

J. S. Bach and His German Contemporaries

EDITED BY Andrew Talle

Bach

BACH PERSPECTIVES

VOLUME 9

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PREFACE

Nearly three centuries after his death in 1750, Johann Sebastian Bach is widely considered to be one of the most influential musicians in history. His works are heard today in churches, concert halls, practice rooms, cars, elevators, and showers in every corner of the globe. One suspects that since at least the mid-twentieth century not a single second has gone by during which someone, somewhere on earth was *not* hearing something by Bach. And why stop at just one planet? In 1977 a recording of the prelude and fugue in C major from part 1 of the Well-Tempered Clavier was placed aboard the spacecraft *Voyager 1* in the hope that inhabitants of other solar systems too might acquaint themselves with the best that planet earth had to offer.

Bach's commanding presence in the world of classical music today should not blind us to the fact that he had plenty of competition while he was alive. In 1722, the Leipzig town council set about finding a replacement for the recently deceased *Thomaskantor*; Johann Kuhnau. Georg Philipp Telemann, who was then serving as music director in Hamburg, auditioned and was offered the post. He turned it down, however, when his employers gave him a counteroffer he could not refuse. The Leipzigers next offered the position to Christoph Graupner, but he opted to stay in his current position as *Kapellmeister* in Darmstadt. Only after both of these men had refused the appointment was it offered to Bach. To be sure, nonmusical factors played a critical role in the city council's decision-making process. Both Telemann and Graupner had attended Leipzig University; they had more impressive academic credentials and were better-known locally. Still, the fact that Telemann and Graupner were selected first reveals that, for many eighteenth-century listeners, their music was an acceptable, if not preferable, alternative to Bach's.

How is it that the judgment of Bach's contemporaries could differ so radically from the judgment of music lovers since 1800? This volume offers direct and indirect answers to this question. Wolfgang Hirschmann's essay critiques a line of scholarly reasoning that has treated Bach's music as timeless and universal, ignoring his contemporaries as irrelevant to an understanding of his genius. He proposes an ethnographic approach that would contextualize Bach's works, addressing the aesthetic paths he took as well as those he did not take. In a series of well-chosen examples, Hirschmann presents avenues of musical composition ignored by Bach but explored extensively by Telemann. Steven Zohn's essay considers Telemann's contribution to the orchestral *Overture* genre on the basis of an original print recently rediscovered in Moscow. Telemann can be seen to have developed an approach to integrating the national styles of his time quite distinct from, but no less rich than, that adopted by Bach. My own essay

compares settings of *Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust* by Bach and Graupner. I argue that Graupner, like Bach's other German contemporaries, focused on clear diction above all, an approach that depends for its effectiveness on listeners being moved by the text itself. Bach, by contrast, opted for an approach that emphasized instrumental music; he sought to make listeners feel the emotions of the text without depending too heavily upon the text. Alison J. Dunlop's essay presents valuable primary research on Gottlieb Muffat, the most commonly cited keyboard-music composer in Vienna during Bach's lifetime. She has been able to greatly illuminate the biographies of Muffat and his close family members through archival research and has also compiled a thematic catalog of Muffat's music for the first time. Finally, Michael Maul's essay sheds new light on the Scheibe-Birnbaum controversy, contextualizing the most famous critique of J. S. Bach's compositional style by revealing the names of the other composers Scheibe critiqued. Maul's research makes possible a reevaluation of Scheibe's remarks about J. S. Bach, who was clearly not the primary target. The passages Scheibe wrote scandalously critiquing other musicians appear here for the first time in English.

Bach and his music remain subjects of intense interest to scholars and the general public alike. The authors represented in this volume have sought to outline some major issues and open avenues for further research. It is our view that countless pioneering studies about Bach's life and music have yet to be written, most of them right here on planet Earth.

Andrew Talle

ABBREVIATIONS

BDOK	<i>Bach Dokumente</i> . Ed. Andreas Glöckner, Anselm Hartinger, Karen Lehmann, Michael Maul, Werner Neumann, Hans-Joachim Schulze, Christoph Wolff. 7 vols. Kassel: Bärenreiter; Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1963–2008.
BJ	<i>Bach-Jahrbuch</i> .
BWV	[Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis] <i>Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach (Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis)</i> . Rev. ed. Ed. Wolfgang Schmieder. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1990.
Freiswv	[Freislich-Werke-Verzeichnis] Karla Neschke. <i>Johann Balthasar Christian Freislich (1687–1764): Leben, Schaffen, und Werküberlieferung, mit einem thematisch-systematischen Verzeichnis seiner Werke</i> . Oschersleben: Ziethen, 2000.
GWV	[Graupner-Werke-Verzeichnis] Oswald Bill, et al. <i>Christoph Graupner: Thematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke</i> . Stuttgart: Carus Verlag, 2005-.
HWV	[Händel-Werke-Verzeichnis] Bernd Baselt, ed. <i>Handel-Handbuch: Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Georg Friedrich Händel</i> , <i>Handel-Handbuch of the Hallische Händel-Ausgabe</i> , 4 vols. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978–86.
m./mm.	measure/measures.
MC	<i>Muffat Compendium</i> , a thematic catalog of Gottlieb Muffat's work included in Alison J. Dunlop, "Gottlieb Muffat (1690–1770): A Companion to the Sources" (Ph.D. diss., Queen's University Belfast, 2010).
NBA	[Neue Bach-Ausgabe.] <i>Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke</i> . Ed. Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Institut, Göttingen, and the Bach-Archiv, Leipzig. Kassel: Bärenreiter; Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1954–2010.
NBR	<i>The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents</i> . Ed. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel. Revised and enlarged by Christoph Wolff. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1998.
RISM	<i>Répertoire International des Sources Musicales</i> (International Inventory of Musical Sources). Kassel: Bärenreiter; Munich: G. Henle, 1960-.
TWV	[Telemann-Werke-Verzeichnis.] <i>Georg Philipp Telemann: Thematisch-Systematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke: Instrumentalwerke</i> . Ed. Martin Ruhnke. 3 vols. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984-.
TVWV	[Telemann-Vokalwerke-Verzeichnis.] <i>Thematisches Verzeichnis der Vokalwerke von Georg Philipp Telemann</i> . Ed. Werner Menke. 2 vols. Frankfurt am Main: Klosterman, 1981–83.

“He Liked to Hear the Music of Others”

Individuality and Variety in the Works of Bach and His German Contemporaries

Wolfgang Hirschmann

Does it make sense to compare Bach with his German contemporaries? The question has been asked before, and it is usually answered in the negative. In 1997, for example, Martin Geck wrote in the preface to his collection of essays on Bach’s orchestral works:

Can one understand Bach’s orchestral music without its *organizing background*, without sideward glances at *contemporaries* like Georg Philipp Telemann, Christoph Graupner, Johann Friedrich Fasch, Carl Heinrich Graun or Johann Samuel Endler? On the one hand [. . .] the topics and composers in question clearly belong together with Bach. On the other hand, such comparisons have only limited power to explain the phenomenon of “Bach.” In the realm of orchestral works, as in other genres, Bach remains a great singularity, ultimately explicable only with reference to himself.¹

In Geck’s view, Bach’s art cannot be fully understood by comparing or relating it to that of his contemporaries. I will return to this extraordinary quotation at the end of my essay, but suffice it to say now that the approach suggested by its author is fundamentally untenable: nothing can be understood in reference to itself alone.

1. Martin Geck and Werner Breig, eds., *Bachs Orchesterwerke*, Dortmunder Bach-Forschungen 1 (Witten: Klangfarben-Verlag, 1997). “Kann man Bachs Orchesterwerk ohne sein *organisatorisches Umfeld*, ohne Seitenblicke auf *Zeitgenossen* wie Georg Philipp Telemann, Christoph Graupner, Johann Friedrich Fasch, Carl Heinrich Graun oder Johann Samuel Endler verstehen? Einerseits—das zeigen die entsprechenden Beiträge—gehören die genannten Themen und Komponisten unbedingt ‘dazu’; andererseits können sie zur Erklärung des Phänomens ‘Bach’ höchstens Teilleistungen erbringen: Bach bleibt auch im Bereich der Orchesterwerke der große, letztendlich nur aus sich selbst erklärliche Einzelne” (5–6).

The narrative of Bach as a “great singularity” is based on two beliefs: first, that Bach completely and exhaustively fulfilled the traditions of occidental music history, and second, that Bach’s art is so modern that his innovations were understood and fructified only in later generations. This second belief—the so-called delay argument (*Ver spätungsthese*)—implies that Bach’s contemporaries (apart from some laudable exceptions, like Lorenz Christoph Mizler and Johann Abraham Birnbaum) failed to understand what his music was *really* about. In the past there have been quarrels about which of these two positions is the more valid. Martin Geck, responding to Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht’s claims that Bach must be seen “as the culmination of compositional traditions in the sense of qualitative enrichment” (*als die Krönung von Kompositionstraditionen im Sinne qualitativer Bereicherung*) and that his music “was not only unmodern but antimodern” (*war nicht nur unmodern, sie war antimodern*),² follows the work of his colleagues Heinrich Bessler and Robert Marshall in arguing that Bach was a “pathfinder” (*Wegbereiter*)³ and a “progressive.”⁴ Going still further, Geck connects the two above-mentioned positions to construct an image of Bach as a universal musician:

Bach is a universalist, a maverick, a lone wolf: a genius who is able to address possibilities of human experience more passionately and more competently than others, and in so doing touches upon nerve points common to many people across time. The formulation “across time” is intended to suggest that different views of Bach’s output are equal: Bach summarizes the traditions of previous centuries; Bach composes at the highest level of his time; Bach opens up new perspectives.⁵

Geck’s image of Bach the time-defying artist calls to mind the German folktale of the “Hare and the Hedgehog” (*Der Hase und der Igel*). For the benefit of those unfamiliar with the narrative I will recount it briefly here. A hare meets a hedgehog, notices his stumpy legs, and confidently challenges him to a race. The hedgehog agrees, cleverly

2. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, “Bach und die Tradition,” in *Bach-Tage Berlin 1992: Programmbuch und Vorträge* (Berlin: Verband Dt. Musikerzieher und Konz. Künstler, 1992), 11–14.

3. Heinrich Bessler, “Bach als Wegbereiter,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 12 (1955): 1–39.

4. Robert L. Marshall, “Bach the Progressive: Observations on His Later Works,” *Musical Quarterly* 62 (1976): 313–357.

5. Martin Geck, “Bach als Wegbereiter,” in *“Denn alles findet bei Bach statt”: Erforschtes und Erfahrenes* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000), 109–17 (quote on 109): “Bach ist Universalist, Querdenker, Einzelgänger: ein Genie, das bestimmte Möglichkeiten menschlicher Erfahrung leidenschaftlicher und kompetenter als andere zu thematisieren vermag und dabei wie von selbst Nervenpunkte trifft, die über die Zeiten hinweg vielen Menschen gemeinsam sind. Die Formulierung über die Zeiten hinweg will besagen, dass unterschiedliche Ansichten von Bachs Schaffen gleichrangig sind:—Bach faßt jahrhundertelange Traditionen zusammen,—Bach komponiert auf der Höhe seiner Zeit,—Bach eröffnet neue Perspektiven.” The article was first published in *Bach-Tage Berlin 1993: Programmbuch und Vorträge* (Berlin: Verband Dt. Musikerzieher und Konz. Künstler, 1993), 9–14.

posting his wife—who in the hare’s eyes is indistinguishable from the hedgehog himself—at the finish line. The hare dashes ahead at the beginning of the race, but before he can get very far the hedgehog’s wife shouts from the finish line: “I’m already here!” The hare, embarrassed and bewildered, demands rematch after rematch, eventually collapsing from exhaustion.

In Geck’s narrative, Bach is the hedgehog, effortlessly winning a variety of different “races” that have been proposed as emblematic of later eighteenth-century musical culture:

If one chooses Georg Philipp Telemann as the model of a composer who keeps up with the advancements of his time and helps determine them in the realm of music, then Bach can call out to his contemporary like the hare to the hedgehog: “I’m already here.” Galant style: in which works from the 1730s right up through the *Musical Offering* and the *Art of Fugue* did Bach *not* incorporate it? Preclassical phrase construction: can’t we find it already in the Aria “Blute nur” from the St. Matthew Passion? Flowing melody: what about the *Sanctus* from the *Mass in B Minor*? Operatic vocal virtuosity: what else defines the character of the “Laudamus te” in the same work? Music for the masses: who is the intended audience for the buffo-like *Coffee Cantata*? The discovery of folk music: what happens in the *Peasant Cantata*? Musical entrepreneurship: from whence came the *Clavierübung* series? The creation of civic musical institutions: from whose *Collegium Musicum* did the *Große Leipziger Konzert* arise?⁶

In Geck’s view Bach’s music integrates all these modern aspects of eighteenth-century music in a truly universal manner, but it goes far beyond this by paving the way to a specifically German conception of musical art: “From the Viennese classics to the second Viennese school, German music has operated on the idea of a compositional structure that should exhibit harmonious construction and individual expression to the last degree, an allegory for a higher order and a free creative act.”⁷ Bach is

6. Ibid. “Wählt man Georg Philipp Telemann als Muster eines Komponisten, der mit dem Fortschritt der Zeit geht und diesen auf musikalischem Gebiet entscheidend mitbestimmt, so kann Bach diesem seinem Zeitgenossen immer wieder wie der Igel dem Hasen zurufen: ‘Ich bin allhier’: Galanter Stil—in welcher Werkgattung hätte ihn Bach seit den dreißiger Jahren nicht berücksichtigt—bis hin zum *Musikalischen Opfer* und zur *Kunst der Fuge*? Vorklassische Periodizität der Phrasenbildung—ist sie nicht schon in der Arie ‘Blute nur’ aus der *Matthäuspassion* zu finden? Fließende Melodik—wie wäre es mit dem *Sanctus* aus der *b-moll-Messe*? Opernhafte Gesangsvirtuosität—was anderes bestimmt den Gestus des ‘Laudamus te’ aus demselben Werk? Musik für jedermann—an wen richtet sich die buffoneske *Kaffee-Kantate*? ‘Entdeckung’ der Volksmusik—was passiert in der *Bauernkantate*? Musikunternehmertum—wes Geistes Kind ist die *Klavierübung*? Bürgerliche Musikinstitutionen—aus wessen *collegium musicum* ist das *Große Leipziger Konzert* hervorgegangen?” (109).

7. Ibid. “Von der Wiener Klassik bis zur zweiten Wiener Schule hat die deutsche Musik an der Idee einer kompositorischen Struktur gearbeitet, die stimmige Konstruktion und bis ins letzte individueller Ausdruck, Sinnbild höherer Ordnung und freie Schaffenstat sein sollte” (111). This concept is

reckoned as a kind of “founding father” for this ideal. So from Geck’s perspective, he can be seen as the first truly German composer. Bach’s German contemporaries, by contrast, come across as strangely displaced persons; in some sense they are neither German nor contemporary.

Those who wish to understand Bach and his music in the context of his time thus face an apparently intractable situation: studying Bach’s music in reference only to itself seems a logical impossibility, and yet we are informed that relating the giant Bach to all those contemporary dwarfs will produce only misunderstandings. My aim in this essay is to outline some means for making the situation tractable by identifying the premises required for understanding Bach *and* his German contemporaries, rather than one or the other.

Forkel’s Bach

The image of “Bach the Great Singularity,” the “Fulfiller of Tradition,” or the “Prophetic Innovator” can be dated to around 1800. The text that forms the basis for this image is Johann Nicolaus Forkel’s *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (1802), even a quick perusal of which yields a wealth of idealist rhetoric:

In the history of art Bach has been more epoch-making than any other musician.⁸

The works left to us by Joh. Seb. Bach are an inestimable national heritage; no other population has anything comparable.⁹

Although none of his students could execute Bach’s compositions as perfectly as the master, whenever they did [attempt to play them], amazement and wonder was inspired by his unprecedented, great, and at the same time comprehensible art.¹⁰

Bach, [. . .] the first classic there ever was and maybe will ever be.¹¹

discussed in more detail in *Bach und die deutsche Tradition des Komponierens: Wirklichkeit und Ideologie, Martin Geck zum 70. Geburtstag*, Dortmunder Bach-Forschungen 9, ed. Reinmar Emans and Wolfram Steinbeck (Witten: Klangfarben-Musikverlag, 2009).

8. Johann Nicolaus Forkel, *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (1802; reprint, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999): “Da in der Geschichte dieser Kunst Bach mehr als irgend ein anderer Musiker Epoche gemacht hat” (v). For Forkel’s romantic image of Bach, see Hans Joachim Hinrichsen, “Johann Nikolaus Forkel und die Anfänge der Bach-Forschung,” in *Bach und die Nachwelt*, vol. 1, ed. Michael Heinemann and Hans Joachim Hinrichsen (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1997), 193–227.

9. Forkel, *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben*. “Die Werke, die uns Joh. Seb. Bach hinterlassen hat, sind ein unschätzbares National-Erbgut, dem kein anderes Volk etwas ähnliches entgegen setzen kann” (v).

10. Ibid. “So oft dies irgend einer seiner Schüler that, obgleich deren keiner sie in der Vollkommenheit vortrug, wie der Meister, entstand doch stets Staunen und Verwunderung über die nie gehörte, so große und doch so faßliche Kunst” (vi–vii).

11. Ibid. “Bach, [. . .] der erste Klassiker, der je gewesen ist, und vielleicht je seyn wird” (viii).

“He Liked to Hear the Music of Others”

If only I could adequately describe the sublime art of this *first* among all German and foreign artists!¹²

The almost one-hundred-year-old Reinken listened to his music with special pleasure and paid him [. . .] the compliment: I thought this art was dead; but now I see that in you it lives.¹³

Already in his secular compositions he disdained all that was usual; but in his organ compositions he veered infinitely farther away so that he appears to me not like a human being but like a transfigured spirit who has transcended everything mundane.¹⁴

In Forkel’s book, Bach is not a real, historical subject but an ideal subject, a romantic hero. This is not surprising when we consider the fact that it was published in the heyday of German idealism. Later scholarship has taken this image as the starting point for discussions of Bach that I will call, with intended irony, the “Forkel exegesis tradition.” Consider that all of the various attempts to mark a stylistic reorientation in Bach’s compositional method based on his study of Vivaldi’s concertos emanate from Forkel’s statement that the keyboard transcriptions of Vivaldi’s concertos “taught him to think musically” (*lehrte ihn auch musikalisch denken*).¹⁵ And Martin Geck’s neo-idealistic rendering of Bach as the founding father of a specific German tradition of composing mingles Forkel’s patriotism and his conviction that in Bach’s music we can behold the unparalleled combination of the highest contrapuntal complexity (*Kunst*) with comprehensible melodic beauty (*Fasslichkeit*) and, most importantly, a clear distinction between art that is sublime and art that is merely pleasing.

A close reading of the passage in Forkel’s book from which the quotation in the title of this essay is taken—“He liked to hear the music of others” (*Er mochte gern fremde Musik hören*)¹⁶—is especially revealing with regard to this last point: Forkel uses anecdotal narrative structures that he (often imperceptibly) sharpens to draw a clear boundary between Bach and his contemporaries:

12. Ibid. “Möchte ich nur im Stande seyn, die erhabene Kunst dieses Ersten aller deutschen und ausländischen Künstler recht nach Würden zu beschreiben!” (viii).

13. Ibid. “Der alte fast hundertjährige Reinken hörte ihm mit besonderm Vergnügen zu, und machte ihm [. . .] das Compliment: Ich dachte, diese Kunst wäre ausgestorben; ich sehe aber, daß sie in Ihnen noch lebt” (8).

14. Ibid. “Schon in seinen weltlichen Compositionen verschmähte er alles Gewöhnliche; in seinen Orgelcompositionen hat er sich aber noch unendlich weiter davon entfernt, so dass er mir hier nicht mehr wie ein Mensch, sondern wie ein wahrer verkörter Geist vorkommt, der sich über alles Irdische hinauf geschwungen hat” (19).

15. Ibid., 24.

16. Ibid., 46.

In Dresden the *Capelle* and the opera were brilliant and excellent while Hasse was serving as *Kapellmeister*. Already in his early years, Bach had many acquaintances there, all of whom thought very highly of him. Hasse and his wife, the famous Faustina, had been to Leipzig several times and admired his great art. Thus he was always most welcome in Dresden and often went there to hear the opera. His eldest son normally had to accompany him. [Bach] liked to say in jest a few days before their departure, “Friedemann, shall we go to hear the beautiful Dresden ditties [*Dresden Liederchen*] again?”¹⁷

This anecdote was problematic for Forkel insofar as it did not fit the idealistic image of Bach presented elsewhere in the book, a circumstance for which he felt compelled to offer an explanation: “As innocent as this joke is, I’m convinced that Bach would not have told it to anyone but his son, who already knew at that time what in art is great, and what is merely beautiful and pleasing.”¹⁸ The two realms of art emphasized by Forkel—the Sublime and the Merely Pleasing—were adopted and modified by Philipp Spitta, one of the most influential activists in the Forkel exegesis tradition. Spitta used one particular German musician, Georg Philipp Telemann, as a negative foil for Bach, someone who threw the master’s work into high relief.¹⁹ It is no coincidence that Martin Geck, building on this tradition, also chose Telemann to serve in his musicological folktale as the hapless hare.

Bach the Hedgehog

The hedgehog of the folktale is not one animal but two who look identical. This in fact makes the comparison with Bach all the more appropriate. J. S. Bach—in view of his long and overwhelming impact on later generations of musicians—is not one person but (metaphorically speaking) multiple persons.

17. Ibid. “In Dresden war die Capelle und die Oper, während Hasse Capellmeister dort war, sehr glänzend und vortrefflich. Bach hatte schon in frühern Jahren dort viele Bekannte, von welchen allen er sehr geehrt wurde. Auch Hasse nebst seiner Gattin, der berühmten Faustina, waren mehrer Mahle in Leipzig gewesen, und hatten seine große Kunst bewundert. Er hatte auf diese Weise immer eine ausgezeichnet ehrenvolle Aufnahme in Dresden, und ging oft dahin, um die Oper zu hören. Sein ältester Sohn mußte ihn gewöhnlich begleiten. Er pflegte dann einige Tage vor der Abreise im Scherz zu sagen: Friedemann, wollen wir nicht die schönen Dresdener Liederchen einmahl wieder hören?” (47–48).

18. Ibid. “So unschuldig dieser Scherz an sich ist, so bin ich doch überzeugt, dass ihn Bach gegen keinen andern als gegen diesen Sohn geäußert haben würde, der um jene Zeit ebenfalls schon wusste, was in der Kunst groß, und was bloß schön und angenehm ist” (48).

19. Wolfgang Sandberger has written an enlightening chapter on this issue in his *Das Bach-Bild Philipp Spittas: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bach-Rezeption im 19. Jahrhundert*, Beihefte zum *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 39 (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1997), 187–92.

To escape the patriotic, idealistic, romantic, and heroic morass of the Forkel commentary tradition is not to discard these images but rather to differentiate between them. Daniel R. Melamed’s introduction to *Hearing Bach’s Passions* is a fine example of an interpretation of Bach’s music that distinguishes different layers of meaning depending on different cultural webs:

So far we have considered performing forces, the liturgical context, and the text of Bach’s passions but have not dealt with the music and the way we hear it compared to Bach’s listeners. One might think that finally we have found common ground—Bach’s music is universal, we are often told—but for several reasons that is not really so. In the realm of music, too, we must hear this piece differently from a listener in the eighteenth century because our musical experiences are both richer and poorer than those of Bach’s audience.²⁰

I would propose taking a kind of ethnological perspective on Bach’s music and the different cultural webs into which it has been incorporated in the past and in which it is embedded in the present. Clifford Geertz’s theory of “thick description” from the 1970s can still serve as a methodological guide: “Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of laws but an interpretive one in search of meaning.”²¹ Understanding Bach’s music can only mean trying to understand the “webs of significance” in which it is integrated. From this perspective, Bach’s music is above all outstanding because it has functioned in so many different “webs”—maybe more than that of any other composer in the classical tradition—and not because it is a priori superior to the music of other composers.

Understanding Bach’s music will require thick descriptions of the different cultural webs into which it has been spun. To achieve this for the first half of the eighteenth century we cannot do without his contemporaries—not only composers, but all persons and institutions that were part of the “webs of significance” to which Bach and his music belonged. We can integrate new strands in Bach scholarship—such as Mark Peters’s work on Mariane von Ziegler and J. S. Bach,²² Tanya Kevorkian’s on baroque piety in Leipzig,²³ Michael Maul’s and Peter Wollny’s studies on the network of church

20. Daniel R. Melamed, *Hearing Bach’s Passions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 11.

21. Clifford Geertz, “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” in *The Interpretation of Culture: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 3–30 (quote on 5).

22. Mark A. Peters, *A Woman’s Voice in Baroque Music: Mariane von Ziegler and J. S. Bach* (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2008).

23. Tanya Kevorkian, *Baroque Piety: Religion, Society, and Music in Leipzig, 1650–1750* (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2007).

music exchange in which Bach was involved,²⁴ and the collection of essays in Carol Baron's *Bach's Changing World*²⁵—to establish a broader context. One consequence of this approach is that we can identify some webs of significance—such as “universalism,” “singularity,” “genius,” “hero,” “nation,” or even “German”—as anachronistic. These concepts were either nonexistent during Bach's time or had significantly different meanings than they have today.

What musicology can hope to achieve by this systematic contextualization of Bach's music is well described in another passage from Geertz's essay on “thick description”:

Looked at in this way, the aim of anthropology is the enlargement of the universe of human discourse. That is not, of course, its only aim [. . .]. But it is an aim to which a semiotic concept of culture is peculiarly well adapted. As interworked systems of construable signs (what, ignoring provincial usages, I would call symbols), culture is not power, something to which social events, behaviors, institutions, or processes can be causally attributed; it is a context, something within which they can be intelligibly—that is, thickly—described.²⁶

By analogy, the aim of music historians today could be seen as “the enlargement of the universe of musical discourse.” I wish to highlight the fact that this hermeneutic concept is different from older concepts, which, in Geertz's words, use “autogenous principles of order, universal properties of the human mind, or vast, a priori *weltanschauungen* [worldviews].”²⁷

24. See Michael Maul and Peter Wollny, “Quellenkundliches zu Bach-Aufführungen in Köthen, Ronneburg und Leipzig zwischen 1720 und 1760,” *BJ* 89 (2003): 97–141 (esp. 100–110 and 120–34).

25. *Bach's Changing World: Voices in the Community*, ed. Carol K. Baron (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2006).

26. Geertz, “Thick Description,” 14.

27. Ibid. “To set forth symmetrical crystals of significance, purified of the material complexity in which they were located, and then attribute their existence to autogenous principles of order, universal properties of the human mind, or vast, a priori *weltanschauungen*, is to pretend a science that does not exist and imagine a reality that cannot be found” (20). See also Gary Tomlinson, “The Web of Culture: A Context for Musicology,” *Nineteenth-Century Music* 7.3 (1984): 350–62 (esp. 356–58). This approach is far from Robert L. Marshall's psychoanalytic concept in his “Toward a Twenty-First-Century Bach Biography,” *Musical Quarterly* 84 (2000): 497–525. Richard Taruskin has recently pointed out in a review of *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), that “the objective of thick description, hence of the new culturally anthropological musicology,” does not substantially “differ from the *Verstehen* of *Geistesgeschichte* (which is to say, from the model of scholarship that American musicologists of my now-senior generation were taught by their Central European émigré teachers—which is to say, the foundational model of the discipline and the most old-fashioned of all humanistic ideals).” See *Eighteenth-Century Music* 8 (2011): 117–29 (quote on 122). Of course, Geertz's approach is a hermeneutic one, but it is a

Telemann’s Different Webs of Significance

The eighteenth century is so rich in different musical and compositional discourses—maybe even richer than the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries—that a primary goal of the historian must be to analyze the richness of different webs of significance that coexisted, sometimes interacting with one another, sometimes not. In this relatively neutral approach, Bach is part of these webs, but no more than that. A thick description would yield a much more differentiated and interesting world than that implied by Geck’s simplistic hedgehog-and-hare narrative.

Anton Webern was simply incorrect when he stated that “everything is present in Bach” (*alles findet bei Bach statt*).²⁸ Let’s take the example of Telemann, who has been so often denigrated in scholarly discourses since Spitta. Some of this composer’s most interesting and distinctive features belong to stylistic realms Bach never entered. In such cases there was no hedgehog to shout, “I’m already here!”

The first eight measures from one of Telemann’s *Fugues légères et petits jeux a clavessin seul* (TWV 30:23, No. 3, Mvt. 4—“Vivace”; published in 1738/39) can help to illustrate this point:



Example 1: Georg Philipp Telemann, *Fugues légères et petits jeux a clavessin seul* (1738/39). No. 3 (TWV 30: 23), fourth movement (Vivace), mm. 1–8.

hermeneutic approach beyond “vast, a priori *weltanschauungen*”; and to argue that such structures of prejudice (actually ways of intellectual use—or misuse—of power) haven’t played an important role in musicological hermeneutics on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean would mean that the story I have tried to tell in the foregoing pages is mere fiction.

28. Anton Webern, *Der Weg zur Neuen Musik*, ed. Willi Reich (Wien: Universal Edition, 1960). “*Denn alles findet bei Bach statt: die Ausbildung der zyklischen Formen, die Eroberung des Tonbereiches—dabei das ungeheure polyphone Denken! [. . .] Bach hat eben alles komponiert, sich mit allem befasst, was etwas zu denken gibt!*” (36–37).

The metric organization of these eight bars is peculiar, in spite of the clearly distinguishable grouping in four-bar antecedent and consequent phrases. The movement begins with an upbeat, but the upbeat cannot be clearly distinguished from its surroundings because of the uniform repetitions of the three-tone motif at the beginning. The listener perceives a constant, easily swinging motion that comprises nine eighth notes. This motivic pendulum is replaced by a strongly accented chord lasting three eighth notes. This conflicting metric constellation is repeated three times with modifications: the first and third motivic groups are closely related, but not the second and fourth groups. At the end of the eight-bar phrase, the composer introduces a new group with syncopated rhythms and a rapid downward “zigzag” motion (which itself is connected with the triads in the previous material). This dropping off of the melodic line from the second half of bar six to the caesura in bar eight is the last punch line in a small structure that abounds with surprising moments. Consider how the composer harmonically and diastematically isolates the chords in bars two and six from their surroundings, or how he modulates to the dominant with the sharp cut in bar six.

With its intricate metrical organization and its richness of contrasts and melodic-harmonic gestures in a small space, this piece constitutes a paradigm for a musical style in which counterpoint must be avoided to develop a particular *scherzando* quality. The modernity of such a piece can be highlighted by placing it alongside the “Scherzo” from Beethoven’s *Sonata* for piano, op. 28 (1801) (example 2).

Beethoven’s work is obviously based on the same compositional concept as Telemann’s *Galanteriestück*. This is not to say that the “Scherzo” was directly influenced by Telemann’s modest “Vivace” (it almost certainly was not), but I would insist that these two pieces belong to the same stylistic web of significance—a web from which



Example 2: Ludwig van Beethoven, *Sonata for piano*
op. 28 (1801), third movement, mm. 1–16.

Bach excluded himself. His overwhelming predilection for contrapuntal writing and unrestrained spinning-out of long melodic lines prevented him from contributing to this tradition.

Another example comes from the beginning of Telemann’s “Sinfonia” to the *Brockespassion* (TVWV 5:1) of 1716 (see example 3).²⁹ Contrapuntal writing is again deliberately eschewed in the extraordinary opening of this work. A sustained C-minor chord in the low register expressively expands in bars 4–6. Slight motivic motion grows out of the bass line in bar 7, eventually flowing gently into the upper parts in bar 13 and smoothly landing on an open dominant harmony in bar 15. The music gains all its expressive qualities from the subtle arrangement and spacing of what we might call “pure sound.”

A dynamic variation of this compositional procedure can be found in the opening chorus of Telemann’s music for the 1747 inauguration of the Holy Trinity church, St. Georg, in Hamburg (example 4). The work was later performed as a concert piece and was still well known in Hamburg in the 1780s.³⁰ The choir begins with a pianissimo and “very gentle” (*sehr gelinde*) kettledrum roll before blocks of sound are layered, gradually building up a crescendo-like sound structure that culminates in a forte-outburst of the full orchestra in bars 13 to 16 (performance indication: “strong” [*stark*]). This opening can be seen as a paradigm of the modern sublime style of composition based on the idea that great things must be expressed in simple terms.³¹

This aesthetic doctrine was based on an eighteenth-century reinterpretation of Pseudo-Longinus’s treatise *On the Sublime*. For Longinus, the best example of sublime simplicity is the “Let there be light” line from Genesis (1:3). Earlier examples of compositional realizations of this principle in eighteenth-century music can be found in Handel’s English vocal works.³² In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

29. The complete work is available in Georg Philipp Telemann, *Der für die Sünden der Welt leidende und sterbende Jesus: Passionsoratorium von Barthold Heinrich Brockes* (TVWV 5:1), *Musikalische Werke*, vol. 34, ed. Carsten Lange (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2008), 3–11.

30. The complete work is available in Georg Philipp Telemann, *Musiken zu Kircheneinweihungen*, *Musikalische Werke*, vol. 35, ed. Wolfgang Hirschmann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004), 165–85; see also the introduction to the volume (viii–xxi). Telemann’s chorus, especially its opening, can be regarded as a kind of model for Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach’s famous *Heilig*.

31. See Wolfgang Hirschmann, “Wege ins Spätwerk—Telemann in den 1740er Jahren,” in *Musikkonzepte—Konzepte der Musikwissenschaft*, Bericht über den Internationalen Kongreß der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Halle (Saale), ed. Kathrin Eberl and Wolfgang Ruf (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2000), 337–45.

32. A modern theory of sublime simplicity was developed earlier in England than on the continent. See Laurenz Lütken, *Das Monologische als Denkform in der Musik zwischen 1760 und 1785*, *Wolfenbütteler Studien zur Aufklärung*, vol. 24 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), 169–90; Peter Kivy, “Mainwaring’s

Oboe I

Oboe II

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Basso continuo

pp

p

pp

senza Cemb.

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Basso continuo

senza Cemb.

Example 3: Georg Philipp Telemann, *Der für die Sünden der Welt leidende und sterbende Jesus. Passionsoratorium* von Barthold Heinrich Brockes (TVWV 5:1), mm. 1–15.

1. Coro (*Dictum*)

Tromba I
Corno I

Tromba II
Corno II

Tromba III

Timpani
tr
sebr gel.

Oboe

Violino I
gel.

Violino II
gel.

Viola
gel.

Soprano
gel.
Hei - lig, - hei -

Alto
gel.
Hei - lig, - hei -

Tenore
gel.
Hei - lig, - hei -

Basso
gel.
Hei - lig, - hei -

Organo
Violoncello,
Fagotto,
e Contrabasso
Vc.
gel.

Example 4: Georg Philipp Telemann, inauguration music for
St. George's Church, in Hamburg (1747) (TVWV 2:6), mm. 1–16.

Example 4: *Cont.*

the sublime reduction of musical textures to expressive arrangements of sound was transferred to instrumental music. Two particularly famous examples are the beginnings of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony and Mahler’s First Symphony.

The idea of pure sound as a means of realizing sublime simplicity calls to mind Philipp Spitta’s aversion to Handel’s music on the grounds that its impact depends on “mere sound” (*bloßer Klang*). In Spitta’s view, this made Handel’s art “realistically plump” (*realistisch gedrunken*)—that is, of the corporeal world. Bach, by contrast, worked “toward the inside” (*nach Innen*), his techniques of contrapuntal and motivic development driving art “out of the realm of the tangible into the realm of the ideal, the marvelous.”³³ Bach’s compositional principles are seen as the absolute benchmark of quality without considering that there are different aesthetic and technical means of reaching the same artistic goal: in this case a transcendent representation of the holiness of God.

My final examples focus on the core of Bach’s art: his unrivaled contrapuntal mastery. Again I would like to demonstrate that in Telemann’s music we find a fundamentally different approach to using polyphonic textures. The second movement of Telemann’s Concerto in D major for bassoon, two violins, strings, and basso continuo, probably composed around 1720, is built on fugal ritornellos. Example 5 shows the first of these. This ritornello features some of the peculiarities that make Telemann’s contrapuntal writing special. One is struck first of all by the freedom (i.e., irregularity) of the entries; only the entrances of the *Viola I* and the *Violino all’unisono* can be called “correct” in a textbook sense. The entry of the bass in bar 7 introduces new motivic material (maybe a second subject), as does the counterpoint of *Viola I* (and *Viola II*) from bar 5 on. In bar 7 we suddenly hear a rich texture of different motifs (and even some more new material) that is eventually spun out in the music to follow. This is a very free, one could say *mosaic-like* polyphony, a kaleidoscope built from different thematic elements and polyphonic techniques.

Polyphony is here combined with repetitive structures and the homophonic idea of grouping corresponding blocks of music. This can already be recognized in the varied melodic repetition within the subject (bars 2 to 4), which generates a somewhat trifling character that is further developed in bars 7 and 8. At the end of the ritornello this

Handel: Its Relation to British Aesthetics,” *Journal of the American Musicological Association* 17 (1964): 170–78; Claudia L. Johnson, “‘Giant HANDEL’ and the Musical Sublime,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 19 (1986): 515–33.

33. “[W]ird die Seelenstimmung [. . .] in mystischer Weise vertieft und dem Kreis realer Anschauung mehr und mehr entrückt in’s Ideale, Wunderbare.” See Philipp Spitta, “Johann Sebastian Bach,” *Extrablatt zur Revalschen Zeitung* No. 29, 35 (1866), cited in Sandberger, *Das Bach-Bild Philipp Spittas*, 175.

Violino I concertato
Violino all'unisono

Violino II concertato
Viola I

Viola II

Fagotatto obligato
Basse

5

9

Example 5: Georg Philipp Telemann, *Concerto in D major for bassoon, two violins, strings and basso continuo* (TWV 53: D 4), Allegro, mm. 1–30.

13

17

Solo Tutti

Solo Tutti

20

Example 5: *Cont.*

Example 5: *Cont.*

character is expanded to the repetition of a whole phrase (compare bars 24–27 with bars 27–30). These aspects suggest the integration of modern elements of the “free” (*freie*) or “galant style” (*galante Schreibart*), as Heinrich Christoph Koch defined it,³⁴ into contrapuntal textures.

But there was also an opposing force in Telemann’s counterpoint, namely a tendency to incorporate seventeenth-century styles. In my view, this ritornello evokes an “old Italian” *grandezza*: a subtle veil of *stile-antico* reminiscences is spread over the texture. Consider the half-notes in bars 5 to 7; they reappear in the *Violino all’unisono* in bars 14 and 15 and are prominently featured in the bass in bars 23 and 24. Still more striking is the use of whole notes in bars 11 to 13. Here, in a characteristically seventeenth-century manner, the contrapuntal flow embraces long notes in the bass. Note too that in bars 12 and 13, E minor and B minor are held for one bar each, so that the second and sixth degrees of D major are strongly accentuated in a manner

34. Heinrich Christoph Koch, “Styl, Schreibart,” in *Musikalisches Lexikon* (1802; reprint, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001), col. 1450–56.

typical of seventeenth-century practice. We are thus confronted in this work with a unique mixture of extremely modern and ancient traditions of counterpoint.

As a final example, I would like to turn to the opening chorus of Telemann’s cantata *Gott, du lässest mich erfahren* (RVWV 1:638), composed around 1735 (example 6).³⁵ The text belongs to Psalm 71: “God, Thou hast allowed me to experience many and great fears” (*Gott, du lässest mich erfahren viel und große Angst*). Evidently this is a *stile-antico* composition: observe the *alla breve* meter, the use of whole notes, half notes, and quarter notes only, the rich employment of suspensions and other tied notes, the short, *soggetto*-like, “unindividual” character of the subject, and the application of *cadenze sfuggite*.³⁶ The prevailing chromatic voice leading evokes the *stylus gravis*, especially with regard to the chorus’s text.

But a closer look reveals the puzzling modernity of this piece. In some sections—especially those restricted to the words “many and great fears” (*viel und große Angst*)—extremely dissonant voice leading and extraordinary chord progressions make it seem as if Telemann was attempting to “break on through to the other side” (to cite the Doors’ famous song). I’d like to draw your attention to bar 18, with its clash of E-flat (tenor) and G-sharp (alto); then bars 23 to 26, with a puzzling enharmonic sequence; bar 30, with the confrontation between F-sharp in the bass with F-natural in the soprano; and finally bars 45 to 61, with a nearly completely chromatic rise from B-flat to A-flat and a perturbingly dissonant chord as the climax of the whole piece in bar 54: C-sharp (bass) combined with E-flat (tenor), C (alto), and A-flat (soprano). Subsequent chromatic voice leading over the pedal point on D-natural generates rough dissonances in the two upper voices, such as E-flat versus E in bar 57 and C-sharp versus E-flat in bar 58. Telemann thus goes to harmonic extremes in a *stile-antico* context. This particular combination of retrospection and utmost modernity is unique and evokes a new interpretation of the Psalm verse. In this chorus, an old, traditional, common fear of God is confronted with a new, modern, and individual panic.

In summary, these few examples from works by Telemann should make clear that this composer acted in separate stylistic contexts and mixed stylistic models in a manner completely different from that of Bach. Like Bach and all other successful composers of the era, Telemann operated in a highly differentiated “landscape” of stylistic layers, social contexts, and compositional developments, combining diverse elements and cultivating an individual style.

35. See the edition of the chorus in Georg Philipp Telemann, *Zwölf Kirchenmusiken aus einem Jahrgang nach Texten von Gottfried Behrndt. Estomihi bis Jubilate*, Musikalische Werke, vol. 48, ed. Nina Eichholz (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2010), 345–46.

36. See Christoph Wolff, *Der stile antico in der Musik Johann Sebastian Bachs: Studien zu Bachs Spätwerk*, Beihefte zum *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 6 (Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag, 1968), 36–118.

Poco adagio

Soprano
Violin I
Oboe I

Gott, du lās - sest mich er - fah - ren viel und gro -

Alto
Violin II
Oboe II

Gott, du lās - sest mich er - fah - ren viel

Tenor
Viola

Gott, du lās - sest mich

Bass
Basso continuo

Gott, du lās - sest

10

- ße Angst, gro - ße Angst,

und gro - ße Angst, viel und gro - ße Angst,

er - fah - ren viel und gro - ße Angst, viel und gro - ße Angst,

mich er - fah - ren viel und gro - ße Angst, viel

20

viel und gro - ße Angst und

viel und gro -

und gro - ße Angst viel und gro -

Example 6: Georg Philipp Telemann, *Gott, du lāssest mich erfahren*
(TVWV 1:638), mm. 1–67.

29

gro - ße, gro - ße Angst, Gott, du läs - sest

gro - ße Angst, Gott, du läs - sest mich

- - ße Angst, Gott, du läs - sest mich er - fah - ren viel und gro - ße

- ße Angst, Gott, du läs - sest mich er - fah - ren viel und

39

mich er - fah - ren gro - ße Angst, viel und gro -

er - fah - ren gro - ße Angst, viel und

Angst, viel und gro - ße Angst, viel und

gro - ße Angst, viel und

48

- ße Angst, viel und gro - ße Angst

gro - ße Angst, viel und gro - ße

gro - ße Angst,

gro - ße Angst,

Example 6: *Cont.*

58

viel, viel, viel und gro - ße Angst.

Angst, viel, viel, viel und gro - ße Angst.

viel und gro - ße Angst, viel, viel, viel und gro - ße Angst.

viel, viel, viel und gro - ße Angst.

Example 6: *Cont.*

Conclusion

I would like to offer four suggestions for further research on Bach and his German contemporaries. First, we should seek to examine the relevant phenomena in a neutral way, much as an ethnologist seeks to analyze a foreign culture. Following Clifford Geertz, we should try to identify different “webs of significance.” These exist coevally, sometimes interacting, mixing, or even converging, developing gradually or changing rapidly, disappearing, and reappearing. If we want to understand Bach and his music, we need to expand our understanding of the eighteenth-century musical webs in which he worked and also those in which he did *not* work.

Secondly, we must realize that not only Bach but *all* successful composers of his era formed their own musical language by means of thorough study, adaptation, transformation, and reorganization of existing music. This universal method had been called *imitatio* since late antiquity and was defined by Athanasius Kircher as follows: “I call it imitation when someone meticulously analyzes the different styles of the most famous composers, elects and examines single elements, and finally adopts the chosen elements for his own use.”³⁷ From the studies of Steven Zohn and Ian Payne, we know that the “Largo” of Bach’s F-minor Concerto (BWV 1056) and the “Sinfonia” of his cantata

37. Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, vol. 2 (1650; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1970), 562: “Voco imitationem, dum quis varios praeclarissimorum symphonetarum stylos minutim discuit, singula studiosè examinat, & singularia in ijs occurrentia in proprios vsus conuertit.” See also Wolfgang Hirschmann, “Polemik und Adaption: Zur Kircher-Rezeption in den frühen Schriften Johann Matthesons,” *Neues Musikwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 5 (1996): 77–91; Wolfgang Hirschmann, “Eklektischer Imitationsbegriff und konzertantes Gestalten bei Telemann und Bach,” in *Bachs Orchesterwerke*, Dortmunder Bach-Forschungen 1, ed. Martin Geck and Werner Breig (Witten: Klangfarben-Musikverlag, 1997), 305–19; Wolfgang Hirschmann, “‘Musicus ecclecticus’: Überlegungen zu Nachahmung,

BWV 156—an “exquisite” work, according to Peter Williams³⁸—is based on the first movement of Telemann’s G-major Concerto (TWV 51: G2).³⁹ Without Telemann, this enchanting music would have never have turned out as it did. Bach, like every other composer of his time, relied heavily on the music of his contemporaries for inspiration, insight, and challenge. His music cannot be understood only with reference to itself (*aus sich selbst*), as Martin Geck has suggested.⁴⁰ It must be seen too in imitative or emulative relation to the work of others.

Thirdly, we need to recognize that Bach did not bring every compositional tradition of previous centuries to fruition, nor did he anticipate every musical innovation of the centuries to come. The specific character of music in his time, with its highly differentiated webs of significance and its creative principle of imitation, makes this impossible. Whether we love Bach’s music or not, logic must hold us back from thinking of any composer of the period as a “Great Singularity.”

Finally, it behooves us to better document the changing images of Bach over time. We need to do better than the hare in the folktale and recognize that we are dealing with different hedgehogs. We must find means of differentiating between Bach the eighteenth-century human being and Bach the nineteenth-century idealist monument. The task of better understanding Bach’s German contemporaries offers a concrete research agenda. It promises to bring us closer to experiencing the music of this composer and others of his time, as did their audiences.

Norm, und Individualisierung um 1700,” in *Musikalische Norm um 1700*, Frühe Neuzeit, vol. 149, ed. Rainer Bayreuther (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 97–107. See also Karsten Mackensen, “Mattheson und der Begriff einer musikalischen Gelehrsamkeit,” in *Johann Matthesons und Lorenz Christoph Mizlers Konzeptionen musikalischer Wissenschaft: De eruditione musica (1732) und Dissertatio quod musica scientia sit et pars eruditionis philosophicae (1734/1736)*, Structura et Experientia Musicae, vol. 2, ed. Karsten Mackensen and Oliver Wiener (Mainz: Are Musik Verlag, 2011), 1–34.

38. Peter Williams, *J. S. Bach: A Life in Music* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 372.

39. Ian Payne and Steven Zohn, “Bach, Telemann, and the Process of Transformative Imitation in BWV 1056/2 (156/1),” *Journal of Musicology* 17 (1999): 546–84; Steven Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste: Style, Genre, and Meaning in Telemann’s Instrumental Works* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 191–214: “Whatever Bach’s motivations for this borrowing, the discovery that one of his most famous melodies owes its inspiration to Telemann not only enriches the musical and aesthetic contexts in which we may understand both composers’ achievements, but also imposes a fresh layer of meaning onto Theodor Adorno’s bon mot, ‘They say Bach, mean Telemann’” (214). See Theodor W. Adorno, “Bach Defended against His Devotees,” in *Prisms: Cultural Criticism and Society*, trans. Samuel Weber and Shierry Weber (1967; reprint, Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1981), 135–46 (quote on 145).

40. Geck’s statement seems close to what Gary Tomlinson has labeled the “presentist view of art works”: “The presentist view of art works as transcendent entities fully comprehensible without reference to the conditions of their creation sacrifices Geertz’s expansion of human discourse for a solipsistic and ultimately narcissistic aestheticism” (“Web of Culture,” 358).

Aesthetic Mediation and Tertiary Rhetoric in Telemann's *VI Ouvertures à 4 ou 6*

Steven Zohn

While visiting a recent exhibition of Meissen porcelain in Dresden, a relatively unassuming figure caught my eye.¹ This charming representation of what the exhibition's curators titled "Actors as a Musical Shepherd Couple" was modeled by Johann Joachim Kaendler (1706–75), who upon completing work in February 1744 described it as "a very exacting small shepherd group, divided up and ready for molding. The shepherdess playing the lute sits under green trees next to the shepherd, who is singing from sheet music; both are most elegantly tricked out."² As previous commentators have noted, the shepherdess is outfitted in the latest

1. The exhibition, held under the auspices of the Staatliche Kunstsammlung Dresden at the Japanisches Palais between 8 May and 29 August 2010, was entitled "Triumph der Blauen Schwerter: Meissener Porzellan für Adel und Bürgertum, 1710–1815." See the exhibition catalog, *Triumph of the Blue Swords: Meissen Porcelain for Aristocracy and Bourgeoisie, 1710–1815*, ed. Ulrich Pietsch and Claudia Banz (Leipzig: Seemann; Dresden: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 2010)—the book was produced simultaneously by both publishers). A German-language version of the catalog was published alongside the English edition.

2. "Ein sehr Mühsames Schäfer Gropppen zerschnitten und zum abformen gehörig zu bereitet. Es sitzt die Schäferin, welche die Laute spielet nebst dem Schäfer, so darzu nach den Noten singet unter Grünen Bäumen, beyde sind aufs zierlichste angeputzet." Kaendler had earlier described the figure as follows: "1. Gropppen einen Schäffer und Schäfferin, welche letztere auff der Laute spielt, und ein Schaaff neben sich liegen hat, vorstellend. 16. Thlr." (1. Small group representing a shepherd and shepherdess, the latter playing the lute, and a sheep lying by them. 16 Taler.). Both descriptions are quoted in Ingelore Menzhausen, *In Porzellan verzaubert: Die Figuren Johann Joachim Kändlers in Meissen aus der Sammlung Pauls-Eisenbeiss Basel* (Basel: Wiese, 1993), 152. Translations are adapted from William Hutton, "Meissen," in *J. Pierpoint Morgan, Collector: European Decorative Arts from the Wadsworth Atheneum*, ed. Linda Horvitz Roth (Hartford, Conn.: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1987), 148 (No. 49: "Shepherd Musicians").



Figure 1: Johann Joachim Kaendler, "Actors as a Musical Shepherd Couple."
Museo della Ceramica Duca di Martina, Villa Floridana, Naples.



Figure 2: J. A. Hasse's *Polonaise* (BWV Anh. 130) in Johann Joachim Kaendler's "Actors as a Musical Shepherd Couple." Museo della Ceramica Duca di Martina, Villa Floridana, Naples.

fashions of the day, but the shepherd's clothes are those of a comedic actor, with his black cap, long button-down waistcoat, and cloak bringing to mind stock images of the commedia dell'arte characters Scaramouche and Mezzetino.³ Only the surrounding decorations, including a tree, leaves, flowers, and a sheep, inform us that we have left an urban or courtly locale for the countryside.

What intrigued me in particular about Kaendler's figure was the music held and sung by the actor: an eight-measure melody entitled "Alla Polacca del Sige. Has," the attribution referring to the Dresden Kapellmeister Johann Adolf Hasse (figures 1 and 2).⁴ This melody turns out to be a previously unrecognized version of BWV Anh. 130, an anonymous *Polonaise* in G major copied out by Anna Magdalena Bach in the

3. Hutton, "Meissen," 148; Alfred Ziffer, commentary to No. 352 in *Triumph of the Blue Swords*, 318.

4. The version of the figure exhibited in Dresden and illustrated here belongs to the Museo della Ceramica Duca di Martina, Villa Floridana, Naples. Figure 1 is reproduced from *Triumph of the Blue Swords*, 318. I am grateful to Patrizia Piscitello of the Museo della Ceramica for providing me with the image shown in Figure 2.

1725 *Clavierbüchlein* bearing her name. Although fragmentary, the Meissen melody provides a second concordant source for BWV Anh. 130, the other being a Berlin manuscript copy of an F-major keyboard sonata attributed to Hasse.⁵ Example 1 shows all three versions of the polonaise's melody, together with the *Clavierbüchlein* left-hand part.⁶ Constrained by space, the anonymous painter of Kaendler's figure was forced to repeat what is essentially a composite version of measures 5 and 6 and alter the last note of measure 7. In most other respects, however, the melody does not stray far from the *Clavierbüchlein* version (though the ornamental thirty-second notes in measure 1 may indicate a kinship with the Berlin source). The discovery of a second G-major version of Hasse's polonaise originating at Dresden around 1744 strengthens a long-standing hypothesis that Bach acquired the dance during a visit to the Saxon capital during the 1730s or 1740s.⁷

But potentially more interesting than the porcelain figure's tangential relationship to the Bach family are the meanings conveyed by its curious blend of social and musical tropes. To begin with the most obvious of these tropes, the rustic setting embodies the eighteenth-century aristocracy's fascination with an idealized Arcadia where shepherds, shepherdesses, nymphs, and various mythological characters explore all facets of love within a timeless, pastoral landscape. There is also an element of social role-playing here, for the clothes worn by both characters mark them as sophisticates who have stepped outside their usual realm. In fact, such momentary departures from normative social roles were common not only at carnival celebrations, as is well known, but also at "tavern parties" during which courtiers often dressed up as shepherds, pilgrims, workmen, shopkeepers, town criers, beggars, farmers, commedia dell'arte characters, or members of foreign nations. Toward midcentury, such events were often accompanied by Meissen cabinet or table figures that sculpturally represented these social Others decked out in the garb and tools of their trade.⁸

5. The Berlin manuscript (Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: Mus. ms. 9640) is discussed in Karl-Heinz Viertel, "Zur Herkunft der Polonaise BWV Anhang 130," *Muzikoloski Zbornik/Musicological Annual* 13 (1977): 36–43. Richard Jones reports that a London concordance for the F-major sonata lacks the polonaise. See J. S. Bach et al., *The Anna Magdalena Bach Book of 1725*, ed. Richard Jones (London: Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, 1997), 40.

6. The Berlin version given here follows the transcription in Viertel, "Zur Herkunft," 38.

7. Bach's acquisition of BWV Anh. 130 in Dresden is posited by Viertel, "Zur Herkunft," 40–41; and David Schulenberg, *The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach*, 2d ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 448. On the basis of Anna Magdalena Bach's handwriting, Georg von Dadelsen concludes that she copied the polonaise no earlier than 1733–34. See Johann Sebastian Bach, *Klavierbüchlein für Anna Magdalena Bach 1725*, ed. Georg von Dadelsen (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988), 6.

8. Ulrich Pietsch, "Meissen Porcelain: Making a Brilliant Entrance, 1710 to 1763," 26; Melitta Kunze-Köllensperger, "Meissen, Dresden, Augsburg: Meissen Porcelain Sculpture before Kirchner and

Example 1: Johann Adolf Hasse, three sources for the *Polonaise* (BWV Anh. 130), mm. 1–8.

But why is the “shepherd” dressed as a comedic actor? And why does he sing a wordless polonaise to lute accompaniment rather than a texted song or aria?⁹ I suspect the answer to both questions lies in the comic associations of pastoral-rustic characters and

Kaendler,” 53–57; and Martin Eberle, “*Cris de Paris*: Street Vendors and Nobility at One Table,” 69–75 (all in *Triumph of the Blue Swords*). In addition to the images accompanying these three essays, see the porcelain statues of foreigners, commedia dell’arte characters, shepherds, miners, tailors, cooks, criers of London and Paris, beggars, and peasants (55, 66–67, 229–31 [Nos. 140–42]), 314–26 [Nos. 342, 346, 348–50, 353–60, and 362–74], 329–31 [Nos. 379–80 and 382–83], 351–60 [Nos. 416–39, 442, and 445], and 390 [No. 504]). Similar figures are illustrated throughout *In Porzellan verzaubert*.

9. In a version of the figure belonging to the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Connecticut, there is no tree, and the actor’s sheet of music (which is partially missing) is inscribed “Aria.” See *J. Pierpoint Morgan, Collector*, 148. The version in the Pauls-Eisenbeiss collection in Basel has a smaller tree, and the music on the sheet is an excerpt of an unidentified vocal work. See Menzhausen, *In Porzellan verzaubert*, 152–53 (including a partial view of the music); and Erika Pauls-Eisenbeiss, *German Porcelain of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 1: *Meissen from the Beginning until 1760* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1972), 358–59, where the vocal text is described as concerning “tyranny and rumours of misfortune.” At least one other polonaise attributed to Hasse is known to have circulated as a solo

Polish music.¹⁰ Polish bagpipers were often portrayed during the eighteenth century as jovial or buffoonish figures, and they frequently supplied dance music perceived as comic by upper-class urbanites. Thus another of Kaendler's figures, modeled around 1743, shows a harlequin and young girl who "miteinander Pohnisch tanzen" (dance with each other in the Polish style).¹¹ There was also a tradition of linking the pastoral with parody and satire, as reflected in Shakespeare's "simples" (shepherds who humorously critique courtly life) and the *divertissements* of Molière and Lully. Yet the pastoral was sometimes associated with a melancholy loneliness that could overtake urbanites who lingered too long in Arcadia. It is presumably this combination of humor and sadness that inspired Georg Philipp Telemann's reference to "die lustige polnische Ernsthaftigkeit" (the comic Polish seriousness), a formulation echoed by his Hamburg colleague Johann Adolf Scheibe, who found the Polish idiom "generally quite comic, but nevertheless of great seriousness. One may very easily employ it for satirical purposes. It seems almost to mock itself: in particular, it befits a really serious and bitter satire."¹² Given its strong associations with rusticity, humor (sometimes of the biting variety), and a poignant sense of isolation on the part of urbanities visiting the countryside, the polonaise was an especially appropriate musical vehicle for a comedic actor portraying a shepherd.¹³

I have dwelled on Kaendler's shepherd-couple figure at some length because its deliberate juxtaposition of the urban/courtly with the pastoral/comic renders it a visual counterpart to the main subject of this essay, Telemann's *VI Ouvertures à 4 ou 6*, a set

lute piece during the eighteenth century. See Tim Crawford, "Contemporary Lute Arrangements of Hasse's Vocal and Instrumental Music," in *Johann Adolf Hasse und Polen*, Materialien der Konferenz Warszawa, 10–12 December 1993, ed. Irena Poniatowska and Alina Zórawska-Witkowska (Warsaw: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1995), 85–87.

10. An extended discussion of these associations is provided in Steven Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste: Style, Genre, and Meaning in Telemann's Instrumental Works* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 471–75, 485–88, and 497–501.

11. Menzhausen, *In Porzellan verzaubert*, 136–37.

12. Telemann, *Singe- Spiel- und General-Bass-Übungen* (Hamburg: Telemann, 1733–34), commentary to No. 25, "Sanfter Schlaf," *TVWV* 25:63. Johann Adolf Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1745): "Insgemein ist diese Schreibart zwar lustig, dennoch aber von großer Ernsthaftigkeit. Man kann sich auch derselben zu satyrischen Sachen sehr bequem bedienen. Sie scheint fast von sich selbst zu spotten; insonderheit wird sie sich zu einer recht ernsthaften und bitteren Satire schicken" (150).

13. The connection between shepherds and the Polish style is made explicit, as in Kaendler's figure, in the third-movement "Chor der Schäfer an der Elbe" of Telemann's oratorio *Wohl dem Völke, des der Herr sein Gott ist*, *TVWV* 15:11, part of the so-called *Kapitänsmusik* accompanying the annual festive banquet held by the officer corps of Hamburg's city guard on 28 August 1738. In this chorus the shepherds' "happy songs" (*frohe Lieder*) are based on polonaise rhythms.

of overture-suites for strings (with optional horns in three works) published by the composer at Hamburg in 1736. This collection is among the most recent additions to the Telemann canon, having disappeared from view between World War II and 2008, when the identification of a unique copy of the print at the Russian State Library in Moscow led quickly to a modern edition and complete recording.¹⁴ Figure 3 shows the collection's title page, executed by the professional engraver Christian Fritzsche.¹⁵ In the lower left-hand corner of the title page is a blotted-out, and consequently illegible, shelfmark. That this shelfmark derives from the Berlin Staatsbibliothek is confirmed by the title page, to the "Taille" part, where one can still make out "Mus. 15881, R." Thus the Moscow exemplar of the *VI Overtures*, residing in Berlin prior to 1945, was the one listed in a 1903 volume of Robert Eitner's *Quellen-Lexikon*, consulted by Arnold Schering in 1904 and 1906 for his performing editions of the fourth and sixth overture-suites, examined by Karl Nef for his 1921 book on the symphony and suite, and referenced by Horst Büttner in his 1935 study of Telemann's overture-suites.¹⁶ In addition to Schering's editions, the *VI Overtures* were partially accessible during the Berlin/Moscow exemplar's absence through manuscript copies of the third and sixth overture-suites prepared from Telemann's print by Christoph Graupner and Johann

14. The Moscow copy is in the Russian State Library: M3 P-IIH/1511. See Georg Philipp Telemann, *VI Overtures à 4 ou 6*, ed. Peter Huth (Beeskow: Ortus, 2009); and Georg Philipp Telemann, *Complete Orchestral Suites*, vol. 2, Pratum Integrum Orchestra, Caro Mitis CM 0022008-2 (2009). Telemann's print had in fact been hiding in plain sight for nearly a decade in *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (RISM), Series A/1: *Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, vol. 14: *Addenda et Corrigenda S-Z* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 196. I gratefully acknowledge Professor Mikhail Saponov's assistance in obtaining a digital copy of the print from the Russian State Library.

15. On Fritzsche's engraving work for Telemann, see Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste*, 370–73.

16. Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten christlicher Zeitrechnung bis Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 2d ed., 11 vols. (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1959), vol. 9, 375; Georg Philipp Telemann, *Suite No. 1, A moll, für 2 Violinen, Viola, Violoncello (Baß), und obligates Klavier*, ed. Arnold Schering (Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt, 1904); Georg Philipp Telemann, 2. *Suite, G-Moll, aus VI ouvertures à 4 ou 6 (um 1730) für 2 Violinen, Viola, Violoncello (Kontrabaß) und Klavier*, ed. Arnold Schering (Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt, 1906); Karl Nef, *Geschichte der Sinfonie und Suite* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1921; reprint, Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1970), 93–94; Horst Büttner, *Das Konzert in den Orchestersuiten Georg Philipp Telemanns* (Wolfenbüttel: Kallmeyer, 1935), 85 (where the print's Berlin shelfmark is given). Eitner also listed a second copy of the *VI Overtures* in the Hamburg Staatsbibliothek, though no trace of it has been found. Schering erroneously dated Telemann's collection to "um 1725" in his 1904 edition, which was apparently the first publication of an orchestral work by Telemann since the composer's lifetime.

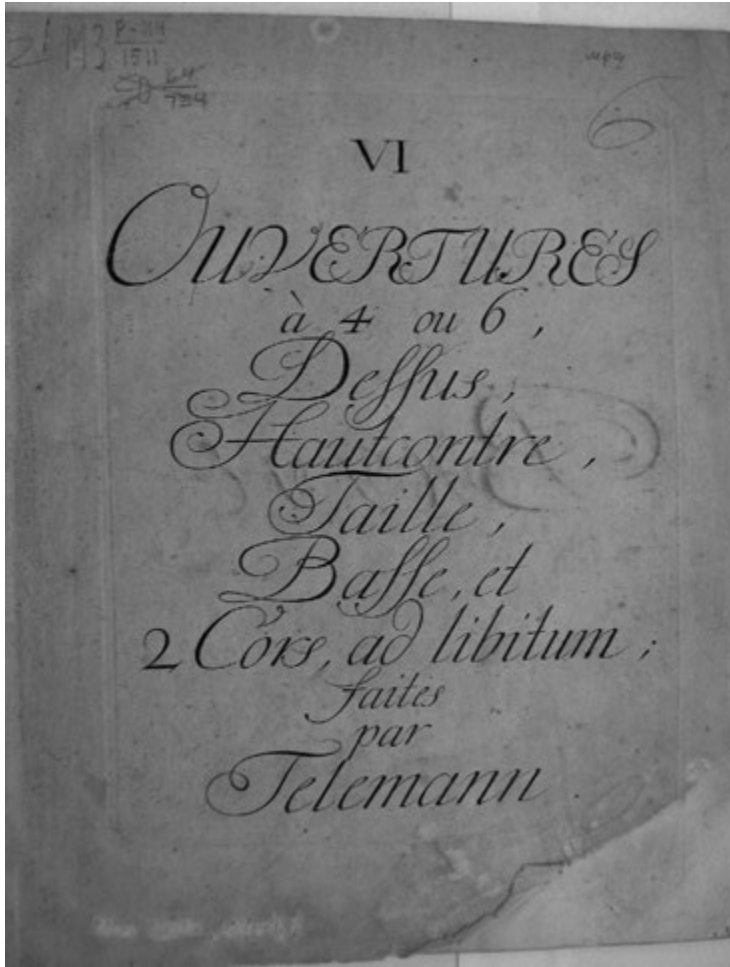


Figure 3: Title page of Georg Philipp Telemann, *Ouvvertures à 4 ou 6*, Russian State Library, Moscow.

Samuel Endler at Darmstadt during the 1730s.¹⁷ Therefore only the first, second, and fifth overture-suites are genuinely new to modern ears.

The reappearance of the *VI Ouvvertures* fills an important gap in our understanding of Telemann's overture-suites and sharpens our view of the genre at the end of

17. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Darmstadt: Mus. ms 1034/55 (Graupner's parts to No. 6) and 1034/91 (two sets of parts by Graupner and Endler to No. 3). The movement titles and incipits provided by Nef (*Geschichte der Sinfonie und Suite*, 93–94) allowed these sources to be associated with

its heyday, for the collection was evidently the last of its kind published anywhere in Europe.¹⁸ To be sure, the *VI Overtures* appeared as the genre's fortunes were already in decline, for long past were the days when German *Lullistes* such as Johann Sigismund Kusser, Georg Muffat, Philipp Heinrich Erlebach, and Johann Fischer regularly issued printed sets of overture-suites.¹⁹ Despite the popularity of similar works written by the following generation of German composers, the overture-suite's novelty gradually wore off during the first third of the eighteenth century. Already in 1740, just four years after the *VI Overtures* appeared, Scheibe remarked that French overtures were regarded by "many musical connoisseurs . . . as antiquated and ridiculous pieces" and were no longer "as popular as they used to be."²⁰ Twelve years later, Johann Joachim Quantz (who, like Scheibe, seems not to have composed any overture-suites) noted that French overtures were "no longer in vogue in Germany."²¹

Perhaps because it was far from obvious that there was a ready market for an opus of overture-suites in the mid-1730s (might Bach have ordered a copy for the Leipzig collegium musicum?), Telemann went to considerable trouble to ensure that the *VI Overtures* would sell enough copies to turn a profit. No fewer than five extant catalogs, newspaper advertisements, and handbills from 1735–36 solicit subscriptions for the collection, one recommending the music to "Liebhaber" as representing "a style in which the composer's pen is especially practiced." What appear to be the earliest notices of the *VI Overtures* are found among lists of forthcoming titles in two catalogs

the *VI Overtures* by Adolf Hoffmann, *Die Orchestersuiten Georg Philipp Telemanns: TWV 55* (Wolfenbüttel: Mösseler, 1969). Nef's information also provided the basis for descriptions of suites 1, 2, and 5 in Georg Philipp Telemann, *Thematisch-Systematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke: Instrumentalwerke*, ed. Martin Ruhnke, vol. 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999). As late as 1763, one could purchase Telemann's print from the Breitkopf firm; in 1765, Breitkopf offered manuscript copies of the third suite. See Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste*, 388; and Barry S. Brook, ed., *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue: The Six Parts and Sixteen Supplements, 1762–1787* (New York: Dover, 1966), 161. A critical first edition of the third suite, based on the Darmstadt sources, appeared as Georg Philipp Telemann, *Overture E-Flat Major [TWV 55:Es1] from Six Overtures a 4 ou 6 (1736), No. 3 for Two Horns (ad lib.), Two Violins, Viola and Basso Continuo*, ed. Ian Payne, Severinus Urtext Telemann Edition 75 (Hereford: Thesaurus Harmonicus, 2002).

18. Telemann's earlier published overture-suites include one in the lost *Ouverture und Suite* (Hamburg, 1730; TWV deest) and three in the *Musique de table* (Hamburg, 1733; TWV 55:D1, e1, and B1).

19. For a recent overview of the genre, see Steven Zohn, "The Overture-Suite, Concerto Grosso, Ripieno Concerto, and *Harmoniemusik* in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. Simon Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 556–66.

20. Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus*, 667 and 670.

21. Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voß, 1752), chap. 18, §42, 301.

of Telemann's publications printed in 1733 and 1734, where the composer announces a collection of "6. Ouyvertures avec la suite comique" or "6 Scherzende Ouyverturen" for four-part strings (a complementary set of works was to include six comic sonatas). However, all subsequent notices of the *VI Ouyvertures* omit any mention of a humorous character, and the comic sonatas were never published. Although Telemann originally announced the collection's publication date as March 1736, he revised this to Easter (April 1), and finally to Ascension Day (May 10).²²

But the *VI Ouyvertures* offer far more than the last gasp of an obsolete mode of musical expression, for I read the set as Telemann's attempt to historicize the overture-suite by mediating stylistically between a late seventeenth-century, *Lulliste* archetype and the modern *galant* idiom of the 1730s. The collection's antiquarian tint is supplied by movements offering pantomimic images reflective of the overture-suite's theatrical roots, and by references to seventeenth-century musical style. On the other end of the stylistic spectrum are modish movements that look toward the mid-eighteenth century. I will also argue that the *VI Ouyvertures*, as a multiwork opus, engages in what Elaine Sisman calls "tertiary rhetoric," a kind of intertextual rhetoric in which self-contained works converse among themselves and with performers and listeners alert to such connections.²³ This idea of dialogue is embodied in movements that strike up a sort of generic conversation based on their close structural and stylistic affinities. Finally, the *VI Ouyvertures* can be heard to mediate aesthetically between civic and bucolic, serious and humorous, and familiar and foreign. During the collection's course, Telemann sets up and ultimately resolves a tension between two contrasting modes of discourse: urban/courtly/serious and pastoral/rustic/humorous. It is this tension, inviting the listener to consider the difference between reality and idealized representation, that finds a contemporary echo in Kaendler's shepherd-couple figure.

In keeping with a strong didactic strain running through Telemann's publications, the *VI Ouyvertures* provide an encyclopedic survey of movement types (table 1). Although the menuet appears in five of the six suites, no other dance type is repeated—not even the gigue or popular *Galanterien* such as the bourrée, gavotte, loure, and passepiéd. (There are two rondeaus, but these are of contrasting character and do not in any case refer-

22. See Georg Philipp Telemann, *Thematisch-Systematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke: Instrumentalwerke*, ed. Martin Ruhnke, vol. 1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), 234–38; and Rashid-S. Pegah, introduction to Telemann, *VI Ouyvertures à 4 ou 6*, vii.

23. Elaine Sisman, "Rhetorical Truth in Haydn's Chamber Music: Genre, Tertiary Rhetoric, and the Opus 76 Quartets," in *Haydn and the Performance of Rhetoric*, ed. Tom Beghin and Sander M. Goldberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 281–326 (esp. 299–326); and Elaine Sisman, "Six of One: The Opus Concept in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Century of Bach and Mozart: Perspectives on Historiography, Composition, Theory, and Performance*, ed. Sean Gallagher and Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Department of Music, 2008), 79–107 (esp. 89–107).

Table 1. Overview of the *VI Overtures à 4 ou 6*

(Pastoral/rustic movements in italics)					
No. 1 (55:F1)	No. 2 (55:A1)	No. 3 (55:Es1)	No. 4 (55:a1)	No. 5 (55:D2)	No. 6 (55:g1)
Ouverture	Ouverture	<i>Ouverture</i>	Ouverture	Ouverture	Ouverture
<i>Pastourelle: Modéré</i>	Branle	La douceur	Rondeau	Hornpipe	<i>Napolitaine</i>
Rondeau	<i>Gaillarde</i>	<i>Menuet</i>	Gavotte	Entrée	<i>Polonoise</i>
Gigue	Sarabande	Les coureurs	Courante	Bour[r]ée	Mourky
<i>Loure</i>	Réjouissance	Air	Rigaudon	<i>Villanelle: Modéré</i>	Menuet
Menuet	Passepied	Les gladiateurs	<i>Forlane</i>	Menuet	<i>Musette</i>
Chaconne	Canarie	Les querelleurs	Menuet	Passacaille	Harlequinade

ence distinct dance types). Even the menuet participates in this eclectic design insofar that it appears in four different positions within individual suites. Not surprisingly, the kinds of characteristic movement titles familiar from Telemann's earlier overture-suites are well represented in the *VI Overtures*, the *Réjouissance* and *Harlequinade* being among the composer's favorites. The third suite, in fact, consists almost exclusively of characteristic movements, three of which evoke racing horses (*Les coureurs*), gladiators (*Les gladiateurs*), and quarrelers (*Les querelleurs*)—dramatic references that hark back to the overture-suite's roots in French *divertissements* and ballets.²⁴

Especially noteworthy is the inclusion of both a chaconne and a passacaille, two closely related movement types that were already long in the tooth by 1736. Nowhere else did the composer juxtapose these two types, so the *VI Overtures* offer a unique opportunity to investigate Telemann's conception of this genre pair, Alexander Silbiger's term for two similar yet distinct genres that are associated with each other.²⁵ Moreover, the collection may be the latest example of a chaconne and passacaille paired in a coherent group of works by a single composer.

Significant similarities and differences between the two movements invite a comparison of them. Both are variation sets in triple meter and major mode (minor mode

24. The second and third of these characteristic titles, along with *La douceur*, are unique among Telemann's overture-suites, but another *Les coureurs* movement is found in TWV 55:B5.

25. Alexander Silbiger, "Passacaglia and Ciaccona: Genre Pairing and Ambiguity from Frescobaldi to Couperin," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 2.1 (1996), accessed 8 June 2011, sscm-jscm.press.illinois.edu/v2/no1/silbiger.html; "Chaconne" and "Passacaglia," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, rev. ed., accessed 8 June 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05354>, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21024>; and "Bach and the Chaconne," *Journal of Musicology* 17.3 (1999): 358–85. Movements titled "passacaille" are far less common in Telemann's oeuvre than those called "chaconne" or "ciaccona," as is the case with French and German composers generally. Other passacailles are found in TWV 55:D18, D23, e4, and g8.

being much more usual for the passacaille), and neither includes a strict ostinato. The chaconne, which exhibits many features of the French operatic type, has a through-composed structure with paired couplets. The passacaille, in contrast, exhibits a clear ABA form marked by the kind of developing variation technique familiar from keyboard works such as Bach's C-minor Passacaglia, BWV 582. As tables 2 and 3 show, there are ten couplet pairs in the chaconne and an equal number of variations in the passacaille (excluding a literal repeat of the movement's opening), further suggesting that the two movements are to be heard with reference to each other. Whereas the passacaille features a fixed-length bass pattern of six measures, the chaconne's pattern is, surprisingly, of variable length, ranging from four to seven measures. Both movements include optional horn parts, but the chaconne takes a more sophisticated approach to scoring by alternating between strings alone and strings with horns. Thus the horns drop out in the second couplet in each of the first two pairs but are added to the second couplet of the fourth pair; other pairs are scored throughout for strings alone or for strings and horns. The chaconne's tonal plan, featuring a long central section in the relative minor, is conventional. That of the passacaille, however, bears a strong resemblance to ritornello–da capo form, an impression reinforced in the B section by brief modulatory episodes separating each pair of variations. One might alternatively hear the three-part structure as referencing the incipient sonata forms found in many keyboard and ensemble works of the 1730s and 1740s. Finally, the sixth couplet pair in the chaconne employs a chromatically descending tetrachord in the bass—a topical reference that might be heard as an ironic gesture toward the passacaille, which as a movement type more commonly featured such “lament” bass patterns.

Table 2. Structure of *Chaconne*, BWV 55:F1/vii

<i>(H: horns; S: strings)</i>										
Couplet pair:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Tonality:	I	I(–V)	I	I	vi	vi	vi	I	I	I
Measures per couplet:	5	5	5	4	4	4	7	4	6	7
Scoring:	(H+)S	(H+)S	S+H	S(+H)	S	S	S+H	S	S+H	S+H

Table 3. Structure of *Passacaille*, BWV 55:D2/vii

Section:	A	B							A
Variations:	1–4		5–6		7–8		9–10	(11)	1–4
Tonality:	I	mod.	V	mod.	ii	mod.	vi	mod.	I

From a tertiary-rhetorical perspective, the two movements are simultaneously placed in dialogue with each other and with performers and listeners sensitive to the complex relationship between the underlying dance types, a sort of generic repartee recalling the delightfully disorienting effect of François Couperin's "Chaconne ou Passacaille" movement from the 1726 *Les Nations*, and his "Passacaille ou Chaconne" movement from the 1728 *Pièces de Violes*.²⁶ To the extent that one can draw a conclusion about Telemann's conception of the chaconne-passacaille genre pair from the *VI Ouvertures*, it would appear that for him the chaconne's roots lie in the French theatrical tradition, while the passacaille is associated with the German organ tradition. But it is worth stressing that both movements are defamiliarized by strongly marked features.

Several other dance types represented in the *VI Ouvertures*, including the branle, canarie, and forlane, are otherwise unusual or rare among Telemann's ensemble and keyboard suites, perhaps because he considered them outmoded.²⁷ In fact, the *Branle* in the second suite and the *Mourky* in the sixth bespeak a desire to include both the most archaic and up-to-date movement types.²⁸ The title *Mourky* is evidently unique in the composer's output, and this fashionable movement—including the characteristic "murky bass" broken-octave figure—represents a rare example of its kind outside the realms of keyboard music and songs.²⁹ The *Courante* of the fourth overture-suite, excerpted in example 2a, also invokes the past. Here Telemann emphasizes the dotted rhythms traditionally associated with the French form of the dance, along with hemiolas effecting frequent metrical shifts between 6/4, 3/4, and 3/2. The last-minute

26. Couperin's movements are discussed in Silbiger, "Passacaglia and Ciaccona," sec. 10.1.

27. Aside from these movements, there are three branles (TWV 50:21, 55:D9, and 55:G2), seven canaries (TWV 55:C3, C4, D4, d3, e7, g2, and h3), and two forlanes (TWV 55:e5 and F16). It is worth noting that the divertimento TWV 50:21 and the overture-suite TWV 55:F16 were written when Telemann was in his eighties and may therefore reflect a deliberate attempt to historicize the suite (see the discussion below).

28. The *Gailliarde* of the second overture-suite probably does not refer to the old-fashioned galliard (an example of which is found in TWV 55:D23). Rather, the movement's title indicates a jolly, merry, or lively character, as with the similar *Gagliardamente* (TWV 50:22), *Etudiants gaillards* (TWV 55:C4), and *Gaillardement* (TWV 33:24). Presumably inauthentic is the work title *La Gaillarde* in one manuscript copy of TWV 55:D13 (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Darmstadt: Mus. ms 1034/66a). Perhaps it is not coincidental that this overture-suite, like the *VI Ouvertures* as a whole, contains an unusually high number of pastoral, characteristic, and national dances, including a *Sicilienne*, *Angloise*, *Musette*, *Bateliere*, and *Polonoise*.

29. Telemann also employs the murky bass figure in several published collections of the 1730s and early 1740s: the *Fantaisies pour le clavessin* (TWV 33:24; Hamburg, 1733), the *Fugues légères et petit jeux à clavessin seul* (TWV 20:26; Hamburg, 1738 or 1739), and the *Vier und zwanzig theils ernsthafte, theils scherzende Oden* ("Der Mittelstand zwischen Reichtum und Armut," TWV 25:95; Hamburg, 1741).

Courante

Example 2a: Georg Philipp Telemann, *Courante* (TWV 55:a1/iv), mm. 1–8.

arrival in measure 8 of the dominant, with its sharpened third, harks back to seventeenth-century harmonic practice. To be sure, one can find all of these characteristics in other courantes by Telemann, but here their Lullian effect is striking within the context of the surrounding *galant* dances. Another way in which the fourth suite conjures up musical yesteryear is through a thematic link between the openings of the overture and following rondeau, perhaps a deliberate reference to the obsolete variation suite.³⁰ Note in Examples 2b and 2c that both movements begin with the same underlying melodic shape of scale degrees 1–3–2–1–5–1.

There is a sense, then, in which the *VI Overtures* reconcile a *Lulliste* conception of the overture-suite with the *galant* style of the 1730s. But I would argue that this narrative is less central to the collection's meaning than the dialectical opposition of urban/courtly/serious versus pastoral/rustic/humorous. To return to table 1, I have italicized movements that are in what I call the pastoral-rustic style, either in

30. Similar recollections of the variation suite are found in TWV 43:g3, 55:D18, and 55:F13. See Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste*, 29 and 46.

Overture

Dessus premier

Dessus second

Taille

Basse

Example 2b: *Overture* (twv 55:a1/i), mm. 1–5.

Rondeau %

Dessus premier

Dessus second

Taille

Basse

Example 2c: *Rondeau* (twv 55:a1/ii), mm. 1–8.

whole or in part. The defining elements of the idiom, only some of which may be present in particular movements, include drones, repetitive melodic and rhythmic figures, ornamental slides, sharped fourth- and flatted seventh-scale degrees, “crude” harmony, and bird-call imitations, and they may inhabit pastoral lullabies, naïve shepherds’ songs, or earthy village dances. Entirely in the pastoral-rustic style are the *Pastourelle*, *Gaillarde*, *Villanelle*, *Napolitaine*, *Polonoise*, and *Musette*, excerpts of which are given in example 3.³¹ The pastoral-rustic style resurfaces elsewhere in the *VI Overtures*: the *Loure* and *Forlane* include echo effects that are frequently associated by Telemann with shepherds’ tunes, the overture of the third suite begins with

31. It is worth noting that movements explicitly identified as pastoral, like the *Pastourelle*, are otherwise uncommon in Telemann’s overture-suites, occurring only in twv 55:C5 (*Pastorelle*) and 55:e8 (*Pastorale*). On the former movement, see Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste*, 96–99.

a pastoral topic that temporarily preempts the expected dotted rhythms, and the trio of the *Menuet* in the same work is a pastoral lullaby.³² One might even implicate the *Passacaille* in this pastoral plot, for its arpeggiated bass pattern, initially reflected in the upper voices, lends it a sense of stasis that echoes the gently rocking broken chords of its companion *Villanelle*. Thus the tertiary rhetoric of the chaconne-passacaille genre pair is enriched by an urban/courtly-versus-pastoral/rustic dichotomy. Two more dances might be considered pastoral by association: the *Branle*, which as a type resembles English country dances, was long associated with urban nostalgia for the countryside; and the *Mourky*, possibly taking its name from a Polish village, may have originated as a folk dance or a performance style associated with rural Polish musicians.³³ Taking a holistic view of the collection, there is a pleasing—and possibly deliberate—symmetry in locating pastoral music in the second and penultimate movements, the *Pastourelle* and *Musette*.

In its inclusion of pastoral-rustic movements, the *VI Ouvertures* fall in line with many of Telemann's vocal and instrumental works from the 1720s onward. This is confirmed by table 4, which lists twenty-four works and movements thoroughly colored by the idiom in the composer's other Hamburg publications. Deliberately excluded from the table are Polish dances, examples of the *siciliana* (a dance type with strong pastoral associations), and movements and works in which the pastoral-rustic style is treated only topically. Note that many examples in the table are explicitly identified as pastoral through their titles, expression markings, texts, or instrumentation. Particularly revealing of the aesthetic underlying this music are the expression markings *Unschuldig* (innocently) and *Angenehm* (pleasantly) in the songs "Der Schäfer" and "Das vergnügte Schäferleben," both published in the *Vier und zwanzig theils ernsthafte, theils scherzende Oden*. Besides songs and "odes," the pastoral-rustic style turns up in a keyboard piece, instrumental works in one to three parts, an overture-suite, and sacred and secular cantatas. Although this list is extensive, none of the publications in ques-

32. At least two other loures (TWV 55:51 and 55:B4) and one forlane (TWV 55:E5) by Telemann include echo effects. For a discussion of the pastoral echo in the context of Telemann's instrumental works, see Jeanne Roberta Swack, "The Solo Sonatas of Georg Philipp Telemann: A Study of the Sources and Musical Style" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1988), 129–31 and 149–50; and Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste*, 90 and 451. Two other French overtures by Telemann (TWV 55:F7 and 55:G2) are imbued with pastoral topics; the former work is entitled *Ouverture à la pastorelle* in its unique, non-autograph manuscript source. Other examples of the pastoral style being introduced in the second of paired dances, like the trio of the *Menuet*, include the bourrée of TWV 55:G5 and the gavotte of TWV 55:A5.

33. See Daniel Hertz with Patricia Rader, "Branle," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, rev. ed., accessed 8 June 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03845>. The murky's origins are explored in Czesław Raymond Halski, "Murky: A Polish Musical Freak," *Music and Letters* 39.1 (1958): 35–37.

Table 4. Pastoral-Rustic Movements in Telemann’s Hamburg-Period Publications

<i>Publication</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Work/Movement Title</i> ¹
<i>Harmonischer Gottes-Dienst</i> (1725–26)	3rd Sunday in Lent (rvwv 1:1498)	Aria 1: “Wandelt in der Liebe”: <i>Dolce</i> <i>ma non largo</i>
<i>Exercitii musici</i> (1727 or 1728) <i>Der getreue Music-Meister</i> (1728–29)	2nd Sunday after Easter (rvwv 1:805)	Aria 1: “Hirt und Bischof unsrer Seelen”: <i>Presto</i>
	Trio 10/ii (rvwv 42:D9)	<i>Pastorale</i>
	Lecture 4 (rvwv 41:D5)	“Pastorelle”
	Lecture 9 (rvwv 41:E3)	[for “Flauto Pastorale, ò altri stromenti”]
	Lecture 10 (rvwv 41:B3)	“Napolitana”
<i>Fortsetzung des harmonischen Gottesdienstes</i> (1731–32)	2nd Sunday after Easter (rvwv 1:1659)	Aria 1: “Weide mich auf grünen Auen”
	Christmas Day (rvwv 1:1020)	Aria 1: “Göttlichs Kind, laß, mit Entzücken”: <i>Dolce</i>
	3rd day of Pentecost (rvwv 1:924)	Aria 3: “Himmlicher Hirte der gläubigen Herde!”: <i>Tempo giusto</i>
	No. 12/iii (rvwv 40:13)	<i>Presto</i>
	No. 10 (rvwv 25:48)	“Die durstige Natur”
<i>12 Fantaisies à travers. sans basse</i> (1732) <i>Singe- Spiel- und General-Bass-Übungen</i> (1733–34)	No. 14 (rvwv 25:52)	“Der Spiegel”
	No. 28 (rvwv 25:66)	“Pastorell”
	No. 32 (rvwv 25:70)	“Sommer-Lust”

Table 4. *Cont.*

<i>Musique de table</i> (1733)	Overture-Suite 3/ii (TWV 55:B1)	“Bergerie”: <i>Un peu vivement</i>
<i>Scherzi melodici</i> (1734)	No. 3/iv (TWV 42:G5)	<i>Moderato</i>
<i>Sonates corellisantes</i> (1735)	No. 6/i (TWV 42:D8)	“Pastorale”: <i>Moderato</i>
<i>VI moralische Cantaten</i> (1736)	<i>Die Land-Laust</i> (TWV 20:33)	Aria 1: “In euch, ihr grünen Auen”: <i>Hirtin-mässig</i>
<i>XIX Canons mélodieux</i> (1738) ²	No. 6/ii (TWV 40:123)	<i>Saree</i>
<i>Vier und zwanzig theils ernsthafte, theils scherzende Oden</i> (1741)	No. 4 (TWV 25:89)	“Der Schäfer”: <i>Unschuldig</i>
<i>VI Ouverturen nebst zween Folgesätzen</i> (1745) ³	No. 18 (TWV 25:103)	“Das vergnügte Schäferleben”: <i>Angenehm</i>
	No. 6/ii (TWV 32:10)	“Pastorello”: <i>Tempo giusto</i>

¹ Work and movement titles are given in quotation marks, tempo and expression indications in italics.

² Published in Paris

³ Published in Nuremberg by Balthasar Schmid

Pastourelle
Modéré

Musical score for *Pastourelle*, Modéré, measures 1-11. The score is written for five staves: two treble staves, two bass staves, and a double bass staff. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/8. The music features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The double bass staff includes fingerings: 6 $\sharp$, 5, 5, 6, 6 $\sharp$.

Example 3a: *Pastourelle* (rwv 55:F1/ii), mm. 1–11.

Gaillarde

Musical score for *Gaillarde*, measures 1-6. The score is written for four staves: two treble staves, one bass staff, and a double bass staff. The key signature is two sharps (F-sharp and C-sharp), and the time signature is common time (C). The music features eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The double bass staff includes a fingering: 6.

Example 3b: *Gaillarde* (rwv 55:A1/iii), mm. 1–6.

Villanelle

Modéré

Example 3c: Villanelle (rwv 55:D2), mm. 1-5. The score is in 6/8 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It features four staves. The first two staves are for the right hand, and the last two are for the left hand. The music is characterized by a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the left hand and a more melodic line in the right hand. The tempo is marked 'Modéré'.

Example 3c: *Villanelle* (rwv 55:D2), mm. 1-5.

Example 3d: Napolitaine (rwv 55:gI/ii), mm. 25-29. The score is in 6/8 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It features four staves. The first two staves are for the right hand, and the last two are for the left hand. The music is marked 'doux.' (soft). The tempo is marked 'Modéré'. The score includes fingerings (1-5) and a breath mark (6) in the left hand.

Example 3d: *Napolitaine* (rwv 55:gI/ii), mm. 25-29.

Polonoise

Example 3e: *Polonoise* (rwv 55:g1/iii), mm. 1–7.

Musette

Example 3f: *Musette* (rwv 55:g1/vi), mm. 1–8.

tion includes more than a smattering of pastoral-rustic pieces. The emphasis placed by the *VI Overtures* on the Arcadian aesthetic is therefore all the more striking.³⁴

The tension generated in the collection through juxtapositions of “country” music with social and theatrical dances connected to city and court is paralleled by a tension between serious and comic, for as we have seen, there was a long tradition of associating

34. Further examples of the pastoral style in Telemann’s vocal and instrumental music are discussed in Peter Schleuning, *Die Sprache der Natur: Natur in der Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1998), 86–97; and Hans-Jürgen Becker, “Telemann und die Natur: Beiträge zur musikalischen Naturlyrik Europas,” in *Probleme der Migration von Musik und Musiker in Europa im Zeitalter des Barock*, 15. Arolser Barock-Festspiele 2000, Tagungsbericht, ed. Friedhelm Brusniak and Klaus-Peter Koch (Sinzig: Studio, 2002), 19–46.

shepherds, bagpipers, and other rustic characters with humor. This association helps explain why the earthy *Gaillarde* is identified by its title as a “jolly” dance. And the high incidence of pastoral-rustic dances, including the comic-serious *Polonoise*, may in turn have inspired Telemann’s early description of the *VI Overtures* as “comique” and “scherzende.” One further detects a tension in the collection between French dances and those with foreign national associations, such as the *Hornpipe*, *Mourky*, *Napolitaine*, and *Polonoise*.

The resolution point of all these tensions is the sixth overture-suite, which also provides a *summa* of the set. In addition to containing the largest number of pastoral/rustic/humorous and “foreign” movements, this work includes an overture and menuet that are all business in their sobriety. Unlike its counterparts in the collection, the overture features portentous melodic chromaticism in its slow and fast sections, and the menuet has a pseudo-canonic texture that lends it an artful and introspective quality lacking in the other four examples of the dance. Moreover, the bassetto accompaniment and voice exchange of the menuet’s trio add an element of instability found nowhere else in the *VI Overtures*. These examples of the bombastic style function simultaneously as a foil to the other, far less pretentious, movements in the overture-suite and as an apotheosis of the collection’s serious side.

If the *Pastourelle* of the first overture-suite initiated a dialogue between urban/courtly and pastoral/rustic musics, functioning rhetorically as the exordium of an argument, then the *Musette* of the sixth overture-suite—positioned symmetrically opposite the *Pastourelle*—mediates between the two sides and provides the argument’s peroration. The *Musette*, of course, references the music played on a type of bagpipe that was in essence a reinvention of a folk instrument for the nobility.³⁵ Instead of blowing air directly into the bag, thought by the upper classes to cause unrefined grimacing of the face, players operated a bellows strapped to the arm. In place of the two long drone pipes found on rustic instruments, the musette had up to six drones fitted elegantly into a small bourdon cylinder that was often made of ivory. Bags typically sported lavish decorations, and the small chanter placed holes and keys close together, so as to make it easier for ladies to play. We might imagine the *Pastourelle*, *Gailliarde*, *Villanelle*, *Napolitaine*, and *Polonoise* movements to be played by herdsmen in the fields or by beer fiddlers in a tavern or pub. But the *Musette*, despite its authentically rustic flavor, is more likely played by a lady of quality in a *Residenzschloss* or by a silk-clad shepherd in a painted pastoral scene of Boucher, Fragonard, or Watteau. It compromises the innocence of the *Pastourelle* and its bucolic companions by encouraging the listener

35. On the musette, see Raymond Monelle, *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military, and Pastoral* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 210–14.

retrospectively to question the source of the music: shepherds and *Dorfmusikanten*, or role-playing court musicians akin to Kaendler's actor-shepherd?

The comedy implicit in all of these pastoral-rustic movements is made explicit in the *Harlequinade* that brings this *bergerie*, or pastoral ballet, to a precipitous close. Here Telemann figuratively dons Harlequin's multicolored costume and leaps onstage with a wink, once again reminding us of the overture-suite's theatrical pedigree while cautioning listeners not to take too seriously these contrasts of venerable and novel, courtly and country, stately and silly, French and foreign. All of the preceding music has been little more than a lighthearted diversion, we are assured, and with this scurrying little movement that teases us by beginning off the tonic, Telemann bids us farewell.³⁶

Telemann may in fact have bid the overture-suite as a genre farewell with the *VI Overtures*, for practically none of his other examples can be dated to after the 1730s, the only exception being a group of nine works (TWV 50:2 and 21–23; 55:D21–23, F16, and g9) written during the mid-1760s for the elderly Ludwig VIII, Landgrave of Hessen-Darmstadt, who retained a taste for overture-suites at a time when the genre had already run its course. But there is a self-consciously retrospective quality to these late works, in addition to a fascinating attempt to reconcile the overture-suite with the modern concert symphony.³⁷ So the *VI Overtures* appear to represent Telemann's last word on the overture-suite while it was still very much a living musical tradition.

We may accordingly group the collection with other publications of the 1730s that find Telemann looking over his shoulder at the musical past or offering comprehensive views of musical styles and genres. Just a year before the *VI Overtures* appeared, he issued the *Sonates corellisantes*, trio sonatas that negotiate a stylistic compromise between the classic yet outmoded Corellian style and the newfangled *galant* idiom. These "Corelli-ized sonatas," as the composer advertised them, may therefore be understood as a conspectus of the Italian trio sonata over the preceding half century.³⁸ The *Nouveaux quatuors*, published at Paris in 1738 and not incidentally subscribed to by Bach, both represent the apex of the quartet as a genre and mark Telemann's withdrawal from the ensemble suite. More than this, the music embodies an apotheosis of the *goût réunis* long pursued by French composers, which helps explain its successful reception in Paris. Other publications from this period seek to explore a single genre from nearly all conceivable stylistic angles—for example, the 12 *Fantaisies à travers. sans basse* of 1732

36. Such joking signoffs are uncommon among Telemann's overture-suites. Just three others (TWV 50:23, 55:A3, and 55:a7) conclude with a movement entitled *Harlequinade* or *Arlechinoso*.

37. See Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste*, 56–60.

38. This view of the collection is developed in *ibid.*, 449–52.

and the *XII Fantasia per il violino senza basso* of 1735—or to apply the latest styles to a cornucopia of genres, the *Musique de table* of 1733 being the best-known instance.

Many readers will already have drawn a parallel between the retrospective and synoptic qualities of the *VI Overtures* and Bach's rigorous and often exhaustive explorations of styles and genres, from the *Orgelbüchlein* through to the Art of Fugue and Mass in B Minor. It is this connection between the two composers that I wish to consider, in a brief coda to this essay, by relating the *VI Overtures* to the partitas of *Clavierübung* I, published individually between 1726 and 1730, and reissued as a set in 1731. There are good reasons to pair these two collections of suites: both were designed by their respective composer-publishers to appeal to a broad audience through an emphasis on variety, accessibility, and trendiness (the latter quality exemplified by Telemann's *Mourky* and Bach's incorporation of hand-crossings); and just as Telemann's overture-suites represent his (nearly) final thoughts on the genre, so too do Bach's partitas mark the culmination—if not the actual end point—of his involvement with the keyboard suite. At a deeper level, the two collections employ some of the same rhetorical strategies.

Variety in both the *VI Overtures* and *Clavierübung* I is achieved by the inclusion of a wide assortment of national styles and movement types, as emphasized by Bach in the titles of his stylistically and formally individualized preludes (*Preludium—Sinfonia—Fantasia—Overture—Preambulum—Toccata*). But as has frequently been observed, an even more striking aspect of *Clavierübung* I is the stylistic diversity found within each of the standard movement types (allemande/allemanda—courante/corrente—sarabande—gigue/giga). Such diversity often entails significant departures from generic norms.³⁹

Given how different many of Bach's movements are from others of their type in *Clavierübung* I, the listener may sense a constellation of tertiary-rhetorical exchanges among them, not unlike the conversation between Telemann's *Chaconne* and *Passacaille*. For example, Andrew Talle observes that the collection's two courantes (Partitas 2 and 4), while both notated in 3/2, divide the measure differently: the first into three large beats, and the second into two (as in 6/4 time).⁴⁰ Thus the metrical ambiguity conventionally associated with the courante, as seen in the fourth of the *VI Overtures*, is foregrounded by being writ large across two suites. Similarly, David Schulenberg

39. See, among recent discussions of the partitas' style, Siegbert Rampe, "Clavier Übung I: Partiten," in *Bachs Klavier- und Orgelwerke: Das Handbuch*, ed. Siegbert Rampe (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2008), 884–90; Schulenberg, *The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach*, 324–45; Andrew James Talle, "J. S. Bach's Keyboard Partitas and Their Early Audience" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2003), 78–93; and Andreas Jacob, *Studien zu Kompositionsart und Kompositionsbegriff in Bachs Klavierübungen*, Beihefte zum *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 40 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1997), 91–135.

40. Talle, "J. S. Bach's Keyboard Partitas," 79–80.

suggests that the *Allemande* of Partita 3, with its richly ornamental melody, was conceived as “a preliminary study” for its counterpart in Partita 6.⁴¹ But whereas the dances share dotted rhythms and thirty-second-note flourishes, they employ these unusual features to different effect: the *rhythmes saccadés* and *tirades* in the *Allemanda* of Partita 6 lend it the character of a French overture’s slow section or an *entrée grave*, while the *Allemande* of Partita 3 is more recognizable as an example of its type. In this way, the movements initiate a discussion concerning the point at which an allemande may no longer be identifiable as such.

As Sisman has noted, a common locus for tertiary rhetoric in late eighteenth-century music is an opus in which works are arranged into related subgroups. She makes the plausible suggestion that Bach may have conceived *Clavierübung* I as two sets of three based on the French overture opening Partita 4 (analogous to the French overture dividing the Goldberg Variations in half at variation 16), and on the possibility that Partitas 3 and 6 were intended as conclusions to the collection’s two halves.⁴² Not incidentally, Telemann also engaged in this type of opus design: one may view the twelve flute fantasias as two groups of six, divided by the French overture opening No. 7; and the composer advertised his violin fantasias as containing six works with fugues and six *Galanterien*, a division that is borne out by a stylistic shift at the collection’s midpoint and by close musical correspondences between the opening movements of Nos. 1 and 7.⁴³ Yet it can also be argued that *Clavierübung* I is more end-oriented, in the manner of the *VI Ouyertures*. For if the most remarkable aspect of Bach’s collection is its stretching of generic boundaries, both of individual dance types and the keyboard suite itself, then Partita 6 easily surpasses its companions. Nearly all of its movements—the *Allemande* just discussed, a *Corrente* and *Tempo di Gavotta* that are essentially abstract sonata movements, a highly ornamental *Sarabande*, and a fugal *Gigue* with a mensural time signature and halting, angular subject—explode conventions of the dance types to which they nominally belong. Even the *Toccata* prelude, featuring recollections of its opening improvisatory material during and following a lengthy fugue, stands outside tradition. Analogous to the summative concluding work of the

41. Schulenberg, *The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach*, 331 and 341. The fact that early versions of these two works appear consecutively in the 1725 *Clavier-Büchlein* for Anna Magdalena Bach (and may therefore have been composed in close succession) lends credence to this interpretation.

42. Sisman, “Six of One,” 95. Jacob, *Studien zu Kompositionsart*, views the French overture as marking Partita 4’s temporary shift away from the collection’s overall Italianate style (110–18).

43. See Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste*, 428 and 430–31. It is also possible that Telemann deliberately placed a concentration of characteristic movements at the center of the *VI Ouyertures* (No. 3), so as to divide the collection into two groups of three. I am grateful to Sisman for suggesting this reading to me.

VI Overtures, Partita 6 simultaneously embodies and enhances a central meaning of *Clavierübung* I by serving up a suite in which almost none of the movements conforms to the listener's expectations. And if the final movements of both pieces—Telemann's teasing *Harlequinade* and Bach's sublime *Gigue*—could hardly be more different from one another, they share an inscrutability that helps define their respective collections.⁴⁴

Although it is tempting to imagine Telemann among Bach's customers for *Clavierübung* I, it is unnecessary to posit the partitas' direct influence on the *VI Overtures*. For the two sets of suites reflect aesthetic priorities that may also be observed to varying degrees in their composers' other collections. By placing them side by side, though, one constructs the musical equivalent of a gleaming *Porzellan-Kabinett* filled with Meissen figures: finely executed designs that reward one's careful scrutiny, traditional elements blended with the latest fashions, diverting pastoral vistas, and colorful characters who are perhaps not quite what they purport to be, but nevertheless include the attentive listener in their conversations.

44. As Schulenberg puts it with respect to the *Gigue*: "Certainly the shape and perhaps the meaning of the first volume of Bach's *Clavierübung* are profoundly affected by ending with this strange yet compelling movement, as far removed as one could imagine from the gigue of the opening work" (*The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach*, 345). A view of Partita 6 as a concluding *summa* of *Clavierübung* I is not incompatible with Bach's unrealized intention of publishing a seventh partita—BDOK II, 202 (No. 276)—for we do not know whether this work was intended to appear last in the series. In any case, Siegbert Rampe's view of the collection as a "work in progress" ("Clavier Übung I," 885–86) is unwarranted.

Bach, Graupner, and the Rest of Their Contented Contemporaries

Andrew Talle

Music scholars have long recognized the value of comparing settings of the same cantata texts by Bach and his German contemporaries. Examining the ways in which multiple musical minds chose to set the same words can throw the styles of each into sharp relief. Philipp Spitta devoted eighteen pages of his 1873 Bach biography to comparing settings of an Erdmann Neumeister text by Bach and Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767): *Uns ist ein Kind geboren* (BWV 142 [regarded today as spurious] and TVWV 1:1451) and *Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt* (BWV 18 and TVWV 1:630).¹ He more briefly compared settings of Solomon Franck's *Der Himmel lacht! die Erde jubilieret* by Bach and Johann Balthasar Christian Freislich (1687–1764) (BWV 31 and Freiswv A 27).² In 1920, Friedrich Noack published a comparative analysis of Christoph Graupner's and Bach's settings of Georg Christian Lehms's *Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut* (BWV 199 and GWV 1152/12b).³ Hans-Joachim Moser published a comparative analysis of Bach's "coffee cantata" (*Schweigt stille, plaudert nicht*; BWV 211) with a parallel setting of the same text by an anonymous contemporary in 1955.⁴ Most recently, Martina Falletta published an article comparing Bach's and Telemann's settings of Franck's *Tritt auf die Glaubensbahn* (BWV 152 and TVWV 1:1420).⁵

1. Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1873), vol. 1, 481–94.

2. *Ibid.*, 538.

3. Friedrich Noack, "Johann Sebastian Bach und Christoph Graupner: Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 2 (1920): 85–98.

4. Hans-Joachim Moser, "Die 'andere' Kaffeeekantate," in *Festschrift Max Schneider zum achtzigsten Geburtstage*, ed. Walther Vetter (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1955), 173–76.

5. Martina Falletta, "Die Kantaten 'Tritt auf die Glaubensbahn' von Georg Philipp Telemann und Johann Sebastian Bach," in *Telemann und Bach: Magdeburger Telemann-Studien XVIII*, ed. Brit Reipsch and Wolf Hobohn (Hildesheim: Olms, 2005), 94–110.

This essay presents a second pair of settings by Bach and Graupner that has received only occasional mention in the literature: *Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust* (BWV 170 and GWV 1147/11). Bach's biography will be well known to those reading this volume, but it is worth offering some background on his near-exact contemporary. Born January 13, 1683, near Kirchberg (Saxony), Graupner studied under Johann Kuhnau (1660–1722) while attending the St. Thomas School around the turn of the eighteenth century. From 1706 to 1709 he lived in Hamburg composing and producing operas with Reinhard Keiser (1674–1739). In 1709 Graupner joined the musical establishment of Count Ernst Ludwig of Hessen-Darmstadt (1667–1739), who promoted him to *Kapellmeister* in 1712. As noted in the introduction to this volume, Graupner was chosen ahead of Bach for the *Thomaskantor* position in Leipzig, but he turned it down to remain in Darmstadt, where he died in 1760.

Unlike the first performances of the parallel settings discussed by Noack—*Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut*, which took place in quick succession, Graupner's in 1712, Bach's in 1713 or 1714—the premieres of the two settings of *Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust* took place fifteen years apart; Graupner's setting was first heard on July 12, 1711, in Darmstadt,⁶ Bach's on July 28, 1726, in Leipzig.⁷ Like the two versions of *Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut*, the two versions of *Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust* are set for solo female voice without chorus.

The text of *Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust* was penned by the Darmstadt court poet Georg Christian Lehms (1684–1717), and it appears in his *Gottgefälliges Kirchen-Opffer* of 1711.⁸ Lehms's poetry was unusually conservative for the early eighteenth century and particularly out of step with the showy culture of the 1720s, when Bach seems to have engaged with Lehms most intensively.⁹ *Vergnügte Ruh* stresses the suffering of Christians who are forced to fight through life in a sinful world. The epistle reading

6. The autograph manuscript of this work, held today in the Hessische Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek in Darmstadt (Mus.ms.419/12), bears the original date "M[ensis] Jul[y] 1711" on the title page. The sixth Sunday after Trinity fell that year on July 12.

7. The autograph manuscript of BWV 170 is held in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin (Mus.ms.Bach.P 154).

8. *Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust* appears in Lehms's *Gottgefälliges Kirchen-Opffer* (Darmstadt: Bachmann, 1711), 56–58. Hans-Joachim Schulze suggested in 1959 that Lehms may have been responsible for the text, though this could not be confirmed until 1970 when Elisabeth Noack discovered it (along with numerous other Bach cantata texts) in Lehms's *Gottgefälliges Kirchen-Opffer*. See Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Bemerkungen zu einigen Kantatentexten Johann Sebastian Bachs," BJ 46 (1959): 168–70 (esp. 168–169); and Elisabeth Noack, "Georg Christian Lehms, ein Textdichter Johann Sebastian Bachs," BJ 56 (1970): 7–18 (esp. 17–18).

9. Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Die Bach-Kantaten: Einführungen zu sämtlichen Kantaten Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2006), 328–31 (esp. 329).

in church on the days these cantatas were performed (Romans 6:3–11) glorifies death as the only path to sin-free living. The day's gospel reading (Matthew 5:20–26) decries the crimes and insults that humans inflict upon one another. Matthew's specific term of contempt in Aramaic—"Racha!"—found its way into Lehms's poem. The text of *Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust* is unusual for its time in that it contains no reference to any Lutheran chorales.¹⁰

I will discuss the two settings of each of *Vergnügte Ruh*'s five movements in turn below.¹¹ In every case I will present the text in three versions:

1. The original German, following the orthography and punctuation of Lehms's 1711 text
2. My English, word-for-word translation
3. My English translation, which mimics the poetic structure and rhyme of Lehms's original.

I. [ARIA]

Vergnügte Ruh! beliebte Seelen-Lust!
 Contented rest! beloved inner joy!
 Contented rest! beloved inner joy!

Dich kann man nicht bei Höllen-Sünden,
 You can one not amidst hell's sins,
 You can't be found where hell's sins flourish,

Wohl aber Himmels-Eintracht finden,
 But rather heaven's concord find,
 But there where heaven's concords nourish,

Du stärckst allein die schwache Brust,
 You bolster alone the weak breast,
 You bring the weak breast to enjoy

10. See Günther Stiller, "'Mir ekelt mehr zu leben'—Zur Textdeutung der Kantate 'Vergnugte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust' von Johann Sebastian Bach," in *Bachiana et Alia Musicologia: Festschrift Alfred Dürr zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1983), 293–300 (esp. 295).

11. An edition of *Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust* was published by Brian Clark (Arbroath, U.K.: Prima la Musica, 2007). I would particularly like to thank Geneviève Soly and *Les Idées heureuses* as well as Reilly Lewis and the Washington Bach Consort for providing me with recordings of their excellent live performances of this rarely heard music.

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Vergnügte Ruh! beliebte Seelenlust!

Contented rest! beloved inner joy!

Contented rest! beloved inner joy!

Drum sollen lauter Tugend-Gaben

Thus should all manner of virtue's gifts

The strength of virtue, ever welling

In meinem Hertzen Wohnung haben.

In my heart residence have.

Will seek a home in my heart's dwelling.

In the opening movement, both Graupner and Bach sought to cultivate a pastoral tone, the former with flutes, and the latter with a single oboe d'amore. While Graupner treats the orchestra as a monolithic entity with little differentiation between parts, there is more independence to the lines in Bach's orchestra, with sixteenth notes often cascading in opposite directions. Perhaps the most memorable instrumental motive in Graupner's introduction is the group of four tied sixteenth notes on the same chord that are first heard in measure 3 and repeated regularly thereafter (example 1). The busy activity of this rhythmic gesture paired with static harmony may have been intended to evoke peace in the minds of listeners—a kind of rest without lethargy. Bach apparently found this motive persuasive enough to borrow it, with some emendation, for his own setting; it appears on the first beat of measure 1, now with three notes instead of four (example 2).

Bach sets the first movement of *Vergnügte Ruh* in a gently lilting 12/8, evoking a feeling of undulating comfort. The compound meter evokes a more convincing representation of heavenly bliss than Graupner's relatively square-sounding 4/4. Bach's harmonies are the more chromatic as well. While Graupner limits himself to an entirely diatonic harmonic palette—there are no accidentals at all until the tenth measure—Bach presents all but two notes of the chromatic scale in the first nine measures, moving from D major through A major (with moments of E major and A minor) and back to D. Both composers present all twelve pitches of the chromatic scale over the course of their settings, but it takes Graupner until the penultimate measure (43), whereas Bach presents the last pitch at about the halfway point (measure 34). Chromaticism is conventionally associated with turbulence in music, and one suspects that Graupner avoided it in an effort to more effectively to call to mind heavenly peace, but the effect is static and colorless. Bach opts to present heaven as a place more lush and fascinating than tranquilizing.

Perhaps the most fundamental difference between the two settings is the way the two composers address phrase boundaries. While both present a variety of phrases of

TALLE

Flauti 1.e 2.

Violini 1. e 2.

Viola 1.

Viola 2.

Soprano.

Violono e Continuo.

Ver -

6 6 6 5 7 6 6 5 4 3

Example 1: Graupner, “Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust,” mm. 1–9.

regular and irregular length, Graupner tends to seal his off when they end. Within the space of the first five bars, he presents three absolutely clear tonic cadences—in measures 2, 3, and 5—followed by rests. Bach, by contrast, never allows the listener to completely relax. The first cadence in his setting—on the third beat of measure 2—is simultaneously an ending and a beginning, the tonic arrival melting instantaneously

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6

gnüg - te _____ Ruh, _____

6

8

be - lieb - te _____ See - len -

6 7 7

Example 1: *Cont.*

into a submediant and surging forward into the next phrase. The next tonic cadence doesn't occur until the downbeat of measure 9, and this is dovetailed with the entrance of the alto, so that the ending of the instrumental introduction is simultaneously a new beginning. There are elisions at virtually every cadence throughout this piece, as indeed at most phrase boundaries in most works by Bach. While Graupner typically

TALLE

(Oboe d'amore)
Violino I

(Violino II)

(Viola)

(Alto)

(Continuo)

4 2 5 3 4 2 4 6 6 4 5 3 6

3 4 3 6 — 4 3 6 7 # 7 #

Example 2: Bach, “Vernügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust,” mm. 1–12.

presents musical ideas in bite-sized chunks that give listeners a clear sense of small-scale structure, Bach used rhythm and harmony to craft elisions designed to prolong tension, thereby delaying gratification.

The number of measures before the vocalist enters—five for Graupner, eight for Bach—is emblematic of a broader difference between the two settings of *Vernügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust*. Graupner took forty-four measures (around three minutes in performance) to set this text, while Bach took sixty-one measures (around six minutes in performance). This is characteristic: Bach’s settings are almost always considerably longer than those of his contemporaries. But beyond serving as an indication of overall length, the prominence of the instrumental introduction highlights the extraordinary

5

6 4 5 6 4 3 4 3

7

7^h 7 6 7^h 6^h 5 5 6 5 7 —

Ver -

Example 2: *Cont.*

importance Bach placed on music without words. In setting *Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust*, Graupner treated the vocalist as a soloist; her music is thematically distinct from that presented by the instruments that precede her, and they accompany her demurely while she sings, never seriously competing for the audience's attention. Her vocal line is like a jewel resting on a decorative pillow of instrumental accompaniment. In Bach's work, by contrast, similar musical ideas are presented by both instrumentalists and vocalists, blurring the boundaries between the two groups. The alto's melodies are the same as those presented by the instruments and weave in and out of the melodic texture established by the instruments. Her voice joins the instruments in measure 9 not as a jewel on a pillow but rather as one jewel among many.

TALLE

9

gnüg - te Ruh', be - lieb - te See - len - lust,

11

ver - gnüg - te Ruh', be -

Example 2: *Cont.*

There are similarities in the ways the two composers approached text declamation. Both seized on the word “rest” (*Ruh*), for example, requiring the soprano to hold it out for several beats in an effort to dramatize rest in music. But Graupner’s approach is more literary insofar as it also plays on tensions inherent in the poetry. By withholding the rhyme in the second of each of the following pairs of lines—*Sünden-finden* (flourish-nourish) and *Gaben-haben* (welling-dwelling)—Graupner plays upon the listener’s expectations of literary euphony.

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Graupner: Measures 12–16

Dich kann man nicht bei Höllen-Sünden,

Wohl aber Himmels-Eintracht . . . Himmels-Eintracht finden

You can't be found where hell's sins flourish

But there where heaven's concords . . . heaven's concords nourish

Graupner: Measures 26–32

Drum sollen lauter Tugend-Gaben

In meinem Herzen Wohnung . . . in meinem Herzen Wohnung haben.

The strength of virtue, ever welling

Will seek a home in my heart's . . . in my heart's dwelling.

Bach, by contrast, does not attempt to build upon literary expectations in this work. Lehms's words inspired the restful character of the setting—indeed, they infuse every note—but their meaning is used more generally, not word-for-word, and that meaning is expressed as much by the instrumentalists as by the vocalist.

2. [RECITATIVE]

Die Welt, das Sünden-Hauß,

The world, that house of sin,

The world, that house of sin,

Bricht nur in Höllen-Lieder aus,

Breaks only in hell's songs out,

One hears but songs of hell therein,

Und sucht durch Haß und Neid

And seeks through hate and envy

With hate and spite it panders to

Des Satans-Bild an sich zu tragen.

The Satan's image on itself to carry.

A devil it can only cherish.

Ihr Mund ist voller Ottergiff,

Its mouth is full of viper's poison,

Its mouth is filled with viper's bane,

Der oft die Unschuld tödtlich trifft,
 Which often the innocent deadly strickens,
 Insulting grace, inflicting pain,

Und will allein von Racha! Racha! sagen.
 And wants alone of insults! insults! to speak.
 And causing innocents to perish.

Gerechter Gott, wie weit,
 Righteous God, how far,
 O righteous God, from You,

Ist doch der Mensch von dir entfernt; [Graupner: entfernt!]
 Is thus the human being from you distanced; [Graupner: distanced!]
 Mankind is hopelessly divided;

Du liebst, jedoch sein Mund
 You love, yet his mouth
 You love, and yet he speaks

Macht Fluch und Feindschaft kund,
 Makes curse and enmity apparent,
 In curses and profane critiques,

Und will den Nechsten nur mit Füßen treten.
 And wants the neighbor only with feet to trample.
 His neighbor's will is often overridden.

Ach! diese Schuld ist nimmer [Bach: schwerlich] zu verbethen!
 Ah! this guilt is never [Bach: difficult] to forbid!
 Ah! sins like these aren't easily forbidden!

Bach's recitatives, unlike his arias and choruses, tend to be about the same length as those of other composers who set identical texts. As in the opening aria, Graupner presents tonic cadences in the first recitative far more frequently than did Bach: on *tragen*, *sagen*, *entfernet*, and *verbeten*. Bach's setting is much more turbulent harmonically, suggesting a soul writhing in frustration. The tension is broken just twice by tonic cadences (on *sagen* and *treten*). The two composers' treatment of the word *entfernet* offers a particularly valuable point of comparison. Graupner uses it to land strongly

on F major; his version of Lehms's text includes an exclamation point after *entfernet*. The sources do not reveal how or by whom this was interpolated. Bach, by contrast, dramatizes *entfernet* not with a strong tonic cadence but rather with a third-inversion dominant chord on D major, the dominant of G major (the relative major in this E-minor context). Graupner ends the movement on a tonic A minor before beginning the next movement in D minor. He ends on a half-cadence (on C-sharp) and begins the next movement in F-sharp minor, maintaining tension between recitative and aria. It should be noted that Bach's text differs slightly from Lehms's (and Graupner's) in that he set the words *schwerlich zu verbeten* (is difficult to forbid) rather than *nimmer zu verbeten* (can never be forbidden). We cannot know who made this change, and if that person did so deliberately or absentmindedly. The meaning of the resulting line is, in any case, considerably more moderate in tone, and this moderation found its way into Bach's treatment.

3. "ARIOS"

Wie jammern mich doch die verkehrten Herten,
How they torment me yet the perverted hearts,
What sorrow they bring me, those hearts perverted,

Die dir mein Gott so sehr zu wider seyn:
Who to you my God so very abhorrent are:
Who have, my God, offended you outright:

Ich zittre recht, und fühle tausend Schmetzen,
I tremble truly, and feel one thousand pains,
I, trembling, feel a thousand pains concerted,

Wenn sie sich nur an Rach und Haß erfreun!
When they themselves only in vengeance and hate take pleasure!
When they in vengeance, harm, and hate delight!

Gerechter Gott, was mustu [Bach: magst du] doch gedencken,
Righteous God, what must you [Bach: might you] thus be thinking,
O righteous God, what must you thus be thinking,

Wenn sie allein mit rechten Satans-Räncken,
When they solely with truly satanic schemes,
Since they in Satan's schemes are always sinking,

Dein scharffes Strafgebot so frech verlacht! [Graupner: veracht?]
 Your sharp judgments so impudently jeered! [Graupner: flouted?]
 And your commands are impudently mocked!

Ach! ohne Zweifel hast du so gedacht:
 Ah! without doubt have you so thought:
 Ah! Thoughts like these must be in you unlocked:

Wie jammern mich doch die verkehrten Herzen!
 How they torment me yet the perverted hearts!
 What sorrow they bring me, those hearts perverted!

In setting the text of the third movement, Graupner's overriding aesthetic goal seems to have been clarity. The declamation is limpid and efficient, with minimal repetition. As in the first movement, the instruments play a largely accompanimental role. The soprano's only competition comes from an obbligato flute solo, but even the flute cedes her the right of way whenever she sings a moving line (example 3). Graupner sought to seize the listener's attention by setting the middle section—*Gerechter Gott, was mustu doch gedencken, / Wenn sie allein mit rechten Satans-Räncken, / Dein scharffes Strafgebot so frech verlacht!*—as recitative. This shift from aria to recitative clarifies the movement's structure and offers more evidence for Graupner's literary orientation.

Once again, Bach's setting is about twice as long as Graupner's: it lasts eighty-two measures (around seven minutes in performance) as opposed to Graupner's forty-five measures (around three minutes in performance). The texture is consistent throughout and remains unvaried during the B section. At no point did he seek to surprise his listeners, or seize their attention with radical changes in texture, as did Graupner with his shift to recitative.

The orchestration in Bach's setting is particularly striking for its lack of a strong fundament. The cellos and basses are tacit throughout, so the lowest line is played by violins and violas (example 4). This was a rare, though not unprecedented decision for Bach. In "Unschuld, Kleinod reiner Seelen" from the wedding cantata *Auf! süß entzückende Gewalt* (BWV Anh. I 196), he left the bass instruments silent, presumably to emphasize the modesty of a virgin bride, who possesses "no sins, no stains" (*keine Laster, keine Flecken*).¹² On other occasions, Bach silenced the lowest voices to dramatize the limited horizons of a sinner, who lives without the foundation provided by belief in God, as for example in "Wie zittern und wanken der Sünder Gedanken" from the

12. The music for this aria survives as "Jesu, meine Gnadenblicke" from the *Ascension Oratorio* (BWV 11, Nr. 10).

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Flauti 1.

Violino 1.

Violino 2.

Viola.

Soprano.

Violono e Continuo.

6 6

4

7 7 6 7 3

Example 3: Graupner, “Wie jammern mich,” mm. 1–12.

cantata *Herr, gehe nicht ins Gericht mit deinem Knecht* (BWV 105). He left out the cellos and basses in two movements of the *St. Matthew Passion* (BWV 244): the aria “Aus Liebe will mein Heiland sterben” evokes a world coming to terms with having sacrificed its savior, while the duet “So ist mein Jesus nun gefangen” uses the lack of a harmonic foundation to represent a constricted world. In the latter, Jesus’s capture is unfathomable to the believers, who stand at some remove helplessly protesting. Their shouts

7

Wie jam - mern mich doch die ver - kehr - ten

6 4 5 # 6 4 6 6 5 #

10

Her - zen die dir, — mein — Gott, so sehr zu - wi - der sein,

6 6 7 7 6

Example 3: *Cont.*

of “Let him go, stop, do not bind him!” (*Laßt ihn, haltet, bindet nicht!*) are supported by bass instruments, suggesting that the true believers—unlike those hauling Jesus away—are the only ones behaving empathetically. All of the above cases in which Bach eliminates the lower register for an entire movement can be said to symbolize restriction. In some cases, the restriction represents purity. In others, however, it is ominous and evokes a feeling of airless confinement characteristic of life without God.

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Adagio

Organo obbligato
a 2 Clav.

(Alto)

Violini e Viola
in unisono

(%)

(%)

3

5

tr

(b)

Example 4: Bach “Wie jammern mich,” mm. 1–18.

In “Wie jammern mich” from *Vergnügte Ruh*, Bach cramps the texture into the upper registers in order to give the music a claustrophobic feel. The absence of a lower register conjures a world of “perverted hearts” (*verkehrten Herzen*) in which priorities are inverted: the melodic instruments are playing the bass line. As in “So ist mein Jesus nun gefangen,” Bach uses the lack of musical foundation to make palpable the limits of the sinner’s oppressive world and his or her lack of grounding in the true

TALLE

7

9

Wie jam - mern__ mich doch die__ ver -

kehr - - ten__ Her - zen,__ die dir, mein__ Gott, so sehr__ zu - wi - der

Example 4: *Cont.*

faith. Even the passive listener, who does not recognize that the cellos and basses are silent, cannot but be unnerved by the far more narrow range than that presented in the opening aria. Bach sought to make his audience feel oppression, rather than relying on Lehms's words to explain it.

Bach's choice of an obbligato organ for "Wie jammern mich" was deliberate. The organ was the most complex piece of machinery in existence in the early eighteenth

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13
sein, die dir, mein Gott, so sehr, mein Gott, so sehr zu wi - der

15
sein. Ich zitt' - re recht und füh - le tau - send

17
Schmer - zen, tau - send

Example 4: *Cont.*

century and thus well suited to representing a mechanistic world. Unlike Graupner's flute obbligato, which stays out of the way, Bach's organ obbligato is constantly invading the vocalist's space. The pure soul of Lehms's text is trapped in the cause-and-effect mechanics of mundane existence, represented by an endless stream of heartless, tortured sixteenth notes. Bach further emphasized the mechanistic quality of his setting

by setting the two hands of the organist in imitation at the interval of a fifth. Bach clearly sought to present the vocalist—the soul—as residing in an arid, mechanical landscape. Gregory Butler has argued that this movement may have begun life as an instrumental work.¹³ If this is true, we might imagine that Bach deliberately sought to place the vocalist in an environment in which she did not naturally belong. The soul seeks salvation with God in a nonphysical realm but knows she will find it only in death. As long as she resides on earth, she herself is as mechanical as the organ obligato sounds. Bach has her sing her lines like an automaton. *Ich zittre recht* (I truly tremble) is absolutely antilyrical in character; Bach separates the two syllables of the word *zittre* with a rest: *Ich zit*-[silence]-*tre recht*. The only difference between this mechanical soul and the mechanical-sounding organ is that she recognizes and longs for a world of heavenly bliss—the world evoked by the first aria—which lies beyond death. The organ lines, by contrast, represent the haughtiness of the mundane world, in particular the world of those who flout divine judgment, arrogantly refusing to acknowledge a more perfect existence with God. When the soul shudders to think of unbelievers rudely laughing at God, the organ launches into hollow, mechanical laughter to dramatize the point. While Graupner opted for maximal clarity, relying on Lehms's words to move his audience, Bach forced his listeners to spend seven harrowing minutes in a lifeless, mechanical world.

4. [RECITATIVE]

Wer solte sich demnach
 Who should himself therefore
 Who could perchance desire

Wohl hier zu leben wünschen,
 Well here to live wish,
 To live in earthly anguish,

Wenn man nur Haß und Ungemach
 When one only hate and adversity
 When hate and misery conspire

Vor seine Liebe sieht.
 For one's love sees.
 To love and faith obscure.

13. Gregory Butler, "The Origins of J. S. Bach's 'Wie jammern mich doch die verkehrten Herzen,' BWV 170/3," in *Music and Its Questions: Essays in Honor of Peter Williams*, ed. Thomas Donahue (Richmond, Va.: Organ Historical Society Press, 2007), 227–36.

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Doch, weil ich auch den Feind,
But, because I also the enemy,
But since I love my foe,

Wie meinen besten Freund
As my best friend
Just like my closest friend

Nach Gottes Vorschrift lieben soll;
According to God's commandment love should;
According to God's counsel sage;

So flieht
So flee
Endure,

Mein Hertze Zorn und Groll,
My heart wrath and rancor,
My heart, expell all rage,

Und wünscht allein bei Gott zu leben,
And wish alone with God to live,
And seek alone to go on living,

Der selbst die Liebe heist.
Who himself the love is named.
With God, whose name is love.

Ach! Eintrachts-voller Geist,
Ah! Harmonious spirit,
Ah, Lord of all above,

Wenn wird er dir doch nur
When will He you yet only
When will to Zion's peace

Sein Himmels-Zion geben?
His Heavenly Zion give?
My soul be given?

Graupner's setting of the second recitative text is characterized by elegant clarity. The G-minor turbulence of "Who could perchance desire to live in earthly anguish" (*Wer sollte sich demnach wohl hier zu leben wünschen*) cadences gently on B-flat major with "And seek alone to go on living, with God, whose name is love" (*Und wünscht allein bei Gott zu leben, Der selbst die Liebe heist*). The entire recitative to this point has been secco, but Graupner has the strings join for a questioning half-cadence on "Ah, Lord of all above, when will to Zion's peace my soul be given?" (*Ach! Eintrachts-voller Geist, wenn wird er dir doch nur sein Himmels-Zion geben?*).

Bach's setting is accompanied by strings throughout and moves through richer harmonies: from a dominant seventh chord in D major, passing through E minor and A major to a cadence on the subdominant (G major) for "God, whose name is love." At this point the strings echo the vocal line, participating more actively than they had in Graupner's setting. Unlike his contemporary, Bach chose to engage in text-painting on the word *flieht* (flees) in the line about all wrath and rancor fleeing the Christian heart. In addition to representing flight, the melisma recalls the vocal flourishes in measures 40 and 41 of the previous movement. Bach's setting then moves on to end on a D-major cadence, thus finally resolving the A-dominant seventh chord with which the movement began. As noted above in connection with other movements, Bach opts to maintain the harmonic tension from beginning to end, and by avoiding radical shifts of the type Graupner made from secco to accompanied recitative.

5. [ARIA]

Mir ekelt mehr zu leben,
I am disgusted further to live,
I'm sick to death of living,

Drum nimm mich, JEsu, hin.
So take me, Jesus, hence.
So take me, Jesus, hence.

Mir graut vor allen Sünden,
I dread for all sins,
I dread my own transgressions,

Laß mich diß Wohnhauß finden,
Let me this home find,
Crave home without possessions,

Woselbst ich ruhig bin.
Where I restful am.
Let rest with God commence.

The two settings of the final aria text have much in common: both use a simple da capo form, with the B section serving as a minor-key development of the A section, and both are set in common time (examples 5 and 6). The vocal melodies are similar enough to arouse suspicions that Bach modeled his melody on that of his contemporary: the alto begins on an anacrusis, lands on the downbeat, and proceeds in eighth-note declamation (if sometimes embellished with sixteenth notes) to the downbeat of the next bar. The initial downbeat—on *ekelt* (disgust)—is set by both composers as an unstable harmony. Graupner uses a first-inversion chord on the tonic. In Bach's version the harmonic tension of this opening is ratcheted up further with a secondary dominant in third inversion. This is further exacerbated by the alto's leap of a tritone—the *diabolus in musica*—instead of Graupner's perfect fourth. What was vaguely unstable in Graupner's setting is positively sour in Bach's.

Both composers sought to integrate this final aria with earlier movements. Graupner sets the word *ruhig* (restful) here as he had set *Ruh* (rest) in the first aria, as a long, stable pitch that the instruments gently decorate. Bach's setting includes flourishes on the organ like those of the third movement, recalling (and perhaps resolving) the hollow disregard for God's word and reminding listeners of the soul's motivation to abandon the mundane world. Here too Bach's setting is about twice as long as his contemporary's. Graupner's soprano sings virtually the entire time; Bach's is silent for long stretches while the instruments proffer the message of Lehms's text.

In his article comparing Graupner and Bach's settings of Lehms's *Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut*, Friedrich Noack observed a number of uncanny coincidences, including the use of the same keys in most movements. He attributed similarities large and small to aesthetic forces current in early eighteenth-century Germany, or more broadly to a tendency for the music of even great figures to be influenced by the "spirit of their time" (*Geist ihrer Zeit*).¹⁴ I think it more likely that Bach knew Graupner's setting of *Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut* and aimed to improve upon it with his own setting. The similarities in their settings of *Vergnügte Ruh*—for example, the repeated note motive in the opening movement and characteristics of the vocal melody in the last movement—suggest that he may have known Graupner's version of this work as well and attempted to build upon it. Bach was said to set his creative powers in

14. Noack, "Johann Sebastian Bach und Christoph Graupner," 85–86, 90.

8

Flauti 1. e 2.

Violini 1. e 2.

Viola 1.

Viola 2.

Soprano.

Mir e - kelt mehr zu le - ben, mir e - kelt mehr zu le - ben,

Violono e Continuo.

6 4 3 6 6 4 3

10

6 6 6 6 6 6 4 5

mir

Example 5: Graupner, “Mir ekelt mehr zu leben,” mm. 8–12.

Organo (obligato)

(Oboe d'amore)
Violino I

(Violino II)

(Viola)

(Alto)

(Continuo)

12

mir e - kelt mehr zu le - ben, drum

4 2 6

13

nimm mich, Je - su, hin, mir e - kelt mehr zu le - ben, mir

7 (6) 8 6 5 4 3

Example 6: Bach, “Mir ekelt mehr zu leben,” mm. 12–16.

15

e - kelt mehr zu le - ben, mir e - kelt mehr zu le - ben, drum

4
2

6

Example 6: *Cont.*

motion by playing the weaker compositions of others,¹⁵ and he could well have done something similar in composing these cantatas.

Conclusion

In summary, both Graupner and Bach were devout Lutherans, and both sought to bring what they viewed as the truth of the gospel to their audiences. Graupner opted to present the text as clearly as possible, allowing it to flow into the ears of his listeners with a minimum of musical competition. Graupner's setting is a frame for Lehms's words. Bach, by contrast, sought to provide his audience not only with the words but also with the emotional context for those words. Instead of simply describing heavenly rest, he wished to help his audience feel its effect.

15. ВДОК II, 397 (No. 499): "Sie wissen, der berühmte Mann, welcher in unserer Stadt das größte Lob der Musik, und die Bewunderung der Kenner hat, kömmt, wie man saget, nicht eher in den Stand, durch die Vermischung seiner Töne andere in Entzückung zu setzen, als bis er etwas vom Blatte gespielt, und seine Einbildungskraft in Bewegung gesetzt hat . . . [Bach] hat ordentlich etwas schlechteres vom Blatte zu spielen, als seine eigenen Einfälle sind. Und dennoch sind diese seine besseren Einfälle Folgen jener schlechteren."

Philipp Spitta described Telemann's settings as characterized by a "moralizing dryness" (*moralisirender Trockenheit*) by comparison with Bach's.¹⁶ It is a curious word choice, given that both composers set identical texts. To moralize is to lecture on proper behavior with an air of moral superiority, a crime of which virtually all cantata-text authors of the German baroque would likely be judged guilty today. Graupner in this case—and, in Spitta's view, Telemann in other cases—focused on declaiming these moralizing texts as simply and clearly as possible. As a result, the effectiveness of their settings depends upon the literary element. Theology changed quickly in the eighteenth century. Cantata settings that depended too heavily upon the conservative views of men like Georg Lehms seemed to subsequent generations to be more sternly didactic than moving.

More than his contemporaries, Bach sought to move beyond the specific texts he set, relying heavily upon the wordless rhetoric of instrumental music to make their emotions palpable. As a result, his cantatas have proved better able to sever their denominational tethers. All of us, regardless of religious views, have felt the joy of psychological peace, the oppression of a guilty conscience, and the longing for stability that Bach evokes in *Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust*. Certainly the rhythmic, harmonic, and contrapuntal textures are richer than those of Graupner's setting, but it is Bach's effort to dramatize the text globally rather than specifically that has made his music meaningful for so many generations and people of different belief systems.

As noted above, another critical aspect of Bach's cantata settings is his unusually well-developed use of elision. The tension in his music waxes and wanes, but it almost always sits at a level higher than that maintained by Graupner or Telemann, who were content to rest more frequently. This use of elision made phrase boundaries more difficult for players to articulate and more difficult for audiences to hear. These difficulties are likely the central reason previous scholars have argued that Bach's music was less practical than that of his contemporaries. Noack suggested that, compared with Graupner, Bach was not concerned with his Leipzig audience's "capacity for comprehension" (*Fassungsvermögen*) and agreed with Spitta's assessment that these cantatas were not usually written to please listeners in Leipzig.¹⁷ I believe that Bach did indeed have his audience firmly in mind, but he sought to offer them a challenge rather than an indulgence.

Bach's arias and choruses are invariably 50 to 100 percent longer than those of his contemporaries who set the same texts. Anyone who has performed music by Bach

16. Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, vol. 1, 492.

17. Noack, "Johann Sebastian Bach und Christoph Graupner," 91, 98; Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, vol. 2, 244.

and his German contemporaries will readily acknowledge the many more subtle difficulties to be found in Bach's works, but length alone can be taken as a rough measure of the creative energy required. Just as building a double bass takes much more effort than building a cello, composing a seven-minute aria takes much more effort than composing a three-minute aria. And Bach's work did not end with composition; his relentless drive to present audiences with difficult works came with an obligation to spend extra hours training intransigent teenage boys to sing them. We should not forget that these challenges were entirely self-imposed. As noted in the Preface to this volume, the Leipzig town council would have been happy—perhaps happier—to hear shorter, easier cantatas by Telemann or Graupner.

This restless desire to write extraordinarily challenging music led previous scholars to view Bach as more industrious than his contemporaries. Noack argued that Bach liked to push at musical boundaries of his time more than did Graupner, who was "content with what had already been achieved" (*sich mit dem früher Errungenen begnügt*).¹⁸ Spitta observed in some instances that Telemann "made things easier on himself" (*macht sich nicht so viele Umstände*).¹⁹ Bach, by contrast, was constitutionally incapable of resting. One cannot help but see an analogy here between art and life: the same composer who was compelled to maintain tension with the utmost care at each phrase boundary felt compelled to constantly demand a high level of energy from his audiences, his players, and himself.

18. Noack, "Johann Sebastian Bach und Christoph Graupner," 98.

19. Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, vol. 1, 492.

The Famously Little-Known Gottlieb Muffat

Alison J. Dunlop

Gottlieb Muffat (1690–1770) is regarded today as the most successful composer of keyboard music of J. S. Bach’s generation to have worked in Vienna. His reputation is based on (1) the corpus of extant works, which is significantly larger than those of his Viennese contemporaries, including his teacher J. J. Fux (ca. 1660–1741); (2) the dissemination of Muffat’s music during his lifetime; (3) his financial success; and (4) G. F. Handel’s extensive borrowings from his music—all of which will be discussed in greater detail below. Yet in spite of his eminence, little is known of Muffat’s life.¹ Although numerous documents pertaining to the Muffat family survive in various institutions, no personal correspondence, diaries, or detailed contemporary biographies are known to have survived. This essay aims to evaluate what influence family background, cultural ties, and social spheres may have had on Gottlieb Muffat’s activities as a composer, and to allow comparisons to be drawn with musicians working at the same time outside Habsburg domains, including J. S. Bach.²

Family Background

Gottlieb was the youngest son among nine children born to the composer Georg Muffat (1653–1704) and his wife Anna Elisabetha, née Voll (ca. 1646–1721). In order to have a

1. In spite of numerous articles and several theses dedicated to Muffat, what is commonly known about him is restricted to the brief entries found in reference works. See Susan Wollenberg, “Muffat, Gottlieb,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, accessed 1 October 2007, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19295>; Friedrich W. Riedel, “Muffat, Gottlieb,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1st ed., vol. 9, cols. 919–24; and Markus Grassl, “Muffat, Gottlieb,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed., Personenteil, vol. 12, cols. 775–79.

2. This article provides a synthesis of the findings of an investigation that focused on systematically documenting the lives of members of the Muffat family living in Vienna in the eighteenth century. See Alison J. Dunlop, *The Life and Works of Gottlieb Muffat* (Vienna: Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag, forthcoming 2013).

better understanding of Gottlieb's musical influences and career path, it will be necessary to discuss the education and career of his father in some detail.³ Several hitherto unknown documents have been found during the course of my research that illuminate Georg Muffat's life and provide us with information about his wife, Anna Elisabetha.

According to earlier biographers,⁴ the Muffat family was of Scottish or English origin and came to the Duchy of Savoy (which today belongs to France) sometime in the second half of the sixteenth century, after having been persecuted because of their Catholic faith.⁵ Georg, the son of Andreas and Margarita (née Orsy), was baptized on June 1, 1653, in Megève.⁶ It has been speculated that Georg Muffat's father Andreas was in the imperial army, as were several other Muffats of Megève origin, one of whom (Jean-Pierre) was bestowed with the title Count Muffat of Saint-Amour in 1719.⁷ Georg Muffat's family probably moved and settled in the Alsatian town of Sélestat (Schlettstadt) during Georg's early childhood.

Georg Muffat spent much of his youth (ca. 1663–69) in Paris, where, according to the preface of his *Florilegium Primum* (Passau, 1695), he studied for six years with Jean-

3. Georg Muffat's life and works have been more thoroughly, although not exhaustively, investigated. This is probably owing to the several detailed autobiographical prefaces to his printed editions, which have greatly facilitated research. Markus Eberhardt's recent summation of over a century of research serves as the basis for much of Markus Eberhardt, "Georg Muffat und seine Zeit," in *Georg Muffat: Ein reichsfürstlicher Kapellmeister zwischen den Zeiten*, ed. Heinz-Walter Schmitz (Passau: Stutz, 2006), 9–69.

4. Hellmut Federhofer, in his article on Muffat in the first edition of *Musik und Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1st ed., vol. 9, cols. 915–19; Markus Grassl, "Muffat, Gottlieb," in *Musik und Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed., Personenteil, vol. 12, cols. 775–79. Grassl writes that this information was found in the estate of an "Archivrat von Muffat" in Munich, probably referring to Karl August Muffat; Siegbert Rampe, in his more recent article (2d ed.), however, writes that this information came from the estate of Georg Muffat's son Sigmund Friedrich (allegedly working in Munich). I have not yet been able to consult these sources.

5. Martin Vogeleis, *Quellen und Bausteine zu einer Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters im Elsaß 500–1800* (Strasbourg: F. X. Le Roux and Co., 1911), 530.

6. The baptism record is transcribed in Eberhardt, "Georg Muffat und seine Zeit," 11.

7. Jean-Pierre Muffat, Count of Saint-Amour (b. 16 October 1662 in Megève, d. 16 May 1734 in San Benedetto, Mantua) was by 1699 in the *Kürassierregiment* of Georg von Hessen-Darmstadt and progressed quickly through the ranks—by 1711 he was in charge of his own regiment. He distinguished himself in many important campaigns and was bestowed the title of count in 1719 by the Duke of Savoy (also King of Sardinia) and appointed field-marshal-lieutenant in 1729 and royal governor of Pavia in 1731 by Karl VI. Two of his younger brothers, Jean-Nicolas and Jean-Baptiste, also served in a dragoon regiment, and two of his nephews in the imperial army. Within one generation, this branch of the Muffat family had risen from a middle-class family to one of the richest noble families in the Duchy of Savoy. See Franziska Raynaud, *Savoyische Einwanderungen in Deutschland (15. bis 19. Jahrhundert)* (Neustadt an der Aisch: Degener and Co., 2001), 52–53.

Baptiste Lully (1632–87).⁸ It has been speculated that during his time there he was a member of the elite orchestra *le vingt-quatre violons*, a choir boy at one of the larger Parisian churches, or at the court of Louis XIV.⁹ We know that by September 1669 Georg had returned to Alsace, as he is listed as having appeared in the drama *Maternus ex mortuo redivivus, Apostolus Alsatie, post alteram mortem coelo insertus*,¹⁰ performed at the Jesuit gymnasium in Sélestat. By 1671, Georg had moved to Molsheim, approximately thirty kilometers from Sélestat, where he is listed as a “Rhetoricus.” Muffat also held what was probably his first organist’s post here—which is noteworthy given that the Molsheim Jesuit church was the seat of the Strasbourg cathedral chapter between 1580 and 1681.¹¹ How long Muffat remained here cannot be precisely determined, but an entry in the university’s registers reveals that by November 27, 1674, he had commenced legal studies at the university in Ingolstadt (Bavaria).¹²

Nothing is known of Georg Muffat’s activities or whereabouts in the years 1675 and 1676. In the foreword to the *Florilegium Primum*, he writes that upon returning from France to Alsace, he was expelled because of the so-called Dutch War (1672–78) and so departed for Austria and Bohemia before subsequently taking up his post at Salzburg.¹³ It has been suggested that in the years following his legal studies he was employed at the imperial court in Vienna (though his name does not appear in accounts there) and that he served as a teacher of Johann Joseph Fux, though this pleasingly symmetrical theory remains unsubstantiated.¹⁴ At some point, perhaps as early as 1674, Georg went into the service of the Harrach family.¹⁵

8. “Unter dem berühmtesten Johann Baptist Lully, damahls zu Pariß blüenden Art habe ich durch sechs Jahr, nebst andern Music-Studien emsig nachgetrachtet. . . .”

9. Eberhardt, “Georg Muffat und seine Zeit,” 11–12.

10. See Adolf Layer, “Georg Muffats Ausbildungsjahre bei den Jesuiten,” *Die Musikforschung* 15 (1962): 49.

11. The original Latin is found translated into German by Franz August Goehlinger, “Georg Muffat (1653–1704): Ein Gedenkblatt zur 250. Wiederkehr seines Todestages,” *Zeitschrift für Kirchenmusik* 74 (1954): 195.

12. Registers of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Ingolstadt-Landshut-München, vol. 2, col. 1024.

13. “Als ich auß Franckreich zuruck came ins Elsas, und da ich von dannen durch den vorigen Krieg vertrieben worden, vielleicht der erste in Oesterreich und Böhmen, nachmals auf Saltzburg und Passau gebracht.”

14. Karl Batz, “Zwei Meister des musikalischen Barock im Umfeld der Universität zu Ingolstadt: Johann Joseph Fux und Georg Muffat,” *Ingolstädter Heimatblätter* 43 (1980): 22.

15. Muffat’s daughter Maria Anna wrote in 1721 that her father (who died in 1704) had been in the service of the Harrach family for thirty years (Landesarchiv Salzburg, Hofkammer Generaleinnehmer. Hofzahlamt 1721–22 Lit. G, n.p., 20 and 24 July 1721).

Newly discovered documents in St. Stephen's cathedral indisputably place Georg in Vienna on the day of his marriage there: June 29, 1677. The church records also reveal that his bride, Anna Elisabetha, was born around 1646 and that she was the orphaned daughter of Johann Caspar Voll, an administrator (*Pfleger*) in Waidhofen (Bavaria), and his wife Rosina. Given Waidhofen's close proximity to Ingolstadt (approximately thirty kilometers), it would seem likely that the couple met when Georg was studying law.

Georg can next be traced to Prague on July 2, 1677, as is evidenced by a signed and dated manuscript of his solo violin sonata¹⁶—one of only two known surviving autographs (the other is of his *Missa in labore requies*).¹⁷ In 1678, he was appointed organist and *cubicularius* (normally translated as “chamberlain”) at the court of the Salzburg Prince-Archbishop (appointed cardinal in 1686), Max Gandolf Graf von Kuenburg (1622–87), to whom he dedicated his *Armonico tributo* (Salzburg, 1682). The precise date of his arrival in Salzburg cannot be determined, as there are gaps in payment lists between 1676–81 and 1688–94. There are, however, so-called *Hofkammer Katenichel*, which detail what was given to court employees annually at Christmas, and Georg is listed regularly beginning in 1678.¹⁸ The *terminus ad quem* for his arrival in Salzburg is the birth of his first child, Maria Anna, baptized in St. Rupert's cathedral on December 22, 1678. During his time at Salzburg, a further six children were born.¹⁹ After Kuenburg's death in 1687, Georg continued to serve under his successor, Johann Ernst von Thun (1643–1709). Whilst employed at Salzburg, Muffat was granted a period of study in Rome in 1681–82. It is difficult to ascertain the exact duration of his stay, but it is known that he was placed in quarantine at the borders of the Republic of Venice on October 16, 1681 (as a precautionary measure against the spread of epidemics) and was first allowed to continue his journey on November 15.²⁰ In the foreword to *Auserlesene Instrumental-Music* (Passau, 1701), Muffat writes that there he learned the “Italian manner” of playing keyboard instruments from the world-famous Bernardo

16. Zámecká knihovna, Kroměříž: B IV 118 A 562, facsimile ed.: Georg Muffat, *Sonata violin solo*, ed. Jiří Sehnal (Bad Reichenhall: Comes, 1992).

17. National Széchényi Library, Music Division, Budapest: Ms.mus.IV.52 1. Partial facsimile in Ernst Hintermaier, “‘Es kunds im Himmel nit scheener oder lustiger sein’ Musikpflege und mehrchöriges Musizieren am Salzburger Dom im 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Salzburger Musikgeschichte vom Mittelalter bis ins 21. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ernst Hintermaier, Jürg Stenzl, and Gerhard Walterskirchen (Salzburg: Verlag Anton Pustet, 2005), 139–64.

18. Georg Muffat, *Armonico tributo 1682: Sechs Concerti grossi 1701*, ed. Erich Schenk (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1953), vii.

19. See appendix 1.

20. Herbert Seifert, “Biographisches zu Georg Muffat,” *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 3.4 (2004): 19.

Pasquini (1637–1710) and was inspired to compose several concerti after Archangelo Corelli (1653–1713), which he tried out in Corelli's apartment. Georg was to return for the celebrations of the 1,100th anniversary of the foundation of the Salzburg church, which took place between October 17 and 24, 1682.²¹ Although the duration of his stay in Rome was relatively short, its value was profound for the composer, who is still revered for his artful synthesis of French, German, and Italian styles.

Before making his final transfer to Passau, Georg Muffat went to Augsburg for the coronation festivities of the future Emperor Joseph I, undoubtedly with the view of seeking an appointment at court. The imperial family arrived in Augsburg in August 1689, and between this time and the coronation of Joseph as King of the Romans on January 6, 1690, Georg Muffat had the opportunity to present his *Apparatus musico-organisticus* (Augsburg, 1690).²² We know that Georg Muffat also visited Munich early in 1690. The exact purpose of his visit is unclear, but it is known that he met his future employer Johann Philipp von Lamberg and discussed terms of employment.²³ The

21. See the preface to Georg Muffat's *Armonico Tributo* (Salzburg, 1682) and Eberhardt, "Georg Muffat und seine Zeit," 21.

22. The discovery of an earlier version of the first toccata would suggest that there may have been earlier versions of all works found in the printed edition. See Craig A. Monson, "Eine neuentdeckte Fassung einer Toccata von Muffat," *Die Musikforschung* 25 (1972): 465–71. Printed copies of the *Apparatus* were also sold before 1709 by his son Franz Georg Gottfried. I have not consulted these sources and so it cannot be ascertained whether or not this is identical to the Salzburg edition (engraved by Johann Baptist Mayr). It was also reissued with a German preface and corrections by Muffat's heirs, printed and advertised by Johann Peter van Ghelen in Vienna around 1726. A copy of the 1690 edition once belonging to Georg Muffat, which has seemingly remained unknown to editors of this work, is found in the music archive of the Benedictine monastery at Göttweig: 1272. I am grateful to Professor Friedrich W. Riedel for allowing me to consult this source and for his help during my visit. It came to Göttweig through the estate of Aloys Fuchs (signed and dated by Fuchs "Vienna, 1849") and bears the following inscription at the end of the preface: "P. S. Cùm post humillimè a me oblatum, Clementissimè autem a S. C. Maiestate exceptum Augustæ Vindelicorum hoc opus, mihi reduci ad obeundum in posterum Capellæ-Magistri officium Salisburgo Passavium Domicilium meum transferendum fuerit; Huius loci mutationis Benevolum Sectorem hisce monere volui, quatenus Sciat, quò de incepto litteræ ad me dirigendæ sint." A previously unknown version printed in Passau (which uses the musical plates of the Salzburg edition) is also found in the archive of the Berlin Sing-Akademie: SA 4736. The title page bears the additional inscriptions "nunc Passavij Capellæ-Magistro" and "PASSAVIJ Apud Authorem, | Ex SALISBURGI apud JOANNEM BAPT. MAYR, Typogr. Aulico-Academ. | ANNO M. DC. XC." (the preface also contains a printed note about Georg's transfer to Passau similar to that found in the Göttweig copy).

23. See the correspondence between Johann Philipp von Lamberg and his cousin, Johann Friedrich Ignaz von Preysing, cited in Eberhardt, "Georg Muffat und seine Zeit," 36.

Muffat family moved to Passau in the spring of 1690, sometime between March 15 and April 25.²⁴ Georg Muffat had long been discontented with his position in Salzburg. Some have speculated that this dissatisfaction was the result of Heinrich Ignaz Franz Biber's (1644–1704) appointment as *Kapellmeister* in Salzburg in 1684, but Muffat does not seem to have borne any animosity towards Biber, as there is evidence he chose to perform music by this very colleague in Passau.²⁵ We know from a letter to Count Ferdinand Bonaventura von Harrach (1637–1706)²⁶—whose daughter, Rosa Angela (1674–1742), Georg instructed in harpsichord and singing—that Georg wished to leave Salzburg as early as 1685, with the ultimate aim of obtaining a position at the imperial court in Vienna.²⁷ In moving to Passau, Georg may have felt that his ambitions could still be realized, as his employer Johann Philipp von Lamberg had close connections to the court.²⁸

From his arrival in Passau, Georg Muffat held the offices of *Kapellmeister* and *Edelknabenhofmeister* (or *Edelpagenhofmeister*).²⁹ In 1700, Muffat wrote that he had been involved with music for “seven or eight years” at the cathedral. There he was responsible for instructing boys who also lodged with the family. He eventually withdrew from this post on October 16, 1700 (his resignation was accepted on October 21), claiming that the strain on his household was too great, he was getting too old, it was enough

24. From Johann Philipp von Lamberg's letter of 15 March 1690, we know that Muffat had not yet arrived in Passau (*ibid.*). The family most likely arrived before Easter (26 March), but the latest possible date is determined by Gottlieb's baptism on 25 April.

25. Facsimiles of lists of music copied in Passau by Johann Friedrich Fickh (15 November 1691) and Johann Benedikt Amendt (January 1695–July 1696) can be found in Schmitz, *Georg Muffat*, 71–77. As well as works by Biber, these lists include works by J. C. Kerll (1627–93), Melchior d'Ardespin (ca. 1643–1717), and Georg Muffat.

26. Ferdinand Bonaventura was a powerful diplomat and close friend of Emperor Leopold I. At the height of his career in 1699 he was appointed *Obersthofmeister*.

27. The letter (in French), dated Salzburg, 26 April 1685, is transcribed and discussed in Seifert, “Biographisches zu Georg Muffat.”

28. Lamberg's father, Johann Maximilian (1608–82), had been *Obersthofmeister*; and he himself simultaneously held important offices in Vienna.

29. The title “Maggio domo de Paggi” is found on the title page of the drama *Il Volo Perpetuo della Fama Verace*. See Getraut Haberkamp, “Ein neu aufgefundenener Text zu einer Huldigungskomposition von Georg Muffat (1653–1704),” in *Festschrift für Horst Leuchtman zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Stephan Hörner und Bernhold Schmid (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1993), 207–51. The daily regime of Edelknaben at the Viennese imperial court is outlined in Martin Scheutz and Jakob Wührer, “Dienst, Pflicht, Ordnung und ‘Gute Policy’: Instruktionsbücher am Wiener Hof im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Der Wiener Hof im Spiegel der Zeremonial-Protokolle (1652–1800), Eine Annäherung*, ed. Irmgard Pangerl, Martin Scheutz and Thomas Winkelbauer (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2007), 15–228.

work to take care of their own children, and that he was convalescing.³⁰ The several documented quarrels with other church musicians and criticism of his instruction of the choirboys, however, may also have contributed to his decision to resign.³¹

Georg Muffat died on February 23, 1704, in a Passau occupied by Bavarian troops.³² According to the death register, he was buried in the cloister by the cathedral, although the gravestone was later removed and probably lost in 1811.³³ His cause of death is unknown, but it is possible that he never fully recovered from the illness mentioned in the letter he had written four years earlier. As will be discussed in more detail below, shortly after Georg's death, his wife and younger children moved to Vienna. Anna Elisabetha outlived her younger husband by more than twenty years and never remarried. A newly discovered document reveals that she died from hectic fever (*Hectica*) at age seventy-five at the Bohemian Chancellery in Vienna (where her son Sigmund worked) on February 12, 1721.³⁴

Education

Gottlieb Muffat was born in the prince-bishopric of Passau (now in Bavaria), probably in the school of the prince-bishop's pages (*fürstbischöfliche Pagerie*).³⁵ He was baptized "Liebgott" after his godfather Count Liebgott von Kuefstein (d. July 7, 1710)³⁶ on April 25, 1690, in St. Stephen's cathedral.³⁷ The first tenuous reference to Gottlieb is

30. Facsimile provided in Eberhardt, "Georg Muffat und seine Zeit," 78–80.

31. For discussion of Georg Muffat's conflicts with other musicians and criticism about him, see Heinz-Walter Schmitz, *Passauer Musikgeschichte: Die Kirchenmusik zur Zeit der Fürstbischöfe und in den Klöstern St. Nikola, Vornbach und Fürstenzell* (Passau: Karl Stutz, 1999), 169–72.

32. The occupation lasted from 11 January to 13 August 1704. Bistum, Archiv, Passau: Pfarrbücher Passau St. Stephan, vol. 17, 146.

33. Eberhardt, "Georg Muffat und seine Zeit," 57.

34. Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna: Totenbeschauprotokolle, vol. 27, 175r; St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Bahrleibuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, 1721–22, 36r.

35. The house at Residenzplatz 1 (formerly number 38) was normally the home of the *Edelpagenhofmeister*, an office that Georg Muffat held from his arrival in Passau. A memorial plaque was erected on 24 July 2007 claiming this building as the Muffat family home.

36. Bistum, Archiv, Passau: Pfarrbücher Passau St. Stephan, vol. 3, 213. Count Liebgott von Kuefstein, a Passau Hofmarschall, was the co-dedicatee, and likely patron, of Georg Muffat's *Florilegium Secundum* (Passau, 1698). He was married to the niece of Bishop Johann Philipp von Lamberg, Countess Charlotte Antonia. For further biographical information see Georg Muffat, *Florilegium Primum für Streichinstrumente*, ed. Heinrich Rietsch (Vienna: Artaria, 1894), vii.

37. Confusion over his first name often arises due to the large number of variants found in the literature. In primary sources alone, for example, we encounter Amadeus, Gottlieb, Liebgott, Teoffilo,

in a document dated December 22, 1700. Here, Georg Muffat is applying on behalf of one of his sons for a position as treble at the Mariahilf church in Passau.³⁸ It was concluded that if his son was to obtain the post, he was also to serve at the cathedral. It is unlikely that these conditions would have been accepted, as Georg had resigned from his position at the cathedral only months earlier. In addition, several of the Muffat children are plausible candidates for this post; it is impossible to ascertain if Gottlieb was the son in question.

The next document pertaining to Gottlieb is found in the *Obersthofmeisteramt* records of spring 1705.³⁹ We learn not only about his musical education but also that he was a child prodigy. The emperor had heard Gottlieb play the harpsichord (*Clavir*) five years earlier—when he would have been around ten years old—and “consoled” his father that if the son pursued his studies, the emperor would take him into service. It mentions that Gottlieb had already received instruction in playing (*Schlag* = *kunst*) and the rudiments of composition, and that he should receive a scholar’s post so that he could “make himself useful” in the emperor’s service. The *Kapellmeister* Antonio Pancotti (d. June 11, 1709)⁴⁰ testifies that Gottlieb had been so well instructed by his father that even at such a young age he could soon develop into a “perfect” organist.⁴¹

Théophile, and Theophilus. Gottlieb is also referred to as “Franz” in some early *Obersthofmeisteramt* documents, probably erroneously, as his older brother Franz Georg Gottfried was employed as a musician at the imperial court at the same time, and once also as “Ernst,” confused with his brother the violinist Johann Ernst, “Godfried” in his marriage record, “Georgius Theophilus” in his son Ignatius’s baptism record, and as “Gottlieb Joseph” in a letter about his duties as guardian. He is also called “Gottlieb August” (or the reverse) in some nineteenth-century literature; to my knowledge, however, this second Christian name is not found in any contemporary documents. This is probably the result of confusion with the eminent nineteenth-century historian and archivist Karl August Muffat (1804–78). Further research is needed to establish if he was related to this branch of the family. Variants of the surname also occur in eighteenth-century sources, and occasionally in mid- to late eighteenth-century sources one also finds members of the family addressed as “von Muffat.” Although he was christened Liebgott, throughout this study he will be referred to as Gottlieb, the form used by the composer when signing his name. Other family members are referred to by the form of their name most commonly used in primary sources. Where no or few documents pertaining to an individual are known, the German form of their Christian name(s) is used (as opposed to the Latin normally found in baptismal records). As numerous members of the Muffat family are discussed, to avoid any confusion I will refer to each person primarily by their first name(s).

38. Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich: Passau HL 1181, 1111r.

39. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 6, 495v–497r.

40. According to Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867* (1869; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1976).

41. As well as being responsible for the education of his own children, Georg Muffat’s pupils included

There is no mention in contemporary documents of Gottlieb having had any other kind of formal education, nor of having studied other instruments.⁴²

Gottlieb continued his musical education under Johann Joseph Fux.⁴³ He was accepted as an organ scholar on August 1, 1706, and received the standard provision for scholars (360 *Gulden* per annum).⁴⁴ In a report dated April 16, 1712, Gottlieb is praised by Fux for his “extraordinarily unusual application.”⁴⁵ Fux also promises that in three years, by which time one of the organists may have departed, Gottlieb will be able to serve well. We learn more about his training under Fux from Gottlieb’s petition to receive an organist’s post in spring 1717, in which he writes that his teacher instructed him in the art of music, organ, harpsichord (*Clavier*), and composition.⁴⁶ Fux recommends him for the position, affirming that the emperor should not have any reservations in appointing him as he was not only a good virtuoso but had shown himself to be a capable organist through his untiring assiduity and study. Gottlieb continued to regard Fux as his master long after he had become established at court, referring in the *Componimenti Musicali* (Augsburg, ca. 1736–39) to his thirty-year continuous study under the celebrated master. Gottlieb’s high regard for his teacher can also be seen in the preface to his 72 *Versetl* (Vienna, 1726), in which he describes Fux as “without flattery the best master in the world.” It may also be inferred from Fux’s biased treatment of Gottlieb’s brother Johann Ernst (recommending him for a post as violinist) that Fux had a particular fondness for his student.⁴⁷

The music Gottlieb studied under his father and Fux is largely a matter of conjecture. The veritable cosmopolitanism of Gottlieb’s works alone, however, indicate that he had

Rosa Angela von Harrach and the Salzburg organist Johann Baptist Samber (1654–1711), who wrote the important organ treatise *Continuatio ad manductionem organicam* (Salzburg, 1704 and 1707). See Hellmut Federhofer, “Ein Salzburger Theoretikerkreis,” *Acta Musicologica* 36.2–3 (April–September 1964): 50–79.

42. In an auction that took place at Gottlieb’s home in 1763, a *viola d’amore* was among the instruments offered for sale. *Wienerisches Diarium*, 8 October 1763 (also 12 and 15 October 1763).

43. We know from several documents that Fux was Gottlieb Muffat’s teacher. The earliest of these is an ordinance in the *Hofkontrolloramt* documents (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: HWA SR 3), dated 6 November 1706, which describes Fux as a musician and organist.

44. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 6, 638v.

45. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 7, 215r–225r.

46. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA ÄR 15, 705r–706v.

47. “[S]o könnte Mann doch sich hierunter mit des Capell Meisters in favorem des Ioannis Ernesti Muffat oben Sub. G. befindlichen vielleicht propter merita seines brudern, des organisten Gottlieb Muffats also geäußertem voto nicht conformiren” (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 11, 679v, 685r–686v).

been exposed to a wide range of musical influences—unsurprising, given the breadth of his father’s own education and the Palestrina tradition in which Fux’s teaching was apparently grounded.⁴⁸ Little can be determined about the contents of Gottlieb’s own library, as no inventory of his estate survives⁴⁹ and relatively few manuscripts, printed editions, or other books can be confidently identified as having come from his close circle. Only two items are known to bear the annotation “ex libris Theophili Muffat”: Girolamo Diruta’s *Il Transilvano* (Venice, 1593 and 1609)⁵⁰ and a manuscript copy of works by G. F. Handel transcribed by Muffat.⁵¹ Additional items that are likely to have come from Muffat’s estate include manuscripts containing works by J. J. Froberger (1616–67),⁵² J. C. Kerll (1627–93), and F. M. Teichmann (1649–1714).⁵³ Two early nineteenth-century manuscripts of works by Froberger also appear to have been based on copies by Muffat.⁵⁴ Only one manuscript is dated (1736),⁵⁵ so we cannot know when Gottlieb came to know this music.

48. See Friedrich W. Riedel, “Der Einfluss der italienischen Klaviermusik des 17. Jahrhunderts auf die Entwicklung der Musik für Tasteninstrumente in Deutschland während der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts,” in *Studien zur italienisch-deutschen Musikgeschichte* 5, ed. Friedrich Lippmann (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1968), 18–33.

49. Gottlieb Muffat’s estate documents are listed in the index Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMaA 730, but are no longer extant.

50. This item was advertised for sale in 2007. According to the seller Jeffrey D. Mancevice, it was purchased from a German auction a few years earlier, and he knew nothing else of its provenance. It was described as having an “early flexible marbled paper-covered boards” cover (personal correspondence, 19 November 2007). Its present owner is unknown.

51. Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: Mus.ms.9160.

52. Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: Mus.ms.6172 (containing works by Froberger) was, according to one former owner, Aloys Fuchs, one of a considerable number of manuscripts of “old” organ compositions to have come from Muffat’s estate.

53. Benediktinerstift, Musikarchiv, Göttweig: Ms. 4722 (anonymous keyboard works, Kerll and Teichmann) also dates from the early eighteenth century and according to Fuchs also came from Muffat’s estate. See Aloys Fuchs’s catalogs Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: Mus.ms.theor.kat.309; Mus.ms.theor.kat.311; and Mus.ms.theor.kat.559. A detailed history of these sources is discussed in Dunlop, *Life and Works of Gottlieb Muffat*.

54. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna: Mus.hs.16550, and Benediktinerstift, Musikarchiv, Göttweig: Ms.4679. This manuscript (100 folios, width ca. 30 x height ca. 24 cm) was once in the possession of Aloys Fuchs and is signed and dated 1837 (on fol. 1r). According to an annotation on the manuscript by Riedel, there was once an example of Gottlieb Muffat’s handwriting pasted inside this volume, which was unfortunately destroyed when the manuscript was rebound in 1962. It also includes an earlier (eighteenth-century?) engraving (unsigned) depicting two women with musical instruments and music (one crowned and bearing a scepter) below a shield with the motto “Pietate et Magnanimitate.” In the background is the city of Florence.

55. Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: Mus.ms.9160.

In addition to Diruta's *Il Transilvano*, Gottlieb is likely to have known a number of seventeenth-century treatises. His father is believed to have been the author of at least three theoretical works: *Regule Concentuum Partiturae* (Passau, 1699);⁵⁶ *De Praxis Compositionis Regulis* (undated);⁵⁷ and *Regulae Fundamentales* (undated).⁵⁸ Gottlieb is also likely to have known works once copied or owned by his friend P. Alexander Giessel.⁵⁹ These include manuscript copies of *Documenti armonici* (Bologna, 1687) by Angelo Berardi (1636–94),⁶⁰ Johann Andreas Herbst's (1588–1666) *Musica poetica*

56. Manuscript copy in Minoritenkonvent, Klosterbibliothek und Archiv, Vienna: I H. Shelfmarks for this archive follow those in Friedrich W. Riedel, *Das Musikarchiv im Minoritenkonvent zu Wien* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963). Modern facsimile/critical edition: Georg Muffat, *Regulae Concentuum Partiturae*, ed. Bettina Hoffman and Stefano Lorenzetti (Bologna: Bardi Editore, 1991). Also edited in Georg Muffat, *An Essay on Thoroughbass*, ed. Hellmut Federhofer (Tübingen: American Institute of Musicology, 1961).

57. Manuscript copy in Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: Mus.ms.6712. See Federhofer, "Ein Salzburger Theoretikerkreis."

58. Only transmitted in a posthumous manuscript copy in the Benediktinenstift Nonnberg, Salzburg. Modern edition: *Regulae Fundamentales. Eine posthume Generalbasslebre*, ed. Karl Friedrich Wagner (Passau: Musica Sacra Passaviensis, 2005), and discussed by the editor in its historical context in "Die *Regule Concentuum Partiturae* von Georg Muffat im Kontext der Generalbass-Traktate des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Georg Muffat: Ein reichsfürstlicher Kapellmeister zwischen den Zeiten*, ed. Heinz-Walter Schmitz (Passau: Karl Stutz, 2006), 81–167.

59. Giessel was born on 18 or 19 March 1694 and took his vows on 1 November 1713 in Troppau (Opava) in Silesia and on 17 September 1717 was ordained as a priest. He studied philosophy in Wels and then theology in Vienna and was also an organist and bassist. In 1721, he acquired the title of Master of Theology; in 1723, he was appointed novice master; in 1726, choir master in the Church zum Heiligen Kreuz; and by 1729 he was known as an exceptional authority "in musicalibus." His diverse library demonstrates that he was a man of universal tastes, and not only was he a practicing musician and collector but also a composer. Most of his extant works were composed in the decade between 1720 and 1730 (four Masses, one Salve Regina, and other smaller sacred works). Giessel turned blind and deaf two years before his death in the Minoriten closter zum Heiligen Kreuz in Vienna on 12 June 1766. See Friedrich W. Riedel, "Die Wiener Minoriten und ihre Musikpflege," in *Musik und Geschichte: Gesammelte Aufsätze und Vorträge zur musikalischen Landeskunde, Studien zur Landes- und Sozialgeschichte der Musik* 10 (Munich: Emil Katznbichler, 1989), 100–106. We know of Muffat and Giessel's friendship from Giessel's copy of the *Componimeni Musicali* on Minoritenkonvent, Klosterbibliothek, und Archiv, Vienna: XIV 692, which bears the inscription "Ad usum P[at]ris Alexandri Giessel Ord: Min: S: Franc: Conventual: Hoc opus mihi oblatum est, ab ipso Virtuosisimo D[om]ino Autore, meo charissimo amico et Patrono. A[nn]o 1739 die 1 Augusti" (Belonging to father Alexandri Giessel Ord: Min: S: Franc: Conventual: This work was presented to me by the most virtuous master and author himself, my dearest friend and patron. 1 August 1739). Giessel may also have been a pupil of Fux. See Friedrich W. Riedel, *Quellenkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musik für Tasteninstrumente in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts (vornehmlich in Deutschland)* (Munich: Musikverlag Emil Katznbichler, 1990), 89.

60. Minoritenkonvent, Klosterbibliothek und Archiv, Vienna: I C.

(Nuremberg, 1643),⁶¹ and an anonymous volume of studies in counterpoint modeled on Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* (Vienna, 1725).⁶²

Works copied by or belonging to Fux's other pupils also illustrate the repertoire Gottlieb is likely to have studied. According to Köchel,⁶³ Fux's pupils included Jan Dismas Zelenka, František Ignác Tůma (1704–74), Ignaz Prustmann,⁶⁴ and Georg Christoph Wagenseil (1715–77). From Zelenka's period of study in Vienna (1716–19) survives his *Collectaneorum Musicorum Libri Quatuor*,⁶⁵ which must display the (primarily Italian) repertoire Fux prescribed to his students for instructional purposes.⁶⁶ The four books comprise fifteen Magnificat settings (Venice, 1542) by Cristóbal Morales (ca. 1500–53), Girolamo Frescobaldi's (1583–1643) *Fiori musicali* (Venice, 1635), seven ricercars by Alessandro Poglietti (d. 1683), four masses (Rome, 1554 and 1567) by Palestrina (ca. 1525–94), ricercars (Op. III, Bologna, 1669) by Luigi Battiferri (d. after 1682), a ricercar by Froberger, two canons by Angelo Ragazzi, a canon by Bernabei[?], and several works by Fux. Similar repertoire is also found in several collected volumes of keyboard works in the Viennese Minoritenkonvent archive, which once belonged to P. Alexander Giessel. In addition to his own compositions, works once in his possession include: *Missa primitiva* (K 26) and *Omni die dic Mariae* (K 251) by Fux,⁶⁷ chamber works by Arcangelo Corelli and Giuseppe Torelli,⁶⁸ and a staggering number

61. Minoritenkonvent, Klosterbibliothek und Archiv, Vienna: I D.

62. Minoritenkonvent, Klosterbibliothek und Archiv, Vienna: I M.

63. Köchel, *Johann Joseph Fux*, 259–64.

64. Nothing is known about Prustmann's life. Several manuscripts of his works survive in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, one of which (Mus.hs.19007) bears the inscription "scolare del sig. capellae maestro Fux."

65. Sächsische Landesbibliothek Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden: Mus. I-B.98.

66. The *Libri Quatuor* are partly autograph and date from the years 1717 to 1719 (with the exception of a later insert [1728] into *Liber III*). Other copyists have been identified as Philipp Troyer (ca. 1689–1743) and possibly Angelo Ragazzi (ca. 1680–1750). Phillip Bernard Troyer was a violinist at the Polnische Capelle in Dresden from 1723, according to the Königl. Polnisches und Churfürstl. Sächsisches Hof-Buch von 1721 usq. 1725 (Staatsarchiv Dresden, Oberhofmarschallamt K II Nr. 6, 48). In this document he is listed as being thirty-six years old and from Weitra in Lower Austria. He served there until his death in 1743. I am very grateful to Dr. Szymon Paczkowski for very generously providing me with this information based on his own archival research and Alina Żórawska-Witkowska's book *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II w Warszawie* (Warsaw: Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, 1997), 487 (personal correspondence, 30 May 2010). See also Friedrich W. Riedel, "Johann Joseph Fux und die römische Palestrina-Tradition," *Die Musikforschung* 14.1 (1961): 14–22.

67. Minoritenkonvent, Klosterbibliothek und Archiv, Vienna: XII 600 and XII 601.

68. Minoritenkonvent, Klosterbibliothek und Archiv, Vienna: XII 675.

of keyboard works that date from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth century. These extant sources from Fux's circle of pupils illustrate that his teaching of counterpoint was not based solely on artificially constructed systems such as the *Gradus ad Parnassum* (Vienna, 1725); rather, pupils were expected to have a thorough knowledge of works in the *stile antico*.⁶⁹

It is worth noting that at least three of Gottlieb's eight siblings also pursued careers in music.⁷⁰ Franz Georg Gottfried (1681–1710) served as an instrumentalist at the Viennese imperial court. The first record of his presence there is a petition made by his father Georg for his son's appointment following the death of the violinist Anton Schmelzer (1653–1701).⁷¹ In this document, which dates from summer 1701, it is stated that Franz Georg Gottfried had been serving for some years as violinist, flautist, and oboist. The *Kapellmeister* supported this petition owing to Franz Georg Gottfried's extraordinary talent on the violin and other instruments. He was employed from July 1, 1701, with a monthly pay of 30 *Thaler* (45 *Gulden*)⁷² and from August 1, 1710, until his death he received an annual salary of 720 *Gulden*.⁷³ Friderich (1684–1723), about whom regrettably little is known, is listed as having been a choirboy at the Mariahilf church in Passau in 1693.⁷⁴ He served as a chamberlain and musician in Innsbruck and Mannheim at the court of Archduke Karl Philipp von der Pfalz-Neuburg.⁷⁵ Johann Ernst (1686–1746) was also violinist at the Viennese imperial court and received his first official post on October 11, 1710 (with an initial salary of 360 *Gulden* per annum).⁷⁶ After Joseph I's death, Johann Ernst was not immediately reappointed at the court of

69. See Riedel, "Der Einfluss der italienischen Klaviersmusik"; Riedel, *Quellenkundliche Beiträge*, 80–87; Susan Wollenberg, "Viennese Keyboard Music in the Reign of Karl VI (1712–40): Gottlieb Muffat and His Contemporaries" (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1974), 8.

70. A list of family members is found in appendix 1. A detailed description of each member of the Muffat family can be found in Dunlop, *Life and Works of Gottlieb Muffat*.

71. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA ÄR 12, fol. 153 (also in Protokolle 6, fol. 240).

72. Ibid.

73. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 7, 58v.

74. Bayrisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich: HL Passau 1177, 38v. See Eberhardt, "Georg Muffat und seine Zeit," 50.

75. The court account books have not survived, and therefore the main sources employed for research on musicians serving at the court of Karl Philipp are church records. It is therefore impossible to ascertain Friedrich's exact period of employment. See Walter Senn, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck: Geschichte der Hofkapelle vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zu deren Auflösung im Jahre 1748* (Innsbruck: Österreichische Verlagsanstalt Innsbruck, 1954).

76. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 7, 70v.

Karl VI but subsequently received a position as violinist at the court of the dowager Empress Amalia Wilhelmina.⁷⁷ After almost two decades of unsuccessful appeals to be reappointed, he was finally granted a post on December 11, 1730 (with a salary of 400 *Gulden*), which he held until his death.⁷⁸

Muffat's Vienna

It is not yet known when precisely Gottlieb moved from Passau to Vienna; it would appear that most of the family relocated sometime after Georg Muffat's death in 1704. At least two of Gottlieb's siblings, Franz Georg Gottfried and Joseph, were already in imperial service there, and Muffats of a Savoy origin are known to have resided in Vienna as early as the seventeenth century, although their relationship to this branch of the family has not yet been established.⁷⁹

Gottlieb Muffat married Maria Rosalia Eineder (or Einöder) in St. Stephen's cathedral, Vienna, on May 22, 1719.⁸⁰ Maria Rosalia was baptized in St. Stephen's on January 19, 1700, the daughter of the court war-treasury controller (*Hof Kriegszahlamts Kontrollor*) Michael Eineder and his second wife, Isabella Feliciana (née Hauß).⁸¹ Gottlieb Muffat's union with Maria Rosalia Eineder produced five children.⁸² Two died in infancy, unsurprising given the high infant mortality rates in Vienna at this time.⁸³

77. He is listed as Sigmund Muffat from 1715 to 1720 (he was possibly employed as early as 1711, but printed calendars do not survive for the years 1711–14) and then as Johann Ernst from 1721 to 1732.

78. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 12, fol. 636, 642r–644r (also ÄR 26, unpaginated); OMeA Protokolle 12, fol. 649.

79. The probate documentation of a Johann Ludwig Muffat contains the signatures of several Savoyards (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna: Alte Ziviljustiz Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen 1674, Fasz. 19/27). There are also wills of Johann Baptist Muffat (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna: Alte Ziviljustiz Testamente 9386/1693; according to the *Totenbeschauprotokoll* he died 27 August 1693, aged thirty-five) and Claudia Francisca Muffat (née Bargin) (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna: Alte Ziviljustiz Testamente 8358/1680; according to the *Totenbeschauprotokoll* she died 8 September 1679, aged thirty-nine). In the eighteenth century, one also finds a number of Muffats in church and death records who did not appear to belong to the branch of the family in question.

80. St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Trauungsbuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, November 1718–October 1720, Tom. 42, 183.

81. St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Taufbuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, 7 March 1699–22 May 1701, Tom. 48, 409.

82. A more detailed description of each child can be found in Dunlop, *Life and Works of Gottlieb Muffat*.

83. See Peter Csendes and Ferdinand Oppl, eds., *Wien: Geschichte einer Stadt, Die frühneuzeitliche Residenz (16. bis 18. Jahrhundert)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2003), 114. The cause of the premature deaths of both children is given in death records as *Zahnfräis* (convulsions due to teething): Franciscus Josephus Joannes Ignatius Felix was baptized on 25 June 1727 (St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Geburts- und

Gottlieb Muffat's eldest son, Franciscus Josephus Ignatius Laurentius Thadaeus (referred to as Joseph or Franz Joseph in later documents), was baptized on August 9, 1720.⁸⁴ He married Maria Josepha von Kriegl on July 25, 1751.⁸⁵ Franz Joseph was seemingly the only child to follow in his father's footsteps as a musician. In a petition dated October 16, 1732, Gottlieb writes that as a twelve-year-old Franz Joseph was already showing capability in his study of Latin and music.⁸⁶ He also states that he is applying for this position because of the necessity to provide for his other children in these "difficult and expensive times"—a commonly given reason in musicians' petitions—and was granted a scholarship with the usual remuneration of 360 *Gulden* for his young son on April 21, 1733.⁸⁷ Around 1756, however, it would appear that Franz Joseph abandoned the profession.⁸⁸ He died from hydrothorax (*Brustwassersucht*) at

Taufbuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, 17 August 1726–25 March 1728, Tom. 64, 236r) and died on 7 March 1728 (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna: Totenbeschauprotokolle, vol. 31, 280r; St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Protocollum Mortuorum 1723–1733, Tom. 20, 396; St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Bahrleibbuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, 1728, 50v); Ignatius Josephus Vitalis Sigismundus was baptized on 28 April 1732 (St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Geburts- und Taufbuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, 1 July 1730–31 August 1732, Tom. 66, 464v) and died on 18 March 1733 (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna: Totenbeschauprotokolle, vol. 36, 124r; St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Protocollum Mortuorum, 1723–33, Tom. 20, 957; St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Bahrleibbuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, 1733, 74r). The godparents of all of Gottlieb's children were Franz Joseph Hauer and/or his wife Maria Christina (née van Ghelen). Franz Joseph Hauer (b. ca. 1678, d. 5 May 1748 [according to the *Totenbeschauprotokoll*]) was mayor of Vienna from 1721–24, and 1727–28. In recognition of his father's enormous financial contribution of fifty thousand *Gulden* toward the defense of Vienna during the second Turkish siege, Franz Joseph was knighted in 1733. His marriage to Maria Christine van Ghelen (b. ca. 1680, d. 18 July 1765 [according to the *Totenbeschauprotokoll*]) further strengthened his social position. See Felix Czeike, *Historisches Lexikon Wien*, vol. 3 (Vienna: Kremayr und Scheriau, 1994), 77.

84. St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Geburts- und Taufbuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, 14 November 1719–8 March 1721, Tom. 60, 206r.

85. St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Trauungsbuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, 12 July 1751–27 August 1752, 7r (initial application to marry); Vienna, Schottenpfarre, Hochzeit Protocoll, August 1748–1752, 179v.

86. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA ÄR 29 (unpaginated).

87. Notably, the report writer had suggested ten *Gulden* less per month, given Franz Joseph's age (that is, he may, and indeed did, later decide not to pursue music, but based on the emperor's recommendation, which mentions Gottlieb's diligence, he received the full amount). Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA ÄR 29 (unpaginated); also Protokolle 14, 14r–15v; Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 14, 91v–92r.

88. His name last appears crossed out in the *Kayserlicher Hof- und Ehren-Calender* of 1757 (copy in Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, under various titles, printed 1692–1806 [incomplete series

the Muffat family home in June 1763.⁸⁹ Gottlieb's youngest son was baptized Joannes Nepomuzenus Carolus Leopoldus Januarius (Johann Karl) on September 19, 1735.⁹⁰ We know little more about him than that he became a man of the cloth (referred to in the death records as a *Geistlicher* or *Abé*) and died from encephalitis (*Hirn Entzündung*) on either March 8 or 10, 1767.⁹¹ Gottlieb's only surviving daughter was baptized Maria Anna Christina on July 3, 1725.⁹² She became a chambermaid (*Cammerdienerin*) to the Archduchesses Maria Amalia⁹³ and Maria Anna.⁹⁴ From her marriage to Jacob Joseph Woller (who received the title von Wollersfeld in 1764),⁹⁵ which took place on

in HHStA 38/K2, ÖNB 393.866-A.Kat and HHStA 37/K 1]), which led scholars to believe that he had died in 1756 or 1757. It transpires, however, that Franz Joseph worked first simultaneously and later exclusively as a Lower Austrian Regime secretary; this is also the most likely explanation for his later reduction in pay.

89. The *Totenbeschauprotokoll* gives the date as 17 June with a question mark beside it; the *Protocollum Mortuorum* gives 19 June. Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna: Totenbeschauprotokolle, vol. 57, M 19r; St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Protocollum Mortuorum, 1761–1764 Töm. 29, 155; St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Bahrleibuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, 1763, 204v–205r.

90. St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Geburts- und Taufbuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, 1 June 1735–30 August 1736, Töm. 69, 65v.

91. Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna: Totenbeschauprotokolle, vol. 61, M 7v; St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Protocollum Mortuorum, 1765–68, Töm. 30, 138; St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Bahrleibuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, 1767, fol. 53; *Wienerisches Diarium*, 11 March 1767.

92. St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Geburts- und Taufbuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, 16 October 1724–17 August 1726, Töm. 63, 165v.

93. A report of 7 March 1746 lists her as having been employed with three hundred *Gulden* and seventy *Gulden* extra allowances from 1 January 1746 (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 18, 234r).

94. According to her marriage record (St. Augustin, Pfarrarchiv, Vienna: Protocollum Copulatorum [...] 1749ff., 43–44).

95. According to a 1771 portrait (the only known surviving portrait of a close relative of Gottlieb Muffat [Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna: Bildarchiv PORT.00138381.01]), Jacob Joseph was born on 22 August 1713 in Traiskirchen, Lower Austria. He was the son of the violinist Ferdinand Woller (ca. 1687–1736), educated at the Benedictine Schottenstift in Vienna (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA ÄR 26 [unpaginated]), and appointed violin scholar with the usual scholar's provision of 360 *Gulden* on 11 December 1730. By all accounts he was a talented musician, and Fux testified that he had listened with amazement when hearing him play (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA ÄR 26 [unpaginated]). He held the post of violinist at the imperial court until 1748 (in the *Status* of March 1741 he is listed as one of four "Violen" with a yearly salary of four hundred *Gulden* [Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 17, 46v–50v]). From 1748 he is referred to in *Obersthofmeisteramt* documents as a former violinist who is now a chamberlain (*Cammerdiener*)

February 24, 1754,⁹⁶ two children survived into adulthood—Maria Anna died from internal gangrene (*innerlicher Brand*) following the birth of her youngest daughter in March 1759.⁹⁷ It is not presently known whether Gottlieb Muffat's direct descendants lived beyond this generation.

(Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 19, 378v). Jacob Joseph was later captain of the imperial castle at Hetzendorf (from ca. 1754 until his death) and chamberlain to the Archduke Joseph (dates unknown); the 1771 portrait also describes him as an advisor to the emperor and a representative in the city senate; in the *Totenbeschauprotokoll* he is listed as an advisor to the Lower Austrian Regime and city attorney. Like Gottlieb Muffat, he was a member of the *Musicalische Congregation* and served ca. 1740 as one of the *Visitatori degl' Infermi* (visitors to the sick). After his first wife's death, Jacob Joseph Woller married Ernesta von Guttenberg on 7 October 1759 (St. Augustin, Pfarrarchiv, Vienna: Liber Copulatorum [. . .] 1756ff., 21). They had one son, baptized Franciscus Seraphicus Josephus Antonius (Franz) on 3 July 1760 (St. Augustin, Pfarrarchiv, Vienna: Liber Baptizatorium [. . .] 1756ff., 7–8.). Jacob Joseph Woller died from *Brand* (gangrene or inflammation) on 1 January 1777 (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna: Totenbeschauprotokolle, vol. 72 W 1r; St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Protocollum Mortuorum January 1777–October 1780, Tom. 33, 3; St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Bahrleibbuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, 1777, 2v–3v; Wienerisches Diarium, 8 January 1777).

96. St. Augustin, Pfarrarchiv, Vienna: Protocollum Copulatorum [. . .] 1749ff., 43–44.

97. Maria Anna and Jacob Joseph had four children: Theresia Josepha Rosina Anna Magdalena (baptized on 13 January 1756 [St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Geburts und Taufbuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, July 1754–January 1756, Tom. 81, 337v], died from *Darmfräis* (colic) on 18 January 1756 [Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna: Totenbeschauprotokolle, vol. 51, W 2r]); and Christina died with her mother shortly after her birth (baptized only by the midwife) from *innerlicher Brand* (internal gangrene or inflammation) in March 1759 (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna: Totenbeschauprotokolle, vol. 53, W 6r; St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Protocollum Mortuorum, 1757–1760, 80v; St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Bahrleibbuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, 1759, 47v; *Wienerisches Diarium*, 21 March 1759). Their daughter, Maria Anna Aloysia Erasmus Expeditus Thecla Margaretha (Maria Anna), named after her godmother the Archduchess Maria Anna, was baptized on 26 December 1754 (St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Geburts und Taufbuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, July 1754–January 1756, Tom. 81, 97v). All that is presently known about Maria Anna is that she was a chambermaid at the imperial court in Naples and was married and still living in 1809 (Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, Graz: Landrecht Verlässe, 7–5746/1809, suspense order, 18 November 1809). Their son was baptized Josephus Dominicus Antonius Judas Thadaeus Ignatius Franciscus Xaverius (Joseph Dominik) on 18 January 1758 (St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Geburts und Taufbuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, 1 January 1758–29 December 1759, Tom. 83, 8v). He married Maria Anna Junker from Bozen in Tirol on 10 June 1785 (St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Trauungsbuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, 3 November 1782–22 November 1785, 302v–303r). Only one child from their marriage has been identified, Maria, who died from *Wurmfieber* (worm fever), aged three, on 18 October 1788. At some point he moved to Graz, where he is listed in probate documents as having been a “Registratur-Adjunkt bei der Tabak- und Siegelgefälls-Adminstration” with a salary of 550 *Gulden*. He died in poverty, leaving enormous debts,

It is not known where Gottlieb Muffat lived when he first came to Vienna. His marital home was Weihburggasse 2/Kärntnerstraße 11 (959, 998, 940),⁹⁸ referred to in early records primarily as the “Schönbrucker” house and later as the “Eineder” or “Muffat” house. The building is situated in the heart of the old city, on what was and remains one of its most important thoroughfares.⁹⁹ It is not possible to reconstruct the exact living quarters of Gottlieb Muffat and his family, but one can gain an insight into

on 17 November 1809. His status is given as “ledig” (single), although his wife was still alive, and his only relations are listed as a stepmother and brother (Franz, from his father’s second marriage) in Vienna and a sister whose whereabouts were unknown.

98. Viennese addresses of this period are characterized by *Konskriptionsnummern*, which changed in the years 1770, 1795, and 1821, and/or a house name (here the numbers are given in chronological order together with the modern address).

99. According to Harrer-Lucienfeld, the house was first mentioned in 1413 as the “Schönknechts” house, a name that was used until the middle of the century (Paul Harrer-Lucienfeld, *Wien seine Häuser, Menschen, und Kultur*, vol. 5 (Vienna: printed by author, 1951–58), 104. It received its name “Schönbrucker” from the Schonprucker family who resided there between 1450 and 1482. The house was purchased by Michael Eineder and his wife Walburga in 1672. It entered Michael Eineder’s sole possession in accordance with his wife’s will of 16 October 1682, and then in accordance with his will of 4 August 1714 fell into the possession of his second wife, Isabella Feliciana. She bequeathed it in her will of 17 November 1742 to her four daughters, Anna Elisabeth Kölbl, Maria Rosalia Muffat, Anna Maria Eineder, and Maria Sophia Muffat (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna: Alte Ziviljustiz Testamente 8499/1747, unpaginated). Anna Maria Eineder left her share of the house to her niece Maria Anna (Gottlieb Muffat’s daughter) in her will of 9 January 1757, which was later inherited by her husband Jacob Joseph Woller. Maria Sophia Muffat’s quarter fell to her husband Sigmund and then to his brother Gottlieb in 1761. Jacob Joseph Woller (now von Wollersfeld) signed over his quarter to his two still underage children in 1768, and it was later purchased by their stepmother Ernestina (née von Guttenberg) in 1777. Anna Elisabeth Kölbl bequeathed her quarter to the *Gesellschaft Jesu* (Society of Jesus), but after the dissolution of the society, this quarter came into the possession of the lower-Austrian *Ex jesuitenfond*, who later sold it to Maria Rosalia Muffat. Following Gottlieb’s death, half of the house became the sole possession of his wife Maria Rosalia, and after her passing the three quarters were inherited by her grandchildren. Joseph sold his share to Johann Georg Wagner on 24 October 1785, which was subsequently repurchased by Ernestina. Ernestina and Maria Anna sold their share of the house to the gold-and-silver broker (*Drabhtzieher*) Joseph Schumann on 12 August 1796, who remodeled the house (land registers [ordered chronologically]: Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna: Grundbuch 1/17, 425r–426r; Grundbuch 1/20, 13r–14v; Grundbuch 1/21, 161r–162r; Grundbuch 1/21, 197v–198v; Grundbuch 1/21, 526r–527r; Grundbuch 1/22 256v–257r; Grundbuch 1/22 267r–268r; Grundbuch 1/23, 45r–46r; Grundbuch 1/23, 212v–213v; Grundbuch 1/24 179v–180v; Grundbuch 1/24, 293v–294r). The house was significantly altered again ca. 1895 for the department store Ludwig Zwieback and Bruder. The business was later inherited by Ludwig Zwieback’s daughter Ella Zirner-Zwieback (1878–1970), a talented pianist, but it was “aryanized” in 1938 under National Socialism and liquidized in January of the following year (“Fünfter Bericht des amtsführenden Stadtrates für Kultur und Wissenschaft über die gemäß dem Gemeinderatsbeschluss

the typical distribution of space in a building of this size (214 *Quadratklafter*¹⁰⁰) from the *Josephinische Steuerfassion*.¹⁰¹ It is also known from advertisements for an auction in the *Wienerisches Diarium* in October 1763 that Gottlieb Muffat lived on the second floor of the building.¹⁰² In 1787, tradesmen occupied much of the ground floor, and there were a total of twelve apartments of varying sizes. Tenants included middle-class tradesmen, surgeons, and a dance master. The rent accrued from the tenants at this time after tax deduction equated to 2,739 *Gulden* and six *Kreuzer*.¹⁰³

Employment at Court

Georg Muffat's unsuccessful attempts at obtaining a position at the imperial court have been well documented, and it is therefore perhaps unsurprising that he should have wished to fulfill his ambitions through his sons. By the time of Georg's death, at least two of his sons were already employed at court; Franz Georg Gottfried as violinist and Joseph at the *Zebrgaden* and later at the *Hofkontrolloramt*. As noted above, Gottlieb Muffat was first employed on August 1, 1706, with the usual scholar's provision of 360 *Gulden*. When he was appointed organist proper at the court of Karl VI on April 3, 1717, he was initially granted a yearly salary of five hundred *Gulden*, but this was

vom 29. April 1999 erfolgte Übereignung von Kunst- und Kulturgegenständen aus den Sammlungen der Museen der Stadt Wien sowie der Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek," 127–29. See <http://www.wienbibliothek.at/dokumente/restitutionsbericht2004.pdf> (accessed 22 November 2004). Like much of the city, the house suffered severe damage in the bombardment of Vienna in April 1945.

100. A *Klafter* is defined as the length between the outstretched arms of a man, traditionally six *Fuß*, normally considered to be 1.8965 m in Austria. See Joseph Schlessinger, *Der Cataster Handbuch für Ämter, Architekten, Baumeister, Capitalisten, Hausbesitzer etc. über sämtliche Häuser der k. k. Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien* (Vienna: Joseph Schlessinger, 1875), 43.

101. Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna: *Josephinische Steuerfassion*, B34/4, 392v–395r. A detailed description of the *Josephinische Steuerfassion* can be found in Michael Lorenz, "Mozart's Apartment on the Alsergrund," http://homepage.univie.ac.at/michael.lorenz/alsergrund/#_edn11 (accessed 22 August 2010).

102. Advertised in the *Wienerisches Diarium* on 8 October 1763 (also 12 and 15 October 1763).

103. From an earlier tax book (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna: *Behauste Bücher, Kärntnerviertel 1751–75*, 240v), we also obtain the following information about rental income and tax (in brackets): 1751: 2,124 *Gulden* (303 *Gulden*, 26 *Kreuzer*); 1752: 2,104 *Gulden* (300 *Gulden*, 34 *Kreuzer*); 1753: 2,084 *Gulden* (297 *Gulden*, 43 *Kreuzer*); 1754–55: 2,064 *Gulden* (294 *Gulden*, 51 *Kreuzer*); 1756–58: 2,074 *Gulden* (296 *Gulden*, 17 *Kreuzer*); 1759: 2,084 *Gulden* (297 *Gulden*, 43 *Kreuzer*); 1760–61: 2,085 *Gulden* (297 *Gulden*, 51 *Kreuzer*); 1762–64: 2,079 *Gulden* (297 *Gulden*); 1765: 2,104 *Gulden* (300 *Gulden*, 34 *Kreuzer*); 1766: 2,116 *Gulden*, 30 *Kreuzer* (302 *Gulden*, 21 *Kreuzer*); 1767: 2,226 *Gulden* (318 *Gulden*); 1768: 2,266 *Gulden* (323 *Gulden*, 43 *Kreuzer*); 1769–71: 2,316 *Gulden* (330 *Gulden*, 51 *Kreuzer*); 1772–75: 2,226 *Gulden* (318 *Gulden*).

increased retrospectively on June 1, 1717, to 720 *Gulden*.¹⁰⁴ He received a final pay increase on 19 March 1723,¹⁰⁵ bringing his annual salary up to nine hundred *Gulden*, which he retained during his service at court and as a pension.¹⁰⁶ According to an *Obersthofmeisteramt* report, this was an ordinary salary for good or older organists.¹⁰⁷

Muffat's duties, and consequently the time available to him for composition and private teaching, must have depended largely on the number of other active organists. A rotation policy was in place at the imperial court. In a report dated April 16, 1712, it is noted that three organists—Georg Reutter the elder (1656–1738), Leopold Rammer (ca. 1661–1730), and Johann Georg Reinhardt (ca. 1676 or 1677–1742), who had replaced Ferdinand Tobias Richter (1651–1711)—alternated on a weekly basis.¹⁰⁸ It should also be taken into consideration that not all musicians serving at court are necessarily listed in the various calendars and account books; musicians often played without pay, probably to increase their chances of being employed if a position became available. Various *Obersthofmeisteramt* reports from 1728 reveal that the violinist Johann Paul Hammer (ca. 1703–48), for example, had been frequenting the court without pay for six years.¹⁰⁹

Although in a 1712 report, Fux attests that Gottlieb Muffat would be ready to serve as organist in three years (i.e., 1715), the latter did not receive his first official appointment at the court of Karl VI until April 3, 1717. The problem was that all three aforementioned organists were still in service. Gottlieb did, however, find a position at the court of the dowager Empress Amalia Wilhelmina in 1714, which he probably

104. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 8, 663r, fol. 664 (also ÄR 15, unpaginated). The *Kapellmeister's* recommendation was given orally and thus the reasons for the pay raise are undocumented in the *Obersthofmeisteramt* report.

105. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 10, 29v–30r; OMeA Protokolle 10, 49v–50r.

106. Muffat's pension must have been reduced at some point after his death, as in his wife Maria Rosalia's probate documentation (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMaA 786, No. 23) she is listed as receiving an annual pension of four hundred *Gulden*.

107. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 10, 29v–30r. Court expenditure and policy on music is discussed in Alison J. Dunlop, "Forgotten Musicians: Documenting Musical Life at the Viennese Imperial Court in the Eighteenth Century," *Musicologica Brunensia* 47.1 (2012): 93–112.

108. "Es haltet der Ziani dafür daß dreÿ genug seÿndt, weillen der gewohnheit nach Sie wochen weiß, einer umb den anderen dienen. So auch beÿ denen anderen Instrumentisten der brauch seÿe." Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 7, 215r–225r. Serving on an alternate basis is mentioned elsewhere, including OMeA Protokolle 10, 328r–332v and OMeA Protokolle 11, 646r–651v, where it is mentioned that the violinists are divided into three classes and only serve every three weeks.

109. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 12, 490r–495v (also ÄR 26, unpaginated).

held until her death in April 1742.¹¹⁰ According to a document from the *Vizezahlmeister* Joseph de France's estate, in 1738, 8,050 *Gulden* were allocated for expenses of Amalia Wilhelmina's musicians. Gottlieb Muffat was the second highest-paid musician (after the music director), receiving an annual salary of six hundred *Gulden*.¹¹¹ In many respects, the chapel of the dowager Empress Amalia Wilhelmina, and later that of Elisabeth Christine, acted as a stepping stone for those who wished to obtain a post at the imperial chapel.¹¹²

In his petition for a pay raise in January 1723, Gottlieb reiterates the content of his 1717 letter regarding his instruction by Fux in the "art of music."¹¹³ He also mentions his duties as organist and his humble compositions.¹¹⁴ Fux elaborates that in light of his assiduousness, his "virtù" (virtue or acquired excellence), and the fact that the organists Georg Reutter and Johann Georg Reinhardt had the same duties but enjoyed seventy-five *Gulden* per month, Gottlieb should receive a raise of fifteen *Gulden*. According to Fux's testimonial, Gottlieb also accompanied *all* operas and chamber festivities (*Cammerfestinen*). Gottlieb was successful in his petition and received nine hundred *Gulden* per year beginning on March 19, 1723.¹¹⁵

110. The sources of this information are the printed court calendars, for which copies from the years 1711–14 and 1741–42 do not exist. Gottlieb Muffat's starting date can be confirmed from petition letters. For a list of musicians serving at the court of Amalie Wilhelmine, see Martin Eybl, "Die Kapelle der Kaiserinwitwe Elisabeth Christine (1741–1750): Besetzung, Stellung, am landesfürstlichen Hof und Hauptkopisten," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 45 (1996): 51–53.

111. The following list is given in Gerda Mraz, "Die Kaiserinnen aus dem Welfenhaus und ihr Einfluss auf das geistig-kulturelle Leben in Wien," in *Johann Joseph Fux und seine Zeit: Kultur, Kunst und Musik im Spätbarock*, ed. Arnfried Edler and Friedrich W. Riedel (Laaber: Laaber, 1996), 88–89: Music director 800 *Gulden*; organist 600 *Gulden*; first tenor 400 *Gulden*; second tenor 350 *Gulden*; bass 350 *Gulden*; four violinists 1,300 *Gulden*; cellist 300 *Gulden*; violist 350 *Gulden*; two trombonists 600 *Gulden*; bassoonist 250 *Gulden*; horn player 200 *Gulden*; part distributor (*Part-Austheiler*) 150 *Gulden*; instrument servicer (*Instrumentdiener*) 300 *Gulden*; all ripienists, *Calcant*, and choirboys 2,100 *Gulden*. In the *Oberstallmeisteramt* of the dowager empress there were also two "musicalische Hoff-Trompetter" who received 830 *Gulden*.

112. This explains several musicians' temporary employment here, which sometimes overlapped with their employment at the imperial chapel. Eybl, "Die Kapelle der Kaiserinwitwe Elisabeth Christine," 38.

113. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA ÄR 19, unpaginated.

114. "Producirung meiner wenigen musicalischen Composition." Inexplicably, Muffat writes that as well as serving as organist proper for six years, he was a Hofscholar for four years; it is possible that the copyist of the letter simply misread the original.

115. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 10, 49v–50r.

Of the six organists employed at the imperial court around 1751,¹¹⁶ Gottlieb Muffat and Wenzel Pirck are listed as the most capable.¹¹⁷ In the *Status* dating from circa 1754, six organists (in and out of service) are listed: Gottlieb Muffat (900 *Gulden*), Anton Carl Richter (600 *Gulden*), Franz Rusofsky (400 *Gulden*), Anton Werndle (500 *Gulden*), Matthias Carl Reinhardt (400 *Gulden*), and Wenzel Pirck (500 *Gulden*). In addition, an unnamed *bejihilff* (extra) is listed as having been employed for three years with 150 *Gulden* pay as of October 10, 1752.¹¹⁸ This number had diminished drastically by the end of the decade; in the *Status* dated November 1, 1756, only two paid organists are listed.¹¹⁹ Muffat first on an annual salary of 900 *Gulden*, and Pirck second with 600 *Gulden*. “Arbesser”—presumably Ferdinand Arbesser (ca. 1719–94)¹²⁰—is also listed without pay.

Gottlieb Muffat was also a member of the so-called *Musicalische Congregation* (also referred to as the *Cäcilien-Bruderschaft*), founded in Vienna in 1725. He held the office of *collectore*—although this is listed as a temporary office, he is recorded as holding this position in both 1725 and 1740—whose duties entailed collecting membership fees (an initial fee of two *Gulden* and thereafter ten *Kreuzer* per month and any other donations that were made to the *Congregation*).¹²¹

Travels and Correspondence

At present, very little is known about Gottlieb Muffat’s travels and correspondence with musicians working outside Vienna. In Fux’s testimonial regarding Gottlieb’s appointment as court organist in 1717, we find the only mention of an elusive “forthcoming journey,” for which it is recommended that he should receive a considerable salary.¹²²

116. Gottlieb Muffat (900 *Gulden*), Anton Carl Richter (600 *Gulden*), Matthias Carl Reinhardt (400 *Gulden*), Wenzel Pirck (500 *Gulden*); Jubilati: Franz Rosowsky (400 *Gulden*) and Anton Werndle (400 *Gulden*) (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA SR 184/93, 11–13r and 17r–20r).

117. Here it is stated that only two would be appointed after their deaths with annual salaries of seven hundred *Gulden* and five hundred *Gulden*, respectively.

118. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA SR 184, 14r–17r.

119. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: HMK 1, 12r–13v.

120. Little is known about Ferdinand (Franz Paul) Arbesser, except that (according to Köchel, *Hofmusikkapelle*) he served as court organist from 6 May 1772 until 1 December 1791. It has also been speculated that he served as Kapellmeister at Krumau (Český Krumlov) from 1747 to 1751. See Bruce Campbell MacIntyre, “The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period: History, Analysis, and Thematic Catalogue” (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1984), 159–61.

121. For more on the *Musicalische Congregation* and a possible connection to Bach’s B-minor Mass, see Michael Maul, “‘Die große catholische Messe’: Bach, Graf Questenbergh, und die ‘Musicalische Congregation’ in Wien,” BJ 95 (2009): 153–76.

122. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA ÄR 15, 705r–706v.

Although no further evidence of this anticipated journey has yet been uncovered, it is entirely possible that Gottlieb studied elsewhere, and this may explain his retrospective increase in pay in 1717.

In August 1723, Gottlieb traveled to Prague for the coronation of Karl VI as king of Bohemia. He also traveled to Pressburg (today Bratislava) for the coronation festivities in 1741. His name appears on several lists of musicians who were to travel to Pressburg for the coronation of the future Empress Maria Theresia as king [*sic*] of Hungary on June 25, 1741.¹²³ All imperial musicians except for four trumpeters and a timpanist were sent back to Vienna on her majesty's order on September 21 because of the increasing conflicts in the War of the Austrian Succession.

As relatively little is known about Muffat's travels and private correspondence, his exchanges with other composers remain largely a matter of speculation. An assessment of influences on Muffat's music—and indeed his influence on others—must be based on internal musical evidence alone. It is thus impossible to confirm the suggestion that Muffat was one of the earliest proponents of Bach's music in Vienna.¹²⁴ Tangible connections between the two composers are few. It has been claimed that the earliest Viennese source for a work by Bach (BWV 904/2) may have come from Muffat's circle.¹²⁵ There is no doubt that this manuscript dates from the early eighteenth century and is of Viennese origin; however, there is no evidence to allow us to directly associate it with Muffat.¹²⁶ Only one work by Muffat (Ricercar 31) was copied into the manuscript in the eighteenth century, and its unidentified scribe is not known to have copied any other of his works. Given the predominance of pieces ascribed to Georg Reutter, it would seem more likely that the manuscript originated with one of Reutter's pupils or friends. Only one other source for Bach's music in Austria (containing BWV 914/4) provides a second, equally tenuous link between Bach and Muffat.¹²⁷ The manuscript,

123. The coronation trip to is discussed in detail in Alison J. Dunlop, "Music and Musicians at the Pressburg Coronation of Maria Theresia (1741)," *Musikologische Slovaca* 3.29 (2012): 5–44.

124. See Friedrich W. Riedel, "Aloys Fuchs als Sammler Bachscher Werke," BJ 47 (1961): 90, n.44; and Friedrich W. Riedel, "Musikgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Johann Joseph Fux und Johann Sebastian Bach," in *Festschrift für Friedrich Blume zum 70 Geburtstag*, ed. Anna Amalie Abert and Wilhelm Pfannkuch (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963): 292.

125. Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: Mus.ms.30112. This manuscript contains only two pieces by Muffat (MC C52 and C62).

126. Amendments made by one former owner Aloys Fuchs (1799–1853) had falsely led some scholars to believe that the manuscript dates from the nineteenth century (see NBA KB V/9.2, 179–180). Although there are remarks by Fuchs that several works have been copied from organ journals (see also Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: Mus.ms.theor.kat.309) and that the final piece by Monn was "Copiert von meiner Orig. Handschrift des berühmtes G. Albrechtberger—welcher der Schüler des Monn war; von Aloys Fuchs 5/6/1848," there are no notes about the provenance of the original manuscript.

127. D-Hs ND VI 3209.

compiled in the 1730s,¹²⁸ once belonged to the Stift Mattsee organist Johann Anton Graf (1711–91).¹²⁹ Two manuscripts in the collection of the Benedictine Archabbey at Beuron shed further light on its transmission history and possible connections between Graf, Muffat, and Bach. The first manuscript contains an almost complete copy of the keyboard book belonging to Graf and an additional, lost source for Muffat's organ masses.¹³⁰ Annotations in the Beuron copy reveal that the original manuscripts were once in Otto Jahn's (1813–1869) possession¹³¹ and were later acquired by Friedrich Chrysander (1826–1901).¹³² The second is a volume of keyboard music in

128. According to Peter Wollny (NBA KB V/9.1, 91), the date given in Johann Anton Graf's annotation on D-Hs ND VI 3209 was 1738 (this is not visible in the microfilm reproduction). On D-BEU Mus.ms.82 (a direct copy of D-Hs ND VI 3209), however, the date is given as 1730.

129. See Ernst Hintermaier, "Das Orgelbüchlein des Mattseer Stiftsorganisten Johann Anton Graf aus dem Jahre 1738," in *Bach in Salzburg: Festschrift zum 25-jährigen Bestehen der Salzburger Bachgesellschaft* (Salzburg: Tauriska-Verlag, 2002), 84–99.

130. D-BEU Mus.ms.82. It is not known how the manuscript came to Beuron. The title page bears the signature of Adolf Auberlen, who was a priest in Hassfelden (Baden-Württemberg) from 1878 to 1899. Reinmar Emans gives 1876 as Auberlen's date of appointment (NBA KB IV/10, 312), whereas the church records online (www.hassfelden.de/html/kirchenchronik.html [accessed 1 September 2009]) give 1878. It is known that Auberlen acquired or at least consulted manuscripts from the Erfurt organist August Gottfried Ritter's (1811–85) estate (a manuscript copy of *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder* (BWV deest [Emans no. 16] D-Bim Mus.ms. Pachelbel 1 in Ritter's hand was later acquired by Max Seiffert [1868–1948] from Auberlen's estate. See NBA KB IV/10, 312), a large part of which came to Beuron, although Ritter does not list these works in his thematic catalog ([*Katalog der Orgelkompositionen*] D-BEU Mus.ms.159). The original Hamburg manuscript was believed to have been lost during the Second World War after the holdings of the library had been evacuated to Schloss Lauenstein (Erzgebirge) and taken as trophy of war by the Red army. It was subsequently recovered in the Soviet Union and returned in 1991 to Hamburg. See the Göttingen Bach Catalog, [http://gwdu64.gwdg.de/pls/bach/qu\\$quellen.QueryViewByKey?P_QSL=dhsndvi3209&Z_CHK=59609](http://gwdu64.gwdg.de/pls/bach/qu$quellen.QueryViewByKey?P_QSL=dhsndvi3209&Z_CHK=59609) (accessed 1 September 2009).

131. The following two manuscripts are listed in the auction catalog of Jahn's estate (Otto Jahn's Musikalische Bibliothek und Musikalien-Sammlung. Bonn. 1870 [...]): "No. 2376 Muffat, G. Missa in F. u. C. Orgelstimme. A. A. [alter Abschrift] Fol. Hl [Halbleinwandband] | No. 2377 Muffat, G. 12 Toccaten—12 Fugen. In demselben Bande: Neumüller, Partien, Eberlin, Fugen, Froberger, Tocc. und Fugen. Murschhausen, Intonat., Kerl, Canzoni, A. A. Querf. Hl." These items were sold at auction on 7 April 1870. At present one can also only speculate about where Jahn acquired these manuscripts. It is most likely that he collected them on one of his research trips to Vienna or Salzburg in 1852 or 1853, or from a collector friend in Vienna, such as Ludwig Ritter von Köchel (1800–77), Carl Ferdinand Pohl (1819–87), or Leopold von Sonnleithner (1797–1873) (these three are named in the auction catalog of Jahn's estate, pp. iii–iv).

132. According to a note on the cover of D-BEU Mus.ms.82, both manuscripts were (at the time of copying) in Friedrich Chrysander's possession, which allows us to date the Beuron copy quite

Graf's hand¹³³ that contains works by Muffat. At present it cannot be established if Graf and Muffat were in direct contact; however, the presence of unica in both sources may indicate that Graf obtained music (with the possible inclusion of BWV 914/4) directly from Muffat.

Although neither of these early Austrian sources provides any convincing evidence for Muffat's role in the transmission of Bach's keyboard music in Vienna, the possibility that he knew Bach's music cannot be excluded. As has been mentioned above, no personal correspondence between Muffat and other musicians is known to have survived; however, there are several individuals who were mutually acquainted with both composers and could have served as mediators. For example, Muffat certainly knew his fellow Fux pupil Jan Dismas Zelenka (1679–1745); he is likely to have met Sylvius Leopold Weiss (1686–1750), whose work he transcribed,¹³⁴ in Prague in 1723. He also gave keyboard lessons to the daughter of Count Johann Adam von Questenberg (1678–1752).¹³⁵

Compositions

Although Gottlieb Muffat has received much-deserved attention as a composer in his own right, he remains best known because of Handel's extensive borrowings of his work.¹³⁶ Otherwise, there are very few indications as to how Muffat's music was

precisely to between 1870 and 1875 (Chrysander's collection was sold to the then Stadtbibliothek Hamburg in 1875).

133. D-BEU Mus.ms.30 contains keyboard music attributed to Gottlieb Muffat (MC B23, B39), August Bux (Pix), Johann Ernst Eberlin, Johann Anton Koberich, Johann Caspar Simon, and Adolph Hasse, as well as several anonymous pieces. It probably dates from the mid-eighteenth century and cannot predate 1746, which is given as the date of compositions by August Bux (Pix) on 24v and 73v. The manuscript was later in the possession of the avid collector and editor of early music Ernst von Werra. Werra, born on 11 February 1854 in Leuk (Switzerland), from 1890 was organist and music director at Constance cathedral. See Hugo Riemann, *Geschichte der Musik seit Beethoven (1800–1900)* (Berlin: Verlag von W. Spemann, 1901), 661.

134. The only reference to this work is in a supplement to Eitner's catalog: "Suite compose pour le Luth par S. Leop. Weiß. Transposée sur le clavecin par Theophile Muffat s. Weiß, Sylvius Leopold. 2, 554." Max Schneider, Hermann Springer, and Werner Wolffheim, eds., *Micellanea Musicae Bibliographica: Musikgeschichtliches Quellennachweise als Nachträge und Verbesserungen zu Eitners Quellenlexikon*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1913–14), 43.

135. Receipts for tuition survive for the year 1724 (Moravský zemský archiv v Brně, F 460, Karton 2426, Nr. 9734, 161r, 164r, 165r, 166v; Moravský zemský archiv v Brně, F 460, Karton 2429, Nr. 9744, 45r). On connections between Bach and Questenberg, see Maul, "Die große catholische Messe."

136. See Bernd Baselt, "Muffat and Handel: A Two-Way Exchange," *Musical Times* 120.1641 (November 1979): 904–7; Joseph Bennet, "Handel and Muffat," *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*

received during his lifetime. Most eighteenth-century lexica dedicate little space to the composer, but the distribution of sources and transmission of his music suggest that his music was known in what is now Slovakia, the Czech Republic, southern Germany, Berlin, and England.¹³⁷ A considerable number of surviving copies of his two printed works, the 72 *Versetl* (Vienna, 1726) and *Componimenti Musicali* (Augsburg, ca. 1736–39), are also a testament to his popularity.¹³⁸ Moreover, Muffat's achievements at the Viennese court and the caliber of his pupils serve as testimony to how highly he was regarded.

26.625 (March 1895): 149–52; Christopher Hogwood, “Handel Improv’d: Keyboard Suites and Fugues *mises dans une autre appellation* by Gottlieb Muffat,” in “*True to Life*”: *Händel, der Klassiker*, ed. Ute Jung-Kaiser and Matthias Kruse (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2009), 211–27; Roland Jackson, “Aesthetic Considerations in Regard to Handel’s Borrowings,” in *Alte Musik als ästhetische Gegenwart: Bach Händel Schütz, Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Stuttgart 1985* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987), 1–11; Susan Wollenberg, “Handel and Gottlieb Muffat: A Newly Discovered Borrowing,” *Musical Times* 113.1551 (May 1972): 448–49. The only piece of evidence we currently possess that might suggest Muffat and Handel were in contact is the manuscript A-Wm XIV 712, which belonged to Muffat’s friend P. Alexander Giessel (see n.74 above). A-Wm XIV 712 is in Giessel’s hand and contains thirty-two *ricercars* and nineteen *canzonas* (MC C22–72 (C72=A18/I.3)c) by Muffat as well as works by composers including Handel and Domenico Zipoli (1688–1726). There are no ascriptions to Muffat on A-Wm XIV 712, but its provenance and numerous concordances in other manuscripts strongly support his authorship. The date 1733 appears on folio 90v, but the works that follow are likely to have been copied in 1735 at the earliest, as they include Handel’s *Six Fugues or Voluntarys* (Op. 3), which were first published in this year. However, the possibility that this copy predates the published edition cannot be excluded, as Handel’s borrowings are so extensive that it would not be unreasonable to assume that there was a personal correspondence between the two composers. The most convincing evidence to support this theory is Handel’s use of a theme from a piece (MC C49) in A-Wm XIV 712, which was not published during Muffat’s lifetime and is known only in this source. Susan Wollenberg first drew attention to Handel’s usage of *Ricercar* 28 (MC C49) in his Concerto Op. 7, No. 2 (HWV 307) (completed 5 February 1743 and first published by Walsh in 1761). See Wollenberg, “Handel and Gottlieb Muffat.” Given that the works by Muffat immediately precede works by Handel, Wollenberg suggests that this copy may have been sent to Handel and returned with copies of his own compositions as a form of reciprocity. It is also possible that Handel had access to another copy, such as the now-lost autograph.

137. Muffat manuscripts are known to have been in the possession of Johann Adam von Questenberg (in the Questenberg accounts under items to be bound is “Musikalien von Muffat,” which have not yet been identified [Moravský zemský archiv v Brně, F 460, Karton 2429, Nr. 9744, 45r], and also a “Schlagbuch,” which presumably contained his own works [Moravský zemský archiv v Brně, F 460, Karton 2426, Nr. 9734, 161r]), P. Alexander Giessel (1694–1766), P. Venantius Stanteysky (Standeski) (1671–1729), P. Pantaleon Roškovský (1734–89), Johann Anton Graf, Johann Traeg (1747–1805), Johann Peter Lehmann ([?]-1772), and probably Baron Gottfried van Swieten (1733–1803).

138. Copies of the 72 *Versetl* (Vienna, 1726) are found in A-GÖ, A-KR, A-SE, A-Wgm, A-Wn, CH-BU, CZ-Pnm, D-B, D-Dl, D-LEm, D-Mbs, D-Rp, F-Pmeyer, GB-Cfm, H-Bami, I-Gremondini, NL-DHgm, SK-BRu, and US-PHu; copies of the *Componimenti Musicali* are found in A-GÖ, A-Wgm,

Gottlieb Muffat's contributions as a composer must be understood within the context of the cultivation of music in Vienna, in particular at the Viennese court. Keyboard music in early eighteenth-century Vienna is still largely unexplored terrain. Although certain aspects, such as the printing trade, instruments, and isolated composers, have been investigated, the domain as a whole, in terms of its wider musical, sociocultural, and historical contexts, merits further study. One obstacle to future research remains the cataloging of and access to musical materials. Although scholars such as Riedel have taken great pains to document systematically vast numbers of manuscripts from this period, relatively few catalogs are in print.¹³⁹ Almost equally few editions of Viennese keyboard music from the first half of the eighteenth century exist. Research conducted to date would suggest that Gottlieb Muffat was the most prolific composer of keyboard music in Vienna in the first half of the eighteenth century; however, the tenuous fate of manuscript sources renders all such statements rather dubious. The number of extant works by Georg and Gottlieb Muffat is relatively small, and the historian can only speculate as to how many manuscript sources of their works circulated in the eighteenth century.

In the music-printing trade, Vienna lagged behind other European cities such as Paris, Amsterdam, Augsburg, Nürnberg, and Leipzig. Until 1755, the university had jurisdiction over book dealers, who were obliged to take an oath with the rector before opening for business.¹⁴⁰ Consequently, in the first half of the eighteenth century there were a mere six to eight booksellers operating in Vienna, and only a dozen by 1760. The change in the dissemination of music in eighteenth-century Vienna is also inextricably linked to sociological factors such as the growth of music-making by the middle classes and the soaring number of dilettanti. Gericke's survey of advertisements in booksellers' and printers' catalogs and the *Wienerisches Diarium* offers insight into the keyboard music available in Vienna during Muffat's lifetime. It must be emphasized, however, that print culture really did not develop in Vienna until the 1770s, and that even after this time the vast majority of music circulated in manuscript.¹⁴¹ Gottlieb

A-Wm, A-Wn, B-Bc, B-Br, CZ-Pnm, D-As, D-B, D-Bhm, D-Dl, D-Hs, D-LEm, D-Mbs, DK-Kk, F-C, F-Pmeyer, GB-Cfm, GB-Lbm, H-SG, NL-DHgm, NL-Uim, SF-A (now FIN-A), US-CA, US-R, US-Wc. This list based primarily on RISM A/I.

139. I am greatly indebted to Professor Friedrich W. Riedel for providing access to his handwritten catalog.

140. Gericke, *Wiener Musikalienhandel*, 11–12.

141. In addition, there are no music sellers' catalogs available for the most part of the eighteenth century; consequently, this survey is largely based on the small quantities of music advertised in newspapers and a few extant booksellers' catalogs. According to Gericke, 70 percent of advertised music (between 1700 and 1778) comes from the period 1770–78, in contrast with a meager 12 percent before 1750. Ibid., 133.

Muffat's 72 *Versetl* is one of very few works to be published in Vienna before 1750.¹⁴² Another obstacle when trying to ascertain the function of many of Muffat's compositions is the lack of descriptions of solo organ music in contemporary documents. For example, in their records of music performed in the church calendar, Kilian Reinhardt and Andreas Ziss comment only on the accompanimental role of the instrument.¹⁴³

142. The first musical work to be advertised in the *Wienerisches Diarium* was Georg Muffat's *Apparatus Musico-Organisticus* (1690, advertised in 1725, issue 68). The first musical theoretical work to be advertised by van Ghelen in the *Wienerisches Diarium* was Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725, issue 55). According to Gericke's study, most of the repertoire available in Vienna was composed by North Germans and relatively modern (i.e., most music is advertised within a few years of having been published). There are some notable exceptions, however, including works by Georg Muffat and Johann Speth. Most works claim to be in the "modern Italian style," but there is at least one, Sorge's suites "nach franz.[ösischer] Art," that explicitly claims to imitate the French style (other titles of suite collections are in French, which would imply they were written in the French manner). The keyboard music advertised would have primarily appealed to a domestic audience and appears to have been directed more toward the amateur than the connoisseur. There are a number of galanteries, airs, and miscellanies intended for leisurely music-making (such as J. D. Leuthard's *Arien und Menuetten auf das Clavier, welche gantz kurtz und leicht zum Zeit-Vertreib* [...] (first advertised in 1746 for 21 Kreuzer); works that are promoted for their versatility (such as F. A. Maichelbeck's collection of sonatas in the "modern Italian style": *Die auf dem Clavier spielende und das Gehör vergnügende Caecilia. Das ist: VIII Sonaten, so nach der jetzigen welschen Art, Regul- und Gehörmäßig ausgearbeitet, sowohl auf denen Kirchen- als Zimmerclavieren zu gebrauchen, und in unterschiedliche Gemüts- und Ohrenergötzende Stuck ausgetheilet seynd* (first advertised in 1749 for 2 Gulden, 45 Kreuzer); pieces aimed specifically at the female market (such as J. J. Agrell's sonatas *Sonates pour le Clavecin accomp. de quelques petites Aires, Polonoises, et Menuettes, composés pour le Divertissement des Dames* [first advertised in 1752 for 51 Kreuzer], and M. Scheuenstuhl's compendium *Die beschäftigte Muse Clio oder zum Vergnügen der Seele und Ohr eingerichtete 3 Galanterie-Suiten auf das Clavier, zum Dienst des musikliebenden Frauenzimmers verfertigt* [first advertised in 1746 for 36 Kreuzer]); pedagogical works or pieces for beginners (such as C. P. E. Bach's *Kurze und leichte Clavierstücke mit veränderten Reprisen und beygefügtter Fingersetzung für Anfänger* [first advertised in 1769 for 45 Kreuzer]). These types of works are not, of course, representative of the entire Viennese market; however, future research orientated toward manuscript sources of keyboard music is required to allow us to draw any firm conclusions about the nature and cultivation of keyboard music in Vienna. To date, studies have concentrated primarily on Muffat's predecessors (for example, Riedel, *Quellenkundliche Beiträge*), his teacher J. J. Fux (for example, Johann Joseph Fux, *Werke für Tasteninstrumente*, ed. Friedrich W. Riedel [Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1964; new edition forthcoming]), and Thomas Hochradner's forthcoming thematic catalog, his successors (for example, Helga Scholz-Michelitsch, *Georg Christoph Wagenseil Hofkomponist und Hofklaviermeister der Kaiserin Maria Theresia* [Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1980]), and individual collections that house a large proportion of keyboard music dating from the first half of the century (for example, Riedel, *Minoritenkonvent*).

143. Kilian Reinhardt, *Rubriche Generali* [...] (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna: Mus. hs. 1503); Andreas Ziss, *Repertorium der von der Hofkapellmusik ausgeführten Kirchenmusik. Anno 1745* [...] (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna: Inv.I.Hofmusikkapelle.15.Mus).

The extant sources for Muffat's music overwhelmingly present works for keyboard.¹⁴⁴ The existence of four chamber works that can be confidently attributed to him (three keyboard concerti, mc D1-3, and *Sonate Pastorale*, mc D4), however, indicate that his output may have been more varied than the surviving sources suggest. Only two works were seemingly printed during Muffat's lifetime: the 72 *Versetzl sammt 12 Toccaten besonders zum Kirchen Dienst bey Choral-Aemtern und Vesperen dienlich* and the *Componimenti Musicali per il Cembalo*.¹⁴⁵ Muffat also mentions a third projected publication in his preface to the latter work, which never materialized: "When I am certain that this work has given pleasure and is esteemed highly by experienced artists, I will have no hesitation in bringing out another, and it will be all the easier as I have already prepared most of it."¹⁴⁶ To date, no compositions postdating the 1740s have been identified. It has been suggested that after reaching his highest position at court, Muffat's duties were increased, and this prevented him from dedicating time to composition.¹⁴⁷ There have also been more romantic notions, such as Muffat lost his inspiration and desire to compose after the death of his master Fux.¹⁴⁸ I would suggest, however, that it is

144. Appendix 2 provides an overview of his compositional output.

145. The date of publication has been estimated at 1736 by Friedrich W. Riedel, based on a copy of *David ludens ad arcam Dei: Hoc est Ariae simplices [. . .] Pars I* in D-Mbs, which bears the dated owner's mark "ad usum P. Udalrici à S. Georgio Carmelitae, 1736" and precedes the *Componimenti Musicali* in Leopold's chronologically ordered catalog *Catalogus der jenigen musicalische Wercke, so bey Johann Christian Leopold Kunst Verleger, um nachgesetzten äussersten Preiss in Kupfer gestochen zu haben seynd* (communicated in a private discussion with Riedel, 19 February 2009). A similar means of deduction for the dating of works by Fischer is given in Friedrich W. Riedel, "Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischers Kompositionen für Tasteninstrumente in ihrer Bedeutung für die Stilentwicklung am Wiener Hof," in *J. C. F. Fischer in seiner Zeit: Tagungsbericht Rastatt 1988*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang), 49, n.6. Here Riedel speculates that the *Componimenti Musicali* may have been composed in celebration of the wedding of Maria Theresia and Franz Stephan. However, given that Franz Stephan is listed as "Gran Duca di Toscana" in the dedication (at least in the known extant copies), it is not possible that the work was printed before 1737, the year in which he acquired this title. It is also unusual that advertisements for the *Componimenti Musicali* do not appear in the *Wienerisches Diarium* before 1739. Christopher Hogwood believes that the *Componimenti* were written in 1739, based on the assumption that the thirty-eight variations of the chaconne were intended to celebrate the thirty-eighth birthday of Karl VI's niece Maria Amalia. Gottlieb Muffat, *Componimenti Musicali (1739) for Harpsichord*, ed. Christopher Hogwood (Bologna: UT Orpheus Edizioni, 2009), v.

146. "Wann ich werde versichert seyn, daß an diesem Werck ein Wohlgefallen gezeigt, und von denen Kunsterfahrnen solches gut geheissen werde, so habe keinen Anstand abermahl ein anders heraus zu geben, und dieses desto leichter, weil ich es schon meistens verfertigt habe."

147. Wollenberg, "Viennese Keyboard Music," v.

148. Masako Yamana, "Gottlieb Muffat: Beiträge zu Leben, Werk, und früher Wirkungs Geschichte" (Diplomarbeit, Universität Mozarteum Salzburg, 2002), 15.

more likely that he did continue to compose but that the sources are lost. Indeed, most of his father Georg's music has been lost, and even though we know Gottlieb began composing as a child, the earliest known surviving work dates from 1717, when he was twenty-seven years old.¹⁴⁹

Teaching

The identification of Muffat's pupils also provides us with insights into how his music was transmitted, the nature and reliability of sources, and how they were disseminated. At present, only a handful are known. They include not only children of some of the most influential aristocratic families in Vienna but also members of the imperial family. Receipts for tuition (priced at eight *Gulden* per month) exist only for the daughter of Johann Adam von Questenberg (1678–1752) from the year 1724,¹⁵⁰ and Renatha von Harrach (possibly Maria Renata von Harrach [1721–88], who would later become the morganatic wife of Duke Francesco III) from 1735.¹⁵¹ According to an anecdote published by F. W. Marpurg, Gottlieb's pupils also included an unnamed Italian actress.¹⁵²

An *Obersthofmeisteramt* report dated September 27, 1727, lists Gottlieb Muffat among the several teachers responsible for the musical education of the young Archduchesses Maria Anna and Maria Theresia.¹⁵³ Gottlieb was responsible for their instruction on keyboard instruments (the term “Clavier” is used in this report and “Clavichordio” in a subsequent report [dated April 15, 1728]¹⁵⁴). Other teachers included Gaetano Orsini (ca. 1667–1750) (singing) and Anton Phuniack (the rudiments of music). Carl Joseph Denk also had the honor of accompanying on violin so long as the archduchesses had dance lessons from the “old Phillebois.”¹⁵⁵ When Gottlieb's son Franz Joseph was appointed *Hofscholar* in April 1733, the boy was awarded the full scholar's provision of 360 *Gulden* despite his young age because his father had been “diligent in his instruction

149. Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: SA 4582.

150. See n. 135.

151. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna: Autogr. 124/138-1 Han. Autogr.

152. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Legende einiger Musikheiligen* (1786; reprint, Leipzig: Peters, 1977), 60.

153. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 11, 646r–651v.

154. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeAÄR 21 (unpaginated); also Protokolle 12, 105r–106r.

155. Carl (d. 19 October 1729), who lived in Vienna from ca. 1710; or Alexander (d. 19 November 1730), *Hoftänzschor* from 1722 and *Hoftänzer* from 1726 to 1730. See Andrea Sommer-Mathis, *Die Tänzer am Wiener Hofe im Spiegel der Obersthofmeisteramtsakten und Hofparteienprotokolle bis 1740*, Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs, Ergänzungsband 11 (1992): 68–69, 76–77.

of the archduchesses.”¹⁵⁶ We know from the preface of his *Componimenti Musicali* that Gottlieb also taught Maria Theresia’s husband, Franz Stephan.

How long Muffat continued to instruct the younger members of the imperial family is unknown, but Wagenseil was apparently his direct successor.¹⁵⁷ It is likely that Gottlieb Muffat also instructed scholars at court. Wagenseil is frequently counted among them, but no documentary evidence for this has yet been found.¹⁵⁸

The prefaces of Muffat’s two published works offer some insight into his pedagogical methods. He deemed his 72 *Versetl* not only as suitable for beginners or those still learning but also for connoisseurs. Here he mentions some basic issues of application and ornamentation to be taken into account when playing his work:

Even if a student has not studied my *Applicatur*; as used by the best authorities, he should not regret the rewarding effort of abandoning the old and embracing this one. I have used many changes of clef to assist learners: the upper staff being for the right hand and the lower for the left so that they don’t get in the way of one another. . . . So that the piece can be played with more spirit and adornment, at the end I have suggested realizations of the ornaments.¹⁵⁹

It is commonly speculated that Gottlieb Muffat’s ornamentation system was devised by Fux—as it also appears in several manuscript copies of his keyboard music—and simply transcribed by his pupil.¹⁶⁰ A much more likely model, however, is his father’s

156. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeAÄR 29 (unpaginated); also Protokolle 14, 14r–15v.

157. According to John Kucaba and Bertil H. van Boer, “Wagenseil, Georg Christoph,” *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29767> (accessed 12 December 2007), Wagenseil instructed the archduchesses from 1749.

158. Wagenseil’s biographer Scholz-Michelitsch writes: “[Gottlieb Muffat] das Talent Wagenseils erkannte, ihm Klavierunterricht gab und den Weg zum k. k. Hofkomponisten Matteo Palotta und zum Hofkapellmeister Johann Joseph Fux ebnete” (Gottlieb Muffat recognized Wagenseil’s talent, gave him instruction on the keyboard and prepared the way for [his instruction with] the imperial court composer Matteo Palotta and Kapellmeister Johann Joseph Fux). Scholz-Michelitsch, *Georg Christoph Wagenseil*, 8.

159. “Sofern ein Lehrling diese meine, den besten Authorib, gemeine Applicatur deren Fingern nicht erlehret hätte: solle er sich der allerdings nützlichen Mühe vorige abzugewöhnen diese zu ergreifen, nicht gereuen lassen. Der Transpositionen habe mich stärker gebraucht die Lehrende zu versichern: Die obere Linie seÿe der rechten- und die untere der lincken-Hand so eigen daß keine anderen einzugreifen. . . . Damit die Stück mit mehr Geist und Zierde gespielet werden: habe die Manieren mit gewissen zu Ende durch Noten erklärte zeichen angedeutet.”

160. The ornamentation in Fux’s keyboard works can be explained by the fact that most contemporary manuscript copies bearing this system can be traced back to Muffat or his close circle.

French style of embellishment. Unlike Georg, Gottlieb includes a table of ornamentation in each of his printed works, a rarity in German keyboard music and exacting even by French standards. He offers almost twice as many examples on how to realize ornamentation in the later publication but only one additional symbol is explained. In the *Componimenti Musicali*, Gottlieb strongly recommends that the performer employ his ornamentation with finesse and discretion, so that it doesn't interfere with the tempo, modulations, and melodic line.

By the time of the second publication, it is clear that Muffat had also revised his thinking in accordance with the changing needs and demands of his students (and prospective customers). He admits that fewer people were now used to so many clef changes, so he has limited their usage to the treble or soprano in the right hand and the bass and (less frequently) alto in the left, even though he would personally prefer to have more so that the notes could stay within the five lines of the staff. He emphasizes his careful attention to distribution of notes between the hands and gives specific advice on the basic principles of fingering.

In the context of his teaching, it is also useful to examine Gottlieb Muffat's transcriptions of other composers' work. The most obvious aspect of his transcriptions is the application of ornamentation; however, he also took issues such as hand distribution and clef changes into consideration and made minor changes such as reordering of pieces, the addition or removal of ties, and the alteration of rhythms (for purposes of consistency), accidentals, and cadences.¹⁶¹ His copies of other composers' work include G. F. Handel's *Suites de Pièces* (London, 1720) and *6 Fugues or Voluntaries* (London, 1735), "mises dans une autre applicature pour la facilité de la main,"¹⁶² keyboard works by Froberger,¹⁶³ and a now lost manuscript of a lute suite by Sylvius Leopold Weiss, whom he possibly met in Prague in 1723, "transposée sur le Clavecin."

Gottlieb also seems to have adapted, as opposed to directly copied, his father's works.¹⁶⁴ A recently discovered manuscript in the Berlin *Sing-Akademie* collection¹⁶⁵ includes a total of thirty-five pieces, sixteen of which are also found scattered across an

161. For a detailed description of alterations made to his Handel transcriptions, see Hogwood, "Handel Improv'd."

162. Manuscript copies in Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: Mus.ms.9160 (possibly autograph) and a later eighteenth-century copy (Mus.ms.9160/1).

163. Manuscript copy in Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: Mus.ms.6712. Muffat's modifications to the musical text are discussed in Akira Ishii, "The Toccatas and Contrapuntal Keyboard Works of Johann Jacob Froberger: A Study of the Principal Sources" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1999).

164. Incipits can be found in Dunlop, *Life and Works of Gottlieb Muffat*.

165. Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: SA 4581. I am indebted to the staff of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin and the archive of the Berlin *Sing-Akademie* for their assistance during my visits there.

incomplete, badly damaged manuscript dating from the first decade of the eighteenth century.¹⁶⁶ There are a total of twenty-seven manuscripts containing works by Georg and Gottlieb Muffat in the archive. This collection is therefore of extraordinary significance to Muffat scholarship—not only is it the largest single collection of Muffat manuscripts, but most of the compositions were previously unknown. Additionally, it contains the earliest and latest known works by Gottlieb Muffat, and genres previously not associated with him.

In his letter to Aloys Fuchs, dated November 25, 1834, Georg Poelchau wrote:¹⁶⁷ “As you say that you have great respect for Z[elter]., whom you encountered through your correspondence with G., it pains me to tell you that I am not of the same opinion, as he has left the affairs of our library (the *Singacademie*) in such a state of confusion that the administration will feel the pains for a long time to come.”¹⁶⁸ Poelchau could hardly have believed that this “confusion” would last almost two centuries. The precise contents of the archive remained unknown until the most recent cataloging project was completed, and even now there are still many unidentified works in the collection.¹⁶⁹ The archive comprises approximately 264,100 pages of music dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁰ Perhaps surprisingly for a choral society, vocal music occupies only about one third (30.8 percent) of the material in the collection. Instrumental works constitute over half of the collection (56.3 percent), of which 30.1 percent is keyboard and chamber music.¹⁷¹ The high proportion of orchestral music can largely be explained by the orchestral school (*Ripiensschule*), which was founded

166. Minoritenkonvent, Klosterbibliothek und Archiv, Vienna: XIV 743: 119 folios (the first eight are missing; two modern numbering systems in pencil), width 28.5 x height 21.5 cm. No cover. Several unidentified copyists and paper types, possibly compiled from various manuscripts. 117v dated “7 Sept. [1]709.” See Riedel, *Minoritenkonvent*. The works ascribed to Georg Muffat in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna: XIV 743 have been edited in Georg Muffat and Wolfgang Ebner, *Sämtliche Werke für Clavier (Orgel)*, ed. Siegbert Rampe (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003–4).

167. Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: Mus.ep.G.Poelchau.39.

168. “Wenn Sie sagen dass Sie für Z[elter]. grossen Respect haben, den Sie durch den Briefwechsel mit G.[Friedrich August Grasnitz? (1798–1877)] haben kennen gelernt, so thut es mir leid Ihnen sagen zu müssen dass ich nicht Ihrer Meinung bin, denn er hat die Angelegenheiten unserer Bibliothek (der Singacademie) in einer solchen Verwirrung nachgelassen, dass die Vorsteherschaft noch lange die Wehen empfinden wird.”

169. Axel Fischer and Matthias Kornemann et al., eds., *Das Archiv der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin: Katalog* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010).

170. Axel Fischer, “Gattungsvielfalt und Gattungsschwerpunkte im Archiv der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin,” in *Das Archiv der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin. Katalog*, ed. Axel Fischer, Matthias Kornemann, et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 125–32.

171. *Ibid.*, 129.

in 1807 by the director, Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832, director from 1800). The presence of other genres may be viewed as a reflection of Zelter's catholic tastes.¹⁷² A number of other eminent collectors bequeathed large amounts of music to the *Sing-Akademie*, for example, the violinist Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811) and Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy's great aunt Sara Levy (née Itzig) (1761–1854).¹⁷³

At present, there is insufficient documentary evidence to allow us to establish the transmission history of the Muffat items in the Berlin *Sing-Akademie* archive. The first mention of these manuscripts is in the so-called Zelter Katalog, compiled around 1835 by the collector Georg Poelchau (1773–1836) to settle a legal dispute over the rightful ownership of Zelter's estate.¹⁷⁴

To my knowledge, there are no traces of the Berlin *Sing-Akademie* Muffat sources in any other collector's possession, and there are few distinguishing marks on the manuscripts. One of the only indications of their earlier history are the catalog marks found on the covers of three manuscripts.¹⁷⁵ A printed copy of the *Componimenti Musicali*¹⁷⁶ bears the catalog mark "I.9" and the inscription "Lehmann auct.," which has been identified as coming from the estate of Johann Georg Gottlieb Lehmann (1745/46–1816),¹⁷⁷ organist and choir director at the Nicolaikirche in Berlin and a singer in the service of Prince Heinrich of Prussia. Lehmann was one of the first members of the Berlin Sing-Akademie in 1791 and considered one of the best solo tenors, for whom Fasch wrote many of his compositions. There is no documentary evidence that Muffat ever visited Berlin, but according to Marpurg, after Lehmann was born

172. See Matthias Kornemann, "Zelters Archiv: Porträt eines Sammlers," in *Das Archiv der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin. Katalog*, ed. Axel Fischer, Matthias Kornemann et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 117–23.

173. See Peter Wollny, "Sara Levy and the Making of Musical Taste in Berlin," *Musical Quarterly* 77.4 (1993): 651–88; Peter Wollny, "Ein förmlicher Sebastian und Philipp Emanuel Bach-Kultus': Sary Levy, geb. Itzig, und ihr musikalischer Salon," in *Musik und Ästhetik im Berlin Moses Mendelssohns*, ed. Anselm Gerhard (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999), 217–55.

174. *Catalog musikalisch-literarischer und praktischer Werke aus dem Nachlasse des Königl. Professors Dr. Zelter* (Copy once belonging to Friedrich Welter, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: N.mus.ms.theor.30). This was probably the first complete catalog of the collection. Subsequent catalogs were drawn up by Friedrich Welter (continuing the work of Max Schneider [Fischer, "Gattungsvielfalt," 125–26]) in the early twentieth century (this catalog was lost during the Second World War), and another just before the restitution of the collection (unfortunately, this catalog is laden with errors due to the short time frame in which it was prepared).

175. "I.210" on Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: SA 4574, "I.213" on SA 4582, and "III.28" on SA 2869. A similar mark "III.40" also appears on Mus.ms.15783.

176. Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: SA 4596.

177. Johann Jakob Froberger, *Toccaten, Suiten, Lamenti: Die Handschrift SA 4450 der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin. Faksimile und Übertragung*, ed. Peter Wollny (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2006), xvii.

Muffat entered into a correspondence with his father, Johann Peter Lehmann (d. 1772), organist at the Jerusalem- and Nicolaikirchen in Berlin.¹⁷⁸ Johann Peter Lehmann asked Muffat to become godfather, a “testimony of his respect for him,” and Muffat accepted with pleasure.¹⁷⁹ It thus seems likely that Johann Peter Lehmann received music from Muffat, which was passed on to his son before entering Zelter’s possession.

One *Sing-Akademie* manuscript (SA 4581) dates from around the 1730s and is in the hand of a professional copyist who also copied works by Gottlieb Muffat and Fux.¹⁸⁰ Based on the provenance of these manuscripts, their notation, and their degree of accuracy, it would appear that this copyist was working directly for Gottlieb Muffat. Not only is this the most reliable manuscript source of Georg Muffat’s keyboard partitas, but it contains a total of nineteen hitherto-unknown preludes and dances—which, excluding the published *Apparatus Musico-Organisticus*, constitute almost 40 percent of the harpsichord repertoire that can be confidently ascribed to Georg Muffat.

Without having any reliable models of Georg Muffat’s keyboard partitas, it is impossible to determine to what extent Gottlieb “transcribed” his father’s work. Based on his treatment of Handel’s suites, we may reasonably assume that alterations included not only ornamentation but features such as redistribution of material between hands, clef changes, minor alterations to note values and rhythms, and the revision of cadences. It is also possible that he significantly reworked movements, such as the *Ballet*, which is found in different versions in the Minoritenkonvent (18r) and *Sing-Akademie* sources (6v–7r).

Muffat may be misconstrued as being prescriptive or even dogmatic because of his notational precision. From the prefaces to his printed works we learn that the carefully conceived *Applicatur* and ornamentation are intended to help younger players achieve an appropriate gracefulness. This is further supported by the subtitle for his Handel transcriptions, which states that they were made *pour la facilité de la main*. Another important motivation behind Muffat’s careful transcriptions would appear to be the preservation of earlier music, including works of Froberger,¹⁸¹ by making it accessible through modern notation.¹⁸²

178. Curt Sachs, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Berlin bis zum Jahre 1800: Stadtpfaffen, Kantoren und Organisten an den Kirchen städtischen Patronats nebst Beiträgen zur allgemeinen Musikgeschichte Berlins* (1908; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1980), accessed March 18, 2013, <http://www2.hu-berlin.de/muwi/brandenb-1740/pdf/sachs/musikgeschichte.pdf> (unpaginated).

179. Marpurg, *Legende einiger Musikheiligen*, 135–36.

180. There are minor differences in the hand as it appears in the following manuscripts, which may suggest that each group dates from a slightly different period: (1) Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: SA 4594, SA 4595, and Mus.ms.15783; (2) SA 4580, SA 4581, and Mus.ms.30266; (3) SA 2869 and SA 4579.

181. Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: Mus.ms.6712.

182. See Dunlop, *Life and Works of Gottlieb Muffat*.

Retirement

For reasons unknown, it became impossible for Gottlieb Muffat to perform all of his duties beginning in the mid-1750s, and he was pensioned on December 1, 1764,¹⁸³ receiving his full salary until the end of his life. It would appear from Köchel's lists of organists in *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle* that no organists were serving at court between Muffat's retirement and the appointments of Ferdinand Arbesser and Johann Georg Albrechtsberger in 1772. This is probably owing to how the imperial court finances were organized during Georg Reutter the younger's term as *Kapellmeister*: Expenses for musicians were essentially subcontracted to Reutter in 1751. Reutter had a fixed (and relatively small) budget, the parameters of which were set in contracts of 1751 and 1756, to replace retired or deceased court musicians. This resulted in only eight musicians being employed directly by the court and thirty-five by Reutter at the time of his death in 1772.¹⁸⁴

We learn from various *Obersthofmeisteramt* reports from the year 1765 that Georg Reutter had been paying for substitutes for Gottlieb Muffat, the bass Christoph Praun (who was pensioned at the same time, had been incapacitated for ten years, and died in 1772), and the violinist Karl Joseph Denk the younger.¹⁸⁵ Reutter himself writes that he appointed the violinist Franz Kreybich (d. 1797) "half a year ago"—October, according to the *Musikgraf* Count von Sporck. Sporck also mentions that in October 1764, Reutter had replaced Praun and Muffat with Cirillo Haberda (d. 1795) and Leopold Hofmann (1738–93), respectively.¹⁸⁶ He adds that it is not easy to find capable men who meet the demands of court propriety, as musicians could easily earn more money from pupils, compositions, or other private academies.

Death and Burial

Although the number of people living to over fifty years of age increased dramatically in the second half of the eighteenth century in Vienna, it is still remarkable that both Gottlieb Muffat and his wife reached eighty years. Precise causes of death are not easily determinable from death records, but lung illnesses seem to have been most common.¹⁸⁷ According to the *Totenbeschauprotokoll*, Gottlieb Muffat died from *Lungenbrand*

183. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 29, 42 1v–424v (also ÄR 65 [unpaginated]).

184. These figures are given in Dorothea Link, "Mozart's Appointment to the Viennese Court," in *Words about Mozart: Essays in Honour of Stanley Sadie*, ed. Dorothea Link and Judith Nagley (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell Press, 2005), 155.

185. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA ÄR 66 (unpaginated) (also Protokolle 30, 119v–124r); Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA Protokolle 30, 136v–139r.

186. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMeA ÄR 66 (unpaginated).

187. Csendes and Oppl, *Wien*, 116.

(gangrene of the lungs) on December 9, 1770 (the *Protocollum Mortuorum* gives the date as December 11, and the *Wienerisches Diarium* December 10).¹⁸⁸ His wife also died from gangrene of the lungs on May 26 or 28, 1781, at home.¹⁸⁹

Gottlieb Muffat received a second-class funeral (which cost sixty-three *Gulden*, nine *Kreuzer*)¹⁹⁰ and was buried at night in St. Stephen's cathedral.¹⁹¹ All documents pertaining to Gottlieb Muffat's last will and estate have been lost.¹⁹² The lack of musical instruments and books in his wife's inventory of estate may suggest that many possessions had already been sold by the time of his or her death (for example, at the auction that took place at their home on October 19, 1763), although such items are often absent from inventories.¹⁹³ Nevertheless, her probate documents give us some insight into their financial situation and social status. The entire estate was valued at an astonishing 13,534 *Gulden*, 10 *Kreuzer*.¹⁹⁴ As a point of comparison, the estate of an indisputably successful contemporary of Gottlieb Muffat, Georg Christoph Wagenseil, who died only four years prior to Maria Rosalia, was valued at a comparably meager sum of 1,214 *Gulden*, 50 *Kreuzer* (which after the deduction of various liabilities, bequests, and fees still left a total of 454 *Gulden*, 43 *Kreuzer* unpaid debts).¹⁹⁵

188. Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna: Totenbeschauprotokolle, vol. 64, M 29r; St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Protocollum Mortuorum, Tom. 31, 134; St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Bahrleibbuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, 1770, 296r; *Wienerisches Diarium*, 15 December 1770.

189. The *Totenbeschauprotokoll* and the *Wiener Zeitung* give the date as 26 May, and other documents give the date as 28 May. Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna: Totenbeschauprotokolle, vol. 79, M 20r; St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Protocollum Mortuorum, Tom. 35, 25v; St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna: Bahrleibbuch der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien der Dompfarre St. Stephan zu Wien, 1781, 179r; *Wiener Zeitung*, 30 May 1781.

190. The class was denoted by the type of bells that were rung (großes Geläut, Fürstengeläut, Bürgergeläut, kleines Geläut). Edeltraud Kando, "Handwerk und Frömmigkeitspraktiken. Religiöse Bestimmungen im frühneuzeitlichen Wien" (Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien, 2009), 110.

191. According to secondary literature, Gottlieb Muffat was buried in the church itself, but there is no detailed information in the *Bahrleibbuch* and no gravestone is known to have survived. See Stefan Rechnitz, *Wiener Kirchengräber und Epitaphe* (Vienna: printed by author, 1962), 53; Leopold Senfelder, *Die Katakomben bei St. Stephan in Sage und Geschichte* (Vienna: Hölder Pichler Tempsky, 1924), 149.

192. Probate documents for Gottlieb Muffat and his son Johann Karl are listed in the index OMaA 730 (1770, No. 10 and 1767, No. 241, respectively) but are no longer extant.

193. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMaA 786, No. 23; *Wienerisches Diarium*, 8 October 1763 (also 12 and 15 October 1763).

194. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMaA 786, No. 23 (document dated 10 November 1781).

195. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna: OMaA 811, W96.

Conclusion

By way of conclusion, it will be of interest to briefly contemplate how Muffat has been commemorated in the recent past. In Vienna, a city abounding with musical monuments, there are only two acknowledgments of Gottlieb Muffat's long activity and residence there: a memorial plaque at the family home (privately erected) and the naming of a small street after him (*Muffatgasse*) in 1940 in the traditionally working-class suburb of Meidling. On first impressions, these may seem to pale in significance to the memorials offered to composers such as Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven. When one considers how few traces of musicians and composers working at the imperial court can be found in Vienna, however, the symbolic worth of these small acknowledgments to Gottlieb Muffat is magnified.

Although an initial survey of the literature would suggest that Gottlieb Muffat has not suffered any significant degree of scholarly neglect, recent archival research has filled lacunae and revealed many more. Numerous matters of contention in secondary literature have been resolved. An examination of Gottlieb Muffat's formative years has given us a better insight into his musical influences. By considering the background of the two major figures in his musical upbringing—his father Georg and Johann Joseph Fux—we can better understand their influence on Gottlieb Muffat. Georg Muffat had a broad and multifaceted education, traveled to what is today France, Germany, Austria, the Czech Republic, and Italy, held the important position of *Kapellmeister* at Passau, aspired to obtain a position at the Viennese imperial court, and had similar ambitions for his sons. Fux held one of the most revered positions of any European court for approximately a quarter of a century, and his reputation as a great pedagogue remains until this day. Gottlieb therefore was exposed to the diverse range of “national” styles so perfectly synthesized in his father's writing and continued to learn the art of counterpoint in the rich unbroken Palestrina tradition for which Fux was the foremost expert.

It should be reiterated that although a great number of embellishments to our knowledge of Muffat's life and works have been presented here, there remain several striking gaps. As is the case with so many of his Viennese contemporaries, our perception of Gottlieb Muffat is almost entirely dependent on our knowledge of his interaction with the imperial court. It must also be assumed that the relatively small number of extant sources of his music, which almost all appear to serve pedagogical purposes, reveal only one side of his compositional personality. We must therefore not only follow all available lines of inquiry but await more serendipitous discoveries that may allow us to assess more completely the contributions of Gottlieb Muffat as a virtuoso, pedagogue, and composer.

Appendix 1: Muffat Family Genealogy¹⁹⁶

I. Andreas Muffat, m. Margarita (née Orsy)

1. Georg (bap. 1 June 1653, Megève; m. Anna Elisabetha [née Voll], 29 June 1677, Vienna [b. ca.1646; d. 12 February 1721, Vienna]; d. 23 February 1704, Passau)

II. Children of Georg Muffat (I, 1)

1. Maria Anna (Maria Barbara) (bap. 22 December 1678, Salzburg; m. Carl Caspar Junglieb, 10 May 1708, Vienna; d. 4 September 1710, Vienna)
2. Franciscus Maximilianus Josephus (Joseph) (bap. 12 March 1680, Salzburg; m.
 1. Maria Anna Kollhund [b. ca.1693, Vienna; d. TBP 13 March 1741, PM 14 March, Vienna], 31 August 1714, Vienna; m. 2. Elisabeth Krickl [née Winckler von Streitfort] [b. ca.1692; d. 14 May 1757, Vienna], 17 May 1744, Vienna; d. TBP 6 January 1745, PM 7 January, Vienna)
3. Franciscus Georgius Godefridus (Franz Georg Gottfried) (bap. 2 November 1681, Salzburg; m. Maria Theresia Kürner [m. 2. Georg Christian Embler, 11 August 1712, Vienna], 19 February 1703, Vienna; d. 25 August 1710, Vienna)
4. Sigismundus Fridericus (Friderich) (bap. 30 March 1684, Salzburg; m. Anna Maria Daniel, before 1717, Innsbruck; d. after 1723 Mannheim[?])
5. Joannes Sigismundus (bap. 2 June 1685, Salzburg; d. before July 1701, Passau[?])
6. Joannes Ernestus (Johann Ernst) (bap. 9 December 1686, Salzburg; d. 24 June [probate documents] or 25 June 1746 [TBP, PM], Vienna)
7. Sigismundus Ignatius (Sigmund) (bap. 15 February 1688, Salzburg; m. Maria Sophia Eineder [b. ca.1696, Vienna; d. TBP 5 March 1760, PM 7 March, Vienna], 17 May 1722, Vienna; d. 20 March 1760)
8. Liebgott (Gottlieb) (bap. 25 April 1690, Passau; m. Maria Rosalia Eineder [bap. 19 January 1700, Vienna; d. TBP 26 May 1781, PM 28 May, Vienna], 22 May 1719, Vienna; d. TBP 9 December 1770, PM 11 December, Vienna)
9. Maria Francisca (Maria Anna) (bap. 13 January 1692, Passau; m. Karl Josef Perhandzky von Adlersberg [b. Dresden; d. 15 June 1721, Salzburg]; d. 24 June 1760, Salzburg)

196. The abbreviations TBP and PM refer to the *Totenbeschauprotokolle* (in Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna) and *Protocolum Mortuorum* (in St. Stephan, Dompfarre, Vienna), respectively. It is not uncommon for there to be discrepancies between church death records and the Viennese *Totenbeschauprotokolle*. These may have occurred because of the procedure of recording deaths. The dead were inspected, and a death certificate (*Totenbeschauzettel*) was issued. Death certificates—which were often barely legible—were usually copied into the book at a much later date and for this reason entries are not always reliable. In the *Totenbeschauprotokolle* the date given is that of inspection, which up until the second half of the eighteenth century was generally one day after the death. The records from 21 April 1752 onward are ordered alphabetically and then chronologically (records prior to this are only ordered chronologically); this additional filtering of data may account for further incongruities.

IIIa. Children of Franciscus Maximilianus

Josephus (Joseph) Muffat (II, 2)

1. Josephus Matthias Adamus (bap. 13 May 1715, Vienna; d. after 1741)
2. Leopoldus Josephus Franciscus (bap. 21 November 1716, Vienna; d. before 1741)
3. Maria Anna Catharina (bap. 4 August 1718, Vienna; d. after 1741)
4. Carolus Felix (bap. 14 May 1720, Vienna; d. after 1741)
5. Joannes Nepomucenus (bap. 13 April 1722, Vienna; d. 27 May 1722, Vienna)
6. Elisabetha Josepha Barbara (bap. 21 May 1723, Vienna; d. after 1741)
7. Maria Josepha (bap. 1 April 1725, Vienna; d. 6 September 1725, Vienna)
8. Susanna (b. ca. October 1726, Vienna[?]; d. 6 December 1726, Vienna)
9. Ferdinandus Franciscus Xaverius (bap. 23 December 1727, Vienna; d. PM 19 June 1786, TBP 20 June, Vienna[?])
10. "Christina" (b. ca. July 1730, Vienna; d. 6 July 1730, Vienna)

IIIb. Children of Franciscus Georgius Godefridus

(Franz Georg Gottfried) Muffat (II, 3)

1. Joannes Georgius Melchior Maria (bap. 13 September 1706, Vienna; d. 25 August 1740, Vienna[?])

IIIc. Children of Liebgott (Gottlieb) Muffat (II, 8)

1. Franciscus Josephus Ignatius Laurentius Thadaeus (Franz Joseph) (bap. 9 August 1720, Vienna; TBP 17[?] June 1763, PM 19 June, Vienna)
2. Maria Anna Christina (Maria Anna) (bap. 3 July 1725, Vienna; m. Jacob Joseph Woller [von Wollersfeld from 30 November 1764] [b. 22 August 1713, Traiskirchen; m. 2. Ernesta von Guttenberg, 7 October 1759, Vienna; d. TBP 1 January 1777, PM 3 January, Vienna], 24 February 1754, Vienna; d. TBP 14 March 1759, PM 16 March, Vienna)
3. Franciscus Josephus Joannes Ignatius Felix (bap. 25 June 1727, Vienna; d. 7 March 1728, Vienna)
4. Ignatius Josephus Vitalis Sigismundus (bap. 28 April 1732, Vienna; d. 18 March 1733, Vienna)
5. Joannes Nepomuzenus Carolus Leopoldus Januarius (Johann Karl) (bap. 19 September 1735, Vienna; d. TBP 8 March 1767, PM 10 March, Vienna)

IIId. Children of Maria Francisca (Maria Anna) Perhandzky

von Adlersberg (née Muffat) (II, 9)

1. Josef Ernst (b. 1709, Salzburg; m. 1. Maria Anna Maralt [b. ca. 1713; d. 15 July 1734], 10 November, 1733, Salzburg; m. 2. Antonia Konhauser [b. 25 October 1715, Teisendorf; d. 30 January 1796, Salzburg], 27 September 1735, Teisendorf; d. 28 April 1772, Thalgau)
2. Karl Johann (b. ca. 1710; m. Franziska Steinheber [b. ca. 1717; d. 10 March 1789, Salzburg]; d. 4 February 1781, Salzburg)
3. Rosa Josefa (bap. 8 August 1712, Salzburg; d. before 1721)
4. Franz Anton Ignaz (bap. 10 January 1715, Salzburg; d. 27 February 1748, Salzburg)

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5. Ignaz Paul (bap. 28 April 1720, Salzburg; m. Maria Elisabeth Weiß, d. after 1773)

IV. Children of Maria Anna Christina (Maria Anna) Woller
(née Muffat) (IIIc, 2)

1. Theresia Josepha Rosina Anna Magdalena (bap. 13 January 1756, Vienna; d. 18 January 1756)
2. Maria Anna Aloysia Erasmus Expeditus Thecla Margaretha (Maria Anna) (bap. 26 December 1754, Vienna; d. after 1809)
3. Josephus Dominicus Antonius Judas Thadæus Ignatius Franciscus Xaverius (Joseph Dominik) (bap. 18 January 1758, Vienna; m. Maria Anna Junker [b. ca. 1760, Bozen, Tirol; d. 2 August 1819, Pöltenberg], 10 June 1785, Vienna; d. 17 November 1809, Graz)
4. “Christina” (b. ca. 14 March 1759, Vienna; d. TBP 14 March 1759, PM 16 March, Vienna)

V. Children of Josephus Dominicus Antonius Judas Thadæus Ignatius
Franciscus Xaverius (Joseph Dominik) Woller (IV, 3)

1. Maria (b. ca. 1785; d. 18 October 1788, Vienna)

Appendix 2: List of Manuscript Sources and Works

I. LIST OF WORKS

MC A: Works printed during Gottlieb Muffat’s lifetime

72 *Versetl sammt 12 Toccaten* (Vienna, 1726)

Componimenti Musicali per il Cembalo (Augsburg, ca. 1736–39)

MC B: Keyboard partitas

B1–B6: Set of six keyboard partitas

B7–B15: Set of nine keyboard partitas

B17–B19: Three Partitas entitled “Parisien”

B16, B20–B43 Miscellaneous keyboard partitas

MC App B: Anonymous keyboard partitas of uncertain authorship

App B1–App B9 Keyboard partitas and App B10 a Chaconne

MC C: Other keyboard works

C1–C2: Organ pastorellas

C3–C4: Organ masses (C3, Mass in C major, incomplete)

C5–C16: Organ preludes with a liturgical function

C17–C21: Individual fugues

C22–C72: Thirty-two Ricercars and nineteen canzonas

C73–C96: Twenty-four Toccatas and capriccios

C97–C115: Individual preludial or improvisatory-style pieces

MC D: Chamber works

D1–D3: Keyboard concertos

D4: Sonata pastorale

D5: Salve Regina (authorship doubtful)

II. LIST OF SOURCES AND CONTENTS¹⁹⁷

<i>Library and Shelfmark</i>	<i>Muffat Compendium (MC)</i>
A-Gd Pfarre Bad Aussee, Ms. 138	D5
A-Gd Pfarre St. Lambrecht, Ms. 24	B3ob (B3ob/V–VII=B3oa/II–IV)
A-GÖ Ms. 4733	C5–17, C19–21, C28b, C50, C52, C55, C56b, C57b, C60–61, C72 (=A18/I.3)
A-Wgm VII 16254 (Q 11385)	C9–10, C19, C52, C72 (C72=A18/I.3)
A-Wm XIV 712	C22–72 (C72=A18/I.3)
A-Wm XIV 715	B3oa/I, B3ob/I, B33/I, B35/I, B36/I, B38/I, B41/I, B42/I, App B1/I, App B7/I, C73–114
A-Wm XIV 716	B38/I, C81/I, C109
A-Wm XIV 729	B3ob/III, C22, C27
A-Wm XIV 730	B34
A-Wm XIV 737	B35
A-Wn Mus.hs. 15935	B20 (B20/IV=B7/V, B20/V=A18/X, B20/VI=B25/V)
A-Wn Mus.hs. 16933	D4
A-Wn Mus.hs. 18685	B4, B25 (B25/V=B20/VI), B33, B36, B41, App B2
A-Wn Mus.hs. 18691	B6 (B6/VI=B11/VIIIa), B3oa (B3oa/II–IV=B3ob/V–VII), App B10
A-Wn Mus.hs. 18780	B28, B29, B3ob (B3ob/V–VII=B3oa/II–IV), B38, B41, B42, App B1–9
A-Wn Mus.hs. 19172	B41
CZ-KR A II 24	Transcription of J. J. Fux <i>Suite in G Major</i> (E70a)
D-B Mus.ms. 6712	Transcription of works by J. J. Froberger
D-B Mus.ms. 9160	Transcription of works by G. F. Handel
D-B Mus.ms. 9160/1	Transcription of works by G. F. Handel
D-B Mus.ms. 15780	B36/I, B41/I, App B1/I, C60–61, C64, C73/I, C74/I, C75/I, C79–80, C82–84, C85/I, C87, C88/I, C89/II, C90/II, C91, C92/I, C94/II, C95/II, C96/II, C98, C113
D-B Mus.ms. 15781	C5–17, C19–21, C28b, C50, C52, C55, C56b, C57b, C60–61, C72 (=A18/I.3)
D-B Mus.ms. 15783	C18, C21
D-B Mus.ms. 15784/1	B11 (B6/I=B11/VIIIa)
D-B Mus.ms. 15784/2	B22

197. Library and archive abbreviations follow RISM. See <http://www.rism.info/en/community/development/rism-sigla-catalogue.html> (accessed March 19, 2013) for more information.

The Famously Little-Known Gottlieb Muffat

D-B Mus.ms.22477/2	G. C. Wagenseil <i>Divertimento in D Major</i> (according to Riedel copied by Muffat)
D-B Mus.ms.30112	C52, C60
D-B Mus.ms.30266	C115
D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 247/IV	Transcription of J. J. Fux <i>Partita in A Major</i> (K 405)
D-B SA 2868	D3
D-B SA 2869	D2
D-B SA 2870	D1
D-B SA 4531	B36
D-B SA 4573	B1
D-B SA 4574	B2 (B2/II–IV=A17/II–IVa)
D-B SA 4575	B3
D-B SA 4576	B4
D-B SA 4577	B5 (B5/II=B14/Va)
D-B SA 4578	B6 (B6/VI=B11/VIIIa)
D-B SA 4579	B17–19 (B19/VIII=B24/X)
D-B SA 4580	B21, B27, B31, B37
D-B SA 4581	Transcription of works by Georg Muffat
D-B SA 4582	B36
D-B SA 4583	C2
D-B SA 4584	C1
D-B SA 4585	B7 (B7/V=B20/IV)
D-B SA 4586	B8
D-B SA 4587	B9
D-B SA 4588	B10
D-B SA 4589	B11 (B11/VIIIa=B6/VI)
D-B SA 4590	B12 (B12/II=B26/VIII)
D-B SA 4591	B13
D-B SA 4592	B14 (B14/Va=B5/II)
D-B SA 4593	B15
D-B SA 4594	B16
D-B SA 4595	B43
D-BEU Mus.ms.30	B23, B39
D-BEU Mus.ms.82	C3–4
D-Mbs Mus.mss.5472	B26 (B26/VIII=B12/II)
D-Mbs Mus.mss.5474	B40
D-Mbs Mus.mss.5475	B24 (B24/X=B19/VIII)
D-Mbs Mus.mss.5476	B32a (B32a/V=B32b/VI, B32a/VI=B32b/VII, B32a/VII=B32b/IV, B32a/VIII=B32b/VIII, B32a/IX=B32b/V)
H-Bn Ms.mus.749	B32a/I, B35/II, C78
H-Bn Ms.mus.753	B32b (B32b/IV=B32a/VII, B32b/V=B32a/IX, B32b/VI=B32a/V, B32b/VII=B32a/VI, B32b/VIII=B32a/VIII), C18–19, C60, C95/I, C105, C101b, C112b
US-NYp Drexel 3276	C22–24, C28b, C58, C65, C66

Bach versus Scheibe

Hitherto Unknown Battlegrounds in a Famous Conflict

Michael Maul

On May 14, 1737, Johann Adolph Scheibe (1708–76), a twenty-nine-year-old music theorist and composer in Hamburg, published a *Sendschreiben* (“letter”) describing the experience of a fictional musician with twelve living composers.¹ Only two of the twelve—Johann Adolph Hasse and Carl Heinrich Graun—were identified by name, chiefly because Scheibe had nothing but praise for them. Many of the journal’s readers, however, were able to recognize one of the remaining ten composers as Johann Sebastian Bach. Johann Abraham Birnbaum (1702–48), a professor of rhetoric at Leipzig University, took offense at Scheibe’s rather critical remarks on Bach’s style and published a vigorous defense entitled “Impartial Comments on a Questionable Passage in the Sixth Number of *Der Critische Musicus*.”² The resulting dispute, known today as the Scheibe-Birnbaum affair, generated a number of publications over the next decade and has long been recognized as one of the most important documents regarding the reception of Bach’s music before 1750.³

The text of this essay is based upon a presentation I gave at the Biennial Meeting of the American Bach Society in 2010 and also on an article I published in the *Bach-Jahrbuch* 2010 entitled “Johann Adolph Scheibes Bach-Kritik. Hintergründe und Schauplätze einer musikalischen Kontroverse.” I am very grateful to Andrew Talle for compiling, translating, and editing this essay on my behalf.

1. Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der Critische Musicus: Sechstes Stück, Dienstags den 14. May, 1737* (Hamburg: Thomas von Wierings Erben, 1738). The German text appears in *BOOK II*, 286–87 (No. 400). An English translation is available in *NBR*, 338.

2. Johann Abraham Birnbaum, *Unpartheyische Anmerkungen über eine bedenckliche stelle in dem sechsten stück des Critischen Musicus* (Leipzig, 1738). The German text is reprinted in *BOOK II*, 296–306 (No. 409). An English translation is available in *NBR*, 338–45.

3. See Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1879), 476–78, 732–36; Carl Hermann Bitter, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Wilhelm Baensch, 1881), 201–7; Günther Wagner, “J. A. Scheibe—J. S. Bach: Versuch einer Bewertung,” *BJ* 68 (1982): 33–49; and Martin Geck, *Johann Sebastian Bach* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2000), 228–40.

The other nine musicians Scheibe anonymously criticized did not respond in print, even by proxy, and for this reason their names have never been known. My occasion for revisiting this topic is the surprising discovery, in the library of Jena University, of a first edition of Scheibe's *Sendschreiben* that includes handwritten marginal notes revealing the identities of the anonymous musicians.⁴ In addition to Bach, the list includes Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel (*Kapellmeister* at Gotha); Johann Theodor Römhild and Christoph Förster (*Kapellmeister* and *Konzertmeister* at Merseburg); Johann Schneider, Carl Gottlieb Gerlach, and Johann Gottlieb Görner (organists in Leipzig); Johann Valentin Görner (composer in Hamburg); as well as Guiseppe Antonio Paganelli and Conrad Friedrich Hurlebusch (court musicians in Braunschweig). The distinctive handwriting of the annotations leaves no doubt that they were penned by Johann Gottfried Walther (1684–1748), the town organist in Weimar and J. S. Bach's distant cousin. Walther is known to have taken a special interest in the Scheibe-Birnbaum affair; on January 24, 1738, he wrote to his friend and colleague in Braunschweig, Heinrich Bokemeyer (1679–1751), that in reading Scheibe's text he immediately recognized "Bach in Leipzig" as one of the anonymous persons criticized, and that he was "curious to know what other men and places might be characterized here but not named."⁵ Bokemeyer's response has not been preserved, but it was almost certainly he who supplied Walther with the information found in the margins of the Jena exemplar. As Bokemeyer was in regular contact with Scheibe, there is no reason to doubt their accuracy. This discovery not only sheds welcome light on several of Bach's contemporaries, it also reveals previously unknown dimensions of the battle between Scheibe and Bach himself.

I.

Scheibe's *Sendschreiben* was presented not as his own creation but rather as a letter written by an anonymous "skilled musician" (*ein geschickter Musicant*) who "currently finds himself traveling" (*sich anjetzo auf Reisen befindet*); the intended recipient was alleged to be "a certain master of music" (*einen gewissen Meister der Music*). The text begins with a declaration of thanks to the fictional master for having taught the writer so many beneficial rules of music making and notes that on his travels he has discovered that

4. Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena: 8 Art. lib. V, 421a. This compound volume includes all of part 1 of Scheibe's *Der Critische Musicus*, Birnbaum's *Unpartheyischen Anmerkungen*, and J. F. May's German translation of Charles Porée's "Theatrum sitne, vel esse possit schola informandis moribus idonea," entitled *Des berühmten Französischen Paters Poree Rede von den Schauspielen, Ob sie eine Schule guter Sitten sind, oder seyn können? übersetzt Nebst einer Abhandlung von der Schaubühne, herausgegeben von Job. Friedrich Mayen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1734).

5. Johann Gottfried Walther, *Briefe*, ed. Klaus Beckmann and Hans-Joachim Schulze (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1987), 211.

very few professional musicians possess a truly solid theoretical foundation. Despite the efforts to cloak his prose in anonymity, some readers assumed correctly in 1737 that the text was written by Scheibe himself.

The first stop on the fictional author's musical tour was an unspecified court, where he stayed for two weeks conversing with and observing the "head" of the musicians. We learn from Walther's annotations that the unnamed court is Gotha, and the unnamed musician is Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel (1690–1749), who served as *Kapellmeister* to Friedrich II (1676–1732) and Friedrich III (1699–1772) of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg beginning in 1720.

You know, dear Sir, that I traveled from _____ to [Gotha]. Mr. [Stölzel] is the head of the musicians [*Musicanten*] at this court. I had the honor, in the fourteen days I was there, to speak with him several times, and to hear his musical works performed. I had heard that his church pieces were particularly beautiful and found that this report was not without merit, though the music seemed to me less than fully developed. Sometimes the ideas were common and too flat. The diction was in some places poorly observed and very forced, as the rising and falling of the long and short syllables was unnaturally reversed. The choruses, especially those in *Allebreve*, were wholly beautiful and contained counterpoint and fugal writing that was unforced, natural, and exceedingly magnificent. The composer's mass settings in particular have this characteristic.

He is well-traveled, and has become so skilled at theatrical writing that only two or three men are equally adept in this realm. These days, however, his fire seems to have cooled; or perhaps he selfishly wishes to rest on his laurels, and not accommodate himself to the latest taste, since one seeks now to bring theatrical music to the very highest level.

In instrumental works he follows a middle style, which frequently falls into the low, and thus out of the style in which he should work. He seldom takes into account the particular strengths of the instruments, and I have heard several times from various people that he does not give the instruments enough to do, so that the individual beauties that distinguish one from the next fall by the wayside.

In music theory he is very strong. He attained great insight into the musical sciences during a lengthy stay in _____. He has read most of the ancient writers. Only a few prejudices, which come from a combination of self-love and envy, prevent him from regarding matters objectively. As a result he very often falls into a pedantic circuitousness that really confuses his students. His efforts to set his own texts are praiseworthy, particularly when one considers how few musicians really understand poetry.⁶

6. "Sie wissen, mein Herr, daß ich von _____ nach [Gotha] reisete. Der Herr [Stölzel] ist an diesem Hofe das Haupt der Musicanten. Ich hatte die Ehre ihn in den vierzehn Tagen, die ich da zubrachte, verschiedene mahl zu sprechen, und seine musicalischen Stücke zu hören. Mir wurde gesagt, daß seine Kirchenstücke sonderlich schön wären, und ich befand, daß man mich nicht unrecht berichtet hatte; nur schienen sie mir nicht völlig genug ausgearbeitet zu seyn. Zuweilen waren die Gedanken zu gemein und zu platt. Die Rede war auch an einigen Orten schlecht beobachtet; denn

According to his autobiography, Scheibe spent the entire winter of 1736 in Gotha, which would have given him ample opportunity to meet Stölzel and to familiarize himself with the conditions there. Stölzel had indeed spent a great deal of his life traveling and working in opera houses in Breslau (today Wrocław, Poland; 1711–12), Gera (1712), Naumburg (1712–13), Italy (Venice, Florence, and Rome; 1713–14), Prague (around 1716), and Bayreuth (1718). His text-setting abilities were admired by contemporaries and codified theoretically in his surviving treatise on recitative.⁷ The remarks on his pedagogical strengths and weaknesses provide welcome, albeit one-sided insight into an otherwise scarcely documented area of his biography.

After leaving Gotha, the fictional author reports that he traveled to another court where he was able to observe a particular *Kapellmeister* and a *Konzertmeister*. According to Walther, the city was Merseburg and the unnamed musicians were Johann Theodor Römhild (1684–1776) and Christoph Förster (1693–1745).

From [Gotha] I traveled to [Merseburg]. Here Mr. [Römhild] serves as *Kapellmeister* and Mr. [Förster] as *Konzertmeister*. The first is a man of rather advanced age with a selfish and deceitful personality. He constantly lords over the *Konzertmeister*, who is daily subject to slanderous insults. The other *Musicanten* are drawn into these fights in all manner of ways, and the sly intrigues of the *Kapellmeister* are only exacerbated by the rational defenses of those who stand by the *Konzertmeister*.

das Steigen und Fallen der langen und kurzen Sylben war sehr oft unnatürlicher Weise verwechselt, und folglich sehr gezwungen. Die Chöre, sonderlich diejenigen, in welchen das sogenannte Allabreve herrschte, waren hingegen vollkommen schön; und die eingerückten Contrapuncte und Fugen ungezwungen, natürlich und überaus prächtig. Sonderlich haben seine Missen diese Eigenschaft.

“Er ist wohl gereiset, und hat sich durch seine theatralische Arbeit zu der Zeit sehr herfürgethan, da man nur etwan zweene oder drey Männer fand, die zu dieser Gattung musicalischer Stücke aufgelegt waren. Anjetzo scheinet sein Feuer zu erkalten; oder er will, aus etwan einem Eigensinne, sich nicht nach der Zeit bequemen, da man dieses Theil der Music auf das höchste zu bringen bemühet ist. In seinen Instrumentalsachen folget er einem mittlern Styl, der aber stark in das niedrige fällt, und zuweilen von dem Styl abgehet, in welchem er doch arbeiten sollte. Die Stärke der Instrumente nimt er dabey sehr selten in acht, und ich habe einigemahln verschiedene sich über ihn beschweren hören, daß er den Instrumenten immer zu wenig zutrauete, und daß folglich das Schöne insgemein wegfiel, welches doch ein Instrument von dem andern unterscheidet.

“In der Theorie ist er sehr stark. Er hat eine grosse Einsicht in die Wissenschaften durch langen Aufenthalt in _____ erlanget. Er hat die Alten meistentheils gelesen. Nur einige Vorurtheile, die aus einer gewissen Eigenliebe entstehen, welche mit dem Neide verbunden ist, verhindern ihn der Sache ungezwungen zu folgen: und deswegen fällt er in seinen Unterweisungen sehr oft auf eine pedantische Weitläufigkeit, die seine Schüler sehr verwirret. Seine Bemühungen in dem Theile der Poesie, welcher zur Music gebraucht wird, ist desto rühmlicher, je weniger wir unter den Musicanten Leute finden, die denselben verstehen.”

7. Werner Steger, “G. H. Stölzels ‘Abhandlung vom Recitativ’” (Ph.D. diss., Heidelberg University, 1962).

The *Konzertmeister* is in fact a man of great accomplishments. If he had familiarized himself somewhat better with the musical sciences, and knew more about music theory, he would be a consummate musician. He is certainly not lacking a bright and spirited personality. Music is second nature to him. He plays the violin and the keyboard very well and has composed primarily for these instruments. His violin concertos in particular are flawless.

This man's many virtues make the *Kapellmeister* seem that much weaker by comparison. In his vocal works the *Kapellmeister* generally falls into ridiculous and vulgar means of expression. When he wishes to incorporate a particular method necessary for ornamenting melodies his lack of understanding prevents him from showing it off to advantage. The true beauty of music is such an unfamiliar concept that one cannot even discuss it with him.

When I visited this man, and we found ourselves conversing about expressiveness, he told me about all sorts of old-fashioned [*altfränkische*] and faulty [*tadelhafte*] means of expression that he had put to use in his sacred music. He reported, among other things, that he once performed a passion oratorio in Silesia in which he had someone stand behind the organ and imitate the crowing of the rooster by blowing into the bare reed of an oboe; the realism of this effect astonished all of his listeners, who gave his innovation extraordinary praise.⁸

Scheibe himself had spent time in Merseburg in the early 1730s, so he would have been well aware of the social dynamics at the court and could have formed strong opinions about the relative merits of the musicians there. The details he provides accord well with what is known of the biographies of Römhild and Förster. While serving as *Kapellmeister* in Merseburg from 1731 to 1738, Römhild would have been forty-seven

8. "Von _____ kam ich nach [Merseburg]. Allhier ist der Herr [Römhild] Capellmeister, und der Herr [Förster] Concertmeister. Der erste ist ein Mann, der schon ziemliche Jahre erreicht hat, und der Herr Concertmeister ist seinem eigennützigem und falschen Gemüthe beständig unterworfen. Täglich wird er von ihm verläumdert; die übrigen Musicanten werden in diese Streitigkeiten auf allerhand Art gemenget; und die listigen Ränke des Herrn Capellmeisters werden durch den Beystand nur vermehrt, welchen der Herr Concertmeister von den vernünftigen erhält.

"Der Concertmeister ist in der That ein Mann, der grosse Verdienste besitzt. Wenn er sich etwas besser in den Wissenschaften umgesehen hätte, und der Theorie der Music kündiger wäre, so würde er vollkommen seyn. An aufgewecktem und muntern Wesen mangelt es ihm gar nicht. Die Music ist seine andere Natur. Die Geige und das Clavier spielt er sehr wohl, und diesen beyden Instrumenten ist auch seine meiste Arbeit gewidmet; sonderlich sind seine Concerten für die Geige gewiß ohne Tadel.

"So viel Vorzüge dieser Mann besitzt, desto schlechter ist hingegen des Herrn Capellmeisters Geschicklichkeit. Er fällt in seinen Singestücken insgemein auf lächerliche und abgeschmackte Ausdrückungen. Eine gewisse Methode, die zu der Auszierung der Melodie sehr nöthig ist, will er auch gerne anwenden, seine schlechte Einsicht in die Music läst ihn aber nicht die dazu nöthigen Vortheile ergreifen. Die wahre Schönheit der Music ist ihm so wenig bekannt, daß man auch nicht einmahl mit ihm davon reden kan.

to fifty-four years old, which for Scheibe—in his mid-twenties—could have qualified as a “rather advanced age.” He had previously served as music director in the Silesian city of Freystedt (1714–26), where he would have had ample opportunity to perform passion oratorios with crowing roosters. Förster served as *Konzertmeister* in Merseburg from 1717 until 1738 and was known for his violin concertos, more than a dozen of which still survive in libraries today.⁹

Scheibe’s comments on the musicians in Merseburg are followed by a bitter discussion of the situation in his hometown of Leipzig, beginning with remarks on the city’s three primary organists: Carl Gotthelf Gerlach (1704–61), Johann Schneider (1702–88), and Johann Gottlieb Görner (1697–1778).

Mr. [Gerlach] serves as organist at a certain church and even holds the title of Music Director. His predecessors in this position were among the greatest masters, and their accomplishments have inspired foreigners to award them the most elevated honorary positions. Our organist, however, is so ignorant that he cannot be compared with his predecessors even to the smallest degree. He should be a composer himself; his position demands it. But because he is too inept, others must do the work for him. And he knows how to make use of the quill pens of the best masters so well that one might liken him to Aesop’s crow.¹⁰ But upon discovery, he has more than once been forced to endure sorrowful scenes, inspiring a tremendous amount of invective on his part.

Mr. [Schneider] is his perennial enemy, but otherwise shares the same characteristics. They attempt to damage one another on a daily basis in order to bring a few small benefits upon themselves, which neither does anything to deserve. And they accuse one another of foolishness to the point where both appear ridiculous. The latter, however, plays the keyboard expertly and the violin quite well.

Mr. [Görner] is a well-known church music director. He has been a musician for nearly eighteen years, and one would think that experience would have brought him

“Als ich ihn besuchte, und wir von den Ausdrückungen zu reden kamen, erzählte er mir allerhand altfränkische und tadelhafte Arten des Ausdruckes, deren er sich in der Kirchen-Music bedienet hatte. Er sagte unter andern, er habe einsmahls in Schlesien ein Paßions-Oratorium aufgeführt; um nun das Krehen des Hahnes recht auszudrücken, hätte er einen Menschen hinter die Orgel gestellt, der auf dem blossen Rohre der Hautbois das Krehen des Hahnes mit solcher Natürlichkeit vorstellen können, daß alle Zuhörer in die grösste Verwunderung gesetzt worden, und seinen glücklichen Einfall ausserordentlich gelobet hätten.”

9. Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek: Mus.2723-0-501, Mus.2723-0-500; Rheda, Fürst zu Bentheim-Tecklenburgische Musikbibliothek: Ms 223; Brussels, Conservatoire Royale de Musique: 5688; Schwerin, Mecklenburgische Landesbibliothek: Mus.1899/3.

10. Scheibe’s reference here is to Aesop’s fable of the crow that drops pebbles into a drinking vessel until the water rises to a level his beak can reach. Scheibe intends with this remark to mock Görner’s ingenuity in stealing from the works of better composers.

to the proper path. But alas, there is nothing more disorderly than his music. The inner workings of style and its various components are completely unknown to him. Rules are concepts that he feels every day he can do without, because he does not understand them. He cannot compose a single line without fault; the grossest blunders ornament every measure. In a word, he knows the very best means of creating disorder. Arrogance and crudeness have completely possessed him: the first prevents him from knowing himself, but the second makes him stand out in a very large crowd.¹¹

Having lived primarily in Leipzig for the first twenty-eight years of his life, Scheibe was intimately familiar with the music scene there. Gerlach had served since 1730 as music director of the *Neukirche*, the third most important church in Leipzig. The “greatest masters” who had preceded him in this position were Georg Philipp Telemann (1704–05), Melchior Hoffmann (1705–15), and Georg Balthasar Schott (1721–29). The tensions between Gerlach and Schneider to which Scheibe alludes would be completely unknown if it were not for this report. Indeed, it has long been assumed that the two played peacefully together in Bach’s *Collegium Musicum*.¹² As regards Görner, Scheibe reported some years later in his journal that the organist owed his first successful job application—for a position at the *Paulinerkirche* in Leipzig in 1720–21—to “a certain man” (*ein gewisser Mann*), namely Johann Scheibe, the builder of the organ in that church and father of the *Critische Musicus* himself. Görner and the younger Scheibe

11. “Der Herr [Gerlach] Organist in einer gewissen Kirche daselbst, versiehet zugleich das Amt eines Directors über die Music. Seine Vorfahren in dieser Stelle sind die grösten Meister gewesen, und ihre Verdienste haben die Fremden angereizet, sie mit den austräglichsten Ehrenämtern zu versorgen. Unser Organist ist hingegen in der Music so unwissend, daß er auch nicht in den kleinsten Stücken seinen Vorfahren zu vergleichen ist. Er sollte selbst ein Componist seyn; sein Amt erfordert es. Da er aber zu ungeschickt dazu ist, so muß allemahl ein anderer die Arbeit für ihm thun; und er weis sich mit den Federn der besten Mäodiger Feind, im übrigen aber fast von gleichen Eigenschaften. Sie suchen täglich einander zu schaden, und um einige kleine Gewinste zu bringen, die sie doch beyde nicht verdienen; und sie werfen einander immer die Thorheiten vor, die sie doch beyde lächerlich machen. Der Letzte spielet inzwischen ein feines Clavier und eine ziemliche Geige.

“Der Herr [Görner] ist an einer andern Kirche Director. Er hat die Music bey nahe seit achtzehn Jahren getrieben; und man sollte meynen, die Erfahrung habe ihn einmahl auf den rechten Weg gebracht: allein es ist nichts unordentlicher als seine Music. Das innere Wesen des Styls nach seinen verschiedenen Abtheilungen ist ihm ganz und gar unbekannt. Die Regeln sind solche Sachen, die er täglich entbehren kan, weil er sie nicht weis. Er setzet keine reine Zeile, die gröbsten Schnitzer sind die Zierrathen aller Tackte. Mit einem Worte, er weis die Unordnung in der Music am allerbesten vorzustellen. Der Hochmuth und die Grobheit haben ihn dabey so eingenommen, daß er sich vor dem ersten selbst nicht kenne, durch das andere aber unter einer grossen Menge seines gleichen den Vorzug erhält.”

12. Arnold Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs, 1723–1800* (Leipzig: Kistner, 1941), 263–64.

were apparently on friendly terms in the early 1720s, but they fell out around 1729, when the former allegedly sabotaged the latter's application for the organist post at Leipzig's St. Nicholas church.¹³

At this point Scheibe temporarily pivots away from Leipzig to discuss Görner's brother, Johann Valentin Görner (1702–62), who was then living in Hamburg.

His brother has never written large or strong musical works, and until now has barely been able to make progress in composing a few arias and little concertos. At the keyboard he reminds one of an insect [*Mücke*] because he hops around in the greatest haste. One can scarcely tell if he jumps because he fears failure, or because he is truly ignorant. He is similar to his brother in every way, but even more arrogant. He wishes to seem learned, but has no knowledge. He speaks of beauty and order in music, but has no understanding of either. His malice drives him to complain that he knows much more than musicians of real accomplishment, and even denigrates those who have done him the greatest favors. How can one behave in a rational and praiseworthy fashion if one does not have a good grasp of religion, and knows nothing of proper ethical behavior?¹⁴

Here too Scheibe's criticism was probably motivated in part by perceived slights that took place in the near or distant past. The two men overlapped in Leipzig for several years, but the source of their conflict remains unknown.

It is here that the famous criticism of J. S. Bach appears. This too I quote in full so that Scheibe's well-known words might be read in their original context:

Mr. [Bach] is the most eminent of the *Musikanten* in [Leipzig]. He is an extraordinary artist on the clavier and on the organ, and he has until now encountered only one person with whom he can dispute the palm of superiority. I have heard this great man play on various occasions. One is amazed at his ability, and one can hardly conceive how it is possible for him to achieve such agility, with his fingers and with his feet, in the crossings, extensions, and extreme jumps that he manages, without mixing in a single wrong tone, or displacing his body by any violent movement.

13. Scheibe, *Der Critische Musicus*, 60–61.

14. "Sein Bruder hat noch niemahls grosse und starke musicalische Stücke verfertiget, sondern bisher kaum in einigen Arien und kleinen Concerten fortkommen können. Auf dem Clavier stellt er eine Mücke sehr natürlich vor; denn er hüpfet mit der grösten Eilfertigkeit darauf herum: man weis aber nicht gewiß, ob er es aus Furcht zu fehlen, oder aus einer wirklichen Unwissenheit thut. Er ist seinem Bruder in allen ähnlich, und übertrifft ihn noch im Hochmuthe. Er will gelehrt seyn; und hat doch keine Wissenschaften. Er redet von der Schönheit und von der Ordnung in der Music, und hat doch keinen Verstand davon. Seine Bosheit verleitet ihn ferner gerne zu zanken, alles besser zu wissen, Leute von Verdiensten zu verachten, und so gar denjenigen übel nachzureden, welche ihm doch die grösten Wohlthaten erzeiget haben. Wie kan sich aber ein Mensch vernünftig und lobenswürdig betragen, der von der Religion nicht die besten Begriffe hat, und der in der Sittenlehre ganz und gar fremde ist?"

This great man would be the admiration of whole nations if he had more amenity [*Annehmlichkeit*], if he did not take away the natural element in his pieces by giving them a turgid [*schwülstig*] and confused style, and if he did not darken their beauty by an excess of art. Since he judges according to his own fingers, his pieces are extremely difficult to play; for he demands that singers and instrumentalists should be able to do with their throats and instruments whatever he can play on the clavier. But this is impossible. Every ornament, every little grace, and everything that one thinks of as belonging to the method of playing, he expresses completely in notes: and this not only takes away from his pieces the beauty of harmony but completely covers the melody throughout. *All the voices must work with each other and be of equal difficulty, and none of them can be recognized as the principal voice.* In short, he is in music what Mr. von Lohenstein was in poetry. Turgidity has led them both from the natural to the artificial, and from the lofty to the somber; and in both one admires the onerous labor and uncommon effort—which, however, are vainly employed, since they conflict with nature.¹⁵

That Scheibe studied with Bach while enrolled at the University of Leipzig¹⁶ is suggested by a recommendation, dated April 4, 1731, which the *Thomaskantor* wrote on his behalf. Here Bach praised the extremely enthusiastic young musician for his

15. The English text presented here comes, with slight adjustments, from NBR, 337–38. The German original reads as follows: Der Herr [Bach] ist endlich in [Leipzig] der Vornehmste unter den Musicanten. Er ist ein ausserordentlicher Künstler auf dem Clavier und auf der Orgel, und er hat zur Zeit nur einen angetroffen, mit welchem er um den Vorzug streiten kan. Ich habe diesen grossen Mann unterschiedene *mahl* spielen hören. Man erstaunet bey seiner Fertigkeit, und man kan kaum begreifen, wie es möglich ist, daß er seine Finger und seine Füsse so sonderbahr und so behend in einander schrencken, ausdehnen, und damit die weitesten Sprünge machen kan, ohne einen einzigen falschen Thon einzumischen oder durch eine so heftige Bewegung den Körper zu verstellen.

“Dieser grosse Mann würde die Bewunderung gantzer Nationen seyn, wenn er mehr Annehmlichkeit hätte, und wenn er nicht seinen Stücken durch ein schwülstiges und verworrenes Wesen das Natürliche entzöge, und ihre Schönheit durch allzugrosse Kunst verdunkelte. Weil er nach seinen Fingern urtheilt, so sind seine Stücke überaus schwer zu spielen; denn er verlangt die Sänger und Instrumentalisten sollen durch ihre Kehle und Instrumente eben das machen, was er auf dem Claviere spielen kan. Dieses aber ist unmöglich. Alle Manieren, alle kleine Auszierungen, und alles, was man unter der Methode zu spielen verstehet, drückt er mit eigentlichen Noten aus; und das entziehet seinen Stücken nicht nur die Schönheit der Harmonie, sondern *macht* auch den Gesang durchaus unvernemlich. *Alle Stimmen sollen mit einander, und mit gleicher Schwierigkeit arbeiten, und man erkennt darunter keine Hauptstimme.* Kurtz: Er ist in der Music dasjenige, was ehemahls der Herr von Lohenstein in der Poesie war. Die Schwülstigkeit hat beyde von dem natürlichen auf das künstliche, und von dem erhabenen auf das Dunkle geführt; und man bewundert an beyden die beschwerliche Arbeit und eine ausnehmende Mühe, die doch vergebens angewendet ist, weil sie wider die Natur streitet.”

16. Scheibe enrolled on 13 October 1725 (Erler III, 350).

proficiency on the keyboard and the violin and his skill at composition, concluding that he had “no doubt, that [Scheibe] would be able of perform every function which God called him to fulfill” (*und als nicht zweifle, daß er derjenigen Function worein Gott ihn etwanig ruffen mögte, vorzustehen in gnugsamen Stand sey*).¹⁷ And yet when it was in Bach’s own hands to award the aspiring young musician a job—as when Scheibe auditioned to replace Carl Gotthelf Gerlach as organist of Leipzig’s *Nikolaikirche* in December 1729—he recommended Johann Schneider and Johann Caspar Vogler instead. Birnbaum attributed this to Scheibe’s failure at the audition to find a countersubject (*Geführte*) for the fugue theme Bach presented him, or to execute a proper fugue upon it.¹⁸ The *Critische Musicus* responded that many who were present would dispute this claim, including Bach himself, “if he were willing and able to judge according to memory and conscience.”¹⁹ As was recognized long ago by Arnold Schering—and is now even more clear with the identification of Gerlach and Schneider among the other victims—Scheibe’s problem with Bach was not just aesthetic; it was personal.²⁰

Scheibe next turned to the first of two men he was not ashamed to name: Carl Heinrich Graun (1704–59). The fictional author reports to his fictional master with unbridled enthusiasm about having met Graun, presumably in his next destination, Braunschweig.

Dear Sir, the description that you gave me of this famous man was fresh in my memory, and you can easily imagine how pleased I was to observe up close the skills I had admired from afar. I hurried with the greatest curiosity to see and to speak with him.

His politeness is the equal of his skill. Nature made him not only one of the best composers but also gave him one of the most pleasing and ingratiating personalities, which is bound up with a noble ambition. I don’t think it is necessary to describe him further; you know him as well as I do. And we know that he is a man who brings

17. BDOK I, 136–38 (No. 68).

18. BDOK II, 344 (No. 441): “Und sollte wohl selbst der Herr Hofcompositeur darum zu verdenken seyn, wenn er denjenigen für einen unbilligen und ungeschickten Richter erkläret, der vor nicht gar langer Zeit bey einer hiesigen Organistenprobe zu dem vorgelegten Führer einer Fuge nicht einmal den Gefährten finden, geschweige dieselbe regelmäßig ausführen können?”

19. BDOK II, 365 (No. 446): “Daß ich aber dabey so grosse Fehler sollte begangen haben, werden nicht wenig Personen, die dabey gewesen sind, gar leicht wiederlegen können. Doch was brauche ich diese Beschuldigung weitläufig abzulehnen? Herr Bach in Leipzig wird das Gegentheil des Birnbaumischen Vorwurfs selbst darthun, wenn er nach Wissen und Gewissen urtheilen will und kann. Dieser berühmte Mann war bey der damaligen Organistenprobe mit zum Richter ernennet.”

20. Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, 186–87.

honor to our fatherland, and in his thoroughness surpasses all Italians. The elevated Frederick views him as worthy of his grace and rewards his services. That is praise enough. Whoever is loved by such a great and pure prince must possess true skill.²¹

According to his autobiography, Scheibe's travels brought him to Wolfenbüttel in 1736—where he applied for and failed to attain the position of *Kapellmeister*—and presumably also to nearby Braunschweig.²² Graun served as composer in residence here from 1724 until 1735, when he moved to Berlin to serve as *Vize-Kapellmeister* to Frederick II of Prussia (1712–86). Scheibe was particularly enthusiastic about the works of Graun and Hasse, whom he viewed together as emblematic of the modern era in music. He wrote the following in his “Treatise on the Origins, Development, and Characteristics of Today’s Taste in Music” (*Abhandlung vom Ursprunge, Wachsthume und von der Beschaffenheit des itzigen Geschmacks in der Musik*), which appeared in the 1745 edition of the *Critische Musicus*:

Two men have already been mentioned who bring fame in our time to the fatherland and have brought music to the highest level. Hasse and Graun are these excellent men. And one can say with justification that they have initiated a new period in music. They have demonstrated for us the beauty of good taste, which can be clearly recognized in their works, and have walked with such discipline in the footprints of those who came before them that they have really reached the goal that was the ultimate purpose of every effort of their predecessors. The Italian composers who are still able to follow nature

21. “Mein Herr, der Abriß, den Sie mir von diesem berühmten Manne gemacht hatten, war mir noch in frischem Andenken; und Sie können leicht erachten, wie froh ich gewesen bin, die Vorzüge in der Nähe zu bewundern, die ich entfernt hochgeschätzt hatte. Ich eilte auch mit der größten Begierde hin, ihn zu sehen, und zu sprechen.

“Seine Höflichkeit ist seiner Geschicklichkeit gleich, und die Natur hat ihn nicht nur zu einen der größten Componisten gemacht, sondern ihn auch mit einem gefälligen und leutseligen Wesen begabt, das mit einem edlen Ehrgeitze verbunden ist. Ich glaube, ich werde nicht nöthig haben, ihn weiter zu beschreiben. Sie kennen ihn so gut, als ich, und wir wissen, daß er ein Mann ist, welcher unserm Vaterlande Ehre macht, und der durch seine Gründlichkeit alle Italiäner übertrifft. Ein erhabener Friedrich würdigt ihn seiner Gnade, und belohnet seine Verdienste. Das ist zu seinem Lobe genug. Wer von einem so grossen und weisen Prinzen geliebet wird, muß gewiß eine wahre Geschicklichkeit besitzen. Diejenigen wenigen italienischen Componisten, welche noch vermögend sind, der Natur zu folgen, ahmen ihnen nach, und die Deutschen folgen ihrem Beyspiele. Doch sie sind bereits unserm Vaterlande bekannt genug; ich will also von ihren Verdiensten nichts weiter gedenken. Ich werde vielmehr anietzo denjenigen Geschmack in der Tonkunst, der vornehmlich durch sie am meisten ist ausgearbeitet und ausgebreitet worden, entwerfen, um, durch die Beschreibung seiner Vortrefflichkeit, allen angehenden Componisten und Liebhabern der Tonkunst eine Richtschnur zu setzen, wornach sich jene zu richten, diese aber zu urtheilen haben.”

22. See Scheibe's autobiography in Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740), 314.

imitate these men, and the Germans follow their example. But they are well known enough in our fatherland that I need not go on about their accomplishments here.²³

The fictional “skilled musician” next reported on two more composers in Braunschweig of whom he was somewhat less enamored. These he left anonymous, but Walther informs us that their names were Giuseppe Antonio Paganelli (1710–64) and Conrad Friedrich Hurlebusch (1691–1765).

Mr. [Paganelli], a native of Italy, does all that one expects of Italians. He composes without great consideration and is satisfied if he can bring out a colorful and frilly main voice. The harmonic accompaniment is a constant drumming, leaving his works without the necessary vigor. It is also typical for him to borrow entire movements and arias from other composers, as long as he hangs new cloaks upon them. In summary, Sir, he is one of the Italians who write works that are empty and lack power.

Mr. [Hurlebusch] is a German, but the prejudice that the Italians are the only masters of music has made him unrecognizable as such; he is practically ashamed of his nationality. You might think, Sir, that this would mean he understands all of the beauties of Italian music. Not by a long way. One has never seen anything from him other than a few Italian cantatas and keyboard works. The former are rather stiff, unpleasant, and full of the greatest text-setting errors. The latter seldom present music well-suited to the instrument.

Our German language is unbearable to him, and from stubbornness and ignorance he believes that it is unsuitable for setting to music. But he takes his hat off to nearly everything associated with the land he calls *Italia*.

He plays the keyboard very well, by the way, and his tremendous speed in springing around the keys must receive particular mention. He knows this too well, however, and it makes him insufferable. The theory of music is a strange and unfamiliar thing to him. He is under the impression that a musician need not know anything but notes.²⁴

23. Scheibe, *Der Critische Musicus*: Es ist bereits zweener Männer Erwähnung geschehen, welche zu unsern Zeiten den Ruhm unsers Vaterlandes, in Ansehung der Musik aufs höchste gebracht haben. Hasse und Graun sind diese vortrefflichen Männer. Und man kann mit Recht sagen, daß sie diejenigen sind, mit welchen sich gleichsam ein neuer Periodus in der Musik anfängt. Sie haben uns die Schönheit des guten Geschmacks auf eine solche Art gewiesen, daß wir durch ihre Werke ganz deutlich erkennen, mit welchem Fleiße sie in die Fußtapfen derjenigen getreten sind, die ihnen auf so vielfältige Art vorgegangen waren, und daß sie wirklich den Endzweck erreicht haben, der die Absicht aller Bemühungen ihrer Vorgänger gewesen ist. Diejenigen wenigen italienischen Componisten, welche noch vermögend sind, der Natur zu folgen, ahmen ihnen nach, und die Deutschen folgen ihrem Beyspiele. Doch sie sind bereits unserm Vaterlande bekannt genug; ich will also von ihren Verdiensten nichts weiter gedenken. (766–67)

24. “Der Herr [Paganelli], ein gebohrner Italiäner, thut alles was seine Nation erfordert. Er setzet ohne grosse Ueberlegung, wenn er nur eine bunte und krause Hauptstimme herausbringet. Die Harmonische Begleitung ist eine beständiges Trommeln, und es fehlet also seinen Stücken an dem gehörigen

It is worth recalling here that C. P. E. Bach formed a similarly negative opinion of Hurlebusch's character on the basis of a visit paid to his father sometime in the years around 1730. He reported his impressions in an anonymous letter published many decades later:

Bach once received a visit from Hurlebusch, a clavier player and organist who was then quite famous. The latter was prevailed upon to seat himself at the harpsichord; and what did he play for Bach? A printed minuet with variations. Thereupon Bach played very seriously, in his own style. The visitor, impressed with Bach's politeness and friendly reception, made Bach's children a present of his printed sonatas, so that they might, as he said, study them, although Bach's sons were already able to play pieces of a very different kind. Bach smiled to himself and remained modest and friendly.²⁵

The last musician Scheibe discussed in this *Sendschreiben* is Johann Adolph Hasse (1699–1783). His name, like that of Graun, was not kept secret but rather proudly declaimed:

Nachdrucke. Es ist ihm auch etwas gewöhnliches, ganze Sätze und Arien andern abzuborgen, wenn er ihnen nur einen neuen Mantel umhänget. Kurz, mein Herr, er ist einer von denen Italiänern, welche leer und ohne Kraft setzen.

“Der Herr [Hurlebusch] ist zwar ein Deutscher; allein das Vorurtheil, daß die Italiäner die einzigen Meister der Music sind, hat ihn ganz unkenntlich gemacht; und er schämet sich fast ein Deutscher zu seyn. Mein Herr, hier werden sie meynen, dieser Mann müße alle Schönheiten der Italiänischen Music verstehen. Bey weitem nicht. Man hat niemahls etwas anders als einige Italiänische Cantaten und einige Clavier Sachen von ihm gesehen: und die ersten sind noch dazu meistens hart, unangenehm, und mit den grösten Fehlern wieder die Sprache angefüllet; die andern aber haben selten, was doch eigentlich dem Instrumente zukommt.

“Unsere Deutsche Sprache kan er gar nicht vertragen, und aus Eigensinn und Unwissenheit glaubt er, daß sie sich gar nicht zu der Music schickt. Wenn er nach seiner Mundart, Italia, nennet, so fehlt nicht viel, daß er nicht den Hut abnimmt.

“Inzwischen spielt er das Clavier sehr gut, und seine Geschwindigkeit im Springen ist sonderlich zu merken. Er weis es aber auch selbst, und dieses macht ihn unerträglich. Die Theorie der Music ist ihm eine fremde und ungewohnte Sache. Er stehet in der Einbildung, ein Musicant habe nicht nöthig, mehr zu wissen, als die Noten.”

25. NBR, 408. The German text appears in BDOk III, 443 (No. 927) and reads as follows: [Johann Sebastian] Bach kriegte einmals einen Besuch von Hurlebusch, einem Clavier- und Orgelspieler, welcher damals sehr berühmt war. Dieser letztere setzte sich auf Ersuchen an den Flügel; und was spielte er Bachen vor? Eine gedruckte Menuet mit Veränderungen. Hierauf spielte Bach ganz ernsthaft nach seiner Art. Der Fremde von Bachs Höflichkeit und freundlicher Aufnahme durchdrungen, machte Bachs Kindern mit seinen gedruckten Sonaten ein Geschenck, damit sie daraus, wie er sagte, studiren sollten, ohngeachtet Bachs Söhne schon damals ganz andere Sachen zu spielen wußten. Bach lächelte für sich, blieb bescheiden und freundlich.

Now, dear Sir, I will name a man who has found fame and fortune at the highest levels not only in Germany but also in Italy. Mr. Hasse is known, and everyone knows that he represents his country well to the Italians. We see on a daily basis how this otherwise jealous nation continues to flatter him. The high honorary positions that he has held or continues to hold at the greatest princely courts are sure signs of his understanding and skill in music.

It is also true, Sir, that this great man has taken melody to the highest levels, and he is seldom given to its excesses. His inventions serve the texts he sets, and there are very few who come close to him in this regard.²⁶

Graun and Hasse were the composers who most closely embodied the aesthetic ideals Scheibe so passionately espoused. Hasse is shoehorned into this letter purely to strengthen this point, and without even the pretense of a fictional visit.

Restoring the missing names to the famous *Sendschreiben* allows us to develop a more detailed picture of the motivations behind it than had previously been possible. Scheibe clearly sought to promote his aesthetic preferences, which heavily favored the operatic works of Hasse and Graun over musical styles he felt were old-fashioned. He also wished to emphasize the value of solid training in music theory, evaluating musicians not only on the basis of their performance abilities but also on their knowledge of theoretical works. Knowing the names and biographies of his victims, however, makes plain Scheibe's personal agenda as well. Despite his musical talents, Scheibe had been unable to establish himself as a professional musician. The stations his fictional "talented musician" visited were, at least in the cases of Leipzig and Braunschweig/Wolfenbüttel, places at which Scheibe had tried and failed to find gainful employment. His vitriol seems to have been most strongly inspired by his failed application in 1729 for the position of organist at Leipzig's *Nikolaikirche*. It is no coincidence that three of the musicians he attacked were closely associated with this audition: the previous organist, J. G. Görner, had allegedly sabotaged his application; J. S. Bach, who had adjudicated the audition, had wrongly found Scheibe's performance wanting; and Johann Schneider, the successful applicant, allegedly possessed vastly inferior skills. Having finally moved to Hamburg—far away from the site of his humiliation—the

26. "Nunmehr, mein Herr, will ich ihnen einen Mann nennen, der seinen Ruhm und sein Glück nicht nur in Deutschland, sondern so gar in Italien auf das höchste gebracht hat. Der Herr Hasse ist bekannt, und man weiß, daß er den Ruhm seiner Nation unter den Italiänern selbst auf das beste erhalten. Wir sehen auch noch täglich, wie sehr ihm dieses sonst eyfersüchtige Volk schmeichelt. Die hohen Ehrenstellen, die er bey den größten Prinzen, theils bereits besessen, theils noch wirklich besitzet, sind sichere Merkmahle seines Verstandes und seiner Geschicklichkeit in der Music.

"Es ist auch wahr, mein Herr, dieser grosse Mann hat die Melodie auf das höchste getrieben, und er wird selten darinn ausschweifen. Seine Erfindungen stimmen mit den Worten überein, und es sind ihm sehr wenig in diesem Stücke nachgekommen."

idealistic musician with a flair for words had found success as a journalist. Scheibe clearly felt insulated by success, distance, and anonymity and comfortable enough to attack some of those who he felt had wronged him.

Read in the context of withering comments on the tastelessness of J. T. Römhild, the shameless plagiarism of Gerlach, or the immorality of J. V. Görner, Scheibe's criticism of J. S. Bach seems mild. Most of Scheibe's comments are actually quite positive. Bach clearly did not fit the profile of the incompetent musician promised readers at the outset of this *Sendschreiben*. It is only his alleged tendency to favor the artificial over the natural that Scheibe finds worthy of improvement.

Ultimately, however, it was this criticism that brought the greatest consternation. This one installment of the *Critische Musicus* became by far the most famous of the many Scheibe would write and cost him countless hours responding to counterattacks from Birnbaum and others. It also seems to have tarnished the reputation of his journal, inspiring pity in some older members of the musical establishment. In 1742 Heinrich Bokemeyer wrote a letter to Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–66) on behalf of Scheibe, in which he characterized the famous *Sendschreiben* as a mistake:

I hope that the portions [of the *Critische Musicus*] filled with innuendo do not betray the identity of their author too clearly. None of this has anything to do with me, except that I feel pity for him [Scheibe] because of the ill consequences. . . . He will by now have learned from experience how damaging it can be to make enemies for no reason. If this had not happened, every connoisseur of music would have assisted in the dissemination of his work. You might thus excuse my humble self for defending the production of this journal, which does its editor proud in many ways, but in other ways brings disadvantages.²⁷

II.

It is certainly curious that the exemplar of Scheibe's *Sendschreiben* with Walther's annotations ended up in Jena. Much of the latter's library came into the possession of Ernst Ludwig Gerber and is now preserved in the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* in Vienna. It turns out that these materials, along with an exemplar of Walther's *Musicalisches*

27. The text of the letter dated 12 January 1741 from Heinrich Bokemeyer to Johann Christoph Gottsched (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek: Ms 0342, Band VIb, No. 1243) reads as follows: Wolte nur wünschen, daß diejenigen Stücke [aus dem *Critischen Musicus*], so mit Anzüglichkeiten erfüllet sind, den Schriftsteller nicht alzudeutlich verriethen. Allein es gehet mich solches weiter nicht an, als daß ich, wegen der übeln Folgen, ein billiges Mitleiden mit Ihm [Scheibe] trage. [. . .] Er wird nun albereit aus der Erfahrung gelernet haben, wie schädlich es sey sich, ohne Noht, Feinde zu machen. Wäre solches nicht geschehen, so würde jeder Music-Verständiger das Werck helffen ausgebreitet haben. So viel wird hoffentlich genug seyn meine Wenigkeit von der Unternehmung einer solchen Schrift frey zu sprechen, die ihrem Meister zwar in vielen Stücken Ehre macht, doch aber in verschiedenen Puncten Nachtheil bringet.

Lexicon,²⁸ came not directly from Walther's estate but rather from that of Johann Matthias Gesner (1691–1761), a classics scholar who knew Bach while serving as librarian at the court in Weimar (1715–29) and as rector of the St. Thomas school in Leipzig (1730–34). He seems to have received the Scheibe and Birnbaum materials as a gift from Walther shortly after they were published.²⁹ The fact that Gesner followed the debate so closely suggests a new interpretation of his own famously flattering comments about Bach, which appeared in a footnote to his edition of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* published just months after Birnbaum's defense:

You would think but slightly, my dear Fabius, of all these [the accomplishments of the ancient citharists], if, returning from the underworld, you could see Bach (to mention him particularly, since he was not long ago my colleague at the St. Thomas School in Leipzig), either playing our clavier [*polychordum*], which is many citharas in one, with all the fingers of both hands, or running over the keys of the instrument of instruments [*organon organorum*], whose innumerable pipes are brought to life by bellows, with both hands and, at the utmost speed, with his feet, producing by himself the most varied and at the same time mutually agreeable combinations of sounds in orderly procession. If you could see him, I say, doing what many of your citharists and six hundred of your tibia players together could not do, not only, like a citharist, singing with one voice and playing his own parts, but watching over everything and bringing back to the rhythm and the beat, out of xxx or even xxx musicians [*symphoniaci*], the one with a nod, another by tapping with his foot, the third with a warning finger, giving the right note to one from the top of his voice, to another from the bottom, and to a third from the middle of it—all alone, in the midst of the greatest din made by all the participants, and although he is executing the most difficult parts himself, noticing at once whenever and wherever a mistake occurs, holding everyone together, taking precautions everywhere, and repairing any unsteadiness, full of rhythm in every part of his body—this one man taking in all these harmonies with his keen ear and emitting with his voice alone the tones of all the voices. Follower as I am of antiquity, the accomplishments of our Bach, and of any others who may be like him, appear to me to effect what not many Orpheuses, nor twenty Arions, could achieve.³⁰

28. Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon* (Leipzig: Deer, 1732).

29. This is documented most clearly in the Jena exemplar of Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon* (Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena: Art. lib. V, 320; Rötelsignatur: XLIII, 74), which bears a handwritten remark revealing that it was a gift from the author: "Jo. Matth. Gesneri do. auctor." For a fuller discussion of the provenience of these books, see Michael Maul, "Johann Adolph Scheibes Bach-Kritik: Hintergründe und Schauplätze einer musikalischen Kontroverse," *BJ* 96 (2010): 153–98 (esp. 156–60).

30. The English translation comes, with slight adjustments, from NBR, 328–29. The original Latin text appeared in Gesner's edition of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1738) and reads as follows: "Haec omnia, Fabi, paucissima esse diceres, si videre tibi ab inferis excitato

Given the connection between Walther and Gesner, these words can now be understood as having been inspired by the Scheibe-Birnbaum debate. Birnbaum had already admitted in his defense that the performances of Bach's cantatas in Leipzig churches were sometimes less than optimal but argued that one should not judge musical works on the basis of faulty performances. Gesner qualified Birnbaum's defense to some extent by asserting that it is only Bach's unique skills as a musician that make the performance of such intricate music feasible at all.

Scheibe too recognized Gesner's footnote as a response to his *Sendschreiben*. In a parody published just after Easter in 1739, he puts words in the mouth of a man he described as the "greatest citharist and composer in the world":

I could prove by the testimony not only of all the inhabitants of the town that has the honor to contain me within its walls, but also of all the chiefs of the musical *Kapellen* in the surrounding villages and hamlets, that I am the greatest of all artists on the cittern [*Citbrinchen*] and that, over and above this, I compose so intricately and wonderfully that listening to my pieces makes people quite bewildered. Everything is intermingled. Everything is so completely worked out that one cannot tell one voice from another, nor can one ever recognize the principal melody or understand the words. Let it be said, however, to anyone who would make bold to find fault with my ability, to cast doubt upon my merits, or in any way to belittle my fame, that I am the greatest citharist and the greatest composer in the world. It is certain that if I had lived in the time of the ancient Greeks (whom our writers praise so highly in their papers), I should be remembered with greater fame than any of the ancient philosophers and *Musicienten*.³¹

contingeret, Bachium, vt hoc potissimum vtar, quod meus non ita pridem in Thomano Lipsiensi collega fuit: manu vtraque et digitis omnibus tractantem vel Polychordum nostrum, multas vnum citharas complexum, vel organon illud organorum, cuius infinitae numero tibiae follibus animantur, hinc manu vtraque, illic velocissimo pedum ministerio percurrentem, solumque elicentem plura diuersissimorum, sed eorundem consentientium inter se sonorum quasi agmina: hunc, inquam, si videres, dum illud agit, quod plures citharistae vestri, et sexcenti tibicines non agerent, non vna forte voce canentem citharoedi instar, suasque peragentem partes, sed omnibus eundem intentum, et de xxx vel xxxx adeo symphoniacis, hunc nutu, alterum supposicione pedis, tertium digito minaci reuocantem ad rhythmos et ictus; huic summa voce, ima alii, tertio media praeceuntem tonum, quo vtendum sit, vnumque adeo hominem, in maximo concinentium strepitu, cum difficillimis omnium partibus fongatur, tamen eadem statim animaduertere, si quid et vbi discrepet, et in ordine continere omnes, et occurrere vbique, et si quid titubetur restituere, membris omnibus rhythmicum, harmonias vnum omnes arguta aure metientem, voces vnum omnes, angustis vnus faucibus edentem. Maximus alioquin antiquitatis fautor, multos vnum Orpheas et viginti Arionas complexum Bachium meum, et si quis illi similis sit forte, arbitror."

31. This English translation is taken from NBR, 350–51. The German text appears in BDOK II, 360–63 (No. 442): Ich könnte nicht allein [. . .] beweisen, daß ich der allergröste Künstler auf den

Although this text has long been recognized as a satire of Bach, for which there was no known inspiration, the discovery of the annotated volume in Jena has made it clear for the first time that Scheibe was responding to Gesner's salvo in the dispute.

Letters that Scheibe wrote in the years 1738 and 1739 to Johann Christoph Gottsched, the professor for logic and metaphysics at the University of Leipzig and leader of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft*, reveal that the Scheibe-Birnbaum conflict extended into some hitherto unknown arenas. It has long been recognized that Scheibe's theories were considerably influenced by Gottsched's publications, particularly by the *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst* of 1730.³² Like Gottsched's moral weeklies, *Die vernünftigen Tadelrinnen* (1725–26) and *Der Biedermann* (1727–29), each issue of Scheibe's journal begins with a short quotation from an ancient or modern author and frequently presents both fictional and nonfictional letters to the editor. The number in which he criticizes Bach and the other musicians begins with two verses from Gottsched himself.³³ On June 10, 1739, three years after he had left Leipzig, Scheibe first dared to introduce himself to the famous literature professor, highlighting his role as editor of the *Critische Musicus* and emphasizing his admiration for Gottsched's publications: "The reading of your publications, in particular the *Critische Dichtkunst*, inspired me to start writing on musical subjects." He goes on to complain about the rudeness of Johann Mattheson (1681–1764), whose preface to *Der vollkommene Kapellmeister* implies that Scheibe was guilty of plagiarism.³⁴ Scheibe next implores Gottsched to publish a review of the *Critische Musicus*, a request to which Gottsched acceded the

Cithrinnen bin, und daß ich über dieses noch so künstlich und wunderbar componire, daß man bey der Anhörung meiner Stücke ganz verwirrt gemacht wird. Alles gehet durch einander. Alles ist so verworren durchgearbeitet, daß man keine Stimme vor der andern vernehmen, niemals aber die Hauptmelodie erkennen, und die Worte verstehen kann. Trotz sey auch dem gebothen, welcher sich unterstehen mögte, meine Geschicklichkeit zu tadeln, meine Verdienste in Zweifel zu ziehen, oder auch mir den Ruhm abzusprechen, daß ich der grösste Cithariste und der grösste Componiste in der Welt bin! Gewiß, wenn ich zu der Zeit der alten Griechen, (die ich erst aus ihren Blättern, Mein Herr! habe kennen lernen,) gelebet hätte, man würde meiner anjetzo mit grösserm Ruhme, als aller alten Weltweisen und Musicanten gedenken.

32. Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1730).

33. "Wie kan denn jetzt die Welt das tolle Volk ertragen? Jetzt, da man lieblicher die Seyten weis zu schlagen." The lines are taken from Gottsched's *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1730), 467.

34. J. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1739), unpaginated first page of the foreword.

35. Gottsched's review of the *Critische Musicus* appeared in his *Beiträge zur Critischen Historie der Deutschen Sprache, Poesie und Beredsamkeit . . . Drey und zwanzigstes Stück* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1740), 464–65.

following year.³⁵ The job of writing the review was given to Luise Adelgunde Viktorie Gottsched, née Kulmus (1713–62), who spoke for her husband as well:³⁶

We do not wish to involve ourselves in the conflict between the author [Scheibe] and Mr. Birnbaum. We will say only that it has its origins in the sixth issue, and that Birnbaum's response appears in an appendix to this book.

By the way, we are very pleased that the good taste and above all the purity of the German style finds itself widespread also in music, and that Germans today can compete with all other countries in practical music-making. One honors the German Händel in England; Hasse is admired by the Italians; Telemann recently earned accolades and honor in Paris, and according to all connoisseurs, Graun makes our fatherland proud with his pieces. What should I say about Bach and Weiss? And this is to say nothing of the many other skillful men who we can set against foreigners. How high will music rise among us if we follow the rational suggestions for the improvement of the musical sciences and performance made by Mr. Mattheson and Mr. Scheibe?³⁷

In this commentary, Luise Gottsched studiously tried to avoid offending Scheibe, Mattheson, or Bach. Her words can nonetheless be construed as a statement of support for the *Thomaskantor*, since she pairs him with Silvius Leopold Weiss (1687–1750), who was among the musicians she and her husband admired most.³⁸

36. This is proven by a subsequent letter Scheibe sent to Gottsched in which he thanks the professor's wife for her review (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek: Ms. 0342, Band V, No. 972).

37. *Beyträge zur Critischen Historie der Deutschen Sprache, Poesie und Beredsamkeit, herausgegeben von einigen Liebhabern der deutschen Litteratur. Drey und zwanzigstes Stück* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1740), 464–65: In die Streitigkeiten welche der Herr Verfasser mit Herrn M. Birnbaum gehabt, wollen wir uns hier gar nicht einlassen. Wir melden nur so viel, daß die Beantwortung der unparteyischen Anmerkungen über eine bedenkliche Stelle in dem 6ten Stücke des critischen Musikus daher ihren Ursprung habe, welche man dem Buche angehängt findet.

Uebrigens freuen wir uns, daß sich der gute Geschmack und sonderlich die Reinigkeit der deutschen Schreibart, auch in der Musik so stark ausbreitet, zumal da Deutschland heute zu Tage in der praktischen Musik es mit allen Ländern der Welt aufnehmen kann. Man verehret einen deutschen Händel in England; Hasse wird von den Italiänern bewundert: Telemann hat sich neulich in Paris nicht wenig Ehre und Beyfall erworben, und Graun machet gewiß unserm Vaterlande bey allen Kennern seiner Stücke viel Ehre. Was soll ich von Bachen und Weißen sagen? Anderer geschickten Männer zu geschweigen, die wir den Ausländern entgegen setzen könnten. Wie hoch würde nicht noch die Musik unter uns steigen? Wenn man den vernünftigen Vorschlägen, des Herrn Mathesons und unsers Herrn Scheiben wegen Verbesserung der musikalischen Wissenschaft und wie die Musik in noch bessere Aufnahme zu bringen sey, folgen wollte.

38. Regarding the relationship between the Gottscheds and Weiss, see Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Ein unbekannter Brief von Silvius Leopold Weiß," *Musikforschung* 21 (1968): 203–4.

Scheibe felt obliged to point out in his next letter to Gottsched, dated September 28, 1739, that the fifty-third installment of the *Critische Musicus* contains a “Leipzig story well known to you” (*denenselben bekannte Leipziger Geschichte*).³⁹ This particular issue presents just two *Sendschreiben*. The first comes from a certain “Nasat,” who reported on a terrible organist who lived in a town that began with the letter *E*. There a new organ was built, and the organist idiotically turned down the opportunity to get an instrument with three manuals, claiming that he would have enough to do with just two. Furthermore, he insisted upon a new kind of equal temperament, which sounded horrific. One might be tempted to conclude that the organist in question was Scheibe’s favorite target, Johann Gottlieb Görner. There are, however, some arguments against this interpretation, the most important of which is that all church organs in Leipzig already had three manuals.⁴⁰ Thus this *Sendschreiben* cannot be the one to which Scheibe sought to draw Gottsched’s attention.

The “well-known Leipzig story” is to be found rather in the other *Sendschreiben*, which is attributed to a certain “Alonso” and dated March 16, 1738. Alonso lived in a university town, whose name is said to begin with the letter *H* (though Scheibe changed this letter to *L* in his 1745 reprint of the *Critische Musicus*). He offers a sarcastic description of an affair, which happened in this town “some time ago,” and promises to demonstrate how to perform a cantata honoring a high nobleman (apparently a prince) without a composer or a conductor. When this prince was visiting the town to celebrate his birthday, some students decided to play a serenade for him. But the performance went awry when they simply took a sacred cantata by a “very famous composer, who is still alive” (*ein sehr berühmter jetztlebender Componist*) and set new words to it. In doing so, they did not respect the differences between sacred and secular styles. The performance was made still less agreeable by insufficient rehearsal time and the absence of a conductor. After an awkward beginning, one of the students decided to direct, forcing some violinists to switch to the flute or oboe parts and leaving other voices silent. In sum, “nearly everything that one can call confused was put on display” (*es äuserte sich beynahe alles, was man nur verwirrt nennen kann*).⁴¹

This anecdote raises several questions. Who could have been the very famous living composer, if not Bach? The university music director, Görner, seems an unlikely candidate; Scheibe would never have described him as famous. If it was Bach, which of his works might have served as the basis for the students’ birthday serenade? If

39. Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek: Ms 0342, Band V, No. 972.

40. See Christoph Wolff and Markus Zepf, *Die Orgeln J. S. Bachs. Ein Handbuch* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2006), 65–71.

41. Scheibe, *Der Critische Musicus*, 210–12.

we imagine that Scheibe himself was Alonso, the event must have taken place in the early to mid-1730s, a time when Bach composed numerous birthday cantatas for the Prince-Elector of Saxony and often reused these works for church services (e.g., in his Christmas Oratorio). Might we consider these remarks an oblique criticism of Bach's parody technique? The question must remain unresolved for now.

In April 1743, Scheibe wrote another letter to Gottsched, in which the following passage appears:

I wonder whether my own works might have already been honored with your majesty's presence as listener. I need to be more clear. For some time Mr. Gerlach, *Musikdirektor* at the *Neukirche*, has been performing my church music. For example, the most recent passion and Easter cantatas were of my composition. If you heard these pieces I'd be glad to know your opinion of them. At the moment I'm sending various works to Gerlach, as for example cantatas for the Sundays around the next Leipzig trade fair, Ascension Day, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, and St. John's Day.⁴²

Scheibe's assertion that he was regularly sending music to Gerlach is corroborated by the presence of several of his church cantatas in Gerlach's library.⁴³ But why would the latter perform works by a man who had criticized him so harshly in print just a few years earlier? A printed textbook of an anonymous passion that was performed on Good Friday (March 27) 1739 in Leipzig's *Neukirche* offers a partial explanation.⁴⁴ The libretto follows the style of a modern passion oratorio without biblical text or dramatic elements, but with sentimental reflections on the passion story. Its layout is very similar to that of Scheibe's *Critische Musicus*. The initial words of the first chorus—"Euch sage ich allen, die ihr vorübergehet"—are identical with the descrip-

42. Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek: Ms 0342, Band VIII, No. 1584. Hans-Joachim Schulze is the first to have referenced this letter, in "Studenten als Bachs Helfer bei der Leipziger Kirchenmusik," *BJ* 70 (1984): 50. The German text reads as follows: "Ich weis nicht, ob ich seither das Glück gehabt habe, einen Zuhörer meiner pracktsichen Arbeiten an Ew. Magnif: zu haben? Ich will mich deutlicher erklären. H. Gerlach in Leipzig hat seither seine Kirchenmusiken meistens von mir erhalten, sonderlich aber die letztere Passionsmusik, wie auch die letzten Kirchenstücke auf die Osterfeiertage. Sollten nun Ew. Magnif. etwas davon gehöret haben, so bitte mir dero Gedanken davon zu melden. Jetzo habe H. Gerlach wieder einen guten Vorrath an Kirchensachen überschicket; und werde ich also die Meßsonntage das Himmelfahrtsfest, die Pfingstfeiertage, das Trinitatisfest und den Johannis u. Marien Tag über auch abwesend in der neuen Kirche zu Leipzig seyn."

43. Andreas Glöckner, *Die Musikpflege an der Leipziger Neukirche zur Zeit Johann Sebastian Bachs*, Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung 8 (Leipzig, 1990): 119–25, 132–33, 159.

44. Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek: Coll. diss. A. 252, 39. The title reads: *Die Frucht des Leidens Jesu wurde an dem Stillen Freytag im Jahre 1739. in der Neuen Kirche zu Leipzig bey der gewöhnlichen musicalischen Andacht folgenderweise christschuldigt erwogen.*

tion of a passion by Scheibe mentioned in Breitkopf's nonthematic catalog of 1761, which includes four passions by Scheibe from Gerlach's library.⁴⁵ Pulling these bits of evidence together, there can be no doubt that the passion oratorio performed in the *Neukirche* in 1739 was indeed a work by Scheibe. This means that Scheibe's oratorio was performed in Leipzig at the very time that Bach himself was forced to give up on a planned performance of the St. John Passion because of mysterious conflicts with city officials.⁴⁶ Birnbaum's second defense of J. S. Bach had appeared just a few weeks earlier,⁴⁷ and Scheibe's aforementioned parody of Bach as the "greatest citharist and composer in the world" appeared one week later. Can this confluence of events have come about through pure coincidence? Or did Scheibe have some secret influence on the Leipzig authorities? Such conspiracy theories too must remain speculative for now.

It is clear, nonetheless, that the unexpectedly intense conflict inspired by his *Sendschreiben* gave Scheibe concrete reasons for seeking performance opportunities for his music in Leipzig. When the battle with Bach (via Birnbaum) heated up, the *Critische Musicus* must have abruptly apologized to Gerlach in an effort to promote performances of his own church music at the *Neukirche*. In this way he was able to go beyond academic discussions and offer a concrete, musical alternative to Bach's "turgid" style. The best evidence for this scenario is the fact that when Scheibe reprinted his famous 1737 *Sendschreiben* in 1745, he altered the texts critiquing Gerlach and Schneider. In the later version he claims now that the music director in question (Gerlach) was not a music director at a church but rather at a court, and that the next musician discussed (Schneider) was not a city organist but a member of the ensemble at the same court. In a new footnote, Scheibe offers the following rationale behind these alterations:

I have heard that readers mistakenly believed this person, and the following, to be two particular men of skill [i.e., Gerlach and Schneider]. I am well-aware of the true identities of these individuals, however, and have decided to change the text that caused this confusion. It appears that the author of this letter wished to disguise the identity of his two heros and pretended that they worked at a place they were in fact not to be found. The care he took to disguise their identities led to the unfair interpretation, which goes to show how easily anonymous characters can be misidentified.⁴⁸

45. See *Verzeichniß Musicalischer Werke allein zur Praxis, sowohl zum Singen, als für alle Instrumente, welche nicht durch den Druck bekannt gemacht worden . . .* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1761), 24.

46. See BDOK II, 338–39 (No. 439).

47. Johann Abraham Birnbaum, *M. Johann Abraham Birnbaums Vertheidigung seiner unparteyischen Anmerkungen . . .* (1739). No copies of Birnbaum's original print survive, but his text was reprinted with commentary in Scheibe, *Der Critische Musicus*, 945–46.

48. Scheibe, *Der Critische Musicus*: Da ich erfahren, daß man diesen Character und den darauf folgenden zum Nachtheile zweener geschickter Männer ausgeleget hat, mir aber der Schlüssel darzu am

While Scheibe would have readers believe that he meant to clarify the truth with this alteration, in fact he meant to obscure it. His adjustment was an attempt to restore himself to Gerlach's good graces, which he now needed to promote performances of his church music in Leipzig. Having smoothed things over, Scheibe was able to use Gerlach like a marionette, sending his own church music for performance in Leipzig's *Neukirche*. This itself stands as indirect confirmation of Scheibe's original criticism of Gerlach, which presented him as a craven plagiarist, regularly presenting the works of other composers as his own. While the *Critische Musicus* was bitter about this state of affairs in the 1730s, Gerlach's shameless plagiarism seems to have served Scheibe's needs admirably in the 1740s.

The presence of Scheibe's music in the *Neukirche* cannot have escaped Bach's attention, or failed to influence his relationship with Gerlach. Bach took over the direction of Georg Schott's *Collegium Musicum* in 1729 and maintained it until the early 1740s. The only known pause in his direction took place between August 1737 and the autumn of 1739, during which it was directed by none other than Carl Gotthelf Gerlach. It has been assumed in the past that this exchange was undertaken on the basis of a friendly relationship between the two musicians.⁴⁹ Given the evidence presented above, however, it seems that reality was much more complicated.

Did the ensemble members perhaps quietly express agreement with Scheibe's criticism of Bach, and did Bach perhaps give up the ensemble for a time out of frustration? Or were Gerlach and Schneider annoyed that Bach so passionately defended himself but failed to even mention the much more severe criticisms from Scheibe they themselves had suffered? One might have expected more from a *Director Chori Musici Lipsiensis*.

In the Scheibe-Birnbaum dispute, Bach found himself on an uneven playing field. He had been attacked without provocation by an eloquent young Leipziger who held no musical position and had attained success only as a journalist. As the illustrious *Directore Chori Musici Lipsiensis*, he could only lose by engaging in such an unequal battle. Scheibe had popular taste on his side, as well as the modern aesthetic sensibilities represented forcefully by Johann Christoph Gottsched, whose support he also actively sought. In Gerlach, Scheibe also had a willing vehicle for performances of his own church music, opening a new battleground in the conflict and perhaps allowing the

besten bekannt ist: so habe ich anitzo diejenigen Worte geändert, die diesen Misverstand verursacht haben. Allem Ansehen nach, hat der Verfasser dieses Briefes seine beyden Helden verstecken wollen, dahero hat er sie an einem andern Orte aufgeführt, wo sie sich doch nicht befunden; und diese Vorsicht mußte eine so unbillige Auslegung verursachen. Hieraus erhellet, wie leicht man sich in der Auslegung unbekannter Characteres betriegen kann. (59 n.2)

49. See Werner Neumann, "Das 'Bachische Collegium Musicum,'" BJ 45 (1960): 5–27 (esp. 11).

Critische Musicus to compete directly with Bach for listeners. The Scheibe-Birnbaum dispute has long been recognized as an important document in the early reception of Bach's music, but before the discovery of the *Sendschreiben* with Walther's annotations its context remained mysterious. This new knowledge about the identities of the other criticized persons, the accompanying circumstances of the debate, and its distant battlefields make it clear that the Bach-Scheibe dispute had a much more powerful effect on Bach's life than has hitherto been recognized.

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