purposes of this song he has taken the underlying triple rhythm of the music and translated it into a predominantly dactylic metre. The basic melody therefore requires some alteration if Harsdörffer's words are to be sung fluently without any disturbance of the metrical rhythm of the poem:
Example 13:

In the words to this song Harsdörffer has not followed the notes of the original literally, although the trochaic "Bächlein" in verse two, line four does reflect the original notation, and may have been chosen because Harsdörffer had this basic rhythmic unit to contend with. In contrast,
the metrical dactyl rather than the musical notation is behind the word "gemischetem" in the penultimate line of the first verse. In these cases, the original notation prevails on the one hand, the metre on the other. Harsdörffer otherwise applies his chosen metre according to his own standards.

The punctuation and grammatical structure correspond closely to the musical structure, AA BC BC DE. The virgula, exclamation mark or semi-colon are used at all cadence points except at the end of the first line of the second verse. In this particular instance the meaning is carried on into the second line—the two lines form one main clause, and from a grammatical point of view no punctuation is necessary. From a music-poetic point of view, however, the virgula should appear here, as it does in other instances in which a main clause takes up two lines (verse one, lines three and four; verse two, lines five and six, seven and eight). As the punctuation in the remaining verses is somewhat erratic, owing to inconsistency either on the part of Harsdörffer or his printer, actual usage in the song cannot ultimately be used to demonstrate whether the printed version in fact reflects Harsdörffer's real intention or not. The grammatical structure nevertheless consists primarily of a concatenation of one-line or two-line main clauses, the latter never crossing from one couplet into
the next. The adverbial phrase making up the penultimate line of verse one is the only example of a line which is not made up of part of, or a complete, main clause, but it too forms a couplet with the main clause to which it belongs. The division of the verses into four couplets, each of which contains one or two units of meaning reflects the musical structure. Harsdörffer has therefore adhered to his own rule requiring that the meaning of the words set to a given melody should unfold in short sections according to the musical cadences.

The repetitions in the melody are at times matched by the language, particularly in the musical B sections which correspond to lines three and five of the verses. In verse one these lines begin with "und hilffe den . . ." and "und höre die . . ." producing an identical first word, and parallel alliteration of "h" and "d." In the second verse, the same word, "sie" appears at the beginning of lines three and five, but more important here is the meaning of the words "lispelt" and "wispelt," and the reference to the echo in line six. As lines five and six are a musical repeat of lines three and four, the indication from the meaning of these words is that they should be sung more softly, as if they were an echo. Musical dynamics are therefore implicit in the meaning.

In five of the lines given, words indicating ascent or
descent are used, and in all cases but one, they correspond to the same features in the melodic line. The words "Erhebe" and "steig" at the beginning of the first two lines of the first verse prepare the way for the rising melodic line, and the word "höherem" in the penultimate line of verse two mirrors the same. In the third line of verse two the word "fället" reflects the descending line of the melody, while the word "Tertzen" is actually set to the interval of a falling third. In the last line of the first verse, the meaning of "schwingt . . . empor" indicates ascent, but the melody falls. Harsdörffer does not state if a special case can be made for the last line of a verse, and it would therefore appear that he has not followed his own directions. Furthermore, his idea that the meaning should reflect the movement of the notes in the same way in every verse is not put into practice here. It is possible that the limitations of the melody--it is short and repetitive--place too many strictures on the poet, and Harsdörffer's theoretical requirements therefore cannot be applied effectively. In general, however, Harsdörffer was certainly influenced by the melody in his choice of poetic elements for this song.

Very little actual notation appears in the Hertzbe-wegliche Sonntagsandachten, but the melodies of those verses which are to be sung are always indicated. Harsdörffer provides
this information by using the phrases "Im Ton . . ." or "Nach der Stimme. . . ." On occasion, he mentions the specific source, as when he refers to settings of hymns by Ambrosius Lobwasser (HS,I,181,253). At other times, the tune is indicated as "In seinem eignen Ton"(HS,I,213) or "In seinem bekannten Ton"(HS,II,227), where the title or first line is the same as the original. Although, as has been shown, the existing melody dictates aspects of form, style and meaning, the content of the original song is not necessarily as binding, for in some cases the religious subject matter of Harsdörffer's verses is to be sung to secular melodies: a "Klag und Trostlied" is to be sung to the tune of "Wo ist mein schöne Schäferin hinkommen"(HS,I,68); the "Absaglied der Welt der grossen Sünderin Maria Magdalena" is to be sung to "Habt ihr nicht hören klagen/ ein Schäfer an dem Rhein"(HS,I,284); and a "Traurlied" is also set to this melody (HS,II,327). By far the most frequent secular music used is that to "Daphnis gieng vor wenig Tagen" from a work by Rist.30 The importance of melodies selected therefore does not depend on the meaning of the original texts, but the overall popularity of the melodies. This was certainly a deliberate act on the part of Harsdörffer, as he states that his choice of tunes is arbitrary (HS,I,preface). The overall significance of his selection is that it provides a brief compendium of some of the
melodies which were famous and widely disseminated in the seventeenth-century.\textsuperscript{31}

In one instance Harsdörffer includes music without stating a source. His "Lied von den vier letzten Dingen" is to be sung either to one of two well known tunes, or "nach folgender Melodey" (HS, II, 379-81):

Example 14:

\begin{center}
\begin{figure}
\begin{music}\begin{align*}
\text{A} & \quad \text{B} \\
\text{C} & \quad \text{D} \\
\text{E} & \quad \text{F}
\end{align*}\end{music}
\end{figure}
\end{center}

First Verse:

Mein Hertz du bist sehr verdüstert/ mit der schnöden Eitelkeit/
du hast so vielmals gelüstert/ nach dem was man spät bereut/
werde nun jetzt endlich weiss/ und betracht mit allem Fleiss
was bald bald hernacher kommet/ was dir schadet oder frommet.

Although it is tempting to attribute this melody to Harsdörffer himself, it is probably rash to do so, for in pre-copyright days there was no real need to acknowledge one's
source. In a literary context Harsdörffer generally mentions his sources, including a bibliography in the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* (II, 467-94; IV, 703-16), but at times he does not. The music in the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* is attributed to Staden either directly or indirectly, as Harsdörffer notes that all music up to and including part four is by Staden (FG, IV, 43). Yet at least one song in part four is not by Staden, but Hille, and the authorship of brief musical quotations in subsequent volumes of the work is not always clear. Overall, Harsdörffer does not name his sources in a consistent way, and the lack of a reference in this particular instance is therefore no real indication that he did not take the melody from somewhere else.

This melody, in addition, bears a remarkable resemblance to one composed by Staden for a song by Rist one year earlier:

Example 15:
First Verse:

GOTT/ der du den Klooss der Erden/ samt dem grossen Himmels-Sahl
Durch dein Wohrt hast lassen werden/ wir erkennen allzumahl/
dass du bist ein HErr/ Allmächtig/ Schreklich/ Herrlich/ stark
und prächtig/
wie wir denn in dieser Nacht/ spüren deine grosse Macht.

Although the first example has a duple rhythm and the second a triple in the originals, both are settings of the same poetic metre. The overall structures of the two are very similar: each song is divided into six sections, with the first two sections being repeated. The only structural difference between them is the shortened D section in the first example. The melodies follow very similar lines with many identical leaps and stepwise progressions. The song in the Hertzbewegliche Sonntagsandachten therefore appears to be a reworking of that in Rist's collection, and in all probability it should be attributed to Staden rather than Harsdörffer.

Harsdörffer's main method of combining religious subject matter and music in this work is then to write new words to well-known tunes, with the result that the readers can sing the songs whether they understand the principles of music or not. Those who do have a knowledge of music will be able to try out the new melody provided, but as it is based on an existing tune, the melodic outline may very well be familiar. Harsdörffer has therefore made his songs
as accessible as possible to his public.

In contrast to the *Hertzbewegliche Sonntagsandachten* which rely on well-known melodies, the major dramatic works which include music in the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* were written in collaboration with Staden. The actual method of collaboration is not recorded, but suggestions have been made in critical literature on how the poet and composer worked together. On the one hand, Staden is regarded as Harsdörffer's "hired help rather than ... friend and equal," or as one who followed Harsdörffer's instructions precisely. On the other hand, Staden is shown to have taken considerable liberties with the texts, and not to have followed Harsdörffer's instructions to the letter. Keller has uncovered 250 major differences between the text of *Seelewig* given in the libretto section and that given in the score. Giving examples, he shows that changes in the text were made to produce more flowing and natural declamation, to provide the opportunity for applying musico-rhetorical figures and to emphasise important points in the plot. Similar tendencies are evident in the *Tugendsterne*. Although Keller admits the possibility that Harsdörffer himself might have made the changes, he concludes that they are the result of Staden's working critically with the texts.

Throughout the libretto section of *Seelewig*, Harsdörffer
intersperses a number of statements made by the characters of the "Gesprächspiel" on the music to be used for the various songs: "Die Music bedunkt mich wolgesetzt"(FG,IV,120); "Die Music ist künstlicher gesetzt/ als ich sagen kan"(FG,IV,145), or, "Die Music ist zu dieser Reimart anmuhtig gebracht"(FG,IV,149). Remarks of this type do not necessarily imply that Harsdörffer had the music at hand while writing the libretto, as they are of such a general nature. In other cases, the picture is rather different: "Diese und dergleichen Sonnet oder Klingreimen mögen auf mancherley Art gesetzt werden/ hier ist eine gleiche/ doch schickliche Mensur"(FG,IV,96); "Nach den Versen ist die Music gerichtet/ in dem das Gesang der Sinnigunda springt und fröhlich/ der Seelewig Lied mehr gemäßigt ist"(FG,IV,130); or "Dieses alles erhebet die Music noch viel künstlicher/ in dem das Totenlied den Ton führet: Wann mein Stündlein verhanden ist . . ."(FG,IV,76). The last statement in particular, which gives the name of a melody chosen from elsewhere, leaves no doubt that the music was available at the time Harsdörffer wrote the libretto.

A question which still remains, however, is whether Harsdörffer from the point of view of language, had more of a hand in making the changes of wording in the score version of *Seelewig* than has hitherto been admitted. This question can be approached by examining verses from both
sections which contain significant alterations:

Libretto (FG, IV, 98-100)  
Score (FG, 540-45).

Trügewalt:

Künsteling ich muss dir klagen  
Wie ich lange Zeit in mir  
habe die Begierd getragen  
Seelwig zu berucken hier.  
Wirst du mir behülflich seyn  
So stell' ich mich dankbar ein

Künsteling:

Wie? soll jemand dein begehren  
der inwohnet dieses Land/  
schimfen/ und dich nicht gewähren?  
Bist du dann ihr nicht bekant?  
Was ich darbey leisten kan/  
biet ich frey und willig an

Trügewalt:

Ach sie pflegt nicht zu verweilen/  
wann ich an bequemen Ort/  
Sie gedenke zu ereilen/  
 ihr zu sagen Liebes-Wort  
Wirst du mir behülflich seyn  
so stell' ich mich dankbar ein

In verse one, the first change occurs in the second line where "wie" becomes "dass," but the meaning is not altered substantially by this substitution. Phonetically, however, the word "wie" ending in a vowel sound, and "ich," beginning with a vowel, tend to be run together, obscuring the meaning. If the two words are individually articulated, a glottal stop
must be used, which produces a slight interruption in delivery, and results in the metrically unstressed word "ich" receiving more emphasis than required. With the use of the word "dass," these concerns are eliminated.

The other changes made in the first verse occur in line four: "Seelwig zu berucken hier," becomes "Seelewig zu trägen hier." The position of "Seelewig" in the second line shows that the heroine's name is not "Seelewig," but "Seelewig." This way of accenting the name is used consistently throughout the score. Yet in the text, Harsdörffer has "Seelwig," the central "e" being dropped for metrical reasons to include the word "berucken." Harsdörffer explains: "Er [Trügewalt] sagt hier nicht dass er Seelewig hold sey/ sondern er lobet sie/ wie ein Ehebrecher einer ehelichen Frauen aufwartet/ sie zu Falle zu bringen/ welches durch das Wörtlein berucken verstanden worden" (FG, IV, 99). Harsdörffer clearly felt the inclusion of the word "berucken" to be more important than the correct form of "Seelewig" when writing the words. The change to "Seelewig" in the score seems to have been made to incorporate the complete form of the name—it appears that the dropping of a syllable is not appropriate in the name of the heroine, and indeed in two other instances where Harsdörffer writes "Seelwig" in the text, the name either reverts to "Seelewig" in the score (FG, IV, 141, 583), or the wording is altered to avoid
using it (\textit{FC}, \textit{IV}, 105, 541). Furthermore, the word "Seelwig," with the "l" and "w" juxtaposed, is more difficult to pronounce fluently than "Seelewig" with the intervening vowel. The correct form of the name in the score requires a substitution for "berucken" to retain metrical regularity. The word "trügen" alters the meaning to some extent, but as it is a constituent part of the name "Trügewalt," it expresses the nature and intent of this character more effectively than the word "berucken." Both changes in this line can thus be explained in terms of metre, phonetics and meaning.

The alterations in verse two are much more extensive, and the initial cause for them can be found in the first line. Where in spoken delivery the interrogative nature of "Wie?" can be conveyed by intonation, this cannot be done in song. "Wie? soll jemand dein begehren?" becomes "Wie soll jemand dein begehren?" which is not the question. The major syntactic changes and different vocabulary in the score version are therefore necessary to retain the general meaning of the original. The alteration of the word "schimfen" to "wegeren" in line three not only provides the correct metre in the score version, but also produces an opportunity for assonance with the word "gewehren" at the end of the line. In the fourth line of the score, the word "deme" included to complete the metre is another deviation from Harsdörffer's
rule that the letter "e" must never be included just for scansion. As this also occurred with the word "gemischemtem" in the song to "In Dulci Jubilo" in the Hertzbeiwegliche Sonntagsandachten, the rule appears to be flexible. There is no obvious metrical or phonetic reason for the changes in the last two lines in this verse, although from a semantic point of view, Künsteling's subservience to Trügewalt is more apparent in the score version. The emphasis on service is then made clear immediately by the words "Meine Dienst" at the beginning of the couplet. In this verse there are twice as many nouns in the score than in the libretto section: "Macht" and "Dienst" are added. A possible reason is that nouns convey a stronger meaning than many other parts of speech. This is certainly the case when the two versions of line five are compared. The major changes in this verse can then be attributed to considerations of syntax, metre and meaning.

The alterations in verse three are minor compared to those of verse two, and appear only in lines two and four. The changes from "an bequemen" to "offt an einem," and "Liebes-Wort" to "nur ein Wort" were clearly not made for metrical reasons, as all versions can be scanned regularly. Grammatically, both lines in the libretto section properly require an indefinite article: "an einem bequemen Ort," "sagen ein Liebes-Wort," and in both cases this is supplied
in the score. As a result, "offt" and "nur" are necessary to complete the metre. The substitutions in these cases affect the meaning of the original words--"bequemen" and "Liebes" convey more information than "offt" and "nur." The meaning in the score is therefore diminished by these alterations.

Despite the changes in all three verses, the overall meaning is maintained—Trügewalt is soliciting Künsteling's help in his plot against Seelewig. Minor semantic alterations are therefore not of great importance in the total scheme, but at times they do represent an attempt to clarify the meaning; and the intelligibility of a text is a major concern for Harsdörffer. Other revisions are based on factors of phonetics, metre, syntax and grammar. Harsdörffer's involvement with the last three has already been demonstrated. His own method of testing a song shows the emphasis he put on phonetics: "Wann dann das Lied verfertiget/ sol man es unterschiedlichmals lesen oder auf selbst erfundene Stimme singen. Und hören ob alles wol aufeinander klinge ..." (PT,III,96). He was thus very much aware of the sound of words in song, and the kind of phonetic changes made in these verses reflect this concern. None of the alterations affects the general metre, for the regular trochaic tetrameter, which Harsdörffer names as the most suitable for song, is retained throughout the score version. Phonetics and
metre are thus very significant factors in Harsdörffer's view of the song.

His overall concern for matters of phonetics, metre and grammar suggests most strongly that he was involved in such changes made in the score. Although Staden, as Keller observes, is almost certainly responsible for the major alterations made for musical reasons, those which are based on considerations of language stem in all likelihood from Harsdörffer's pen.

Keller suggests that Harsdörffer "hätte wohl kaum seine eigenen Verse zerstört." Yet Harsdörffer himself states at the end of the libretto section that Seelewig is an "Anfangsprob" (FG, IV, 209), which admits the possibility of revision. The examples given of changes between the two versions then provide some indication of the way in which Harsdörffer worked with his material--there is always room for improvement.

The fact that the music was available at the time the libretto section was written suggests that much preparatory work had taken place beforehand. Staden could not have written the music without the words, and therefore must have had an early draft of the libretto from Harsdörffer. Some of the differences in the score section, especially those with no obvious explanation, may in fact represent remnants of such a draft. A procedure which could have been followed
is that Staden composed the music according to the material supplied at an early stage by Harsdörffer, and passed it to him in rough form without text underlay. Harsdörffer was thereupon in a position to provide comments on the music in his version of the libretto. The two then came together to improve on the work. As the score to Seelewig is not part of the main body of the volume of the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele in which it appears, but is appended to it, the printing of Harsdörffer's version may well have already been underway by the time the revised form was complete and ready to go to the press. This certainly accounts for the appearance in the same work of two variant libretti; one of them is totally Harsdörffer's own, the other shows definite signs of his involvement.

A final feature to be considered here in connection with the collaboration between the poet and musician is that of the relationship of poetic metre and musical rhythm. The regular metre provided by Harsdörffer in the song sung by Trügewalt and Künsteling is taken up by Staden, who translates it into a regular musical beat, and includes barlines at set points. Yet the use of the barline to indicate a recurring beat had by no means been a standard feature of music before the seventeenth-century:

Art music of the Renaissance was regulated throughout its course by the tactus, a basic note-value to which
all other note-values were related in strict proportion. This tactus was simply a time-beating unit that controlled the sounding together of the voices but did not represent a regular succession of heavy and light beats or any sort of accentual system. Since over and above this the note-values of the voices in a polyphonic composition cut across each other and came together only a planned caesuras to a common cadence, this type of composition offers today's ear no rhythmic orientation; indeed, it even sets insurmountable obstacles in the way of drawing bar-lines in a modern score. This means that the Renaissance knew no beat in the sense of a mechanically recurring pulse of rhythmic units, or rather, it purposely avoided such a beat. . . . The practice continued to the end of the seventeenth century of considering the "barline" movable and to frame with it groups of tones that belonged together rather than rigid rhythmic patterns.43

When Harsdörffer supplies verse with a regular metre, and Staden expresses this by using a regular musical rhythm and barlines, they are thus helping to pave the way for the modern application of the beat in music. This is not to say, however, that Staden follows Harsdörffer exclusively in this manner, for in other instances, especially in the use of the through composed solo song, a strict beat is not always maintained. Neither is this to suggest that the tendency towards establishing a fixed beat was not in evidence before Harsdörffer and Staden--strict musical settings of metrically regular verse had appeared in the sixteenth-century,44 and the increasing social acceptability of dance music had already predisposed the ear to a consistent beat. Nevertheless, Harsdörffer may be considered as an example
of a poet, who, by his insistence on the correct use of regular metre in song, had some influence on the development of the regularly recurring rhythm in music.

As the major musical aspects of the dramatic works in the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele have been discussed in detail by Keller and Haar, it would be superfluous to reiterate their findings here. One area which can be investigated further, however, is that of the source material which Harsdörffer drew on for Seelewig.

Many similarities in content have been uncovered between Seelewig and Italian opera of the time, notably Emilio de Cavalieri's Rappresentazione sacra di Anima e di Corpo. General connections have also been made between Seelewig and the German literary tradition, particularly in the areas of Jesuit and School drama, and morality plays. The importance of the pastoral tradition cannot be overlooked. The outstanding figure in this regard was Opitz, who not only popularized the trend in German literature with the Schäfferey Von der Nimfen Hercine, but also introduced the German pastoral opera by translating Dafne from an Italian model.

Harsdörffer himself had a great enthusiasm for the bucolic in the arts. He refers to a number of pastoral novels and poems written in other languages, and he translated some of them into German. He collaborated with Birken and Klaj on a major pastoral work, the Pegnesisches Schäfer-
gedicht.48 There is, in addition, the whole bucolic framework of the "Hirten- und Blumenorden an der Pegnitz," the society founded by Harsdörffer and Klaj in 1644, the same year Seelewig appeared in print. Keller points to likenesses between Seelewig and the Italian pastoral opera Eumelio by Agostino Agazzari, and notes that this composer and Cavalieri were strongly associated with the Jesuit College in Rome.49 Harsdörffer himself had visited Rome,50 and he furthermore suggested that the works of the Italians should be imitated by the Germans.51 It is thus very probable that he was familiar with such works as the Rappresentazione and Eumelio.

Seelewig clearly follows in the footsteps of the literary and operatic traditions of the day with respect to its religious and pastoral content. Yet no documented evidence of a specific link with a named source has been discovered to date. Harsdörffer in fact does refer to a source, and it will be examined here to determine its influence on Seelewig.

In the first volume of the Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele Harsdörffer refers to "das geistliche Waldgedicht der glückseligen Seele"(FG, I, 188); it appears again in one of Harsdörffer's bibliographies as "Waldgedicht die Glückseelige Seele genannt," with the date 1637, but no author (FG, II, 491), and it is referred to once again: "Unter den neuen
The extent to which Harsdörffer might have drawn on this play when writing Seelewig can be ascertained by comparing major features of the two works:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Die Glückseelige Seele</th>
<th>Seelewig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Language:</strong> Prose—to be spoken</td>
<td>Verse—to be sung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structure:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prologue—dialogue between the</td>
<td>Prologue—allegorical figure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allegorical figures &quot;Liebe</td>
<td>&quot;Die Music&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gottes&quot; and &quot;Irrdische Liebe&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five acts divided into four or five</td>
<td>Three acts divided into six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scenes each</td>
<td>scenes each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus of Shepherds in verse</td>
<td>Chorus of Shepherds, Nymphs</td>
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<tr>
<td>at the end of the first four acts</td>
<td>or Angels at the end of</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>each act.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quasi-epilogue (V,v)—allegorical figure</td>
<td>Epilogue—allegorical figure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Gutt begehren&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Die Mahlkunst&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Characters: Pastor—Liebe Gottes         | Seelewig—Nymfe—die ewige     |
| Cupido—Irrdische Liebe                  | Seele                         |
| Nympha—Seele                            | Sinnigunda—Nymfe—die Sinn-   |
|                                          | lichkeit oder die Sinne       |
| Pastor—Sinn                             | Gwissulda—Zuchtmeisterin—die |
| Matrona—Gewissen                        | Huld oder Gunst des Gewissens|
| Regina—Vormunft [sic]                    | Hertzigild—Nymfe—Verstand    |
| Pastor—Lust                             |                              |
The plot of *Die Glückseelige Seele*:

**Prologue:**

Divine Love and Worldly Love are incompatible.

**Act One:**

The Soul, in a despondent mood is tempted by the Senses. Conscience scolds her and leaves to recruit the aid of Reason. The Soul is shown the beauties of nature by the Senses, succumbs; they sing a duet, "In die Welt," and set off together to seek out Joy and Laughter. Reason and Conscience agree to keep a close eye on the Soul in danger. The Chorus of Shepherds gives advice to direct one's gaze towards heaven.

**Act Two:**

The Soul and the Senses eventually find Joy and Laughter, but the Soul is in a quandary. Reason warns her that the World is deceptive, and begs her to return, as does Conscience. Heavenly Beauty arrives, blinds...
the Senses, and persuades him and the Soul to follow her.
The Chorus of Shepherds prays for God's grace.

Act Three:

The World encourages the Senses to draw the Soul back into his camp. They eavesdrop on the Fear of God, who is telling the Soul to look at the World as it really is. He makes her choice clear—either the horrors of Hell, or her heavenly bridegroom. The Soul realizes she does not want to lose Heaven. She and the Senses make their way along a thorny path, but are tempted by Worldly Beauty, and once more throw in their lot with the World, Joy and Laughter. The Soul is taken fishing by the Senses, but she becomes morose as the fish die when drawn from the water. The Chorus of Shepherds warns the Soul to leave the World.

Act Four:

The Soul realizes that Worldly Beauty is transitory, and bemoans her situation. Satan, jealous of her bridegroom, wants her to go hunting. He tries to take her by force, but she rejects him. The Soul converses with Echo (Voice of God), realizes her errors, and sits down to rest. The Chorus of Shepherds advises that there is no resting in Heaven.

Act Five:

Good Behaviour tells the Soul to climb the hill to Heaven. Satan's power weakens. Faith and Hope arrive to assist in the Soul's upward journey. She is invited to lean on God's Grace. The path becomes smooth and easy. At the top, she hears heavenly music and the singing of saints and angels. The Soul is finally delivered to her bridegroom. Good Behaviour announces that he will stay with those left on earth and lead them to Heaven.

Harsdörffer's own comments on plays in general throw some
light on the differences in type of language and structure between *Die Glückseelige Seele* and *Seelewig*. The usual division, he notes, is: "Vorredner/ die Aufzüge/ fünf Handlungen/ (deren die Hirten-Spiele nur drey zu haben pflegen)/ und der Schluss. Zu diesen allen ist zu rechnen der Chor/ oder die Music/ dienend dergestalt/ dass zwischen jeder Handlung ein Lied gesungen werden sol . . . und in etlichen Reimsätzen mit einer oder mehr Stimmen deutlichst hören lassen" *(PT,II,73-74)*. This description applies to the structure of *Die Glückseelige Seele*, and it is notable that music is to appear only between acts. Harsdörffer states elsewhere that songs may be used in prose works as long as they fit the context *(PT,II,97)*, and this does in fact occur in Act One of *Die Glückseelige Seele*. In a discussion of "Hirten spiele" and "Hirtengedichte" the example of *Seelewig* is given *(PT,II,99)*, and the division of this work into three acts is therefore appropriate. In addition, Harsdörffer states:"Nach Italiëner Art sollen alle solche Gedichte gantz in Reimen verfasset seyn/ und benebens einer Theorbaklang vernemlichst gesungen werden" *(PT,II,99)*, hence the choice of verse rather than prose in *Seelewig*. Harsdörffer's theoretical definitions thus explain the structural and language differences between the two works.

Although the number of characters in *Die Glückseelige Seele* is considerably larger than in *Seelewig*, the emphasis
on allegorical representations is the prime feature of both works. There are direct correlations between the figures representing the soul, the senses, conscience, reason or understanding, and the devil, but not between those representing facets of the world. In *Die Glückseelige Seele*, the figures cover a wide range of worldly temptations but in *Seelewig* they specifically stand for riches, ambition and knowledge, all reflected in the proper names Harsdörffer gives to these characters: Reichimuht, Ehreloeb and Künsteling. The disposition of nymphs and shepherds also varies in the two works, for in *Die Glückseelige Seele* they may represent either good or evil, while in *Seelewig*, they are divided into two distinct camps—the shepherds are of the world, but the nymphs (including Sinnigunda when under control) are on the side of the soul. There is therefore a tendency in Harsdörffer's work to present the characters in a simpler and more clear-cut manner than is the case in *Die Glückseelige Seele*.

The basic plots of the two works are the same: the soul is assaulted by the senses, the world and the devil, deviates from the true path, but finally realizes the errors of her ways. Two specific instances in the works are, moreover, strikingly similar. The first is the fishing scene, where in *Die Glückseelige Seele* the Soul is shown by the Senses how to fish (III,iv), and in *Seelewig*, the heroine is offered
a fishing rod by Ehrelob (II,ii). Although the scene in Seelewig is not as explicit as that in Die Glückseelige Seele, the overall futility of spending time on a worthless cause is the didactic point of each.

The second outstanding similarity is the confrontation of the heroine in despair with an echo, which in Die Glückseelige Seele is an independent character standing for the voice of God. This scene in the play represents a moment of divine communion, providing the Soul with strength to turn away finally from the world (IV,iii). In Seelewig, Harsdörffer uses the echo in a different way. It is not the voice of God, but Trögewalt, a bass, disguising his voice by singing falsetto (III,iv). Harsdörffer explains: "Der böse Feind findet sich um die Traurigen/ und obwohl seine Stimme uns angenehm scheinet/ und unseren Sinnen gemäss; so führet und leitet sie doch auf den vorigen Sündenwege" (FG, IV, 182).

Although Harsdörffer implies elsewhere that the echo in general has at least a partial connection with the divine (FG, V, 403)—music itself is "der Echo oder Wiederhall der himmlischen Freuden" (FG, IV, 91)—he shows it in Seelewig to be subject to misuse, and employs it as a vehicle for illusion, the result being a scene of high dramatic tension, which is not the case in Die Glückseelige Seele.

Harsdörffer's overall interest in the echo as a scientific phenomenon and as a source for the poet is evident
in the *Mathematische Erquickstunden*, in which he discusses not only the various surfaces and angles required to produce different qualities of echo, but also words which lend themselves to echoic treatment in literature. A word such as "unvermehrt," for instance, may be echoed by any of the words "vermehrt," "mehrt" or "ehrt" (*ME*, II, 162),\(^5\) where, although the rhyme is kept, the meanings are changed, as additional syllables are discarded for each word. This may be called the diminution principle. Another way of producing an echo is to use internal rhyme: "Hörret mich Tochter der Grüßtten (in Lüßtten) erschallen" (*ME*, II, 162; *FG*, V, 636). These techniques can be used in addition to the possibilities inherent in end-rhyme. In Seelewig's scene with the echo, the diminution principle and end-rhyme are applied: "mich - ich," "klag - sag," "Welt - Geld," "mehr - ehr," etc. (*FG*, IV, 180-81). The diminution principle is used exclusively in *Die Glückseelige Seele*: "mich - Ich," "gebothe - Bothe," "hieher - Ehr," "Vorachten - achten," etc. The first lines of these echo scenes in each work are, moreover, closely related as far as content is concerned:

**Die Glückseelige Seele:**

"Ach wer errettet doch aus meinem Blende mich?  
Echo: Ich"

**Seelewig:**

"Wer kan dann trösten mich?  Echo: Ich."
The similarities in the use of the echo in the two works are remarkably clear, but Harsdörffer does expand on the dramatic possibilities of the technique.

Although music is to be used in *Die Glückseelige Seele*, no notation is given. Musical interludes are restricted to the duet between the Soul and the Senses (I,iii), the choruses of shepherds between the acts, and the sound of music and the saintly and angelic choir heard when the Soul arrives in Heaven (V,iv). The duet in the first act represents music as a worldly temptation—it is used by the Senses as a means of seducing the Soul. In Harsdörffer's terms, this is a demonstration of the "Missbrauch der Musik." The musical harmony heard at the end of the play acts as a contrast, showing that music has its proper place in heaven. The subject of music then appears briefly in *Die Glückseelige Seele*, but it does not play a major role. The emphasis is rather on presenting and solving the conflict between the body and the soul through the interaction of generalized allegorical figures.

In *Seelewig*, this conflict is also the basis of the plot, but underlying it, and of equal importance, is the problem of the use and misuse of music, explained in the prologue by the allegorical figure representing Music:

Mein Hoher Adelstand lässt mich nicht gar verlügen/
Ich muss/ ich muss hervor und weisen/ was ich kan!
Mag ich die Prevelwitz des Pövels nicht vergnügen:
So wird mein' Ehre doch gelangen Himmel an.

Es hat vor dieser Welt der Engel-Chor erschallet/
Darnach in Gottes Volk ward ich mit seinem Wort/
Dass der Posaunen Ruf nur durch die Lufte wallet/
und ohne Schwertesstreich obsieget manchem Ort.

Der Harfen Wunderklang dem bösen Geiste wehret/
und ware Trostes voll in Fährlichkeit und Noht:
Dem Abendopfer gleich/ dardurch man hat geehret
mit süßem Lobgeruch den ewig grossen Gott.

Noch hat sich nach der Zeit die Missvernunft gefunden/
und von des Tempels Thür mich zogen mit Gewalt.
Ich wurd der Knechtin gleich mit Uppigkeit gebunden/
dass nach und nach mit mir die Gottes-Lieb' erkalt.

Obwol mein Kunstgeschmuck wurd eine Zeit bereichert/
so gar dass ich mit Ziel und Grenzen wurd umschrenkt.
Doch hört man leichtlich jetzt/ wie ferne darvon weicht
der/ so nach seinem Kopf mit Grillwerk mich behengt.

Das schwere Fesselband' ist mir jetzt abgefallen.
Dein Freiheit leitet mich zu Gottes Lob und Lehr'/
Und zu des Nechsten Lieb'. Ich lasse hier erschallen
Ein Geistliches Gedicht ohn eitlen Ruhm und Ehr.

Hört nun/ so euch beliebt/ wie schön mit mir vermählt
Die edle Reimenkunst/ die so verliebt in mich/
Dass sie mein Selbstwort heist/ von meinem Geist beseeleet
Mein Spiel/ mein Hertz, mein Lieb', ja mein selbst ander Ich.

(FG, IV, 85-88).

Apart from providing a summary of some of Harsdörffer's main views on music, these verses set out the prime aim of Seel-ewig: to join the arts of music and poetry in a manner useful to man and pleasing to God. The art of painting is also drawn in by the use of the figure "Die Mahlkunst" in the epilogue. The combination of all three arts on stage in the form of music, words and painted scenery, confirms that the
medium is the message. Harsdörffer is thus dealing with concerns over and above those found in Die Glückseelige Seele; he uses the theme of the fundamental struggle between the body and the soul as a vehicle for his artistic ideas.

Such a use of the theme represents the main difference between Seelewig and Die Glückseelige Seele, and it is the basic cause for other differences: song as opposed to speech; verse as opposed to prose; three acts as opposed to five; the inclusion of allegorical figures representing the arts as opposed to allegorical figures standing only for good and evil. Nevertheless, Harsdörffer clearly had a high opinion of Die Glückseelige Seele, and the similarities which have been pointed out between the two works in terms of plot, specific scenes and the use of the echo in German confirm that he did have this play in mind when writing Seelewig.

Harsdörffer's concern for, and understanding of, the principles and problems of musical composition—not only in Seelewig and other musico-dramatic works, but also in hymns and songs in general—do not make him a Musicus Poeticus in the strict sense of the term. In spite of this, his belief in the interdependence of the arts of music and poetry, evident in his general statements and in practice, bring him very close to earning that epithet in a theoretical sense. He does not compose music himself, but draws on existing compositions, or works hand in hand with the composer,
helping to translate the mysterious system of musical sounds into a form which can be understood by all.
Conclusion

The diversity of material used by Harsdörffer in connection with music illustrates not only that he himself was very widely read on the subject, but also that a single theme in the works of a seventeenth-century writer can find expression in all manner of seemingly unrelated areas. The modern mind is unlikely to find a connection between the planets, the American sloth and a lute, for example, while in Harsdörffer's works the common denominator is music.

Much of the multifarious material referred to in this inquiry can, in addition, be subordinated to two basic principles. The first is the view of music as a reflection of universal harmony. It is as evident in Harsdörffer's statements concerning the effects of music on the soul and the body, or the workings of a monochord, as it is in his use of instruments as subject matter in a poem, or the place and function of music in a dramatic setting: all are intended to demonstrate the balance and order inherent in, and conveyed by, the proper use of music. Intimately associated with the concept of harmony is the Christian world view, the second basic principle which draws much of the material together; the conception of history, the association of the
planets with Christian virtues, the messages of many poems and songs, and the plot of Seelewig, for example, are all subsumed under this.

The idea of music as a mysterious revelation of the divine, as ultimately incomprehensible to man, is put forward by Harsdörffer, but the emphasis is not on submitting to the senses as a way of understanding it, but by recognizing connections and discovering a systematic order, inherent or applied, which appeal to the powers of the reasonable mind. Experimentation with the monochord, by means of which the physical laws on which music is based reveal themselves as a comprehensible system of numbers, is one example of how the inherent order in music can be discovered. This order is then applied to the way in which drums, bells or other instruments are tuned and played. The fact that the American sloth was seen to utter sounds according to musical principles also shows that a system used for artistic purposes can be demonstrated in nature.

From a purely artistic point of view, association with the word is the means by which the attempt is made to reduce the mysterious nature of music to a comprehensible form. That this is ultimately impossible is evident in Harsdörffer's definition of a major aspect of poetic language, the "Gleichniss"—it can make accessible what is beyond human understanding only by means of suggestion and analogy.
Nevertheless, the importance of the word for attempting to explain or translate music cannot be overestimated.

It is in this context that the use of musico-rhetorical figures in general becomes very significant, for by applying the formal aspects of language to music, especially to instrumental works, the composer is not only supplying criteria by which his music can be judged intellectually, but is also connecting the two arts in such a way that the music, its beauty of form and expression, can only be appreciated fully when seen in terms of features properly belonging to language.

This is not to suggest, however, that the emotional response to music is ignored. Both Herbst and Harsdörffer insist that the purpose of music is to move the emotions. But in view of the dangers which Harsdörffer sees lying in wait here under the general heading of "misuse," they are primarily to be directed by the understanding, rather than being given free rein. There is no indication that they cannot be felt intensely, however. The combination of music and words or aspects of language is the most effective way of moving the emotions and reaching the understanding at the same time, and that is why in a vocal context the need for intelligible articulation by the singer is of vital importance. In this respect, music is not intended as accompaniment only, or as "blosse Stimmung," for it in turn
heightens the listener's response to the message by intensifying the meaning of the language. The view that "Sprache wird zur Musik" in Harsdörffer's case thus becomes extremely suspect—it should in fact be the other way round: "Musik wird zur Sprache."

The combination of the arts of music and poetry in a theatrical setting is also to appeal to the senses, to move the emotions, and to stimulate the intellectual faculties. In addition to responding to the meaning of the words, the listener must also be aware of the "meaning" of the sounds made by the various instruments, that is to say, the symbolism attached to each of them. Furthermore, as the material to be treated is not new—in the case of Seelewig, for instance, it is drawn not only from the general tradition, but also from a specific German source—the emphasis is not only on the didactic point, but also on how effectively the theme and its message is put across. In order to make judgements in this regard, the spectator or listener requires some knowledge of the techniques of the poet and composer, and it is this type of knowledge which Harsdörffer passes on in much of his writing, providing the reader and listener with the basic tools for appreciating a work of art intellectually.

The way in which Harsdörffer himself uses such tools in providing new words to existing melodies gives some in-
dication of the creative process at work. He is not inspired by the music in the sense that he is transported in rapture by the sound, and moved to pour out his soul on paper. On the contrary, the melodies firstly are chosen because of their popularity, not their effect, and secondly, they are interpreted above all according to their technical and formal aspects which are then reflected in the language. The order in one system is transposed into the other. This also applies to the application of musical intervals and the names of notes to poetry. The greater the number of similarities which can be found in different areas, the nearer an appreciation of a basic truth.

The necessity for a framework of rules for judging and creating works of art, whether poetic or musical, is therefore of great importance. Almost of equal significance for Harsdörffer are the acoustic elements. His interest in the sounds of instruments, as well as the views that music originated as an imitation of natural sounds, or that the sense of hearing has a great effect on the mind, is general evidence of this. From a poetic point of view, his concern for sound is to be found in his application of the natural rhythms of spoken words in poetry, his use of onomatopoeia, assonance, internal rhyme, etc., and his manner of testing a poem to determine its mellifluence. The fact that there are no man-made rules for ultimately deter-
mining what sounds right puts the onus once more on the ability of the poet or listener to judge—judgement which is based not so much on intuition as on knowledge acquired through learning and experience.

Correct sounding verse and music are connected insofar as both reach the understanding through the sense of hearing, and both use techniques intended to move the emotions and please the intellect. Both are also based on the use of rhythm, but in Harsdörffer's poetry it appears as a regularly recurring pattern, while in music of this time, this is not necessarily the case. As a result, the idea that poetry takes on the characteristics of music if it has a regular beat cannot be assumed in a seventeenth-century context. The two arts are in any case essentially different media—different links in the chain—but they rely on the same basic principles to achieve the same ends.

The principles underlying Harsdörffer's selection of material to be passed on to his reader, and the way in which he passes it on, throw considerable light on his conception of the function and use of knowledge. It has been demonstrated a number of times that information concerning the same topic is chosen from various sources, yet all versions have the weight of authority behind them, and this is sufficient justification. "For the mind and the memory are more sharply exercised in comprehending another man's things
than our own, and such as accustom themselves and are fa-
miliar with the best authors shall ever and anon find some-
what of them in themselves, and in the expression of their minds, even when they feel it not, be able to utter some-
thing like theirs which hath an authority above their own. Nay, sometimes it is the reward of a man's study, the praise of quoting another man fitly."  

For the modern reader, the result is the discovery of a number of contradictions. As a consequence, it is not always possible to determine what Harsdörffer himself thought about a particular view or explanation. The impor-
tance for him lies primarily in passing on existing know-
ledge, and the problem of contradiction in such cases is clearly irrelevant from his point of view. Nevertheless, his eclectic use of existing material does demonstrate his implicit belief in the veracity of reliable sources, as well as in the fact that writings from all ages and all countries have something to contribute to man's understanding of God, of himself, and of the world around him. The realm of hu-
man knowledge is not bound by restrictions of time or place. Knowledge and experience are therefore gained primarily from written sources. Yet the results of practical expe-
rience given in a few sources in some cases oppose the tradi-
tional views—the ostensible antipathy between wolf gut and
sheep gut strings is a vivid example, where the results of experimentation show that what had been held as true by authorities is not substantiated in fact. The important point in Harsdörffer's case is that he does not reject the results of contemporary scientific investigation out of hand. On the contrary, both explanations concerning the gut strings appear side by side, as do the contradictory statements concerning the Ptolemaic and Copernican solar systems.

Yet no attempt is made to reconcile the opposing evidence, demonstrating that Harsdörffer was not concerned with finding out the facts for himself. It is therefore unlikely that he had actually carried out experiments with the different types of strings, for example, or indeed that he had actually seen and heard an American sloth. Once again, it is the passing on of information which is important, not the results of personal experience. Nevertheless, the material which Harsdörffer chooses to present shows that he was abreast of developments in the area of practical science, but it also marks him as one who was not fully prepared to give up traditional views or the traditional ways of explaining and describing natural phenomena.

In a purely artistic context, on the other hand, the practical side of Harsdörffer emerges. Although he is following in the footsteps of notable predecessors in supplying
a framework of poetic rules, he provides practical examples of his own invention rather than relying exclusively on those drawn from other sources. He is furthermore very much concerned with the practical aspects of staging musico-dramatic works, ranging from the use of music to cover up the noise of scenery changes, to the most economical way of putting on a performance. There are therefore two main sides to the manner in which he presents his material—one is caught up in the realm of philosophical speculation, and deals purely with ideas, the other is closely in touch with the practical artistic needs of the time.

The desirable epithet for a seventeenth-century German writer was not so much "brilliant in his field," as it might be for a writer today—although some professional musicians were seen in terms approaching this—but "world famous and learned," words with a very wide base, and regularly applied to Harsdörffer in his time. From a specifically musical point of view, he amply demonstrates his learning in all three areas of music considered significant in his day. In terms of the *Musicus Theoreticus* he approaches the subject from a philosophical, speculative standpoint, and demonstrates his familiarity with major themes in this area. At times, particularly in the case of the musical modes, he adapts prevailing theories for his own purposes. From the point of view of the *Musicus Practicus*, he delves into the
topical questions of the tuning of musical instruments, their function on stage and their symbolism. In addition, his use of musical terminology shows him to have a considerable grasp of the technical side of the subject. His treatment of material under the title Musicus Poeticus illustrates above all how a poet can apply his musical knowledge to his own art. Harsdörffer draws on themes found in the philosophical area, and incorporates them into his own works of art. The prologue to Seelewig in particular outlines some of the themes, and provides the philosophical background to the opera. Harsdörffer also uses the technical aspects of music, not only in describing and writing poetry, but also in providing new words to existing songs. His knowledge of music as well as his poetic expertise is furthermore put to good use in his close collaboration with Staden on Seelewig. This work can now be seen as having a definite place in the literary pastoral tradition of Germany in addition to its general associations with the operatic pastoral tradition of Italy. In the strict sense of the terms, Harsdörffer is not a Musicus Theoreticus, Musicus Practicus or a Musicus Poeticus, since he did not write specific works in any of the three areas. He nevertheless shows that he is competent to deal with the subject of music in an extensive way in all kinds of other works.

For Harsdörffer, all areas of knowledge and endeavour
are potential hunting grounds for the human mind. Furthermore, factors of periodization and classification of these areas do not present themselves as barriers for him as they tend to do for us today. As a result, this inquiry into a non-literary aspect of the works of a seventeenth-century writer is sufficiently justified. For it is by taking into account the extent of Harsdörffer's intellectual pursuits and the interaction of his intellectual involvements that an understanding of his motivations and intentions can be reached.

Certain areas covered by Harsdörffer still present problems for the twentieth-century. The use of musical notation to describe poetic metre is one case in point, and the attempt has been made here to show that the two really have little in common. In addition, the answers to some of the questions Harsdörffer addresses can still only be guessed at, especially those concerning music and its effects on man. Yet Harsdörffer, relying on the framework of universal harmony and the overall Christian world view, is able to confront and explain such things, and to accept that the ultimate answers cannot be found in this world.
List of Abbreviations in the Notes and Bibliography

AfMW  Archiv für Musikwissenschaft
AM    Acta Musicologica
GLL   German Language and Literature
Groves The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians
JEGP  Journal of English and German Philology
MD    Musica Disciplina
MfM   Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte
MGG   Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart
SIMG  Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft

Those entries in the bibliography from the Faber du Faur or Jantz Collections are marked "FdF" or "J" with the appropriate number.
Introduction: Notes


5 Johann Rist, Neuer Himlischer Lieder Sonderbahres Buch (Lüneburg: Stern, 1651), preface, n.p.


8 August Reissmann, Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik, II (München: Bruckmann, 1864), pp. 159-65, 59-73 (notation has separate pagination).


11 Lang, p. 404.


13 Scherle, p. 15.


16 Grout; A Short History of Opera, 2nd ed., 1965, p. 115n.


20 Groves, pp. 258-59.


22 Sophia Elisabeth, Herzogin zu Braunschweig-Lüneburg, *Beschreibung des Freuden-Festins, welches ... Sophia Elisabeth ... auff den Geburts-Tag ihres Herrn Augusti ... angestellet, welcher gewesen der 10. Aprilis, Im Jahr 1654* (no impr.).


26 *Narciss*, p. 58.

27 Narciss, pp. 158-63.


30 See, for example, the disparaging remarks made on "Poetische Trichter" in Gottlieb Stolle, Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit (Jena: heirs of Johann Meyer, 1736), p. 174.


41 In Willi Flemming, *Die Oper*. Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen, 13b:5 (Leipzig: Reclam, 1933).

42 Narciss, pp. 93-96.


44 Kühne, p. 70, and Krapp, pp. 69 and 70.

45 Krapp, p. 70.

46 Ferschmann, p. 158.


48 Wiedemann, p. 13*.


51 See R. Hinton Thomas, *Poetry and Song in the German Baroque: A Study of the Continuo Lied* (Oxford: Oxford Uni-
versity Press, 1963), which deals with the interaction of musicians and poets at this time, and is drawn on for much of this paragraph.

52 Harsdörffer himself near the end of his life is noted as being "zur Zeit Bürgermeister" in Nuremberg. Appended to a dedicatory poem in Georg Neumark, Fortgepflanzter Musikalisch-Poetischer Lustwald (Jena: Sengenwald, 1657), n.p.

53 For an assessment of Harsdörffer as a translator, see Gerhard Hoffmeister, Die spanische Diana in Deutschland, Philologische Studien und Quellen, 68 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1972), esp. pp. 50-54.


55 Spahr, pp. 75-77.


Chapter One: Notes


3 Cassiodorus, Institutiones, in Strunk, p. 89.

4 Calvisius, Exercitio Musica tertia, p. 150.

5 Erasmus Sartorius, Institutionum Musicarum (Hamburg: Rebenlinius, 1635), Sig. D4.

6 Erasmus Gruber, Synopsis Musica (Regensburg: Gedruckt bey Christoff Fischer, 1673), Sig. Ev.


8 Herbst, Musica Poetica, p. 1.

9 See Kayser, esp. pp. 42-87.

10 Reprints are to be found in:

Franz Eduard Hysel, Das Theater in Nürnberg von 1612 bis 1868 (Nürnberg: Im Selbstverlage des Verfassers, 1863), pp. 29-31, based on an entry in the "Neue Münchner Zeitung, Nro. 104. Vom Jahre 1858."

Elisabeth A. Krückeberg, "Ein historisches Konzert zu Nürnberg im Jahre 1643," AfMW, I (1918-19), 590-93, based on


Wiedemann, pp. 9*-12*, based on original document. This source in particular is used in the text.

11 Wiedemann, p. 12*.


13 Wiedemann, p. 10*.

14 Wiedemann, p. 11*.


16 Wiedemann, p. 10*.

17 See, for example, Karl Gustav Fellerer, *Der Stilwandel in der abendländischen Musik um 1600* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1972), p. 57.


20 At this time, the modern English B flat was given as $b$, $B$ rotundum, or $B$ molle, and $B$ natural as $h$.


25 Glareanus, pp. 82 and 112.

26 Herbst, Musica Poetica, p. 55.

27 See Haar, Tugendsterne, p. 46n.

28 Sigmund Theophil Staden, Rudimentum Musicum (Nürnberg: Küssner, 1649).

29 Haar, Tugendsterne, p. 25.

30 Haar, Tugendsterne, p. 24.

31 Glareanus, pp. 76 and 120 respectively.

32 The works from which these lists are drawn up are:

Athanasius Kircher, Magnes sive De Arte Magnetica, III (Rome: Grignani, 1641), p. 848.
Glareanus, Dodecachordon, pp. 102-137.
A marginal note to the word "Bildung" explains that it is Harsdörffer's German version of "Imaginatio."


The significance of these names of the notes in a seventeenth-century context will be explained below.

Harsdörffer's example is taken from the first part of the Mathematische Erquickstunden, written by Daniel Schwendter. For Harsdörffer's relationship with Schwendter see p. 63 above.

For the use of this and other types of musical mnemonic aids, see Gregory G. Butler, "Music and Memory in Johannes Romberch's Congestorium (1520)," MD, 32 (1978) 73-85.

Leo Spitzer, "Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony: Prolegomena to an Interpretation of the Word 'Stimmung'," Traditio, III (1945), 308.

Chapter Two: Notes


3 See Wilibald Nagel, "Die Nürnberger Musikgesellschaft (1588-1629)," *MfM*, XXVII, 1 (1895), 1-11.

4 Keller, *Seelewig*, p. 28.

5 Narciss, p. 4.


8 The music is not by Staden, as stated by Samuel, *The Cantata*, p. 350, but by Hille himself.


10 In Krause, p. 171.
11 In Johann Herdegen, Historische Nachricht von dess


13 Harsdörffer's collaboration with Schwendter is not proven (see Dünnhaupt, p. 778). Quotations in the present text from this volume therefore may or may not be attributable directly to him, but in general terms, they represent restatements of standard contemporary ideas and beliefs. Harsdörffer clearly thought highly of the work, for he compiled the two continuations independently.

14 Reference to this experiment appears in Kircher, Magnes, pp. 861-62.

15 Harsdörffer actually uses the hexachordal terminology, "ut, mi, sol, fa," which will be explained below.

16 Scordatura (Verstimmung) is the deliberate "mis-tuning" of a stringed instrument usually to extend the range or to make certain intervals possible on open strings. The instrument is then played as if it had the normal tunings. See Groves, "Scordatura," and F. Traficante, "Lyra Viol Tunings: 'All ways have been Tryed to do It!'," AM, 42 (1970), 183-205. Traficante is aware of forty-one different tunings.

17 Kindermann's work, New-verstimmte Violen Lust mit dreyen Violen sampt dem Generalbass (1652), is lost (MGG, "Kindermann").

18 Wellter's works are thus not totally lost as stated by Robert Eitner, Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen Lexicon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten, X (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1959), p. 223.

19 Praetorius, Syntagma, II, p. 11.

20 Praetorius, Syntagma, II, plate III. See Appendix, p. 212.
21 Wiedemann, p. 11*.


25 "Geigeninstrument" is in fact used as a synonym for "Geigenwerk" in Adlung, p. 565.


27 Praetorius, Syntagma, III, p. 171.

28 Harsdörffer's example "grobes Horn" is used to illustrate the meaning "tief" in Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch, IV, I, 6 p. 388.

29 From a letter by Harsdörffer, noted in Spahr, p. 75.


32 See Gottfried Schultze, Neu agirte und continuierte Chronica (Lübeck: Beckers, 1656), p. 761. For a further description of the festivities, see Sigmund von Birken, Kurtze Beschreibung des Schwedischen Friedensmahls gehalten in Nürnberg den 25. Herbstmonats Anno 1649 (Nürnberg: Dümler, 1649), and, by the same author, Teutschlands Krieges-
Beschluss und Friedens Kuss (Nürnberg: Dümler, 1659). For the social ascent of bagpipes and hurdy-gurdies, see Emanuel Winternitz, Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art: Studies in Musical Iconology (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 66-85, which includes a description of the development of the bagpipe from the large "Bock" sometimes with animal hair still attached to the skin of the bag, to the delicate tapestry covered musette used in court circles.

33 The cost of putting on masques or operas seems to have been high not only for the average citizen, but also for the nobility: "The Duke of Brunswick, for one, relied not only on the most ingenious forms of direct and indirect taxation but resorted even to slave trade. He financed his operatic amusements by selling his subjects as soldiers so that his flourishing opera depended literally on the blood of the lower classes" (Bukofzer, p. 398).

34 For a discussion of the use of instruments in the Tugendsterne see also Keller, "New Light," p. 226. A similar musico-planetary pageant was staged in Wolfenbüttel—see Sophie Elisabeth, Beschreibung. The music used was possibly that of Staden's Tugendsterne according to Joseph Leighton, "Die Wolfenbütteler Aufführung von Harsdörffers und Stadens Seelewig im Jahre 1654," Wolfenbütteler Beiträge, 3 (1978), 123.

35 Keller, Seelewig, p. 39.

36 The question of availability of instruments takes on a new feature when it comes to modern performances, as the decision must be made whether to use modern instruments or reconstructions of old instruments. For the 1975 Utrecht performance of Seelewig, instruments were played which might have been used in a seventeenth-century production, and the symbolic significance of each was retained: for the nymphs--lutes, organ and harpsichord; for the shepherds--dulcian (reed instrument); shawms, pommers, bassoons, oboes; for Trügewalt--regal and trumpet. Other instruments used were the cello, viols and violas da gamba. Although the instrumentation differs in some respects from that suggested by Harsdörffer and Staden, the allowances made by Harsdörffer indicate that such variations would have been thoroughly acceptable to him. A tape of this performance was very kindly made available by Dr. Ferdinand van Ingen.
For Harsdörffer's advice on stagecraft and stage technique, see Jordan, pp. 475-491.

Bukofzer, p. 404.

At the concert in 1643 the audience consisted of town counsellors and nobility, and the social concerns were rather different: guards were posted at all the doors "Zu Abwendung des unbändigen Pöbels" (Kahl, pp. 288-89).

Valentin Haussmann, Liebliche Fröhliche Ballette (Nürnberg: Kauffmann, 1609), n.p.

Gruber, Sig. Bi1.

See Groves, "Hexachord."

In the second line Harsdörffer writes "suorum" instead of "tuorum."

Calvisius put forward different names altogether: "bo ce di ga lo ma ni." In Exercitatio Musica tertia, p. 151.

Sartorius, possibly somewhat disparagingly refers to the use of this nomenclature as "bobisieren" (Institutionum, Sig. D5).

Kircher, Musurgia, I, p. 27.

Caspar Schott, Physica Curiosa (Würzburg: Endter, 1667), pp. 785-86. In this work, the names given to the sloth are: "Archopithecus," "Pigritia," "Ignavia" "Ai," and "Ha."


Herbst, Musica Poetica, title page.

For a discussion of this problem, see Oyler, pp. 17-24.
Chapter Three: Notes

1 Herbst, Musica Poetica, p. 4. The term Musica Poetica was first used in 1533 (Samuel, The Cantata, p. 533). See also Carl Dahlhaus, "Musica Poetica und musikalische Poesie," AfMW, 23 (1966), 110-124.

2 Staden, Rudimentum, n.p.

3 Gumpelzhaimer, n.p. These are translations of the standard Latin phrases "bene canendi scientia" (Gumpelzhaimer), or "recte ac bene canendi scientia" (Christoph Thomas Walliser, Musica Figuralis, n.p.: n.p., 1611), p. 1.

4 Another dimension is added in the definition of music as "Sing: Kling: und Lust-Kunst" (Martin Zeiller, Handbuch von allerley nutzlichen Erinnerungen, Ulm: Wildeisein, 1655, p. 281).


6 For Harsdörffer and rhetoric, see Ludwig Fischer, Gebundene Rede: Dichtung und Rhetorik in der literarischen Theorie des Barock in Deutschland. Studien zur deutschen Literatur, 10 (Tubingen: Niemeyer, 1968), passim. Harsdörffer's use of imagery is examined in Manfred Windfuhr, Die barocke Bildlichkeit und ihre Kritiker: Stilhaltungen in der deutschen Literatur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts. Germanistische Abhandlungen, 15 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1966), passim. The use of "Zierlichkeit" in German poetry was initially called for by Martin Opitz, Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey (Breslau: Muller, 1624), chapter VI, n.p.

7 Herbst, Musica Poetica, pp. 84 and 111.


10 Winternitz, p. 82.

11 For modern equivalents of examples of seventeenth-century intervalllic terminology, see p. 44 above.


13 See Butler, p. 80 for the use of the extraction of syllables from names and titles to provide a musical theme. Also Groves, "Soggetto cavato." Harsdörffer does not use the technique for this purpose, although his example is based on the general tradition.


17 For brief comparisons of the two types of verse, see Friederich, pp. 64-69; and Thrasybulos Georgiades, Sprache und Musik: Das Werden der abendländischen Musik dargestellt an der Vertonung der Messe (Berlin, Göttingen, Heidelberg: Springer, 1954), pp. 53-69.

18 Opitz, Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey, Sig. G2.

20 See also Zesen, p. 38.

21 See also Johann Peter Titz, *Zwey Bücher von der Kunst Hochdeutsche Verse und Lieder zu machen* (Danzig: Hünefeld, 1642), Sig. N1, who states that long verses of songs should be divisible into a number of short ones.

22 Buchner in contrast, had no qualms about mixing the iamb and trochee in songs (*Anleitung*, p. 171).


24 See Harsdörffer's "Nachwort" to Johann Klaj's *Der Leidende Christus*, in Johann Klaj: Redeoratorien und "Lobrede der Teutschen Poeterey" (1645; facsimile rpt; Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1965), pp. 238 and 241.

25 The last line of verse one shows that the word "Music" was stressed on the first syllable in the seventeenth-century. See also Thomas, p. 24n.

26 The association of the dactyl with "das Fröhliche" is stressed in Harsdörffer's "Nachwort" to Klaj's *Herodes der Kindermörder*, in Johann Klaj: Redeoratorien, p. 195.

27 The fullest assessment of these features is to be found in Kayser's study.


29 Rist, in contrast, had a very low opinion of the use of the dactyl in a spiritual context (*Himlische Lieder . . . Das dritte Zehn*. Lüneburg: Stern, 1648, preface, n.p.).

31 For an analysis of the dissemination of melodies applied to popular song, see Dieter Lohmeier, "Die Verbreitungsformen des Liedes im Barockzeitalter," Daphnis, 8 (1979), 41-65.

32 For complaints regarding pirating of melodies, see Rist, preface to Daphnis aus Cimbrien; Heinrich Albert, prefaces to Arien, III, VII and VIII; and Gabriel Voigtländer, Erster Theil Allerhand Oden und Lieder, quoted in Lohmeier, p. 49.

33 See pp. 59 and 185, footnote 8.

34 Rist, Neuer Himlischer Lieder Sonderbahres Buch, pp. 54-55. This melody has been transposed and note values have been reduced for easier comparison.


39 Keller, Seelewig, p. 33.

40 This melody appeared in a book of songs compiled by Hans Leo Hassler of Nuremberg, and the whole work was republished by Staden in 1637. See Keller, Seelewig, p. 71, footnote 246.

42 Keller, Seelewig, p. 33.


44 Blume, p. 130.

45 See Keller, Seelewig, pp. 69-71.


47 Including a 1642 French edition of Sidney's Arcadia (FG,II,469).


49 Keller, Seelewig, p. 77.

50 Narciss, p. 8.

51 In his "Nachwort" to Klaj's Der Leidende Christus, p. 238.

52 I wish to thank Dr. Ferdinand van Ingen for assistance in identifying this work.

53 For the use of this technique in Italian opera, see Keller, Seelewig, p. 43.
Conclusion: Notes

1 The view that Staden is behind Harsdörffer's statements on music (Schmitz, p. 256), is thus not tenable.

2 Krapp, p. 70.

3 Ferschmann, p. 189.

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Appendix

The illustration of the monochord is from FG,VIII,p.694. All other illustrations of instruments are from Michael Praetorius, Syntagma, II.
Monochordum

Discant-Geig
Descent Violin

Viola Bastarda

Viol
Nürnberger Gebgenwerk.
A Set of Recorders

A Set of Flutes
Bassoons

Cornettos
(Zinck)
Bagpipes, Shawms and Pommers
Triangle

Jew's Harp
Maultrommel

Hunting Horns

Hurdy-Gurdies
Leyer