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RHETORICAL MENTALITIES IN CLASSICAL MUSIC. IN THE MARGINS OF BOOKS BY LEONARD RATNER AND MARK EVAN BONDS

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ABSTRACT. The last decades of the twentieth century saw a striking resurgence of interest in "old" music. Extensive documentary research, the discovery of manuscripts, and the painstaking cataloguing of such manuscripts have meant that numerous aspects of the history of music had to be rewritten. Ensembles specialising in old music and historic (baroque) instruments sprang up. All these also brought about a renewed theoretical interest in musical rhetoric. As a result, significant texts from the 1980s and 1990s also shifted our viewpoint of classical music, about which it had seemed that there was not much more to be said. Unlike Western musicology, Romanian musicology, mostly preoccupied with vernacular subjects, is situated far from such endeavours, and translations are long in coming. This article proposes to fill in the gap by providing an overview of the influences between classical music and rhetoric that late-twentieth-century research brought to light.

Keywords: *classical music, rhetoric, Leonard Ratner, Mark Evan Bonds*

Introduction

The last decades of the twentieth century saw a striking resurgence of interest in "old" music (a term covering a wide spectrum, from the mediaeval period to classicism). Extensive documentary research, the discovery of manuscripts, whether by chance or otherwise, and the painstaking cataloguing of such manuscripts have meant that numerous aspects of the history of music had to be rewritten. Ensembles specialising in old music and historic (baroque) instruments sprang up. All these also brought about a renewed theoretical interest in musical rhetoric. As a result, significant texts from the 1980s and 1990s also shifted our viewpoint of classical music, about which it had seemed that there was not much more to be said.

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The idea from which some American musicologists - Leonard Ratner and Mark Evan Bonds among them[1] - have set out is that of a very careful reading of the *texts* of the classical period, in addition to analysis of the scores themselves. As is well known, theoretical texts and treatises are a post-reflection of the period in which they appear (even though some musicians still have the impression that Jean Philippe Rameau[2] launched tonal harmony with his *Treatise on Harmony*, when in fact it is a summary of trends in European composition up to 1722). The reprinting of such texts, primarily, and through them the recovery of the spirit of past ages has consequently become a major undertaking, which western musicology has successfully brought to fruition. Romanian musicology, mostly preoccupied with vernacular subjects, is situated far from such endeavours, and translations are long in coming. This is the context in which I propose not an original investigation, but rather an overview of the influences between classical music and rhetoric that late-twentieth-century research brought to light.

A rhetorical view of music

How might a rhetorical view of music be defined in general and how was it explained in the period before Viennese classicism? Music is usually composed with the aim of having an effect on its listeners, in various contexts and with well-defined functions: religious, social, ideological, political. Procedures borrowed from oratory and literary rhetoric can become phases in the fashioning of a musical argument corresponding to the message in question. Musical language does not have the same specific power of persuasion as (literary) spoken language, but it perhaps possesses greater power to delight. *Movere* rather than *docere*?

It remains to be demonstrated. In any case, we must find the boundaries between vocal and instrumental music, in cases where music accompanied by a text contains explicit affects. Humanist influences lead to the interpretation of music as an art of speech, rhetoric, communication, persuasion. The sixteenth century in particular was intensely interested in defining and differentiating the styles of musical composition.

[1] Leonard G. Ratner, *Classic Music. Expression, Form, and Style*, New York, Schirmer Books, 1980 and Mark Evan Bonds, *Wordless Rhetoric: Musical Form and the Metaphor of the Oration*, Cambridge/London, Harvard University Press, 1991.

[2] Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Traité de l'harmonie réduite à ses principles naturels ; divisé en quatre livres. Livre I: du rapport des raisons et proportions harmoniques. Livre II: de la nature et de la propriété des accords et de tout ce qui peut servir à render une musique parfaite. Livre III: principes de composition. Livre IV: principles d'accompagnement.* Paris, Jean Baptiste-Christophe Ballard, 1722.

Musicians adapted musical-rhetorical figures from ancient oratory, and the rediscovery of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* in 1416 was to lead to the flourishing musical rhetoric of the Cinquecento. Liturgical chant, both Gregorian and Byzantine, and also early polyphony contained frequent and varied reflections of rhetoric, although rhetoric was not to have a direct and undeniable impact on music until the late-fifteenth century, particularly thanks to the new attitude towards music in combination with text (whether sacred or profane), transforming musical composition into a science based on the relationship between word and sound. The *stile espressivo*, the culmination of the emphasis placed on the meaning of the text, was to mark the period of transition between the Renaissance and the Baroque, and it was at this time that the first treatises of musical rhetoric appeared, such as that by Joachim Burmeister,[3] comprising techniques that were by then widespread.

Aristotle's *Poetics*, printed in both Latin and the original around the year 1500, inspired the theorists and composers of the time to emphasise the idea of music as an *expressive* art, its potential to imitate (*mimesis*), and its influence on the human sentiments. During the sixteenth century, musical composition came increasingly to be seen as an expressive language, and the parallel that had long since been drawn between music and grammar was now expanded and enriched with references to rhetoric.

The German theorists in particular (the impetus provided by Nikolaus Listenius[4] should here be emphasised) were to found and preserve a tradition of writing about composition. The differentiation between *musica theorica* and *musica practica* came into sharper and sharper relief, the second of the two dealing with musical poetics and rhetoric.

Also in the sixteenth century, theories of musical style become increasingly diverse, rich in meaning, and for that reason controversial, particularly for present-day researchers interested in the period. One concept vital to an understanding of the art of composition at the time and for two or three centuries afterwards comes to the fore: *musica poetica*.

The notion, drawn from ancient sources, was forgotten in the Middle Ages, but made a strong comeback in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, precisely due to the renewed and increasing interest in rhetoric. *Musica poetica* proclaimed the well-known and valued link between music and speech in the mastery of the compositional art. Listenius places it alongside two other important categories, *musica theorica* and *musica practica*, as being "rite et bene canendi scientia."[5] Nor should we ignore the

[3] Joachim Burmeister, *Musica poetica*, 1606.

[4] Nikolaus Listenius, *Musica*, 1537.

[5] Cf. Hartmut Krones, "Musik und Rhetorik", în *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil 6, Kassel, Baerenreiter und Metzler, 1997, p.836.

type of education composers were given, one in which general rhetoric was not absent: the *artes dicendi* were the main disciplines in Latin schools (particularly Protestant ones). The teaching of rhetoric meant a higher level, as well as the training required for university study: the pupil had to be able to develop a subject orally or in writing, in accordance with the precepts of the ancient authors, and to treat it logically, using the principles of *praeceptum*, *exemplum* and *imitation*. Also taught were a number of kinds of discourse—judicial, deliberative, demonstrative—the component parts of rhetoric, and the virtues of elocution. This educational system was transferred to the sphere of music, in the teaching of *musica poetica*, techniques of phrasing, and the rules of musical grammar. The future composer learned the means by which he could give artistic shape to a piece of music and express a text musically.

In the period of the musical Baroque, rhetoric went hand in hand with the theory of affects. If in *Les Passions de l'âme* (1649) Descartes defines six "primitive" passions—wonder, love, hate, desire, joy and sadness[6]—from which all the other passions derive as variations, music likewise has its own means and techniques for imitating and conveying affects, depending on its relationship with a give text, the personality of the composer, the intended aim within a given genre, geographical and social influences, subjective reception, and numerous other factors. Importantly, musicians were to tend towards a *rational* rendering of the passions, towards objectivisation of the emotions; they did not leave the passions to their own devices, but rather sought precise formulas whereby to express them.

Numerous other important examples of theoretical positions illustrate the Baroque ideal of fusing music with rhetorical principles (ranging from Mersenne to Heinichen[7]), as a distinctive feature of the rationalism specific to the age, as well as of stylistic unity based on the emotional abstractions named affects. Theorists such as Athanasius Kircher and Johann Mattheson[8] were to glorify the expression of the affects in music, both vocal and instrumental, as a means of conveying to the listener emotional states in accordance with the musical message. The composer therefore plans the affective content of the work (guides the semantics of the work, to put it in modern terms), as all the acoustic parameters (tonalities, harmonies, rhythms, forms, timbres) are affectively interpreted. Even if he thus places the emphasis on feeling, his approach is very different from that of the romantic composer, which is based on emotional spontaneity, on a different ideology, which rejects rationalism (but ultimately

[6] René Descartes, *Pasiunile sufletului,* trans. Dan Răutu, Bucharest, EdituraŞtiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1984, p. 93.

[7] Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle,* Paris, 1637; Johann David Heinichen, *Der General-Bass in der Composition*, Dresden, 1728.

[8] Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, Roma, 1650; Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Hamburg, 1739.

without being able to avoid it). It should be stressed that the use of rhetorical figures—components of a veritable musical vocabulary—for embodying musical affect is not enough to guarantee the value of a piece of music, which might be nothing more than a compendium of figures, rather than a masterpiece. In any event, for the twentieth-century researcher, more accustomed to a "syntactic" representation of Renaissance and Baroque music, the resurgence of interest in accurate performance of such music, in the authentic terms then in circulation, entails an obligation to shift his or her viewpoint towards *semantic* definitions.

It was Johann Nikolaus Forkel who carried out the last broad survey of the Baroque rhetorical edifice. A great admirer of Bach (on whom he wrote his famous monograph in 1802, the first about the composer) and reader of the theories of Mattheson, in *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (1788) Forkel separates musical rhetoric from musical grammar. The analogies with language and speech are numerous, and musical grammar itself is viewed as a matching of sounds and chords, which gradually construct musical words and phrases. But musical discourse cannot be limited to grammar; it also relates to thoughts, to ideas. Rhetoric is what points to such connections, the same as in spoken language. The system put forward by Forkel is surprisingly modern when read today, based as it is on semantics and the principle of music as a language of communication. The theory of figures in this context supplies the composer with semantic building blocks. If Forkel analysed the principles of rhetorical composition in 1788, at the height of musical classicism, it shows that he thought about the aspects of the Baroque in an all-encompassing way and that composers of the time were fully aware of rhetorical procedures and still abided by them. Despite the visible and well-known differences, baroque and classical music thus employed the same language in many cases.

A rhetoric of the parameters of classical music

Eighteenth-century composers were increasingly concerned with *expression* (from the correspondence of Mozart it is often evident that he wished to provoke and observe emotions in his listeners). Feelings were suggested or symbolised by musical figures linked to poetry or pantomime, and the doctrine of affects can be found in vocal music in particular, where the text provides the key to the expression. The subjects of musical discourse are drawn from a storehouse of characteristic figures, which the classical composers were also to employ. Such figures might be types of dance, of character, possibly as figures within a piece of music. For example, minuets and marches are pieces of music in their own right, but also character pieces inside other genres. In any event, dance rhythms are omnipresent in the classical literature, whether stated in the title or whether merely intuited by the performer, critic or audience.

To take the example of the minuet, the most popular ternary dance of the classical repertoire, it may be observed that it covered a wide range of expression (from humorous to pathetic, from stately to rustic) and also influenced other genres. Waltzes, landlers, and allemandes might wear the mask of the minuet. Leonard Ratner examines such aspects in his book on classical music: dance styles and also military and hunting music (brass bands and quintets), the sung style (lyrical music), the brilliant style (vocal or instrumental virtuosity), the style of the French overture (the slow, solemn march with dotted formulas), the *Musette* style (pastoral, rustic, simple melody set to a drone), the exotic style (e.g. Turkish music), the *Sturm und Drang* style (chromatic, dissonant, declamatory), the sensitive style, the strictly academic style (fugal, associated with religious music), the free, gallant style, the fantasia style (improvisatory, with chromatic figures and harmonies), and the pictorial style ("word-painting," found in descriptive symphonies such as Haydn's *The Bear* and *The Military*).[9]

Whereas in baroque music an affect, an expressive idea, ran through a work as a way of maintaining the work's unity, in classical music mixtures of affects and contrasts became more frequent. Mozart is the unrivalled master of mixing types and co-ordinating them within a closed musical space: "For analysis, the recognition of these expressive qualities, explicit or implicit, is illuminating, often providing a clue to a striking aspect of structure; for performance, such recognition is essential, since it points to the poetic implications of the music."[10]

Ratner puts forward an analysis of the musical rhetoric of classicism, allowing himself to be guided by the following parameters: expression, topic, periodicity, harmony, rhythm, melody, text, performance. He observes that the *period* is the most important concept that music borrows from rhetoric, with a musical period having its own punctuation marks (cadences of various types). In writings of the time, the two phrases in a symmetrical period were called "subject and predicate" by Heinrich Cristoph Koch (1787), "antecedent and consequent" by William Jones (1784), and "question and answer" by Johann Portmann (1789).[11]

The rhetoric of classical *harmony* can also be defined according to the way in which the chords and cadences are arranged in order to produce a given impression of tonality. The classical composers' obvious preference for major keys is in keeping with a blithe mood, a sense of humour, sparkling sounds; the minor mode was viewed as an expression of sad, hesitant, indecisive feelings. Significant is the change of colour that can result from a shift from major to minor, to dramatic, dark or depressed nuances.

[9] Ratner, p. 18-30.
[10] Ratner, p. 30.
[11] Ratner, p. 36.

Although *rhythm* also contributes to the rhetoric of the musical discourse through the character of typical dances and march modes, through the choice of metre and tempo, it is *melody* that is nonetheless the primary source of delectation for the listener. A central element of expression and rhetoric, melody is the essence of classic music, particularly for an inexhaustible inventor such as Mozart. Constructed using simple coherent materials, units equivalent to rhetorical figures, melody is closest to speech (most obviously in opera and implicitly in other genres lacking vocal parts). The theorists of the late-eighteenth century distinguished between the grammatical accent of a melody (metre), its oratorical accent (lent to important melodic notes and which might or might not coincide with grammatical accent), and its pathetic accent (which is intensely oratorical, often dissonant).

They also argued that *musical form* follows a rhetorical pattern (*inventio, dispositio, elocutio*): first the ideas are sketched out, then comes their amplification, modulation, the construction of periods, the adaptation and repetition of the material, and finally the details, ornamentation, nuances and so on. Leonard Ratner reviews a number of eighteenth-century structural types, from the aria to the concerto (where the cadence is viewed as the rhetorical discourse proper to the soloist), fantasia, introduction, and recitative (and the strangeness of the figures here, a consequence of the composer's ability to improvise as a sign of his talent).

C. P. E. Bach saturated his music with close-grained, eccentric elaborations while maintaining a firm harmonic and rhythmic framework. Haydn manipulated a few figures in amazingly varied and witty ways. Mozart often veered from a straight line to spin out a fascinating line of discourse. Beethoven was the most eccentric of all, reaching high and low, far and wide, to saturate his language with fantasia elements so that even his opening statement would often pose problems of musical meaning. The audience in the classic era expected a composition to have some quality of fantasia to merge interest with clear formal orientation. Haydn was the most successful in reaching his audiences in this respect. Mozart and Beethoven were often quite puzzling.[12]

Examining in detail (and with numerous examples) the role of classical rhetoric in the structuration of musical form, Ratner observes that while the emphasis on defining the expression is placed at the beginning of the musical idea, in order to establish the predominant feeling in the section in question, the form's centre of gravity is placed towards the end. It is here that the structure in question is finalised, through the decisive cadences.

Expression is thus *fore-accented*; form is *end-accented*. The sense of structural precision and inevitability that is one of the greatest pleasures we take from classic

[12] Ratner, p. 314.

music comes from this deployment of cadential action, often on a very broad scale, to bring whatever rhetorical trajectory may have preceded it to a proper and satisfying conclusion.[13]

A large part of Leonard Ratner's book is concerned with a *stylistic perspective* on classical music, in the sense of distinctions between old and new, free and rigid, and between genres (chamber, religious, theatrical, symphonic). First-hand accounts can be found in eighteenth-century music criticism, which was intensely focussed on the problems of style, from the geographic, individual and social viewpoint of the listener. Here we find the sources of attributes which in time became clichés, but which also contain convincing arguments. For example, in the period the Italian style is described as pleasant, cantabile, sparkling, varied and highly expressive (Daniel Gottlieb Türk, *Klavierschule*, 1789). Some also find defects, such as superficiality or aimlessness, but also appreciate its suppleness. According to Jean Jacques Rousseau, the French style is insipid, flat, and monotonous, but should be given credit for its taste. The German style, which borrows much from the Italian and French style, is supposed to be defined by its careful workmanship, strong harmony and seriousness (Türk).

Guided by the late-eighteenth-century treatises, Ratner draws from the musical scores the stylistic elements of classical music according to region. Among other things, he observes that the Italian style is the uncontested leader, for the time being, and Italian is the language of opera. Even in instrumental music, the Italians favour vocal, declamatory types of melody (Ratner provides a detailed analysis of the specifics of harmony, composition, and vocal quality). At the same time, Italian teaching produces the most illustrious composers and singers, to a large extent preserving the *stile antico* tradition. Thanks to the Italians, the aria, concerto, sonata and opera (*seria* and *buffa*) set the fashions and standards for eighteenth-century genres, becoming export goods: the majority of European composers adopt the Italian idiom to their own styles.

In France, musical life is centred in Paris and Versailles, with an emphasis on the theatre, on the connexions between music, declamation and dance. Unlike the Italians, who see the human voice as the most wonderful musical instrument, the French treat the voice as a vehicle for the declamation of elegant texts, with music highlighting expressive nuances of the text. Information about the ballet, *tragédie lirique*, *opéra comique*, types of recitative, orchestration, orchestral genres, and harpsichord manner complete the portrait of the French style, which reflects a sense of protocol, hierarchy, precision, clarity and balance.

The Germans are the best observers of the international musical scene: they describe, criticise, theorise and teach international musical styles (particularly the northern Germans). Their contribution as composers is evident at the individual

[13] Ratner, p. 331.

level in particular, rather than in any overall idiom. They adapt Italian and French music to their own taste, depending on the musical centre whence they come: music is composed in one way in Hamburg and in another in Berlin. They maintain the compositional tradition of strict, polyphonic writing and at the same time show a predilection for the *fantasia*.

After looking at these national styles, Leonard Ratner examines more closely the opposition between the high and low, the noble and the common, the grand and the lowly, the serious and the comic. A theorist such as Johann Scheibe described such styles via the feelings they produced: feelings that are edifying, lofty, terrifying, violently passionate in the high style; love, calm, satisfaction and joy in the moderate style; caricature, comedy, slyness, and all that pertains to the common folk in the style at the bottom of the hierarchy.[14]

The styles correspond to given genres, although mixtures of styles within the same piece of music are very frequent. In opera, grand passions are associated with characters from the higher social classes and rhetorical figures from the military style, stylised dances, the recitative *obligé* and arioso are employed. In general, the expression of the *noble style* is maintained at a predominant affect, without very many contrasts; it is evident in the polyphonic treatment found in religious music, in the elevating moods and intrinsically moral messages (Mozart, *Coronation Mass,* K.317, 1779). In the orchestral genre, examples of high style include Mozart's *Jupiter* symphony and Haydn's *London Symphonies*, works that reach a level of incontestable mastery, are dignified, and are regarded as major works by the critics. The high style can also be detected in the classic oratorio, in the works of Gluck, full of heroes, demigods, and gods (serious opera and French lyric tragedy).

The *vulgar style*, on the other hand, is best expressed in comedy, in classic farces, which are not lacking in finesse. The instruments of comedy are various and include imitation (including the musical onomatopoeias in Haydn's *Creation* and Beethoven's *Pastoral*), wit, humour, and parody (Mozart, *Ein musikalischer Spass*, K. 522, 1787), as well as a sentimental manner, bizarreries, exotic and magical subjects (Mozart's *Enchanted Flute*), or mechanical elements (Haydn's *Clock Symphony*).

Ratner's inventory also includes a look at individual style, which is examined in the mature works of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, respectively *Sonata no. 52 for Piano in E flat major*, the comic drama *Don Giovanni*, and *String Quartet no. 1, op. 59*.

An all-encompassing and fascinating musicological perspective on the classic style is thereby achieved: the style's rhetorical ramifications are traced back to the baroque, it is dissected both as a phenomenon, according to its own parameters, and from the geographical, social, cultural and theoretical point of view, as well as that of its major composers.

[14]Ratner, p. 364.

Musical form as rhetorical metaphor

In the footsteps of Ratner, but without aiming at the same monumentality or exhaustiveness, Mark Evan Bonds (1991) brings into discussion the changing concept of musical form, particularly in instrumental music, between 1730 and 1850, as reflected in the rise and fall of rhetoric as a central metaphor for form. The aesthetic of the eighteenth century focussed on the temporal nature of the work being performed and on its structure from the point of view of the audience. It employed the metaphor of oratorical discourse to define musical form. After 1800, the *metaphor of oration* was abandoned in favour of the *organic* metaphor: the musical work is seen as a vegetal organism, its form being that of the organic relation of parts within a whole. The Romantics apply the idea of the growth of a tree from a seed to musical works, the impulse for this coming from Goethe and his "original plant."

But before the Romantics, the classical composers still preserved the theory of the parallel between music and rhetoric that came to prominence during the baroque period:

> To the rather limited extent that eighteenth-century authors commented on large-scale, movement-length form at all, they generally tended to rely upon the imagery and vocabulary of rhetoric. While parallels between music and rhetoric had long been recognized, it was not until the eighteenth century that music came to be described as a language in its own right, independent of any verbal text. And within this conceptual metaphor of music as a language, a broad range of eighteenth-century theorists and aestheticians considered an individual work of instrumental music to be a kind of wordless oration whose purpose was to move the listener. The rationale behind the structure of this oration, in turn, was held to manifest certain basic parallels to the rationale behind the formal conventions of traditional, verbal rhetoric.[15]

Bonds analyses the "paradoxes" of musical form, intended to manipulate the listener's expectations, for example false reprises (Haydn, in the first part of *Symphony no. 41 in C Major*; Beethoven, *Quartet no. 1, part 1, op. 59*). This demonstrates nothing more than an orientation towards the audience, and therefore a conception of music as a pragmatic entity. Haydn's audience consisted, for a large part of his creative life, mainly of his patron Esterhazy, depending on whom the composer added to, cut or varied the music he composed. His famous *Farewell Symphony* is an ideal example of instrumental music, written with a specific purpose, addressed to a specific listener, and having a specific message. Likewise, Mozart always takes into account the effect his

[15] Bonds, p. 4.

music will have on his audience, as he frequently confesses in his letters. Beethoven's attitude seems to change over time, and manipulation of the listener becomes secondary, overshadowed by the search for compositional originality.

In Bonds' book we of course find the ideas debated in the eighteenth century: there was the clear distinction between musical grammar and musical rhetoric; music is a language and those who studied it had to have a knowledge of rhetoric and poetics in order to be able to know how to handle passions and direct affects; the theory of the compositional process was based on the analogy between a piece of music and an oratorical speech; the act of composition, of arranging the musical discourse, could be taught, whereas *inventio* depended on inspiration; the expressive power of the musical instrument resided in its capacity to convey meanings, to "say" something without using words.

The myth of music as a 'universal language' has of course long since been exposed, but the very recognition of instrumental music as a language in its own right is one of the most significant developments in musical thought over the course of the eighteenth century. The precise nature of this language was (and still is) a matter of ongoing debate, but by the end of the century there was no longer any question that its power could rival and in some respects even surpass the capacities of conventional, verbal language.[16]

Instrumental music presented the greatest challenges when it came to rhetorical definition, precisely because it did not "speak" with the same clarity as music set to a text. By the end of the eighteenth century, arbitrary descriptive references began to appear in the margins of music that abstract in origin. Poet August Apel attached a literary text of his own to the *Largo maestoso* of Mozart's *Symphony in E Flat Major* (K.543). In his rhetorical analysis of Haydn's *Symphony no. 103*, Jérôme-Joseph de Momigny imagines a pastoral scene (a storm) as part of an "analyse pittoresque et poétique" and attaches to the first movement of Mozart's *String Quartet in d minor* (K.421) a text based on a scene from the legend of Dido and Aeneas. Interpreting Beethoven's *Eroica*, A. B. Marx tries in a literary way to discover allusions to Napoleon. Poet and dramatist Heinrich Wilhelm Gerstenberg provides two texts for Carl Philipp Emmanuel Bach's *Fantasia in c minor* from the *Versuch ueber die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*: Hamlet's "to be or not to be" soliloquy and an original text based on the last words of Socrates.[17] All these poetic or narrative interpretations of music attempt to impose meanings where none are made explicit, to finds correspondences with literature, in more or less imaginative ways. They might sometimes be encouraged by the composer's intentions, expressed in the form of non-musical indications in the

[16] Bonds, p. 68.
[17] Bonds, pp. 170-172.

musical score, such as Beethoven's "Muss es sein!" in *String Quartet op. 135* and "Lebe wohl!" in the *Les Adieux* sonata, or Haydn's titles to some of his quartets: *Die sieben letzten Worte unseres Erlösers am Kreuze* and symphonies: *Le matin, Le midi, Le soir*.

The Romantics were to accentuate music's power to convey messages and feelings through music alone. Without employing obvious rhetorical terminology, in his articles for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, E.T.A. Hoffmann, the first major music critic after 1800, makes references that nonetheless imply rhetoric, for example the effect of a work's technical qualities on its audience. The transition to the organic model is obvious in Hoffmann's writings. He presents Beethoven's *Fifth Symphony* in this manner, as the organic development of a nucleus. Hoffmann is the representative figure of the shift from rhetorical ideas and the theory of affects to a view of music as an autonomous, self-referential art.

Even if the structuration of music is henceforth viewed as organic, through the metaphor of the growth of an oak from an acorn, through the intrinsic link between form and a germinal thematic idea, and even if the audience is irrelevant to such a model, rhetorical thinking does not disappear. It is still to be found in theoretical texts about the classical composers (the first major monographs on Bach and Haydn appear in the Romantic period), in treatises on composition (Marx, *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, 1841-45), and in listener-oriented theories of musical form (in 1840 Carl Czerny described the sonata form using a mixture of organic theory and the metaphor of the musical work as a novel or dramatic poem[18]). Mattheson's theories were continued in fact, even if they were not overtly cited. Nor can we ignore the pragmatic finality of the conception of musical form, which had been particularly emphasised in the rhetorical model.

In fact, as happens in all periods when there is a shift in stylistic paradigms, some ideas flourish in the full light, while others remain in the shadow, without disappearing. Later, in the twentieth century, the two models, the rhetorical and the organic, were to be combined, interpolated, and reinterpreted. The debate about musical rhetoric and the theory of affects reached its apogee in the Baroque period and seemed to diminish in intensity in subsequent periods, because of the disappearance of rhetoric as a general discipline in the educational system. Nevertheless, rhetoric returns as a leitmotiv: disguised, masked, the art of discourse and the art of musical communication remain constant concerns for the composer, the musician, the audience and the theorist.

[18] Bonds, p. 187.

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