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Table of Contents

List of Figures	iv
List of Tables	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Introduction	1
<i>The Uses of Music Theory</i>	5
<i>Chapter Outline</i>	9
Chapter 1 - Berlin and Music Theory in the Eighteenth Century	16
<i>Friedrich II, His Enlightened Policies, and His Patronage of Music</i>	18
<i>The Emergence of Germans and Germany on the European Stage</i>	22
<i>The Public Sphere</i>	25
Periodicals and Print Culture	31
Societies, Clubs, and other Forums of Public Sphere	37
<i>Music Theory in Berlin</i>	44
<i>Debates on Musical Matters</i>	55
<i>Postscript</i>	61
Chapter 2 - Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg and the Founding of the Berlin School of Music Theory	66
<i>Marpurg's Early Life</i>	67
<i>Marpurg as Music Theorist and Journalist</i>	80
Letters and Letter Writing	88
Concealment of Identities using Anonymity and Pseudonyms	88
Polemics and Controversies	94
Readership	96
<i>Marpurg as Theorist</i>	100
<i>Marpurg as Composer</i>	110
<i>Marpurg Last Years: Lotteries, Calculus, and Temperament</i>	115
<i>Epilogue</i>	125
Chapter 3 - The Forging of a German Musical Identity	128
<i>Introduction</i>	128

<i>Debates on French and Italian music in Germany</i>	130
Thunderbolt in Berlin: The First Musical Debates in the Prussian Capital	135
<i>The Struggle for the Recognition of German Operas</i>	148
<i>The Berlin School of Lieder</i>	160
<i>National Styles and the Rise of the “German Style”</i>	166
<i>Pergolesi’s Stabat Mater</i>	176
<i>Postscript</i>	188
Chapter 4 - “The Capital of Sebastian Bach”: Bach in Berlin in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century	191
<i>Introduction</i>	191
<i>German Nationalism in the Eighteenth Century</i>	193
<i>The Beginnings of Bach Hagiography</i>	196
<i>Scheibe’s Critique: A Reconsideration</i>	202
<i>Bach and the Berlin Press</i>	205
<i>Bach Among the Theorists in Berlin</i>	214
<i>The C. P. E. Bach-Kirnberger-Forkel Triumvirate</i>	221
C.P.E. Bach as Promotor of his Father’s Music and Legacy	222
Johann Philipp Kirnberger as “Student” and Disciple of J. S. Bach	226
Johann Forkel and the Foundations of Bach Hagiography	241
Bibliography	248
<i>Primary Sources</i>	248
<i>Secondary Sources</i>	257

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Map of Berlin from 1789, colored copper engraving by Carl Ludwig von Oesfeld.	17
Figure 1.2 Johann Peter Haas: <i>Abendliches Konzert mit Friedrich II. als Flötisten</i> .	20
Figure 1.3 First page of the pamphlet <i>Sendschreiben an die Herren Buchhändler, Kupferstecher und Buchdrucker in Deutschland</i> .	52
Figure 1.4 First page of an article by a certain F. G. H. J. K., titled “Von der Erlernung der Musik für junge Frauenzimmer.”	60
Figure 2.1 Portrait of Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718–1795).	68
Figure 2.2 Frontispiece to Marpurg's first journal, <i>Der critische Musicus an der Spree</i> (1749–1750).	82
Figure 2.3 Marpurg's classification of chords found in his <i>CMS</i> , 220–221.	104
Figure 2.4 Marpurg, “Traum des Anacreons” in <i>Berlinische Oden und Lieder</i> .	114
Figure 2.5 “ <i>Den ulykkelige Lotto-Spiller</i> .”	117
Figure 2.6 Sample page showing Marpurg's calculations related to combinatorial calculus.	121
Figure 2.7 Wiese's one-page manual for tuning the keyboard.	124
Figure 3.1 Title Page of Scheibe's libretto for an opera, <i>Thusnelde</i> (1749).	153
Figure 3.2 “Freude, Göttin muntre Jugend” composed by C. H. Graun to poetry by Hagedorn. From Krause and Ramler's <i>Oden mit Melodien</i> (1753).	164
Figure 3.3 C. H. Graun: “Guerrier forte non perdona” in <i>Cleopatra e Cesare</i> .	179
Figure 3.4 Pergolesi: “Cujus animam gementem,” in <i>Stabat mater</i> .	179
Figure 3.5 Vogler's “improvement” of Pergolesi's work.	180
Figure 3.6 The metric scansion of the text according to Marpurg.	181
Figure 3.7 Marpurg's rewriting of the piece with the note values corresponding to the “correct” metric values.	182
Figure 3.8 The example written in duple meter by Marpurg.	182
Figure 3.9 The actual sounding result of the piece in performance, according to Marpurg.	183
Figure 3.10 J. A. P. Schulz's rewriting of the Pergolesi example according to “unbiased” ears	186
Figure 3.11 Schulz's rewriting of the Pergolesi example, reversing the note values in the first measure.	186
Figure 3.12 The first eight measures in Pergolesi's original notation, but with Schulz's altered bass line.	187
Figure 3.13 Schulz argues that the listener will hear the cadence in m. 4 on a different beat than Pergolesi intended.	187
Figure 3.14 Schulz's two possible “improvements” to Pergolesi's music.	188
Figure 4.1 Cover image of the first issue of the <i>Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung</i> from 1798–99, featuring a portrait of J. S. Bach.	214
Figure 4.2 The first <i>Well-Tempered Clavier</i> prelude given by Marpurg as an example in the first volume of his <i>Abhandlung</i> .	217
Figure 4.3 Nichelmann's Fundamental bass analysis of the Sarabande from Bach's <i>Sixth French Suite</i> , (BWV. 817).	218

Figure 4.4 Example of a fundamental bass analysis by Kirnberger. Bach's A minor prelude (BWV. 889) from the <i>Well-Tempered Clavier, Book II</i> .	220
Figure 4.5 Kirnberger's thorough analysis of a Bach fugue. Bach's B minor fugue (BWV. 869) from the <i>Well-Tempered Clavier, Book I</i> .	240
Figure 4.6 A. F. C. Kollmann's illustration of the musical sun, with J. S. Bach as the central figure.	243

List of Tables

Table 1.1 A select list of music theory sources published in Berlin and/or by Berlin-related authors from 1748 to 1800.	62
Table 2.1 List of Extant Letters to and from Marpurg.	126
Table 3.1 Timeline of the controversy on French/Italian music initiated by Marpurg and Agricola.	136
Table 4.1 Excerpts of J. S. Bach's music published in Berlin music theory treatises.	207

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Introduction

Even a lengthy detainment by Prussian customs officials on a cold morning on September 28, 1772, could not dampen the excitement of Charles Burney as he finally entered Berlin, a city the famed English music traveler and historian had long looked forward to visiting. What was it that drew him there? There were, of course, a number of famous musicians gathered by the Prussian King, Friedrich II (nicknamed “the Great,” reign 1740–86), whom Burney hoped to meet: Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Johann Joachim Quantz, the Benda brothers (Georg and Franz), Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, and Johann Friedrich Agricola. Then there were the concerts at the King’s lavish retreat in Potsdam to hear, and operas at the famed *Königliche Oper* in Berlin. But surprisingly, it was not the musicians or music that Burney put at the top of his list for reasons to come to Berlin; rather it was the music theorists who lived there and their many writings. Berlin, as he noted with obvious admiration, was a place . . .

. . . where both the theory and practice of music had been more profoundly treated than elsewhere, by professors of great and acknowledged abilities, who are still living; and who have published the result of their long experience and superior skill in treatises which are regarded throughout Germany as classical. Among these, *The Art of Playing the Flute*, by M. Quantz; *The Art of Playing upon Keyed Instruments*, by M. C. P. E. Bach; *The Art of Singing*, by M. Agricola; the numerous and well-written dissertations, *Practical, Historical, and Critical*, by M. Marpurg; *Musical Institutes* by M. Kirnberger; and *The Theory of Polite Arts*, by M. Sulzer, stand foremost.¹

Similar to Burney, my own investigation of Berlin musical life in the second half of the eighteenth century grew out of a curiosity for the unusual concentration of notable musicians and music theorists who lived there—many wearing both hats. Burney’s vivid description, particularly his observation about the substantial importance of music theory in Berlin’s musical

¹ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, vol. 2 (London: Printed for T. Becket [etc.], 1773), 86–88.

life, confirmed the curiosity that helped steer the present study. But it was not the aim I had when I first began.

When I was still in the planning phase of my dissertation, I knew I wanted to research German music from the eighteenth century, particularly as it related to the music of Johann Sebastian Bach. But I did not expect this journey to end up in Berlin. Yet, the more I learned about musical writings that came out of Berlin, the more convincing a picture formed in my mind about the prominent place Berlin held for the development of music theory and criticism in German-speaking countries. Of course, the high number of figures related to Bach who lived and worked in Berlin made it an even more attractive subject for my study.

My first major revelation was the pioneering work of Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718–1795), whose name today often comes up in conjunction with Johann Philipp Kirnberger and usually in a negative light. As I began to dig deeply into Marpurg’s immense journalistic output, I discovered a fascinating and hitherto misunderstood writer, one with a rare talent for writing about music, a penchant for stirring up controversy, and the energy to catalyze a generation of musicians and literary figures to turn their interests to questions of music theory.

For me, the most interesting part of Marpurg’s work was not his many treatises or even his debates with Kirnberger, but his journals, which were the first writings in Berlin that addressed music in a critical way with an appeal to non-musicians. As I studied Marpurg’s journals more deeply, I also began to better understand the important role periodicals played in the emerging public sphere of Berlin musical life. Enlightened by the critical work of the German sociologist Jürgen Habermas, I saw how Marpurg’s writings almost single-handedly made the subject of music theory an urgent topic for public discussion and debate.

At the same time, as I was considering how to cap off my dissertation, I thought of Forkel's 1802 biography of Bach (even if Forkel was never a resident in Berlin). Forkel's praise of Bach as a German of whom his country should be proud made me wonder if such nationalistic sentiments had been brewing earlier. I then became sensitive to how so many writings from Berlin touched upon issues of music and nationalism, often with Bach portrayed as a national hero, even as early as the 1750s. This is how I came to one of the primary arguments in my dissertation regarding the surprisingly effective role music theory played in seeding, conveying, and even instilling ideals of nationalism within the German public sphere.

Compared to other major centers for music and print in Germany such as Hamburg, Leipzig, and Dresden, Berlin had a relatively late blossoming. The city first gained prominence when it became the capital of Prussia in 1701, but more particularly after 1740, the year when Friedrich II was crowned as King. Friedrich's well-documented love for music led "der alte Fritz" (as he was called affectionately by his contemporaries) to gather together many notable musicians from across Germany, thus creating one of the most vibrant musical cultures in all of Germany in Berlin and Potsdam. At the same time, Friedrich's disdain for religion, his Enlightened vision of governance, and his policies of religious tolerance, and freedom of the press helped attract many immigrants from other nations, including several prominent French intellectuals and freethinkers such as Voltaire, Diderot, and d'Alembert, each of whom played an important role in spreading the ideals of Enlightenment thought. Moreover, Friedrich's support for the arts and sciences resulted in the proliferation of academies, educational institutions, and an active press culture.

Following Marpurg's periodicals came an array of additional publications dedicated to music and music theory, which further helped to spread musical ideas among ordinary citizens. An important development in this regard was the growing print market aimed at amateurs ("*Liebhaber*") from various layers of the society who often rivaled professionals and connoisseurs ("*Kenner*") in their interest in all matters musical. The diversity of music theory publications often pushed the boundaries of the discipline.

A recurrent project in many of these writings was to define the nature of German music. As German lands were deeply divided and fragmented in the eighteenth century (and indeed would remain so until 1870), a growing hope among intellectuals in many fields was the possibility of a unified German culture and language. Thus, already in the first issue of Marpurg's first periodical, we find essays worrying about the state of German music, worries that would be multiplied in the writings of many other subsequent authors. One major figure who loomed (if posthumously) over much of this discourse was J. S. Bach, whose many pupils—including, of course, two of his most successful sons, C. P. E. and W. F. Bach—helped secure his legacy in Berlin. For Johann Forkel, Bach and his music embodied elements that constituted the core of what he defined as German music in his pioneering biography of the composer published in 1802.

My dissertation explores the extensive range of this music theoretical literature published and circulated in Berlin from 1749 when Marpurg's first periodical appeared, through the end of the century culminating in Forkel's biography of Bach. In the course of my narrative, we will encounter writers well known to music historians and theorists (such as Marpurg, Johann Joachim Quantz, Kirnberger, Johann Friedrich Agricola, C. P. E. Bach, Johann Adam Hiller,

Johann Georg Sulzer, and Forkel) and writers less known (such as Christoph Nichelmann, Friedrich Wilhelm Riedt, Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, and Augustus Frederic Christopher Kollmann). Most of these writers were located in Berlin, or at least closely associated with the Berlin circle of music theorists. When viewed together, we see how Berlin became a beehive of musical thought in the second half of the eighteenth century, whose fertile ideas about music and its theories radiated outwards across German lands and into neighboring countries and languages.

The Uses of Music Theory

The reader may wonder what music theory has to do with many of the profound social and stylistic changes in the musical life of Berlin in the eighteenth century and how it not only can be reflective of an age's intellectual thought and nationalist sentiments, but also mobilize profound changes. We usually think about music theory (when we think about it at all) as a somewhat esoteric specialization of interest to only the most cerebral of musicians. We may think of music theorists as obsessed with technical inventories of every possible interval type, determining the generation and roots of dissonant chords such as the augmented triad or various species of seventh, ninth, and eleventh chords, or concocting reams of temperaments measured with impeccable mathematical precision. And in fact, such kinds of writing are plentiful in the publications of many of the Berlin theorists. Yet these writers had other, more mundane concerns that pushed music theory in new directions, turning it into an educational, political, and social tool in the broader public sphere. By considering the social uses of music theory, I hope to offer new perspectives on a range of social and political events that unfolded over the course of the eighteenth century in Berlin and beyond.

How is it that music theory could be such a compelling force? What could it possibly say about such potent social issues as German nationalism or gender equality? We can answer that question only when we see how music theory was beginning at just this moment to be reimagined by Berlin theorists as a far more expansive and critical discipline. Oddly enough, their expanded conception of music theory resembles the many ways music theory has been institutionalized in our own times.² In the groundbreaking music lexicon of Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon* (1732)—the first music encyclopedia in German—theory (“*Theoria*”) is modestly defined as “the mere observation of something, without engaging in the practice.”³ As can be inferred from Walther’s definition, theory was often seen as distinct from practice—and those who mostly wrote about music and those who made and played music were individuals belonging to differing professions.⁴ But this distinction began to erode in Berlin during the eighteenth century. Recall how Charles Burney praised Berlin as a center where the theory and practice of music both attained a higher level than ever before.⁵ As implied by Burney’s pairing, many musicians in Berlin wore hats as both theorist and composer. Music

² Christensen and Dahlhaus explore this issue in detail. See Thomas Christensen, “Introduction,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1–23; Carl Dahlhaus, “Was heißt ‘Geschichte der Musiktheorie’?,” in *Ideen zu einer Geschichte der Musiktheorie: Einleitung in das Gesamtwerk.*, ed. Frieder Zaminer, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie 1* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985), 8–39. For a more specifically eighteenth-century account of music theory versus music history, see Thomas Christensen, “Editorial,” *Eighteenth Century Music* 2, no. 1 (2005): 3–5.

³ “Die blossе Betrachtung über etwas, ohne dabey die Ausübung zu ergreifen.” Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon oder Musicalische Bibliothec : Darinnen nicht allein Die Musici, welche so wol in alten als neuern Zeiten* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, 1732), 605.

⁴ This distinction between theory and practice in Western music goes back at least to the Middle Ages, to the work of Guido of Arezzo, who could “contrast a ‘musicus’ who understood the philosophical nature of music with the ignorant singer ‘cantor’ who could only sound the notes. Christensen, “Introduction,” 3.

⁵ The fact that Burney includes Sulzer, the author of an encyclopedia on the fine arts, speaks volumes to the extent of the concept of music theory in the eighteenth century.

theory became a far more expansive and capacious category absorbing many of the practical duties of the cantor and composer that had hitherto been understood as separate.⁶

We can see the change clearly in a pamphlet Forkel penned in 1777 (*Über die Theorie der Musik*) as a reform to the curriculum at the University in Göttingen.⁷ In it, music theory was reconceived by Forkel along the lines of an enlightened model that included five categories: the physical theory of sound, the mathematical theory of sound, musical grammar, musical rhetoric, and musical criticism. This was in line with other Enlightenment definitions of music theory in the eighteenth century, which denoted a much larger discipline than the term denotes today.

Forkel is often credited with establishing musicology as an academic discipline, but as a close look in his writings and lectures reveals, he saw much of this academic work as music theory.⁸ Much of Forkel's new conception of music theory can be already seen in the writings of Marburg in his journals, which include discussions of aesthetics, criticism, and acoustics along with more traditional categories of pedagogy (harmony, counterpoint, melody), showing the strong connection the Göttingen theorist maintained with the Berlin theory tradition.

Forkel's work influenced many after him. According to Heinrich Christoph Koch's 1802 *Musikalisches Lexikon*, besides theory of composition, music theory also included "knowledge of musical grammar, rhetoric and aesthetic, alongside knowledge of instrument-building."⁹ In

⁶ Many of the musicians that Burney met on his trip could be counted as "musicus:" C. P. E. Bach, Marburg, Kirnberger, and Agricola were all active composers who wrote influential theoretical treatises as well.

⁷ Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Über die Theorie der Musik: Eine Einladungsschrift zu musikalischen Vorlesungen* (Göttingen: Wittve Vandenhöck, 1777).

⁸ It was later in the nineteenth century that the term Musikwissenschaft was coined by Guido Adler (1855–1941).

⁹ "Man rechnet gemeiniglich zur Theorie der Tonkunst die Kenntniß der musikalischen Grammatik, Rhetorik, und Aesthetik, nebst der Kenntniß von dem Baue der Instrumente." Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon, welches die theoretische und praktischer Tonkunst, encyclopädisch bearbeitet, alle alten und neuen Kunstwörter erklärt, und die alten und neuen Instrumente beschrieben, enthält: a - Z* (Frankfurt am Main: August Hermann, 1802), 1534.

Berlin, music theory assumed a role that even went beyond matters of music. As I will discuss in this dissertation, for example, the entrance of music theory into the public sphere brought about a number of important social aspects with it. Among these was the inclusion of historically underrepresented groups such as women and amateurs in discussions about music. Furthermore, music and music theory acted as agents in an emerging sense of (cultural) nationalism among German-speaking people. Already in the 1750s, for example, we see comparisons drawn between J. S. Bach and Homer and Virgil, placing a German on a high pedestal among other great people.

An important step towards establishing Bach as a national figure for Germans was, of course, defining what German music meant. Thanks to the many debates that were conducted in the newly established public forums, music theory became a tool for exploring ideas of national identity in music. Trying to get out of the shadow of Italian and French music, German musicians in the eighteenth century tested various ways in which they could make their own unique mark on the European music scene. These included trying to define and distinguish a German musical style (as done by Quantz in his 1752 *Versuch*), inventing new forms (such as *Singspiel* and the reworking of *Lied*), as well as developing compositional techniques and practices that were heavily associated with German composers (such as the genres of the fugue and canon, or extensive use of double counterpoint).

Many debates in the music theory scene in Berlin can be seen as extensions of debates already taking place in France, among them the question about the priority of melody and harmony which pitted Rameau against Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Then there was the question whether music could be seen (and heard) as a kind of language. This latter issue was explored in

Krause's 1752 book, *Von der musikalischen Poesie*, which can be regarded as one of the first European treatises on music aesthetics.¹⁰

In the first half of the eighteenth century, France was clearly the locus of the most innovative and “enlightened” currents of music theorizing, above all in the writings of its most famous opera composer, Jean-Philippe Rameau. Marpurg, who lived for a number of years in Paris just before mid-century, was singularly responsible for importing many of these ideas to Berlin through his unrelenting publishing activities (most importantly, his translation of d’Alembert’s redaction of Rameau’s theory). At the same time, the presence of many French intellectuals at the Prussian Academy of Sciences contributed further to the import of French Enlightenment ideas into Berlin.

Music theory was vividly taken up by various scientists associated with the Academy of Sciences in Berlin, including Leonhard Euler, Jean-Baptiste le Rond d’Alembert, Pierre-Simon Laplace, Daniel Bernoulli, and Johann Heinrich Lambert. In many of their writings, the old notion of music theory as a quadrivial art rooted in mathematics took on a whole new dimension. As just one example, new mathematical tools allowed for more precise calculations of interval ratios and scale temperaments that were (and continue to be) fundamental to many aspects of music.

Chapter Outline

To navigate and treat in more detail the myriad issues I have raised in this introduction, I have chosen to organize my dissertation chapters into four major parts. In the first chapter, I lay the groundwork by discussing how Berlin came to emerge as a major center for the theory and

¹⁰ Christian Gottfried Krause, *Von der musikalischen Poesie* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voß, 1752).

practice of music. Compared to most other European capitals, Berlin's prosperity as a locus of culture and the arts came late. However, thanks to the support of a music-loving monarch, Friedrich II, Berlin soon emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century not only as the center of the German *Aufklärung*, but also as one of the foremost centers for musicians from all over Europe. Following Friedrich's ascension to throne, several prominent musicians from across Germany and Europe moved to Berlin, including C. P. E. Bach (1738 from Leipzig), Quantz (1741 from Dresden), Nichelmann (1739 from Hamburg), and Agricola (1741 from Leipzig), all of whom would later pen important theoretical treatises.

In the same chapter, I discuss at some length the origins of music criticism in Germany and its subsequent blossoming in Berlin. As various scholars have shown, music criticism in Germany took off in the first half of the eighteenth century with the many writings of Johann Mattheson in Hamburg. Later, the center of activity shifted to Leipzig, where Lorenz Mizler had begun his publication, *Musikalische Bibliothek* (1736–54), and Johann Adolph Scheibe published his influential periodical *Der critische Musicus* (1738–45). By midcentury, though, Berlin became the locus of the most animated music criticism thanks to the proliferation of journals and other printed literature. In lieu of standardized national education programs, these venues all acted as de facto institutions for music education.

I will also introduce and discuss various venues and learned societies of the musical public sphere in Berlin such as the “Musikübende Gesellschaft,” the “Montagsklub” (founded in 1748 and which counted Agricola and Quantz among its earliest members), and the “Gelehrtes Kaffeehaus” (1755) that provided “a forum for the presentation and discussion of material both

prior to and after publication.”¹¹ Even though we have little to no records of the proceedings of these meetings, it is evident from published records that many of the publications arose out of discussions carried out there.

Lastly, I also discuss the effect of the Seven Years’ War upon the music scene in Berlin. In 1756, Friedrich decided to seize Silesia, prompting a war that engulfed many nations in Europe and beyond that would last seven years and take a huge toll on Prussia.¹² The financial cost of the conflict naturally had a negative effect on the budding music theory scene. From 1764 (the year after the end of the War) to 1771 (the year Kirnberger published his *Kunst des reinen Satzes* and Sulzer the first volume of his encyclopedia), almost no books on music were published in Berlin. Although Berlin saw a revival of publishing activity in music in the last three decades of the eighteenth century—with theorists such as Kirnberger and critics such as Reichardt and Spazier producing important works—by this time the city had lost its virtual monopoly on theoretical writing in the German lands.

The second chapter of my dissertation is dedicated to Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, arguably the most important figure in the establishment of a music theoretical tradition in Berlin. In the course of his career in Berlin, Marpurg initiated and published three differing periodicals dedicated to music criticism each, not coincidentally, highlighting the aim of imparting enlightened “criticism” in their titles: *Der critische Musicus an der Spree* (1749–50), *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* (1754–78), and *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*

¹¹ Matt Erlin, “Literature and the Enlightenment,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of Berlin*, ed. Andrew J. Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 15.

¹² In his book “A History of the English-Speaking Peoples,” Winston Churchill titled the chapter on The Seven Years’ War “The First World War.” Winston S. Churchill, *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, vol. 3: The Age of Revolution, 4 vols. (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1957).

(1760–63). As editor and primary contributor to these periodicals, as the author of a number of books on topics ranging from fugal composition and figured bass to singing and biography, and as an active correspondent with musical figures throughout Prussia and beyond, Marpurg gained a reputation as one of the most esteemed musical figures throughout Germany, a reputation that continued well beyond his death into the nineteenth century. With the aid of these periodicals, Marpurg single-handedly established a public sphere for music theory and criticism, which became a forum of exchange not only for professional (male) musicians, but also for women and amateurs. We will see how in his periodicals, Marpurg often chose an epistolary medium as the main literary genre of communication. Using the genre of letters to express his theoretical views allowed a sense of informality and playfulness that made scholarship more accessible to the masses. It was perhaps due to this accessibility and avoidance of “prolixity and pedantry” that Marpurg was described by Charles Burney as “the first German theorist that could patiently be read by persons of taste.”¹³

Not the least important was how Marpurg stimulated other musicians to think about and even write on topics of musical interest. He championed the theories of Jean-Philippe Rameau in Germany and prompted several debates about the merits of French music. Marpurg promoted progressive musical doctrines that stood at the forefront of musical developments in German-speaking lands. As an example, starting already in 1749, Marpurg endorsed the use of German in operas, placing him decades before other advocates of German as a literary language such as Lessing, Herder, and Moses Mendelssohn.

¹³ Burney, *The Present State of Music*, 2:106.

In the third chapter, I discuss some of the debates that occurred in the public sphere for music theory in Berlin, with a special emphasis on the respective merits of Italian and French music. While similar debates took place already in the late seventeenth century, it was only in the middle of the eighteenth century that German musicians began to join the fray. As I argue in this chapter, these debates made music central to shaping Germans cultural identity as reflected in music. For many musicians across Germany, defining a German national style became a burning topic of discussion as they sought to find a place for themselves somewhere within this stylistic binary. These discussions were echoed in Johann Joachim Quantz's treatise *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (published, incidentally, in both German and French in 1752). In this highly influential treatise, Quantz referred to the amalgamation of French and Italian styles as most favored by German composers. He called this the "mixed taste" (*Vermischter Geschmack*), equating it with the "German taste," inasmuch as German composers had been mixing the two national styles frequently for quite some time. One revealing (and little recognized) debate concerned Pergolesi's *Stabat mater*, a work that attracted criticism and praise like no other work. A recurring theme in these debates concerned the role of opera and vocal music, eventually leading German musicians to advocate for two new indigenous musical genres: the German *Lied* and the *Singspiel*.

The fourth and final chapter of my dissertation is dedicated to the reception of Johann Sebastian Bach in Berlin. There is a common misconception that Bach's name was forgotten after his death, only to be revived in 1829 by the young Mendelssohn. However, Bach was never forgotten in Berlin. On the contrary, Berlin was described by Meyerbeer as the "Capital of

Sebastian Bach.”¹⁴ The presence of two of his most talented sons, Wilhelm Friedemann and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, as well as several of his notable students in Berlin, ensured that J. S. Bach’s legacy lived on in Berlin even after his death. The music theorists active in Berlin—who, among other factors, were driven by nascent nationalistic sentiments prevalent at the time in Germany—regularly used Bach as an authority to bolster their theoretical discussions. It is no exaggeration to say that Bach’s legacy lived on in Berlin mainly thanks to the works of music theorists who, incidentally, also published some of his music as part of their theoretical discussion.

The most important of these figures were the triumvirate of C. P. E. Bach (who moved from Berlin to Hamburg in 1768), Kirnberger (about whose alleged studies with Bach much remains to be discovered), and Göttingen-based Forkel (who was a budding historian and the youngest of them all). Each of these figures used differing aspects of Bach’s music and legacy to their own end. C. P. E. Bach drew on his father’s legacy and name to promote his own works and increase his income. He remained a strong advocate for thoroughbass pedagogy with four-part chorales as a primary exemplification. Kirnberger, branding himself as a devoted disciple of Bach, used Bach’s teaching practice to advance his theories of fundamental bass and temperament, among others. The efforts by C. P. E. Bach and Kirnberger in promoting J. S. Bach were picked up by Forkel, who presented Bach as a German “national” composer and used Bach as a role model in his progressive agenda for music theoretical reforms as a research discipline.

¹⁴ “Berlin...[die] Hauptstadt von Sebastian Bach,” According to the young Heinrich Heine, recounting his first meeting with Giacomo Meyerbeer in spring 1829. Quoted in Arno Forchert, ““Die Hauptstadt von Sebastian Bach’ Berliner Bach-Traditionen zwischen Klassik und Romantik,” ed. Günther Wagner, *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 1995 (1996): 9–28.

In a way, each one of these three figures—along with the legacy of Bach—help to demonstrate the many ways music theory served multi-faceted functions in the eighteenth century.

Chapter 1 - Berlin and Music Theory in the Eighteenth Century

Compared to most other European capitals, Berlin's prosperity as a major center of culture and the arts came late.¹ However, thanks to the support of a music-loving monarch, Friedrich II (nicknamed "the Great," reign 1740–86), Berlin soon emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century not only as the center of the German *Aufklärung* ("Enlightenment"), but also as one of the foremost centers for musicians from all over Europe. In the words of Matt Erlin, Berlin transformed in less than a century "from a provincial backwater into one of Europe's leading metropolises."²

In 1701, when the Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia Friedrich III was elevated to the rank of King in Prussia as Friedrich I, the Kingdom of Prussia was established, continuing until the abolition of monarchy in Germany in 1918. At the same time, when Friedrich III crowned himself "King in Prussia" as Friedrich I, Berlin was chosen as the royal residence for the newly established Kingdom. After the merging of the five towns (Berlin, Cölln, Dorotheenstadt, Friedrichswerder, and Friedrichstadt) in 1709 (See Figure 1.1), Berlin became the official capital of Prussia. The city grew rapidly after that, going up from a mere 57,000 inhabitants in 1709 to 113,289 in 1750 and 172,132 in 1800.³

¹ For more on the history of Berlin, see Ronald Taylor, *Berlin and Its Culture: A Historical Portrait* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Matt Erlin, *Berlin's Forgotten Future: City, History, and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Germany*, UNC Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literatures 127 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

² Matt Erlin, "Literature and the Enlightenment," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of Berlin*, ed. Andrew J. Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 13.

³ Peter Ring, "Bevölkerung," in *Berlin Handbuch: Das Lexikon der Bundeshauptstadt*, ed. Horst Ulrich, Uwe Prell, and Ernst Luuk, 2nd ed. (Berlin: FAB Verlag, 1993), 239.

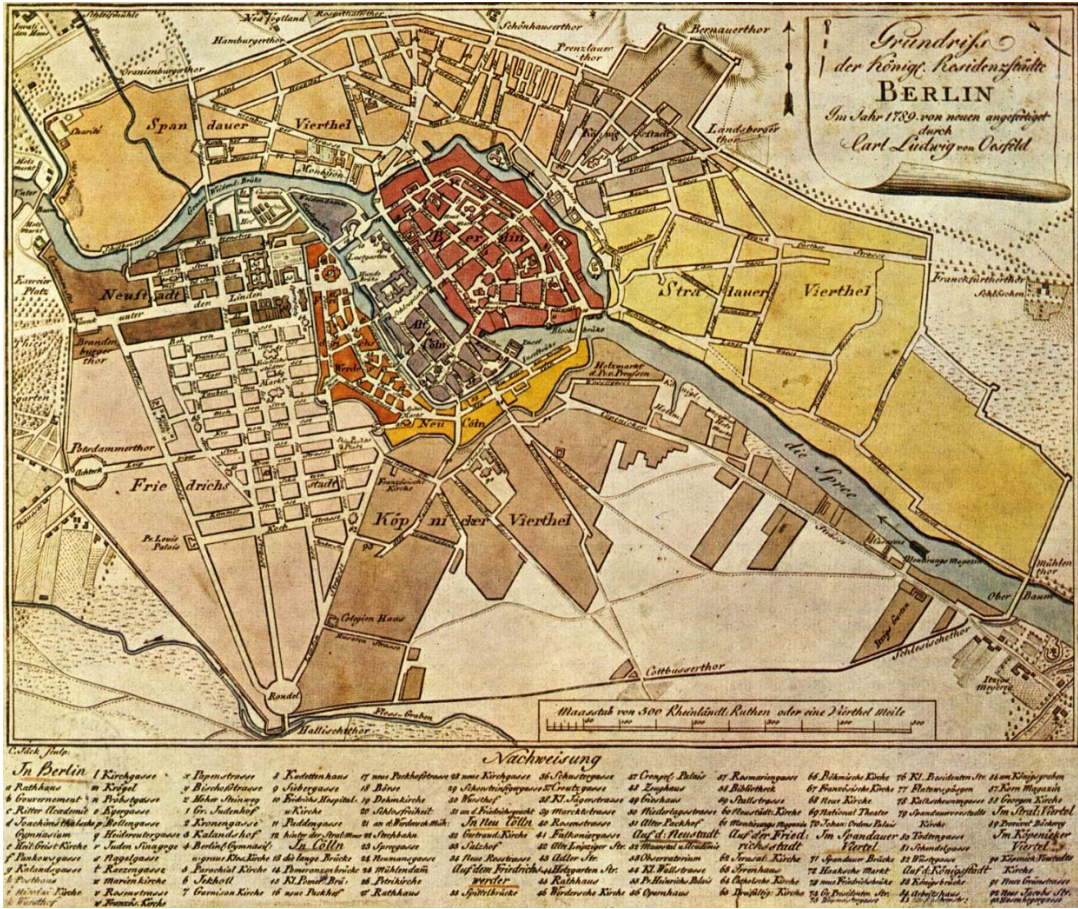


Figure 1.1 Map of Berlin from 1789, colored copper engraving by Carl Ludwig von Oesfeld. Source: Wikimedia Commons

Although Berlin saw a brief musical prosperity in the early eighteenth century, thanks largely to the support by Queen Sophia Charlotte, King Friedrich I’s wife, a period of stagnation occurred after the Queen’s death, but especially during Friedrich Wilhelm I’s reign (1713–40). Upon the death of Friedrich Wilhelm, and with the accession of his son Friedrich II to the throne in 1740, musical life in Berlin both at the court and in the city began to thrive to an unprecedented extent.⁴

⁴ The most extensive study of music at Friedrich’s court is still Eugene Helm’s severely outdated —monograph, although more recent scholars (e. g., Hertz) have cast doubts on some of his claims. E. Eugene Helm, *Music at the Court of Frederick the Great* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960). Helm’s entry in the New Grove (written with Derek McCulloch) takes into account many more documents that have been unearthed since his 1960

Much to the opposition of his combative father—aptly nicknamed the “Soldier King” (“*Soldatenkönig*”)—Friedrich II enjoyed playing the flute and reading about French culture, in addition to his penchant for military affairs.⁵ In 1732, young Friedrich took up his first private residence at Ruppin, some 70 km (43.5 miles) northwest of Berlin.⁶ It was here that he began, clandestinely, assembling the musical forces that would later join him at his court in Potsdam. Johann Gottlieb Graun and his brother Carl Heinrich Graun (who later became Friedrich’s favorite composer) and the Benda brothers joined Friedrich’s orchestra around this time. After his marriage in 1733 to Princess Elisabeth Christine of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel-Bevern (1715–1797), Friedrich received a new palace in Rheinsberg as a present from his father, moving there in 1736 with his seventeen-member orchestra.⁷ By the time Friedrich acceded to the throne, he had a professional orchestra comprised of some of the best musicians available at the time in German lands.

Friedrich II, His Enlightened Policies, and His Patronage of Music

As Voltaire proclaimed in his posthumously published *Mémoires*, when Friedrich II took the throne in 1740, “Sparta became Athens,” and as a result, Berlin soon turned into the most

monograph. E. Eugene Helm and Derek McCulloch, “Frederick II, King of Prussia [Friedrich II; Frederick the Great],” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (New York: Macmillan, 2001); Daniel Hertz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720-1780* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), 354–59.

⁵ For extensive accounts of the life of Friedrich as musician and composer, see Georg Thouret, *Friedrich der Grosse als Musikfreund und Musiker* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1898); Sabine Henze-Döhring, *Friedrich der Grosse: Musiker und Monarch* (München: C. H. Beck, 2012). The topic has received less treatment in English, but for a summary see: Mary Oleskiewicz, “The Flutist of Sanssouci: King Frederick ‘the Great’ as Performer and Composer,” *Flutist Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2012): 18–26; John Bourke, “Frederick the Great as Music-Lover and Musician,” *Music & Letters* 28, no. 1 (1947): 63–77; Andrea Kapell Loewy, “Frederick the Great as Performer and Composer of Flute Sonatas” (Memphis State University, 1987).

⁶ For a detailed account of Friedrich’s musical activities from 1732 to 1740, see Mary Oleskiewicz, “The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia,” in *Music at German Courts, 1715-1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, ed. Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul, and Janice B. Stockigt (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2011), 84–91.

⁷ For an account of Friedrich’s orchestra in Rheinsberg, see Ulrike Liedtke, *Die Rheinsberger Hofkapelle von Friedrich II.: Musiker auf dem Weg zum Berliner “Capell-Bedienten,”* 2nd ed. ([Leipzig]: Friedrich Hofmeister, 2005).

important center for the German Enlightenment.⁸ Friedrich built monumental cultural buildings in Berlin, many of which survive to this day. Among them was the Hofoper (construction 1741–42, now the Staatsoper unter den Linden), which became a center of Italianate operas, most significantly by Carl Heinrich Graun. Thus, the court of Friedrich and his peculiar taste became determining factors that shaped musical life in Berlin for some time.⁹

Despite his Francophilia, Friedrich preferred Italianate operas written by Graun and Hasse and did not relate to any music that was from the younger generation such as Gluck. It is likely that his musical preference for the music of Hasse was heavily influenced by his flute teacher, Quantz. (See Figure 1.2 for a depiction of Friedrich playing the flute at one of his musical evenings.) Years after Friedrich's death, Reichardt noted that Quantz was always defending Hasse's music, partly due to the fact that the two men were friends since their time in Italy (and later Dresden).¹⁰ As concerned Reichardt's own music, Kirnberger claimed that Friedrich did not want to hear a single note!¹¹

⁸ In Voltaire's own words in his posthumously-published *Mémoires*: "Lacédémone devenait Athènes... Il n'en faisait pas moins de la musique et des livres..." Voltaire, *Mémoires pour servir à la vie de Voltaire; Écrits par lui-même* (Berlin: [unidentified publisher], 1784), 33.

⁹ Friedrich famously hated sacred music and if any piece would have a hint of religiosity, he would sneer at it by proclaiming "Oh! It smells of the church!" Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, vol. 2 (London: Printed for T. Becket [etc.], 1773), 91. Friedrich's distaste for church music was corroborated by C. F. D. Schubart but deemed as vastly exaggerated by K. F. C. Fasch. For more on the musical happenings in the early years of Friedrich's reign, see Ellen Exner, "The Forging of a Golden Age: King Frederick the Great and Music for Berlin, 1732 to 1756" (Ph.D., USA, Harvard University, 2010).

¹⁰ Johann Friedrich Reichardt, "Bruchstücke aus Reichardt's Autobiographie," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 15, no. 37 (September 15, 1813): 613–14.

¹¹ "I. Maj. wollen von seiner Composition nichts hören." Joseph Müller, ed., "Briefe von Kirnberger an Forkel (Mitgetheilt von H. Bellermann), Eine Beilage, wahrscheinlich zu Brief III, IV, V, VI," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 6, no. 39 (September 27, 1871): 616.

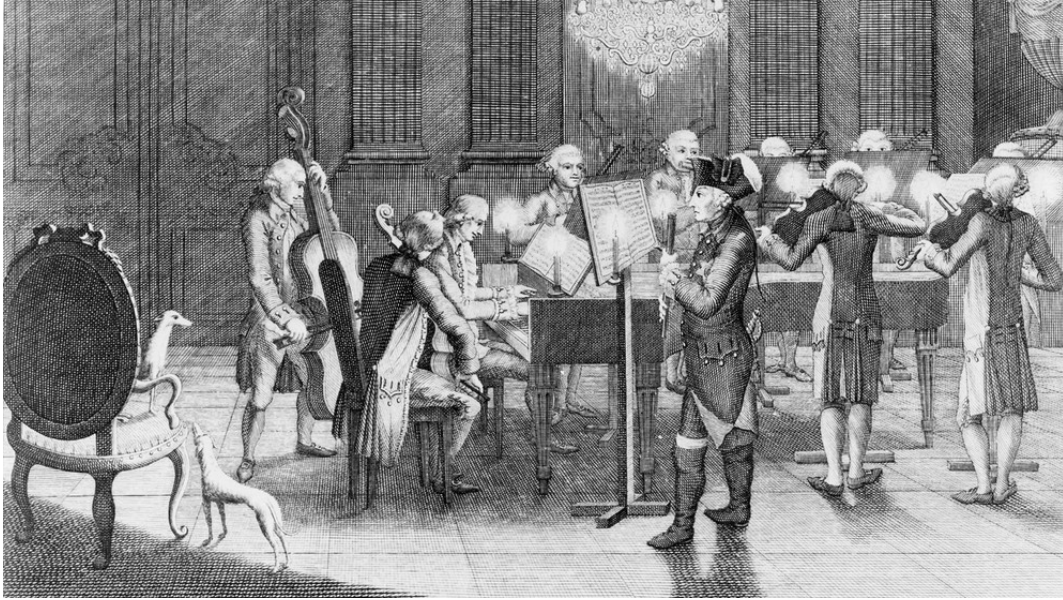


Figure 1.2 Johann Peter Haas: *Abendliches Konzert mit Friedrich II. als Flötisten*. Copper engraving around 1780. Image credit: Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz

Friedrich, however, spent most of his time in his royal residence at Potsdam, thereby diminishing his presence and role in the active burgher society in Berlin. But with the help of Friedrich's sister Anna Amalia, a series of regular sacred concerts was established at the Berlin cathedral, featuring Friedrich's favorite C. H. Graun as the composer of the first oratorio performed there. It was perhaps Friedrich's policy of tolerance that stimulated a ripe milieu for intellectual debates and discussions on all matters.

The most influential yet also the most contested intellectual movement in the eighteenth century was arguably the Enlightenment, known in German as *Aufklärung*.¹² For some,

¹² The literature on Enlightenment is enormous. For excellent resources with a particular focus on German Enlightenment, including primary and secondary sources see James Schmidt, *What Is Enlightenment?: Eighteenth-Century Answers and Twentieth-Century Questions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); T. J. Reed, *Light in Germany: Scenes from an Unknown Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016). Recently, Jonathan Israel has embarked on a multi-volume history of the Age of Enlightenment, contrasting two Enlightenments: "moderate" and "radical." See Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650-1750* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Jonathan I. Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man, 1670-1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Jonathan I. Israel, *A Revolution of the Mind: Radical Enlightenment and the Intellectual Origins of Modern*

Enlightenment matters as the initiator of the modern ideas of liberalism, whereas for others it counts as nothing more than a failed project. The Enlightenment—called by Dan Edelstein the “founding moment of modernity”—signified many changes in Europe.¹³ These included the spread of ideals such as liberty, tolerance, constitutional government, freedom of thought and the press, and the separation of church and state. Although Enlightenment ideals were implemented in Prussia as early as the 1740s, active intellectual discussions about the Enlightenment came to prominence most overtly in the 1780s, when the theologian and educational reformer Johann Friedrich Zöllner posed the question: “*Was ist Aufklärung?*” in the *Berlinische Monatsschrift*. His question drew out many responses from eminent intellectuals such as Immanuel Kant and Moses Mendelssohn.¹⁴ In his famous response, Kant praises the policies of Friedrich II—whom he calls an enlightened monarch—and his tolerance towards religious matters.¹⁵ Kant’s motto for the Enlightenment, *Sapere aude* (“dare to know” borrowed from Horace), perfectly illustrates the

Democracy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); Jonathan I. Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy, Revolution, and Human Rights 1750-1790* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). Israel’s controversial notion of “radical Enlightenment,” which he argues originated with Spinoza, has been discussed by various scholars in Steffen Ducheyne, ed., *Reassessing the Radical Enlightenment* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2017); Frank Grunert, ed., *Concepts of (Radical) Enlightenment: Jonathan Israel in Discussion*, vol. 5, Kleine Schriften des IZEA (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2014). Before Israel, Margaret Jacob had used the notion of “radical Enlightenment,” Margaret C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons, and Republicans*, 1st ed. (London: Allen & Unwin, 1981). Recently, Dan Edelstein has offered a different narrative of the origins of the Enlightenment in Dan Edelstein, *The Enlightenment: A Genealogy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010). For more classic studies on the Enlightenment, see Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, trans. Fritz C.A. Koelln and James P. Pettegrove, Princeton Classic Editions (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2009); originally published as: *Die Philosophie der Aufklärung* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1932); Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, 2 vols. (New York: Knopf, 1966); Reinhart Koselleck, *Critique and Crisis: Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society*, Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988); originally published as: *Kritik und Krise. Eine Studie zur Pathogenese der bürgerlichen Welt*. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973). Some recent studies of German Enlightenment include Steffen Martus, *Aufklärung: das deutsche 18. Jahrhundert: ein Epochenbild*, 1. Auflage. (Berlin: Rowohlt Berlin, 2015); Annette Meyer, *Die Epoche der Aufklärung*, 2. Auflage, Akademie Studienbücher - Geschichte (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2017).

¹³ Edelstein, *The Enlightenment*, 1.

¹⁴ For a selection of these discussions, see Schmidt, *What Is Enlightenment?*, 45–83.

¹⁵ James Schmidt, “What Sort of Question Was Kant Answering When He Answered the Question: ‘What Is Enlightenment?’?” in *Rethinking the Enlightenment: Between History, Philosophy, and Politics*, ed. Geoff Boucher and Henry Martyn Lloyd (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2017), 89–111.

ideals of Enlightenment for intellectuals at the time.¹⁶ Enlightenment ideas influenced discussions about music as well, as music was analyzed according to rational principles. In accordance with Wolffian aesthetic rationalism principles, for example, the highest delectation in music would only result from the agreement of all the different parts of a work.

The Emergence of Germans and Germany on the European Stage

After publishing the first volume of his musical travel book in 1771—which appeared as *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*—the famous English traveler Charles Burney (1726–1814) received an invitation from the Hamburg scholar Christoph Daniel Ebeling (1741–1817) to visit the German lands, where he would find that music could “rank amongst the best or at least amongst the good ones of any time and Nation.”¹⁷ Ebeling had already translated the first volume of Burney’s travelogue and was keen to see the same kind of treatment for his country.¹⁸ Ebeling also offered to supply Burney with several books about the history of German music. As a result of this trip, Burney published a second volume in 1773, dedicated to his trips north of the Alps, with the title of *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*.¹⁹

Surprisingly, Ebeling was anything but pleased. In a letter to Burney dated June 20, 1773, which starts with a declaration of war, Ebeling chastised Burney for many errors he found in his

¹⁶ Written in the famous response to the question “Was ist Aufklärung?” For a translation of the article, see Schmidt, *What Is Enlightenment?*, 58–64.

¹⁷ Vanessa Agnew, *Enlightenment Orpheus: The Power of Music in Other Worlds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 19; Alvaro Ribeiro, ed., *The Letters of Dr Charles Burney*, vol. 1, 1751–1784 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 101–7.

¹⁸ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London: Printed for T. Becket [etc.], 1773); Charles Burney, *Tagebuch seiner musikalischen Reisen durch Frankreich und Italien*, trans. Christoph Daniel Ebeling (Hamburg: Bode, 1772).

¹⁹ Burney, *The Present State of Music*, 1773.

musical travelogue.²⁰ Among them was Burney's umbrella term "Germany," which for Ebeling was utterly misleading. As Ebeling argued, Germans were not "one people," but were "composed of different clans or even little nations quite different from one another in dialects and customs, notwithstanding many of them have been altered by administration, mixture with foreigners, wars, migrations etc." Thus, in his translation of Burney's book that came out soon thereafter, Ebeling altered the title and published the original second volume as two separate volumes; the first one as *Charles Burney's journal of his musical travels through the Flanders, the Netherlands, and on the Rhein until Vienna*, and the second one as . . . *through Bohemia, Saxony, Brandenburg, Hamburg, and Holland*.²¹ At the same time, though, Ebeling remarked that he was "of all Nations," except "when Germany is attacked," as he felt was the case in Burney's book, in which case he was "always a German." In the same letter, Ebeling draws a comparison between the treatment of Poles by the Germans (i.e., Prussian army led by Friedrich II) and the handling of a recent famine by the British East India Company that had decimated as much as a third of the Bengali population. As Agnew argues, the seemingly odd tensions between Ebeling's chauvinism and cosmopolitanism (as for example, in his metonymic use of Prussia for Germany) prevailed among many in eighteenth-century Germany, where many Germans tried to move beyond the provincial status of their culture and aspire to universalism (i.e., Europeanism).²²

²⁰ For the contents of the (unpublished) letters and a discussion of this row, see Agnew, *Enlightenment Orpheus*, 16–20.

²¹ Charles Burney, *Tagebuch seiner musikalischen Reisen: Durch Flandern, die Niederlande und am Rhein bis Wien*, trans. Christoph Daniel Ebeling (Hamburg: Bode, 1773); Charles Burney, *Tagebuch seiner musikalischen Reisen: Durch Böhmen, Sachsen, Brandenburg, Hamburg und Holland*, trans. Christoph Daniel Ebeling (Hamburg: Bode, 1773).

²² For a brief discussion of the origins of modern Germany, see Robert von Friedeburg, "Origins of Modern Germany," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History*, ed. Helmut Walser Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 29–48.

In the eighteenth century, Germans became more frustrated by seeing the dominance of other lands in the sciences and the arts and developed a sort of inferiority complex.²³ During the eighteenth century, as the calls for unification of German-speaking lands gathered pace, the striving for the establishment of Germany and Germans as key players on the European scene also accelerated. In the mid-century, for example, journals were replete with discussions of the nature and definition of Germany and what it meant to be German. Thus, in the journal *Critische Bibliothek* (published between 1748 and 1754 in Leipzig), there were discussions on various aspects of the German language and the German people, from the choice of spelling of the word “deutsch” or “teutsch,” to discussions of various societies that helped reunite the German people.

Thanks to the policies of Friedrich, which were marked by minimal censorship and the absence of religious dogma, Berlin had a huge advantage among German cities in matters of education and scholarship.²⁴ Due to the presence of many learned societies and places of scholarly exchange in Berlin, many notable intellectuals were drawn to Berlin, including Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811), and Friedrich Gedike (1754–1803). It comes as no surprise, then, that Berlin became the center of Jewish Enlightenment (*Haskalah*) led mainly by Mendelssohn.²⁵ Among Mendelssohn’s primary goals was ensuring a knowledge of German among the Jewish community of Berlin, something he sought to facilitate by translating the Torah into German.

²³ Johann J. K. Reusch, “Germans as Noble Savages and Castaways: Alter Egos and Alterity in German Collective Consciousness during the Long Eighteenth Century,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42, no. 1 (2008): 91–129.

²⁴ According to the French historian Henri Brunschwig, Enlightenment in Prussia revolved mainly around critiquing religion and establishing freedom of belief, in contrast to France and England, where the focus was more on politics and economics, respectively. Henri Brunschwig, *Société et romantisme en Prusse au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1973), 175. English Translation published as Henri Brunschwig, *Enlightenment and Romanticism in Eighteenth-Century Prussia*, trans. Frank Jellinek (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 96.

²⁵ For a discussion of music and the Jewish population of Berlin, see Anselm Gerhard, ed., *Musik und Ästhetik im Berlin Moses Mendelssohns* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999). See in particular, chapter 1, pp.1–26.

These efforts reflected a broader movement that had been taking shape since the beginning of the century and aimed at raising German as a language of scholarship on par with French.²⁶

In order to catch up, one good way for propelling German literature seemed to be through the medium of emulation and translation.²⁷ Thus, many German intellectuals began imitating and translating great works from other European cultures, leading to a wide array of publications and occasional debates that resulted from them.²⁸ By the end of the century, however, the situation had changed to the point where works of German literature began to appear in translation in other languages, “first in Eastern and Northern European cultures and later also in the West.”²⁹ As will be seen below and in the following chapters, all of these discussions were also reflected in the music theory publications in Berlin.

The Public Sphere

An important, if understudied, factor that contributed to the popularization of music theory in Berlin was the emergence of the so-called bourgeois public sphere (German: Öffentlichkeit), a term defined by the German sociologist Jürgen Habermas as “a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed.”³⁰ The public sphere

²⁶ For an excellent survey on the emergence of German as a language of scholarship in the eighteenth century, see Eric A. Blackall, *The Emergence of German as a Literary Language, 1770-1775*, 2nd Edition, 1978 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959).

²⁷ See, for example Benedikt Lessmann, “Batteux „mit beträchtlichen Zusätzen“: Translation und Transfer der Nachahmungstheorie in der deutschen Musikästhetik der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhundert,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 76, no. 2 (2019): 80–97; Fania Oz-Salzberger, “The Enlightenment in Translation: Regional and European Aspects,” *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d’histoire* 13, no. 3 (2006): 385–409.

²⁸ The first such debate was triggered by Bodmer’s German translation of Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, which involved Gottsched, Bodmer, and Breitinger. Jürgen Wilke, “Der deutsch-schweizerische Literaturstreit,” in *Formen und Formgeschichte des Streitens. Der Literaturstreit*, ed. Franz J. Worstbrock and Helmut Koopmann, Kontroversen, alte und neue. Akten des VII. Internationalen Germanisten-Kongresses Göttingen 1985 2 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1986), 140–51.

²⁹ Oz-Salzberger, “The Enlightenment in Translation,” 396.

³⁰ Jürgen Habermas, Sara Lennox, and Frank Lennox, “The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964),” *New German Critique* 3 (1974): 49. Habermas’s first extensive study of the public sphere was published as Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*,

facilitated—or better, generated—the exchange of ideas by critical minds, leading to the formation of what was only later to be called “public opinion” (*opinion publique* in French and *Publizität* or *öffentliche Meinung* in German).³¹ The emergence of this culture of debate was fostered by the appearance of “public spaces” such as newspapers, journals, salons, societies, academies, and coffeehouses, which were integral elements for public education.

As with virtually every other aspect of the Enlightenment project, Berlin—like other German cities—lagged behind many other European centers with respect to the culture of the public exchange of ideas. Already in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, for example, a politicized public sphere as a space for public debate had been formed in England—particularly in London, as well as in France and the Netherlands. Quickly, however, Berlin rose to the same level as the major centers of debate in Europe.³² The establishment of learned societies after the 1740s such as the *Montagsklub* (1749) and the *Gelehrtes Kaffeehaus* (1755) provided “a forum for the presentation and discussion of material both prior to and after publication.”³³

An immediate offspring of the public sphere was the very concept of criticism [*Kritik*]. “In the Age of Enlightenment,” as Peter Uwe Hohendahl writes, “the concept of criticism cannot

Neuaufgabe 1990 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1962); Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989). For a historical overview of the concept, see Peter Uwe Hohendahl, ed., *Öffentlichkeit: Geschichte eines kritischen Begriffs* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000).

³¹ James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 8; Michael J. Sauter, *Visions of the Enlightenment: The Edict on Religion of 1788 and the Politics of the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century Prussia* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 11.

³² For an engaging discussion of one of these debates, on various aspects of the language, see Avi Lifschitz, *Language and Enlightenment: The Berlin Debates of the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

³³ Erlin, “Literature and the Enlightenment,” 15.

be separated from the institution of public sphere.”³⁴ Criticism in the eighteenth century, as Kant famously proclaimed, was something to which everything must submit, even religion.³⁵ Practiced first in France and later in England, criticism arrived in German lands only around 1700.³⁶ By the mid-century, criticism played such an important role in European societies that it has even been called Europe’s leading force toward modern, constitutional, liberal democracy.³⁷ Criticism in the eighteenth century “was in everybody’s mouth,” yet defining it was as precarious then as it is now.³⁸ What we can say is that criticism, first started as literary criticism, soon spread to other disciplines, including music.

According to Habermas’s original theory, as published in his 1962 monograph, the concept of a public sphere “stood or fell with the principle of universal access . . . A public sphere from which specific groups would be *eo ipso* excluded was less than merely incomplete; it was not a public sphere at all.”³⁹ Habermas’s stipulation that the eighteenth-century bourgeois public sphere was available to all citizens has been contested by many scholars, particularly those from a feminist and postcolonial perspective. As Nancy Fraser argues, the network of clubs and associations [that constituted the public sphere] was “anything but accessible to everyone,”

³⁴ Peter Uwe Hohendahl, *The Institution of Criticism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 52. Terry Eagleton essentially reverberates the same thing in Terry Eagleton, *The Function of Criticism* (London: Verso, 1984), 17.

³⁵ “Unser Zeitalter ist das eigentliche Zeitalter der Kritik, der sich alles unterwerfen muß.” This quote comes from a footnote in the unpaginated *Vorrede* to the first edition of Kant’s *Critik*. Immanuel Kant, *Critik der reinen Vernunft*, 1. Auflage (Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1781). For an English translation, see Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. Paul Guyer and Allen W. Wood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 100–101.

³⁶ Douglas Lane Patey, “The Institution of Criticism in the Eighteenth Century,” in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 4: The Eighteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3.

³⁷ Lee Morrissey, *The Constitution of Literature: Literacy, Democracy, and Early English Literary Criticism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 88.

³⁸ Sebastian Domsch, *The Emergence of Literary Criticism in 18th-Century Britain: Discourse between Attacks and Authority* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 12; Patey, “The Institution of Criticism in the Eighteenth Century,” 3–5.

³⁹ Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, 156. English translation in Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 85.

as they were exclusively intended for bourgeois (white) men “who were coming to see themselves as a ‘universal class.’”⁴⁰

It is certainly true that one should not exclude women from the public sphere in the eighteenth century. The period saw a rise in publications aimed at women (although still primarily written by men). Publications such as Dorothea Christiana Leporin’s *Gründliche Untersuchung der Ursachen, die das weibliche Geschlecht vom Studiren abhalten* (1742) or *Vernünfftige Gedanken vom Studiren des schönen Geschlechts* (1749) questioned the traditional barriers set (mainly by the church and men) for the education of women in the society. These publications even included a periodical dedicated to women (albeit again written mainly by men). Between 1725 and 1727, *Die vernünfftigen Tadlerinnen* was brought out in Leipzig by one of the leading figures of the German intellectual movement, Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1766), who wrote under female pseudonyms. Pseudonyms were also used by the few female contributors, among whom was the poet Christiana Maria von Ziegler (1695–1760).⁴¹ In the expanded new edition of 1748, several articles were contributed by Gottsched’s wife, Luise Adelgunde (1713–1762)—probably the first German woman of non-aristocratic birth who became known in Europe for her writings, placing Germany in this regard in the same burgeoning European movement as France and Italy.

⁴⁰ Nancy Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), 114. Many other contributions in this book challenge Habermas’s original theories in a similar fashion. For a more recent essay on the subject of feminism and Habermas, see Christina Fiig, “A Powerful, Opinion-Forming Public? Rethinking the Habermasian Public Sphere in a Perspective of Feminist Theory and Citizenship,” *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory* 12, no. 3 (December 2011): 291–308.

⁴¹ Ziegler wrote the text for at least nine of J. S. Bach’s cantatas. For more on her and her connections to Bach, see Mark A. Peters, *A Woman’s Voice in Baroque Music: Mariane von Ziegler and J.S. Bach* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2008).

The Gottsched family having moved to Leipzig in 1735, Luise Gottsched—who already had a background in keyboard and lute playing—took music classes with Johann Ludwig Krebs, a pupil of Johann Sebastian Bach. She was also among the first German women who advocated for education for women, including in music. Thanks to efforts by Gottsched and others, female education became established in Germany around this time and multiple books appeared that dealt with the matter. As will be discussed in the next chapter, women featured increasingly in the periodicals of Marpurg who aimed to appeal to as wide of a readership as possible.⁴² This further increased the urge to compose domestic music that would also appeal to women, as witnessed in the numerous publications that were aimed at them.

At the same time, however, the role of women in music was minimized due to the restrictions imposed by traditional values. In an era in which women were not supposed to show or move their bodies while playing, it was only natural that playing instruments such as keyboard instruments, harp, violin, flute, and glass harmonica was deemed more suitable for women, while horn and cello were not.⁴³

Feminist critiques of Habermas aside, more recent scholarship also questions the European origins of the public sphere. Jeanette Fregulia argues, for example, that “the appearance of the coffeehouse in the Near and Middle East challenges Habermas’s idea that it was Europeans who first redefined the role of public space as a locus for politically charged

⁴² For a pioneering study of music education for women in eighteenth-century Germany, see Annemarie Krille, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musikerziehung und Musikübung der deutschen Frau (von 1750 bis 1820)* (Berlin: Triltsch & Huther, 1938). For more recent treatments of the role of women in music in eighteenth-century Germany, see Matthew Head, *Sovereign Feminine: Music and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (University of California Press, 2013); Peter Schleuning, *Der Bürger erhebt sich: Geschichte der deutschen Musik im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2000), 179–222.

⁴³ Discussed at length in Carl Ludwig Junker, “Vom Kostüm des Frauenzimmer Spielens,” *Musikalischer und Künstler-Almanach auf das Jahr 1784*, 1784, 85–99. See also Schleuning, *Der Bürger erhebt sich*, 180–86.

discourse.”⁴⁴ The import of coffeehouse culture from Western Asia through Venetian merchants brought with it a fundamental transformation in the European public sphere.

Coffeehouses were some of the most important venues for the exchange of public ideas in eighteenth-century Europe. After the appearance of the first coffeehouses in Bremen (1673), Hamburg (1677), and Leipzig (1694), the craze for the exotic drink quickly spread throughout Germany. The first coffeehouse in Berlin was opened to the public in 1722, even though there is evidence of other pubs offering coffee and tea as far back as 1697.⁴⁵ By the mid-century, this increasingly less-exotic drink had become so popular among the ordinary citizens that many states around Europe attempted (mostly in vain) to restrict or control its consumption.⁴⁶ By 1769, there were thirteen active coffeehouses in Berlin. The omnipresence of coffee at this time has even led some scholars to attribute the musical achievements of composers in the eighteenth century to the effects of the drink.⁴⁷

The main coffeehouse dedicated to scholarly debates in Berlin was the Gelehrtes Kaffeehaus, founded by Johann Georg MÜchler (1724–1819) together with Friedrich Gabriel Resewitz (1729–1806) and active from 1755 until around 1759. Here, members and their guests could gather to read and discuss the latest newspapers and journals and to play various games.

⁴⁴ Jeanette M. Fregulia, *A Rich and Tantalizing Brew: A History of How Coffee Connected the World*, Food and Foodways (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2019), 130.

⁴⁵ Peter Lummel, ed., *Kaffee – Vom Schmuggelgut zum Lifestyle-Klassiker: Drei Jahrhunderte Berliner Kaffeehauskultur* (Berlin: be.bra Verlag, 2002), 16.

⁴⁶ Issues with drinking coffee even found their way into music. J. S. Bach’s famous “Coffee Cantata” portrays the tension between a strict father who wants to restrict her daughter’s access to coffee. For more on the cantata, see Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Ey! Wie schmeckt der Coffee süße: Johann Sebastian Bachs Kaffee-Kantate* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2005).

⁴⁷ See, in this regard, John A. Rice, “Music in the Age of Coffee,” *Eighteenth-Century Music* 4, no. 2 (September 2007): 301–5.

Among the most esteemed members and visitors counted including Moses Mendelssohn, Johann Albrecht Euler (Leonhard's son), and Friedrich Nicolai.⁴⁸

Periodicals and Print Culture

The public sphere, thus, manifests itself prominently in locations such as coffeehouses, salons, academies, and societies. But most important to the current study, the public sphere took place in media such as books, newspapers, and periodicals. Indeed, in the absence of almost any primary documents from salons, clubs, coffeehouses, and other traditional locations commonly associated with the public sphere in the eighteenth century, publications provide us with one of the few ways we may learn about this emerging scene. Periodicals first started appearing in the late seventeenth century. The first learned periodical known to have existed appeared in France since 1665: *Journal des sçavans*.⁴⁹ This periodical soon saw local rivals surface across European cities, including the Leipzig-based *Acta Eruditorum* (1682–1782)—the most important of its kind in German-speaking lands in the eighteenth century and the first scientific journal in German-speaking lands.⁵⁰

Periodicals achieved a particularly prominent status in German literature. As part of attempts to introduce and brand German as a language of literary importance, various authors of different disciplinary proclivities began contributing extensively to the ever-growing periodicals in many of the main cities with a printing culture across German lands, to the extent that the

⁴⁸ For more on the Gelehrtes Kaffeehaus, see Uta Motschmann, ed., *Handbuch der Berliner Vereine und Gesellschaften 1786–1815* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 17–19.

⁴⁹ The journal, with a few interruptions because of the French Revolution, has been continually published since then.

⁵⁰ *Acta* was published in Latin. The first learned periodical in German was the short-lived *Monatsgespräche* (1688–90), published by Christian Thomasius (1655–1728) in Halle. The first (non-scholarly) periodical published in German was the *Rorschacher Monatsschrift*, published monthly in 1597 in Rohrschach, Bodensee (modern-day Switzerland).

eighteenth century has been called the “century of periodicals” (“Jahrhundert der Zeitschrift”).⁵¹

As the writer Friedrich Nicolai stated, in German-speaking lands, journals play a much more important role in literature and education than elsewhere.⁵² German periodicals gradually even came to rival the exchange of letters as the main medium of literary communication, although the latter never ceased to serve this function altogether.⁵³ (A distinction has to be made between public letters, which were printed in the periodicals and often addressed a broad audience and epistles that were not meant to circulate in public. These private letter exchanges shed light on the private sphere that often did not feature in the public sphere.)

An important development in this regard was the proliferation of learned periodicals (*Gelehrte Zeitungen/Journale*), often known by the contemporaries as ephemerides (*Ephemeriden*).⁵⁴ These *Gelehrte* journals, published locally in every major town, acted as the

⁵¹ See, for example, Jürgen Wilke, *Literarische Zeitschriften des 18. Jahrhunderts: (1688-1789)*, vol. 1: Grundlegung, Sammlung Metzler (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1978), 65; Werner Faulstich, *Die bürgerliche Mediengesellschaft, 1700-1830*, Geschichte der Medien 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 225.

⁵² “Ich hatte bey meiner Allgemeinen Bibliothek eine andere und höhere Idee, die bloß auf Deutschland gerichtet war. In diesem unserm allgemeinen Vaterlande, wo die Literatur nicht auf eine einzige Hauptstadt eingeschränkt ist, und wo daher der so wohlthätige mündliche Gedankenwechsel seinen Einfluß nicht in so großem Umfange äußert, kann die literarische Verbindung nur schriftlich, und durch offenen Druck unterhalten werden. Selbst das erste Streben nach Verbesserung in der prosaischen Schreibart, und in den Werken der Einbildungskraft, ward durch Journale befördert, ..., daher sind Journale in Deutschland für die Literatur viel wichtiger, als z. B. in England oder Frankreich.” Friedrich Nicolai, „Vorrede“ in *Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, vol. 105, (Berlin and Stettin, Friedrich Nicolai, 1806), VI.

⁵³ On the comparative importance of letter writing and printed periodicals, see Katrin Löffler, “Wissen braucht einen Träger: Gelehrte Blätter als zentrales Medium der Aufklärung,” in *Wissen in Bewegung: Gelehrte Journale, Debatten und der Buchhandel der Aufklärung*, ed. Katrin Löffler, Beiträge zur Kommunikationsgeschichte 33 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2020), 9–23; Regine Zott, “Der Brief und das Blatt. Die Entstehung wissenschaftlicher Zeitschriften aus der Gelehrtenkorrespondenz,” ed. Heinrich Parthey and Walther Umstätter, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift und Digitale Bibliothek* Wissenschaftsforschung, Jahrbuch 2002 (2003): 47–59. The parity between these two media was confirmed by Dwight Atkinson who shows with respect to the articles in *The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, letters provided 51% of all the articles in 1675. A hundred years later, the number was at 48% and it was only gradually in the course of the nineteenth century that the letter seems to have lost its importance as a contributing element in scholarly communication. See Dwight Atkinson, *Scientific Discourse in Sociohistorical Context: The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, 1675-1975* (Mahwah, N.J.: L. Erlbaum Associates, 1999), 81.

⁵⁴ There is an ongoing project “*Gelehrte Journale und Zeitungen der Aufklärung*” based at the Academy of Sciences in Göttingen, in collaboration with several other institutes, which since 2011 has been digitizing the most important of these journals. See <https://gelehrte-journale.de/>

main mouthpiece for enlightened and learned matters, from reviews of new books published across Europe to new scientific discoveries and so on. Their name notwithstanding, these journals did not only target learned readers, but aimed to appeal to all those who could read. Journals of this sort appeared in all shapes and forms, from single-handed ventures to large-scale, state-funded collaborative projects. As the literary scholar Paul Raabe stipulates, these journals became the key works of the Enlightenment (“Schlüsselwerke der Aufklärung”).⁵⁵ Many of these periodicals included entries on music, most prominently on the state of music at various courts and opera performances. Often replete with patriotic sentiments, these periodicals often echoed the struggles many German musicians were facing in establishing the music of their nation on par with other nations in Europe.

In the early eighteenth century, a new strand of periodicals emerged that aimed to educate and instruct readers in an entertaining format, instead of focusing on the announcement of new publications like learned journals. Known, confusingly, in German as *moralische Wochenschriften* (typically rendered in English as “moral weeklies”), these periodicals were often published at varying time intervals, from several times a week to a few times a month.⁵⁶ One of the most important vehicles for spreading the ideas of Enlightenment, these periodicals appeared first in England but were soon emulated across Europe. Certainly the most famous of these early moral weeklies were those published by Richard Steele (1672–1729) and Joseph

⁵⁵ Paul Raabe, “Die Zeitschrift als Medium der Aufklärung,” in *[Zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur und Philosophie im Zeitalter der Aufklärung]*, vol. 1, Wolfenbütteler Studien zur Aufklärung (Bremen: Jacobi Verlag, 1974), 104.

⁵⁶ The German term “Moralische Wochenschrift” for periodical essays—often called spectators—was later translated back into English as “moral weekly.” For more on *Der Vernünffler*, see Holger Böning, *Zur Musik geboren: Johann Mattheson: Sänger an der Hamburger Oper, Komponist, Kantor und Musikpublizist: eine Biographie*, vol. Bd. 80, Presse und Geschichte - Neue Beiträge (Bremen: Edition Lumière, 2014), chap. VII. Die erste Moralische Wochenschrift in Deutschland: Der Vernünffler; Dirk Hempel, “Der Vernünffler: Johann Mattheson und der britisch-deutsche Kulturtransfer in der Frühaufklärung,” in *Johann Mattheson als Vermittler und Initiator: Wissenstransfer und die Etablierung neuer Diskurse in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Wolfgang Hirschmann and Bernhard Jahn (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2010), 99–113.

Addison (1672–1719) under the titles *The Tatler* (1708–11), *The Spectator* (1711–12, 1714), and *The Guardian* (1712–13).

One musical writer who was heavily responsible for the importation of moral weeklies into Germany was the diplomat Johann Mattheson (1681–1764), mainly known today for his numerous books on music theory. Mattheson founded the moral weekly *Der Vernünffiler* (1713–14), which, as Mattheson himself states in its first number, aspired to be the German equivalent of the journals by Addison and Steele.⁵⁷ The journal, edited by Mattheson himself, featured contributions by various authors and became the model for many other such journals in Germany. As Joachim Kirchner has enumerated, an astounding total of 724 new periodicals were founded in Germany between 1720 and 1754.⁵⁸

While it is hard, if not impossible, to estimate the print run and circulation of these journals, a few leads potentially point to more educated guesses. First, looking at other journals about which we have more details reveals that most journals in the eighteenth century had a much wider readership than their print run would suggest. These journals—as Addison argued about his own journals—were read by a large part of the society due to their presence in the most prominent areas representing the public sphere such as salons and coffeehouses.⁵⁹ While it would

⁵⁷ Blackall, *The Emergence of German as a Literary Language, 1770-1775*, 60. For more on the history and dissemination of *Tatler* and *Spectator*, see Fritz Rau, *Zur Verbreitung und Nachahmung des Tatler und Spectator* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1980).

⁵⁸ Joachim Kirchner, *Die Grundlagen des deutschen Zeitschriftenwesens mit einer Gesamtbibliographie der deutschen Zeitschriften bis zum Jahre 1790*, vol. 2 Die Bibliographie der deutschen Zeitschriften bis zur franzoesischen Revolution : statist. Ergebnisse, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1931). Disclaimer: Kirchner was a Nazi who joined the party in 1933 and even joined the SA, and consequently was dismissed from all his jobs after the war. He counts as a pioneer in the field of early German journalism and his work is particularly important since he did much of his archival work before the destruction of Berlin and much of its trove of historical documents. Fortunately, his rigorous scholarship does not seem to have been tainted by his ideology.

⁵⁹ It is known that some journals, such as *The Spectator*, were widely shared in every coffeehouse, and were even read aloud in those same coffeehouses. Addison's own "modest computation" claimed twenty readers (or listeners) to every print. Jeremy Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 105; Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, 96.

be naïve to assume the same wide readership for music journals as for general learned ones, we can still safely assume that there were more readers of these publications than their print runs might suggest.

Joachim Kirchner has noted that the print run for most journals in the eighteenth century lay between 500 and 1000.⁶⁰ Journals with a print run closer to 500, he surmises, could only survive if they were associated with a society on a subscription basis.⁶¹ Since there were no music societies with a flagship journal in Berlin (other than Marpurg's pseudo-imaginary society and its *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*), we can estimate based on Kirchner's argument that most music periodicals probably had a print run of under 500 issues.

An unspoken prerequisite for publishing in periodicals was the tacit agreement to be open to criticism.⁶² Criticism, both given and received, was a critical hallmark of scholarship and erudition in the early eighteenth century. Starting with Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (first published in 1697) and continuing with books such as Johann Christoph Gottsched's *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst vor die Deutschen* (1730) and Johann Jakob Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophiae* (1742–44), the titles of these books indicated the prominent place of criticism within their content.⁶³ One of the main offshoots of the new trend for criticism was the culture of public debate, fostered and appreciated in learned circles. With

⁶⁰ Joachim Kirchner, *Die Grundlagen des deutschen Zeitschriftenwesens mit einer Gesamtbibliographie der deutschen Zeitschriften bis zum Jahre 1790*, vol. 1 Bibliographische und buchhandelsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1928), 54.

⁶¹ Of course, there were also exceptions. The famous moral weekly "Der Patriot," published in Hamburg between 1724 and 1726, for example, reached 5000 and 6000 print runs in its first and second years respectively. See Wilke, *Literarische Zeitschriften des 18. Jhs*, 1: Grundlegung:124.

⁶² Löffler, "Wissen braucht einen Träger," 18.

⁶³ Of course, then, as now, criticism also meant investigation, judgement, and evaluation.

the increasing number of learned journals and critiques found in them at the time, more and more scholars engaged in publicly attacking others and defending themselves (or their allies).⁶⁴

Across Germany, publishers and printing houses also saw an unprecedented boom in this time.⁶⁵ In economic rivalry with one another, these publishers sought to appeal to the broadest public possible, expanding the readership from only scholars interested in theology to laypeople. Evidence from the book fair in Leipzig, for example, shows how readership changed from an exclusively scholarly readership (specifically theologians) to a much broader spectrum of lay readers, spurred no doubt by the shift from Latin to the vernacular German.⁶⁶

Berlin, having come to prominence as the capital of Prussia, not surprisingly experienced a rise in the number of publishers and publications located there. The oldest publishing house in Berlin, Haude und Spener, was already established in 1615. In the course of the eighteenth century, they received printing privilege from both the court and the Berlin Academy of Sciences. Haude und Spener was also the publisher of the *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* (1740–1874)—one of the most important newspapers in Berlin, rivalled only by the older *Berlinische privilegierte Zeitung* (1721–1778).⁶⁷

⁶⁴ There is even an essay on carrying out reasonable debates that was published in Leipzig’s leading learned journal *Critische Bibliothek*, in which the author tries to lay out basic rules for what makes for reasonable debate through the study of several “unreasonable” cases. “Abhandlung von vernünftigen Streitschriften” *Critische Bibliothek*, Band II. Viertes Stück, (Leipzig: Gottfried August Stopffel, 1750), 355–76; “Fortsetzung der Abhandlung von vernünftigen Streitschriften” *Ibid*, Band II. Fünftes Stück, 464–73; and *Ibid*, Band II. Sechstes Stück, 483–96.

⁶⁵ Faulstich, *Die bürgerliche Mediengesellschaft, 1700-1830*; Albert Ward, *Book Production, Fiction, and the German Reading Public, 1740-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974); Paul Raabe, “Der Buchhändler im achtzehnten Jahrhundert in Deutschland,” in *Buch und Buchhandel in Europa im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Gilles Barber and Bernhard Fabian, *Wolfenbüttler Schriften zur Geschichte des Buchwesens* 4 (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1981), 271–91.

⁶⁶ Ward, *Book Production, Fiction, and the German Reading Public, 1740-1800*. See in particular chapter 2 “The Evidence of the Leipzig Book-Fair Catalogues.”

⁶⁷ The *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* was founded by Ambrosius Haude (1690–1748) in 1740. After Haude’s death Johann Karl Spener (1710–1756) and later his son Johann Karl Philipp Spener (1749–

Writing late in the century in his “medical topography” of Berlin, Johann Ludwig Formey described the zeal of Berliners for reading and debating all sorts of different matters:

Enlightenment, intellectual culture and a naturally clear power of judgment are to be found in all classes, and the Berliners lack neither refinement nor cunning. Even the common man likes to speak and judge for himself on all subjects. Political news is his passion and newspapers are his favorite reading matter.⁶⁸

It is not a surprise to learn, then, that by the end of the eighteenth century, Berlin was only second to Leipzig—the center of the German book trade—in terms of the number of publishing houses.

Societies, Clubs, and other Forums of Public Sphere

Besides coffeehouses, several other venues were established in the eighteenth century that allowed for an exchange of learned matters, among them various kinds of clubs, learned academies, societies, and literary salons. Following Renaissance Italian models, the first learned societies took shape in the course of the seventeenth century, particularly after the founding of the Royal Society of London (1660), and the Académie française (1632) and Académie royale des sciences (1666) in Paris. Soon thereafter, and based on the models set in Paris or London, similar societies and academies (originally, the French word for learned societies) appeared in various cities across Europe, including in German speaking lands.⁶⁹

1827) became the owners of the paper. Erich Widdecke, *Geschichte der Haude- und Spencerschen Zeitung, 1734-1874* (Berlin: Haude und Spencerschen Buchhandlung Max Paschke, 1925).

⁶⁸ “Aufklärung, Geisteskultur und eine natürliche helle Beurteilungskraft findet man in allen Klassen, und es fehlt den Berlinern weder an Feinheit noch an Verschlagenheit. Selbst der gemeine Mann spricht und urteilt gern selbst über alle Gegenstände. Politische Neuigkeiten sind sein Steckenpferd und die Zeitungen seine liebste Lektüre.” Johann Ludwig Formey, *Versuch einer medicinischen Topographie von Berlin* (Berlin: Ernst Felisch, 1796), 87.

⁶⁹ The pioneering study on the history of eighteenth-century societies is Bernard Faÿ, “Learned Societies in Europe and America in the Eighteenth Century,” *The American Historical Review* 37, no. 2 (1932): 255–66. See also Jürgen Voss, “Die Akademien als Organisationsträger der Wissenschaften im 18. Jahrhundert,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 231, no. 1 (1980): 43–74; James E. McClellan III, *Science Reorganized: Scientific Societies in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

These learned societies formed the backbone of scholarship in the eighteenth century, and as the mathematician and music theorist Lorenz Mizler stated, “nothing boosts and spreads scholarship more than learned societies that work with united powers and consolidate themselves in the service of mankind.”⁷⁰ Societies varied in their function, their influence, and their agenda. As an example, the “nachmittägige Rednergesellschaft” at the University of Leipzig was run by Gottsched and aimed to train students in oratory. Later, after the formation of the “vormittägige Rednergesellschaft,” the students would meet twice a week at fixed hours.⁷¹

In Prussia, as another example, as the crown prince Friedrich III had already laid in 1700 the foundation for what was to become the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences (Königlich Preußische Societät der Wissenschaften). With Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) as its first president, the Academy opened officially in 1710 and quickly became a rival to the more established Royal Society, the Académie des sciences, and the Académie française. In contrast to its English and French counterparts, however, the Prussian Academy combined the study of both sciences and humanities at one institution, making it the first of its kind. The Academy’s official language was first Latin, but eventually became French, given the tenor of the time, and it brought out its publication on an annual basis. Only in the nineteenth century did it finally start to publish its proceedings in German.⁷²

⁷⁰ “Nichts hebt und verbreitet die Wissenschaft mehr als gelehrte Gesellschaften, die mit vereinten Kräften arbeiten und sich im Dienste der Menschheit vereinigen.” Acta Lit 1755, p.35. For more on learned societies in Central Germany, see Detlef Döring and Kurt Nowak, eds., *Gelehrte Gesellschaften im mitteldeutschen Raum (1650-1820)*, 3 vols., Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch- historische Klasse (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 2002).

⁷¹ For more on Gottsched’s societies, see Bertold Grosser, *Gottscheds Redeschule. Studien zur Geschichte der deutschen Beredsamkeit in der Zeit der Aufklärung* (Greifswald: Hans Adler, 1932), 91–114.

⁷² Starting in 1710 with *Miscellanea Berolinensia*, changing in 1745 to *Histoire de l’Académie Royale des Sciences et des Belles-Lettres de Berlin*, then *Nouveaux Mémoires de l’Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres* (1770–1786), *Mémoires de l’Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres* (1786–1804), and finally *Abhandlungen der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1804–1989).

Similarly, many other works written in Germany at the time were inspired by French models. Inspired in part by the great Enlightenment project, the *Encyclopédie*, for example, the Berlin-born writer Friedrich Nicolai set to bring out an equivalent in the German language, the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* (1765), which aimed to review scholarly publications from across Germany and Europe comprehensively. As an integral part of Enlightenment thinking, music was featured prominently in the journal from the beginning.⁷³ The nature of criticism found in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* offered a stark contrast to the editorial policies of Marburg's journals. As the editor of the journal, Nicolai encouraged "impartial and impersonal" reviews.⁷⁴

In the course of the eighteenth century, several clubs, societies, and freemason lodges popped up around Berlin, in tandem with the numerous publications that appeared increasingly in the city.⁷⁵ Modelled after English clubs, these institutions attracted leading intellectuals and provided a venue for the discussion of current happenings and publications from all over Europe. In the first years of the 1750s, one of the most important forums for social gatherings of scholars in Berlin—apart from the Prussian Academy—was the Gelehrtes Kaffehaus, along with its journal *Critische Nachrichten aus dem Reiche der Gelehrsamkeit* as their mouthpiece.⁷⁶

But of the numerous clubs and societies in Berlin, the one that had the biggest impact on the intellectual scene of the city was undoubtedly "Der Klubb" (commonly known as the

⁷³ Thomas Bauman, "The Music Reviews in the Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek," *Acta Musicologica* 49, no. 1 (1977): 69–85.

⁷⁴ For more on the *AdB*, see Christopher Dingle, ed., *The Cambridge History of Music Criticism*, The Cambridge History of Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 113–14.

⁷⁵ For an overview, see Motschmann, *Handbuch der Berliner Vereine*, XXI–XXVI.

⁷⁶ Ursula Goldenbaum, "Ramler als Mitherausgeber einer gelehrten Zeitung: Die Critischen Nachrichten aus dem Reiche der Gelehrsamkeit im Jahre 1750," in *Urbanität als Aufklärung: Karl Wilhelm Ramler und die Kultur des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Laurenz Lütteken, Ute Pott, and Carsten Zelle, Schriften des Gleimhauses Halberstadt 2 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2003), 355–88.

Montagsklub). Founded by two Swiss emigres, Johann Georg Schulthess (1724–1804) and Johann Georg Sulzer (1720–1779) in 1749, this intellectual society was only officially designated as Montagsklub in 1780. The club initially met on Thursdays, later moved to Fridays, and finally to Mondays. It saw a four-year-long hiatus between 1752 and 1756, but the onset of the Seven Years' War rejuvenated the organization and propelled regular weekly meetings again.

The original nucleus of the club, besides Sulzer and Schulthess, consisted of Lucas Friedrich Langemack, Wilhelm Hempel, Johann Georg Sucho, Karl Wilhelm Ramler, and Johann Wilhelm Bergius, many of whom were members of the Prussian Academy.⁷⁷ Schulthess left Berlin, and consequently the Klubb, in 1750, but in the same year, several musicians joined the club, including Johann Friedrich Agricola (1720–1774) and Christian Gottfried Krause (1719–1770), followed by Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1773) in 1751. Thanks to these three figures, music became a favored topic for discussion and debate in Berlin. Although membership was strictly limited, there are accounts of non-members attending as well, including musicians such as C. P. E. Bach, the Graun brothers, and Franz Benda.⁷⁸

In the same year that the Klubb was founded, another society with a primary focus on music was also established. *Die Musikübende Gesellschaft* was founded by the organist of the Berlin cathedral Johann Philipp Sack (1722–1763) for the “promotion of music” [“die

⁷⁷ Gustav Adolf Sachse and Eduard Droop, eds., *Der Montagsklub in Berlin 1749–1899: Fest- u. Gedenkschrift zu seiner 150sten Jahresfeier* (Berlin: J. Sittenfeld, 1899), 112. For more on the club and its musical connections, see James Knowlton, “Johann Georg Sulzer and the Montagsklub in Berlin,” in *1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Kevin L. Cope, vol. 8 (New York: AMS Press, 2003), 135–47; Ingeborg Allihn, “Der Berliner Montagsklub (1749–1935),” in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach-Konzepte*, ed. Hans-Günter Ottenberg and Wolfgang Jost, vol. 4 (Frankfurt (Oder): Konzerthalle „C. Ph. E. Bach“, 1989), 40–45.

⁷⁸ Joseph Beaujean, *Christian Gottfried Krause, sein Leben und seine Persönlichkeit im Verhältnis zu den musikalischen Problemen des 18. Jahrhunderts als Ästhetiker und Musiker* (Dillingen a. Donau: Schwäbische Verlagsdruckerei, 1930), 11.

Beförderung der Tonkunst”].⁷⁹ Members of the society came together every Saturday at the residence of Sack, where they gave informal concerts of new works, made possible particularly thanks to two members of the courtly chapel, the flutist Friedrich Wilhelm Riedt (1710–1783), and the violinist Johann Gabriel Seyffarth (1711–1796). The society, thus, got the chance to be involved in the first performance of many notable works, including Carl Heinrich Graun’s famous oratorio *Der Tod Jesu* (1755). The society, which allowed a maximum of 20 members, was probably discontinued sometime around 1760s, due to the financial problems caused by the Seven Years’ War (discussed below).

As Berlin’s first official music society outside the court, the “Musikübende Gesellschaft” received a large amount of publicity, both in general publications as well as in musical ones.⁸⁰ On their first and second anniversaries, for example, the society received poems dedicated to it. The first poem, published in Berlin, was identified by the members of the society to be by a certain secretary Christian Friedrich Schefler. The second poem, which praised the moral effect of music was published on its second anniversary in Memel (now: Klaipėda in western Lithuania), anonymously at first, but soon identified to be the same Schefler by the legal scholar Johann Carl Conrad Oelrichs (1722–1799).⁸¹

⁷⁹ Siegbert Loewenthal, “Die Musikübende Gesellschaft zu Berlin und die Mitglieder Joh. Philipp Sack, Fr. Wilh. Riedt und Joh. Gabr. Seyffarth” (Laupen bei Bern, 1928); Motschmann, *Handbuch der Berliner Vereine*, 13–16; Matthias Röder, “Music, Politics, and the Public Sphere in Late Eighteenth-Century Berlin” (Ph.D., Harvard University, 2010), 89–127. For more on performances of music in this period, see Mary Oleskiewicz, “Chamber Music and Piano Music,” in *The Archive of the Sing-Akademie Zu Berlin. Catalogue / Das Archiv Der Sing-Akademie Zu Berlin. Katalog*, ed. Axel Fischer and Matthias E. Kornemann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 97–110; Christoph Henzel, “Das Konzertleben der preußischen Hauptstadt 1740-86 im Spiegel der Berliner Presse (Teil 1),” *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 2004 (2005): 216–91; Christoph Henzel, “Das Konzertleben Der Preußischen Hauptstadt 1740-86 Im Spiegel Der Berliner Presse (Teil 2),” *Jahrbuch Des Staatlichen Instituts Für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 2005 (2006): 139–241.

⁸⁰ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, vol. I: 1754-55 (Berlin: J. J. Schützens Witwe, 1754), 385–413.

⁸¹ [Christian Friedrich] [Schefler], *Abdruck eines Gedichtes, welches ein ungenannter Verfasser der Musik-übenden Gesellschaft zu Berlin an ihren Stiftungs-Tage, einhändigen ließ* (Berlin: Christian Friedrich Henning, 1750);

Oelrichs, who was not a musician himself, mentions two other active music societies alongside the Musikübende Gesellschaft.⁸² According to Oelrichs, a similar society (Musikalische Assemblée), active on Tuesdays, was founded by Christian Friedrich Schale (1713–1800) in his residence, and another one (Musikalische Akademie), active on Fridays, was founded by the court composer Johann Gottlieb Janitsch (1708–1763). A few years later, two of the most prominent musical figures in the city founded their own societies as well. First, Agricola who in 1754 established a concert series—called Concert—at his residence, and then Krause, who around 1756 established a prestigious concert series—called Privatconcert—whose regular performers included Quantz. Agricola’s series was taken over in 1770 by Johann Friedrich Ernst Benda (1749–1785) and Carl Ludwig Bachmann (1748–1809) as the Liebhaberconcert, continuing for over 20 years, longer than any other contemporary musical organization.

Later on in the century (particularly after the Seven Years’ War), the tradition of music and concert societies continued, albeit with structural changes in the audience, as the change from courtly patronage to bourgeois patronage resulted in concerts at venues of public sphere that did not exist before, such as garden and restaurant concerts. At the same time, the burgeoning amateur market eventually led to the codification of two distinct groups in musical society, the “Kenner” (connoisseurs) and the “Liebhaber” (amateurs).⁸³

[Christian Friedrich] [Scheffler], *Ein Beyspiel von der moralischen Würckung der ächten Thon-Kunst...* (Memel, 1751).

⁸² Johann Carl Conrad Oelrich, *Historische Nachricht von den akademischen Würden in der Musik* (Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voß, 1752), 47–48.

⁸³ Yonatan Bar-Yoshafat, “Kenner Und Liebhaber – Yet Another Look,” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 44, no. 1 (2013): 19–47; Matthew Riley, “Johann Nikolaus Forkel on the Listening Practices of ‘Kenner’ and ‘Liebhaber,’” *Music & Letters* 84, no. 3 (2003): 414–33; Beverly Jerold, “Dilettante and Amateur: Our Evolving Language,” in *1650-1850, Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Kevin L. Cope, vol. 19 (New York: AMS Press, 2012), 3–29; Erich Reimer, “Kenner – Liebhaber – Dilettant,” in *Handwörterbuch*

The two terms originally denoted social class, as amateurs originally stemmed from the aristocracy and members of the upper middle class, who could afford private tutoring in music. There was no expectation that such individuals would become artisan musicians, who were members of a lower social class.⁸⁴ A rising bourgeois culture, however, meant that composers could increasingly target both groups in their compositions, aiming for maximum economic profit. Thus, many publications addressing both groups appeared around this time, with the result that the gap between the two became increasingly smaller, so much so that even amateurs could turn into connoisseurs. For instance, by 1777, when Johann Nikolaus Forkel (1749–1818) issued his first publication on music theory, amateurs were deemed able to turn into connoisseurs by acquiring the necessary skills and training in music theory.⁸⁵

In the last third of the century, other societies along with concert series appeared in Berlin, albeit not to the same level of success and importance as their counterparts from mid-century. In 1783, for example, Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814) established a series of *concerts spirituels*, based on the Parisian model. A couple of years later, Johann Carl Friedrich Rellstab (1759–1813) organized the *Konzerte für Kenner und Liebhaber* (1787), which presented sacred and secular, choral and instrumental works of popular mid-eighteenth-century composers

der musikalischen Terminologie, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, Franz Steiner Verlag, vol. 3 (Stuttgart, 1972); Hans Erich Bödeker, “Mäzene, Kenner, Liebhaber: Strukturwandel des musikalischen Publikums in Deutschland im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert. Ein Entwurf,” in *Europa im Zeitalter Mozarts*, ed. Moritz Csáky and Walter Pass, Schriftenreihe der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts 5 (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1995), 159–66.

⁸⁴ Jerold, “Dilettante and Amateur: Our Evolving Language,” 5.

⁸⁵ Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Über die Theorie der Musik: Eine Einladungsschrift zu musikalischen Vorlesungen* (Göttingen: Wittve Vandenhöck, 1777). For more on Forkel’s lectures, see Mark Evan Bonds, “Turning ‘Liebhaber’ into ‘Kenner’: Forkel’s Lectures on the Art of Listening, ca. 1780-1785,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Music Listening in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Christian Thorau and Hansjakob Ziemer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 145–62.

every fortnight in the homes of the group's members.⁸⁶ Neither of these concert series, however, lasted for more than a couple of years.

Music Theory in Berlin

Musical activity in Berlin took an unprecedented turn in the second half of the eighteenth century. This turn can be attributed to several factors, but particularly due to the influence of two individuals: Friedrich II, a musical king who brought many musicians to Berlin, and Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg as the founder of the first musical journal in Berlin (more on Marpurg below and in the next chapter). Although much of the musical activity in Berlin was centered around the court, a very active musical life existed in the city.

“The Berlin School has created a furor for a long time.” So claimed the Swabian-born Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart (1739–1791)—who dictated most of his works to others during a 10-year-long imprisonment.⁸⁷ Schubart was a poet and not a theorist and had little access to references when dictating his works. As a result, his works cannot be fully trusted. Yet, the point that merits our attention here is his description of distinct German schools alongside other national schools in Europe.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Heinz Becker, Derek Green, and Curt A. Roesler, “Berlin,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (New York: Macmillan, 2001), 368; Ingeborg Allihn et al., “Berlin,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel; Weimar: Bärenreiter; Metzler, 1996), 1425.

⁸⁷ “Die Berlinerschule hat lange großes Aufsehen gemacht,...” Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, ed. Ludwig Albrecht Schubart (Wien: J.V. Degen, 1806), 79.

⁸⁸ Schubart's discussion of German schools makes up the larger part of the first volume of his “popular music history” book *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*. His *Ideen* was published posthumously only in 1806, but according to his own letters, the manuscript was already sent to Berlin to be published (by his son, Ludwig) in 1787. The treatise—or autobiography, as Schubart himself calls it—was largely dictated to Baron Eugen von Scheeler, starting in 1784, during Schubart's term in prison at Hohenasperg, following his attack upon the Jesuits. My discussion of Schubart's life is indebted to Ted Alan DuBois, “Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's *Ideen Zu Einer Ästhetik Der Tonkunst*: An Annotated Translation” (Los Angeles, California, University of Southern California, 1983). Schubart's complete works were collected and published posthumously in 1839–40 by his son as *C. F. D. Schubart's, des Patrioten, gesammelte Schriften und Schicksale*.

So is Schubart justified in speaking about a coherent or cohesive “Berlin school?” And if so, what would that term entail? Schubart was not the first to use the term “school” in reference to the musicians, music theorists, and their writings in Berlin. A few years before him, Charles Burney had referred to the “Berlin school” pejoratively: “where *pianos* and *fortes* are but little attended to, and where each performer seems trying to surpass his neighbour, in nothing so much as *loudness*...”⁸⁹ It seems that the term Berlin school [“Die Berliner Schule”] gained more currency towards the end of the eighteenth century, more as a relic of the past.⁹⁰

Was there a particular feature that distinguished this “Berlin school” from others? More than two decades before Burney, for example, Marpurg, describes the “Berlin music” as one in which there appear fewer ornaments than in music from elsewhere; those few embellishments that are used, aim to enhance the expression.⁹¹ In the twentieth century, the term “Berlin school” was readapted to refer to the Berlin school of Lieder (more on that in Chapter 3). I do not intend to get into the details of this terminological and historical discussion, but in what follows, I will be referring mainly to the musical and theoretical events happening in Berlin during the period under discussion.⁹² Given the nature of the dissertation, I will be mainly discussing the

⁸⁹ Burney, *The Present State of Music*, 1773, 2:202.

⁹⁰ As used, for example, in reference to the “Tonsetzern aus der ältern Berliner Schule” in the *Musikalische Real-Zeitung* (1790), published by Heinrich Philipp Boßler and Johann Friedrich Christmann.

⁹¹ “Bloß eine durch viele Uebung und Erfahrung vollkommen gemachte Empfindung wird entscheiden, welche Thöne in allen besondern Fällen gezogen, geschleiffet, oder gestoffen werden sollen, und mit welcher Stärke, Verschiedenheit und Abwechslung dieses geschehen muß. Dieß gehöret zu demjenigen, was man Methode nennet, und dieselbe ist vielleicht nirgends besser, richtiger, ausdrücklicher und allgemeiner eingeführet, als in Berlin. ...Ein besonderer Vorzug der berlinischen Musick ist dieses, daß man daselbst mit den Manieren und Auszierungen sehr sparsam umgeheth, aber diejenigen, die man macht, desto erlesener sind, und man sie desto feiner und netter herausbringt. Der musikalische Vortrag der Herren Graune, Quantz, Benda, Bach, etc. ist gar nicht wegen der Menge der Verschönerungen so vortreflich. Das nachdrückliche, redende und rührende beruhet auf ganz andern Dingen, die nicht so viel Aussehen machen, aber desto mehr das Herz einnehmen.” Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Der critische Musicus an der Spree, erster Band* (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1750), 208–9.

⁹² For more on the term “Berlin school,” see Michael O’Loghlin, *Frederick the Great and His Musicians: The Viola Da Gamba Music of the Berlin School* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008), 9–48.

theoretical writings that appeared in Berlin, although I occasionally make references to music practice as well.

As Charles Burney noted, what made Berlin unique among European cities was the coexistence of practice and theory at the highest level.⁹³ After the publication of Marpurg's *Critische Musicus an der Spree* between 1749 and 1750, a flurry of musical treatises and articles followed in Berlin.⁹⁴ Through the publications of Marpurg and many of his colleagues, Berlin was soon propelled to the center of scholarly music writings in Europe.

Burney was not the only person to note this. The music scene in Berlin at this time marked a “felicitous period . . . [in which] theory and practice went hand in hand,” as Ernst Ludwig Gerber (1746–1819) wrote in an article in which he shared his thoughts on the history of music in Germany. The profusion of authorities in music theory compelled Gerber to cast doubts on whether it would ever be possible to witness a similar situation elsewhere: “where else will we ever have a Marpurg, Agricola, Quantz, Bach, Kirnberger, Nichelman[n], and Riedt at the same time?”⁹⁵

Before Berlin, two German cities already had a distinguished music publishing history. Hamburg—as a port with international connection, most notably to London—and Leipzig—with its famous book fair and long tradition of book trade—were the centers of learned life across

⁹³ See the first page of the Introduction.

⁹⁴ For a select list of these publications, see Hans-Günter Ottenberg, *Der Critische Musicus an der Spree: Berliner Musikschritftum von 1748 bis 1799: eine Dokumentation* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1984), 55–82.

⁹⁵ “Und wer erinnert sich nicht hier zugleich der glücklichen Periode zu Berlin, wo bei einem großen Theile der dasigen Virtuosen, die Theorie mit der Praxis Hand in Hand ging. Aber an welchem Orte werden wir einmal wieder einen Marpurg, Agrikola, Quanz, Bach, Kirnberger, Nichelman, und Riedt, beisammen finden?” in Ernst Ludwig Gerber, „Gedanken über das Studium der Geschichte der Musik in Deutschland“ Ernst Ludwig Gerber, “Gedanken über das Studium der Geschichte der Musik in Deutschland,” ed. Heinrich Philipp Bößler, *Musikalische Real-Zeitung* 1, no. 24 (June 17, 1789): 188.

German-speaking lands. It was first in Hamburg that the seeds for the tradition of music periodicals were sown, largely thanks to one individual, Johann Mattheson. Thus was the first journal dedicated entirely to music published in the German lands born under the name of *Critica musica*, between 1722 and 1725. A man of Enlightenment, Mattheson, refers to the first scientific journal written in German, *Acta Eruditorum* as a model in the preface to his *Critica musica*. As evident from the title and stated in his preface, Mattheson intended his music criticism to play a salutary function akin to weeding gardens.

Music criticism was a vital, if often overlooked, area of music theory in the eighteenth century. Music criticism, from which the discipline of music analysis emerged in direct and indirect ways, emerged first in the German lands before being emulated elsewhere in Europe. Many journals and books bore the word “criticism” [Kritik] in their title.⁹⁶ Music criticism in the eighteenth century comprised a much broader definition than our modern understanding of the word implies. Whereas in our times criticism implies mostly reviews of concerts and recordings (at least in English-language contexts), eighteenth-century music criticism covered a much broader range. In fact, as Christopher Dingle has argued, if music criticism is understood as “the chronicle and discourse of music, then the potential scope of its history expands markedly in terms of period, geography and musical genre.”⁹⁷

Mattheson’s major contribution was that he helped establish music as a “learned” subject among other subjects. His *Critica musica* established a precedent that led to more than two dozen publications of similar nature in Germany until the end of the century. Thanks to his longevity and fecundity, Mattheson was revered and cited as an authority both during his lifetime and

⁹⁶ Wilke, *Literarische Zeitschriften des 18. Jhs*, 1: Grundlegung:80.

⁹⁷ Dingle, *The Cambridge History of Music Criticism*, 3.

afterwards, in many debates on music.⁹⁸ Even though Mattheson continued to publish scholarly books on music theory until after 1750, he stopped producing periodicals. The next German periodical also appeared in Hamburg, but by Johann Adolph Scheibe (1708–1776).

Originally from Leipzig, Scheibe studied at the Leipzig University, where he was heavily influenced by Gottsched. He then moved to Hamburg, before moving further north to Denmark to take up the *kapellmeister* position at the Danish court. Inspired by Mattheson's *Critica musica* and Gottsched's *Critischer Dichtkunst*, Scheibe brought out biweekly issues of his *Der critische Musicus* in Hamburg in 1737, continuing uninterrupted until 1740. The issues were later collated and appeared as two volumes, published in 1738 and 1740, respectively.⁹⁹ Later in 1745, Scheibe revised and published the issues in Leipzig as a single volume.¹⁰⁰

Many aspects of Scheibe's works became staples of music journalism in Germany and directly influenced Marburg. For example, following Gottsched's *Vernünfftigen Tadlerinnen*, Scheibe starts many of his issues with letters from both fictional and genuine people who set the tone for what Scheibe aimed to discuss. Moreover, in his letters, Scheibe uses pseudonyms extensively, a common literary device at the time and a specialty of Marburg later in the century. Scheibe's journal raised a ruckus in 1737, when an anonymous critic (who later Scheibe admitted to be himself) criticized aspects of J. S. Bach's music, which, in turn, received a lengthy rebuttal by one of Bach's admirers in Leipzig (discussed at length in chapter 4).

⁹⁸ For example, the Marburg-Agricola debate, sketched in Chapter 3.

⁹⁹ Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der critische Musicus*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Thomas von Wierings Erben, 1738); Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der critische Musicus*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Rudolph Beneke, 1740).

¹⁰⁰ Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Critischer Musicus*, Neue, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1745).

The other main source of influence for Marpurg also came from Leipzig. The mathematician and music enthusiast Lorenz Mizler (1711–1778), published his *Musikalische Bibliothek* in irregular issues between 1736 and 1754.¹⁰¹ After establishing his virtual musical society *Correspondierende Societät der musicalischen Wissenschaften* in 1738, Mizler made the *Musikalische Bibliothek* the official mouthpiece for the society.

Mizler himself was not a particularly talented musician, and some of his contributions to his journals became the laughingstock of other theorists. Contrary to Mattheson, Mizler believed mathematics to be “the heart and soul of music” and even published a treatise on thoroughbass according to the language of mathematics.¹⁰² But like Marpurg, Mizler had a talent for fostering intellectual discourse among his more talented peers. Therefore, in his periodical, Mizler mainly relied on contributions by other scholars, who, as members of Mizler’s society, included some of the most prominent thinkers on music and mathematics in Germany: Gottsched, Telemann, and Leonhard Euler, among others. Thanks to his persistence and scholarly zeal, Mizler’s periodical became the longest published music theory journal in the eighteenth century, spanning over fifteen years, its very irregular publication schedule notwithstanding. Obsessed with mathematical rules in music, Mizler published another periodical *Musikalischer Staatstecher* (1739–1740, “musical surgeon”) dedicated solely to correcting common mistakes in

¹⁰¹ For more on Mizler’s life and works, see Lutz Felbick, *Lorenz Christoph Mizler de Kolof: Schüler Bachs und pythagoreischer “Apostel der Wolffischen Philosophie”* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2012).

¹⁰² “Unser Satz ist: Die Mathematik ist das Hertz und die Seele der Musik...” Lorenz Christoph Mizler, ed., *Musikalische Bibliothek Oder Gründliche Nachricht, nebst unpartheyischem Urtheil von Musikalischen Schrifften und Büchern*, vol. II (Leipzig: Mizler, 1740), 53. His thoroughbass treatise, titled *Anfangsgründe des Generalbasses nach mathematischer Lehrart*, appeared in the same issue, *Ibid*, 97–131.

composition, in which he declared that composing without knowing the mathematical and philosophical foundations of music was preposterous.¹⁰³

While I will defer a detailed discussion of Marpurg's periodicals to Chapter 2, it is worth asking here why Marpurg would have picked Berlin as the place to begin his career in music journalism in 1749. Perhaps he thought his ideas on music theory (particularly from a French perspective) would be better received there than elsewhere in Germany, given Friedrich's bias for all things French. Certainly, there was at mid-century, as we have seen, the beginnings of a robust musical and intellectual culture in the Prussian capital. In any case, Marpurg's journalistic activities helped to transform the musical life in Berlin. After Mattheson, Marpurg was the most prolific author on music in the German lands during the whole of the eighteenth century. Over the subsequent twenty years in which he was active writing on musical matters, he continued many of Mattheson's projects, such as penning regular music criticism in his journals, writing biographies of German musicians, and publishing a variety of pedagogical texts on thoroughbass, harmony, and other theoretical subjects. But perhaps the most important thing that sets Marpurg apart from his predecessors is how he created a public sphere for music in Berlin, and by extension, other German-speaking cities.

Thanks to Marpurg's advocacy and example, many other musicians in Berlin soon stepped into the fray by offering their own books on music theory starting in 1752. These included books on aesthetics (Krause) as well as more analytic treatises on issues of melody and harmony (Nichelmann).¹⁰⁴ Between 1749 and 1763, in the span of less than 15 years, over 30

¹⁰³ Lorenz Christoph Mizler, *Musikalischer Staatstecher* (Leipzig: Graffischen Hause, 1739), 21–22.

¹⁰⁴ Christian Gottfried Krause, *Von der musikalischen Poesie* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voß, 1752); Christoph Nichelmann, *Die Melodie nach ihrem Wesen und nach ihren Eigenschaften* (Danzig: Johann Christian Schuster, 1755).

books and differing periodicals on music appeared in Berlin, the majority by Marburg, to be sure, but also coming from the pens of some other authors (see Table 1.1 at the end of this chapter for a list of music theoretical publications in Berlin).

The new mania for music theory publications was not without its critics. In a satiric pamphlet written on June 23, 1753, the pseudonymous Peter Gerngroß (Gerngroß meaning braggart) who calls himself a mouth harp player (“Maultrommelschläger”) writing from the fictitious town of “Lustigburg” (roughly translatable as “funnyville”), mocks and takes to task several recent music publications in Germany.¹⁰⁵ Addressed to book dealers, engravers, and book printers in Germany, the pamphlet shows Gerngroß providing a list of his own publications, that clearly pokes fun at the myriad books that had been appearing in Berlin and elsewhere in the early 1750s. The list includes 15 titles, which range from “My life and death” (“Mein Lebenslauf und Tod”) and “Treatise on castrating a bittern” (“Anweisung eine Rohrdommel zu castriren”) to “On the true temperament of a mouth harp” (“Von den wahren Temperatur einer Maultrommel”)!

¹⁰⁵ Peter Gerngroß, “Sendschreiben an die Herren Buchhändler, Kupferstecher und Buchdrucker in Deutschland,” 1753.

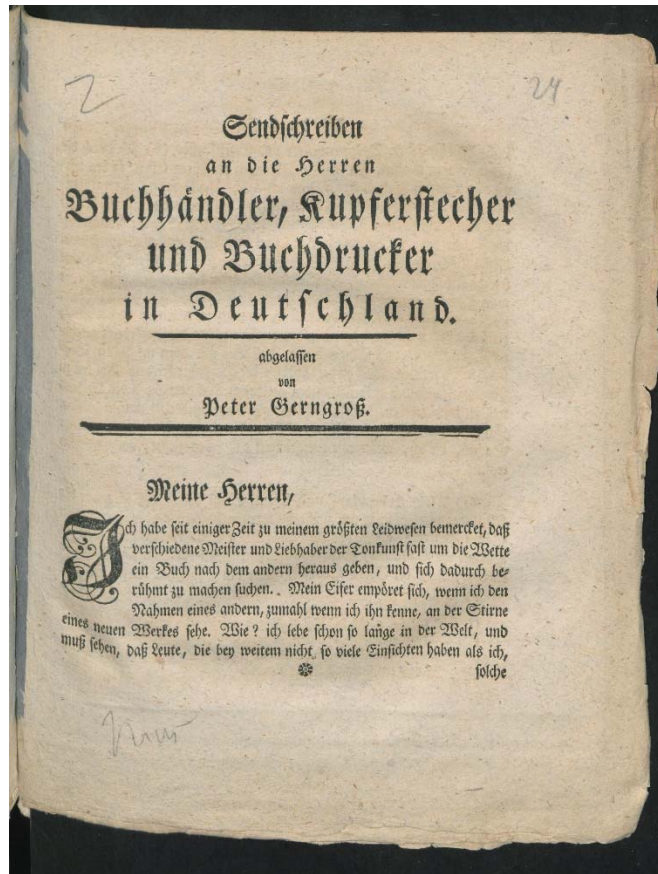


Figure 1.3 First page of the pamphlet *Sendschreiben an die Herren Buchhändler, Kupferstecher und Buchdrucker in Deutschland*, published in 1753 by the pseudonymous Peter Gerngroß. Image credit: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz

Just as the Berlin intellectual (and music) scene was experiencing an unprecedented period of blossoming, however, Friedrich's ambitions got in the way and changed the course of events. In 1756, Friedrich decided to invade Silesia, prompting the onset of the Seven Years' War (1756–63) that took a huge toll on Prussia. The music scene at the court was particularly affected, as Friedrich was hardly in Berlin during the War. Matters were made only worse by the death of Friedrich's music-loving mother, Queen Sophia Dorothea (1687–1757), and the following period of mandatory mourning. The famed court concerts that attracted many visitors from Berlin and elsewhere came to an almost complete standstill, particularly in the last years of

the War. The bourgeois music scene was not much better off, either; many of the most prominent societies and concert series had to curtail or abandon their activities.¹⁰⁶

The financial burdens of the War had a dramatic effect on the budding music theory scene as well, with most publications on that subject grinding to a near-complete halt by the end of the war, including those of Marburg. Ironically, though, the war ended up being a cause of intellectual renewal. In its aftermath, a whole new generation of music theorists and critics arose in Berlin who differed fundamentally from the antebellum generation.¹⁰⁷ The pre-war generation represented by Marburg, Quantz, Agricola, C. P. E. Bach and others had more traditional tastes, favoring a strict contrapuntal style along with elements of galant and *Empfindsamkeit*. For them, J. S. Bach, Hasse, and Graun were considered the pre-eminent composers for emulation and veneration.

The second generation of writers, represented by Reichardt, Spazier, and Rellstab, among others, kept more abreast of the new developments in other European cities, and favored the operatic reforms introduced by Gluck. The War had brought with it a rapid expansion and with it the solidification of Prussia's position in Europe, coupled with an increasing migration leading to a more cosmopolitan society.¹⁰⁸ Friedrich's attention was soon absorbed with the rebuilding and

¹⁰⁶ Max Dubinski, "Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Berlins während des Siebenjährigen Krieges," *Die Musik* 11/4 (August 1912): 137–42; Röder, "Music, Politics, and the Public Sphere in Late Eighteenth-Century Berlin," 106–11.

¹⁰⁷ Ottenberg comes close to distinguishing these two generations in Berlin, without going much into details. See Ottenberg, *Der Critische Musicus an der Spree*, 27. Hans-Günter Ottenberg's pioneering works have been important to me in writing this dissertation. The bibliography of written sources included in his reader, *Der critische Musicus an der Spree*, helped me enormously in choosing relevant sources for my study and compiling the list of sources in the appendix to this chapter. See also, Hans-Günter Ottenberg, *Die Entwicklung des theoretisch-ästhetischen Denkens innerhalb der Berliner Musikkultur von den Anfängen der Aufklärung bis Reichardt*, 1. Aufl., Beiträge zur musikwissenschaftlichen Forschung in der DDR 10 (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1978); Hans-Günter Ottenberg, "Der critische Musicus an der Spree: Marginalien zum Berliner Musikleben von 1740 bis 1770," *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, January 1, 1995, 29–50.

¹⁰⁸ For more on music in the Seven Years' War, see Simon Götz, "Protonationale Klänge? Musik im Siebenjährigen Krieg," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 105, no. 1 (2023): 111–42.

regulating of his expanded empire, with little time left for musical entertainment. But that loss was a boon for those musical entrepreneurs who established new venues for musical performance, while introducing the updated styles and tastes inaugurated by Gluck's operatic reforms.¹⁰⁹

This change of taste inevitably resulted in clashes of opinion. Kirnberger, for example, who wrote all his theory treatises after the war, remained loyal to old masters such as Graun, and of course Bach (more about Kirnberger and Bach in Chapter 4). His tutorship of Anna Amalia of Prussia (1723–1787), Friedrich's youngest sister, meant that he was also closer to the galant tastes traditionally associated with the court.

As Kirnberger reports in a letter to Forkel, Friedrich is supposed to have said that he would rather only listen to arias by Graun and Hasse.¹¹⁰ Kirnberger's observation was also confirmed by Burney who wrote:

. . . though a universal toleration prevails here, as to different sects of Christians, yet, in music, whoever dares to profess any other tenets than those of Graun and Quantz, is sure to be persecuted . . . his Prussian majesty will suffer none to be performed but those of Graun, Agricola, or Hasse, and of this last, and best, but very few.¹¹¹

In a letter to Forkel, Kirnberger echoes Anna Amalia's negative opinion of Gluck's music (after hearing *Alceste*), adding that “. . . in Berlin, one still knows how to differentiate between good and bad compositions.” He continued by praising Friedrich's taste in only endorsing music

¹⁰⁹ For more on the musical activities in Berlin after the Seven Years' War, see Röder, “Music, Politics, and the Public Sphere in Late Eighteenth-Century Berlin,” 106–27. Röder's dissertation is the first work that applies Habermas's concept of the public sphere in connection with music in Berlin in the eighteenth century. His main focus, however, is on music making activities, with little attention to music theory and its role.

¹¹⁰ “Nach Endigung derselben sagten Höchstdieselben, solch Zeug könne Er nicht hören und befahl nachdrücklich einmal für allemal sollte sie solch Zeug nicht wiederbringen, sondern nur Graunische oder Hassische Arien.” Müller, “Briefe von Kirnberger an Forkel (Mitgetheilt von H. Bellermann), Eine Beilage, wahrscheinlich zu Brief III, IV, V, VI,” 615.

¹¹¹ Burney, *The Present State of Music*, 1773, 2:233.

that is considered good by connoisseurs.¹¹² Yet ironically enough, Kirnberger himself did not enjoy Hasse's music. In comparing an opera set by both Leonardo Leo and Hasse to music, Kirnberger finds Hasse's setting deficient.¹¹³ Kirnberger concludes that in those places where Hasse imitated Leo, the music was lovely; but when he tried to be original (as in one duet that he examined closely), his music was insufferable compared to Leo's admirable one.¹¹⁴

Debates on Musical Matters

Charles Burney observed that “. . . musical controversies in Berlin have been carried on with more heat and animosity than elsewhere; indeed there are more critics and theorists in this city, than practitioners; which has not, perhaps, either refined the taste, or fed the fancy of the performers.¹¹⁵ When one takes into account the plethora of top-ranked musicians active at the court of Friedrich and in Berlin, Burney's observation on the active theory scene in the city takes on added weight.

To be sure, (*Musik-*)*Streiten* occurred frequently in the eighteenth century, in both theory and practice. (The word “Streit” in German refers to both disputes and contests.) Performance contests happened frequently in salons and other places of public sphere, often in front of an enthusiastic audience. Well-known examples of such contests in the eighteenth century include

¹¹² “Das Billet von meiner Durchl. Prinzessin wegen Gluckens Alceste schien mir nothwendig Ihnen zu schicken, um Ihnen doch zu zeigen, dass man noch in Berlin schlechte Compositionen von guten zu unterscheiden weiss und dass I. Kgl. H. keine andere Musik für gut erkennt, als nur solche, die von Kennern für gut erkannt wird.” Joseph Müller, ed., “Briefe von Kirnberger an Forkel (Mitgetheilt von H. Beller mann), VIII,” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 6, no. 41 (October 11, 1871): 645.

¹¹³ The libretto by Metastasio *Ciro riconosciuto* was set to music by Leo in 1727 in Milan and by Hasse in 1750 in Dresden

¹¹⁴ “Hält man die Hassischen dagegen, so findet man sowohl in [den] Recitativen als Arien, wie sehr er des Leo seine genutzt hat, und dann, wenn er originell sein wollte, es ganz schlecht ist. Das Duett vom Leo ist vortrefflich, das Hassische unausstehlich. Die Verzierungen in Arien vom Leo sind dem Texte angemessen, hingegen beim Hasse unbedeutend.” Joseph Müller, ed., “Briefe von Kirnberger an Forkel (Mitgetheilt von H. Beller mann), VII,” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 6, no. 40 (October 4, 1871): 629.

¹¹⁵ Burney, *The Present State of Music*, 1773, 2:224.

those between Domenico Scarlatti and Handel, J. S. Bach and Marchand (allegedly aborted due to Marchand fleeing the town the night before the contest), and Leclair and Locatelli. These contests sometimes concluded with one side being called “the angel” and the other “the devil.”¹¹⁶

Music theory and criticism could also be a subject of public dispute, though of course the medium was normally the printed text, not a debate in front of a salon audience. The importance of the entering of music into periodicals was aptly summed by Hiller, who wrote:

These periodical writings have in fact brought about the good thing that music is again beginning to be viewed as a science, from which one can judge just like all other sciences. It is gladly given the place that belongs to it alongside other scientific things in the critical journals and learned newspapers.¹¹⁷

Given the new status of music in the public sphere, many of these debates on music happened between literary figures.¹¹⁸ But such disputes were hardly unique to Berlin or the eighteenth century. Indeed, in Forkel’s 1792 *Allgemeine Literatur der Musik*, musical debates are included in a section that lists some of the major debates in music theory (under the rubric Musical Criticism) dating back to the 15th century and all the way up to Forkel’s own time, including those that occurred in Berlin.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ The same comparison was also drawn between Marin Marais (angel) and Antoine Forqueray le Père (devil) by the French *abbé* Hubert le Blanc, even though the composers never actually participated in a formal contest.

¹¹⁷ “Diese periodischen Schriften haben in der That das gute gestiftet, daß man die Musik wieder als eine Wissenschaft, wovon sich eben so wie von allen andern Wissenschaften urtheilen läßt, anzusehen anfängt. Man giebt ihr in den kritischen Journalen und gelehrten Zeitungen mit Vergnügen den Platz, der ihr neben andern wissenschaftlichen Dingen gehört.” In Johann Adam Hiller, ed., *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend*, vol. 3. Jahrgang (1768-69) (Leipzig: Verlag der Zeitungs-Expedition, 1769), 7.

¹¹⁸ One such example was the heated debate between Ramler and Gottsched on the merits of opera. Ramler’s original thoughts were published in the *Critische Nachrichten* (February 13, 1750, 57–60) and later expanded in Marpurg’s *HKB II* (pp. 84–92). Gottsched’s views on the opera were published in the fourth edition of his *Versuch einer kritischen Dichtkunst* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1751) 731–755.

¹¹⁹ Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Allgemeine Litteratur der Musik* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1792), 475–79. An online English translation can be found at: <https://music-treatises.nifc.pl/en/traktaty/36-allgemeine-litteratur-der-musik-t-ii>

Still, the sheer number of loquacious theorists in Berlin, coupled with the controversial approach set by Marpurg in his journals, made heated debates a quotidian matter. Besides the Agricola-Marpurg debate that concerned aspects of Italian versus French music (detailed in Chapter 3), several other controversial topics were raised in these debates. For instance, questions of harmony and chord generation became a heated topic between Marpurg and Georg Andreas Sorge (1703–1778), especially when the former perceived a rejection of Rameauian principles by the latter. This led to an extended controversy, resulting, in effect, in Sorge being completely banished from most history books until recently.¹²⁰

When Christoph Nichelmann published his *Versuch über die Melodie* in 1755, he was hoping to settle for once and for all the hoary dispute on the respective primacy of melody or harmony begun between Rameau and Rousseau. For Nichelmann, harmony was the clear progenitor of melody, despite the title of his book!¹²¹ But his book was soon critiqued severely by a pseudonymous Caspar Dünkelfeind [‘dark enemy’] who simply identified himself as a lover of music: a “Liebhaber der Tonkunst.” Multiple scholars have argued that “Dünkelfeind” was no other than Nichelmann’s simultaneous friend and rival Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, although recent scholars have cast doubts on that claim.¹²² “Dünkelfeind’s” rebuttal, in turn, was answered by a counter-pamphlet by Nichelmann.

¹²⁰ For more on these debates, see Jonathan W. Bernard, “The Marpurg-Sorge Controversy,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 11, no. 2 (1989): 164–86; Ludwig Holtmeier, “Der deutsche Rameau-Rezeption und die Marpurg-Sorge-Kontroverse,” in *Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg. Musiktheoretiker, Komponist und Publizist in der Zeit der Aufklärung. Bericht zum Symposium anlässlich seines 300. Geburtstages, Werben (Elbe) 2018*, ed. Kathrin Eberl-Ruf and Carsten Lange, *Forum Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik* 11 (Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, 2020), 125–34.

¹²¹ For more on the treatise and the ensuing debate, see Thomas Christensen, “Nichelmann Contra C. Ph. E. Bach: Harmonic Theory and Musical Politics at the Court of Frederick the Great,” in *Carl Philip Emanuel Bach und die europäische Musikkultur des mittleren 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Hans Joachim Marx (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 189–220.

¹²² David Schulenberg, *The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2014), 147–48. Schulenberg does not further elaborate on his doubts and the possible identity of Dünkelfeind.

But there were many other questions of music theory that prompted heated debate at this time. One major topic was the rarified issue of tuning and temperament. Many individuals weighed in on their preferred temperament system, but Marpurg and Kirnberger devoted several publications arguing the matter (see the appendix to this chapter for some of these publications). In a letter to Forkel, Kirnberger considered most debates about temperament to be a waste of time and deeming them appropriate only for forced laborers and those lacking genius.¹²³ Yet, he himself published a pamphlet on temperaments (even if actually penned by Moses Mendelssohn) and devoted the last pages of his *Kunst* (2nd volume, 3rd section) to the matter.¹²⁴ Likewise, Marpurg had a number of publications on the matter (more about them in the next Chapter). Other debates about more minor topics also took place, such as one between Quantz and Moldenit about the latter's extension of the flute register through an idiosyncratic technique, but they generally did not spark much controversy outside of their niche readership.¹²⁵

Debates on aspects of music traveled widely and were replicated in other cities and publications as well. One that happened in Hannover, concerned music instruction for women. On June 5th, 1769, an article appeared in the *Hannoverisches Magazin*, with the title “On young women learning music” (“Von der Erlernung der Musik für junge Frauenzimmer”).¹²⁶ (See Figure 1.4 for the reproduction of the first page of the article.) In this short essay, the author

¹²³ “...weil ich viele Jahre damit die Zeit verdorben habe. Damals, wo ich ging und standte, rechnete ich immer: es ist eine Arbeit für einen Bauefangenen oder für einen Menschen ohne Genie.” Joseph Müller, ed., “Briefe von Kirnberger an Forkel (Mitgetheilt von H. Bellermann), III,” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 6, no. 36 (September 6, 1871): 572.

¹²⁴ Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik: aus sicheren Grundsätzen hergeleitet und mit deutlichen Beyspielen erläutert*, vol. 2, 3. Abtheilung (Berlin und Königsberg: Decker und Hartung, 1779).

¹²⁵ Joachim Moldenit (1706–1773) was a Danish dilettante flutist. See Cathrine Theodorsen, “Moldenit und Quantz. Musikalische Streitkultur um 1750,” *Nordlit: Tidsskrift i litteratur og kultur* 9, no. 2 (2005): 259–85.

¹²⁶ F. G. H. J. K., “Von der Erlernung der Musik für junge Frauenzimmer,” *Hannoverisches Magazin* 7, no. 45 (June 5, 1769): 705–20; F. G. H. J. K., “Schluß der Abhandlung von der Erlernung der Musik für junge Frauenzimmer,” *Hannoverisches Magazin* 7, no. 46 (June 9, 1769): 721–30.

(identified only as F. G. H. J. K.), shares his experience in bringing up his three daughters and their learning of music. His first daughter, he relates, took music instruction from the best keyboard master in town and became a proficient player, albeit with very poor judgement in music. The second daughter was less talented in music but was destined to be a mediocre player who could only play from her notebook; in fact, as soon as that notebook was lost at her wedding, she was unable to perform any longer. The youngest daughter, however, went a different path from the other two. As the father tells us, he wanted to bring her up in a different way, so she could acquire a fine sense of judgement in music. To that end, he prescribed a regime of reading and study that included theoretical books by C. P. E. Bach, Marpurg, Agricola, and others. The happy result was that the third daughter not only developed a very fine taste in music, but she was also able to discuss music with other (men) in the society.

Hannoverisches Magazin.

45^{tes} Stüd.

Montag, den 5^{ten} Junii 1769.

Von der Erlernung der Musik. Für junge Frauenzimmer.

Nach habe oft in Gesellschaften, über die Frage streiten gehört; ob ein junges Frauenzimmer die Musik lernen müsse? Ich bemerkte dabei, daß der Grund des Streits hauptsächlich darin lag, daß man keine bestimmten Begriffe hatte, wie sie die Musik lernen müßten.

Daß Frauenzimmer, welche ihr Stand zu einer Erziehung berechtigt, dabei hauptsächlich auf die Bildung ihres Verstandes und ihres Geschmacks gesehen wird, auch einige Kenntnisse der Musik besitzen müssen, das, sollte ich denken, leidet wohl keinen Zweifel. Die Musik ist nicht weniger eine schöne Kunst, als es die Malereyen und die Poesie ist. Sie hat nicht weniger Einfluß auf den Geschmack, auf das Herz und die Sitten, als diese, und, wenn wir den alten griechischen Philosophen glauben wollen, eben so viel, als beyde zusammen genommen. Da junge Frauenzimmer, auch aus dem Grunde die schönen Künste lernen, daß sie durch ihre Gespräche davon, sich zu lebenswürdigen und angenehmen Gesellschaftern machen wollen; so wird die Musik, von der in den artigsten Gesellschaften so oft geredet wird, auch aus diesem Grunde gewiß nicht wenig Aufsicht auf sie haben. Je ausgebreiteter der gute Geschmack unter einer Nation ist, je feiner die Sitten derselben geworden sind; desto mehr sind die Herzen für die Reize der Tonkunst empfindlich; desto mehr sucht man durch sie, die Gesellschaften aufzuheitern, und den Stolz nebst seinem Gefolge, dem Cerimonie, dem Zwange und der Langeweile durch ihre Zauberkräft heraus zu bannen. Dies würde ich mit dem Beyspiele vieler Nationen, von den alten Griechen an, bis auf die Oberflächlichen herunter, beweisen, wenn ich nicht voraus setzte, daß meine Leser die Beyspiele ohne mich leicht finden werden.

Es ist also gut, daß ein junges Frauenzimmer die Musik lerne. Aber was heißt das; die Musik lernen? Heißt das, seine Finger zu einem halben Duzend Menicketen, eben so viel polnischen Tänzen, und wann es hoch kommt,

Figure 1.4 First page of an article by a certain F. G. H. J. K., titled “Von der Erlernung der Musik für junge Frauenzimmer,” published in the *Hannoverisches Magazin* 7, no. 45 (June 5, 1769). Image credit: Google Books

A year and a half later, in the same journal, there appeared a reply by a certain Sophie Ernestine K., who vocally opposed the assertion that women should only learn music theory and not practice.¹²⁷ It is impossible to guess whether the rejoinder was indeed penned by a woman, or by a man hiding behind the name—a common practice at the time, used for example by Gottsched. Regardless, the content of the reply makes for a very “modern” defense of music education for women. As the author states at the end of the essay, for example, the same

¹²⁷ Sophie Ernestine K., “Schreiben eines Frauenzimmers, an den Verfasser der Abhandlung im 45 und 46ten St. des Hannov. Magaz. 1769, von Erlernung der Musik für junge Frauenzimmer,” *Hannoverisches Magazin* 9, no. 3 (January 11, 1771): 33–48.

arguments used against a practical education for women could just be as valid for men, if they were not to become professional musicians.¹²⁸ The author further asserts that it is unfair to expect from women who had neither the genius nor a good teacher to achieve a high status in music.

Even though Hannover was a small town in the eighteenth century, the readership of the journal encompassed all levels of society. The print run of 2000 was unusually high for the low population of Hannover and therefore, the journal must have enjoyed a wide circulation.¹²⁹

Zooming out, this interaction shows the position music had achieved in the public sphere, so that there could now be an open discussion on whether or not and to what extent amateur women should learn music theory and practice. Both the positioning of music in the public sphere and the inclusion of women in music writings can be traced back to the foundational work done by Marpurg and his colleagues in Berlin in the middle of the century.

Postscript

Although Berlin saw a revival of publishing activity in music in the last three decades of the eighteenth century, by this time the city witnessed many new rivals in publishing theoretical writings in the German lands. Nonetheless, the music theory scene in Berlin set an example for many other German cities to emulate. The way the publications by Berlin theorists created a public sphere for music theory changed the course of the discipline for good and helped establish music theory and criticism as an integral part of cultural identity among Germans. Berlin eventually ceded its role as the main center for music criticism to the Saxon city of Leipzig, with

¹²⁸ “Ueberhaupt, mein Herr, muß ich Ihnen sagen, daß alles was sie gegen die Erlernung der praktischen Musik von dem Frauenzimmer behauptet haben, sich wenn es wahr wäre, ebenfalls gegen die Erlernung derselben von denjenigen Mannspersonen sagen ließe, die keine Profession davon zu machen denken.” Ibid., 47–48.

¹²⁹ Franz Rullmann, *Die Hannoverschen Anzeigen 1750 bis 1859 ein Beitrag zur Kultur- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Niedersachsens und zur Geschichte der Intelligenz-Blätter allgemein*, Veröffentlichungen / Wirtschaftswissenschaftliche Gesellschaft zum Studium Niedersachsens Reihe A, Beiträge 33 (Oldenburg: Stalling, 1936), 56.

its active book trade and publishing industry. Between 1766 and 1770 in Leipzig, Johann Adam Hiller published his weekly periodical, *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend*, a precursor to the famous *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*—which started in 1798 in Leipzig and is often considered the first music journal in the modern sense. Hiller, who was mainly active after the Seven Years’ War, shared the aesthetic values of the pre-war generation of theorists in Berlin; he revered Bach, Handel and Hasse, and disliked Gluck. His journal was much more geared towards amateurs and music-lovers and included reports on concerts, even from traveling amateurs. As Hiller himself acknowledged in his first issue, he was indebted to Marpurg, even following the same style as Marpurg’s later journals. In the next chapter, we will take a closer look at life and works of Marpurg, the main figure in music theory and journalism in eighteenth-century Berlin.

Table 1.1 A select list of music theory sources published in Berlin and/or by Berlin-related authors from 1748 to 1800.

Date	Title	Author
1748	<i>Lettre à M. le marquis de B.*** sur la différence entre la musique italienne et françoise</i>	Krause, Christian Gottfried
1749–50	<i>Der critische Musicus an der Spree</i>	Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm
1749	<i>Schreiben eines reisenden Liebhabers der Musik von der Tyber, an den critischen Musikus an der Spree</i>	“Flavio Anicio Olibrio” [Agricola, Johann Friedrich]
1749	<i>Schreiben an Herrn = = = in welchem Flavio Anicio Olibrio, sein Schreiben an den critischen Musikus an der Spree vertheidiget</i>	[Agricola]
1750	“Hamburg” <i>Freye Urtheile und Nachrichten zum Aufnehmen der Wissenschaften und der Historie überhaupt. XXXVII Stück, 12 May, 1750.</i>	[Finazzi, Filippo]
1750	<i>Sendschreiben an die Herren Verfasser der freyen Urtheile in Hamburg, das Schreiben an den Herrn Verfasser des kritischen Musikus an der Spree betreffend</i>	[A] (Scheibe, Johann Adolph?)
1750	<i>Die Kunst das Clavier zu spielen (Vol. 1)</i>	Marpurg
1751	<i>Gedanken über die welschen Tonkünstler</i>	[?]
1752	<i>Von der musikalischen Poesie</i>	Krause, Christian Gottfried
1752	<i>Historische Nachricht von den akademischen Würden in der Musik</i>	Oelrich, Johann Carl Conrad

(Table 1.1 continued)

1752	<i>Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen</i>	Quantz, Johann Joachim
1752	<i>Essai d'une méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la flûte traversière</i>	Quantz
1752	<i>Schreiben an die Herren Verfasser der freyen Urteile</i>	[?]
1753	<i>Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen (Vol. 1)</i>	Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel
1753	<i>Sendschreiben an die Herren Buchhändler, Kupferstecher und Buchdrucker in Deutschland</i>	Gerngroß, Peter
1753	<i>Abhandlung von der Fuge (Vol. 1)</i>	Marpurg
1754	<i>Abhandlung von der Fuge (Vol. 2)</i>	Marpurg
1754–55	<i>Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik (Vol. 1)</i>	Marpurg
1755	<i>Anleitung zum Clavierspielen</i>	Marpurg
1755	<i>Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition (Vol. 1)</i>	Marpurg
1755	<i>Die Melodie nach ihrem Wesen und nach ihren Eigenschaften</i>	Nichelmann, Christoph
1755	<i>Gedanken eines Liebhabers der Tonkunst über Herrn Nichelmanns Tractat von der Melodie</i>	Dünckelstein, Caspar (C. P. E. Bach?)
1755	<i>Die Vortreflichkeit der Gedancken des Herrn Caspar Dünckelsteins über die Abhandlung von der Melodie</i>	Nichelmann (?)
1756	<i>Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik (Vol. 2)</i>	Marpurg
1756	<i>Principes du Clavecin</i>	Marpurg
1756	<i>Traité de la Fugue et du Contrepoint</i>	Marpurg
1757–58	<i>Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik (Vol. 3)</i>	Marpurg
1757	<i>Der allezeit fertige Polonoisen- und Menuettencomponist</i>	Kirnberger, Johann Philipp
1757	<i>Anfangsgründe der theoretischen Musik</i>	Marpurg
1757	<i>Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition (Vol. 2)</i>	Marpurg
1757	<i>Hrn d'Alembert...Systematische Einleitung in die musikalische Setzkunst</i>	Marpurg
1758	<i>Anleitung zur Singcomposition</i>	Marpurg
1758	<i>Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition (Vol. 3)</i>	Marpurg
1758–59	<i>Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik (Vol. 4)</i>	Marpurg
1759	<i>Allegro, für das Clavier alleine, wie auch für die Violin mit dem Violoncell zu accompagniren</i>	Kirnberger
1759	<i>Kritische Einleitung in die Geschichte und Lehrsätze der alten und neuen Musik</i>	Marpurg
1759–60	<i>Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst (Vol. 1)</i>	Marpurg (, Quantz, Agricola?)

(Table 1.1 continued)

1760	<i>Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition, Anhang (Supplement)</i>	Marpurg
1760–1778	<i>Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik (Vol. 5)</i>	Marpurg
1760	<i>Anleitung zum Generalbass und zur Composition</i>	Sorge, Georg Andreas
1761	<i>Schreiben an die Herren Tonkünstler in Berlin</i>	Wenckel, Johann Friedrich Wilhelm
1761	<i>Die Kunst das Clavier zu spielen (Vol. 2)</i>	Marpurg
1761–63	<i>Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst (Vol. 2)</i>	Marpurg (, Quantz, Agricola?)
1762	<i>Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen. Zweyter Theil (Vol. 2)</i>	Bach
1763	<i>Anleitung zur Musik überhaupt, und zur Singkunst</i>	Marpurg
1763–64	<i>Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst (Vol. 3)</i>	Marpurg (, Quantz, Agricola?)
1764	<i>Construktion der gleichschwebenden Temperatur</i>	Kirnberger (Mendelssohn, Moses)
1768	<i>Musikalisches Siebengestirn</i>	Adlung, Jakob
1771	<i>Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik (Vol. 1)</i>	Kirnberger
1771	<i>Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste (Vol. 1)</i>	Sulzer, Johann Georg
1773	<i>Die wahren Grundsätze zum Gebrauch der Harmonie</i>	Kirnberger (Schulz, Johann Peter Abraham)
1774	<i>Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend (Vol. 1)</i>	Reichardt, Johann Friedrich
1774	<i>Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste (Vol. 2)</i>	Sulzer
1775	<i>Schreiben über die berlinische Musik</i>	Reichardt
1776	<i>Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend (Vol. 2)</i>	Reichardt
1776	<i>Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik (Vol. 2, I)</i>	Kirnberger
1776	<i>Versuch über die musikalische Temperatur</i>	Marpurg
1777	<i>Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik (Vol. 2, II)</i>	Kirnberger
1779	<i>Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik (Vol. 2, III)</i>	Kirnberger
1780	<i>Über die musikalische Malerey</i>	Engel, Johann Jakob
1781	<i>Grundsätze des Generalbasses als erste Linien zur Composition</i>	Kirnberger
1782	<i>Gedanken über die verschiedenen Lehrarten in den Komposition</i>	Kirnberger
1782	<i>Muskalisches Kunstmagazin (Vol. 1)</i>	Reichardt
1783	<i>Methode Sonaten aus 'm Ermel zu schüddeln</i>	Kirnberger
1784	<i>Neue Wahrnehmungen zur Aufnahme und weitem Ausbreitung der Musik</i>	Rolle, Christian Carl
1785	<i>George Friederich Händel's Jugend</i>	Reichardt
1786	<i>Legende einiger Musikheiligen</i>	Metaphrastes, Simeon (F. W. Marpurg)
1790	<i>Neue Methode allerley Arten von Temperaturen</i>	Marpurg

(Table 1.1 continued)

1790	<i>Anleitung für Clavierspieler, den Gebrauch der Bachschen Fingersetzung, die Manieren und den Vortrag betreffend</i>	Reilstab, Johann Carl Friedrich
1790	<i>Beschreibung eines musikalischen Zeitmessers</i>	Burja, Abel
1791	<i>Muskalisches Kunstmagazin (Vol. 1I)</i>	Reichardt
1791	<i>Geist des Musikalischen Kunstmagazins</i>	Reichardt
1792	<i>Musikalisches Wochenblatt (Part I)</i>	Reichardt
1792	<i>Kurzer Abriß der Geschichte der Tonkunst zum Vergnügen der Liebhaber der Musik</i>	Kalkbrenner, Christian
1793	<i>Musikalisches Wochenblatt (Part II)</i>	Reichardt
1793	<i>Studien für Tonkünstler und Musikfreunde</i>	Reichard, and Kunzen, Friedrich Ludwig Aemilius
1794	<i>Berlinische Musikalische Zeitung</i>	Spazier, Johann Gottlieb Karl
1795	<i>Etwas über Gluckische Musik und die Oper Iphigenia auf Tauris auf dem Berlinischen Nationaltheater</i>	Spazier
1796	<i>Musikalischer Almanach</i>	Reichardt

Chapter 2 - Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg and the Founding of the Berlin School of Music Theory

The image of Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg is not a very positive one for many musicologists today. As a notorious advocate for the theories of Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764) in Germany—but one who seemed to get it all wrong—and as a scathing critic hiding behind pseudonyms, Marpurg’s reputation has suffered in recent decades.¹ Yet, as I hope to show in this chapter, Marpurg’s contribution to the history of music theory is far more important than most scholars seem to assume. Almost single-handedly, Marpurg brought music theory to Berlin. Indeed, we might even say he brought music theory as we tend to understand the discipline today to Germany. As we shall see, he wrote on almost all aspects that one could consider as a part of music theory in the eighteenth century, from the fundamentals of music to the most advanced fugal and contrapuntal techniques, from abstract issues of temperament and Rameau’s theory of harmony to reflections on aesthetics and keyboard performance.

Gifted with a longevity that covered nearly the entire second half of the eighteenth century, Marpurg was admired during his lifetime by most (but by no means all) of his peers. Shortly after his death, he was hailed as “one of the greatest music theorists in all of Europe” and “one of the earliest and most deserving music teachers in Germany.”² As editor and primary contributor to three periodicals, the author of a wide number of books, and an active correspondent with musical figures throughout Prussia and beyond, Marpurg gained a reputation

¹ As examples testifying to the poor reputation Marpurg has among some recent historians of music theory, see Joel Lester, *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 231–57; Thomas Christensen, “Bach among the Theorists,” in *Bach Perspectives 3: Creative Responses to Bach from Mozart to Hindemith*, ed. Michael Marissen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 23–46.

² “[E]iner der grössten musikalischen Theoretiker in ganz Europa.” in Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, ed. Ludwig Albrecht Schubart (Wien: J.V. Degen, 1806), 83. “...eines Mannes...der einst einer der frühesten und verdientesten Lehrer des musikalischen Deutschlands war.” Karl Spazier, “Einige Worte zur Rechtfertigung Marpurgs, und zur Erinnerung an seine Verdienste (Part III),” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 2, no. 34 (May 21, 1800): 600.

as one of the most esteemed and cosmopolitan musical figures throughout Germany, a reputation that continued well beyond his death into the nineteenth century.

Not the least important aspect of Marpurg's literary career in music was how he stimulated other musicians to think about and write on topics of musical interest. As discussed in Chapter 1, following Friedrich's ascension to the throne, a number of prominent musicians from across Germany and Europe moved to Berlin, including C. P. E. Bach (1738 from Leipzig), Quantz (1741 from Dresden), Nichelmann (1739 from Hamburg), and Agricola (1741 from Leipzig), all of whom would later pen important theoretical treatises. Yet, none of these musicians had apparently thought of producing any of their theoretical works until after Marpurg's move to Berlin. It seems that Marpurg was the catalyst for many of these musicians to start thinking "theoretically." And we know in fact that a number of them were personally encouraged by Marpurg to join this literary trend. Marpurg's unrelenting activities in the realm of music theory was undoubtedly a primary reason that led Charles Burney to describe Berlin as "...a place...where both the theory and practice of music had been more profoundly treated than elsewhere."³ Over the following chapter, I will be discussing Marpurg's activities as a music theorist in detail, while also providing some relevant biographical insights bolstered by recent archival findings by myself and others.

Marpurg's Early Life

Little is known about Marpurg's life, particularly concerning his early years. This is especially frustrating, as we know next to nothing about his musical training and background. Most of the contemporary information about his life comes from Ernst Ludwig Gerber (1746–

³ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, vol. 2 (London: Printed for T. Becket [etc.], 1773), 87.

1819), who knew Marpurg personally and who even stayed in his house in Berlin for five weeks in 1793.⁴ Gerber claims that Marpurg gave him a complete account of his life. However, as Gerber confesses, he failed to write down what he had heard, and may have resorted to confabulation in reconstructing Marpurg's life story when his memory failed him. Fortunately, some of these details have been filled in thanks to archival scholarship, some of quite recent vintage.



Figure 2.1 Portrait of Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718–1795). Copperplate engraving by Friedrich Wilhelm Bollinger (1777–1825). Image Credit: Bibliothèque nationale de France

⁴ Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler, welches Nachrichten von dem Leben und Werken musikalischer Schriftsteller, berühmter Componisten, Sänger, Meister auf Instrumenten, Dilettanten, Orgel- und Instrumentenmacher, enthält*, vol. 1: A–M (Leipzig: Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, 1790), 882–84; Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler, welches Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Werken musikalischer Schriftsteller, berühmter Komponisten, Sänger, Meister auf Instrumenten, kunstvoller Dilettanten, Musikverleger, auch Orgel- und Instrumentenmacher, älterer und neuerer Zeit, aus allen Nationen enthält*, vol. III: K–R (Leipzig: Kühnel, 1813), 329–34.

Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg was born on November 21, 1718, in Seehof (now: Neu Goldbeck) in Wendemark, lying at the northeastern edge of the modern state of Sachsen-Anhalt, around 120 kilometers northwest of Berlin. According to church records examined in the late nineteenth century (presumably at the Dofkirche Wendemark), Marpurg was baptized on the 23rd of November.⁵ His father—also named Friedrich Wilhelm (1688–1731)—had become a widower in 1715, marrying his second wife (and Marpurg junior’s mother) Maria Magdalene Hupe (1696–after 1765) in 1716.⁶

The family was distinguished with estimable pedigree. On his mother’s side, Marpurg’s great-grandfather Lorenz (Laurentius) Gleim was the mayor of Seehausen during the Thirty Years’ War (1618–48). The same Lorenz Gleim was also the great-grandfather of the famed German poet Johannes Ludwig Wilhelm Gleim (1719–1803), who was Marpurg’s second cousin. Marpurg’s father had studied at the universities of Rostock and Frankfurt (Oder).⁷ Thanks to this blue-blooded lineage, Marpurg was able to study at some of the leading

⁵ Willy Thamhayn, “Zur Lebens- und Familiengeschichte Fr. Wilh. Marpurg’s,” *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 29 (1897): 105–12. A more detailed and more accurate account was later published in Ernst Wollesen, “Zur Lebens- und Familiengeschichte Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurgs,” in *Beiträge zur Geschichte, Landes- und Volkskunde der Altmark*, ed. Paul L. B. Kupka, vol. 5 (1925-30) (Stendal: Trommler, 1930), 262–72. It was not until a few years ago that researchers found new archival documents that shed some light on Marpurg’s early years. For much of the information offered in the following paragraphs, I have drawn heavily from two sources: Wolfgang Brandt et al., “Der Komponist und Musiktheoretiker Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718-1795) - ein Sohn der altmärkischen Wische,” *Familienforschung Heute* 32 (2018): 48–60; and Kathrin Eberl-Ruf and Lange, Carsten, eds., *Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg. Musiktheoretiker, Komponist und Publizist in der Zeit der Aufklärung. Bericht zum Symposium anlässlich seines 300. Geburtstages, Werben (Elbe) 2018*, Forum Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik 11 (Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, 2020).

⁶ These biographical details, the veracity of which can hardly be contested, serve to render some of the details about Marpurg written by Marpurg himself and some of his contemporaries inaccurate or false. As an example, in a letter to the composer Meinrad Spiess (1683–1761) dated November 24, 1754, Marpurg refers to himself as being 32 years old [“Ich bin eine Person von 32. Jahren.”], which would place his birth year in 1722. See Hans Rudolf Jung and Hand-Eberhard Dentler, eds., “Briefe von Lorenz Mizler und Zeitgenossen an Meinrad Spiess,” *Studi Musicali* 32, no. 1 (2003): 163.

⁷ Ernst Friedländer, ed., *Aeltere Universitäts-Matrikeln. I. Universität Frankfurt a. O.*, vol. II. (1649-1811) (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1888), 272; Adolph Hofmeister, ed., *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock*, vol. 4, Mich. 1694-Ost. 1789 (Rostock: In Commission der Stillerschen Hof- und Universitätsbuchhandlung (G. Nusser), 1904), 67.

universities of Germany, including Jena and Halle (Saale). During his student years, Marburg came into close contact with some of the leading pioneers of the German Enlightenment; among others he befriended the art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768) and the writer Lessing. He also wrote letters to the literary critic Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1766), though he never received a response.

Much about Marburg's early years, however, is shrouded in obscurity. It seems that Marburg must have been a determined and ambitious student. In 1737, he was apparently enrolled at the Köllnisches Gymnasium in Neu-Kölln, Berlin.⁸ The following year he had matriculated to the University of Jena on May 8, 1738, to study law.⁹ And one more year after that on July 7, 1739, he transferred to the University of Halle, where Winckelmann had been studying since April 4, 1738.¹⁰ The two men quickly bonded. Not only were both from Wendemark, each had studied at the Köllnisches Gymnasium in Berlin, and each were avid language enthusiasts. In a letter many years later in 1762, Winckelmann recalled their youthful days together with great affection, calling Marburg “the only person left to whom I write as a

⁸ In the present district of Mitte, not to be confused with the district of Neukölln. Hermann Gilow, *Die Schüler-Matrikel des Köllnischen Gymnasiums 1656-1767* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1914), 18. Gilow does not specify an exact date. Moreover, the destruction of the school records during WWII makes obtaining a more accurate record impossible. The president of the Gymnasium at the time was Friedrich Bake (1686–1742), who held the position from 1728 until his death in 1742. Bake provided accommodation for Winckelmann, during the latter's year at the Gymnasium which only lasted from March 1735 to 1736.

⁹ Otto Köhler, ed., *Die Matrikel der Universität Jena*, vol. III: 1723 bis 1764, Veröffentlichungen der Universitätsbibliothek Jena (München: K.G. Saur, 1992), 318.

¹⁰ Charlotte Lydia Preuß, ed., *Matrikel der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*, vol. 2. (1730-1741), Arbeiten aus der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt in Halle a. d. Saale (Halle: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, 1994), 147. In line with the practice of the period at German universities, Marburg's name is given in its Latin form: Fridericus Guilielm Marburg.

brother!”¹¹ Winckelmann’s trust in Marburg was so great that he sketched a short autobiography in his letter.¹²

Up to this point, there seems to have been no evidence that Marburg was interested in music. We do have, however, evidence that he dabbled in writing poetry. In fact, by 1737, Marburg had gained enough self-confidence to write to Gottsched—who was already well-known and 18 years Marburg’s senior—asking for his help in publishing his own book of poetry.¹³ Replete with literary references and poetic flourishes, Marburg’s letter clearly intended to impress the senior scholar with false modesty: “I wanted to give some of the fruits of my poetry the light of day; but scarcely had a few pages emerged from the press when I was ready to give up this craft.”¹⁴ After spilling further ink, Marburg finally comes to his request: “Since I have to thank you for my poetic conversion, [I would ask you to] grant me the liberty to lay the first fruits of my pen before your eyes. You could then serve as a witness to my recognition, which I, alongside others, owe to your noble Highness . . .”¹⁵

¹¹ “Du der Du mir der einzige übrig geblieben bist, an welchen ich als Bruder schreibe!” Letter from Rome on 8 December 1762. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Briefe: Kritisch-historische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Walther Rehm, vol. 2: 1759-63 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1954), 274.

¹² Much to his irritation, however, Marburg went ahead and published Winckelmann’s letter without his consent in the famed Enlightenment periodical *Briefe, die neueste Litteratur betreffend*. See “XII Den 25 März 1763. Beschluß des zwey hundert und vier und sechzigsten Briefes.” in *Briefe, die neueste Litteratur betreffend, XVter Theil*, (Berlin: Nicolai, 1763), 183–87. Despite Winckelmann’s anger and obvious disappointment in his friend’s judgement, however, this incident did not mar the two men’s good rapport, as a later letter testifies, in which Winckelmann calls Marburg “[t]heuerster Freund und Bruder!”. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Briefe: Kritisch-historische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Walther Rehm, vol. 3: 1764-68 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1956), 94.

¹³ Johann Christoph Gottsched, *1736-1737: Unter Einschluß des Briefwechsels von Luise Adelgunde Victorie Gottsched*, ed. Detlef Döring, Rüdiger Otto, and Michael Schlott, vol. 4, *Briefwechsel* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 281–86.

¹⁴ “Da wollte ich nun einige Früchte meiner Dichterey an den Tag geben; es kamen aber kaum einige Bogen unter der Preße herauszufliegen, als ich das Handwerck schon wieder niederlegte.” Letter dated March 1, 1737. *Ibid.*, 4:284.

¹⁵ “Da ich Ihnen denn meine poëtische Bekehrung zu dancken habe, so wollen Sie mir auch die Freyheit vergönnen, daß ich Ihnen die Erstlinge meiner Feder vor Augen legen darf. . . Sie könnten alsdenn zu einem Zeügniß meiner Erkänntlichkeit dienen, die ich Euer Hochedelgebohrnen nebst andern schuldig bin. . .” *Ibid.*, 4:285.

Despite all his efforts, Marpurge's letter did not receive a reply from Gottsched. Undeterred, he sent a second plea, adorned with even more literary allusions and rhetoric. Whether or not Gottsched replied to this second letter is unknown, but Marpurge did manage to publish his poetry in the end. According to an article in *Hamburgische Berichte* in 1742, Marpurge, then apparently a member of a debating society in Thuringia (*vertraute Rednergesellschaft in Thüringen*), published a book of poetry called *Proben einiger Gedichte* in 1740 in Stendal.¹⁶ (The book's publication in Stendal might have been made possible through Winckelmann, who had ties to the city and the local publisher.) But in the end, Marpurge's budding career as a poet was cut short. As he states years later in a letter to his colleague Meinrad Spiess, upon his return to Prussia (to be discussed below), he forsook poetry completely in order to devote his time and energy to musical activities and his service as secretary to Count Rothenburg.¹⁷ It is hard to know for sure what made him change his mind, but perhaps he saw brighter prospects for himself in music than in poetry.

Documentation related to Marpurge's life from his time at the University of Halle (1740) until his activities in Berlin in 1749 remains particularly vague. This is frustrating for the historian given how formative this period obviously was for his turn to music and especially

¹⁶ "...eine gedruckte Sammlung einiger Gedichte die der Hr. Friederich Wilh. Marpurge, Mitglied der vertrauten Rednergesellschaft in Thüringen, unter dem Title: Proben einiger Gedichte, im Jahr 1740, zu Stendal bei Val. am Ende/ auf etwa 1. Alph. in 4..." in *Hamburgische Berichte von den neuesten Gelehrten Sachen Fünftes Tomus auf das Jahr 1742*, Nro. LXV (21 August 1742), 523–24. There seem to be no extant copies of Marpurge's book. The *vertraute Rednergesellschaft in Thüringen* was founded by Johann Andreas Fabricius (1696–1769) in 1732 in Jena (not Weimar, as erroneously reported in some publications). Thus, most probably Marpurge joined the society when he moved to Jena for his law studies in 1738. Another mention of Marpurge's membership in the society can be found in "Nachricht von einer vertrauten Redner Gesellschaft in Thüringen" *Critische Bibliothek*, Zweytes Stück (Leipzig: Gottfried August Stopffell, 1748), 198. Gottsched had also been a member of the society since 1724.

¹⁷ "Weil Ich mich nach der Zeit aber der Musik ergeben, und Ich nach meiner Rückkunfft aus Franckreich bey des wohlseeligen H. G(ene)ral-Lieutenant Graffen von Rothenberg Excell: als Secretair in Dienst gieng, woselbst Ich andere, und überhäuffte Verrichtungen bekam, so habe Ich die Ausübung der Poesie gänzlich fahren laßen." Letter dated February 8, 1755, reproduced in Jung and Dentler, "Briefe von Mizler und Zeitgenossen an Spiess," 167.

music theory.¹⁸ One thing we know about these years, thanks to a letter from Winckelmann, is that Marpurg displayed a prankish personality since his youth, and this eventually got him in serious trouble with Prussian authorities. According to Winckelmann, Marpurg had penned a satirical pasquil against an “unknown” *Magister legens* who had personal connections to Friedrich II.¹⁹ Threatened with confinement for his obstreperous satire, Marpurg had to flee Prussian territories in 1740. The above-mentioned article in the *Hamburgische Berichte* (on Marpurg’s poetic publication) corroborates Winckelmann’s account and identifies the unknown *Magister legens* as “M. P.”.²⁰

The pasquil was also published in Stendal and ended up somehow in the hands of Herr Pagendarm in November 1739 in Jena, even though Marpurg had already left Jena for Halle.

¹⁸ In 2003, an article appeared in a *Festschrift* by an author who claimed to have discovered a new document pertaining to Marpurg’s musical studies in Halle. However, this article along with all the other articles in this publication seem to be a musicological spoof, as some of the contributors are hidden behind pseudonyms. See Yvonne Kuares, “Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg und Halle,” in *Facta musicologica : Musikgeschichten zwischen Vision und Wahrheit : Festschrift für Wolfgang Ruf zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Gilbert Stöck, Katrin Stöck, and Golo Föllmer (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2003), 210. “Yvonne Kuares” has been identified as Cordula Timm-Hartmann. For more on the contents of the volume, see Wolfgang Auhagen, “Review of ‘Facta Musicologica. Musikgeschichten Zwischen Vision Und Wahrheit. Festschrift Für Wolfgang Ruf Zum 60, by G. Stöck, K. Stöck, & G. Föllmer,’” *Die Musikforschung* 58, no. 1 (2005): 100–101.

¹⁹ Winckelmann’s letter was dated March 19, 1767, and addressed to the antiquarian Philipp von Stosch. Winckelmann, *Briefe*, 1956, 3: 1764–68:243–44. For more on this issue, see Hans-Joachim Schulze, “Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, Johann Sebastian Bach und die ‘Gedanken über die welschen Tonkünstler’ (1751),” *Bach-Jahrbuch* 90 (2004): 123–24; Elizabeth Loretta Hays, “F. W. Marpurg’s ‘Anleitung Zum Clavierspielen’ (Berlin, 1755) and ‘Principes Du Clavecin’ (Berlin, 1756): Translation and Commentary (Volumes I and II)” (Ph.D., Stanford University, 1977), vol. II: Commentary, 9–11. The term “Magister legens” probably refers to something like a modern university lecturer. See Friedrich Paulsen, “Die deutschen Universitäten und die Privatdozenten,” in *Preussische Jahrbücher, 83ter Band*, ed. Hans Delbrück (Berlin: Hermann Walter, 1896), 138.

²⁰ The full identity of this *Magister legens* has only been disclosed very recently by a team of German musicologists as Johann Gerhard Pagendarm (1681–1754), a professor of theology, history, and geography in Jena (M. P. referring to M[agister] P[agendarm]). The details of the judgment against Marpurg can be found in the criminal files of the Prussian Privy State Archives (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz [GStA PK]) in Berlin. GStA PK, I. HA Geheimer Rat, Rep. 49, J Nr. 43, Bestrafung des cand. Jur. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg wegen Abfassung eines gegen den Professor Johann Gerhard Pagendarm in Jena gerichteten satirischen Pasquills. February–December 1742. For a summary, see Frank Gellerich et al., “Zur Biographie Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurgs, Eines Sohnes Der Altmärkischen Wische,” in *Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg. Musiktheoretiker, Komponist Und Publizist in Der Zeit Der Aufklärung. Bericht Zum Symposium Anlässlich Seines 300. Geburtstages, Werben (Elbe) 2018* (Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, 2020), 19–20.

Although the content of Marpurg's pasquil remains a mystery, the tribunal report mentions that it mocked and libeled Pagendarm, his wife, and his daughter. Pagendarm requested the severest penalties for Marpurg, including pillory and lifetime expulsion from Prussian lands, but the court saw the pasquil merely as a satirical writing resulting from mischief. According to the judge's verdict, Marpurg was sentenced to writing a formal written apology and having to pay a monetary retribution amounting to a total of around 40 Groschen. Although the University of Jena did not belong to Prussia, Marpurg, as a citizen of Prussia, was subjected to Prussian law. Since he had fled the lands, his family had to represent him in the court and settle the case.

Winckelmann further reports that Marpurg first went to Holland, and then on to Normandy (Argenson [sic]), returning to Prussia only after the death of the geriatric *Magister*.²¹ In the same letter, Winckelmann claims that Marpurg—who then lived in Berlin—can confirm the veracity of this account. Although most of Winckelmann's account is verifiable in other sources, this last point is wrong: Pagendarm only died in 1754, but apparently Marpurg (and his family) had already arranged everything for his smooth return to Prussia by 1748.

Up until his flight from Prussia, Marpurg does not seem to have had any serious musical ambitions. This was to change during his years of exile. Based on multiple accounts of Marpurg's life that allude to a prolonged stay in France, Marpurg must have only briefly stayed

²¹ There is no town called "Argenson" in Normandy. Schulze suggests Argentan (Orne) instead, and surmises that the confusion occurred due to the similarity between the name of the town and that of the politician d'Argenson (René Louis)—friend of Voltaire's—whose "Bemerkungen zur französichen Geschichte" was circulating in Germany in the mid-1760s. Schulze, "Marpurg," 124. This book was published posthumously in 1764 in Amsterdam by Marc Michel Rey, who had procured himself a manuscript of d'Argenson's *Considérations sur le gouvernement ancien et présent de la France*. All Rey had to do was to translate the work, change the title to make it more appealing, and to abridge the conclusion. See Peter Gessler, *Bibliographic Details René Louis d'Argenson, 1694-1757; seine Ideen über Selbstverwaltung, Einheitsstaat, Wohlfahrt und Freiheit in biographischem Zusammenhang*, Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft 66, ed. Edgar Bonjour and Werner Kaegi, (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1957), 1–2.

in the Low Countries. In any case, no information about his stay there has been discovered. As for his stay in France, we do have some tantalizing, if vague, evidence. We can safely assume that he must have settled in Paris as early as possible. Based on several of the dedications of Marpurg's later publications, he must have been supported and lodged by various noblemen in Paris, including L'Abbé de Cerceaux and Monsieur de Castaing.²² What seems certain, is that Marpurg initiated his serious musical training in France, a training that would be fundamental to his own development as a music theorist and views that he would eventually promote in Berlin.

Multiple sources confirm that—at least for some time in France—Marpurg enjoyed the patronage of Count Friedrich Rudolf von Rothenburg (1710–51), a lieutenant general stemming from an old noble Silesian family.²³ Rothenburg was also a dilettante flutist and might have taken lessons with Benoît Guillemant (*fl* Paris, 1746–57) and Pierre Bucquet (c. 1680–c. 1745), as the two French composers both dedicated works to him.²⁴ He was one of Friedrich's closest confidants until his death in 1751 and frequently visited the King at his newly built palace in Potsdam.²⁵ It was presumably in Rothenburg's entourage that Marpurg moved back to Prussia in

²² See the dedication pages in: Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Principes du Clavecin* (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1756); Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Traité de la Fugue et du Contrepoint*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1756). The identity of these noblemen remains uncertain. For a hypothesis, see Hays, "Marpurg's 'Anleitung' and 'Principes,'" vol. 2: 16–25.

²³ During Marpurg's stay in France, Rothenburg was in France only for a few months in 1744.

²⁴ See Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Der critische Musicus an der Spree, erster Band* (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1750), unpaginated dedication. Guillemant's work was his *Sei sonate en quatuor*, published in 1746 in Paris. It is harder to find any information about Bucquet's life in general, but his *Pièces à deux flûtes traversières sans basse, divisées en quatre suites* was published in 1734 in Seville and dedicated to Rothenburg. Rothenburg was on a diplomatic mission in Spain—probably in Seville where Philip V, the French-born King of Spain was residing at the time—between 1731 and 1733 and may have taken lessons with Bucquet in that period. During his time in Spain, Rothenburg also voluntarily took part in the Spanish Conquest of Oran in 1732 (15 June–2 July), in which the Spanish gained control of Ottoman-ruled fortress-cities of Oran and Mers el-Kebir (in modern day Algeria).

²⁵ Also depicted in a famous painting by Adolph von Menzel, called *König Friedrichs II. Tafelrunde in Sanssouci* (now at the Alte Nationalgalerie in Berlin). One of the chambers at Schloss Sanssouci, the Rothenburg-Zimmer is named after him.

1748, where he eventually became his secretary in 1749 (replacing another musician, Christian Gottfried Krause).

Upon his return to Prussia, Marpurg, evidently regretful that he had to abandon his studies in Halle, immediately matriculated to the University of Frankfurt (Oder) on April 6, 1748 (presumably as a law student again).²⁶ While we do not have any information regarding his studies at Frankfurt, we can surmise that Marpurg may have attended lectures by Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten (1714–1762), the founder of the modern discipline of aesthetics.²⁷ Soon thereafter, Marpurg seems to have settled in Berlin, which he would call home for the rest of his life (apart from a brief episode in Hamburg around 1765) and where he started his new career as a music critic and theorist.

Around 1765, Marpurg, who was 47 at the time, married the 18-year-old Wilhelmine Friederica Döring (1748–1826); a marriage that was registered outside of the church, possibly due to the proximity of the marriage and the birth of their first child. The couple eventually had a total of nine children, five of whom died in infancy. Of the three sons who survived infancy, Johann Friedrich Wilhelm (1765–after 1804) became a musician as well, Gottlieb Wilhelm (1770–1847) became a banker and founded a bank under the name of G. W. Marpurg & Co., and Johann Heinrich (1772–after 1813) became a lottery inspector in Ansbach. Not much is known about Marpurg's only daughter who survived infancy, Christiane Margarethe (b. 1779), except that she married a pharmacist by the name of Johann Daniel Hausmann, who ran the apothecary

²⁶ Friedländer, *Frankfurt Matrikel*, II. (1649-1811):368. His name was recorded as Fridericus Guilielmus Marpurgius.

²⁷ Baumgarten had a profound influence on Christian Gottfried Krause (1719–70), whose *Von der musikalischen Poesie* (1753) counts as the first modern book on European music aesthetics.

“Zum schwarzen Adler” in Berlin. Several of Marpurg’s grandchildren and great grandchildren became notable musicians—especially opera singers.²⁸

Marpurg was generally described in favorable terms by his contemporaries. (Kirnberger was a notable exception, as we will see, mercilessly lambasting his rival’s personal qualities as well as his musical incompetence.) According to Burney, Marpurg was “a man of the world; polite, accessible, and communicative,” whose “learning and intelligence, on the subject of music, are equally extensive and profound.”²⁹ Described as corpulent by Gerber, Marpurg allegedly “ate and drank well, and so to speak flourished with health,” keeping his jovial mood up until his last years.³⁰ Even after his death, Marpurg was still remembered for his good character, as exemplified in an 1800 article by Karl Spazier vindicating Marpurg’s merits.³¹ Spazier, who was friends with Marpurg in his last years, defended him against posthumous criticism and blames any blemishes in his reputation on the fallout from the Marpurg-Kirnberger controversy. He further characterized Marpurg as “sanguine, tough, and passionate” who ruled in his house and was very strict towards his children.

In his letters, Marpurg projects a resolute character who can overcome difficulties, yet is not afraid of displaying vulnerability to acquaintances. Moreover, he generally kept a civil tongue when rebutting criticism by his fellow musicians, even with the most acrimonious

²⁸ For a detailed list, see Brandt et al., “Der Komponist und Musiktheoretiker Marpurg,” 58–59.

²⁹ Burney, *The Present State of Music*, 2:106, 206.

³⁰ “Noch immer zeigte er die muntere, scherzhafte und witzige Laune eines Jünglings, war dabey korpulent, aß und trank gut, und blüehete gleichsam von Gesundheit.” Gerber, *Neues Lexikon*, III: K–R:330.

³¹ Karl Spazier, “Einige Worte zur Rechtfertigung Marpurgs, und zur Erinnerung an seine Verdienste.” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 2, nos. 32, 33, and 34 (May 7, 1800), 553–60; (May 14, 1800), 569–78; (May 21, 1800), 593–600. The article, published over three issues, was a response to another article by J. A. P. Schulz in the 15th and 16th issue of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* of 1800, in which Schulz goes back to an article by Marpurg in 1793 on the topic of meter in Pergolesi’s *Stabat Mater*. Marpurg’s article was itself a defense of Pergolesi against criticism in Sulzer’s encyclopedia (most probably by Schulz himself), and in turn, generated replies by Dittersdorf, Schulz, and Spazier. (I will discuss this debate in more detail in the next chapter.)

differences of opinions (as with Kirnberger). Other than German, Marpurg knew French (thanks to his prolonged stay in France), Latin (as testified by Spazier and evident from his discussion of meter and metric feet in Latin in Pergolesi's *Stabat mater*), some English (as evident in English lines used in his correspondence with Winckelmann), and at least some (ancient) Greek (again, according to Spazier's testimony, as well as his attendance of the Köllnische Gymnasium in Berlin, where French, Latin, and Greek were mandatory subjects well into the twentieth century). Time and again in his writings, he shows his erudition by making references to Greek and Roman literature.³²

Thanks to his command of multiple languages, an extroverted and gregarious character, and above all, unquenchable ambition, Marpurg initiated and maintained regular correspondence with various contemporaneous musical figures. These letters reflect something of Marpurg's own personal life and personality that is not found in other documents. As an example, two extant letters from Marpurg written in the mid-1750s to the south German composer Meinrad Spiess (1683–1761) give us invaluable insight into Marpurg's personal religious faith.³³

As Marpurg himself puts it, he “poured out his whole heart” to Spiess.³⁴ In the first letter, Marpurg speaks of his determination to convert from Lutheranism to Catholicism.³⁵ After talking

³² See, for example his entry dated April 25, 1786, in the Hungarian law student Alexander Baron von Podmaniczky's *Stammbuch*, in which he quotes a sentence from Seneca's 22nd epistle in Latin: “Nemo quam bene vivat, sed quam diu considerat [sic. Original Seneca: curat], cum omnibus possit contingere, ut bene vivant, ut diu nulli.” Wilhelm Ebel, ed., *Göttinger Studenten-Stammbuch aus dem Jahre 1786* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966) No. 37.

³³ These letters are dated November 24, 1754, and February 8, 1755. It is clear from the content of the second letter that Spiess replied to Marpurg. Unfortunately, however, none of Spiess's letters to Marpurg have been discovered. For a transcription of the two letters, see Jung and Dentler, “Briefe von Mizler und Zeitgenossen an Spiess,” 163–65 and 166–68. Meinrad Spiess, born Matthäus, was active in the Benedictine Irsee Abbey (Kloster Irsee, around 90 km west of Munich). He published an influential (if conservative) theoretical treatise on composition in 1745, titled *Tractatus musicus compositorio-practicus*. This work spread Spiess's fame well beyond his abbey.

³⁴ “Ich habe nunmehr mein ganzes Herz vor Euer Hochw. ausgeschüttet.” *Ibid.*, 164.

³⁵ “Ich bin entschloßen, von der *lutherischen* Religion zu der *katholischen* zu übergehen.” *Ibid.*, 163.

about having spent “several years in France” and probably having come in contact with Catholicism through music, Marpurg goes on to declare his passion for music and says: “I do not know what first changed my attitudes [towards religion] and made my heart animated for the Catholic religion, divine service in general, or music itself.”³⁶ Despite this emotional self-confession, however, familial and social considerations prevented Marpurg from converting to Catholicism.³⁷ Nevertheless, Marpurg seems to have had other intentions in mind, and was hoping Spiess would secure him a steady position in his Abbey as a “secular member, so as to be useful to students in either German literature or music.”³⁸ In this letter, Marpurg portrays himself as a hard-working person for whom “nothing is more unpleasant than not being busy.”³⁹

Marpurg’s appeal to Spiess to find a position as a secular member his Abbey is peculiar given that by 1754, he had already established himself in Berlin as a prolific music critic and journalist. He had founded a short-lived musical periodical that had quickly gotten widespread attention and praise. This was followed by several other ambitious publications on music theory that will be discussed in due course. For all practical purposes, it seems he had successfully settled down in Berlin in his new vocation as a music theorist and pundit. Let us see what he had accomplished in these new roles.

³⁶ “...weiß ich nicht, was zuerst meine Gesinnungen verändert und mir zur katholischen *Religion* das Herze rege gemacht, der Gottesdienst überhaupt, oder die *Musik* an sich.” Ibid., 164.

³⁷ “Doch verschiedene Ursachen, da Ich hieselbst verschiedene ansehnliche Verwandten und von meiner alten Ehrlich Mutter noch ein Gutes Erbtheil zu hoffen habe, haben mich mit Recht verhindert, meine Gesinnungen hiesigen Orths Jemandem zu entdeckhen.” Ibid.

³⁸ “Ich wünsche nämlich in dasjenige Haus, daß Dieselben als Ihr Haupt veehret, Als ein weltliches Mitglied aufgenommen zu werden, und entweder mit der Teutschen Litteratur, oder mit der *Musik*, den daselbst Studierenden nützlich seyn zu können.” Ibid.

³⁹ “Ich bin gewohnt, mich allezeit zu beschäftigen, und ist mir kein Augenblick unangenehmer als derjenige, wo Ich nicht beschäftigt bin.” Ibid. Regardless of Spiess’s reply, as we shall see below, Marpurg did not leave Berlin.

Marpurg as Music Theorist and Journalist

Just as Friedrich II activated musical life in Berlin, we might say that Marpurg did the same for music theory in Berlin. He did so mainly through the publication of critical periodicals devoted to musical issues, and animated by his sharp rhetoric and pointed arguments with other musicians. In the course of his career in Berlin, Marpurg actually initiated and published three differing periodicals dedicated to music: *Der critische Musicus an der Spree* (1749–50), *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* (1754–78, intermittently) and *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst* (1760–63).

The first thing we might observe is that Marpurg's periodicals represent a transitional period between two different styles of music journalism. The first earlier style, spearheaded by Mattheson and Scheibe, was aimed at connoisseurs and written by a single author. The second, later style—perfected in Hiller's *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend* (1766–79), and most especially, the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (founded 1798)—was geared towards a more general audience and usually involved many writers for each issue. Whereas Marpurg's first journal, *Der Critische Musicus an der Spree*, largely followed Mattheson and Scheibe's model, his second two attempts at journalism moved towards the more cosmopolitan style redolent of Hiller and the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*. Let us look at each of these journals in more detail and see how Marpurg's particular journalistic strategies changed over time.

1) *Der Critische Musicus an der Spree* (1749–50)

Given his prolonged stay in France during his formative years, Marpurg was relatively unknown when he came to Berlin in 1748. But Marpurg could not have wished for a better place to move to: thanks to Friedrich's court orchestra, many notable musicians had established

themselves in and around Berlin. And as secretary to Count Rothenburg, Marpurg had a stable, albeit short-lived means of support. Thus, the virtually unknown and penniless Marpurg could embark on a musical writing career in Berlin that would last more than forty years.

Before he had scarcely unpacked after his arrival in Berlin, Marpurg launched his activities as a music writer by establishing a weekly periodical he titled *Der Critische Musicus an der Spree* (henceforth *CMS*)—referring to the river Spree that passes through the center of Berlin. (See Figure 2.2 for a reproduction of the frontispiece.) Choosing a title that references the critical music tradition established by Mattheson (*Critica musica*) and continued by Scheibe (*Der critische Musicus*), Marpurg tips his hat to his predecessors, while presenting himself as heir to their legacy. The first of its kind in Berlin, the periodical was issued weekly on Tuesdays between March 4, 1749, and February 17, 1750, for a total of 50 issues. It was produced by the respected publisher Haude und Spener, who also published one of Berlin’s two main literary journals, the *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*. Thus, Marpurg could be confident that his periodical would be well publicized in Berlin’s literary circles.⁴⁰ Indeed, it was already mentioned in February of 1750 in the *Critische Nachrichten aus dem Reiche der Gelehrsamkeit*, the mouthpiece of the famous *Klub* discussed in Chapter 1.⁴¹

⁴⁰ See, for instance, the publication announcement for the CMS, two days after the first issue was out, in *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, March 6, 1749. Subsequent issues were announced in every Tuesday issue of the *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*.

⁴¹ Freytags, den 27. Hornung [Februar] 1750, No. IX. *Critische Nachrichten aus dem Reiche der Gelehrsamkeit* (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1750), 78.

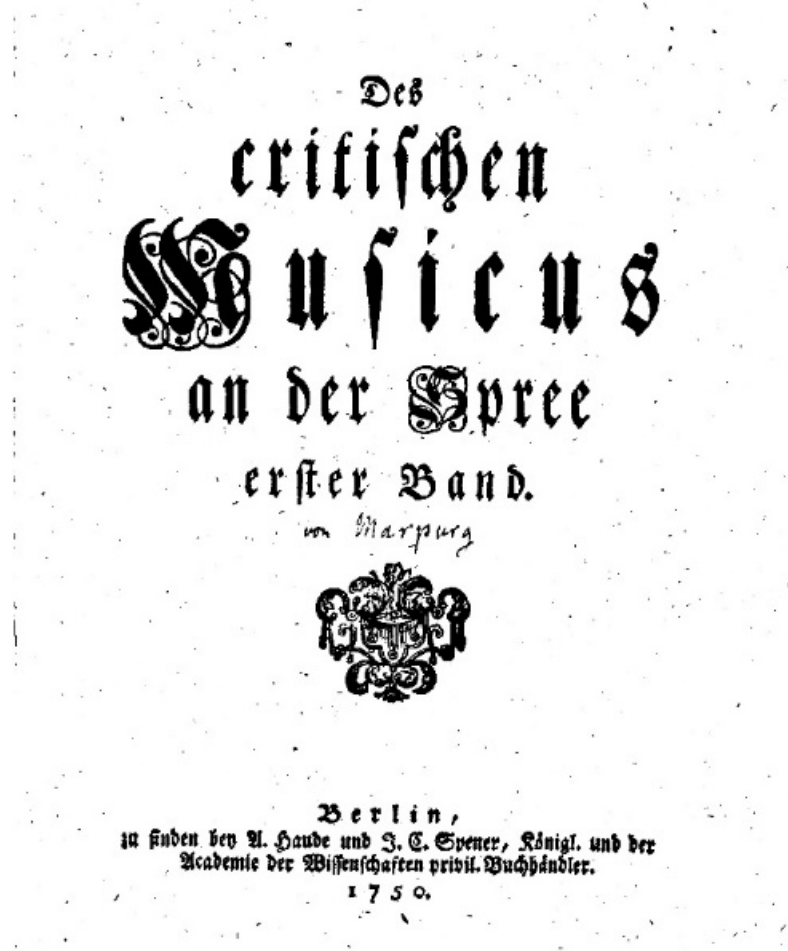


Figure 2.2 Frontispiece to Marburg's first journal, *Der critische Musicus an der Spree* (1749–1750).
Image Credit: Google Books

Although many details about the publication of Marburg's periodicals remain unknown, we can probably assume that Marburg was able to secure a contract with Haude und Spener thanks to the financial support of Count Rothenburg and by extension with the approbation of the court. (As mentioned, Rothenburg was a close friend of Friedrich.) In the back of the first issue, we learn that the journal could be purchased from various locations in Berlin as well as in other major cities: Berlin (four locations), Breslau (today: Wrocław), Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg, and Leipzig. When Marburg decided to collate the issues of the first—and only—*Jahrgang* of

the journal into a single volume in 1750, he dedicated the volume to Count Rothenburg (his dedication is dated June 30, 1750).

As the author of the first music periodical in Berlin, Marpurg had high aspirations.⁴² He aimed to provide over each issue a systematic course of music theory starting with the fundamentals of music (notes, intervals, meters, etc.) leading eventually to advanced topics of thoroughbass, harmonic theory, and musical temperament, often with critical reflections on the writings of other theorists.⁴³ Marpurg published the journal anonymously, only referring to himself as the “musical critic on the Spree.” Yet, he invited those authors whose works he poked fun at, to send rebuttals to him directly so that he could publish them in his journal.

It was not just music theory that Marpurg wished to teach in his journal. He also offers desultory thoughts on a range of other topics such as musical attentiveness (13th issue), the virtues of printing music (39th issue), matters of performance practice (26th-28th issues), and French organ registration (37th and 38th issues).⁴⁴ In addition, he provided serialized translations of some foreign literature, including two French books on music aesthetics.

In the preface to the book format of the *CMS*, Marpurg speaks of several of his readers who were disconcerted that the journal had stopped after the fiftieth issue and expressed their

⁴² Kai Köpp counts Krause as one of the main contributors to Marpurg’s *CMS*. His arguments, however, do not hold water, as there are riddled with a number of factual inconsistencies and oversights. Kai Köpp, *Johann Georg Pisendel (1687-1755) und die Anfänge der neuzeitlichen Orchesterleitung* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2005), 202.

⁴³ “Ich werde sie auf die ersten Grundsätze der musicalischen Grammatick zurücke führen, und ihnen die Wissenschaft der Harmonie und des Generalbasses in einer ungezwungenen systematischen Ordnung beyzubringen, mich bestreben. Nach den Regeln dieser Wissenschaft werden wir nachhero die Wercke unterschiedner einheimischen und fremden Auctoren zu beurtheilen, Gelegenheit nehmen.” Marpurg, *CMS*, 6–7.

⁴⁴ For discussions of some of these issues and topics, see, for example, Howard Serwer, “Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, 1718-1795: Music Critic in a Galant Age” (Yale University, 1969); Gregory Fitzgerald Crowell, “Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718-1795) and French Registration Practices in Central Germany in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century” (D.M.A., University of Cincinnati, 1993); Hans-Günter Ottenberg, *Der Critische Musicus an der Spree: Berliner Musikschrifttum von 1748 bis 1799: eine Dokumentation* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1984).

wish for a continuation. In response, Marpurg offers a meek promise to continue with another volume. But in reality, Marpurg had said all he wanted for the moment. His interest quickly turned to producing two focused treatises, one on keyboard playing, and one on the topic of fugue.⁴⁵ It would be four more years until Marpurg returned to the genre of the music periodical. But by that point, he had a very different kind of journal in mind.

2) *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* (1754–62; 1778)

At the time of his second periodical, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* (henceforth *HKB*), many things had changed.⁴⁶ Marpurg had now become a well-known figure in the Berlin music scene, having written and published his two specialized treatises. The *HKB* consisted of 30 issues which were published in five volumes (six issues each), between 1754 and 1762 (except for the last issue of the fifth volume, which was published much later in 1778).⁴⁷ Unlike the *CMS*, the *HKB* was published with Marpurg's name on the masthead. And whereas the *CMS* was conceived by Marpurg as a kind of pedagogical primer for amateur musicians, the *HKB* was much more like a popular periodical, with articles on a variety of musical subjects, along with book reviews and notes on musical happenings across Europe.⁴⁸ As Marpurg acknowledges in the *Vorbericht* to the first volume of his *HKB*, he intended his journal to be a successor of Mizler's *Bibliothek*.

⁴⁵ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Die Kunst das Clavier zu spielen*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1751); Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Abhandlung von der Fuge*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1753); Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Abhandlung von der Fuge*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1754).

⁴⁶ In choosing the title of his new periodical, Marpurg may have been inspired by Lessing's *Beyträge zur Historie und Aufnahme des Theaters*, published only a few years earlier (1750).

⁴⁷ The first volume was published in the publishing house of J. J. Schütze (which was run by his widow), and the other ones in the house of G. A. Lange.

⁴⁸ Details on the contents of the *HKB* can be found in Freystätter's 1884 study of music periodicals. Wilhelm Freystätter, *Die musikalischen Zeitschriften seit ihrer Entstehung bis zur Gegenwart, chronologisches Verzeichniss der periodischen Schriften über Musik* (München: Theodor Riedel, 1884), 8–15.

By this point, the music theoretical scene in Berlin was so invigorated that Marpurg did not need to rely solely on his own writings; he could benefit from contributions by several other notable musicians across Germany. As a result, the *HKB* covered a range of issues that went far beyond those discussed in the *CMS*. Notably, the new journal fueled many debates on musical matters that could now take place within the public sphere of the journal, with an increasingly broad readership that included non-German lands as well.

The *HKB* met the demands of this growing market with several innovations. First, there were extensive reviews of the by-then numerous musical publications issued in Berlin but also elsewhere. These reviews were targeted towards a more music-savvy audience and could thus delve more deeply into their subject than would be possible in the general press, which often would just list the titles and the briefest descriptions of any new publications.

Another feature of the new journal was the printing of extensive biographies (and even autobiographies) of musicians from Berlin and other German lands.⁴⁹ The autobiographies have proven particularly important for scholars, as they often represent the only source of information about many of the musicians from the time.⁵⁰ They also became the basis for much of Ernst Ludwig Gerber's later biographies of musicians in his seminal *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler* and its subsequent revised edition.

Some of the most valuable contributions to the *HKB* consisted of translations of notable works of music theory into German, such as the German translation of the famous letter by Krause on the merits of Italian and French music (which will be discussed in Chapter 3) or

⁴⁹ Mattheson was probably the first author to publish biographical accounts of musicians in Germany. Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg: Mattheson, 1740).

⁵⁰ Including the Benda brothers, Quantz, and Agricola, who all contributed their own autobiographies.

Johann Heinrich Lambert's treatise on the musical temperament. Many of the (mainly anonymous) reviews included in the *HKB* incited debates that involved many of the theorists in and around Berlin. Of these, the Quantz-Moldenit debate was noteworthy in animating some other theorists to contribute to the matters under discussion.⁵¹

3) *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst (1759–63)*

Even before the *HKB* drew to a close, Marpurg began publishing what was to be his last periodical, *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst* (henceforth *KBT*) in 1759. Published weekly on every Saturday, the individual issues of the *KBT* appeared between June 23, 1759, and September 17, 1763, for a total of 143 "letters."⁵² Each issue included at least one letter addressed to a prominent musician in Berlin or elsewhere addressing some musical issue or question. In addition, as indicated in the title, the letters were "accompanied by little keyboard pieces and odes by a musical society in Berlin," some of which by Marpurg himself.

Occasionally, the issues of the journal included other materials such as reviews of musical publications (no reviews of theory books) or musical anecdotes. As stated in the title and the first issue, these letters were published by "a musical society in Berlin," although the nature and identity of the society remains unknown. Marpurg later collated these issues into three volumes, the first two of which were published in four parts each in 1760 and 1763 respectively,

⁵¹ The Quantz-Moldenit debate revolved around one of Moldenit's compositions that included notes that went far below the flute's usual range and Quantz's criticism of Moldenit's idiosyncratic way of writing for and playing the flute. See Cathrine Theodorsen, "Moldenit und Quantz. Musikalische Streitkultur um 1750," *Nordlit: Tidsskrift i litteratur og kultur* 9, no. 2 (2005): 259–85.

⁵² Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, ed., *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst: mit kleinen Clavierstücken und Singoden begleitet von einer musikalischen Gesellschaft in Berlin*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1760); Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, ed., *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst: mit kleinen Clavierstücken und Singoden begleitet von einer musikalischen Gesellschaft in Berlin*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1763); Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, ed., *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst: mit kleinen Clavierstücken und Singoden begleitet von einer musikalischen Gesellschaft in Berlin*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1764).

and the last volume in one part in 1764, all by the publishing house of Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel.

The most controversial of Marpurg's journals, the *KBT* stirred some of the most pugnacious and long-lasting debates in the eighteenth-century public sphere for music. The first such debate erupted in July 1759, when Kirnberger responded to an anonymous critique of one of his then-unpublished fugues. (Details of this debate are discussed in Chapter 4.) But the most acrimonious debate covered in the journal was one mainly between Marpurg and Georg Andreas Sorge (1703–1778), but that also involved many other participants. While the origins of the debate remain somewhat unclear, Marpurg's critiques of Sorge in the *KBT* took a sharp turn quickly, when he started inviting almost all other respected music theorists around him to contribute to the discussion, some of whom wrote letters in the *KBT*. In his thorough reading of the opening eight chapters of Sorge's *Anleitung zum Generalbass und zur Composition*, Marpurg harshly condemns Sorge's principles of harmonic generation and dissonance. Moreover, Marpurg invited 52 respected musicians to take part in the debate. As a result, Sorge's name and reputation became so tarnished that for many years he was practically erased from history books.⁵³

⁵³ The debate has been discussed extensively by various scholars. See Jonathan W. Bernard, "The Marpurg-Sorge Controversy," *Music Theory Spectrum* 11, no. 2 (1989): 164–86; Ludwig Holtmeier, "Der deutsche Rameau-Rezeption und die Marpurg-Sorge-Kontroverse," in *Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg. Musiktheoretiker, Komponist und Publizist in der Zeit der Aufklärung. Bericht zum Symposium anlässlich seines 300. Geburtstages, Werben (Elbe) 2018*, ed. Kathrin Eberl-Ruf and Carsten Lange, Forum Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik 11 (Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, 2020), 125–34; Ludwig Holtmeier, *Rameaus langer Schatten Studien zur deutschen Musiktheorie des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2017).

Letters and Letter Writing

Marpurg often invited readers to submit letters to his journals that would comment on or take issue with writings on subjects that had been raised in previous issues, or perhaps to raise new questions. At the same time, he often employed an epistolary medium as a literary genre of communication in his periodicals. By couching his own thoughts as “letters” in the *KBT*, he conveyed a sense of informality and playfulness that made scholarship more accessible to readers. It was perhaps due to this accessibility and avoidance of “prolixity and pedantry” that Marpurg was described as “the first German theorist that could patiently be read by persons of taste” by Charles Burney.⁵⁴

As the only way to communicate across any sort of distance in the eighteenth century, the art of letter writing was the subject of countless books and manuals intended for most walks of life. As discussed in Chapter 1, letter exchanges often illuminate aspects of private life that could be shared by others in a public sphere. Thus, many authors in the eighteenth century were self-conscious that their letters might be widely circulated, and sometimes even printed.

Marpurg started publishing letters from the second issue of the *CMS*, a practice he continued through to the last volume of his *KBT*. The fact that many of these letters were published anonymously, or more frequently, with pseudonyms—whether penned by Marpurg, or by individual readers who would send in a letter to him—deserves further attention.

Concealment of Identities using Anonymity and Pseudonyms

Throughout his music journalistic career, Marpurg habitually resorted to publishing anonymously and using pseudonyms extensively. It is worth speculating why Marpurg would

⁵⁴ Burney, *The Present State of Music*, 2:106.

want to hide behind his writings without using his own name as author, or by disguising his identity by using a pseudonym. In the case of the *CMS*, Marpurg may well have chosen to remain anonymous (perhaps on the advice of Count Rothenburg) behind “der critische Musicus an der Spree” given the previous legal problems he had experienced in Prussia. Then again, perhaps he wanted to gauge the level of interest and the financial feasibility of his new enterprise without risking public embarrassment in case of failure. Either way, a certain amount of anonymity probably was a wise choice for Marpurg.

On March 4, 1749, just a few days after the release of its first issue, The *CMS* was reviewed in the *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, under the rubric “learned matters” [“Gelehrte Sachen”]. In this notice, the *CMS* was applauded as useful, instructive, and pleasant, while its anonymous author was praised for his strength (in music), his power of judgement, his desire to defend local (German) musicians, and his clear and fluent prose.⁵⁵ Marpurg—a figure with a colorful history of getting into trouble because of his pasquil—could thus hide behind the pompous title of “the author of the musical critic on the Spree” (the English title of the book as translated by Charles Burney), a title he also adopted in his next publication, *Die Kunst das Clavier zu spielen* (1751).

As luck would have it, the journal caught the attention of musicians early on. After only one month of its publication, the *CMS* became a subject of conjectures about its possible author. In a letter to Telemann, for example, the composer and violinist Johann Georg Pisendel—the

⁵⁵ “Von diesem Critischen Musico versprechen wir..., viel Nützliches, viel Lehrreiches, viel Angenehmes, und viel Verbesserndes. Unser Versprechen gründet sich auf die Stärke des Herrn Verfassers in der Music, auf seine gute Beurteilungskraft, auf seine Begierde, die Ehre unserer Landsleute gegen den Stolz einiger Ausländer zu rächen, auf seine deutliche und fliessende Schreibart, und auf den Inhalt seines ersten Stücks.” In “Gelehrte Sachen,” *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*. Anno 1749. No. XXIX, Sonnabend, den 8. Martii.

leader of the Court Orchestra in Dresden and Telemann's longtime friend—surmised that it was written by Krause.⁵⁶ Pisendel further mocks the praise bestowed upon Graun (Pisendel's former student), the Benda brothers, and Bach contained in the *CMS*, all this despite admitting that he had not read the journal itself, but rather only heard about it!⁵⁷

Krause himself denied this attribution by Pisendel. In a letter he wrote from Potsdam on March 15, 1749, to the poet Gleim, Krause stated that he intended to conduct his own investigation regarding the author of the journal when he returned to Berlin.⁵⁸ Given Krause's connections to Count Rothenburg, it cannot be ruled out that he may have been the first one to identify Marburg through his former employer. (It is interesting to note that Gleim, who was Marburg's second cousin, did not know about the latter's recent activities in Berlin.)

In any event, Marburg's anonymity did not last long. It is hard to know whether it was Marburg's intention to remain anonymous so he could stir more controversies without anyone knowing his identify. In any case, his identity was soon revealed to the music community in Berlin. In an announcement dated October 18, 1749, in the *Jenaische gelehrte Zeitungen*, the *CMS* was hailed as a work by “the very astute and learned musician Mr. Marburg [sic]” (“der sehr geschickte Tonkunstverständige Herr Marburg”). In January 1750, in a letter to Telemann, Scheibe describes how Graun identified the anonymous writer of the *CMS* as a certain “Marburg

⁵⁶ Kai Köpp counts Krause as one of the main contributors to Marburg's *CMS*. His arguments, however, do not hold water, as there are riddled with a number of factual inconsistencies and oversights. Köpp, *Pisendel*, 202.

⁵⁷ “...ich halte davor das oberiger Herr *Secr.* Krause dabey die Feder führe...ich hab zwar noch nichts davon gelessen, u *judicire* nur daraus, was davon geredet worden, u in der Zeitung davon gestanden: darinnen die Herren Graun die Herren Benda u die Herren Bach erschrecklich erhoben sind...” Letter from Pisendel to Telemann on April 16, 1749. Georg Philipp Telemann, *Briefwechsel: Sämtliche erreichbare Briefe von und an Telemann*, ed. Hans Grosse and Hans Rudolf Jung, 1. Aufl. (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag f. Musik, VEB, 1972), 349–50.

⁵⁸ “Ich bin der critische Musikus an der Spree nicht, ich weiß auch nicht, wer es sey, noch habe ich bisher etwas davon gesehen...Wenn ich nach Berlin komme, so werde ich wohl alles erfahren und es Ihnen melden.” Letter from Krause to Gleim on March 15, 1749. Darrell M. Berg, *The Correspondence of Christian Gottfried Krause: A Music Lover in the Age of Sensibility* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 91–94.

[sic]” who “has studied in Jena and has thereafter lived in France for a number of years.”⁵⁹ It is not clear how Graun came to identify Marburg, but it could have been through the rumors going around in musical circles, for instance, at the Klub. Even as far away as Zurich, and as early as August 1750, he had been identified as the author of the *CMS*. In an article appearing in *Freymüthige Nachrichten von neuen Büchern*, Marburg is described as someone who is not a stranger to both the practice and the theory of music, this “most rational of arts.”⁶⁰

Another notable aspect of Marburg’s journals was his extensive use of pseudonyms, both for himself and also for many of his contributors. To be sure, pseudonyms had long been a common literary conceit. We can see examples in Scheibe’s *Der critische Musicus*, to name just one journal. But Marburg seemed to delight in finding pompous-sounding Greek names for the various antagonists whose staged debates in his journals became such a common feature. Given the trouble he had gotten into by ridiculing individuals in his earlier years in Jena, Marburg seems to have learned his lessons. With the onset of his career in music journalism, Marburg resorted to pseudonyms when he wished to attack any member of the Berlin music scene. But not too many people were fooled by this, and he made many enemies this way (most notably of Kirnberger, who grew to loathe Marburg more than any other musical figure in Berlin).

The first of such pseudonymous letter appeared in the second issue of the *CMS*. In this letter, a certain Philomusus (most probably Marburg himself) writes a short letter, pleading for

⁵⁹ “Er [Herr Graun] nannte ihn Marburg, mit dem Zusatz: er habe in Jena studiert, und sey hernach einige Jahre in Frankreich gewesen.” Letter dated January 6, 1750. Telemann, *Briefwechsel*, 329.

⁶⁰ “Daß die Tonkunst ein höchstvernünftige Kunst sey, ist ausser Streit; sie wird aber ihren wahren Werth noch mehr erheben, wenn Männer zu ihrem Aufnehmen arbeiten, die nebst den Wissenschaften ihre innere Natur kennen, und etwas mehr als eine Arie singern können. Der Herr Marburg beweiset, daß er in beyden kein Fremdling sey.” in “XXXIII. Stück. Mittwochs, am 19. August Monat 1750: Berlin” in *Freymüthige Nachrichten von neuen Büchern, und anderen zur Gelehrtheit gehörigen Sachen*, Siebenter Jahrgang, (Zürich: Heidegger und Compagnie, 1750), 257–58.

an explanation of the basic rules of composition (*Setzkunst*), instead of Marpurg's promised discourse on composition [!] (*Composition*) and harmony (*Harmonie*).⁶¹ Philomusus's apparent confusion with musical phrases prompts Marpurg to give us insight into his (and presumably other mid-eighteenth-century Germans') understanding of these terms. In clarifying them, Marpurg proves his pedagogical finesse by presenting a definition of melody and harmony without taking sides in the ongoing battle over the primacy of one or the other that was so common at his time.⁶² As he says: "notes can be connected in two ways: on top of each other, or next to each other." The former denotes harmony and the latter melody. The combination of the two is called composition ["Composition," also called "Setzkunst"].⁶³ Marpurg further distinguishes thoroughbass from accompaniment by defining thoroughbass as "the science of the relationship between harmony drawn up from the fundamentals of composition," in contrast to accompaniment, which is the "skill of sight-reading thoroughbass on instruments suitable for this purpose."⁶⁴

If Marpurg used pseudonyms sporadically in his *CMS* and *HKB*, in his *KBT* he took the practice to an extreme, to the extent that he used more than twelve Greek pseudonyms in this last periodical. The very first letter in the *KBT*, which was addressed to Leopold Mozart, was by a certain Hypographus (Marpurg himself?). In this letter, Marpurg seems to be responding to

⁶¹ "Wäre es nicht billig, daß sie uns zuvor die Regeln der Setzkunst erklärten? Denn ich glaube doch nicht, daß die Regeln der Composition und der Harmonie von einerley Umfange seyn können." Marpurg, *CMS*, 9. As will be clarified below, "Composition" and "Setzkunst" mean the same thing for Marpurg.

⁶² See, for example, the debate between Nichelmann and C. P. E. Bach, mentioned in Chapter 1.

⁶³ "Es kann aber die Verbindung der Thöne auf zweyerley Art geschehen, untereinander, oder hintereinander. Die Lehre von der Verbindung der Thöne untereinander heisset die Lehre von der Harmonie, und die von der Verbindung der Thöne hintereinander heisset die Lehre von der Melodie. Die Lehre von der Harmonie und Melodie zusammen heisset die Composition, oder die Setzkunst." Marpurg, *CMS*, 12–13.

⁶⁴ "Die Wissenschaft, den Zusammenhang einer nach den Grundsätzen der Composition abgefaßten Harmonie durch gewisse hiezu bestimmte Zeichen zu entwerfen, heisset der Generalbaß, und die Fertigkeit, den Generalbaß auf einem hiezu eingerichteten Instrumente abzuspielen, wird das Accompagnement oder die Begleitung genennet." *Ibid.*, 13.

criticism by Leopold Mozart that the Berlin music scene was not that active. Marpurg (or rather, Hypographus) introduces his “society” (even if all behind pseudonyms) by giving short biographies of each of the members. There, Hypographus mentions Amisallos, Oikuros, Eysymperiphoros, and Neologos as the main collaborators.⁶⁵ Other than these, the list of pseudonyms used in the *KBT* also includes the following names: Hypographus, Paläophil, Cacarmonios, Alithophilos, Heterogen (these last two friends of Scheibe), Enypniosophos, Philarmonios, and Philaleth.⁶⁶ Despite several attempts by historians, no conclusive way of decoding these pseudonyms has been found, but some contemporary accounts identify Agricola and Quantz as other collaborators for *KBT*.⁶⁷ In one of his late books, *Legende einiger Musikheiligen* (1786) published under the pseudonym of “Simeon Metaphrastes the Younger,” Marpurg himself states that “Agricola took parts in disputes only secretly and under false names, as Moldenit and Kirnberger experienced it to their chagrin.”⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Kurt Dolinski was the first who attempted to identify some of the pseudonyms. According to his speculation, the main collaborators were: Amisallos (Mattheson), Oikuros (J. A. Hiller), Sysymperiphoros (Riedt), Neologos (Quantz), and Hypographus (Marpurg). Kurt Dolinski, “Die Anfänge der musikalischen Fachpresse in Deutschland: geschichtliche Grundlagen” (Berlin, Friedrich-Wilhelm-Universität, 1940), 136–37. Reinhard Raue, based on the 18th letter, believes Hypographus and Neologos to be Marpurg. Reinhard Raue, *Untersuchungen zur Typologie von Musikzeitschriften des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 36, Musikwissenschaft 134 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995), 10.

⁶⁶ Marpurg and his possible collaborators must have used these pseudonyms to highlight their position on the critiqued matters, as most of these Greek names involve some tongue-in-cheek implication: Cacarmonios (bad harmony), Paläophil (paleophile), Oikuros (keeper of the house), and so on.

⁶⁷ See, for example: Johann Christoph Stockhausen, *Critischer entwurf einer auserlesenen bibliothek für die liebhaber der philosophie und schönen wissenschaften*, 4. verb. und viel verm. Auflage (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1771), 410. The reference to Agricola and Quantz only appears in the 4th edition of the work. For more on this book, see Dirk Werle, “Umbau des polyhistorischen Wissensraums. Johann Christoph Stockhausens Critischer Entwurf einer auserlesenen Bibliothek für den Liebhaber der Philosophie und schönen Wissenschaften (1752),” *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 34, no. 2 (2011): 125–38.

⁶⁸ Simeon Metaphrastes [F. W. Marpurg], *Legende Einiger Musikheiligen* (Cölln am Rhein: Peter Hammern, 1786), 58. For more on the disputes involving Kirnberger and Moldenit, see Beverly Jerold, “Johann Philipp Kirnberger versus Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg: A Reappraisal,” *Dutch Journal of Music Theory/Tijdschrift Voor Muziektheorie* 17, no. 2 (2012): 91–108; Theodorsen, “Moldenit und Quantz.”

Even if we accept the assumption put forth by some that Marpurg's pseudonymous and anonymous correspondents were all fictitious and the letters were all written by Marpurg himself, we can still try to deduce what was behind each fictitious character's agenda. Perhaps like Robert Schumann's Florestan and Eusebius, Marpurg's characters also represented different sides of his musical tastes. Or perhaps Marpurg's fictitious characters served similar functions as the pupils in some earlier theory treatises that with their questions elicited targeted answers from the master, who would convey the intended theory.⁶⁹

Polemics and Controversies

In his long musical career in Berlin, Marpurg fostered an animated public sphere within his periodicals, in which he and other musicians from across Germany would participate in debates on various musical matters. Given what we learned above, it is not surprising to see that Marpurg staged many of these debates in his journals as exchanges of letters between prominent musicians, a feature which was to be a prominent staple in the *KBT*, and future music journalism in general.⁷⁰ Although these debates did not always end well for some individuals (such as Sorge and Moldenit, to name only two), they nevertheless stimulated an array of publications that served to promote the theories or opinions of different musicians. As we shall see in some examples below and in the next chapter, these debates often became so heated that they lingered

⁶⁹ The practice goes back to at least Plato, who used it in his dialogues. In the Middle Ages, the practice was employed in *Musica enchiridis* (9th century). One eighteenth-century theory treatise that uses this practice was Joseph Riepel's *Anfangsgründe zur musicalischen Setzkunst* (1752).

⁷⁰ Some of the letters in the earlier Bach-controversy—instigated by Scheibe and taken on by others such as Birnbaum and Schröter—also were published in a music journal, in this case, Scheibe's own *Critischer musicus*. But two aspects make them different from the debates in Marpurg's journals: first, Scheibe did not publish all the responses (they were mostly published in Mizler's journals) and when he did so (in some cases, years later), he took the liberty of adorning them with his own commentary; and second, Marpurg often published polemics which had nothing to do with himself and involved other musicians attacking each other.

on for decades (much like the *Querelle des Bouffons* did in France). In some notable cases, they even became defining moments for German music history.

Marpurg's work stirred controversy from the very beginning. Often the responses to his writings were so intense that he had to defer his original writing plans in order to rebut those who took issue with his views. But perhaps this was his intention from the beginning. In either case, Marpurg quickly became a known and controversial figure in the Berlin music scene. While we can never know how things might have gone if Marpurg had not received—and perhaps even invited—pushback by others, it seems certain that the extent of his influence would not have reached as far.

We should also note that not all these debates ended in complete acrimony (as did his debates with Kirnberger). Many of his disputants ended up become good friends. For example, long after their heated debate, Marpurg had befriended Agricola, calling him “my current good friend.”⁷¹ Consider that in the 46th issue of the *CMS* (January 13, 1750), Marpurg published a poem by Agricola that praised the art of music. Personal geniality aside, Marpurg's friendship with Agricola scored major political gains for him as well; Agricola, as well as his close friend Quantz, not only had strong ties with the court, but both composers also played key roles in the leading intellectual circles of Berlin.⁷²

⁷¹ “Ich habe...mit dem hiesigen Hoff-Componisten Herrn *Agricola*, meinem jezigen guten Freunde...geführten Streitschriften...” Letter dated February 8, 1755, in Jung and Dentler, “Briefe von Mizler und Zeitgenossen an Spiess,” 166.

⁷² As mentioned in Chapter 1, Agricola and Quantz counted among the earliest members of the distinguished Montagsklub, and its predecessor the Freitagsklub.

Readership

One final factor that distinguished Marpurg's journals from their predecessors was that they were aimed at the widest readership. The journals of Mattheson, Mizler, and Scheibe were all written with a specialized audience in mind; with few exceptions did any of their writings generate interest or controversy within a broader public sphere (the famous Bach controversy in Scheibe's journal being one of those exceptions, which will be discussed in Chapter 4). From the beginning, however, Marpurg's journals addressed a range of musical matters that could have been of interest to most any musical amateur in Berlin, including women. Long before the dual categories of "Kenner" (connoisseur) and "Liebhaber" (amateur) entered common parlance through the writings of Daube and Forkel, Marpurg's journals created a platform from which both groups could be addressed. (See Chapter 1 for more on the distinction between "Kenner" and "Liebhaber"). Burney's praise for Marpurg cited earlier was predicated precisely on his observation that his writings were appealing to both kinds of an audience.

Marpurg's aim with his journals was to fulfill an Enlightenment goal of spreading learning and taste among the widest population, be it connoisseurs or amateurs. Bemoaning the lack of Enlightened writings on music and treatises for singing and the violin—comparable to those of Quantz and C. P. E. Bach for flute and keyboard—as well as a comprehensive history of music, he aimed to fill in these gaps with his own writings, as well as by inviting and encouraging others to do so. Several of the treatises published in German at this time were direct results of Marpurg's efforts. Marpurg's pleas about the lack of German treatises were even heard

as far away as in Salzburg, where Leopold Mozart answered Marpurge's call and published the first treatise dedicated solely to violin playing in German in 1756.⁷³

From the outset, Marpurge's aim in his journals seems to have been to create a space for musical discussions and debates. Most remarkable in this regard was his attentiveness to inclusivity. Although addressing women was a commonplace practice from the beginning in moral weeklies of the eighteenth century, it certainly had never been an aim articulated in any music journal.⁷⁴ Marpurge's journals were the first that specifically made an attempt to bring in a female audience. Of course, this is not to say that Marpurge empowered any female voices in his writings. This is hardly surprising given it was not a common practice across Europe at the time.⁷⁵

Already in the first issue of the *CMS*, Marpurge expresses his wish for seeing more female German musicians. He chided the chauvinistic jesting he heard in Paris about women knowing nothing "except how to tie a kitchen apron around their waist and how to cook a hearty soup." Quite to the contrary, Marpurge insists that "domestic affairs do not in the least prevent [women] from acquiring a taste for music, and mothers regard the thorough study of it as an essential part of a decent education."⁷⁶

⁷³ Leopold Mozart, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1756). In a letter to Meinrad Spieß dated September 17, 1755, Mozart acknowledges that he wrote his treatise after reading Marpurge's lament about the lack of a decent violin treatise in the *Vorrede* to his *HKB*. Jung and Dentler, "Briefe von Mizler und Zeitgenossen an Spiess," 170.

⁷⁴ As early as the mid-16th century, we can find publications aimed at female musicians. Juan Bermudo's *El arte tripharia* was one of the first such treatises.

⁷⁵ Hence recent feminist criticisms of Habermas for his ideas of universal inclusion in the eighteenth-century public sphere. See Chapter 1, under public sphere for examples of these criticisms. As Nancy Fraser has argued, for example, many of the venues associated the public sphere were exclusively accessible to white men.

⁷⁶ "In Ansehung unsers schönen Geschlechts aber haben die zum Scherz geneigten Pariserinnen durchaus Unrecht, daß sie glauben, man wiese dasselbe zu weiter nichts an, als wie es eine Küchenschürze um den Leib binden, und wie man etwann eine Kraftsuppe kochen müsse. Die häußlichen Angelegenheiten verhindern dasselbe im geringsten

Having spent much time in musical circles in Paris, Marpurg was in fact awestruck by some of the female French keyboardists he had met and expressed his wish to see the same among Germans. Praising a handful of these women (Cazamajor, Popliniere, Triblet, Boucon) for their talent in keyboard playing and composition, Marpurg claims that if he had the ability, he would show these Parisian women various [German] female students of equal strength who have elicited praise from connoisseurs.⁷⁷

Marpurg concedes that a number of German music theorists have made tentative gestures to reach a female audience and to make the learning of music easier for them.⁷⁸ (He mentions seven writers in this regard: Heinichen, Spieß, Sorge, Mattheson, Scheibe, Fux, and Mizler.) But as subsequent discussions in the *CMS* and Marpurg's later journals show, these efforts were not enough.

It is not entirely clear from Marpurg's description if he knows of such leading German female musicians, or if he wishes that there were more of them. But it was most likely Marpurg's intention to be ambiguous, as evidenced in the second issue of the *CMS*, where an anonymous lady complains about the low esteem shown for "Frauenzimmer" in the first issue of the *CMS*.⁷⁹

nicht, einen Geschmack an der Musick zu finden, und die Mütter sehen die gründliche Erlernung derselben als einen wesentlichen Theil einer anständigen Erziehung an." Marpurg, *CMS*, 5.

⁷⁷ "Es bilde sich eine Cazamajor, eine Popliniere, eine Triblet, eine Boucon, und andere, auf ihre Fertigkeit den Flügel zu spielen, ja auf ihre Einsichten in die Composition, so viel ein, wie sie wollen. Vielleicht könnten wir ihnen Schülerinnen von gleicher Stärke zeigen, wenn ich die Vollmacht hätte, unterschiedne namhaft zu machen, deren zierliche Hände die Gewohnheit haben, von Kennern mit Beyfall und Bewunderung gehört zu werden." Ibid. In his *HKB*, after introducing the most famous French (male) organists and harpsichordists, he proceeds to add to that list a number of accomplished female keyboardists (including the ones mentioned in his *CMS*). Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, vol. I: 1754-55 (Berlin: J. J. Schützens Witwe, 1754), 464-65.

⁷⁸ "Unsere Meister bemühen sich ja um die Wette, unsern lehrbegierigen Damen die Ausübung der Musick leichter zu machen,..." Marpurg, *CMS*, 6.

⁷⁹ "Die Art, womit sie unser Frauenzimmer, gegen die spöttischen Vorwürfe der Ausländerinnen, in ihrem ersten Bogen verfochten scheint mir ziemlich zweydeutig zu sein." *Frauenzimmer*: A term, now mostly humorous and/or pejorative, which was commonly used in the eighteenth century to refer to women. For a more or less complete translation of this letter and a discussion of its content, see Serwer, "Music Critic in a Galant Age," 76-78.

The lady starts the letter by accusing Marpurg of being ambivalent with respect to his description of German women in music. In the taunting letter, the lady elaborates on her own musical achievements, which include singing and keyboard lessons, and learning the C clefs on the first and second lines. She further adds that her teacher accompanies her on the mouth harp or the willow whistle.⁸⁰ In reply, Marpurg makes a promise to publish a list of (German) female musicians, as soon as he hears of them, assuring his readers that he will defend women and would rather spoil Apollo's goodwill than women's.⁸¹ In his *KBT*, Marpurg included one composition by a female composer (Frau Hofräthin H.), and has one letter addressed to a woman (the oldest daughter of the French preacher Jacques de Pérard)—albeit none written by a woman.⁸²

Thanks, partly, to these calls, addressing women in music journals and books became a much more common practice in the second half of the century. Thus, women featured increasingly in artists' lexicons that appeared in the latter half of the eighteenth century. At the same time, Marpurg's earlier regrets about female German singers not receiving enough recognition became obsolete, as more and more female singers (though less often instrumentalists) made a name for themselves. But the same could not be said about music theory in Germany, where the presence of women lagged far behind well until the late nineteenth century.

⁸⁰ "Ich muss nicht vergessen, ihnen zu sagen, daß mein unverdroßner Meister sonst allezeit eine Maultrommel, oder Weidenpfeiffe bey sich zu führen pflegt, womit er meine Thöne öfters begleitet . . ." Marpurg, *CMS*, 11. As evident from the contents of the letter, Marpurg wants to portray the lady as a not so talented musician.

⁸¹ "Ich werde nicht ermangeln, ihrem Befehle nachzuleben, und, so bald mir nur ein Verzeichniß unsers musikalischen Frauenzimmers in die Hände gerathen wird, dasselbe der Welt bekandt zu machen. Ich kann aber versichern, daß ich unsere Damen im Ernste vertheidigt, und lieber die Gewogenheit des Apollens, als die ihrige verschertzen wollte." *Ibid.*, 12.

⁸² Marpurg, *KBT*, 1760, 1:284–85.

Marpurg as Theorist

Having heard over the past few pages how Marpurg gave a place in his journals to others so that they could express their views regarding musical issues, engage in debates over various arcane topics of music theory, and generally open up the field of musical scholarship to a wider audience, it is now time to pause and consider what original contributions he made himself to this raucous discourse.

With a fecundity that could only be compared to Mattheson's, Marpurg wrote and published on almost all aspects of music theory—from the rudiments of music theory and the fundamentals of thoroughbass, to a learned treatise on the fugue and speculative essays on musical temperament. He seemed always to be revising his own works in newer editions so as to update their contents and include references to publications by himself and others that were not available at the time of the previous editions.⁸³

In the course of his career, Marpurg published more than ten treatises on various subjects, often with multiple volumes. (See Table 1.1 at the end of Chapter 1 for an overview.) In addition, he wrote on many theoretical topics in his own journals (up until 1763), as well as those run by others (after 1763). Judging from his first published works, it is obvious that Marpurg had a deep fondness for French music, no doubt gleaned by his years spent in Paris. At a time when most German musicians thought of Italian music as the only music worth emulating, Marpurg's advocacy for French music was a remarkable and lonely position to take. This was especially so

⁸³ Marpurg revised the first volume of *Die Kunst das Clavier zu spielen* four times, his *Anleitung zum Clavierspielen* two times, and brought out a French translation of both volumes of his *Abhandlung von der Fuge*.

at a time when Friedrich's dogmatic favoring of Italian *oper seria* dominated Berlin's musical tastes.

In contrast to many of his predecessors, Marpurg took a bottom-up approach to music theory, beginning from the minutest empirical details (such as the systematic inventory of intervals starting from the second) and building upwards from there.⁸⁴ As an example, in the *CMS*, Marpurg started his lessons on harmony with simple intervals, moving on to triads, then seventh chords, ninths, elevenths, and chords of supposition. He was also one of the first (if not the first) German theorist to use the term Rule of the Octave ("Regel der Octave"), most certainly learned during his stay in Paris.⁸⁵

He seemed disinclined, though, to produce the sort of systematic and comprehensive theorizing made famous by Jean-Philippe Rameau. Perhaps we might say it this way: Marpurg did not so much formulate new theories in any of his solo writings as much as serve to codify and publicize the theories of others. This is particularly so in the case of his advocacy for the music theory of Rameau.

During his stay in Paris, Marpurg became enamored of the music theories of Rameau, who at mid-century had reached the peak of his fame in Paris as both composer and theorist. Marpurg was one of the very first writers in Germany to incorporate many of Rameau's harmonic theories into his writings, even if these were not always faithful to the original and acknowledged to be Rameau's theories.⁸⁶ (Marpurg's main contribution to Rameau scholarship

⁸⁴ I am grateful to Dr. Ariane Jeßulat for sharing this insight with me.

⁸⁵ Marpurg, *CMS*, 72.

⁸⁶ For views (sometimes contrasting) of Marpurg's import of Rameau's theories in Germany, see Lester, *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century*, 231–57; Christensen, "Bach among the Theorists"; Thomas Christensen, "Mishearing Rameau: Rameau's Theory of Harmony in Eighteenth-Century Germany," in *Deutsche*

in Germany was his translation of d'Alembert's *Éléments*, discussed below.) But it was not just the theories of Rameau he strove to introduce to German readers; Marpurg also translated and brought the works of lesser-known French aestheticians such as Nicolas Racot der Grandval (1676–17453) and Louis Bollioud-Mermet (1709–1794) to the attention of German readers.

We can see Marpurg adapting many of Rameau's theoretical ideas about harmony over the pages of the *CMS*. Let us consider Rameau's theory of "third stacking," by which he generated chords in his *Traité de l'harmonie* of 1722. While Rameau's explanation is hardly consistent and has come into criticism by scholars today, Marpurg took it to extremes.⁸⁷ Based on his presentation of Rameau's theories, we can assume that Marpurg had only briefly encountered the Frenchman's earlier theories, remaining unaware of his later theories. Contrary to Kirnberger, for example, Marpurg left out the concept of fundamental bass from his theories altogether, making his exposition less coherent and less directly comparable to those of the French theorist. Similarly, he left out discussions of the *corps sonore*, triple proportion, chromatic and enharmonic genres, and modulation, which makes his writings on Rameau quite skewed and problematic.

Marpurg's obsession with third stacking (which in his thoroughbass *Handbuch* extends to thirteenth chords), evidently influenced by the theories of Rameau, has been the subject of pushback by some scholars.⁸⁸ Using an extreme version of Rameau's theory of *supposition*, Marpurg systematically itemizes all varieties of triads, seventh chords, ninth chords, and

Und Französische Musiktheorie Nach Rameau, ed. Birger Petersen, Spektrum Musiktheorie 4 (Mainz: Are Verlag, 2016), 106–25; Holtmeier, *Rameaus langer Schatten*; Holtmeier, "Der deutsche Rameau-Rezeption."

⁸⁷ For criticisms of Rameau's theories, see Thomas Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought in the Enlightenment*, Cambridge Studies in Music Theory and Analysis 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 93–102; Lester, *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century*, 102–5.

⁸⁸ See, for example, Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought in the Enlightenment*, 99.

eleventh chords (see Figure 2.3 for an illustration of his classification of chords). As late as his debates with Sorge in the 1760s, Marpurg was still talking about ways to find the *Grundton* for large chords using the notion of supposition, which in Rameau's later theories had become a minor issue.

Von dem falschen Hauptaccord, welches der Accord der Septime ist, bekommen wir

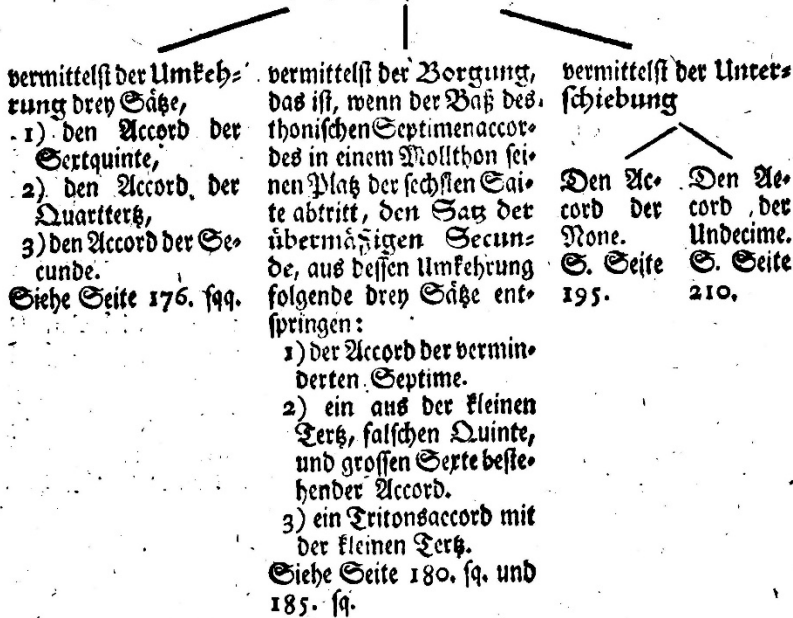
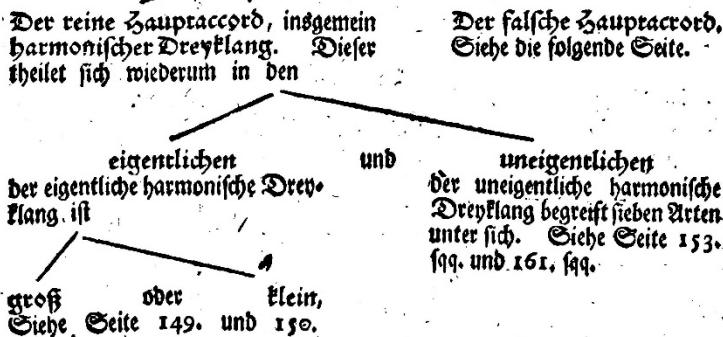


Tabelle der musicalischen Accorde.

In der ganzen Harmonie giebt es nicht mehr, als zwey Grund- oder Stammaccorde. Diese sind



Die von diesen Dreyklängen herstammenden Sätze sind

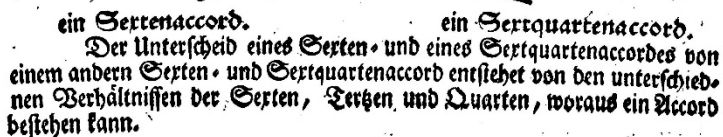


Figure 2.3 Marpurg's classification of chords found in his CMS, 220–221.

After the *CMS*, Marpurg devoted his attention to a publication on keyboard playing. Already in 1750, Marpurg published the first volume of a treatise entitled *Die Kunst das Clavier zu spielen*, that would eventually include a second volume over ten years later. Volume 1 came out in 1750, in an edition published by Christian Friedrich Henning, followed quickly in 1751 by a second edition published by Haude und Spener. Proving very successful, Marpurg published revised third (1760) and fourth (1762) editions of this volume.

What was it that made this publication one of the most successful by Marpurg? For one thing, it offered a very accessible keyboard tutorial for beginners, including sections that deal with the basics of keyboard playing: fundamentals and articulation marks, ornaments, and fingerings. This last section on fingering was particularly successful. As he states in the *Vorbericht* to the first edition, Marpurg aimed to follow—to a point—François Couperin’s style and fingering system as presented in the French composer’s *l’Art de Toucher le Clavecin* of 1716. Among other things, Marpurg advocated a fingering that involved the thumb going under other fingers several years before C. P. E. Bach’s *Versuch*.

So successful was this treatise, that in 1756, Marpurg returned his favor to the French by publishing a French translation of his keyboard tutor, with the title *Principes du clavecin*.⁸⁹ What is notably different in this edition is that Marpurg includes several new plates that are not found in the original German edition of the work, and include unattributed examples by, among others, J. S. Bach.⁹⁰ In 1764, an abridged and reorganized (and possibly unauthorized) version of

⁸⁹ He dedicated the volume to a certain Monsieur de Castaing.

⁹⁰ For the Bach examples, see Hans-Joachim Schulze, ed., *Dokumente zum Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs, 1750–1800*, Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke—Supplement: Bach-Dokumente 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972), 94–96. See Table 4.1 in Chapter 4 for the list of the Bach works cited in Marpurg’s works.

Marpurg's text by Valentin Roeser (c. 1735–after 1782) was published in Paris with the new title *l'art de toucher le clavecin*.⁹¹

In 1761, Marpurg finally got around to publishing the long-promised second volume of *Die Kunst das Clavier zu spielen*, which was devoted to the art of accompaniment and included a summary of his thoroughbass theory. Entitled the *Anleitung zum Clavierspielen*, it came after Marpurg had already written and published his three-volume treatise on thoroughbass (*Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition*, 1755–60). As stated in the *Vorbericht* to the third and fourth editions of *Die Kunst*, Marpurg directs his readers who have mastered the contents of this treatise to his more advanced keyboard treatise the *Anleitung zum Clavierspielen*.

Published in 1755, again with Haude und Spener, the *Anleitung* went beyond the materials covered in *Die Kunst*, with more elaborate discussion of fingering, a chapter on ornaments, discussions of meter and modes, and explanations of musical symbols. A second edition was published in 1765, with very few changes. But a year later, the work came out in French translation by Marpurg himself, with a few extra chapters on tuning, musical structure, and some other topics.⁹²

By 1752, Marpurg's fame was such that, despite having no apparent connection to J. S. Bach, he was approached by the Bach family to contribute a preface (*Vorbericht*) to the second printed edition of the late Leipzig master's *the Art of Fugue (Die Kunst der Fuge)*. While the circumstances around the publication of *the Art of Fugue* twice in succession are unclear, it can

⁹¹ For a brief discussion of the contents of the plates in Marpurg's French edition, as well as Roeser's translation, see Davitt Moroney, "Couperin, Marpurg and Roeser: A Germanic 'Art de Toucher Le Clavecin', or a French 'Wahre Art'?", in *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe*, ed. Christopher Hogwood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 124–25.

⁹² For a comparison (and English translation) of these three different editions, see Hays, "Marpurg's 'Anleitung' and 'Principes.'"

be surmised that the Bach family was hoping that a preface by Marpurg—as one of the only active writers on music in Berlin and certainly the most prolific of them—would ensure a better sale for the outmoded piece.⁹³ While the lack of sources precludes certainty regarding the connection between the Bach family and Marpurg, the fact that Marpurg wrote a preface to J. S. Bach's *Kunst der Fuge* suggests that it was the Bach family who initiated the contact.

Less than a year had passed when Marpurg published his treatise on the fugue entitled *Abhandlung von der Fuge*. The *Abhandlung* was published in two volumes—the first volume (1753) dedicated to Telemann and the second one (1754) to Wilhelm Friedemann and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach.⁹⁴ Here again, the lack of adequate historical evidence poses unanswerable questions. Did the Bach family know that Marpurg was already working on a fugue treatise when they asked him for the *Vorbericht*? Or did Marpurg get the inspiration to write a fugue treatise after getting to know the *Art of Fugue*? In either case, the treatise makes it clear that Marpurg must have at some point obtained copies the music of Bach père through Bach's sons, as it is replete with examples from the *Art of Fugue*, *Musical Offering*, and the *Inventions*.

In the preface to *the Art of Fugue*, Marpurg admits that the work had given him the chance to think about the nature of fugal writing more carefully and to use its many examples to

⁹³ This attempt apparently bore little success, as C. P. E. Bach tried to sell the engraved copper plates to different publishers, as he had not been able to sell more than 30 copies of the work. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, vol. II: 1756 (Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1756), 575–76. English Translation in Hans T. David, Arthur Mendel, and Christoph Wolff, eds., *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 377–78.

⁹⁴ Both volumes were published in French translation by Marpurg himself in 1756 by Haude und Spener. For a recent English translation by Derek Remeš, see <https://musicstudies.nifc.pl/en/traktaty/27-abhandlung-von-der-fuge-vol-iii>.

help him extrapolate rules for the composition of fugues.⁹⁵ A work of considerable length and erudition, the *Abhandlung* has been praised by numerous musicians since its publication and was reprinted as late as the mid-nineteenth century. Charles Burney applauds it as “the best book of the kind that is extant, except Padre Martini’s *Saggio di Contrappunto*, which for vocal fugues, is perhaps superior; but for instrumental, M. Marpurg’s work is still more useful.”⁹⁶

One of the central aspects of Marpurg’s theories was his theory of thoroughbass, a topic which engaged him from his earliest writings up to the end of the Seven Years’ War, when he diminished his musical activities. As the first author in Berlin to write about thoroughbass and to publish a treatise on thoroughbass (Marpurg’s *Handbuch* appeared several years before the second volume of C. P. E. Bach’s *Versuch*, which deals with thoroughbass), Marpurg had a large task to accomplish. Marpurg’s first teachings of thoroughbass appeared in his *CMS*. In this work, Marpurg lays out his understanding of the harmonic system, which was ostensibly more indebted to the Rameauian system than the traditional *Generalbasslehre* of his compatriots. In his thoroughbass instructions in the *CMS*, Marpurg proceeds from the simplest discussion of intervals to more advanced topics including discussions of *Regel der Octave* and various types of dissonances.

⁹⁵ “Mir hat indeßen diese Arbeit Gelegenheit gegeben, das Wesen der Fuge genauer zu untersuchen, und die bißher zur Verfertigung derselben entworfenen Regeln damit zu vergleichen.” Johann Sebastian Bach, *Die Kunst der Fuge*, (Publisher and place of publication unknown) *Vorbericht*.

⁹⁶ The young Robert Schumann, referring to his studies of canon presumably using Marpurg’s *Abhandlung*, called Marpurg “a very respectable theorist.” “Marpurg ist ein sehr achtungswerther Theoretiker.” in Letter to Johann Gottfried Kuntzsch, dated July 27, 1832. Robert Schumann, *Jugendbriefe*, ed. Clara Schumann (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1885), 187. In a letter to Clara Schumann dated November 28, 1855, Johannes Brahms called Marpurg’s treatise on fugue Marpurg’s best book. Clara Schumann, *Johannes Brahms: Briefe aus den Jahren 1853-1896*, ed. Berthold Litzmann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927), vol. 1: 1853-1871, p. 154. See also: Peter Clive, *Brahms and His World: A Biographical Dictionary* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow, 2006), 308. In addition to the *Abhandlung*, Brahms’s library included the following works: *HKB*, the treatises on keyboard playing, thoroughbass, and temperament, and two collections of pieces by/including works by Marpurg. See Kurt Hofmann, *Die Bibliothek von Johannes Brahms: Bücher- und Musikalienverzeichnis*, Schriftenreihe zur Musik (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung Wagner, 1974), 159.

But Marpurg's most significant manifestations of his thoroughbass theories were codified in his treatise on thoroughbass, *Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition*, published in three volumes (1755, 1757, and 1758) with an appendix (1760). The largest treatise of its kind since those of Heinichen, Mattheson, and Sorge, the *Handbuch* covers all aspects of thoroughbass theory, from the basics to the study of fugue, thereby complementing Marpurg's earlier *Abhandlung von der Fuge*. As in his other works, Marpurg takes a detailed systematic approach, which proceeds from the simplest treatments of consonance and dissonance to compositions with five to nine voices.

Around the mid-1750s, Marpurg began corresponding with the Leipzig-based publisher Breitkopf, with whom he produced two music treatises, both appearing in 1757. The first, *Anfangsgründe der theoretischen Musik*, is an elementary textbook on music theory that goes from the fundamentals to issues of temperament.⁹⁷ The second was a translation and expansion of the famous treatise *Éléments de musique, théorique et pratique* (1752), in which the French Enlightenment author, Jean-Basptise le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783), purported to convey Rameau's theories in a succinct and accessible manner, evidently bearing the French theorist's stamp of approval.⁹⁸ Marpurg, who acted as the sole de facto representative of Rameau's theories in Berlin, found an opportunity to further promulgate his agenda.⁹⁹ In his translation, Marpurg

⁹⁷ As evident in his writings on temperaments, like Rameau, Marpurg advocated for equal temperament throughout his life.

⁹⁸ For an annotated English translation (of the revised 1762 edition) of d'Alembert's *Éléments*, see Kristie Beverly Elsberry, "'Éléments de Musique, Théorique et Pratique, Suivant Les Principes de M. Rameau' by Jean Le Rond d'Alembert: An Annotated New Translation and a Comparison to Rameau's Theoretical Writings" (Ph.D., USA, Florida State University, 1984). Regarding the influence and reception of d'Alembert's treatise in France, Germany, and England, see Thomas Christensen, "Music Theory as Scientific Propaganda: The Case of D'Alembert's *Éléments De Musique*," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 50, no. 3 (1989): 409–27; Dörte Schmidt, "Übersetzung als kulturelle Transformation: D'Alemberts 'Éléments de musique' in Deutschland und England," in *Musiktheoretisches Denken und kultureller Kontext*, ed. Dörte Schmidt, Forum Musikwissenschaft 1 (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2005), 107–31.

⁹⁹ For a recent study on Rameau's influence on German music theory, see Holtmeier, *Rameaus langer Schatten*.

abridged d'Alembert's treatise, omitted many of his examples, and incorporated the remaining examples in the text (as opposed to the appendix, as in the original). As Marpurg states in the *Vorbericht* to his translation of d'Alembert's *Éléments*, until someone else would come up with a better and more practical system, he held Rameau's theoretical system as the most plausible.¹⁰⁰

Intent on covering all aspects of music theory, Marpurg also published three other treatises that covered topics not present in his other writings. A manual for composing with text in various languages (*Anleitung zur Singcomposition* [1758]), a music guide for singers (*Anleitung zur Musik überhaupt, und zur Singkunst* [1763]), as well as a feeble attempt at writing a history of ancient music (*Kritische Einleitung in die Geschichte und Lehrsätze der alten und neuen Musik* [1759]).

Marpurg as Composer

After his failed attempts at becoming a poet, Marpurg turned to musical composition in Paris. Given the sparse information about his early life and musical training, it is no wonder that his early compositions remain mostly unknown. Yet, a survey of his extant letters and documents about him demonstrates that the extent of his compositional activity was much greater than his surviving oeuvre would suggest. In general, Marpurg's compositions, although often lacking in originality and melodic/harmonic inventions, betray a high degree of versatility, which allowed him to adapt his style according to the time and place he lived in.

Marpurg's first known publications as a composer were a collection of five suites for the harpsichord that he wrote while in Paris. Entitled *Pièces de Clavecin*, they were composed in a

¹⁰⁰ "Zum wenigsten bleibt das theoretische System des Herrn Rameau so lange das wahrscheinlichste, bis uns jemand ein bessers liefert, und die practischen Lehrsätze daraus herleitet."

distinctly French manner. Modelled after the typical French suite, individual movements employ descriptive titles (“La Nymphe Marine,” “Le Diable,” “Le Coucou,” etc.) and common instrumental dance genres (Menuet, Tambourin, Musette), all festooned with customary French *agréments*. Marpurg dedicated this collection to Mr. Lallemand, Chevalier, Count of Levignen.¹⁰¹ The collection was published jointly by the publishing houses Le Clerc, Boivin, and Estien. Although no date is given on the title page, Marpurg may have written the music very soon after his arrival in Paris, since the print has a *privilege général* which bears the year 1741.¹⁰² Because Marpurg was probably employed by Rothenburg sometime around 1746 and given the likelihood that he would have dedicated his works written thereafter to his patron, his *Pièces de Clavecin* may have been published before 1746. While in Paris, Marpurg also published his second opus number, *Six sonates à deux flûtes ou deux violons*, with the publisher Le Clerc, with the date of the publication unknown.¹⁰³

In a letter to Spiess in February 1755, Marpurg mentions his two published works in Paris for harpsichord and the traverso flute, noting that he did not play the flute himself. Marpurg adds that these works were both engraved in Paris.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, he mentions a collection of six solo keyboard works which were published in Nuremberg a few months before (presumably late

¹⁰¹ Louis-François Lallemand de Lévigien (1686–1767), son of Charles-Louis Lallemand and Marie-Charlotte Troisdames. For the full text of the dedication and a translation, see Hays, “Marpurg’s ‘Anleitung’ and ‘Principes,’” vol. II: 13–16.

¹⁰² The online catalog of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) states the publication date as 1748 without any explanation. For a brief historical overview on copyright in France in the eighteenth century, see Peter Fuhring, “The Print Privilege in Eighteenth-Century France-I,” *Print Quarterly* 2, no. 3 (1985): 175–93.

¹⁰³ The only extant copy of this publication is now housed at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, under N.Mus.ant.pract. 191.

¹⁰⁴ “Meine durch die Preße gemein gemachten musikalischen Arbeithe[n] seyndt seithero ein halb Duzend Clavier-Suiten, und eben so viele Duzend für die Flöte Traversière /: wiewohl Ich dieses letztere *Instrument* nicht spihle: / Die ich alle habe zu Paris stechen lassen.” Jung and Dentler, “Briefe von Mizler und Zeitgenossen an Spiess,” 167. These collections were published as his Op. 1 and Op. 2, respectively, even though he later published another Op. 1 in 1777 (*Fughe e capricci pel’ clavicembalo ò per l’organo*)!

1754).¹⁰⁵ Finally, Marpurg refers to an unpublished *Stabat mater* which he had performed by friends “privately” (*intra privatos parietes*). Mentioning Pergolesi’s work on the same text, Marpurg regards the Italian composer’s work as good, despite the frequent deviations from “pure composition” (*reiner Satz*) and it being somewhat “too theatrical” in various places.¹⁰⁶

During his time in Berlin, Marpurg’s own compositional activities focused almost exclusively on songs and odes. Between 1756 and 1763, he composed no less than 140 odes that were published in various anthologies of odes by Berlin composers, mostly by the Leipzig-based publisher Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf (1719–1794).¹⁰⁷ It was with Breitkopf that Marpurg also collaborated as curator and editor of three of these collections of Odes.

The surviving correspondence between Marpurg and Breitkopf displays an amicable rapport between the two men, and Marpurg expressed his trust in Breitkopf repeatedly.¹⁰⁸ The correspondence began in 1755, when Breitkopf contacted Marpurg as the author of *HKB*, to review Breitkopf’s newest publication that involved a novel technique of printing music using

¹⁰⁵ They were published as *Sei Sonate da Clavicembalo*, Plate number XXXXI.

¹⁰⁶ “Ich habe aber Jezo angefangen mich mit der Vocal-Musik näher bekanth zu machen, und zwar habe ein *Stabat mater* zu Stande gebracht, welches wann Ich es hieselbst von einigen meiner Freunde werde haben *intra privatos parietes* aufführen zu laßen, Ich mir die Ehre geben werde, Ewer Hochwürden gütigen Beurtheilung zu unterwerfen. es ist mir über disen Text die [andere Schrift: Pergolesische] Arbeith bekanth, welche mir aber an Verschiedenen Oerten etwas zu theatralisch zu seyn scheint, der häufigen Vergehungen wider den reinen Satz nicht zu gedenckhen, so gut es sich auch sonsten ausnimmt.” Jung and Dentler, “Briefe von Mizler und Zeitgenossen an Spiess,” 167. See the next chapter for an extensive discussion on Pergolesi’s *Stabat mater* involving Marpurg.

¹⁰⁷ For a complete list of Marpurg’s Lieder and odes, see Christoph Henzel, “‘Ohne Saft und Kraft’? Marpurgs Lieder,” in *Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg. Musiktheoretiker, Komponist und Publizist in der Zeit der Aufklärung. Bericht zum Symposium anlässlich seines 300. Geburtstages, Werben (Elbe) 2018*, ed. Kathrin Eberl-Ruf and Carsten Lange, *Forum Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik* 11 (Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, 2020), 79–106.

¹⁰⁸ For a summary of some of these letters, see Hermann von Hase, “Beiträge zur Breitkopfschen Geschäftsgeschichte,” *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 2 (1920): 459–63. Unfortunately, most of the letters seem to have been lost during WWII, making the article by Hase particularly valuable. For a complete list of the more than 60 letters from Marpurg to Breitkopf (compiled before WWII), see Wilhelm Hitzig, ed., *Katalog des Archivs von Breitkopf & Härtel Leipzig*, vol. 2: *Brief-Autographe von Persönlichkeiten die vor 1770 geboren sind* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926), 3–4.

movable types, invented by Breitkopf a year before.¹⁰⁹ Marpurg snatched at the opportunity to present to the publisher his collection of odes from Berlin composers, which appeared as the first volume of *Berlinische Oden und Lieder* in 1756. (See Figure 2.4 for a sample ode from the collection.) A year later, Marpurg prepared a second volume and sent it to the publisher with a note declaring that “the three pieces by Mr. Kapellmeister (C. H. Graun), the piece by Mr. Bach and Mr. Agricola are masterpieces.”¹¹⁰ Marpurg sent Breitkopf the third and last volume of *Berlinische Oden und Lieder* in November 1762, which was published a year after, marking the last collaboration between the two men.

¹⁰⁹ The complete title of the publication was: *Sonnet auf das von Ihrer Koenigl. Hoheit der Churprinzessin zu Sachsen selbst gefertigte, in Musik gesetzte und abgesungene Pastorell Il Trionfo della fedeltà: womit zugleich eine neue Art Noten zu drucken bekannt gemacht wird.* It was a short sonnet by the dilettante composer Johann Friedrich Gräfe (1711–1787) on the pastoral *Il trionfo della fedeltà*, written by the princess, Electress of Saxony Maria Antonia Walpurgis (1724–1780).

¹¹⁰ “Die drei Stücke des H. Kapellmeister (C. H. Graun), das eine Stück von H. Bach und H. Agricola sind Meisterstücke.” Letter dated June 25, 1757, quoted in Hase, “Beiträge zur Breitkopfschen Geschäftsgeschichte,” 460. Breitkopf only published the volume in 1759.

Fünf und vierzigstes Lied. 47

Marpurg.

Mir träumte, wie ich zu entweichen,
Mit Flügeln auf den Rücken gieng,
Cupido wollte mich erreichen,
Dem Wey an beyden Füßen hing.

Und doch ward ich von ihm ereiset,
Nun was bedeutet mir der Traum?
Oft hat die Liebe mich verweilet,
Die gab ich ihrem Triebe Raum.

Doch hat sie mich gleich nie bezwungen,
Da sie ins Netz mich konnte ziehn.
Mich deucht, bin ich gleich oft entsprungen,
Ich werde bald nicht mehr entfliehn.

Einborstlich. Marpurg.

M 2

Figure 2.4 Marpurg, "Traum des Anacreons" in *Berlinische Oden und Lieder*, vol. 1, (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1756)

Marpurg also published some instrumental music with Breitkopf. Already in 1756, Breitkopf asked Marpurg to prepare several collections of keyboard works for the publisher. He promptly fulfilled this request, first with a volume that appeared already in 1756 under the fashionable Italian title: *Raccolta delle più nuove composizioni di clavicembalo*. As Marpurg claims in a letter dating April 9, 1756, he corresponded with individuals in Italy as well as France, and thereby could include pieces by composers from both countries, including a fugue which Marpurg called "the most beautiful in the world," by the Bolognese master Giovanni Battista Martini (1706–1784), who Marpurg referred to as "the current oracle of musical matters in Europe." Nevertheless, Marpurg did not include any other Italian composers in the second

volume of the *Raccolta* (1757), preferring to include only a handful of French composers (Rameau, Février, and Duphly) alongside German ones.

Marpurg Last Years: Lotteries, Calculus, and Temperament

Despite all the success Marpurg appeared to have enjoyed as a writer, publisher, and composer in Berlin, he continually faced severe financial difficulties. With the passing of Count Rothenburg in 1751, he already had lost his first source of support. The situation got much worse during the Seven Years' War, at the end of which Marpurg practically ceased his music publishing activities due to lack of resources. During this period of financial stress, Marpurg considered a number of options, including joining a monastery (as we saw earlier in this Chapter) to writing exclusively for the publishing house of Breitkopf.

Marpurg's letters to Breitkopf shed light on the gravity of his financial situation, and his later struggles and desperation at finding a steady source of income. In one of his letters, Marpurg offered to write for their publishing house exclusively, in exchange for a yearly salary, a proposition that was evidently declined by the publisher. In response, Marpurg wrote a second, increasingly pathetic plea to the publisher in a letter on May 10, 1757. In his letter, Marpurg sketches a grim picture of his struggles, while showing his strong will to overcome these challenges:

Imagine a person who, from the great transience of youth suddenly falls into the deepest despair, a Ἐαυτὸν τιμωρούμενος because he completely consumes the good fortune he inherited in the service of a certain deceased count who was a favorite of my great king. For a few years this individual faithfully served as the secretary to this count, and after whose death he failed now in this and now in that enterprise, either through his own stubbornness or through the malice of others; who finally, out of annoyance at all these events, in the prime of his years, decides he must spend the rest of his life in a [monastery] and has the best invitations to do so in his hands - I am that person. My situation is desperate. I understand that. But in keeping with my current way of thinking, and especially because I have made music my main occupation, I no longer want to be

dependent on the big players in the world. I want to live for myself. My misanthropy is not fanaticism. I am not inclined to that, thanks to Apollo.¹¹¹

In yet a third letter, sent only a few months later, he expresses his wish for an end of hostilities (referring to the Seven Years' War) which was taking such a huge toll on the burgeoning music scene in Berlin and leading to the decimation of the active musical publishing culture Marpurg had helped establish.¹¹² Realizing the hopelessness of his current situation, he had obviously decided that an entirely new line of work was necessary, one that could provide him a comfortable and steady income that he so sorely desired. And our clever entrepreneur once again came up with a plan.

In the eighteenth century, there was something of a craze in Europe and North America for playing the lottery. (Figure 2.5 shows a typical moment of frustration over the lack of success in lottery in the eighteenth century.) Governments of the time were the major sponsors of such lotteries, realizing that they were an easy way to raise revenue. At the same time, numerous writings were published about the lottery (Lotterielehre, Lottologie, Lottorecht, etc.). On the one hand, these publications addressed the public's desire to learn more about this tempting path to

¹¹¹ “Stellen Sie sich einem Menschen vor, der von der größten Flüchtigkeit der Jugend mit einmahl in die tiefste Misanthropie verfällt, einen *ἑαυτὸν τιμωρούμενος*, weil er ein ererbtes gutes Vermögen auf seinen Reisen gänzlich verzehret; bey einem gewissen verstorbenen Grafen, einem Liebling meines großen Königs, einige Jahre als Sekretär in Diensten gestanden und nach dessen Ableben bald diese, bald jene Bedienung, entweder durch eignen Eigensinn oder durch Boßheit anderer, verfehlet hat; der sich endlich, aus Verdruß über alle diese Begebenheiten, in der besten Blüte der Jahre annoch, entschließet, den übrigen Rest seines Lebens in einem Kl... zuzubringen und die besten Einladungen dazu in den Händen hat—Dieser Mensch bin ich. Mein Entschluß ist verzweifelt. Ich gestehe es. Aber er ist meiner ißigen Denkungsart gemäß, und zumahl deßwegen, weil ich die Musik zu meiner Hauptbeschäftigung gemacht habe. Ich will nicht mehr von den Großen der Welt abhängig seyn. Ich will für mich alleine leben. Meine Misanthropie ist kein Fanatismus. Dazu inclinire ich nicht, dem Apollo sei Dank.” Ibid., 461–62. The original letter has been missing since World War II. As Hase notes, “*ἑαυτὸν τιμωρούμενος*” was the title of a comedy by the Greek dramatist Menander (c. 342–c. 290 BC), made famous by the Roman playwright Terence (c. 195/185–c. 159? BC) in his play with the same name of *Heauton Timorumenos* (English: *The Self-Tormentor*; German: *der Selbstpeiniger*).

¹¹² Letter dated August 18, 1757. Even though the addressee is missing, from the content, it seems the letter was meant for Breitkopf. The original letter is now held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, under ark:/12148/cb39817538z. A transcription of the letter can be found in Ida Marie Lipsius (La Mara), *Musikerbriefen aus fünf Jahrhunderten*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1896), 223–25.

wealth, with many of them promising to reveal strategies for bettering one's chances at winning. On the other hand, many of these writings appealed to more enlightened readers by connecting the lottery to topics of mathematics and chance (*ars combinatoria*).



Figure 2.5 “Den ulykkelige Lotto-Spiller” An exasperated lottery player tears his losing ticket into shreds, while his starving family suffers in the background. Courtesy of the Royal Danish Library.¹¹³

Facing financial catastrophe at the conclusion of the war in 1763, Fredrich established a lottery in Prussia with the help of an émigré from Livorno named Giovanni Antonio Calzabigi

¹¹³ Source: <https://www.ntnu.no/blogger/lotteryfantasy/2022/09/01/hoping-for-the-great-prize-european-lotteries-from-the-18th-century-to-our-time/>

(d. 1769).¹¹⁴ It is unclear exactly how Marburg came to be offered the directorship of the Prussian Lottery. (Kirnberger claimed that it was thanks to his intervention with Princess Amalia.¹¹⁵) In any case, Marburg obviously was grateful for the opportunity to raise his status and income with the new job that he assumed in 1763. Gerber recalls that he only saw Marburg subdued and downcast once during his tenure a lottery director, and that was when Marburg had had an unlucky day in which he played the lottery himself and suffered a severe loss of money!¹¹⁶ Marburg's established connections with the privileged royal publisher Haude and Spener, meant that he could continue publicizing the lottery in the *Berlinische Nachrichten*. According to reports by Friedrich Nicolai, during his tenure as the director of the state lottery, Marburg lived at the main lottery residences, located on the river island (Werder) on Leipziger Straße (1769), then Jägerstraße (1779, 1786) and finally on the fashionable Gendarmenmarkt (1793).¹¹⁷

Little detail is known about Marburg's musical activities during his years directing the lottery. Obviously, his work severely curtailed the amount of time he could spend on musical matters. (Or maybe he simply lost interest in writing about music?) It is noteworthy that his only major musical publications in this period dealt with questions of musical temperament, a subject that benefited from Marburg's increasing interest and involvement with advanced mathematical

¹¹⁴ His brother, Ranieri Calzabigi (1714–1795) occupies a much more prominent role in music history books for his collaborations with Christoph Willibald Gluck.

¹¹⁵ "Endlich war im vorigen Kriege der Zeitpunkt vorbei, dass seine Schmiererei nicht mehr abging... Durch meine Durchl. Prinzessinn half ich ihm in die Regie; und davon ging er freiwillig ab und instituirte aufs neue die gewesene Lotterie, wobei er sich wie ein Prinz befindet." Joseph Müller, ed., "Briefe von Kirnberger an Forkel (Mitgetheilt von H. Bellermann), I," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 6, no. 34 (August 23, 1871): 532.

¹¹⁶ "Nur einmal, als er so eben aus seiner Lotterie-Expedition zurückgekommen war, fand ich ihn in sich gekehrt und niedergeschlagen. Freund, sagte er, wir (bey der Lotterie) haben heute einen unglücklichen Tag gehabt und viel verloren!" Gerber, *Neues Lexikon*, III: K–R:330.

¹¹⁷ According to the different editions of *Beschreibung der königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam* (1769–86) and its successor *Wegweiser für Fremde und Einheimische durch die königl. Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam* (1793).

problems of the calculus and logarithms. This new interest is most clearly seen in a work he composed during a temporary stay in Hamburg in 1765: *Die Kunst sein Glück spielend zu machen*. As the name suggests, Marpurg makes it clear that he saw playing the lottery as a form of art. Marpurg starts his treatise with a letter addressed to Kirnberger whom he calls a “famed musician in Berlin.” In this preface, Marpurg explains his decision to change careers from music to the lottery to his colleague and erstwhile adversary in Berlin. He claims that, since both topics deal with numbers, lottery and music have, in fact, much in common (as both have elements of chance). Furthermore, Marpurg states that he is merely taking a break from his musical activities and intends to return to them by writing the second part of his music history (presumably his *Kritische Einleitung*, the first and only part of which was published in 1759) and his musical lexicon—a project that, sadly, never came to fruition. Marpurg then recalls the times when he and Kirnberger would sit down at the river Spree and discuss various aspects of music as “some of the most pleasant memories of my life.”¹¹⁸

Marpurg’s change in attitude towards his former adversary is remarkable given the animosity with which they had earlier fought one another. In these later years, Marpurg made numerous references to Kirnberger, all of which show the high regard at which Marpurg now held his recently deceased colleague. In the *Vorbericht* to the *Neue Methode*, Marpurg refers to Kirnberger (who had passed away seven years earlier) as an “admirable man” (“vortreflicher Manne”), and as an “immortalized writer” (“verewigter Verfaßer”) with whom he had musical disputes. Calling his own time one lacking in harmony (“harmonieleere Zeiten”), Marpurg

¹¹⁸ “Die Erinnerung jener Zeiten, da wir an dem Ufer der Spree bey einander saßen, und uns bald über diesen, bald über jenen Punct aus der Tonkunst besprachen, führet mich auf eine der angenehmsten Epochen meines Lebens zurück.” Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Die Kunst sein Glück spielend zu machen* (Hamburg: Hertel und Gleditsch, 1765), unpaginated Letter.

expresses his joy at artists of his day who study Kirnberger's *Kunst*. Moreover, Marpurg wonders why none of Kirnberger's admirers has developed a concise and updated edition of Kirnberger's theories, so as to erect a *monumentum aere perennius* (monument more lasting than bronze) for him.¹¹⁹

In addition to his activities at the Prussian state lottery—or perhaps because of those activities—Marpurg also briefly ventured as an author into the world of mathematics. In 1774, he published a treatise on the subject of combinatorics and geometry accompanied with a letter dated October 1, 1773, to the mathematician Peter Johann Hecker (1747–1835).¹²⁰ (See Figure 2.6 for a reproduction of a table in the book.) In the *Vorbericht*, Marpurg states that he has written this book because “the art of lottery” is based on the “art of combination” (“*Verbindungskunst*,” what was later called by Leibniz *ars combinatoria*).¹²¹ Therefore, he states, he decided to revise and expand one of his earlier articles on the matter that had appeared in *HKB* in 1757.¹²² Marpurg's book, which spans 618 pages in addition to 44 plates, was a book written to explain the mathematical calculations involved in a lottery, not music. Certainly, it seems a long way from his earlier work as a music theorist; apart from a brief mention of the

¹¹⁹ A quotation from Horace's *Odes* (Latin: *Carmina*), Book 3, Poem 30. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Neue Methode allerley Arten von Temperaturen dem Claviere aufs bequemste mitzuteilen* (Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1790), unpaginated Vorbericht.

¹²⁰ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Anfangsgründe des Progressionalcalculs überhaupt, und des figürlichen und combinatorischen besonders, wie auch des logarithmischen, trigonometrischen und Decimalcalculs, nebst der Lehre von der Ausziehung der Wurzeln und der Construction der eckigten geometrischen Körper* (Berlin und Stralsund: Gottlieb August Lange, 1774).

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, VI. For more on the application of *ars combinatoria* in music, see Sebastian Klotz, *Kombinatorik und die Verbindungskünste der Zeichen in der Musik zwischen 1630 und 1780*, LiteraturForschung (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006); Lawrence Michael Zbikowski, *Conceptualizing Music: Cognitive Structure, Theory, and Analysis*, AMS Studies in Music (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 140–49.

¹²² Marpurg only gives the reference as *HKB*, III Band, 2tes Stück, with a wrong date of 1756. What he is referring to here is an article in which he reviews Kirnberger's version of a musical dice game, *Der allezeit fertige Polonoisen- und Menuettencomponist* that was published in 1757. See Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, vol. III: 1757-58 (Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1757), 135–54.

Pythagorean myth as narrated by Boethius as well as the musical application of the art of combination in Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis* (1650), Marpur avoided any other references to music.

328 Anfangsgr. des combin. Calculs. Erster Abschn.

$$\begin{array}{l}
 1 = 1 \\
 1 + 2 = 3 \\
 1 + 2 + 3 = 6 \\
 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10 \\
 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 = 15
 \end{array}
 \qquad
 \begin{array}{l}
 1 = 1 \\
 1 + 3 = 4 \\
 1 + 3 + 6 = 10 \\
 1 + 3 + 6 + 10 = 20 \\
 1 + 3 + 6 + 10 + 15 = 35
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{l}
 1 = 1 \\
 1 + 4 = 5 \\
 1 + 4 + 10 = 15 \\
 1 + 4 + 10 + 20 = 35 \\
 1 + 4 + 10 + 20 + 35 = 70 \text{ u. s. w.}
 \end{array}$$

§. 370.

Nach vorhergehender Anleitung entwerfen wir folgende Progressionstabelle FF.

Duode-	Tri-	Bin-	Ter-	Quater-	Quin-	Ter-	Sept-	Octo-	Non-	Dec-	Unde-	Duode-
ci-	gon-	ario-	ti-	ni-	que-	ti-	uag-	gon-	de-	im-	dec-	cim-
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	3	6	10	15	21	28	36	45	55	66	78	91
1	6	10	15	21	28	36	45	55	66	78	91	105
1	10	15	21	28	36	45	55	66	78	91	105	120
1	15	21	28	36	45	55	66	78	91	105	120	135
1	21	28	36	45	55	66	78	91	105	120	135	150
1	28	36	45	55	66	78	91	105	120	135	150	165
1	36	45	55	66	78	91	105	120	135	150	165	180
1	45	55	66	78	91	105	120	135	150	165	180	195
1	55	66	78	91	105	120	135	150	165	180	195	210
1	66	78	91	105	120	135	150	165	180	195	210	220

Progressionstabelle FF welche die Trigonalzahlen enthält.

Figure 2.6 Sample page showing Marpur's calculations related to combinatorial calculus. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpur, *Anfangsgründe des Progressionalcalculs überhaupt* (Berlin und Stralsund: Gottlieb August Lange, 1774) 328.

It was during this period that Marpurg also corresponded with the famous Swiss mathematician Johann Heinrich Lambert (1728–1777), who wrote a review of Marpurg’s calculus book in 1774. The two surviving letters to and from Lambert show that Marpurg first sent his “mathematical debut” (“mathemat. Erstlinge”) to Lambert in 1773.¹²³ This must have established some sort of rapport between the two men, as Marpurg refers to Lambert regularly in his next writings on temperament. A letter from Lambert in 1775 shows that they were still discussing interval proportions one and a half years into the start of their correspondence.¹²⁴

Marpurg did not venture further into mathematics in any subsequent publication, but this short episode served him well in his next publications on the topic of musical temperament that came out in 1776.¹²⁵ But it was not just temperament that was treated in this book. In the *Vorbericht*, Marpurg makes it clear that his treatise was also an answer to Kirnberger’s theory of harmony and of the fundamental bass (“Grundbaß”), as reflected in *Die wahren Grundsätze zum Gebrauch der Harmonie*, published in 1773.¹²⁶

Armed with his newly acquired knowledge of mathematics, Marpurg could now justify his theories on temperament mathematically. In the last issue of the *HKB* (1778), Marpurg published five more articles on temperament and the mathematics of intervals. In these articles,

¹²³ Marpurg to Lambert, letter dated November 16, 1773. University Library of Basel, under UBH L Ia 710:Bl.70.

¹²⁴ Lambert to Marpurg, letter dated February 21, 1775. University Library of Basel, under UBH L Ia 706:Bl.411-412.

¹²⁵ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Versuch über die musikalische Temperatur* (Breslau: Johann Friedrich Korn, 1776). He had, of course, written about temperaments extensively before.

¹²⁶ Johann Philipp Kirnberger and J. A. P. Schulz, *Die wahren Grundsätze zum Gebrauch der Harmonie: darinn deutlich gezeigt wird, wie alle möglichen Accorde aus dem Dreyklang und dem wesentlichen Septimenaccord, und deren dissonirenden Vorhalten, herzuleiten und zu erklären sind als ein Zusatz zu der Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik* (Berlin und Königsberg: Bey G.J. Decker und G.L. Hartung, 1773). Though this book was published under Kirnberger’s name, it was actually penned by his student Johann Peter Abraham Schulz (1747–1800). An English translation can be found in Johann Philipp Kirnberger, “The True Principles for the Practice of Harmony,” trans. David W. Beach and Jürgen Thym, *Journal of Music Theory* 23, no. 2 (1979): 163–225. For the sake of convenience, given that his name was printed as the author of the treatise, I refer to Kirnberger as the author.

Marpurg either translates or borrows heavily from Lambert's theories on temperaments and, where necessary, adds his own remarks. Ultimately, despite delineating many varieties of unequal temperaments, Marpurg remains steadfast as an advocate for equal temperament.¹²⁷

Marpurg's last publication on the matter of temperament (*Neue Methode allerley Arten von Temperaturen dem Claviere aufs bequemste mitzuteilen*) appeared in 1790, only a few years before his death.¹²⁸ As stated in the title and the *Vorbericht*, this treatise came about in response to a publication by Dresden-based Christian Ludwig Gustav von Wiese (1732–1800). Earlier in 1790, Wiese had published a treatise on temperament which he had dedicated to “the master of musical theory” Marpurg.¹²⁹ Quoting Thomas Aquinas's empirical axiom “Nothing is in the intellect that was not first in the senses” [Latin: “Nihil est in intellectu quod non sit prius in sensu”], Wiese made it clear that he considered his method as more empirical than scientific. Thus, in contrast to Marpurg's writings on the subject, Wiese employed primarily musical notation and relations, dispensing with complicated mathematical formulae. At the same time, Wiese also published a two-page guide to tuning the keyboard, which demonstrated his advocacy of unequal temperament (See Figure 2.7).¹³⁰

¹²⁷ For a brief summary, see Rudolf Rasch, “Tuning and Temperament,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 218–20.

¹²⁸ Marpurg, *Neue Methode*. Marpurg dedicated the volume to Graf von Herzberg (1725–1795), a prominent statesman, curator of the Prussian Academy of Sciences, and a notable advocate of German literature.

¹²⁹ Christian Ludwig Gustav von Wiese, *Versuch eines formularisch und tabellarisch vorgebildeten Leitfadens im Bezug auf die Quelle des harmonischen Tönungsausflusses; ferner auf die mechanisch ausführbare Stimmungsübertragung der sowohl Rationalstimmung, als auch ungleichschwebenden fixen Temperaturstimmung auf der Orgel und den Tasteninstrument* (Dresden: P. C. Hilschers Music-Verlage, 1790).

¹³⁰ Christian Ludwig Gustav von Wiese, *Anweisung der mechanischen Behandlung des Clavier nach einer vorgeschlagenen neuen Temperatur zu stimmen* (Dresden: Im Hilscherschen Musick-Verlage, 1790).

Erste Behandlung. Den Anfang, das Clavier zu stimmen, mache man bei dem ungestrichenen *F*, und zwar weil man auf diese Weise die untern Tasten sämmtlich in einer Octave durchstimmen kann, ehe man zu dem Zirkel der obern Tasten gelanget: ferner stimme man, nach äußerst möglich reinen Quinten, durch den ganzen Quintenzirkel: v. Fig. 1, und Fig. 2.

Zweite Behandlung. Nachdem das ungestrichene *F* und das eingestrichene *F* als reine Octave gestimmt stehen; so stimme man das ungestrichene *A*is, so daß es nicht nur mit dem ungestrichenen *D*is sondern gleichfalls mit dem eingestrichenen *F* eine unterwärts schwebende Quinte klinge: NB. Die Schwebung muß sich ganz ebenmäßig gegen dem Ton *D*is wie gegen dem Ton *F* verhalten: v. Fig. 2, den letzten Taßstrich.

Dritte und letzte Behandlung. Nachdem das ungestrichene *A*is bestimmtermaßen temperiret gestimmt steht; so stimme man dem temperirten *A*is zur Folge die obern Tasten, auf das neue, als reine Quinten gegen einander; daß also am Schluß der Wiederkehr das temperirte *F*is mit dem großen *H* ebenfalls eine unterwärts schwebende Quinte klinge: NB. Das große *H* muß mit dem schon vorhin gestimmten ungestrichenen *H* als eine reine Octave gestimmt stehen: v. Fig. 3.

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Die Art der Behandlung enthält keine Schwierigkeiten, und gründet sich auf die Entwicklung der direkten und hernach verglichenen Analysen der beiden Tonleiter nach dem Ptolemäer, nämlich der Diatono diatonischen, oder der mit Recht benannten Tonleiter der Alten; und der Syntonischen, oder der fälschlich benannten harmonischen Tonleiter der Neuern: wegen der seit dem sechszehnten Jahrhundert verfälschten Benennungen mehrerer Intervalle in der Syntonischen Tonleiter, verweise ich dieselbe den Forscher auf die formularischen Tabellen meiner *Théorie de la Division des Cordes vibrantes*; aus welchen mehrere andere bis anhero vernachlässigte Prüfungen und Betrachtungen abzunehmen sind.

Der unfehlbare Ausschlag dieser neuen Temperatur giebt lauter reine Quinten, ausgenommen in der Tonleiter von *B* dur, und in der von *H* dur; so wie auch lauter reine Quartan erwachsen, ausgenommen in der Tonleiter von *F* dur, und in der von *F*is dur = *G*is dur.

In der Tonleiter von *F* dur, in der von *C* dur, und in der von *G* dur, werden die Tertien nach der ächten Verhältniß der Diton gestimmt stehen, folglich auch etwas schärfer gestimmt klingen als nach der bis anhero gewöhnlichen Temperatur: in den übrigen Modulationen oder Octaven, klingen die großen Tertien nach der Verhältniß einer pythagorischen Schisma oder halben Comma schwächer als der ächte Diton, folglich auch ziemlich genau nach der bis anhero gewöhnlichen Temperatur.

Da nach dieser neuen Temperatur nur bloß allein die obern Tasten temperiret werden, und zwar nach der mechanisch bestimmten Verhältniß eines halben pythagorischen Comma; so kann auch keine Abweichung der Intervalle dieses Verhältniß überschreiten.

Es fällt in die Sinne, daß vermög dieser neuen Temperatur die Ausübung der Musik der Alten und die der Neuern, sich am besten combiniren laße.

Die sogenannte chromatische Leiter, enthält, vermög dieser neuen Temperatur, zwei natürliche halbe Töne nach der Verhältniß des pythagorischen Lima, ferner zehn erkünstelte halbe Töne, davon jeder halbe Ton dem andern vollkommen gleich ist. In einer meiner formularischen Tabellen findet man die Lehre, die chromatische Leiter sehr leicht und sichtlich, mit noch zwei andern natürlichen halben Tönen, nach der Verhältniß des pythagorischen Apotoma zu vermehren; und dadurch das Clavier vollkommener zu machen; auch die Diatono diatonische Leiter des Ptolemäer mit der Syntonischen Leiter, mittelst dieser neuen Tasten zu vereinbaren; ferner in jeder Octave zwei wesentliche enharmonische Intervalle zu bewirken.

NACH-

Figure 2.7 Wiese's one-page manual for tuning the keyboard, from *Anweisung der mechanischen Behandlung des Clavier* (1790).

Marpurg, however, preferred his systematic and rational approach, one which involved complex mathematical calculations. In this short treatise, he lists twelve different ways of tuning a keyboard with unequal temperament using two methods: geometric (using a monochord) and mechanic (using other intervals as points of reference). He also includes a method for tuning equal temperament by ear without much effort. In addition, Marpurg compared and challenged the temperaments of Wiese and Kirnberger, both of which contained ten pure fifths plus two tempered ones.

Towards the very end of his life, Marpurg seems to have returned to music in a more creative way. He published two collections of ornamented chorales in 1790 (*Versuch in figurirten Chorälen*) and 1792 (*Zweiter Versuch in figurirten Chorälen und Fugen*), which were meant for the organ or the (pedal) clavichord. And shortly before his death, Marpurg seems to have been working on a treatise on the history of the organ. Based on Gerber's account—who claims to have received the complete manuscripts and sketches by Marpurg from his wife—Marpurg had finished the chapter outlines with substantial content in each chapter.¹³¹

Epilogue

Marpurg died on May 22, 1795—probably of consumption, according to Gerber—in Berlin and is buried in an unmarked grave in one of the cemeteries at the Hallesches Tor in Berlin.¹³² His death brought to a close one of the most consequential creators and promoters of the discipline of music theory from the eighteenth century. I have tried to sketch in this chapter the multi-faceted life of Marpurg and his many contributions to the history of music theory.

¹³¹ For Gerber's account, see Gerber, *Neues Lexikon*, III: K–R:332–33. This manuscript, titled *Abhandlung über die Orgel*, is now held at the library of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna.

¹³² *Ibid.*, III: K–R:331; Hans-Jürgen Mende, *Lexikon Berliner Grabstätten* (Berlin: Haude & Spener, 2006), 128.

Whether as a propagandist for the music theories of Rameau in Germany, a promoter of equal temperament, or his own arguments for generating and organizing chords, he showed a keen theoretical instinct and knowledge on a wide array of topics. I believe, however, that even more important than his own theoretical ideas was his work in music-journalism. Through his many journalistic activities, it is not overstating the case to argue that he created a public sphere for music theory that did not exist before. Thanks to his efforts, music theory emerged in Berlin as a lively topic of public discourse that could be treated and explained in the most progressive and rationalized language of the Enlightenment. Through his generous support and advocacy, many other musicians were inspired and encouraged to contribute to the growing body of literature on music theory in the German language, thereby expanding this public sphere even more. If indeed there is a true father of music theory in Germany, I would argue that it was this “*Critische Musicus an der Spree*.”

Table 2.1 List of Extant Letters to and from Marpurg¹³³

Date	Place	Sender/Recipient	Current Location
Sep. 04, 1756	Berlin	Marpurg/Unidentified	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; Slg. Darmstaedter 2r 1745: Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm, Blatt 1
Aug. 10, 1757	Berlin	Marpurg/Breitkopf und Härtel	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; Mus. Slg. Härtel 186
Aug. 18. 1757	Berlin	Marpurg/Unidentified	Bibliothèque nationale de France; ark:/12148/cb39817538z
Apr. 01, 1758	Berlin	Marpurg/Breitkopf und Härtel	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; Mus. Slg. Härtel 187
Sep. 30, 1758	Berlin	Marpurg/Unidentified	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; Mus.ep. Marpurg, F. W. 1
Apr. 17. 1761	Berlin	Marpurg/Unidentified	Bibliothèque nationale de France; ark:/12148/cb39817537m

¹³³ Many of Marpurg’s letters that are mentioned in pre-war publications, particularly those written to Breitkopf, have been missing since World War II.

(Table 2.1 continued)

May. 08, 1761	Berlin	Marpurg/Unidentified	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; Mus.ep. Marpur, F. W. 2
May. 16, 1767	Berlin	Marpurg/Unidentified	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; Mus.ep. Marpur, F. W. 3
Nov. 16, 1773	Berlin	Marpurg/Lambert	Basel UB; UBH L Ia 710:Bl.70
Feb. 21, 1775	Berlin	Lambert/Marpurg	Basel UB; UBH L Ia 706:Bl.411-412
Jun. 20, 1779	Berlin	Marpurg/Unidentified	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; N.Mus.ep. 3470
Dec. 11, 1787	Berlin	Marpurg/Unidentified	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; Mus.ep. Marpur, F. W. 4
Feb. 18, 1788	Berlin	Marpurg/Unidentified	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; Mus.ep. Marpur, F. W. 5
Mar. 03, 1790	Berlin	Marpurg/Unidentified	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; Mus.ep. Marpur, F. W. 6
Jun. 15, 1790	Berlin	Marpurg/Forkel	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky; LA : Marpur, Friedrich Wilhelm : 1
Apr. 16, 1792	Berlin	Marpurg/Nicolai	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; Mus.ep. Marpur, F. W. 7
Jul. 11, 1793	Berlin	Marpurg/Unidentified	Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Leipzig; A/4039/2005

Chapter 3 - The Forging of a German Musical Identity

Introduction

As Germans became increasingly self-conscious of their identity as a people in the course of the eighteenth century, defining just what this identity meant became a concern across its politically fragmented lands. This concern was manifested in various ways, for instance, by establishing German as a viable language of scholarship (often with certain authors having to coin new German words to replace their Latin or French equivalents). While Germany's political fragmentation inevitably resulted in many disadvantages for German intellectuals of the time, there were two inadvertent advantages: first, the struggle for nation-building among Germans contributed to a heightened sense of unity among German-speaking people (*Volk*) across these lands; and second, a fragmented Germany resulted in multiple decentralized hubs for publication and dissemination of scholarship.

Long under the shadow of Latin and French, German finally emerged as a bona fide literary language in the course of the eighteenth century.¹ Thanks to efforts by leading champions such as Leibnitz, Christian Wolff (1679–1754), Gottsched, Lessing, and later Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), publications in German proliferated across all disciplines towards the end of the eighteenth century, ranging from poetry to philosophy, from medicine to music theory.

In music, this concern for national identity is reflected mainly in a palpable anxiety to distinguish German music against the two main national styles of the time in Europe: Italian and

¹ For an account of this emergence, see Eric A. Blackall, *The Emergence of German as a Literary Language, 1770-1775*, 2nd Edition, 1978 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959).

French. This anxiety resulted in countless debates that flourished within newly established forums of the public sphere, particularly that of the press. As the capital of Prussia and the most important center of music journalism in Germany in the middle of the century, Berlin was a natural place for these concerns to be aired. But these nationalist sentiments were shared by many outside of Berlin. We only need recall that the tastes of Friedrich for the Italian opera series of Graun and Hasse and his penchant for French literature and philosophy were a notable counter force to the progressive voices agitating for German music and culture.² We will see in this chapter, then, how the music scene in Berlin was marked by a number of contradictory forces pitting Italian opera and Friedrich's Francophilia against musicians striving to find a more specifically German way suited to their temperament and language.

Long before Herder, Berlin-based authors such as Marpurg and Krause were already arguing that different peoples possess their own native musical tastes that are suited to their temperament. Thus, amidst the noisy debates then going on in Paris over the respective merits of French and Italian opera, many Berlin critics were seeking a third path for German music famously characterized by Quantz as "the mixed style" (*vermischter Geschmack*). (Even though, as shall be seen, the notion of mixed style has a longer history than Quantz.) For Quantz, German musicians were not required to take sides in the French *Querelle*, as they were free to take the best from both sides in forging their own indigenous style of music. We will hear later in this chapter about the development of two indigenous German musical genres theorized (and tested) by these Berlin critics that might well be seen as fulfilling Quantz's prescription. The first of

² As discussed in Chapter 1, Friedrich's Francophilia did not translate into any love for French music, as he continued to enjoy Italianate operas by Graun and Hasse over other music.

these was a vernacular genre of German opera called the Singspiel, and the second, a national school of German Lieder that enjoyed particular popularity in the Prussian capital.

Yet despite Quantz's hope that he may well have found a middle way for German musicians of his day, there was never any unanimity among Berlin critics as to exactly what this middle way sounded like. Over the last half of the eighteenth century, many musical disputes broke out in Berlin concerning a host of questions regarding musical style, genre, harmonic theory, melody, aesthetics, text setting, and, yes, the respective merits of French and Italian music. While none of these disputes ever attained the ferocity of the French-Italian opera wars, these writings actually had a greater import than we might suspect. I hope to show in what follows how these many musical disputes were not just adolescent spats between wounded musical egos. Rather, by playing out publicly in the Berlin press, they did much of the work that helped to establish a unique German identity in music that was to be fully realized only in the nineteenth century.

Debates on French and Italian music in Germany

The question regarding the respective merits of French and Italian music never ceased to arouse strong opinions and animated debate throughout the eighteenth century. Starting in the late seventeenth century, we already find volleys of publications arguing this question by such authors as François Ragueneau (1660–1722), Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni (1663–1728), Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750), Jean-Laurent Le Cerf de la Viéville (1674–1707), Évrard Titon du Tillet (1677–1762), and Toussaint Rémond de Saint-Mard (1682–1757).³ But

³ It is important to note that these debates almost exclusively dealt with vocal music, especially opera. For a study of these debates in France, see R. James Arnold, *Musical Debate and Political Culture in France, 1700-1830: Discourse and Discord* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2017).

none of their arguments came close to the ferocious debates ignited at mid-century due to the infamous visit to Paris in 1752 by a troupe of traveling Italian musicians. Called the “Bouffons,” the Italian troupe staged performances of a short *intermezzo* composed by Giovanni Battista Pergolesi called *La serva padrona* (1733). It proved wildly popular and sparked a strong counter-reaction by more conservative defenders of French opera who saw Pergolesi’s little *intermezzo*—and indeed Italian music in general—as a threat to their nation’s musical patrimony. The resulting war of pamphlets (dubbed the *Querelle des Bouffons*) eventually drew in the participation of many writers, including Jean-Philippe Rameau, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Denis Diderot, and Jean le Rond d’Alembert as the principal participants.⁴ The argument came to a fiery climax with the publication in 1753 of Rousseau’s essay, *Lettre sur la musique française*, in which he whole-heartedly defended Italian music against French music which he deemed inferior.⁵

In German-speaking lands, the lack of a centralized music culture and an active publishing center meant that the first series of debates on the merits of French and Italian opera received little publicity. The only way a German reader might have learned about these early debates was through Mattheson’s translation of Ragueneau’s *Parallèle des Italiens et des Français en ce que regarde la musique et les operas*, which was published in 1722.⁶ In Berlin, the first publication that weighed in on the polemic appeared in 1748, when Christian Gottfried Krause

⁴ For more on the *Querelle*, see David Charlton, “New Light on the Bouffons in Paris (1752–1754),” *Eighteenth-Century Music* 11, no. 1 (March 2014): 31–54; Cynthia Verba, *Music and the French Enlightenment: Rameau and the Philosophes in Dialogue*, Second Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 1–24.

⁵ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Lettre sur la musique française*, 1753. English translation in Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Essay on the Origin of Languages and Writings Related to Music*, trans. John T. Scott, The Collected Writings of Rousseau 7 (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1998), 141–74. Rousseau softened his views later in his life, notably after attending a rehearsal of Gluck’s *Iphigénie en Aulide* in 1774, which led him to have a change of heart concerning French music and its capabilities.

⁶ Johann Mattheson, *Critica musica*, vol. I: 1722-23 (Hamburg: Mattheson, 1722), 91–184.

(1717–1770), then secretary to Count Rothenburg, penned an essay anonymously in French titled: *Lettre à M. le marquis de B.*** sur la différence entre la musique italienne et françoise.*⁷

In his essay, Krause seems to anticipate Quantz’s description of a “mixed taste” by enumerating arguments in favor of both French and Italian music. He mentions with approval the opinion put forth a few decades earlier by Seigneur de Saint-Evremond, who claimed that French music touches the heart, whereas Italian music only amazes the listener.⁸ But Krause also cites with apparent approval the mix of styles in two arias by Carl Heinrich Graun (1704–1759) from his *Cinna* and *Le feste galanti*. Declaring that everything in the arias is natural, Krause also claims that the style of the melody is French, but not that of the whole aria.⁹

Krause goes on to observe that Germans do not have a style of their own in music but seem to borrow from both traditions; Handel and Telemann come closest to the French, while Hasse and Graun come closest to the Italians.¹⁰ National styles, he seems to say, are available to

⁷ I have not been able to examine a copy of the original French essay, published before the *Querelle*, which only seems to exist in libraries in Brussels, Vienna, and Venice. Here, I use the German translation published in the very first issue of Marpurg’s *HKB* in 1754, after the *Querelle*. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, vol. I: 1754-55 (Berlin: J. J. Schützens Witwe, 1754), 1–46. In his published translation of Krause’s letter in 1754, Marpurg identified its author as the same one for the treatise *Von der musikalischen Poesie* (1752), which was published under Krause’s name.

⁸ Charles de Marguetel de Saint-Denis, Seigneur de Saint-Évremond (1614–1703), was a French man of letters who spent many years of his life in England. Like many of his contemporary intellectuals, he generally disliked opera as a genre, except for Lully’s operas. In his essays, he favored French style over Italian style in music.

⁹ “Sie warden, mein Herr, sich der Arie *il mio caro vincitore* aus den *feste galanti*, und der *se sapessi il mio dolore* aus der Oper *Cinna* erinnern. Alles ist darinnen natürlich; Die Art der Melodie ist nach französischer Art eingerichtet. Man kann aber nicht sagen, daß die ganze Arie es sey; . . .” Marpurg, *HKB*, 1754, I: 1754-55:19.

¹⁰ “Die Deutschen haben keinen ihnen eigenen Geschmack in der Musik. Aber unser Händel und Telemann kommen wenigstens den Franzosen, und Hasse und Graun den Italiänern bey.” *Ibid.*, I: 1754-55:22. This is a point made by Carl Dahlhaus. Unlike the nineteenth century when national styles were considered to be more organically rooted in the culture, language, and even blood of a composer, before that time musical styles were merely a choice. Hence, we could have an Italian composer born in Italy like Lully becoming the icon of French opera, while German composers like Handel and Graun could write some of the most popular and convincing *opera serias* in the Italian manner. See Carl Dahlhaus, ed., *Die Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft 5 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1985), 19. In his 1728 article censuring the opera, Gottsched already notes that Telemann is a composer who can write sometimes in French, sometimes in Italian, and oftentimes in a mixed fashion. Interesting to note here is Gottsched’s use of the term “mixed fashion,” in reference to the mixing of Italian and French styles, already in 1728. “Sonderlich höre ich von dem obgedachten Hrn. Telemann rühmen, daß er sich nach dem

any composer who might choose to adopt them. He further argues that, due to the melancholic temperament of Germans and the fact that they do not sing and dance as much as the French, Italian music is more popular in Germany than French music. In conclusion, rather than trying to resolve the debate, he argues that the best music is that which comes closest to the human voice. He further suggests that no other composer comes closer to this objective, than those at the court of Friedrich.¹¹

Meanwhile, the *Querelle* had erupted in Paris, and news of this cultural war had begun to reach Marpurg (and the readers of his journals) in Berlin.¹² In his 1754 translation of Krause's *Lettre*, Marpurg appended thirty-three comments to the essay, making it clear that he does not share Krause's views, particularly with respect to German music. The new German style, he tells us, is not just a rehash of Italian idioms, but its own original musical language.¹³ Marpurg even goes so far as to challenge any proponent of Italian music to find examples of contemporaneous "original" Italian composers who had not been inspired by the works of Graun, Hasse, Telemann, or Handel.¹⁴

Geschmacke aller Liebhaber zu richten weiß. Er folgt zuweilen der Welschen, zuweilen der Französischen, oftmahls auch einer **vermischten Art** [emphasis mine] im Setzen seiner Stücke." [Johann Christoph] [Gottsched], "Fünff und achtzigstes Blatt," *Der Biedermann* 2 (December 20, 1728): 140.

¹¹ "... ist nichts vortreflicher als die menschliche Stimme, und ist diejenige Musik die beste, die dieser am ähnlichsten kommt: So giebt es keine Tonkünstler, die diese Regeln besser und mit mehrerm Erfolge beobachten, als die Musici des Königs." Marpurg, *HKB*, 1754, I: 1754-55:23.

¹² Marpurg may have heard of the *Querelle*, due to his contacts in Paris, as he reviewed or translated some of the major writings that pertained to the debate, including Rousseau's *Lettre*.

¹³ "...bey uns itzo blühenden neuen deutschen Geschmack, der niemals von der Welt in Italien existiert hat, und welcher sein Daseyn bloß den Deutschen zu danken hat." Marpurg, *HKB*, 1754, I: 1754-55:25. He repeats this assertion in note 15. *Ibid.*, I: 1754-55:36–38.

¹⁴ "...wer der heutigen Musik in Welschland über die heutige in Frankreich den Vorzug geben wollte, der müßte, meines Erachtens, original welsche Exempel dazu wählen, und diese nicht einmahl von solchen Italiänern, die entweder schon einige Zeit in Deutschland gewesen, oder sich in Italien aus den Werken eines Graun, Hasse, Telemann oder Händel den Geschmack schon gebildet haben." Marpurg, *HKB*, 1754, I: 1754-55:37.

In 1752, Krause published a major treatise on music and aesthetics, *Von der musikalischen Poesie*, which developed many of the ideas he first laid out in his 1748 essay. (Based on his extant correspondence with leading intellectuals of the time, it seems that the work had been circulating in manuscript from at least 1747.)¹⁵ In this work, Krause once again returns to the topic of national styles that he had written about in his 1748 article, claiming that Germans prefer Italian music over French music. At the same time, though, he asserts that Germans are mistaken in following the Italian style, which, he claims, is as corrupt in poetry as in music.¹⁶ Krause rails against the prevalent idea that the German language is not suitable for operas, suggesting that the paucity of German operas could be due to the lack of good German poetry. Arguing that rhymes are for readers, not listeners, of opera arias, he suggests librettists dispense with setting rhymes, in order to allow composers more freedom.¹⁷

It was not just Krause who worried about the respective merits of French and Italian opera in relation to German composers. The topic also came up in a fascinating series of letters exchanged between Carl Heinrich Graun and Telemann in 1751. Here the dominant question was that of the recitative. Graun, a staunch proponent and advocate of Italianate music, found French recitatives unnatural. When asked for proof from Telemann, Graun cited several recitatives from Rameau's opera *Castor et Pollux*, criticizing various aspects of them, including the constantly changing meters. No wonder, Graun concluded, that French recitatives are not liked anywhere in

¹⁵ For a commentary and English translation of the treatise, see James Harry Mallard, "A Translation of Christian Gottfried Krause's *Von Der Musikalischen Poesie*: With a Critical Essay on His Sources and the Aesthetic Views of His Time" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1978). For a brief sketch of its genesis, see pages 16–27. A selection of Krause's correspondence can be found in Darrell M. Berg, *The Correspondence of Christian Gottfried Krause: A Music Lover in the Age of Sensibility* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009).

¹⁶ "Ueberhaupt thäten wir Deutschen nicht wohl, dem italiänischen Geschmacke zu folgen, der in der Musik eben so verdorben sey, als in der Poesie." Christian Gottfried Krause, *Von der musikalischen Poesie* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voß, 1752), 380.

¹⁷ See, for example, his discussions on pages. 229–30, and 320–21.

the world!¹⁸ In response, Telemann counters Graun by claiming that he knows Germans, Englishmen, Russians, Poles, and even some Jews who sing entire scenes from Lully's operas from memory.¹⁹

Thunderbolt in Berlin: The First Musical Debates in the Prussian Capital

As discussed in the previous chapter, we can arguably mark the beginning of the vigorous music theory activities in Berlin with the publication of Marpurg's first periodicals. Over his long musical career in Berlin, Marpurg used these journals to foster an animated public sphere in which he and other musicians from across Germany would participate in debates on various musical matters, starting already in its very first issue. Although these debates did not always bear favorable results for some individuals (such as Sorge and Moldenit, who came under vicious attacks by Marpurg and his colleagues), they nevertheless precipitated an array of publications that became critical to German music theory in the eighteenth century. As we shall soon see, in many cases these debates became so heated that they lingered on for years and even decades. In his periodicals, Marpurg staged many debates in the form of exchanges of letters between prominent musicians, a feature that was to become a staple of future music journalism in general.

Marpurg's first musical publication—*Der Critische Musicus an der Spree (CMS)*—proved to be controversial starting already after the first issue in March 1749. Johann Friedrich Agricola, hiding behind the pseudonym “Flavio Anicio Olibrio” wrote two letters criticizing

¹⁸ Letter dated November 9, 1751. Georg Philipp Telemann, *Briefwechsel: Sämtliche erreichbare Briefe von und an Telemann*, ed. Hans Grosse and Hans Rudolf Jung, 1. Aufl. (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag f. Musik, VEB, 1972), 276–78.

¹⁹ “Zum wenigstens habe ich Deutsche, Engländer, Russen, Palacken etc. auch ein Par Juden gekannt, die mir ganze Auftritte aus dem *Alys*, *Bellerphon* etc., auswendig vorgesungen.” Letter dated December 15, 1751. *Ibid.*, 280–83.

Marpurg's arguments in the *CMS*, which in turn generated a series of retorts by Marpurg. As Hans-Günther Ottenberg describes it, this controversy initiated the tradition of music critical writings in Berlin like a drumroll ("wie ein Paukenschlag").²⁰ The exchange between Agricola and Marpurg took such an acrimonious turn that it spurred several more theorists from across Germany to get involved as well. Eventually, musicians such as Finazzi (Hamburg), Pisendel (Dresden), Telemann (Hamburg), Graun (Berlin), and Scheibe (Copenhagen) all actively followed or participated in these debates. Table 3.1 shows a timeline of this controversy:

Table 3.1 Timeline of the controversy on French/Italian music initiated by Marpurg and Agricola

Date	Author	Source
March 4, 1749	"Critischer Musicus an der Spree" (Marpurg)	<i>Der critische Musicus an der Spree (CMS)</i> , Erstes Stück, 1–8
March 11, 1749	"Flavio Anicio Olibrio" (Agricola)	<i>Schreiben eines reisenden Liebhabers der Musik von der Tyber, an den critischen Musikus an der Spree.</i>
March 25, 1749	"Critischer Musicus an der Spree" (Marpurg)	<i>Der critische Musicus an der Spree (CMS)</i> , Viertes Stück, 25–32
April 1, 1749	"Critischer Musicus an der Spree" (Marpurg)	<i>Der critische Musicus an der Spree (CMS)</i> , Fünftes Stück, 33–38
April 15, 1749	"Critischer Musicus an der Spree" (Marpurg)	<i>Der critische Musicus an der Spree (CMS)</i> , Siebendes Stück, 49–54
April 22, 1749	"Critischer Musicus an der Spree" (Marpurg)	<i>Der critische Musicus an der Spree (CMS)</i> , Achtes Stück, 59–65
July 6, 1749	"Flavio Anicio Olibrio" (Agricola)	<i>Schreiben an Herrn = = = in welchem Flavio Anicio Olibrio, sein Schreiben an den critischen Musikus an der Spree vertheidiget, und auf dessen Wiederlegung antwortet.</i>
April 23, 1750	Der Verfasser (Finazzi)	"Hamburg" <i>Freye Urtheile und Nachrichten zum Aufnehmen der Wissenschaften und der Historie überhaupt.</i> XXXVII Stück, 12 May, 1750, 289–295
August 28, 1750	A (Scheibe)	<i>Sendschreiben an die Herren Verfasser der freyen Urtheile in Hamburg, das Schreiben an den Herrn Verfasser des kritischen Musikus an der Spree betreffend</i>
Late November/December 1750	Pisendel	Letter to Georg Philipp Telemann [Telemann, <i>Briefwechsel: Sämtliche erreichbare Briefe von und an Telemann</i> , ed. Hans Grosse and Hans Rudolf Jung, 1. Aufl. (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag f. Musik, VEB, 1972), 352–56]

²⁰ Hans-Günther Ottenberg, *Der Critische Musicus an der Spree: Berliner Musikschritftum von 1748 bis 1799: eine Dokumentation* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1984), 8.

(Table 3.1 continued)

1751	(Pisendel? Telemann?)	<i>Gedanken über die welschen Tonkünstler: zur Beantwortung des im sieben und dreißigsten Stücke der hamburgischen freyen Urtheile befindlichen Schreibens an den Herrn Verfasser des kritischen Musikus an der Spree.</i>
February 26, 1752	No name (Agricola)	<i>Schreiben an die Herren Verfasser der freyen Urteile</i>

Marpurg led off his first issue by weighing in on the relative merits of Italian versus French music. One of his concerns was the extent to which composers from each nation utilized their liberty and imagination in their music. Not surprisingly, Marpurg takes a position defending the French. He claims he approves of any music that is truly beautiful, even if comes from the land of the “sable-hunters” (“Zobelfänger”)! But Marpurg is quick to censure Italians with a long list of comments designed to show that they have lost their path, including that Italians “part with the true (way of composition) and allow their fantasy too much liberty.”²¹

Agricola’s first response was published as a pamphlet signed March 11, 1749, just one week after the first issue of *CMS* was out. Alluding to Marpurg’s chosen pseudonym of “the musical critic on the Spree,” Agricola called himself “a traveling connoisseur of music from the Tiber” (*einer reisende Liebhaber der Musik von der Tyber*). Agricola’s Italian name and the reference to the Italian Tiber River was obviously a cue to readers that “Flavio Anicio Olibrio” would be defending Italian music from the barbs thrown by Marpurg.²²

²¹ “Ich billige alles, was wahrhaftig schön ist, wenn es auch aus dem Lande der Zobelfänger herstammt. Daß ich aber nicht bekennen sollte, daß die meisten Italiäner das wahre verlassen, daß sie ihrer Einbildung zuviele Freyheit erlauben, daß sie sich gar zu oft vergessen, und ein dunckles Nichts schreiben, . . .” Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Der critische Musicus an der Spree, erster Band* (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1750), 2.

²² Flavio Anicio Olibrio [Agricola], *Schreiben eines reisenden Liebhabers der Musik von der Tyber, an den critischen Musikus an der Spree* ([Berlin], 1749); Flavio Anicio Olibrio [Agricola], *Schreiben an Herrn === in welchem Flavio Anicio Olibrio, sein Schreiben an den critischen Musikus an der Spree vertheidiget, und auf dessen Wiederlegung antwortet* ([Berlin], 1749). Agricola’s choice of “Flavio Anicio Olibrio” must have been inspired by the libretto of the same name written in 1707 by Apostolo Zeno and Pietro Pariati and set to music by many

Agricola defends Italians by reprimanding the French, for they “incorporate too little imagination in their music and follow Lully slavishly.”²³ Agricola noted that German Singspiele were performed without objection in England, Spain, Portugal, Russia, and even Italy. He then expresses his disapproval with Marpurg for saying that Germans should follow the French, for, as Agricola claims, the French were only interested in their own language.²⁴

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Marpurg’s ultimate goal was to see German music elevated in status, mainly by imitating the French, but also by bringing out their own indigenous forms. For example, Marpurg claimed that by following his guidelines for writing operas in German, all unjustified prejudices against the suitability of the German language would quickly dissipate. As one example, he calls for the elimination of arpeggios and large leaps in the voice, the effects of which he likened to caprioling tightrope walkers!²⁵ (Presumably, Marpurg is referring to the widely shared perception that Italian bravura music used more disjunct movement than French music.) Mocking Marpurg and his metaphors, Agricola writes that he had never heard of caprioling tightrope walkers, even less so that one can hear caprioles by ear or see sung leaps with the eyes, comments that later make Marpurg question Agricola’s understanding

composers, which is a free and somewhat imaginary adaptation of the life of the Roman emperor Flavius Anicius Olybrius (d. 472). (Despite the appearances, Flavius did not stem from the Flavian dynasty.) I thank my colleague Patrick Fitzgibbon for pointing to the origin of Agricola’s choice of his pseudonym.

²³ “...die meisten Italiäner das wahre verlassen,...ihrer Einbildung zuviele Freyheit erlauben...” Marpurg, *CMS*, 2. “die meisten Französischen Setzer, so lange sie nicht die Ausländer ausschreiben, ihrer Einbildung in der Musik allzuwenig Freyheit erlauben, dem Lully aber gar zu sclavisch folgen,...” Olibrio [Agricola], *Schreiben eines reisenden*, 4.

²⁴ “In England, in Spanien, in Portugal, in Rußland, ja in Italien selbst, hätte man bey sogestalten Sachen, die Singspiele deutscher Componisten beständig ohne Hinderniß und Bedenken aufführen können. Allein der critische Musikus an der Spree mißgönnet seinen Landesleuten diese Ehre. Sie sollen **denen franzosen nachfolgen**, welche keine andere Sprache vor schön halten als ihre eigene.” Olibrio [Agricola], *Schreiben eines reisenden*, 6.

²⁵ “. . . man lasse nicht die Stimmen arpeggiren, und schaffe die ungeheuren Sprünge ab, bey deren Anhörung sich mancher einbilden mögte, als ob er sich in einer cabriolinenden Seiltänzerbude befände; . . .” Marpurg, *CMS*, 4.

of figures of speech.²⁶ In the end, Agricola writes that in his country, “those who understand music talk just like other civilized people talk, and those who understand music also understand its expression.”²⁷

Marpurg responded to Agricola over four consecutive issues (fourth issue dated March 25, to eighth issue dated April 22, 1749) of the *CMS*. He complains that Olibrio’s attack on him is an attack on all sensible lovers of music who possess a “purified taste!”²⁸ He further casts doubt on Olibrio being an Italian, and—playing on the German word *Welsch* (Italian)—calls Olibrio “the gibberish musician” (“*Der kauderwelsche Musicum*”). Responding to Agricola’s qualms about the unsuitability of the German language for operas, Marpurg gives an aria text in German, challenging Agricola to translate it into Italian, concluding that “prejudice toward a foreign language does not prove any drawback to the German language.”²⁹

In the eighteenth issue (July 1, 1749), Marpurg published an Alexandrine poem by an unidentified poet on “the rational rules for the peculiar enjoyment of poetry and music.”³⁰ As the title suggests, the poem talks about rules pertaining to music and poetry and argues for the importance of deducing these rules internally from the works of art, rather than imposing external rules a priori. A few years later, the poem reappeared as a “Fragment” titled “An den Herrn Marpurg” gathered in a collection of works by none other than Gotthold Ephraim Lessing,

²⁶ For Agricola’s response, see Olibrio [Agricola], *Schreiben eines reisenden*, 7. Marpurg replied: “. . . Ich frage ihn nur, ob ihm die figürlichen Ausdrücke und Redensarten so gar unbekandt sind, und ob er in keinem Dichter von singenden Wäldern, gelesen, oder sonst von keinem spielenden Orchestre gehöret hat.” Marpurg, *CMS*, 62.

²⁷ “In meinem Lande reden die Musikverständigen eben so wie andere gesittete Menschen reden; und wer die Musik verstehet, der verstehet auch ihren Ausdruck.” Olibrio [Agricola], *Schreiben eines reisenden*, 7.

²⁸ “Sie greiffen nicht so wohl mich, als alle vernünftigen Liebhaber eines gereinigten Geschmacks an.” Marpurg, *CMS*, 26.

²⁹ “Die Vorurtheile für eine fremde Sprache erweisen nicht die Unbequemlichkeit der deutschen.” *Ibid.*, 53–54.

³⁰ “Über die Regeln in den Wissenschaften zum Vergnügen und besonders der Dicht[-] und Thonkunst”

who was friends with Marpurg (and most probably Agricola as well).³¹ Lessing and Agricola must have known each other well from the Montagsklub (see Chapter 1). Soon thereafter, Lessing wrote a libretto for a farcical opera (“Poßenoper”) titled *Tarantula*.³² In his opera libretto, Lessing refers to the Marpurg-Agricola dispute, and clearly takes Marpurg’s side. Lest anyone doubt whose side he was on, Lessing named the main character of his libretto “Olibrio, a stupid musician” (“Olibrio, ein närrischer Musicus”).

Agricola penned another pamphlet in reply to Marpurg, this time directing his lengthy response to an anonymous musician while addressing Marpurg in the third person. The second rejoinder, signed July 6, 1749, was particularly bitter in tone, consisting of fifty one pages that take aim at a number of individual musicians. He begins, naturally, with Marpurg, ridiculing the complete contents of the *CMS*. He finds Marpurg unsuitable for teaching even the merest fundamentals of music, since he saw Marpurg as a critic and not a true musician. Agricola then turns his guns on Krause, whose *Lettre* he criticizes for saying that the Germans have no style of their own in music. Agricola responds that Germans should take it as a badge of honor that their composers show such versatility in using and mixing different tastes and styles, and thereby contributing to the perfection of the good taste.³³ After criticizing works by Leclair (*Fourth volume of Violin Sonatas Op. 9*) and Rameau (*Castor et Pollux*), Agricola turns back to Marpurg and his only published keyboard compositions up to that point: his *Pièces de Clavecin*, published

³¹ Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *G. E. Lessings Schriften, Erster Theil* (Berlin: C.F. Voss, 1753), 273–93.

³² The libretto was not published during Lessing’s lifetime and appeared first in the first volume of his theatrical works posthumously in 1784.

³³ “...glaube ich, daß es keine gemeine Ehre vor die Deutschen ist, wenn man behauptet, daß ihre grossen Componisten bald in dem welschen, bald in dem französischen Geschmack besonders, bald durch geschickte Vermischung des einen mit dem andern, Meisterstücke machen; daß sie es hierinne den Ausländern selbst zuvor thun, wie ihre Wercke zu Gnüge ausweisten; und daß sie allem Ansehen nach, dazu bestimmt sind, das Gute der Musik der andern Nationen in sich zu vereinigen, und dadurch den guten Geschmack vollkommen zu machen.” Olibrio [Agricola], *Schreiben an Herrn* ===, 9.

in Paris. Agricola censures many aspects of the young Marpurg's work, presumably still unaware of his interlocutor's identity. He draws the following tongue-in-cheek conclusion: ". . . I surely hope that this work [Marpurg's *Pièces*] does not get into the hands of a heartless critic. Otherwise, the good Mr. Marpourg [sic. as printed on the publication] can expect a sound thrashing with the critic's rod."³⁴

Overall, the arguments between Marpurg and Agricola seem often to have been much ado about nothing, with the two theorists quibbling over such minutiae as which words are harder to pronounce in Italian or German, and over the exact words they used which their interlocutor misunderstood, and so on. More than three years later, Agricola referred back to the debate with Marpurg in a letter to Telemann. There, Agricola assured his colleague that he was an earnest German, keen to defend the reputation of his fatherland. He had no choice but to hide behind an Italian mask (his pseudonym) for certain reasons (that he does not explain).³⁵

Marpurg eventually stopped replying to Agricola in his *CMS*, even as he continued to defend French music and to criticize the continued mania for Italian music. Yet the debate still continued to reverberate in the German public sphere. On May 12, 1750, in one of the learned newspapers in Hamburg, a letter was published addressed to "the music critic on the Spree" and signed by an anonymous author who claimed to live in Neustadt.³⁶ Despite his attempt at

³⁴ "Ich wünsche im übrigen, daß dieses Werck nicht etwan einem unbarmhertzigen Kunstrichter in die Hände fallen möge. Denn sonst würde der gute Herr Marpourg gewiß noch derbe Streiche mit der critischen Ruthe zu erwarten haben." Ibid., 27.

³⁵ "Ich habe die Ehre Ew. HochEdelgebohren zu versichern, daß unter der, damals aus gewissen Ursachen angelegten welschen Larve, ein, für die Ehre seines Vaterlandes eifriger, ehrlicher Deutscher verborgen gesteckt hat." Letter from Agricola to Telemann, dated November 18, 1752, Telemann, *Briefwechsel*, 367.

³⁶ *Freye Urtheile und Nachrichten zum Aufnehmen der Wissenschaften und Historie überhaupt*. XXXVII Stück. (Hamburg, May 12, 1750), 289–95. There are many towns in Germany with that name, and the author does not specify which Neustadt he is referring to. But given the context and the probability that the letter was written by Finazzi, it points to Neustadt in Hamburg as the probable place the author was referring to.

anonymity, the author's identity was soon revealed to be the Italian castrato Filippo Finazzi (1705–1776) who had converted to Protestantism and lived in Hamburg from 1746 until his death.

Blaming his late response on his geographical isolation, Finazzi sarcastically praises Marpurg for his cleverness in criticizing Italians in a language that they cannot read (German)! Finazzi goes on to defend Italian music and lists several prominent Italian musicians whom he encourages Marpurg to get to know, names such as Giacomo Perti, Antonio Lotti, Giovanni Paolo Colonna, and Nicola Porpora. But the greatest of them all, Finazzi goes on to say, was Padre Martini, whom he calls “the grandfather of music” (“der Großvater in der Musik”). Recommending Martini's 12 keyboard sonatas published in Amsterdam (most probably the *12 Sonate d'intavolatura per l'organo e 'l cembalo*, 1742), Finazzi challenges Marpurg to find anyone in Germany who could have come up with a better composition.

In less than fourth months, Finazzi's defense of Italian music received an extended and vehement pushback from another pseudonymous author who signed his writing with the letter A. In this pamphlet, published in Berlin as *Sendschreiben an die Herren Verfasser der freyen Urtheile in Hamburg*, bearing the date August 28, 1750, the author claims that he was induced to defend Marpurg's positions due to “the truth and the love for our nation.”³⁷ As discussed in the letter below, this piece was written by Scheibe, with the letter A most probably referring to one of his pseudonyms “Alfonso.”³⁸

³⁷ “...die Wahrheit und die Liebe für unsere Nation haben mich zu dieser Vertheidigung bewogen,...” [Johann Adolph] A [Scheibe], *Sendschreiben an die Herren Verfasser der freyen Urtheile in Hamburg, das Schreiben an den Herrn Verfasser des kritischen Musikus an der Spree betreffend* (Berlin, 1750), 3–4.

³⁸ See Kai Köpp, *Johann Georg Pisendel (1687-1755) und die Anfänge der neuzeitlichen Orchesterleitung* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2005), 202–3. Köpp makes several useful observations, but, unfortunately, he often makes mistakes about historical facts which render many of his conclusions erroneous (e.g., the claim that Krause stopped working

Scheibe seemed well aware of the identity of his adversary, as he identifies him as an Italian castrato who is “no longer suited for the singing stage, and who enjoys the support of wealthy Germans who are unreasonably infatuated with the so-called Italian style.”³⁹ Scheibe is referring here to the fact that Finazzi’s last known stage appearance dated back to February 1746, and that he had had an accident in which he broke both legs and was therefore cared for by his housekeeper (and later wife), a local blacksmith's widow.⁴⁰ Moreover, Scheibe was also aware of Marpurg’s identity, as he names him several times. In defending Marpurg, Scheibe quips that the critic on the Spree never questioned the value of Italian music in general, but only against instances of what Scheibe calls “amateurish compositions” (“stümperhaften Aufsätzen”).

Responding to Finazzi’s naming of Italians whose music he deemed worthy of Marpurg’s attention, Scheibe counters with the names of several German composers, including Stölzel, Bach, Telemann, Handel, Fux, and Graun whom he believes surpass all the Italian composers. Scheibe ridicules Finazzi’s characterization of Padre Martini as the grandfather of music, pointing out the fact that he was only 45 at the time and that his keyboard music did not hold a candle to that of Bach and Handel. (Scheibe counts only Benedetto Marcello and Francesco Araja as Italian composers worth mentioning.) In his conclusion, Scheibe sets out his most

for Count Rothenburg and Marpurg replaced him, therefore Köpp’s claim about Krause being a co-author for *CMS* is false; Moreover, Krause was not the only person publishing music books between 1750 and 1753, Marpurg also published his *Die Kunst das Clavier zu spielen* in 1751.) Elsewhere, Köpp hypothesizes that the retired Scheibe may have been traveling around Germany after 1748 and may, indeed, have been in Berlin during August 1750 when he penned this reply. Kai Köpp, “Johann Adolph Scheibe als Verfasser zweier anonymer Bach-Dokumente,” *Bach-Jahrbuch* 89 (2003): 182.

³⁹ “Er ist ein Kastrate, der sich auf die Singebühne nicht mehr schickt, und der die Unterstützung vermögender Deutschen genießet, die ohne Grund in den sogenannten italienischen Geschmack verliebt sind,…” A [Scheibe], *Sendschreiben an die Herren Verfasser der freyen Urtheile*, 4.

⁴⁰ See James L. Jackman, “Finazzi, Filippo,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (New York: Macmillan, 2001), 819. It is not clear from the sources when Finazzi had the accident. Thus, it could be that Scheibe was merely referring to his retirement from stage appearance and the support he received from wealthy German patrons.

acrimonious charges against Italian music: “their symphonies and arias are partly stolen goods; they make an unnatural noise, without melody and harmony, composed without thought and contemplation.”⁴¹ Beyond Scheibe’s obvious irritation with Finazzi’s letter, there seems to lie his deeper frustration that so many famous German composers continued to write their operas in Italian, a complaint that would become increasingly heard in Germany over the course of the eighteenth century.

Not long thereafter, Pisendel—who seems to have been following the Berlin music theory scene closely—sent the writings by Finazzi and Scheibe to Telemann, expressing his anger at Finazzi along with his disappointment in Scheibe’s reply.⁴² Pisendel calls Finazzi a very mediocre musician mocked by his own countrymen. At the same time, in what seems more like a flattering gesture towards Telemann, he chides Scheibe for not giving the Hamburg-based composer more credit than he does. By this time, though, the debate had veered off its original path, such that Graun, in a letter to Telemann, dismissed the whole dispute as a mere “musical spat” (“musikalische Zänkerey”) between Finazzi and Scheibe, without mentioning Agricola and Marburg.⁴³

Yet another response to Finazzi, a short pamphlet entitled *Gedanken über die welschen Tonkünstler*, was published anonymously in 1751 in Halberstadt, a work whose authorship has never been ascertained, though some scholars have suggested it could have been Marburg or Scheibe. Based on my reading of the debates and my archival work, I question these attributions

⁴¹ “Ihre Symphonien sind theils gestohlene Waare, so wie die Arien. Jene machen ein unnatürliches Geräusche, ohne Melodie und Harmonie, diese sind ohne Verstand und Nachdenken ausgearbeitet.” A [Scheibe], *Sendschreiben an die Herren Verfasser der freyen Urtheile*, 15.

⁴² The letter does not bare a date, but from the content, it must have been written sometime between late November and late December 1750. Telemann, *Briefwechsel*, 352–56.

⁴³ Letter dated May 1, 1751. *Ibid.*, 274.

and argue for an alternative. In this pamphlet, besides attacking Finazzi, the author seems intent on advocating for French music as well, making attributions to Agricola as the author unlikely.⁴⁴ Based on the above-mentioned letter from Pisendel to Telemann, I would suggest that Pisendel was the likely author.

Whoever he is, the author—who is well aware of Finazzi’s identity, as he mentions him twice by name in the text—chastises Finazzi for not mentioning Mattheson and Telemann in his letter, even though they live in the same city he does. The author also censures Italian composers for not being able to write fugues based on all the rules, and noting that in their music, the melody is not based on “manly harmony” (“männlicher Harmonie”) (a recurrent cliché in German descriptions of Italian music). The only way Italians can learn how to write fugues, he continues, is by learning the rules from a German master.⁴⁵ He then directs his criticism at Finazzi himself, referring to a “lame aria” sung by him and the singer’s sheep’s trill (“Schafstriller”).⁴⁶

⁴⁴ The author quotes two extended passages from a certain French book called “*Cosmopoliten*.” This is a reference to the book *Le Cosmopolite, ou le Citoïen du Monde*, published first in 1750 in the Hague. Written by the French author Louis-Charles Fougere de Monbron (1706–1760), this book was mainly a satire against the French government, but also included various passages about different nations, including about their music. Therefore, the author of the *Gedanken* must have been someone erudite enough to keep abreast of the most recent books and with a good command of French. This makes the attribution to Scheibe unlikely. Kai Köpp, who is the only one who has proposed Scheibe as the author, also argues that the author cannot have been Agricola, as he had already published responses under the pseudonym Olibrio. But his own argument can be used as a counterargument here: Scheibe also signed his criticism of Finazzi with “A[lfonso]” and there does not seem to be a reason why he would not repeat that. Furthermore, the fact that Marpur is named several times in the Scheibe reply, and never in the reply from Halberstadt, makes the attribution of the latter to Scheibe unlikely. For Köpp’s arguments, see Köpp, “Scheibe als Verfasser Bach-Dokumente.”

⁴⁵ *Gedanken über die welschen Tonkünstler: Zur Beantwortung des im sieben und dreißigsten Stücke der hamburgischen freyen Urtheile befindlichen Schreibens an den Herrn Verfasser des kritischen Musikus an der Spree* (Halberstadt: Christian Ernst Immanuel Weldige, 1751), 6.

⁴⁶ “Ich glaube, daß er vor Freuden eine lahme Arie von denen neuesten eines keinem Landesleute weichenden Finazzi mit einem artigen Schafstriller daher gekreißet hat.” *Ibid.*, 6–7.

In a review of the *Gedanken* pamphlet, published in the *Berlinische Nachrichten*, the reviewer takes pleasure in seeing German music being defended:

We are in no way involved in this dispute; however, it pleases us immensely that the honor of the German nation, which can boast of so many great men in music, is saved in a quite noble way in the war against the Italian musicians. Finally, the foreigners, at least the intelligent and impartial ones, will begin to do us Germans justice, also in the art of music.⁴⁷

The last response (as far as I have been able to determine) came from Finazzi again.⁴⁸

This pamphlet, signed February 26, 1752, is an attempt to defend him and Italian music against the heavy criticisms from the German critics. Written as a letter and signed only with “your most obedient servant” (“Dero ergebenster Diener”), the essay’s addressee is unknown. Finazzi first derides Marpurg’s defenders before proceeding with more attacks against German music and the prevalent taste in Germany. He mocks Scheibe for giving everyone “the hope of becoming musicians like himself, who want to recognize him as the origin of all rules, arbitrary cadences, [and] declared and proven dictums.”⁴⁹ He then calls the second defender—presumably the author of *Gedanken*—“a prototype of blasphemy and falsehood.”⁵⁰ Invoking Gluck as a German-born successful composer of Italian music, Finazzi argues that what matters is not the birthplace, but “upbringing and custom” (“Erziehung und Gewohnheit”). Finazzi considers good taste to be the ultimate arbiter in these debates. What differentiates Italian music from German music, Finazzi

⁴⁷ “Wir mischen uns keineswegs in diesen Streit; es gefällt uns aber doch ganz ungemein wohl, daß in dem Kriege wider die Welschen Tonkünstler die Ehre der Deutschen Nation, die mit so vielen grossen Männern in der Music prangen kann, auf eine recht edle Art gerettet wird. Endlich werden doch die Ausländer, wenigstens die klugen und unpartheyischen, einmahl anfangen, uns Deutschen, auch in der Tonkunst, Gerechtigkeit wiederfahren zu lassen.” “Gelehrte Sachen,” *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- Und Gelehrten Sachen*, no. 148 (December 10, 1750): unpaginated.

⁴⁸ *Schreiben an die Herren Verfasser der freyen Urtheile*, 1752.

⁴⁹ “Er gibt allen Hofnung solche Musicanten zu werden, wie er selbst ist, die ihn als den Ursprung aller Regel, der willkürlichen Schlüsse, der erklärten und bewiesenen Machtsprüche erkennen wollen.” *Ibid.*, 5.

⁵⁰ “Der zweete Schriftsteller ist..., ein Urbild der Lästerung und Unwahrheit, welcher Dinge redet, die niemals eine Wahrscheinlichkeit gehabt haben.” *Ibid.* It is also interesting to note that Finazzi also recognized the two defenders of Marpurg as different people (pace Köpp) and neither one as Marpurg.

states, is that the former appeals to the ears due to its beauty. For Germans on the other hand, Finazzi continues, the end goal is not appealing to the listener—which Germans call “itching of the ear” (“Ohrenkützeln”)—but rather unusual movements, noises, unnatural tempo, and arousing surprise and even astonishment.⁵¹

What this long-drawn-out debate actually shows, is that most of the German theorists agree that the German style allows for much more freedom in borrowing various elements from other national styles. Many of the disagreements and points of contention seem to stem from misunderstandings, in part due to the anonymity of the authors, and in part due to the nature of debates in writing that therefore did not allow for immediate response. For the defenders of Italian style (such as Agricola and Finazzi), on the other hand, the problem with German composers is their fixation on learned music and intricate counterpoint (features that Germans proudly endorsed!).

It is important to remember that most German courts at the time were packed with Italian maestri, and the craze for Italianate music must have deeply disturbed those musicians advocating for a German national style to emerge. The hope for most of these musicians seemed to be the recognition of a German style at the same rank as French and Italian styles. And the only way for German musicians to gain such recognition would be through the most prestigious and remunerative genre of music making at mid-century: the opera.

⁵¹ “Ein Teutscher...seinem Zuhörer zu gefallen ist nicht sein Endzweck; denn das nennet man Ohrenkützeln: sondern nur durch ungewöhnliche Sätze, Lärmen, unnatürliche Geschwindigkeit, Verwunderung ja gar Erstaunen zu erregen.” Ibid., 6–7.

The Struggle for the Recognition of German Operas

With respect to matters of German nationalism, no genre was as controversial as opera. The Italian import had become the dominant form of entertainment across the continent (with the notable exception of France, where it continued to face resistance to the end of the century). Italian opera was introduced early on in Germany, with the first opera houses built in the 1650s. As Gloria Flaherty has shown, opera and the early controversies around it “contributed immeasurably to the refinement of German critical genius. In seeking arguments to disprove opera’s opponents, German writers became increasingly aware of certain basic problems in critical theory, practical criticism, and aesthetics.”⁵² However, throughout most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, German operas struggled to emerge from the shadow of Italian opera. Much to the dismay of some German intellectuals of the time, most German composers preferred to compose operas in Italian, knowing that there was a ready market for such works. In Berlin, the task for these intellectuals was particularly difficult. Friedrich’s taste for Italianate operas was total, and the enormous success of Italian language operas by Graun and Hasse rendered efforts toward the development of operas written in German formidable ones.

At the same time, not everyone agreed that opera was a genre worth developing in Germany. Among the early figures of German Enlightenment, Johann Christoph Gottsched was perhaps the most vocal opponent of the opera. Notwithstanding his advocacy of German as a literary language and his wish for establishing a German poetic tradition that was on par with that of other nations, Gottsched sought to banish opera from German culture in a series of increasingly hostile writings aimed at the Italian genre. Inspired by Muratori’s earlier writings,

⁵² Gloria Flaherty, *Opera in the Development of German Critical Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 8.

he launched a tirade against the genre, calling it peculiar, and one that would lose all spectatorship were it not for the displays of voluptuousness.⁵³

But it was in his magnum opus, *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst*, published in 1730, that Gottsched elaborated his critique of the opera as a genre.⁵⁴ Gottsched echoed the words of Saint-Évremond in calling the opera “an inconsistent mishmash of poetry and music.”⁵⁵ A true man of Enlightenment, Gottsched, for whom reason and nature were sine qua nons for the arts, considered opera an irredeemably problematic genre as it did not conform to his rationalistic views: opera was unnatural, a genre devoid of any intellectual merit, and replete with impossibilities violating the laws of verisimilitude.⁵⁶ In an obvious reference to Italian castrati who dominated the opera stages around Europe, Gottsched castigates the effeminacy of the opera seria and urges his fellow compatriots to buttress their masculinity.⁵⁷ Unsurprisingly, Gottsched’s heavy criticism of the burgeoning genre received heavy pushback from multiple directions, both from musicians as well as intellectuals.⁵⁸

Yet, Gottsched was by no means the sole critic of the opera. Many other German writers also joined in the criticism of this popular import from Italy. At the center of some of these critiques stood the extremely influential treatise *Les beaux arts réduits à un même principe* (“The

⁵³ [Gottsched], “Fünff und achtzigstes Blatt.”

⁵⁴ He dedicated a whole chapter (the twelfth of part two) to his criticism of the opera.

⁵⁵ “...ein ungereimter Mischmasch von Poesie und Musik...” Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst vor die Deutschen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1730), 610. Saint-Évremond’s original words were “...un travail bizarre de Poësie & de Musique.” [Charles de Saint-Évremond], *Oeuvres meslées*, vol. 11 (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1684), pt. cinquième, 90.

⁵⁶ For a more extensive discussion of Gottsched’s views on opera, see Flaherty, *Opera in the Development of German Critical Thought*, 93–101; John D. Lindberg, “Gottsched gegen die Oper,” *The German Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (1967): 673–83.

⁵⁷ “...wir werden den weibischen Italienern ähnlich, ehe wir es inne geworden, daß wir männliche Deutsche seyn sollten.” Gottsched, *Versuch*, 606.

⁵⁸ For a summary of some of these criticisms, see Flaherty, *Opera in the Development of German Critical Thought*, 101–58.

fine arts reduced to a single principle,” 1746) by the French philosopher Charles Batteux (1713–1780). Considered one of the pioneering works in the emerging field of aesthetics, Batteux’s treatise set forth the basic principle underlying all of the arts: the imitation of nature, the principle aesthetic from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries.⁵⁹

Batteux’s neoclassical approach to mimesis appealed to German intellectuals. Gottsched found much to approve in his treatise, though he grumbled in one of his annotations to his partial translation of it in 1754 that long before Batteux’s book came out he had already introduced the Aristotelian notion of mimesis to European audiences.⁶⁰ Yet, compared to Gottsched, Batteux was far more flexible in how he understood what constituted the imitation of nature, thereby broadening the notion of verisimilitude. Based on this more liberal interpretation, Batteux was able to justify the supernatural elements often found in opera, something that Gottsched found utterly objectionable. Like Johann Adolf Schlegel (1721–1793), who translated Batteux in 1751 and criticized the theory of imitation, Gottsched also took issue with Batteux’s inclusion of opera in the realm of mimesis, asking “how should one know that gods do not talk, but rather sing? And that they sing to each other ten to twenty times?”⁶¹

Gottsched was not the first German to translate Batteux’s influential work. Already in 1751 there was a translation published by a certain Philipp Ernst Bertram (1726–1777). In the same year, Schlegel published an anonymous translation of the treatise, one that became the

⁵⁹ Roger Mathew Grant, *Peculiar Attunements: How Affect Theory Turned Musical* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2020), 94; Mark Evan Bonds, *Absolute Music: The History of an Idea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 71.

⁶⁰ Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Auszug aus des Herrn Batteux [...] Schönen Künsten* (Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1745), 1.

⁶¹ “Und woher weis mans, daß Götter nicht reden, sondern immer singen? Und zwar in Ding zehn, bis zwanzigmal einander vorsingen?” *Ibid.*, 120.

touchstone for the musical debate that played out in the first volume of Marpurg's *KBT*.⁶² This extensive debate involved various authors, most notably Caspar Ruetz (1708–1755) and Johann Daniel Overbeck (1715–1802), even prompting a reprint of an essay on the imitation of nature by the young Johann Adam Hiller (1728–1804).⁶³

Perhaps the first musician who sought to find a compromise for the justification of operas based on Gottsched's criticisms was one of his disciples: Scheibe.⁶⁴ Scheibe always acknowledged his great debt to Gottsched, to the extent that the title of his periodical was chosen after the eminent poet's treatise on poetry. He even claimed that he was going to "attempt to approach the intentions of Professor Gottsched as well as possible."⁶⁵ Yet, unlike his eminent master, who dismissed opera altogether due to its unnaturalness, Scheibe sought to balance his rationalism with his own more progressive aesthetic views. He considered opera to be a viable art form that, rather than the question of the possible, explores the probable.⁶⁶

Scheibe inaugurated his own journal *Der Critischer Musicus* with a celebratory note for the eradication of the "dominant barbarism" in Germany in several literary branches of the humanities (poetry and oratory). Thanks to the "best critical rules" laid out by thinkers such as

⁶² It was actually Ramler's translation (first published 1756–58) which was evidently the most successful (and the most faithful to the original) one, as it was reprinted four times until 1774. Benedikt Lessmann, "Batteux „mit beträchtlichen Zusätzen“: Translation und Transfer der Nachahmungstheorie in der deutschen Musikästhetik der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 76, no. 2 (2019): 94. Schlegel's translation was also reprinted several times, with Schlegel's commentaries, receiving replies from Batteaux himself with each new edition.

⁶³ For a brief summary of these debates, see Grant, *Peculiar Attunements*, 103–7; Wilhelm Seidel, "Die Nachahmung der Natur und der Freiheit der Kunst: zur Kritik deutscher Musiker an der Ästhetik von Charles Batteux," in *Von Isaac bis Bach: Studien zur älteren deutschen Musikgeschichte*, ed. Franck Heidlberger, Wolfgang Osthoff, and Reinhard Wiesend (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), 257–66.

⁶⁴ For a discussion of Scheibe and his views on the opera, see Dora J. Wilson, "Johann Adolph Scheibe's Views on Opera and Aesthetics," *The Opera Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (1984): 49–56; Imanuel Willheim, "Johann Adolph Scheibe: German Musical Thought in Transition" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1962), 175–239.

⁶⁵ "Ich werde mich den Absichten des Herrn Professor Gottscheds auf das Beste zu nähern versuchen." Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der critische Musicus*, vol. 2 (Hamburg: Rudolph Beneke, 1740), 110.

⁶⁶ Willheim, "Johann Adolph Scheibe," 180.

Gottsched, Germans no long had to bow down in obedience to the French who were considered masters in these disciplines. Steeped in Gottschedian rationalism, Scheibe deems fortunate those who follow reason and nature in order to make reliable judgments in the trivial arts.⁶⁷

Regrettably for Scheibe, however, the same kind of thoughtful criticism had yet to find a voice in music. The reason, Scheibe declares, was too much blind deference to Italian music and too little reason. Scheibe soon decided to provide an example that would put his abstract ideas into practice.⁶⁸

In 1749, Scheibe published a libretto for an opera that he entitled “Thusnelde,” calling it a “Singspiel” in four acts (Figure 3.1).⁶⁹ Scheibe prefaced his libretto with a lengthy *Vorbericht*, in which he outlines his ideas for how to write opera and the path forward for German composers.

⁶⁷ “Endlich ist die in den Wissenschaften herrschende Barbarey in einigen Theilen unsers werthen Deutschlandes bey nahe gänzlich vertilget worden. Wir sehen die Dichtkunst und die Redekunst durch die besten critischen Regeln in einer so grossen Vollkommenheit, daß wir den Franzosen, die sonst darinn allein Meister waren, nichts mehr nachgeben dürffen. Der gute Geschmack beginnt zu herrschen, und wir fangen einmahl an dadurch zu empfinden: wie glücklich diejenigen sind, welche der Vernunft und der Natur in einer wohlgeprüften Beurtheilungskraft folgen.” Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der critische Musicus*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: Thomas von Wierings Erben, 1738), 1.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:1–8.

⁶⁹ Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Thusnelde, ein Singspiel in vier Aufzügen - Mit einem Vorbericht von der Möglichkeit und Beschaffenheit guter Singspiele* (Leipzig: G. C. Rothe, 1749). This usage of the term “Singspiel” seems to be simply a German equivalent for opera and does not correspond to the later meaning of the word described later.



Figure 3.1 Title Page of Scheibe's libretto for an opera that was never composed, *Thusnelde* (1749).

The distinction between opera and Singspiel (as a light-hearted opera consisting mainly of dialogues interspersed with arias) was not always strictly observed in mid-eighteenth-century writings; the latter was often used as a German equivalent for the former. (Scheibe's *Thusnelde*, for instance, was not a comic libretto by any means.) As was common practice at the time, Singspiele by German composers often incorporated recitatives in German and arias in Italian, a practice that came under severe animadversion by many, including Krause (more on him below).

The plot of *Thusnelde* revolves around the struggles of early Germanic tribes casting away the yoke of the Romans, thereby liberating the German lands. Being a staunch advocate of the classical unities (of action, time, and place) like his teacher Gottsched, Scheibe aimed to show that by following the principles of classical drama, opera can be reconciled with

rationalistic ideas. Scheibe may have included this discussion in order to acknowledge Gottsched's critiques of Italian opera's irrationality.

To demonstrate his point, Scheibe offers an extended analysis of a libretto by Voltaire on the legend of *Simson* [sic] (*Samson*, initially set to music by Rameau and then completed by François-André Danican Philidor, now lost). In his analysis, Scheibe examines the issues raised by critics of the time concern Voltaire's carelessness in following strictly the unity of time and location. (Scheibe agrees that Voltaire does indeed observe the unity of time in his story, but not the unity of location.) He considers the real strength of French opera to lie in its recitatives and choruses. He notes that the younger generation of French composers have abandoned the French style in their arias in favor of more Italian-influenced styles, even as they maintained the French style for recitatives and choruses. Scheibe concludes from these observations that over time differences between the music of different nations will disappear, except for those that stem from the differences in their languages. Throughout the *Vorbericht*, when discussing the detailed and more technical aspects of the opera, Scheibe refers back to his *der Critische Musicus*, in which he had included lengthier discussions in defense of the opera.⁷⁰

At the end of this preface, Scheibe expresses his wish that there were more good operas written in the German language. Opera producers might then be persuaded to stage more operas written by German composers. In something of a replay of the plot of his *Singspiel*, Scheibe expresses his wish that German composers cast away their own yoke of Italian music:

⁷⁰ In an issue of the *Berlinische privilegirte Zeitung* dated May 31, 1749, an article appeared that praised Scheibe's *Thusnelde, ein Singspiel in vier Aufzügen* (1749). The anonymous author seemed particularly impressed with Scheibe's determination to counter prejudices against writing German operas. Scheibe seems to have written the libretto with the hope to encourage more musicians to pay attention to German opera.

If we could see more examples of good German opera performed in Germany, then producers might be persuaded to stage even more such operas in our German language. Perhaps in this way, we will be able to abandon the absurd and tasteless prejudice that insists Italian is the only acceptable language [for the writing of operas] and thereby give more credit to German musicians and composers than they usually receive. Besides, one should be careful in calling some music as Italian, when it would be impossible to imagine it having come from an Italian, notwithstanding all the excessive prattle about the glory and genius of the Italian nation . . . But German musicians will never be able to cast away the overblown prejudices in favor of the so-called Italian music and to assert their own accomplishments more emphatically unless they can be supported by great princes in our land. Only then will we finally be able to see decent German operas appearing on the opera stages of Germany.⁷¹

Scheibe's sentiments soon reverberated in Berlin, where Marpurg's publication of his *CMS*—which was partly modelled on Scheibe's own journal—signaled a new era for music criticism in Germany. When Marpurg started writing in 1749, there existed already a thriving music scene across German-speaking lands, including in Berlin. In the first issue of the *CMS*, for example, Marpurg mentions no less than fourteen prominent composers active in German-speaking lands, including four who were employed at the Court in Berlin (Nichelmann, Graun, Quantz, and Benda).

But despite all this busy music making, Marpurg—agreeing with Scheibe—laments the fact that German composers seemed to have avoided writing operas in the German language. As proof, he mentions Graun, Handel, and Hasse, as composers who produce opera masterpieces in

⁷¹ “Eine mäßige Anzahl sehr guter und regelmäßiger deutscher Opern würde alsdann die Opernunternehmer in Deutschland zwingen, auch in unsrer deutschen Sprache Opern aufzuführen. Vielleicht verlohre sich dadurch endlich das ungereimte und abgeschmackte Vorurtheil, daß man noch hin und wieder der italienischen Sprache zum besten heget: und vielleicht würde man alsdann den deutschen Tonkünstlern oder Componisten mehr Gerechtigkeit erzeugen, als oftmals geschiehet, und dasjenige nicht ferner für eine italienis. Musik halten, was doch nimmer ein Italiener zu verfertigen vermögend ist, und auch niemals, aller Pralerey dieser Nation ungeachtet, wälschen Ursprungs gewesen ist. . . . Doch die deutschen Tonkünstler werden die Vorurtheile, die man einmal wegen der sogenannten italienischen Musik gefaßt hat, nicht besser üben Haufen werfen, und ihre eigene Größe nicht nachdrücklicher behaupten können, als wenn sie durch Unterstützung grosser Fürsten, es dahin bringen sollten, daß endlich auch gute deutsche Singspiele auf den Opernbühnen in Deutschland zum Vorschein kämen.” Johann Adolph Scheibe, “Critischer Vorbericht von der Möglichkeit und Beschaffenheit guter Singspiele.” in *Thusnelde: Ein Singspiele in vier Aufzügen* (Leipzig: Rothe, 1749), 74–75.

other languages, but not in their own mother tongue. Marpurg had a simple solution: “We [should] follow the French in this.” “The French,” he continues, “do not question if a certain Allegro is written in the Italian style, but if it is written in good taste.”⁷² Implied in Marpurg’s discussion is the fact that French composers, unlike most German composers, wrote operas in their own language.

Marpurg expressed relief that fewer musicians hold to the mistaken belief that good music only comes from Italy [Welschland], noting with approval the ascent of many German court orchestras to the first rank. Describing the qualities he feels essential to good operatic writing in German, he includes naturalness, singability, and avoidance of repeating and stretching words without attention to their intended affect. He concludes that by following all of these guidelines: “I am certain that the unjustified prejudice [against the suitability of the German language] will quickly dissipate.”⁷³ Marpurg’s comments echo those expressed in Scheibe’s preface in a remarkably similar way. (As Scheibe’s libretto does not bear an exact date, it is impossible to determine which author wrote their work first.)

Perhaps the most influential defender of the opera in Berlin was Krause. Before the debates in Marpurg’s *HKB* mentioned above, Krause had devoted considerable attention to the aesthetics of the opera and defended it against allegations of unnaturalness. In an article in Marpurg’s *HKB*, Krause reviews Scheibe’s libretto for *Thusnelde*, providing the entire first act with annotations.⁷⁴ But Krause’s engagement with Scheibe’s text goes back several years. Back

⁷² “Wir folgen hierinnen den Franßosen nach. Man untersucht nicht bey ihnen, ob dieses oder jenes Allegro nach dem italiänischen, sondern ob es in dem guten Geschmack geschrieben ist.” Marpurg, *CMS*, 2.

⁷³ “Man schreibe nur natürlich und singbar, . . . mon [sic] dehne und wiederhole kein Wort, wofem es nicht einen gewissen Umstand characterisiret, oder einen Affect in sich hält. . . ich bin versichert, daß die Vorurtheile wider die Unfüglichkeit derselben von sich selbst wegfallen werden.” *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁴ Marpurg, *HKB*, 1754, I: 1754-55:St. II, II: 93-141.

in 1749, in a letter to Gleim, Krause mentioned Scheibe's *Thusnelde*, which he recommends Gleim to read before Krause's publication (*von der musikalischen Poesie*) would come out, adding that "the author [Scheibe] is of my opinion."⁷⁵ When his treatise finally came out in 1752, Krause devoted significant attention to opera and its aesthetic issues. Deeply inspired by the French art critic Jean-Baptiste Dubos (1670–1742), Krause advocates for the fusion of the arts, particularly music and poetry—as evident from the title of his treatise. Turning Gottsched's allegations of seductiveness in opera on its head, Krause embraces the hedonistic aspects of the genre. Therefore, Krause argues, the ostensibly unnatural elements in the opera are not expected to be believed, but rather to stimulate pleasure in the listener's imagination.⁷⁶

Thanks to years of service for Count Rothenburg, Krause enjoyed a high profile in the society and rubbed shoulders with many of the leading literary intellectuals in Berlin, most importantly Ramler, with whom he published the first collection of Lieder in Berlin (discussed below). Karl Wilhelm Ramler (1725–1798)—along with Lessing who was his friend and colleague at the Montagsklub—joined the literary scene in Berlin in 1747. In the course of his career, he contributed substantially to the literary and musical scene in Berlin, and one of his first and most important interventions concerned that of the opera.⁷⁷ In a short essay first published in the *Critische Nachrichten aus dem Reiche der Gelehrsamkeit*, Ramler offered a robust defense of the genre against the attacks by Gottsched and his followers.⁷⁸ Without mentioning Gottsched by

⁷⁵ Berg, *The Correspondence of Christian Gottfried Krause*, 98–99.

⁷⁶ "In keinem Schauspiele glaubt der Verstand eine wahre Begebenheit zu sehen. Man kommt aber in den Affect, und täuscht sich mit Vergnügen in seiner Einbildung." Krause, *Von der musikalischen Poesie*, 374.

⁷⁷ For more on the relation between Ramler and music, see Laurenz Lütteken, "Zwischen Berlin und Hamburg: Ramler in der Musikkultur des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Urbanität als Aufklärung: Karl Wilhelm Ramler und die Kultur des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Laurenz Lütteken, Ute Pott, and Carsten Zelle, Schriften des Gleimhauses Halberstadt 2 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2003), 175–94.

⁷⁸ It was first published in the *Critische Nachrichten aus dem Reiche der Gelehrsamkeit* and expanded upon in 1756 in Marburg's *HKB* as "Defense of Operas" ["Vertheidigung der Opern"]; Friedrich Wilhelm Marburg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, vol. II: 1756 (Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1756), 84–92.

name, Ramler justifies the unnatural elements of opera by comparing them to a copperplate engraving or marble statues; just as one can “forget the dissimilarity” in these cases, the same can be applied to “human actions imitated in singing tones.”⁷⁹ In concluding his essay, Ramler derides different opponents of the opera: “the mob and the young man only stare at the decorations and the female dancers, the pedantic instrumentalist [Spieler] only listens to the harpsichord and the violins, the pedantic poet only heeds to the question and answers.”⁸⁰

Ramler’s involvement with music brought him to the attention of Friedrich, who commissioned him to write the libretto to arguably the most successful oratorio of the eighteenth century in Germany: *Der Tod Jesu*, set to music by Carl Heinrich Graun and described as “the most central and successful monument of musical ‘Empfindsamkeit’”⁸¹

Yet, despite these various attempts from various corners, none of the composers active in Berlin heeded these pleas; evidently Friedrich’s taste and patronage for Metastasian opera seria was a far more lucrative and powerful incentive than the patriotic rambles of music theorists. The only brief episode of success for German stage music in Berlin came several decades later in 1770, with the arrival of Heinrich Gottfried Koch (1703–1775) from Leipzig. Koch staged several of by-then popular Singspiele of Hiller in Berlin to great acclaim. This short period of

⁷⁹ “Allein, kan man die wohlgetroffene Nachahmung in einem Kupferstiche schön finden und des Menschen Farbe bey einem Marmorbilde vergessen, so wird man auch die Unähnlichkeit vergessen können, wenn die menschliche Handlungen in singenden Thönen nachgeahmt werden, zu denen die Instrumente nur noch gleichsam einen Nachklang hinzuthun.” [Karl Wilhelm] [Ramler], “[Vertheidigung der Opern],” *Critische Nachrichten aus dem Reiche der Gelehrsamkeit* 1, no. 7 (February 13, 1750): 57–58. Reprint in Marburg, *HKB*, 1756, II: 1756:85.

⁸⁰ “[D]er Pöbel und der junge Herr gaffen nach den Decorationen und Tänzerinnen allein, der pedantische Spieler hört auf den Flügel und auf die Violinen allein, der pedantische Poet merckt auf die Fragen und Antworten allein.” [Ramler], “[Vertheidigung der Opern],” 60. Reprint in Marburg, *HKB*, 1756, II: 1756:92.

⁸¹ Daniel Heartz and Bruce Alan Brown, “Empfindsamkeit,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (New York: Macmillan, 2001), 191. Graun’s oratorio was performed annually by the Sing-Akademie in Berlin from 1801 until 1884.

prosperity, however, was cut short by the death of Koch, leaving operas in German by the wayside again and French and Italian operas vying for popularity in the Prussian capital.⁸²

It was not only in Berlin that theorists expressed their wish to hear more German operas. In Leipzig, the city that inherited much of Berlin's music critical tradition, the composer and music critic, Johann Adam Hiller lamented the lack of operas in German in his *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend*—a journal heavily indebted to those of Marburg. Beginning in the 1760s, Hiller—whose theoretical contributions have been discussed in Chapter 1—began composing a new kind of “Singspiel” in collaboration with the poet Christian Felix Weiße (1726–1804).⁸³ Hiller too was inspired by the works of Gottsched; his 1754 essay on music aesthetics *Abhandlung von der Nachahmung der Natur in der Musik* (Essay on the Imitation of Nature in Music) was published in Gottsched's journal.⁸⁴ In a report of his own Singspiel *Lisuart und Dariolette*, Hiller ascribed the dearth of German opera to the little attention and encouragement given to the “genius of the Germans.”⁸⁵

The heated debates by the likes of Scheibe, Krause, Marburg, and Ramler along with the need for finding a truly German genre of opera paved the path for Hiller in his formulation of the comic Singspiel. In turn, these developments planted the seeds for some of Gluck's reforms, and

⁸² A detailed study of the history and later developments of opera in Germany is outside the purview of this project. For a recent study of German opera in the early nineteenth century, see Francien Marx, *E. T. A. Hoffmann, Cosmopolitanism, and the Struggle for German Opera*, Internationale Forschungen Zur Allgemeinen Und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft 192 (Brill, 2015). For a study of the later history of opera in Berlin, see Klaus Gerlach, ed., *Der gesellschaftliche Wandel um 1800 und das Berliner Nationaltheater*, Berliner Klassik--eine Grossstadtkultur um 1800 15 (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2009).

⁸³ This new genre, which has persisted to this day, involves comic operas with spoken dialogs in German.

⁸⁴ *Erweiterungen der Erkenntniß und des Vergnügens* (14th piece, p. 140–68). The essay proved so popular that it was reprinted one year later in Marburg's *HKB*. Marburg, *HKB*, 1754, I: 1754-55:St. VI; 515–543.

⁸⁵ “Wir Deutschen sind immer noch so unglücklich, dass wir keine Singspiele oder Opern in unserer Muttersprache haben. Woran liegt die Schuld? Gewiß weiter an nichts, als dass das Genie der Deutschen nicht genug geachtet, nicht genug hervorgezogen und aufgemuntert wird.” Johann Adam Hiller, ed., *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend*, 33tes Stück, 10. Februar 1767 (Leipzig: Verlag der Zeitungs-Expedition, 1767), 253.

even if the truly international recognition for German opera had to wait until the early nineteenth century (with Beethoven's *Fidelio* and Weber's *Der Freischütz*), there was certainly a fermentation of ideas of ways opera could be more successful as drama and more accessible in German.

Parallel to these discussion on the opera, one vocal form took on an unexpected popularity that has remained to this day and influenced composers for generations afterwards: the German Lied, or as most often called in Berlin: odes. This new genre was a product of a collaboration between Krause and Ramler, two of the foremost intellectual figures in Berlin at the time.

The Berlin School of Lieder

With the publication of the first volume of Krause's and Ramler's 1753 collection, *Oden mit Melodien*, a new chapter in the history of the German Lied was opened.⁸⁶ Even though composing Lieder with melodies had a long history in German-speaking lands, the edition brought forth by Krause provided a fresh impetus for the genre eventually leading to the emergence of works such as Schubert's famous Lieder.

German intellectuals in the early eighteenth century had long complained about the pitiable melodies and insipid poetry of most German Lieder of their time. It comes as no surprise, then, that this issue was avidly discussed by many literary figures in the course of the century. As with the opera, Gottsched played a key role in the theorization and emergence of the new forms of Lied, as the rationalist principles that aimed to follow nature set forth by him had

⁸⁶ [Christian Gottfried] [Krause] and [Karl Wilhelm] [Ramler], eds., *Oden mit Melodien* (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1753).

major repercussions on the budding genre. In his *Versuch*, Gottsched dedicates a whole chapter to Lieder (“von Oden, oder Liedern”), which he declares to be the oldest form of poetry.⁸⁷ As part of his relentless efforts towards elevating the status of the German language, Gottsched translated many works of ancient Greek and Roman poets into German, providing a model for other poets to emulate. Among these works, he translated some Anacreontics (Greek poems by or modeled after the poet Anacreon [c. 582–c. 485 BC]) that proved to be very influential for later poets of Lieder, especially those active in Berlin. Gottsched’s work influenced many poets across German-speaking lands, including Friedrich von Hagedorn (1708–1754), Johann Peter Uz (1720–1796), and Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724–1803).⁸⁸ Advocating for a return to the simplicity and the grandeur of ancient (Greco-Roman) genre, Hagedorn and Uz blazed a trail for the German Lied that would remain unaltered for more than half a century.

It was against this backdrop that Krause put together his treatise. Building on the views set forth by Gottsched, Scheibe, and Hagedorn, Krause helped move the discussions on German Lied from Hamburg to Berlin (Hagedorn and Klopstock were active in Hamburg). The main goal of Krause’s treatise was to show how music and poetry could be brought together to create a new genre of vocal music. His good relations with both musicians and poets made him the ideal candidate for such an undertaking. But to write his *Oden mit Melodien*, Krause needed a literary

⁸⁷ Gottsched, *Versuch*, 327. Up until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the two terms Ode and Lied were used interchangeably. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the ode became more identified with the unrhymed antique genre, whereas lied remained the staple of German song with keyboard accompaniment.

⁸⁸ For a good history of the German Lied, see James Parsons, “Lied, III. Lieder C1740–C1800,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (New York: Macmillan, 2001); Peter Jost, “Lied, 4. Das Klavierlied seit dem 18. Jahrhundert, a. 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel; Weimar: Bärenreiter; Metzler, 1996).

figure alongside him to help with the more poetic aspects of his publication. Ramler, a rather reactionary poet whose model was Horace, seemed to him to be the perfect choice.

The first volume of the collection, published in 1753, included 31 Lieder by at least seven poets (some of the poets remain anonymous) and eight composers, all of whom were, except for Telemann, prominent figures at the court in Berlin: Graun, Krause, Quantz, C. P. E. Bach, Nichelmann, Agricola, and Franz Benda.⁸⁹ The collection was announced in Marburg's *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, where its poets and composers were first identified.⁹⁰ So enthusiastic was Marburg about the new genre introduced by Krause and Ramler, that he quickly took up the new enterprise and published multiple volumes of Lieder himself starting in 1756. In fact, his last periodical, the *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst* included one ode per issue by different composers, including by himself.

Berlin thus became the capital of German Lieder, a position it retained until the first decades of the nineteenth century, resulting in what has been characterized as the Berlin Lieder School ["Berliner Liederschule"] by Bernhard Engelke.⁹¹ Engelke later divided this "school" into three different generations: the first encompassing the period between 1753 and 1768 (the fourth volume of the *Lieder der Teutschen*); a second generation comprising composers of late eighteenth century such as Johann Abraham Peter Schulz [1747–1800], Johann Friedrich Reichardt [1752–1814], Carl Friedrich Zelter [1758–1832], and Karl Spazier [1761–1805],

⁸⁹ The second volume was published in 1755, also by Birnstiel, but is much less known. It also includes 31 works, the majority of which by Berlin composers.

⁹⁰ Marburg, *HKB*, 1754, I: 1754-55:55–57.

⁹¹ Bernhard Engelke, "Neues zur Geschichte der Berliner Liederschule," in *Riemann-Festschrift: Gesammelte Studien* (Leipzig: Max Hesses Verlag, 1909), 456–72. See also: Hans-Günter Ottenberg, "Die 1. Berliner Liederschule im Urteil der zeitgenössischen Presse," in *Studien zum deutschen weltlichen Kunstlied des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Gudrun Busch and Anthony J. Harper (Amsterdam - Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1992), 247–68.

among others; and a third and largely unremarkable generation of composers (with the notable exception of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy [1809–1847]) that included Lieder by Zelter’s students and proteges such as Carl Friedrich Rungenhagen (1778–1851), Bernhard Klein (1793–1832), and Carl Friedrich Curschmann (1805–1841).⁹²

In contrast to most other genres favored by German composers that assumed a medium to high level of musicianship, Krause’s *Odes* were intended largely for amateurs, particularly women. They were meant to be performance by one individual sitting at a keyboard and singing the melody doubled by the right hand. As Figure 3.2 shows, these odes had a very simple and regular structure that made them easy material for amateurs to sight read and perform.

⁹² Hans-Günter Ottenberg, “Berliner Liederschule,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel; Weimar: Bärenreiter; Metzler, 1996). Recently, scholars have taken issue with this characterization, as it perpetuates the nineteenth-century style of “evolutionary” historiography. See, for example, Parsons, “Lied, III. Lieder C1740–C1800,” 669.

Freude, Göttin muntre Jugend, Höre mich!
 Laß die Lieder, die hier schallen,
 Deinen Kindern wohlgefallen:
 Was hier tönet, tönt durch dich.

Hörde Schwester süßer Liebe!
 Glück der Welt!
 Denn was kan in unserm Leben
 Uns des Glückes Göttin geben,
 Was man nicht durch dich erhält?

Stumme Hüter todter Schätze
 Sind nur reich:

Dem, der keinen Schatz bewachtet,
 Sinnreich scherzt, und singt und lachet,
 Ist kein karger König gleich.

Gib den Dichtern, die dich ehren,
 Neue Blut.
 Neue Schönheit gib den Schönen,
 Neuen Scherz den jungen Schönen,
 Und den Vätern junges Blut!

Aber siehe der Bacchanten
 Uvernunft;
 Fliehe, Göttin, die Gesichter
 Aller finstern Splitterrichter
 Und die ganze Heuchlerzunft!

Figure 3.2 “Freude, Göttin muntre Jugend” composed by C. H. Graun to poetry by Hagedorn. From Krause and Ramler’s *Oden mit Melodien* (1753).

As stated in the *Vorbericht* to the 1753 collection, the *Oden mit Melodien* were especially meant for “the fine taste of ladies, who shall sing them hereafter.”⁹³ It was perhaps due to its appeal to an emerging middle class that these odes became such a hit in the thriving musical market of Berlin. Between 1753 and 1768, no less than 20 collections of Lieder appeared in Berlin, with contributions by almost all the composers and theorists active in Berlin at the time as well as many of the most well-known poets across German-speaking lands. In an enthusiastic

⁹³ “...für den feinen Geschmack der Damen einzurichten, die sie künftig singen sollen.” [Krause] and [Ramler], *Oden mit Melodien*, unpaginated Vorbericht.

review of the collection, the anonymous reviewer of the *Berlinische Nachrichten* praises the collection's outreach to female and younger readers:

Music is pleasing to the fair sex (and who should it seek to please more?) and the good children are not deterred by the merciless criticism of a brush-wielding nun from responding in song to the witty ideas of the singing shepherds. The present collection can therefore expect nothing other than a kind reception from them, especially since, in addition to the advantages that the art of poetry and music can give, they have also been presented in a clean print and engraving.⁹⁴

Even though composing Lieder in German-speaking lands had a history that went back centuries, the new models advocated by Krause and Marpurg aimed to open a new and uniquely German path. Perhaps in part due to frustrations about the lack of operas in German, Marpurg and Krause strove to counteract the Italian contagion by establishing what seemed to be a quintessentially German genre. A couple of years later, in a review of two collections of Lieder that represent the final works in the so-called first Berlin school of Lieder, the prominent critic Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811) used these German works synecdochically for German music and its advantage over other European music:

The Lieder by the Germans have a great advantage over the above-mentioned *Anthologie Française*, the same way that German music in general has over French music. French melodies, when they are amusing, are often too vulgar and do not express much. When they are meant to be delicate, however, these melodies sound much more like a verse from a requiem mass than a love song.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ “Die Ton-Kunst erweist sich dem schönen Geschlechte gefällig, (und wem sollte sie mehr zu gefallen suchen?) und die artigen Kinder lassen sich nicht durch die unbarmherzige Kritik einer pinselnden Betschwester abhalten, die witzigen Einfälle der singenden Schäfer singend zu beantworten. Gegenwärtige Sammlung kann sich also nichts anders, als eine gütige Aufnahme bey ihnen versprechen, zumahl, da sie, nebst den Vorzügen, die Dicht- und Ton-Kunst geben können, ihnen annoch in einem saubern Drucke und Stich in die Hände gegeben wird.” “Review of ‘Oden mit Melodien. Erster Theil,’” *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, no. 139 (November 20, 1753): 578.

⁹⁵ “Die Lieder der Deutschen haben hierin vor der oben angeführten *Anthologie Française* einen so großen Vorzug, als die deutsche Musik überhaupt, vor der französischen hat. Die französischen Melodien, wenn sie lustig sind, sind öfters zu gemein, und drücken zu wenig aus, wenn sie aber zärtlich seyn sollten, so klingen sie nicht selten, mehr wie ein Vers aus einer Totenmeße, als, wie ein Liebeslied [...] [Friedrich] [Nicolai], “Review of ‘Lieder der Deutschen,... Lieder der Deutschen mit Melodien,...,’” ed. Friedrich Nicolai, *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* 9, no. 1 (1769): 223.

Nicolai was not the first to bring about such comparisons between German and French music; the juxtaposition between German music and music by other nations in Europe was a recurrent topic around mid-eighteenth century, particularly in Berlin.

National Styles and the Rise of the “German Style”

What constituted “German style” was a question that had occupied German theorists from the early decades of the eighteenth century.⁹⁶ Over the years, the notion of German style came to be defined less on its own terms than in relation to Italian and French national styles; German music, for many theorists, combined elements (and for many of them, the “best” elements) of the two other most successful styles in Europe. As mentioned earlier, the German style was most famously described by Quantz in 1752 as “the mixed style” (*vermischter Geschmack*).

An outcome of the discussions on opera and aesthetics in Germany was the elevation of the status of instrumental music to the same level as vocal music (a feature that was to be particularly identified with Germans in the nineteenth century). Already in 1738, Scheibe noted that in writing keyboard music the German composers distinguish themselves from all other nations. As he stated, when it comes to matters of organization and embellishment as well as idiomatic writing for the instrument, no other nation came close to the Germans.⁹⁷ In the 1745

⁹⁶ This question resurfaced in different shapes throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as well. See, for example Pamela Maxine Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), chap. 7: Attempts to Define "Germanness" in Music, 200–34.

⁹⁷ “In einigen Arten von Clavierstücken unterscheidet sich der deutsche Styl von den übrigen noch am meisten; und wir finden bey den Ausländern weder eine so vollkommene Einrichtung und Auszierung, noch auch eine so zierliche und bequeme Ausarbeitung nach dem Instrumente, als wir bey den Deutschen antreffen.” Scheibe, *Der critische Musicus*, 1738, 1:118.

edition of the same essay, Scheibe named Handel and (Johann Sebastian) Bach as the composers who represent keyboard music most strongly.

Berlin was a bastion of German instrumental music in the mid-century, as the Prussian capital boasted a range of virtuosos handpicked by Friedrich and his Kapellmeister Quantz from across Europe. Before and after Friedrich's ascension to the Prussian throne in 1740, the musicians at his court wrote numerous chamber pieces to be performed at the monarch's lavish and frequent musical soirees. Among them, there were those whose imaginative pieces transcended instruments: experiments by the likes of C. P. E. Bach blurred the boundaries between instrumental and vocal music, resulting in Roger Mathew Grant would call "amphibian" pieces that expanded instrumental idioms to realms previously unimaginable.⁹⁸ Among the new genres exploited, the instrumental recitative—commonly found in C. P. E. Bach's works—perhaps best represented the new trend. It comes as no surprise then, that a new style of composing for instruments emerged out of Berlin, a style now commonly known as *der Empfindsamer Stil* (the sensitive style). In contrast to Gottschedian rationalism, *Empfindsamkeit* "posited immediacy of emotional response as a surer guide than intellect to proper moral behaviour."⁹⁹ The efforts by the musicians were, of course, affected the music theory public sphere in Berlin as well. As discussed in the previous chapter, Marpurg's call for German treatises for various instruments brought forth a plethora of works written mainly by the musicians active in Berlin. These treatises, in turn, further legitimized the idiom of instrumental music, placing it on par (if not above) vocal music.

⁹⁸ The term "amphibious style" was coined by Grant, following Allanbrook and inspired by a piece by François Couperin *L'Amphibie*. Grant, *Peculiar Attunements*, 91 (fn. 12) and 96–103.

⁹⁹ Hertz and Brown, "Empfindsamkeit," 190.

But what does “style” connote in discussions on the music of different nations? In his second pamphlet engaging with Marpurg, Agricola distinguished between two differing uses of the word “Geschmack” to mean “taste” and “style” respectively:

. . . It is well known that the word *Geschmack* in music is taken in a double sense. First, in a more general sense, since it shows what it means in all other areas of scholarship. Consequently, a piece according to good taste is, in this understanding, called a piece which has all the sensual perfections of which a piece is capable in its own way. It is in this sense that Mr. Scheibe uses the word *Geschmack* in his discussion of contemporary taste in music.

Subsequently, the word *Geschmack* in music means, even in a narrower sense, a special way of organizing all parts of the musical pieces, and above all a special way of conducting, arranging, ornamenting, and practicing the piece [Gesang], which is specific to this or that country, is particularly peculiar to this or that nation. In this sense one speaks of the Italian style, or the French style.¹⁰⁰

Agricola’s distinction between the two senses of “Geschmack” also has a direct relevance to modern scholarship. Assuming that other eighteenth century writers were aware and conscious of this distinction, this twofold meaning can help us disentangle debates over questions of good versus bad taste from those more general disputes concerning national styles.¹⁰¹ In Sulzer’s later definition of the term “Geschmack” in his encyclopedia, the term seems to refer only to “taste.”¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ “Es ist bekannt, daß das Wort **Geschmack** in der Musik in einem gedoppelten Verstande genommen wird. Erstlich in einem weitläufigern, da es eben das anzeigt, was es in allen andern Wissenschaften bedeutet. Folglich heißt ein Stück nach dem guten Geschmack, in diesem Verstande, ein Stück, welches alles sinnliche Vollkommenheiten hat, deren ein Stück in seiner Art, fähig ist. In diesem Verstande nimmt Herr Scheibe das Wort **Geschmack** in seiner Abhandlung von itzigen Geschmack in der Musik. Hernach bedeutet das Wort Geschmack bey der Musik, auch in engerm Verstande, eine besondere Art der Einrichtung aller Theile der musikalischen Stücke, und vornehmlich eine besondere Art der Führung, der Einkleidung, der Auszierung, und der Ausübung des Gesanges, welche diesem oder jenem Lande, dieser oder jener Nation besonders eigen ist. In diesem Verstande sagt man, der **italiänsiche**, der **französische Geschmack**.” Olibrio [Agricola], *Schreiben an Herrn* ===, 8.

¹⁰¹ For more on the issue of taste in music in the eighteenth century, see Andreas Gebesmair, *Grundzüge einer Soziologie des Musikgeschmacks* (Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien, 2001), 26–34.

¹⁰² “Taste is really nothing other than the capacity to sense beauty . . . Sometimes the word is used in a narrower sense to designate the general taste of man and the degree to which it has developed.” The English translation (from the 1792 edition) can be found in Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Thomas Christensen, eds., *Aesthetics and the Art of Musical Composition in the German Enlightenment: Selected Writings of Johann Georg Sulzer and Heinrich Christoph Koch*, Cambridge Studies in Music Theory and Analysis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995),

The idea of Germans combining various national styles actually has a long history. Already in 1713, Johann Mattheson had dedicated a whole chapter on differences between Italian, French, English, and German music in his first major publication. There, Mattheson discusses the possibilities of imitation or mixture (*Nachahmung* oder *Vermischung*) of these styles.¹⁰³ Not long after Mattheson wrote these words, the court chapel of Dresden became a site in which these cosmopolitan ideals seemed to be realized, thanks to the presence of international musical figures such as Jean-Baptiste Volumier (c. 1670–1728), Francesco Maria Veracini (1690–1768), Quantz (before being recruited by Friedrich in 1741), Pisendel, and the theorist and composer Johann David Heinichen (1683–1729). Often characterized as the *stile misto*, the “mixed style” in Dresden became a role model for later developments of German style as articulated in Berlin.¹⁰⁴

As an example, in the same letter to Telemann in which he reported on the exchange between Finazzi and Scheibe, Pisendel—who had been the concertmaster at the Hofkapelle in Dresden since 1728—alludes to the plasticity of the German style. Citing a passage written by his sometime Dresden colleague Heinichen, Pisendel quotes (albeit not with Heinichen’s exact words) the late theorist’s opinions about national styles:

Italians are by nature more inclined towards sweetness in their music, to the extent that they often have to beware of lapsing into drowsiness. On the other hand, most foreigners are by nature too inclined towards liveliness of music, through which they easily degenerate into barbarism. But when the same [people] would take pains to take the

48–50. “Der Geschmack ist im Grunde nichts anders, als das Vermögen das Schöne zu empfinden . . . Bisweilen aber nihmt man das Wort in einem engern Sinn, nach welchem man nur den Menschen Geschmack zueignet, bey denen dieses Vermögen sich schon zu einer gewissen Fertigkeit entwicket hat.” Johann Georg Sulzer, ed., *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste in einzeln, nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Kunstwörter auf einander folgenden, Artikeln abgehandelt*, vol. I: A–J (Leipzig: Weidmann und Reich, 1771), 461.

¹⁰³ Johann Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg: B. Schiller, 1713), 208.

¹⁰⁴ For a discussion of the different styles at the Dresden Hofkapelle, see Janice B. Stockigt, “The Court of Saxony-Dresden,” in *Music at German Courts, 1715-1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, ed. Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul, and Janice B. Stockigt (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2011), 30–36.

tenderness from our music and combine that with the customary vivacity [of their own music], there comes a third [style] that would appeal to the whole world.¹⁰⁵

Pisendel then adds: “who is more suited to this happy blending [“glückliche Mischung”] than the Germans?”¹⁰⁶ Thus, Pisendel identifies the German penchant to mix various national styles long before Quantz’s famous characterization of the “mixed style” in his *Versuch*. Heinichen himself, in that same footnote from which Pisendel quotes, continues: “... a happy mixture of Italian and French style [gout] will amaze the ear the most, and should win over all other styles of the world.”¹⁰⁷ Heinichen expresses his hope that his compatriots would attempt to triumph over other nations in musical taste, just as they had already won them over in artful counterpoint and theoretical precision.¹⁰⁸

The rest of the continent was not unfamiliar with the notion of the “mixed style,” albeit in a different way than the Germans conceived it. Only a few years before Heinichen’s treatise, the concept of the “mixed style” had been employed in Paris: in 1724, François Couperin published the continuation of his successful *Concerts royaux* as *Les Goûts réunis*. In his collection, Couperin juxtaposed Italian music championed by Corelli with French music heralded by Lully, trying to reach a synthesis (reunited styles). It was only through the efforts of German theorists such as Heinichen, Scheibe, and Quantz that a somewhat unequivocal definition and the

¹⁰⁵ “[U]nsere Welsche Nation inclinirt von Natur mehr zur *Dolcezza* der Music, so gar daß sie sich oft hüten muß, nicht dadurch in eine Schläfrigkeit zu verfallen, die meisten Ausländer hergegen *incliniren* von Natur allzuviel zur *Vivacitet* der Music, wodurch sie gar leicht in *Barbarismum degeneriren*. Wenn aber selbige sich die Mühe geben wollten, uns unsere *Tendresse* der Music zu rauben, und mit ihrer gewöhnlichen Lebhaftigkeit zu vermischen, so würde ein *Tertium* herauskommen, das aller Welt gefiehle.” Telemann, *Briefwechsel*, 355. The original quote can be found in Johann David Heinichen, *Der General-Bass in der Composition* (Dresden: The Author, 1728), 10 fn. f.

¹⁰⁶ “Hier mögte ich wol sagen, wer ist zu dieser glücklichen Mischung wol geschickter als die Teutschen?” Telemann, *Briefwechsel*, 355.

¹⁰⁷ “...eine glückliche Melange vom Italienischen und Französischen Gout das Ohr am meisten frappiren, und es über allen andern besondern Gout der Welt gewinnen müsse.” Heinichen, *Der General-Bass*, 10-11 fn. f.

¹⁰⁸ “...aus diesen Principio will ich hoffen, es werden es einsmahls unsere Compatrioten überhaupt... andern Nationen eben so wohl in Musicalischen Gout abzugewinnen suchen, gleichwie sie ihnen in künstlichen contrapuncten und Theoretischen Accuratessen schon vorlängst palmam præripiret.” *Ibid.*, 12, fn. f.

association of the “mixed style” with German style was reached in the second half of the eighteenth century. In this case, though, theorists were lagging behind composers in working toward this synthesis.¹⁰⁹

By 1745, the situation was such that some Germans could claim that it was their music that was being imitated by other nations. Scheibe, in the preface to the expanded 1745 edition of his *Critischer Musicus*, suggests that even many of the most negligible of German composers can compete with the best Italians. He further claims that the German nation has come so far that their compositions are imitated and copied by the Italians.¹¹⁰ What sets German composers apart from all others, Scheibe writes, is their “diligent work, well-proportioned designs, and harmonic profundity.” Their only weakness, Scheibe notes, is that the German style can easily fall into “turgidness” (“Schwülstige”).¹¹¹

Yet all these various references notwithstanding, it was in Berlin at midcentury that the notion of German musical syncretism began to take firm hold. Shortly after Agricola’s testy pamphlet discussed earlier, Marpurg returned to the topic of French and Italian styles in his *CMS*. Starting in the 40th issue (December 2, 1749), Marpurg published a long essay “on the

¹⁰⁹ For a brief account of the concept of “mixed style,” see Steven David Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste: Style, Genre, and Meaning in Telemann’s Instrumental Works* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 3–4.

¹¹⁰ “Wir haben endlich...unter den Deutschen solche Männer, daß auch die geringsten derselben es mit den besten der Welschen allemal aufnehmen können. Und wer weis nicht, daß es bereits unsere Nation so weit gebracht hat, daß ihre Erfindungen von den Welschen selbst häufig nachgeahmet, noch häufiger aber ab- und ausgeschrieben werden?” Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Critischer Musicus*, Neue, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1745), 27 (unpaginated Vorrede).

¹¹¹ “Die deutsche Musik...unterscheidet sich nur durch eine fleißige Arbeit, regelmäßige Ausführung der Sätze und durch die Tiefsinnigkeit, die sie in der Harmonie anwenden. Sie scheint also sehr gründlich zu seyn; allein sie fällt auch dadurch sehr leicht ins Schwülstige.” *Ibid.*, 147. In the corresponding passage in the first edition, Scheibe had a much less positive way of talking about German music, mentioning “laboriousness than by special design of entire movements,” as differing characteristics of German music. “Die Schreibart der Deutschen . . . unterscheidet sich von ihnen mehr durch eine mühsame Arbeit, als durch eine besondere Einrichtung ganzer Sätze.” Scheibe, *Der critische Musicus*, 1738, 1:118. “Schwülstig” was also the word Scheibe used against J. S. Bach’s music in his criticism of the Leipzig capellmeister. This controversy will be discussed in the next chapter.

decay of good taste in music” (*Versuch über den Verfall des guten Geschmacks in der Musik*) to which he later also added further disparaging comments on Italian musical taste (*Anmerkungen über den Geschmack der Italiäner*). Unsurprisingly, Marpurg has nothing but contempt for most Italian composers, calling them “audacious scorers of nature,” even if not quite “enemies of nature.”¹¹² Marpurg recognizes three main national styles in Europe: Italian, French, and Polish. Showing his frustration with those of his country who reject the idea of a national style, he finds equally wrong those who claim German music is but a mix of the first two styles. In all nations where good music dominates (Marpurg here singles out the French, the Dutch, and the English), the excellence of German music is recognized.¹¹³

As mentioned before, in the debate between Marpurg and Agricola, both authors agreed that German music needed to get the best elements out of other styles (for Marpurg French, and for Agricola Italian music). In response to the criticism that Germans combine different national styles only because they do not have a style of their own, Agricola offers the clever retort that those who criticize Germans for appropriating an Italian style in their compositions are as ridiculous as those who would call the three (Greek architectural) orders German, simply because they are also used by the Germans.¹¹⁴

The question of national styles was also often discussed by Krause in his writings. In what appears to be the only review of a musical book in the learned journal *Critische*

¹¹² “Sind die Italiäner keine Feinde der Natur, so sind sie doch in vielen Stücken kühne Verächter derselben, . . .” Marpurg, *CMS*, 342.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 356–57.

¹¹⁴ “Und wer den Ausdruck: **italiänischer Geschmack**, bey den Deutschen nicht mehr leiden will, wird eben so lächerlich werden, als einer der die Ionische, Dorische, Corinthische, und übrigen Ordnungen der Bau=Kunst, weil sie auch von den Deutschen gebraucht werden, nunmehr die **Deutschen Ordnungen** nennen wollte.” Olibrio [Agricola], *Schreiben an Herrn* ==, 9.

Nachrichten aus dem Reiche der Gelehrsamkeit, Krause reviewed a translation of the French treatise *De la corruption du goust dans la musique françoise* by the French academician Louis Boillioud-Mermet (1709–1794), published in 1746 (and also in two separate German translations from 1749 and 1750).¹¹⁵ After reviewing the contents of the treatise, Krause expresses his contentment with old German composers who were the equal of any of the great French composers who were extolled by Boillioud-Mermet for their beautiful simplicity.¹¹⁶ He even had good words for many new musicians whose pieces remain natural despite not being simple at all.¹¹⁷

In his seminal treatise on poetry and music from 1752, *Von der musikalischen Poesie*, Krause examines the issue of national styles in greater detail. He endorses the German practice of drawing from the most beautiful features of both French and Italian music. Nevertheless, he maintains that Germans cannot just crib music from other lands and simply add a German text to them. Echoing the views of Addison and Steele, he agrees that every nation has its own kind of music, and the music of each nation (anticipating Herder) is based on its language, character, and

¹¹⁵ Freytags, den 27. Hornung [Februar] 1750, No. IX. *Critische Nachrichten aus dem Reiche der Gelehrsamkeit* (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1750), 77–78. The attribution of the anonymous review to Krause follows Joseph Beaujean, *Christian Gottfried Krause, sein Leben und seine Persönlichkeit im Verhältnis zu den musikalischen Problemen des 18. Jahrhunderts als Ästhetiker und Musiker* (Dillingen a. Donau: Schwäbische Verlagsdruckerei, 1930). The first translation was most probably done by Marpurg himself and published in the music critic's *CMS*. The second translation, published as *Herrn Boillioud von Mermet Abhandlung von dem Verderben des Geschmacks in der französischen Musik* in 1750, bears only the initials of the translator: F. G. F. (The online catalog of the Library of Congress identifies him as Friedrich Gotthilf Freytag (1723–1776), although this attribution cannot be verified.) Krause found faults with the second translation, as the translator did not seem to have understood the meaning of the text everywhere. (This makes the attribution to Freytag, a rector and not a musician, more plausible.)

¹¹⁶ Boillioud-Mermet was opposed to Rameau, whom he considered was corrupting French music. Instead, he sided with the secular music of Michel Richard Delalande (1657–1726).

¹¹⁷ "...so wird man allerdings von manchen auch in Deutschland angeführten Musicken [sic] urtheilen können. Wir haben indessen Meister gehabt, die in der schönen Einfalt den alten Französischen völlig gleich gewesen sind, und haben noch jetzt einige grosse Männer aufzuweisen, die ihren fürtrefflichsten alten Musicis nichts nachgeben, und ohngeachtet ihre Stücke nicht mehr so simpel sind, so sind sie doch natürlich geblieben, und nur mit einem fläckern Feuer und grössern Reichthum des Ausdrucks begabt worden." Christian Gottfried Krause, "Review of 'B. v. Mermet Abhandlung von dem Verderben des Geschmacks in der französischen Musik...,'" *Critische Nachrichten aus dem Reiche der Gelehrsamkeit* 1, no. 9 (February 27, 1750): 78.

mores. This is how Graun and Hasse were able to appropriate the Italian style in their operas, but perfect it with good taste in their own manner.

In Germany we did not swear by the Italian style in music. Our composers also extracted beautiful aspects of French music wherever they found it. When it comes to matters of singing in German, [we Germans] do not adhere to any single foreign style. I concur with the English *Spectator* that every nation has its own kind of music that is strongly characterized by its way of thinking, speaking, and the quality of its language. In general, however, good taste lies where [the music] caresses the ear and affects the heart. In Italian operas the taste has been mainly perfected by Mr. Graun and Mr. Hasse.¹¹⁸

Writing in the same year as Krause's treatise, his colleague Quantz echoed similar sentiments. Claiming that Italians used to call the German style barbarous ["un gusto barbaro"], Quantz states that after their exposure to traveling German musicians, the Italians changed their attitudes, such that the most popular operas in Italy are now written by Germans.¹¹⁹ He further thanked the Italians and the French for their contributions to German music, and then proceeded with his famous characterization of German style as the "mixed style:"

If one has the necessary discernment to choose the best from the styles of different countries [Völker], a *mixed style* results that, without overstepping the bounds of modesty, could well be called *the German style*, not only because the Germans came upon it first, but because it has already been established at different places in Germany for many years, flourishes still, displeases in neither Italy nor France, nor in other lands.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ "Wir haben in Deutschland nicht auf den italiänischen Geschmack in der Musik geschworen. Unsere Componisten nehmen das Schöne auch aus der französischen Musik, wenn sie es da finden. In Singesachen über deutsche Worte läßt sich auch keine ausländische Musik vollkommen anbringen. Ich halte mit dem englischen Zuschauer dafür, daß jedes Volk seine eigene Musikart hat, die sehr durch die Manir seiner Art zu denken, zu reden, und durch die Beschaffenheit seiner Sprache characterisiret wird. Ueberhaupt aber bestehet der gute Geschmack darinn, daß man dem Ohre schmeichelt und das Herz rühret; und in den italiänischen Opern ist der Geschmack hauptsächlich, von Herr Hassen und Herr Graunen vollkommen gemacht worden." Krause, *Von der musikalischen Poesie*, 395–96. The *Spectator* article, as Mallard states, dates April 3, 1711 (No. 29).

¹¹⁹ Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voß, 1752), 331.

¹²⁰ "Wenn man aus verschiedener Völker ihrem Geschmacke in der Musik, mit gehöriger Beurtheilung, das Beste zu wählen weis: so fließt daraus ein **vermischter Geschmack**, welchen man, ohne die Gränzen der Bescheidenheit zu überschreiten, nunmehr sehr wohl: **den deutschen Geschmack** nennen könnte: nicht allein weil die Deutschen zuerst darauf gefallen sind; sondern auch, weil er schon seit vielen Jahren, an unterschiedenen Orten Deutschlands, eingeführet worden ist, und noch blühet, auch weder in Italien, noch in Frankreich, noch in andern Ländern

Quantz went on to argue that the obvious advantage of this “mixed style,” was exactly its eclectic nature: every nation can find a quality in it that is similar to their own music, and thus it will never displease them. For this reason, Quantz concludes that the German “mixed style” must necessarily be the “very best”:

For a style of music that is received and approved by many peoples, and not just by a single land, a single province, or a particular nation, a style of music that, for the above reasons, can only meet with approbation, must, if it is also founded on sound judgement and healthy feeling, be the very best.¹²¹

As Carl Dahlhaus has put it, the “mixed style” offered German composers a chance to become universal instead of provincial, bypassing an intermediate “national” stage.¹²² By the 1760s, the heated discussion concerning national musical styles had largely subsided, at least in Germany.¹²³ The next task for German composers was to make sure that their music would be recognized on par with other national styles. And here the slow but increasing recognition of Johann Sebastian Bach would be a key part of this story. But before we turn to that story in the next chapter, one final, late-blooming episode concerning the complicated reception of Italian music in Germany should be looked at.

misfällt.” Ibid., 332. English translation taken from: Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, trans. Edward R. Reilly, Paperback Edition 1975 (New York: Schirmer Books, 1966), 341.

¹²¹ “Denn eine Musik, welche nicht in einem einzelnen Lande, oder oder [sic] in einer einzelnen Provinz, oder nur von dieser oder jener Nation allein, sondern von vielen Völkern angenommen und für gut erkannt wird, ja, aus den angeführten Ursachen, nicht anders als für gut erkannt werden kann, muß, wenn sie sich anders auf die Vernunft und eine gesunde Empfindung gründet, außer allem Streite, die beste seyn.” Quantz, *Versuch*, 334. Translation from Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, 342.

¹²² Dahlhaus, *Die Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 21.

¹²³ There was, of course, the Gluck-Piccinni debates that erupted in the late 1770s as a simmering ember of the earlier debates on French and Italian opera. These debates, however, were less concerned with matters of national style than operatic reforms. See Julian Rushton, “Theory and Practice of Piccinism,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 98 (1972): 31–46.

Pergolesi's Stabat Mater

“Music of the highest rank . . . belongs to us Germans since the eighteenth century . . . while Italy . . . saw its last master of [church music] in its sensitive Pergolesi . . .”¹²⁴ These words were written in 1821 by the music-historian Franz David Christoph Stöpel in his *Grundzüge der Geschichte der modernen Musik*. Stöpel’s observation touches on two of the critical issues that will be discussed below: the role of music as a nation-building agent for Germans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the respective merits of German and Italian music, especially in regard to Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710–1736).

In the second half of the eighteenth century, Pergolesi’s fame had grown so large that his name had become virtually synonymous with good Italian music across Europe. Two of Pergolesi’s most famous works, one secular and one liturgical, stirred animated debates in Europe, long after the composer’s premature death. His short Intermezzo, *La serva padrona*, as we will recall, was famously at the center of the *Querelle des Bouffons*, which rocked France at mid-century. However, his sacred oratorio, the *Stabat mater*, also became a subject of debate much later on (even if the rhetoric had cooled down), especially in German-speaking countries, where its popularity had risen markedly. Yet like the rowdy and raucous Intermezzo, the *Stabat mater* helped to (re)animate heated discussions about the nature of Italian music and its renowned ability to convey moving affects to listeners.

The *Stabat mater* was written in the last year of the composer’s short life, though it was only published posthumously in London in 1749. Its popularity was such that it eventually

¹²⁴ “. . . die Musik in ihrer höchsten Würde, . . . seit dem achzehnten Jahrhunderte uns Deutschen angehört . . . während Italien in dem . . . tieffühlenden Pergolese, . . . seine letzte Meister dieser Musikgattung [Kirchenmusik] sah.” Franz David Christoph Stöpel, *Grundzüge der Geschichte der modernen Musik*. (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1821), 16.

earned the honor of being “the most frequently printed single work in the eighteenth century.”¹²⁵ With its simple three-voice texture with string accompaniment, and appealing lyrical melodies, the work became virtually synonymous with the newer galant style and enjoyed strong approval from audiences. To be sure, Pergolesi’s music was not celebrated by all critics. Almost every German musician who wrote about music in late eighteenth century held an opinion regarding Pergolesi and his *Stabat mater*.¹²⁶ Already in 1774, for example, Pergolesi was mocked as hardly a composer of genius”[who] even if he had lived longer, we would not have received many great works from him.”¹²⁷ But the same author (it was the music critic, Johann Friedrich Reichardt) also described the *Stabat mater* as a piece possessing “a great deal of warmth, very appropriate and touching expression, and the most noble song and fire.”¹²⁸ Around the same time, the Berlin theorist Johann Abraham Peter Schulz (1747–1800) castigated the entire piece as “very error-prone and poor.”¹²⁹

What really made Pergolesi’s name a household name for German music theorists in the late eighteenth century was a series of debates that ignited in Berlin. The initial spark came innocently enough in an article on “displacement” (*Verrückung*) in Sulzer’s famous

¹²⁵ Helmut Huckle and Dale E. Monson, “Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (New York: Macmillan, 2001), 392.

¹²⁶ For a list of performances of Pergolesi’s *Stabat mater* in Germany in the eighteenth century, see Hans-Günter Ottenberg, “Giovanni Battista Pergolesi La Serva padrona und Stabat mater im Spiegel des deutschsprachigen Musikschritftums des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts,” in *Studi Pergolesiani 8 = Pergolesi Studies 8*, ed. Claudio Bacciagaluppi, Hans-Günter Ottenberg, and Luca Zoppelli (Bern: Peter Lang, 2012), 490.

¹²⁷ “Man glaubt, und zwar mit vieler Wahrscheinlichkeit, aus Pergolesi seinen Arbeiten abnehmen, zu können, daß er kein fruchtbares Genie gewesen, und daß, wenn er auch länger gelebt hätte, wie doch nicht sehr viel grosse Werke von ihm erhalten hätten.” Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1774), 135.

¹²⁸ “Wer wüßte wohl nicht, daß sehr viel Wärme, sehr passend und rührender Ausdruck, der edelste Gesang und Feuer, der Charakter dieses kleinen Kirchenstückes ist?” *Ibid.*, 1:133.

¹²⁹ “. . . von uns für ein sehr fehlerhaftes und schlechtes Werk gehalten wird” Johann Georg Sulzer, ed., *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste in einzeln, nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Kunstwörter auf einander folgenden, Artikeln abgehandelt*, vol. II: K–Z (Leipzig: Weidmann und Reich, 1774), 1219.

encyclopedia, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, published in 1774. Most of the musical articles in Sulzer's influential work were written by Johann Abraham Peter Schulz.¹³⁰ Schulz defined displacement as: "a short disruption of the harmony or its order that may be appropriate on certain occasions, wherein one or several tones are displaced either completely or prematurely," implying that it can happen both in harmony as well as in melody.¹³¹

Stipulating that "time, rhythm, and movement can also be displaced in one way or another," Schulz cites several examples of displacement. In one of these examples, Schulz describes displacement as the shortening of metrically strong notes couple with the lengthening of metrically weak ones.¹³² As an example of an effective use of such a displacement, he cites an aria by Graun "Guerrier forte non perdona" from the first act of his opera *Cleopatra e Cesare*—the work that inaugurated Berlin's famed Staatsoper in 1742 (Figure 3.3).

¹³⁰ Evidently, all the musical articles after letter S were exclusively written by Schulz. Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, "Abhandlung. Ueber die in Sulzers Theorie der schönen Künste unter dem Artikel Verrückung angeführten zwey Beyspiele von Pergolesi und Graun, zur Beantwortung einer Aeusserung der Hrn. v. Dittersdorf in Nr. 13 d. 1. Jahrg. der A. M. Z. Seite 204 und 205 (Part II)," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 2, no. 16 (January 15, 1800): 278.

¹³¹ "Durch dieses Wort bezeichnen wir eine, nur eine kurze Zeit dauernde oder aus gewissen Absichten glücklich veranstaltete Zerstörung der Harmonie oder Ordnung, da ein oder mehr Töne aus ihrer Stelle entweder völlig oder zu früh weggerückt werden." Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, 1774, II: K–Z:1218–19.

¹³² Displacement and syncopation are similar phenomena and were used interchangeably by some authors such as Heinrich Christoph Koch (1749–1816). In the third edition of his treatise *Versuch einer geordneten Theorie der Tonsetzkunst*, Gottfried Weber (1779–1839) made a distinction between the two: "Syncope differs from the rhythmical inversion . . . in the circumstances that the merely inverted sound does not, as does the syncopated one, continue on over a portion of the measure which is heavier than that with which it began." Translation from Godfrey Weber, *Theory of Musical Composition*, trans. James F. Warner, vol. 1 (Boston: Wilkins, Carter, and Company, and O. C. B. Carter, 1846), 118. "Von der . . . Rückung unterscheidet sich die Synkope . . . darin, dass der blos gerückte Klang nicht, wie der Synkopierte, bis in eine Zeit hinüberdauert welche schwerer ist als die, mit welcher er eingetreten . . ." Gottfried Weber, *Versuch einer geordneten Theorie der Tonsetzkunst*, dritte, neuerdings überarbeitete Auflage, vol. 1 (Mainz, Paris, and Antwerp: Schott, 1830), 139.



Figure 3.3 C. H. Graun: "Guerrier forte non perdona" in *Cleopatra e Cesare*. Act I, Scene IX, mm. 28–32. Quoted in Johann Georg Sulzer, ed., *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, vol. II: K–Z (Leipzig: Weidmann und Reich, 1774), 1219.

In Schulz's analysis, Graun uses displacement on the words **forte** (– ∪) and **perdona** (∪ – ∪) to great effect. In contrast, he lambasts an excerpt from the second movement of Pergolesi's *Stabat mater*, the aria "Cujus animam gementem," ["whose soul is mourning"] as an egregious example of poor displacement (Figure 3.4). What upset Schulz the most was how the syncopation clashed with the Latin prosody of the phrase. "Anyone who knows Latin," he scolds, "will get shivers just by listening to it!"¹³³



Figure 3.4 Pergolesi: "Cujus animam gementem," in *Stabat mater*. Mm. 1–4. Quoted in Johann Georg Sulzer, ed., *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, vol. II: K–Z (Leipzig: Weidmann und Reich, 1774), 1219.

Schulz's brief swipe at Pergolesi's text setting might have gone unnoticed by German readers had it not been resurrected four years later by the Mannheim-based composer and pedagogue, Georg Joseph Vogler (1749–1814). Vogler is infamous today for his compositional "improvements" to Mozart's *Dissonance Quartet* and some of J. S. Bach's chorales. But it turns out that Vogler also took his scalpel to Pergolesi's *Stabat mater*, rewriting the entire aria that had

¹³³ "...diese Verrückung so unschicklich angebracht ist, daß jedem Sprachkenner bey Anhörung derselben die Haut schaudert." Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, 1774, II: K–Z:1219.

been the subject of Schulz’s scorn. Obviously in agreement with Schulz, he “corrected” all the rhythmic flaws Schulz had identified, even adding his own thoroughbass realization.¹³⁴ We can see in Figure 3.5 how Vogler “corrects” Pergolesi’s “faulty” setting of the text by reversing the rhythm from iambic to trochaic, changing the rhythm in the bass part, occasionally changing the harmony, adding trills to the notes on the weak beats.



Figure 3.5 Vogler’s “improvement” of Pergolesi’s work. Georg Joseph Vogler, *Gegenstände der Betrachtungen [der Mannheimer Tonschule]*, vol. 1. Jahrgang (Speyer: [Bossler], 1778), 15–19.

Marpurg, who had by this point long given up most of his musical activities, was roused to come to Pergolesi’s defense by replying to Schulz’s criticisms almost twenty years after they first appeared.¹³⁵ Counting the *Stabat mater* as one of the key masterworks of the eighteenth century, Marpurg reminisced about a particular performance of the work he heard in Berlin that brought to tears members of the audience, many of whom he characterized as “language

¹³⁴ Georg Joseph Vogler, *Gegenstände der Betrachtungen [der Mannheimer Tonschule]*, vol. 1. Jahrgang (Speyer: [Bossler], 1778), 14–19. For more on Vogler’s corrections and “improvement” of Pergolesi’s *Stabat mater*, see Floyd K. Grave, “Abbé Vogler’s Revision of Pergolesi’s *Stabat Mater*,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30, no. 1 (April 1, 1977): 43–71.

¹³⁵ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, “Ueber die Verziehung eines Tonfusses in dem Pergolesischen *Stabat mater*,” ed. Carl Spazier, *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung*, no. 40 (October 26, 1793): 157–59.

experts.” He contended that there lies something true to Pergolesi’s work that is not possible to explain by applying mechanical rules of art.¹³⁶

Marpurg seems particularly baffled by Schulz’s bias against Pergolesi, given that Schulz had praised a similar example by Graun. Though he admits a few errors here and there in the *Stabat mater*, he vehemently rejected Schulz’s castigation of the whole piece as “very erroneous and poor!” Arguing that the Graun example was not so different from the example Schulz cited from Pergolesi, Marpurg condemned Schulz’s judgment as biased. Either both works should be considered as erroneous, he protested, or neither should.

Marpurg agreed with Schulz on one level that the metrical setting of the Latin by Pergolesi could theoretically be criticized. Differentiating between poetic and prosaic quantities of syllables in Latin, Marpurg dissected the line into four trochees (as did Vogler) (Figure 3.6):

— v — v — v — v
cu - jus a - ni - mam ge - nitem

Figure 3.6 The metric scansion of the text according to Marpurg. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, “Ueber die Verziehung eines Tonfusses in dem Pergolesischen Stabat mater,” ed. Carl Spazier, *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung*, no. 40 (October 26, 1793): 157.

Marpurg then shows how the verse would be set to music, if the meter were to be observed strictly, essentially presenting Vogler’s solution without acknowledgement (Figure 3.7):

¹³⁶ “Ich wünschte, dass der Sammler des Wörterbuchs einer Aufführung desselben, welchen im Jahre 1758 oder 59, in der St. Hedwigskirche allhier (in Berlin) veranstaltet ward, beigewohnt hätte... Personen, welche man Sprachkenntniss zutrauen konnte, sahe man von Zeit sich eine Thräne abtrocknen, und wiederum andere, welche man so wenig für Sprachkenner gehalten, als einer Regung empfänglich zu seyn geglaubt hätte, befanden sich, durch die blosser Musik gerührt, in gleichem Falle... Es muss also doch etwas Wahres, das sich nicht aus den mechanischen Regeln der Kunst allein erklären lässt, in der Musik des Pergolese liegen.” Ibid., 159.



Figure 3.7 Marpurg’s rewriting of the piece with the note values corresponding to the “correct” metric values. Marpurg, “Ueber die Verziehung eines Tonfusses in dem Pergolesischen Stabat mater,” ed. Carl Spazier, *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung*, no. 40 (October 26, 1793): 157–59.

Yet, that is not the end of the story. He goes on to argue that one should not just consider the rhythmic value of the note but also its prosodic stress. In Marpurg’s view, metrical placement always trumped note length.¹³⁷ Thus, the seemingly longer value of the note carrying the unstressed syllable “-jus” compared to the stressed syllable “cu-” is trumped by the weak metrical position of the former.

In order to demonstrate his point, Marpurg provides three examples in which he rewrites Pergolesi’s original version. In the first example, Marpurg rewrites the music in such a way that the stressed syllables receive longer rhythmic values, resulting in the trochaic setting we have seen in Figure 3.7. In the next example (Figure 3.8), he sets the music in a duple meter, thereby eliminating the differences in rhythmic values between the notes.



Figure 3.8 The example written in duple meter by Marpurg. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, “Ueber die Verziehung eines Tonfusses in dem Pergolesischen Stabat mater,” ed. Carl Spazier, *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung*, no. 40 (October 26, 1793): 157–59.

¹³⁷ This whole debate, particularly Marpurg’s contribution, illustrates the shifting attitude towards meter in the eighteenth century. Instead of the old Greek poetic feet, composers were much more inclined to consider metrical placement and stress as the primary factors in measuring music. This shift has been analyzed in Roger Mathew Grant, *Beating Time & Measuring Music in the Early Modern Era*, Oxford Studies in Music Theory (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), 93–99.

Finally, in the last example (Figure 3.9), Marpurg renotates Pergolesi’s original setting by shortening the note values of each second beat so that each quarter becomes an eighth note. In this way, Marpurg argues, the melody retains its inherently trochaic character rather than transforming into a series of iambic feet, as suggested by Schulz.¹³⁸



Figure 3.9 The actual sounding result of the piece in performance, according to Marpurg. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, “Ueber die Verziehung eines Tonfusses in dem Pergolesischen Stabat mater,” ed. Carl Spazier, *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung*, no. 40 (October 26, 1793): 157–59.

Never wasting a moment to engage in further polemics, Marpurg then casts sarcastic barbs at his old friend-turned-adversary Johann Philipp Kirnberger, who was Schulz’s teacher. Marpurg maintains that when Schulz penned his criticism of Pergolesi, he may not have been in a good mood, or perhaps he did not receive good advice from Kirnberger. No doubt, he adds sarcastically, if Pergolesi’s piece had conformed to rules of regular composition (“reiner Satz”), Kirnberger would have praised the work as a masterpiece!¹³⁹ (This is a reference to Kirnberger’s use of the term “reiner Satz” in his seminal treatise *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*.)

The *Stabat mater* remained a controversial piece well into the nineteenth century in Germany. As sketched in Chapter 1, by the end of the eighteenth century, the center of music

¹³⁸ “Wie wenn sich Pergolese, durch den Inhalt des Textes veranlasst, eine Zerreissung der Worte erlaubet . . . würde jemand etwas wider die Quantität eingewendet haben? Wird nun solche durch die Verlängerung der zweiten Note des Trochäus verändert?” Marpurg, “Ueber die Verziehung,” 158.

¹³⁹ “Dass unser Lexicograph übrigens nicht bei guter Laune gewesen, oder von dem Hrn. K. nicht mit gutem Rath bedienet worden, als er die Pergolesische Tonverziehung verwarf, kann daraus gemuthmasset werden, dass er das ganze Stabat mater dieses Componisten für ein fehlerhaftes und schlechtes Werk erklärt. — Hin und wieder *fehlerhaft*, gebe ich zu; aber darum nicht *schlecht*. Ich wollte wetten, dass alles, was unser Kritiker zum Beweise anzuführen gewusst, darauf hinausläuft, dass Pergolese hin und wieder die Reinigkeit des Satzes beleidigt hat, und dass, wenn er in diesem Punkt dem Hrn. K. genug gethan hätte, das Werk für ein Meisterstück von ihm würde erklärt seyn.” Ibid.

criticism in Germany had moved from Berlin to Leipzig. Thus, it comes as no surprise that several key debates that were still raging in Germany were continued in Leipzig's newly founded journal, the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*. The debate around the *Stabat mater* was no exception, being featured already in its first volume from 1798.

In a postscript to a discussion on the respective relations between comic opera and church music, the composer Carl von Dittersdorf (1739–1799) saw it fit to revisit the debate. Referring back to the Graun example cited by Schulz (Figure 3.3), Dittersdorf could not hide his irritation at Schulz's endorsement of Graun's scansion: "Already the first note in 'Guerrier forte' is wrong," he complained, "as the first syllable is short and the second one long: not *guerrriër*, but *guërrriër*."¹⁴⁰ Therefore, he continues, "Graun has erred just as much as the poet." Yet could Metastasio—reputed to be the poet in question—have made such a mistake? Dittersdorf is skeptical given that he could not find the libretto in the poet's complete works.¹⁴¹ Dittersdorf then turns his attention to the Pergolesi example cited by Schulz, in which, unlike the Graun excerpt, he finds real beauty. Essentially recapitulating Marpurg's defense quoted above, Dittersdorf adds that, even if Schulz is right about the strict quantitative duration of the notes, Pergolesi enhances the beauty of the passage through his deft piece of expressive tone painting on words such as "gementem" [mourning] and "pertransivit" [passed through].¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ "Schon die erste Note bey Guerrier forte — ist falsch, da die erste Sylbe kurz, die zweyte hingegen lang ist: nicht *guerrriër* sondern *guërrriër*." Carl von Dittersdorf, "Korrespondenz," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1, no. 13 (December 26, 1798): 204.

¹⁴¹ The libretto was actually written by another Italian, Giovanni Gualberto Bottarelli (fl. 1743–1783).

¹⁴² "Pergolesi, dem wahrscheinlich seine Melodie erst auch so darstellte, wollte aber einen malerischen Druck auf *gementem* und *pertransivit* legen; mithin schöner schreiben." Dittersdorf, "Korrespondenz," 205.

Soon thereafter, and shortly before his death, Schulz came to his own defense, this time with a much more elaborate discussion of the “Cujus animam.”¹⁴³ By dismissing Marpurg as an arithmetician, Schulz expresses his disinterest in engaging with the late Berlin theorist. On the other hand, he voices his admiration for Dittersdorf, whom he calls a sensitive composer [“gefühlvoller Komponist”] and therefore worthy of responding—disregarding the fact that Dittersdorf’s defense of Pergolesi was essentially a summary of Marpurg’s earlier response. At the same time, with a note of irony, Schulz hints at the absurdity of debating “the worth or lack thereof of a melodic passage of only four measures, one that was written over 60 years ago and has nothing particularly noteworthy about it.”¹⁴⁴

Even though he admits the rectitude of Dittersdorf’s explanation of Pergolesi’s setting (as in Figure 3.9), Schulz still takes issue with the Neapolitan composer, as the iambic rhythm he writes for the opening ritornello in the first violins has no vocal line to justify it. Schulz offers two main reasons why he finds the movement “erroneous and reprehensible.” First, the way displacement has been used (and here he uses “Rückung” instead of “Verrückung), and second that the music does not suit the words at all.¹⁴⁵

To demonstrate his points, Schulz does a little bit of rewriting. He contends that to unbiased ears, Pergolesi’s setting would sound like the following (Figure 3.10), in which

¹⁴³ Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, “Abhandlung. Ueber die in Sulzers Theorie der schönen Künste unter dem Artikel Verrückung angeführten zwey Beyspiele von Pergolesi und Graun, zur Beantwortung einer Aeusserung der Hrn. v. Dittersdorf in Nr. 13 d. 1. Jahrg. der A. M. Z. Seite 204 und 205 (Part I),” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 2, no. 15 (January 8, 1800): 257–65.

¹⁴⁴ “[D]enn blos aus Rechthaberey sich über den Werth oder Unwerth eines melodischen Satzes von vier Takten, der von länger als 60 Jahren geschrieben ist, und gar nichts auszeichnendes Genialisches hat, zu streiten, wäre doch wohl von gar keinem Nutzen.” *Ibid.*, 259.

¹⁴⁵ “Wodurch wird denn nun jener melodische Satz fehlerhaft und tadelnswerth? 1) Durch die Art und Weise, wie die Rückung angebracht ist; und 2) Dadurch, dass er überhaupt nicht zu den Worten passt.” *Ibid.*, 261.

melody, harmony, rhythm, and meter accord with each other, and no listener would be able to tell that the respective positions of arsis and thesis have been reversed:

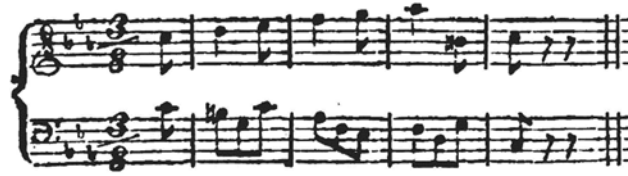


Figure 3.10 J. A. P. Schulz’s rewriting of the Pergolesi example according to “unbiased” ears. Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, “Abhandlung. Ueber die in Sulzers Theorie der schönen Künste . . .” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 2, no. 15 (January 8, 1800): 261.

The problem with this setting, Schulz says, is that every long syllable is perceived as short and vice versa. Allowing some leeway to accommodate Dittersdorf’s explanation, Schulz still believes that Pergolesi should not have used displacement in the first measure. This displacement, Schulz believes, leads to the listener confusing the arsis and thesis, bolstered by the authentic cadence on the second beat of the fourth measure (Figure 3.11).



Figure 3.11 Schulz’s rewriting of the Pergolesi example, reversing the note values in the first measure. J. A. P. Schulz, “Abhandlung. Ueber die in Sulzers Theorie der schönen Künste . . .” *AmZ* 2, no. 15 (January 8, 1800): 262.

Zooming out to include eight measures (Figure 3.12), Schulz argues that the improper use of displacement causes the ear to confuse the arsis and thesis, and thereby, hear the cadence on the second (weak) beat of m. 4 as a downbeat.



Figure 3.12 The first eight measures in Pergolesi’s original notation, but with Schulz’s altered bass line. J. A. P. Schulz, “Abhandlung. Ueber die in Sulzers Theorie der schönen Künste . . .” *AmZ* 2, no. 15 (January 8, 1800): 262.

The result would look (and sound) like either of these two examples (Figure 3.13):



Figure 3.13 Schulz argues that the listener will hear the cadence in m. 4 on a different beat than Pergolesi intended, as in a. or b. J. A. P. Schulz, “Abhandlung. Ueber die in Sulzers Theorie der schönen Künste . . .” *AmZ* 2, no. 15 (January 8, 1800): 263.

In concluding his critique of Pergolesi, Schulz offers two “corrections.” In the first one, Schulz essentially repeats what Vogler had offered in his own correction (with a new bass line). In the second one, Schulz—wanting to preserve both the word-painting and observing the right

accentuation of the words—offers the most radical correction, making Pergolesi’s original music almost unrecognizable (Figure 3.14):



Figure 3.14 Schulz’s two possible “improvements” to Pergolesi’s music. J. A. P. Schulz, “Abhandlung. Ueber die in Sulzers Theorie der schönen Künste . . .” *AmZ* 2, no. 15 (January 8, 1800): 264–65.

By 1800, the *Stabat mater* was so tired a topic, some cynical theorists resorted to gender stereotypes to explain its popularity. For Karl Spazier, the *Stabat mater* appealed to uneducated ears due to its being “soft, sweet, smelting, and melodious,” qualities that specially win feminine (or rather, effeminate men’s) hearts!¹⁴⁶ By 1814, as the dust had somewhat settled, E. T. A. Hoffmann referred to the whole brouhaha regarding the metrical setting of “cujus animam” as idle talk (Geschwätze).¹⁴⁷

Postscript

Why did all these seemingly trivial issues spark such intense controversy in Berlin during the later eighteenth century? In this chapter, I have tried to suggest that it had much to do with Berlin’s position as the capital of Prussia and the nationalistic sentiments that were stirring there

¹⁴⁶ “Das Weichliche, Süsse, Schmelzende, Melodieuse ist aller gerade das, was ungebildete Ohren am leichtesten anreizt, und insonderheit weibliche (man kann auch wohl sagen, weibische Männer.” Footnote to Karl Spazier, “Einige Worte zur Rechtfertigung Marpurgs, und zur Erinnerung an seine Verdienste (Part I),” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 2, no. 32 (May 7, 1800): 557–58.

¹⁴⁷ E[rnst] T[heodor] A[madeus] Hoffmann, “Review of ‘Zwölf Lieder alter und neuerer Dichter, mit Begleitung des Pianoforte in Musik gesetzt von W. F. Riem.,” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 16, no. 41 (October 12, 1814): 688.

at the time. Significant in this regard was the changing attitude towards Pergolesi and his *Stabat mater*. Whereas the Neapolitan composer came under heavy attack by various German musicians in the eighteenth century, he was generally looked upon favorably by nineteenth-century German music-historians.¹⁴⁸

This change of attitude can be explained by the developments in German music over the last decades of the eighteenth century. Whereas German composers and theorists struggled to articulate a German national identity in their music during the eighteenth century in the face of overwhelming Italian dominance, this problem abated quickly in the course of the nineteenth century. Once German music matured and gained prominence, not to say domination, in the historiography of the nineteenth century, Italian composers like Pergolesi were no more perceived as a threat. In fact, by the early nineteenth century, the identification of Germans with music was so strong that it impelled Robert Schumann to compare the importance of Beethoven's symphonies for Germans to Naples for Italians, the French Revolution for the French or seafaring for the English.¹⁴⁹ In contrast to their anxious eighteenth-century predecessors who strove for the recognition and establishment of a national music for the German people, nineteenth-century music historians could proudly point to a heritage of German music that by then was casting its shadows across Europe and beyond. And we must give much credit for this far-reaching transformation to the emergence of a robust public sphere in the

¹⁴⁸ See, for example, the quote from Stöpel from earlier, in which he considered Pergolesi to be one of the last good composers from Italy.

¹⁴⁹ "Wenn der Deutsche von Symphonien spricht, so spricht er von Beethoven. . . . Wie Italien sein Neapel hat, der Franzose seine Revolution, der Engländer seine Schiffahrt etc., so der Deutsche seine Beethoven'schen Symphonien." Robert Schumann, ed., "Neue Symphonien für Orchester (Part I)," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 11, no. 1 (July 2, 1839): 1.

eighteenth century in which music—and animated discussions about music--occupied an important place.

But for the German nation firmly to establish its dominance in Europe, there seemed to be one missing element: a national founding figure who could be said to have first established those values and excellence that German music stood for. Thanks to several loyal disciples and sons who lived in Berlin, Johann Sebastian Bach came to assume this role posthumously. In the words of Charles Sanford Terry, who translated Forkel's Bach biography into English, "Bach's is the first great voice from out of Germany since Luther."¹⁵⁰ Music, as it were, led the way in the formation of a German nation with Bach as its progenitor. We tend even today to date the first real recognition of Bach's promethean role in German music history to Mendelssohn's famous revival of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* in 1829. But the seeds of Bach hagiography were actually sown many decades before Mendelssohn was even born. In the next chapter, we will hear the story of how, in the hands of Berlin-based music theorists and connoisseurs, J. S. Bach came to be honored posthumously as a national hero for the German nation, his music an embodiment of German spirit and ideals.

¹⁵⁰ Charles Sanford Terry, *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Life, Art, and Work*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920), xvi.

Chapter 4 - “The Capital of Sebastian Bach”: Bach in Berlin in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century

Introduction

And this man, the greatest musical poet and the greatest musical orator that ever existed, and probably ever will exist, was a German. Let his country be proud of him; let it be proud, but, at the same time, worthy of him!¹

This rousing eulogy that concludes Johann Nikolaus Forkel’s famous 1802 biography of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750) can be seen as an early instantiation of the close bond between music and nationalism in Germany, with Bach now standing as a national hero for the imaginary “German nation.” In this chapter, I will trace the path which led from the early Berlin reception of Bach at mid-century to Forkel’s famous biography some 50 years later. In so doing, I will challenge some of the commonly held notions about Bach’s reception in the eighteenth century. We will see that Bach was already becoming something of a national figure soon after his death in 1750, particularly in the works of music theorists active in Berlin. Other issues I will reread are the famous Scheibe controversy (as a well-known example of Bach’s mixed reception during his lifetime), Kirnberger’s supposed authority as a Bach student, and how the picture of Bach that was emerging was one shaped carefully and selectively by C. P. E. Bach, Kirnberger, and Forkel.

On the one hand, after Johann Sebastian Bach’s death, his perceived outmoded style was quickly replaced by a trendier galant style favored by most of his successors in Leipzig. On the

¹ “Und dieser Mann — der größte musikalische Dichter und der größte musikalische Declamator, den es je gegeben hat, und den es wahrscheinlich je geben wird — war ein Deutscher. Sey stolz auf ihn, Vaterland; sey auf ihn stolz, aber, sey auch seiner werth!” Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke - Für patriotische Verehrer echter musikalischer Kunst* (Leipzig: Hoffmeister & Kühnel, 1802), 69. English translation in Hans T. David, Arthur Mendel, and Christoph Wolff, eds., *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 479.

other hand, his music found a more receptive home in Berlin that continued with virtually no interruption among a select circle of theorists and connoisseurs right up to the beginning of the so-called “Bach Revival” in 1829.² Already in 1747, with his famous visit to the court of Friedrich II. in Potsdam, he had assumed the role of an authority figure in the newly established Berlin public sphere.³

Two of Bach’s most successful sons—Carl Philipp Emanuel and Wilhelm Friedemann—lived in Berlin at different times, making their father’s music all the more accessible to musical circles there.⁴ Bach’s legacy was also carried on by a small but dedicated group of students and disciples across Germany. Among them, the ones who settled in Berlin could use an already established public forum of print journalism to further disseminate the legacy of the late master.

As discussed in previous chapters, this was particularly the case with Marburg and his first music journal from 1749, *Der critische Musicus an der Spree (CMS)*, whose public discussion of music theoretical matters had no rival in other German cities. Marburg’s public

² Many scholars have questioned the notion of a “Bach revival” recently, given the ever accumulating documentation showing that the legacy of Bach carried on after his death much more than previously assumed. This is especially the case as more evidence has come to light about the reception of Bach’s music in Berlin (primarily Jewish) salons. See, for example, Peter Wollny, “*Ein förmlicher Sebastian und Philipp Emanuel Bach-Kultus*”: Sara Levy und ihr musikalisches Wirken; mit einer Dokumentensammlung zur musikalischen Familiengeschichte der Vorfahren von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2010). Some scholars (following Michael Kassler’s 2004 book) now refer to a “Bach awakening.” See Michael Kassler, *The English Bach Awakening: Knowledge of J.S. Bach and His Music in England, 1750-1830*, Music in Nineteenth Century Britain (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

³ Bach’s visit was hailed in the *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* in an issue on Thursday May 11, 1747. Quoted in Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze, eds., *Fremdschriftliche und gedruckte Dokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs, 1685-1750*, Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke—Supplement: *Bach-Dokumente 2* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969), 434–45. English translation in David, Mendel, and Wolff, *NBR*, 224. Bach’s famous visit resulted in his collection, the *Musical Offering*, which he dedicated to Friedrich.

⁴ Carl Philipp Emanuel was in Berlin 1740–1768 and Wilhelm Friedemann in 1774–1784.

forum allowed for an open discussion of Bach's music, as well as broader debates on national styles.

After a brief discussion of nationalism in eighteenth century Germany, in this chapter, I will explore the very beginnings of the "Bach movement" in Berlin and proceed to present the trio of C. P. E. Bach, Kirnberger, and Forkel as the main instigators for crafting the figure of Bach as we know him today. Many of the topics discussed in previous chapters will reappear here: 1) the anxiety expressed by musicians that Germany was lagging behind France and Italy as a musical nation; 2) the promise of German becoming a true literary language; 3) the establishment of a robust public sphere in print that led to the rapid spread of ideas; 4) how a fragmented Germany meant decentralized hubs for the spread of culture; and 5) a push towards the universalization of German culture, identity, and language. In each of these sections, the figure of J. S. Bach proved catalytic.

German Nationalism in the Eighteenth Century

To understand Bach's posthumous legacy and what it meant for the German people, we have to consider the beginnings of calls for unity among German-speaking lands and patriotic sentiments in the late eighteenth century. The German nation was then something of an "imagined community" to invoke Benedict Anderson's famous expression, more an ideal than a political reality.⁵ Yet cultural figures such as Bach were important catalysts for helping to promote the ideal of nationhood at the time. Bach's promotion as a national composer for

⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised Edition (London: Verso, 1991).

Germans came out of the same cultural currents that helped to establish Shakespeare as the national English poet around the same time.⁶

Nationalistic aspirations are widely evident in the writings of many German intellectuals in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, including intellectual figures such as Gottsched, Lessing, Mendelssohn, Schiller, and Goethe. (It should be noted here that later, more aggressive forms of nationalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries should not be confused with the liberal aspirations of the Enlightenment.) As Carl Dahlhaus warns, trying to understand nationalism in the eighteenth century from the vantage point of nineteenth century would be the crudest methodological mistake.⁷

During the eighteenth century, in German lands, nationality was largely connected to cultural identity and language, rather than state borders; “Germany” was more a cultural and linguistic notion—or rather an “imagined community”—than a political entity.⁸ According to Robert von Friedeburg, as late as the eighteenth century, small ducal towns were occasionally addressed as “Fatherland.”⁹ In German sources, one often encounters a distinction between

⁶ On Shakespeare’s becoming “England’s national poet,” see Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660–1769* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

⁷ Carl Dahlhaus, ed., *Die Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft 5 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1985), 19.

⁸ Thomas Munck, *The Enlightenment: A Comparative Social History 1721–1794* (London: Arnold, 2002), 199; Eric D. Weitz, “Nationalism,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Holocaust Studies*, ed. Peter Hayes and John K. Roth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 59. For a history of nationalism in Germany, see Volker Kronenberg, *Patriotismus in Deutschland: Perspektiven für eine weltoffene Nation*, 3. Auflage (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2013); Wolfgang Hardtwig, *Nationalismus und Bürgerkultur in Deutschland, 1500–1914: ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994). For an overview of two differing views on the start dates of German nationalism and literature related to it, see Christian Jansen, “The Formation of German Nationalism, 1740–1850,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History*, ed. Helmut Walser Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 235.

⁹ Robert von Friedeburg, “Origins of Modern Germany,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History*, ed. Helmut Walser Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 31.

“engeres” (narrow, regional) and “weiteres” (expanded, German) Fatherland.¹⁰ This attitude was to change towards the end of the century.

Thanks to intellectuals such as Johann Gottfried Herder and Johann Gottlieb Fichte, the notion of a strong “German” cultural identity—what was in the late nineteenth century to be called *Kulturnation*—was shaped well before the unification of German lands. For Herder and his contemporaries like Goethe, the German national culture helped form a people (“Volk”), without which there could be no true public, nation, language, or poetry.¹¹ Herder, a native of East Prussia and therefore a subject of Friedrich II, found Friedrich’s Francophilia increasingly repugnant, a fact that played a crucial role in his moving out of his own state and settling in Weimar. Yet, although Herder argued for a political unification of Germany and giving prominence to the German language and cultural traditions, he believed in the equality of nations.¹² Herder believed that all nations were equally construed based on such factors as their language, arts, and sciences.¹³

¹⁰ Ute Planert, “International Conflict, War, and the Making of Modern Germany, 1740–1815,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History*, ed. Helmut Walser Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 99.

¹¹ “Doch bleibts immer und ewig, daß wenn wir kein Volk haben, wir kein Publikum, keine Nazion, keine Sprache und Dichtkunst haben, die unser sey, die in uns lebe und wirke.” Johann Gottfried von Herder, “Von Aehnlichkeit der mittlern englischen und deutschen Dichtkunst,” ed. Heinrich Christian Boie, *Deutsches Museum* 2, no. 2 (1777): 429. On the origins of the distinction between folk and art music, see Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of “Folk Music” and “Art Music”: Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹² Derek Heater, *The Theory of Nationhood: A Platonic Symposium* (London, New York: Macmillan, St Martin’s Press, 1998), 15.

¹³ Herder is credited with the coining of the word *Volkslied*, long before the English equivalent “folk song” was used. For an excellent compilation and English translation of Herder’s writings on music, see Johann Gottfried Herder and Philip V. Bohlman, *Song Loves the Masses: Herder on Music and Nationalism* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017). For Herder and his ideas on nationalism, see Frederick M. Barnard, *Herder on Nationality, Humanity, and History*. (Montréal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003). For shorter treatments of the issue of Herder and nationalism, see Dominic Eggel, Andre Liebich, and Deborah Mancini-Griffoli, “Was Herder a Nationalist?,” *The Review of Politics* 69, no. 1 (2007): 48–78; Alan Patten, “‘The Most Natural State’: Herder and Nationalism,” *History of Political Thought* 31, no. 4 (2010): 657–89.

Among the arts, music played a particularly important role in cementing a nationalist identity in Germany. Around the mid eighteenth century these ideas were mostly reflected in efforts to identify and legitimize a German musical style as no less worthy than the well-established French and Italian styles. Later in the century, music was considered to have contributed the most to the “formation of the German nation,” at least as Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832) saw it.¹⁴ As Zelter further noted, music was the art most closely associated with the essence of being German, which he identified with two essential characteristics: constancy and seriousness [*Treue* and *Ernsthaftigkeit*]. Similarly for the founder of the Leipzig-based *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, Friedrich Rochlitz, music was not merely a fine art, but an essential part of “the history of the development [*Bildung*] of the nation overall.”¹⁵

The Beginnings of Bach Hagiography

By almost all contemporaneous accounts, Bach was seen as a strangely unfashionable composer by most of his contemporaries. Lest we forget, even at the time of his Leipzig audition in 1723, he was the town council’s third choice for the directorship of the Thomaskirche. (The cosmopolitan and eclectic Telemann was their first choice.) And while Bach’s reputation had

¹⁴ For an extensive discussion of Zelter’s response to Hardenberg where he elaborates his ideas about music and Germany, see Celia Applegate, “How German Is It? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century,” *19th-Century Music* 21, no. 3 (1998): 274–96.

¹⁵ “...eine Geschichte der Musik ...Geschichte der Bildung der Nation überhaupt” Friedrich Rochlitz, “Vorschläge zu Betrachtungen über die neueste Geschichte der Musik,” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1, no. 40 (July 3, 1799): 626–27. Quoted and translated in Celia Applegate and Pamela Maxine Potter, “Germans as the ‘People of Music’: Genealogy of an Identity,” in *Music and German National Identity*, ed. Celia Applegate and Pamela Maxine Potter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 4. For more on the relation between Germans and music in later periods, see Barbara Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds: Musical Constructions of German National Identity, 1848-1914*, Music in Society and Culture (Woodbridge, UK; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2012); Celia Applegate and Pamela Maxine Potter, eds., *Music and German National Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); David Lee Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum: Political Ideology, German Identity, and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna*, New Cultural History of Music (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Melanie Schiller, *Soundtracking Germany: Popular Music and National Identity*, Popular Musics Matter: Social, Political and Cultural Interventions (London; New York: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2018); Pamela Maxine Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler’s Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

grown well beyond Saxony and Thuringia by the end of his career, his fame rested more on his skill as an organist than as a composer.

To be sure, it is important to remember that our current hard distinction between composer and performer was far less meaningful in the eighteenth century than it is today, as all musicians were expected to compose and improvise at some level. Still, when Bach was alive, he did not have the same reputation as a composer that he would enjoy posthumously. The first references to him in print come from Hamburg, where Mattheson—perhaps out of his own urge for encyclopedic completeness—makes cursory remarks about “the famous organist in Weimar,” hoping to glean more biographical information about him.¹⁶ By 1731, however, Mattheson clearly had gotten some more information, making several short references to Bach as a composer, and complaining about the difficulty of his keyboard music and the unsingability of his vocal works.¹⁷ These complaints become recurring themes in contemporaneous discussions of Bach’s music, including Scheibe’s famous criticisms (discussed below). Bach’s first biographical notice appears in the *Musicalisches Lexicon* (1732) of his cousin Johann Gottfried Walther, in which the composer’s first collection of *Clavierübung* (his only published keyboard work up until then) is mentioned. Bach’s arrival in Leipzig in 1723 had a major effect on his reputation, as the city boasted a long tradition as a publishing center and was home to influential

¹⁶ Johann Mattheson, *Das Beschützte Orchestre* (Hamburg: im Schillerischen Buchladen, 1717), 222.

¹⁷ Johann Mattheson, *Grosse General-Baß-Schule* (Hamburg: Johann Christoph Kießner, 1731), 345 and 444. Reprinted in Neumann and Schulze, *BD II*, 220–21. As stated on the title page, Mattheson’s 1731 treatise was the second and revised edition of Johann Mattheson, *Exemplarische Organisten-Probe* (Hamburg: Schiller und Kießner, 1719).

writers such as Gottsched (who, already in 1728, mentioned Bach as a famous German composer alongside Handel and Telemann).¹⁸

How did Bach himself want to be known? It is, of course, impossible to answer this question with any certainty. But based on his extant correspondence, it seems evident that from around 1729 he was increasingly dissatisfied with his position in Leipzig and looked for other sources of income and employment. Aware of the changing taste in music, Bach seemed particularly interested in branding himself as a composer for the court in Dresden, a position he never officially assumed, notwithstanding the honorary title *Hofcompositeur* bestowed upon him in 1736. A look at the oeuvre published during his lifetime reveals that Bach chose to (or perhaps had to) publish only instrumental works, particularly keyboard music, due to financial reasons.¹⁹ (Publishing sacred music without the support of a patron would not have the same financial prospect as keyboard music, as the market for domestic music making was growing rapidly and large sacred works rarely got more than a handful of performances.)

By the end of his life, however, Bach's extraordinary skills as a composer were beginning to be acknowledged in Germany as well as abroad. A few months before his death, Bach was praised by no less a figure than Bologna-based Padre Martini, perhaps the most prominent counterpoint teacher in Italy at the time. After reviewing Bach's *Musical Offering* with its impressive demonstration of Bach's command of fugal and canonic writing, Martini describes the Leipzig Capellmeister as very well-known and respected "not only in Germany, but also

¹⁸ [Johann Christoph] [Gottsched], "Fünff und achtzigstes Blatt," *Der Biedermann* 2 (December 20, 1728): 140. Reprinted in Neumann and Schulze, *BD II*, 184.

¹⁹ With the notable exception of the cantata *Gott ist mein König*, published in 1708 on the occasion of the inauguration of the town council in Mühlhausen. For a study of the reception of Bach's keyboard works, see Matthew Charles Dirst, *Engaging Bach: The Keyboard Legacy from Marpurg to Mendelssohn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

throughout our Italy.”²⁰ Of course, one must remember that before the establishment of a solid music periodical culture, much of the talk about Bach’s music must have circulated in the private sphere, either orally, or in letters that have mostly not survived. Therefore, drawing any definitive conclusions by relying on extant printed sources only would be precarious and necessarily prone to errors.

The end result of this complex picture, as Evelyn Buyken argues, was that Bach was received after his death as three differing personae: Bach the contrapuntist, Bach the genius, and Bach the national.²¹ In her insightful analysis, these three personae were rarely isolated, but usually spilled over each other. Yet it is the last of these, Bach the national, which will be the main focus of this chapter.

Several reasons can be given for why Bach became the de facto choice as the trailblazer of German music. First, he lived at a time when the German nation was undergoing some of the most decisive changes in its history. Bach was born less than 40 years after the end of the devastating Thirty Years’ War that had decimated much of the German population. Soon after his death in 1750, however, the Prussian army, under the leadership of Friedrich II, fought the Seven Years’ War, conquering much land and gaining power and prestige for Prussia. As discussed in Chapter 1, German slowly replaced Latin as the language of scholarly discourse in German lands in the course of the eighteenth century, and with it came a remarkable growth of

²⁰ “Sig. Bach... é troppo cognito ed amirato non solo nella Germania, ma in tutta la nostra Italia.” From a manuscript held at the Biblioteca musicale “G. B. Martini,” Bologna, H 86 (Carteggio martiniano, Tomo 3), lettera 96, fol. 2v. Quoted in Neumann and Schulze, *BD II*, 469.

²¹ Evelyn Buyken, *Bach-Rezeption als kulturelle Praxis: Johann Sebastian Bach zwischen 1750 und 1829 in Berlin*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, Band 81 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2018), 55–94. Buyken’s book has been a great source for this chapter, albeit with a quite different agenda than my own. The book’s focus lies primarily on the reception of Bach’s music through the lens of performance in Berlin, with a particular emphasis on salon culture in the late eighteenth century. My focus, instead, lies earlier in the century, and primarily a discursive interest from a music-theoretical perspective.

publications in German, many of which aimed to put German arts and sciences on par with the other advanced nations of Europe. The wide array of musical books published around this time show that music was a key part of these developments.

Second, for most of the Germans who wrote about Bach in the eighteenth century, he embodied (or at least seemed to embody) characteristic virtues and values that were being increasingly associated with the German people, including discipline, piety, and modesty.²² The roots of these characteristics can be traced back to a set of values that became associated with Prussians from the early eighteenth century and came to be known as Prussian virtues (*preußische Tugenden*). These virtues, though perhaps originating in Prussia's military culture, were softened and modified with bourgeois values stemming from Pietism and the Enlightenment.²³ Key among these values was the concept of diligence or industriousness (*Fleiß*). Labor and industriousness had become inherent qualities in the bourgeois mentality since the seventeenth century.²⁴ In Germany, in particular, these qualities were combined with a mission to bring German culture and language on par with other powerful states in Europe, thereby amplifying their effect and import.

²² Many of the characteristics that were integral to national identity, such as power and courage were associated with masculinity. For more on the gendered aspects of these values, see Frank Hentschel, *Bürgerliche Ideologie und Musik. Politik der Musikgeschichtsschreibung in Deutschland 1776–1871* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2006), 453–57; Buyken, *Bach-Rezeption als kulturelle Praxis*, 81–94.

²³ The origins of these values lay already around 1701 with the establishment of the Kingdom of Prussia, but especially after the ascension to the throne of Friedrich Wilhelm I.—known as the Soldier King (*Soldatenkönig*)—whose notorious obsessions with military discipline made deep dents in the national Prussian (and later German) spirit. With the formation of the modern nation-state of Germany in 1871, Prussian virtues were for the most part transformed into German virtues, somewhat bypassing the provincial differences among the different states in Germany. However, the term “German virtues” (*deutsche Tugend*) had been in use at least since the late eighteenth century. See, for example, Julius Friedrich Knüppeln, *Charakteristik von Berlin: Stimme Eines Kosmopoliten in Der Wüsten*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Philadelphia [i.e. Leipzig]: [Kummer], 1784), 181. Here, the author refers to the German virtues in surveying the *Berlinsche Montasschrift* and the poems in it that could “awaken German virtues.”

²⁴ Paul Münch, “Arbeit und Fleiß in der Frühen Neuzeit,” in *Leistung als Paradigma: Zur Entstehung und Transformation eines pädagogischen Konzepts*, ed. Sabine Reh and Norbert Ricken (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2018), 63–111.

This discussion of values is evident in Mattheson's attempt at compiling biographies and work lists of the most celebrated German composers in his *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte*.²⁵ (Tellingly, the book includes an extensive entry on Telemann, but not one on Bach, despite Mattheson's repeated requests to Bach to supply him with biographical information.) In his book, Mattheson emphasized values such as competence, godliness, and piety as virtues that he believed differentiated German composers from those of other nations:

As far as I know, there is no avaricious Tafi here, no murderous Castagno, no bullish Raphael, and the like, to be found among my musicians, but (human weaknesses aside), they are capable, God-fearing, honest, pious men, whose various writings show that they are hostile to all vices.²⁶

It comes as no surprise, then, that many early references to Bach emphasize his diligence and his zeal, in line with the national German spirit. Already in the *Nekrolog*, Bach's obituary co-drafted by C. P. E. Bach and Agricola, Bach's avidity (*Begierde*) and zeal (*Eifer*) are mentioned several times, often with romanticized anecdotes about his industriousness as a youth.²⁷ In an essay on the development of music in Germany in the eighteenth century, filled with patriotic fervor, Johann Carl Friedrich Triest (1764–1810) wrote that Bach had single-

²⁵ Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg: Mattheson, 1740).

²⁶ "So viel mit bekannt, ist hier kein geitziger Taffi, kein mörderischer Castagno, kein bullen-mäßiger Raphael u.d.g. unter meinen Musicis anzutreffen, sondern es sind (menschliche Schwachheiten ausgenommen) tüchtige, gottsfürchtige, redliche fromme Männer, an deren etlicher Schreibart selbst man so gar erkennen kann, daß sie den Lastern feind sind." Ibid., IX. Andrea Tafi (1213–1294), Andrea del Castagno (1421–1457), and Raffael (1483–1520) were all famed Italian artists.

²⁷ Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Johann Friedrich Agricola, "[Nekrolog] VI. Denkmal dreyer verstorbenen Mitglieder der Societät der musikalischen Wissenschaften; C. Der dritte und letzte ist der im Orgelspielen Weltberühmte HochEdle Herr Johann Sebastian Bach, Königlich-Pohlnischer und Churfürstlich Sächsischer Hofcompositeur, und Musikdirector in Leipzig," ed. Lorenz Christoph Mizler, *Musikalische Bibliothek* 4, no. 1 (1754): 158–76. Examples of these fabrications include the anecdote about Bach copying his brother's collection of keyboard pieces by the moonlight. For a critical review of this anecdote, see Peter Williams, *Bach: A Musical Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 22–27.

handedly completed and perfected the edifice of musical harmony whose ground work had been laid by his predecessors with requisite “German industriousness and national spirit.”²⁸

There were other factors for Bach being hailed as the German musician par excellence as well. To begin with, he came from a renowned family of musicians. At a time when many professions were dominated through blood lines, the name Bach was synonymous with musicianship. Already during Johann Sebastian Bach’s lifetime, there were accounts of the Bach family being so musical that even the letters of their name (B-A-C-H in German notation equaling our B flat-A-C-B natural) formed a musical motive.²⁹ Other biographical factors contributed to this hagiography: Bach had lived his entire life in German-speaking lands; he had never written an opera (associated, of course, with Italian musicians, and having no real roots in Germany); and he was a devout Lutheran (a fact that distinguished north Germans from many of their southern Catholic counterparts).³⁰

Scheibe’s Critique: A Rethinking

The question of Bach as a “national” icon was broached early on by the Leipzig-born Johann Adolph Scheibe, though in a critical manner. Contrary to the popular opinion about Scheibe, he was a fervent admirer of Bach. As I hope to show, Scheibe’s criticism was rather

²⁸ “...Bach beschäftigte sich nur mit einer Sache, woran schon sonst der deutsche Fleiss und Nationalgeist gearbeitet hatte; er vollendete und befestigte nur das grosse Gebäude der Harmonie an und für sich selbst.” Friedrich Triest, “Bemerkungen über die Ausbildung der Tonkunst in Deutschland im achzehnten Jahrhundert (Fortsetzung),” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3 (January 21, 1801): 273.

²⁹ Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon oder Musicalische Bibliothec : Darinnen nicht allein Die Musici, welche so wol in alten als neuern Zeiten* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, 1732), 64. Walther attributes the discovery of this motive to the “Leipzig Bach” (“Diese Remarque hat den Leipziger hrn. Bach zum Erfinder.”).

³⁰ Bernd Sponheuer, “Über das ‚Deutsche‘ in der Musik. Versuch einer idealtypischen Rekonstruktion,” in *Deutsche Meister, böse Geister?: Nationale Selbstfindung in der Musik*, ed. Hermann Danuser and Herfried Münkler (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2001), 138–43; Bernd Sponheuer, “Reconstructing Ideals Types of the ‘German’ in Music,” in *Music and German National Identity*, ed. Celia Applegate and Pamela Maxine Potter (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 48–52.

rooted in his frustration that Bach never had fulfilled the promise of the composer to become a universal (i.e., European) musician from Germany.

In 1737, at the height of Bach's fame in Leipzig (and his apparent dissatisfaction with his job), Scheibe published an anonymous critique of Bach, without mentioning his name.³¹ In the short article, Scheibe praises Bach as a "great man who would be the admiration of whole nations" albeit with a caveat: "if he had more amenity, 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."³² This pamphlet caused a ruckus among some of Bach's inner circle, impelling one of them, Johann Abraham Birnbaum, to issue a lengthy rebuttal against Scheibe.

As this debate has been written about extensively, I will not be rehearsing its details here. From Forkel until recently, most scholars have jumped to Bach's defense, dismissing Scheibe's criticism as biased and untruthful and tarnishing Scheibe's reputation. In his biography of Bach, for example, Forkel depicts Scheibe as an embittered former student of Bach who "sought to revenge himself by violent attack" on his old teacher because of Bach's alleged harsh judgement against Scheibe in an audition—a story that has been debunked with ample evidence.³³ Only in the last decades have some scholars reevaluated the whole controversy with a more sympathetic

³¹ As he claims in the preface to the first volume of his *der Critische musicus*, Scheibe received this criticism of Bach from a friend of his. It was only in the second edition of his periodical that Scheibe acknowledged the authorship of the letter, even if he backed down from some of his original claims by removing them from the second edition.

³² For citations and translations of the Scheibe-Bach controversy, see Neumann and Schulze, *BD II*; David, Mendel, and Wolff, *NBR*; Beverly Jerold, "The Bach-Scheibe Controversy: New Documentation," *Bach* 42, no. 1 (2011): 1–45.

³³ "Der ehemahlige Dänische Capellmeister Scheibe... sich nachher in seinem kritischen Musikus durch einen heftigen Ausfall an seinem ehemahligen Richter zu rächen suchte." Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben*, 22.. English Translation in David, Mendel, and Wolff, *NBR*, 440. For the evidence proving Forkel wrong, see Jerold, "The Bach-Scheibe Controversy," 32–34.

attitude towards Scheibe.³⁴ Here, however, I would like to revisit Scheibe's criticism from a different angle.

We should note that throughout his writings, Scheibe consistently counted Bach as one of the greatest German composers of his time. Not long after the pasquil, for example, Scheibe praised one of Bach's compositions (the *Italian Concerto*) as a perfect model concerto for one instrument. In his universalist attitudes towards the German language and culture, Scheibe followed closely his former teacher Johann Christoph Gottsched. Bach's music must have had a regular place in the Gottsched household, as both Gottsched and his wife, the poet and playwright Luise Adelgunde Victorie Gottsched refer to Bach's works in their writings. Luise Gottsched deemed Bach's works for keyboard as difficult as they are beautiful.³⁵ In one of his late writings published in 1740, Johann Gottsched takes pride in the fame German composers have attained elsewhere in Europe: Handel in England, Hasse in Italy, Telemann in France, and Graun, Bach, and Weiss in Germany.³⁶ Only one year before that (and two years after the Bach-controversy), Scheibe had listed Bach among several other German composers whose names Scheibe reckoned would be written in the book "with golden letters by the high priest."³⁷ In the *Vorrede* to the second edition of his *Critischer Musikus*, published in 1745 in Leipzig, Scheibe

³⁴ See George J. Buelow, "In Defence of J. A. Scheibe against J. S. Bach," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 101 (1974): 85–100; Michael Maul, "Johann Adolph Scheibes Bach-Kritik. Hintergründe und Schauplätze einer musikalischen Kontroverse," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 96 (2010): 153–98; Jerold, "The Bach-Scheibe Controversy."

³⁵ Quoted in Neumann and Schulze, *BD II*, 223.

³⁶ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 387.

³⁷ "Fux, Hasse, Händel, Telemann, Bach, Graun, Schmidt, Heinichen, Graun, Stölzel, Graupner, Bokemeyer, ... Alle diese Namen wurden von dem Oberpriester mit goldenen Buchstaben in das Buch gezeichnet." Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der critische Musicus*, vol. 2 (Hamburg: Rudolph Beneke, 1740), 80.

went so far as to apologize for his previous critique of the composer, even if he believed it was more laudatory than unfavorable.³⁸

As noted earlier, one of Scheibe's main purposes in publishing his journal was to bring "reasonable order" to German music, which lay in a "state of great confusion" due to blind imitation of Italian music. In this light, then, Scheibe's criticism of Bach's music can be read in a new perspective. His criticism of Bach's music can be interpreted as exasperation at seeing some German music go in a direction that he deemed unappealing to the current taste (Italianate galant style) and therefore antithetical to his ambitions towards a universal German taste. In this sense, Bach's music, as Bernd Sponheuer argues, was "too German" for Scheibe and therefore held little promise to universality.³⁹ Regardless of the outcome of the controversy, it helped circulate Bach's (and Scheibe's) name beyond Leipzig, setting a precedence for the composer's presence in the printed public sphere in Germany.

Bach and the Berlin Press

While reports of Bach's famous visit to the court of Friedrich II in 1747 are often cited as the first important documentation of Bach in regard to Berlin, we should keep in mind that the path that led him to Berlin was well prepared by a bevy of his students who were already active in the Prussian capital.⁴⁰ Several of them were employed at the court in Potsdam, including

³⁸ Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Critischer Musicus*, Neue, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1745), unpaginated Vorrede.

³⁹ Sponheuer, "Über das ‚Deutsche‘," 135; Sponheuer, "Reconstructing Ideal Types," 46.

⁴⁰ The most thorough and groundbreaking study in the reception of Bach in the eighteenth century is Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Peters, 1984). A more recent survey can be found in Michael Heinemann and Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, eds., *Bach und die Nachwelt*, vol. 1: 1750 bis 1850, 4 vols. (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1997). For more Berlin-specific articles, see Kirsten Beisswenger, "Zwischen 1750 Und 1850 Erschienene ‚Berliner‘ Drucke Bachscher Werke," *Jahrbuch Des Staatlichen Instituts Für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (1993), 1993, 106–30; Christoph Wolff, "Bach-Rezeption Und -Quellen Aus Der Frühzeit Und Im Umfeld Des Königlichen Instituts Für Kirchenmusik Zu Berlin," *Jahrbuch Des Staatlichen Instituts Für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (1993), 1993, 79–87.

Agricola (since 1741, court composer from 1751), his own son Carl Philipp Emanuel (since 1741) and the second harpsichordist Christoph Nichelmann (since 1744). Each of these individuals played a role in promoting their teacher's legacy and his music.⁴¹

We must remember that there was first of all a wide culture of manuscript circulation by which Bach's music became well known. Connoisseurs of Bach copied (and recopied) many of his keyboard works multiple times, even if many of these manuscripts have been lost.⁴² But an even more notable—and often unappreciated—way that Bach's music was circulated, if mostly in short excerpts, was through printed music theory treatises and journals published in Berlin after 1750.⁴³

The first snippets of Bach's music that got published in music theoretical texts in Berlin appeared in Marpurg's extensive discussions in his fugue treatise from 1753 and 1754. Soon thereafter, examples appeared in works by Nichelmann and Kirnberger, showing the extent of the dissemination of Bach's music among Berlin theorists (Table 4.1).⁴⁴

⁴¹ As mentioned before, for example, Bach's extensive obituary, published in Mizler's Leipzig-based journal four years after Bach's death, was penned by two of his Berlin-based students, Agricola and his son C. P. E. Lorenz Christoph Mizler, ed., *Musikalische Bibliothek Oder Gründliche Nachricht, nebst unpartheyischem Urtheil von Musikalischen Schrifften und Büchern*, vol. IV (Leipzig: Mizler, 1754), 158–76. The authorship of the document, however, was only revealed in 1775, in a letter from Bach to Forkel. Hans-Joachim Schulze, ed., *Dokumente zum Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs, 1750–1800*, Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke—Supplement: Bach-Dokumente 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972), 288.

⁴² This included the large collection of manuscripts that C. P. E. Bach inherited after his father's death and brought with him to Berlin. The Baltic-German Georg Poelchau (1773–1836) could use this rich Berlin heritage to amass his big collection of Bach's manuscripts that was later bequeathed to the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. Poelchau lived in Hamburg for many years, where he obtained a large portion of C. P. E. Bach's estate. He later settled in Berlin, where he could collect more documents from the Bach family.

⁴³ For more on those involved in copying Bach's music in Berlin, see Buyken, *Bach-Rezeption als kulturelle Praxis*, 162–66.

⁴⁴ I have only included examples that have appeared in print. If I were to include examples circulating in manuscript (many of which still extant), the list would be much longer.

Table 4.1 Excerpts of J. S. Bach's music published in Berlin music theory treatises. For the complete citations, see *Bach-Dokumente III*.

Date	Author	Publication	Example(s)
1753	Marpurg	<i>Abhandlung von der Fuge</i> (Vol. 1)	<i>The Well-Tempered Clavier</i> , BWV. 846; BWV. 855; BWV. 863; BWV. 865; BWV. 869; BWV. 870; BWV. 871; BWV. 874; BWV. 875; BWV. 877; BWV. 880; BWV. 882; BWV. 885, BWV. 890; BWV. 891; <i>Musical Offering</i> , BWV. 1079; <i>Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue</i> , BWV 903; <i>Chorale Preludes</i> , BWV. 601; BWV. 623; BWV. 626; BWV. 633; BWV. 647; BWV. 686, <i>Canonic Variations</i> , BWV. 769
1754	Marpurg	<i>Abhandlung von der Fuge</i> (Vol. 2)	<i>Art of Fugue</i> , BWV. 1080; <i>Musical Offering</i> , BWV. 1079; <i>Canons</i> , BWV. 1072; BWV. 1074; BWV. 1078; <i>Lutheran Mass</i> , BWV. 236
1755	Marpurg	<i>Anleitung zum Clavierspielen</i>	<i>Musical Offering</i> , BWV. 1079; <i>The Well-Tempered Clavier</i> , BWV. 884; BWV. 883
1755	Nichelmann	<i>Die Melodie</i>	<i>French Suite No. 6</i> , BWV. 817; <i>Motet "Komm, Jesu, komm,"</i> BWV. 229; <i>Cantata "Ich bin vergnügt,"</i> BWV. 84; <i>Mass in B minor</i> , BWV. 232
1758	Marpurg	<i>Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse</i> (Vol. 3)	<i>Chorale "Machs mit mir, Gott, nach deiner Güt,"</i> BWV. 377
1759	Kirnberger	<i>Allegro, für das Clavier alleine</i>	<i>The Well-Tempered Clavier</i> , BWV. 847; BWV. 851; BWV. 860; BWV. 862; BWV. 870; BWV. 871; BWV. 880; BWV. 881; BWV. 884; BWV. 889; BWV. 890; BWV. 892; <i>Partitas</i> , BWV. 828; BWV. 830; <i>Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue</i> , BWV 903, <i>Sinfonia</i> , BWV. 790
1759	Marpurg	<i>Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst</i> , (Vol. 1)	<i>The Well-Tempered Clavier</i> , BWV. 847; BWV. 880; BWV. 884; BWV. 889; BWV. 890
1760	Marpurg	<i>Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse</i> (Anhang)	<i>The Well-Tempered Clavier</i> , BWV. 846; BWV. 853; BWV. 870; BWV. 874
1771	Kirnberger	<i>Die Kunst des reinen Satzes</i> (Vol. 1)	<i>Chorale Prelude</i> , BWV. 672; <i>French Overture</i> , BWV. 831; <i>The Well-Tempered Clavier</i> , BWV. 849; <i>Cantata</i> , BWV. 159; <i>Magnificat</i> , BWV. 243; <i>Matthew Passion</i> , BWV. 244
1773	Kirnberger /Schulz	<i>Die wahren Grundsätze zum Gebrauch der Harmonie</i>	<i>The Well-Tempered Clavier</i> , BWV. 869; BWV. 889
1776	Kirnberger	<i>Die Kunst des reinen Satzes</i> (Vol. 2, Part I)	<i>Chorale</i> , BWV. 370; BWV. 288; <i>The Well-Tempered Clavier</i> , BWV. 873; BWV. 880; <i>Partita</i> , BWV. 830; <i>Fughetta</i> , BWV. 961; <i>Goldberg Variations</i> , BWV. 988; <i>Harpsichord Concerto</i> , BWV. 1052

(Table 4.1 continued)

1777	Kirnberger	<i>Die Kunst des reinen Satzes</i> (Vol. 2, Part II)	<i>Sinfonia</i> , BWV. 795; <i>Tocatta and Fugue</i> , BWV. 538; <i>Brandenburg Concerto</i> , BWV. 1051; <i>The Well-Tempered Clavier</i> , BWV. 846; BWV. 879; BWV. 891; <i>English Suite</i> , BWV. 811; <i>Mass in B minor</i> , BWV. 232; <i>Goldberg Variations</i> , BWV. 988
1779	Kirnberger	<i>Die Kunst des reinen Satzes</i> (Vol. 2, Part III)	<i>Musical Offering</i> , BWV. 1079; <i>Lutheran Mass</i> , BWV. 234
1781	Kirnberger	<i>Grundsätze des Generalbasses</i>	<i>Musical Offering</i> , BWV. 1079
1782	Reichardt	<i>Muskalisches Kunstmagazin</i> (Vol. 1)	<i>The Well-Tempered Clavier</i> , BWV. 881
1783	Kirnberger	<i>Methode Sonaten aus'm Ermel zu schüddeln</i>	<i>French Suite</i> , BWV. 817

As can be seen in this table, this is an extraordinary inventory of Bach's music, keeping in mind that only a handful of Bach's works had been published during his lifetime. And with the publication of the *Kunst der Fuge* in 1751 (and subsequently 1752 with a new foreword by Marpurg), not a single work of Bach was published for the remainder of the eighteenth century except for two editions of his chorales. I will discuss the publication of the chorales and its significance for Bach's reception later in the chapter.

Bach was a recurring topic among music theorists in Berlin and his music was brought up in several of their most prominent disputes. As an example, Bach features prominently in the early debate discussed extensively in the previous chapter concerning the respective values of French versus Italian music (see my discussion on pp. 126–43).⁴⁵ Between the lines of the heated disputes, one can find many references to other aspects of music theory, including those related

⁴⁵ For a discussion of Bach and the "mixed style," see Ulrich Siegele, "Bachs vermischter Geschmack," in *Bach und die Stile: Bericht über das 2. Dortmunder Bach-Symposien 1998*, ed. Martin Geck and Klaus Hofmann, *Dortmunder Bach-Forschungen 2* (Dortmund: Klangfarben Musikverlag, 1999), 9–17.

to Bach. In his first (anonymous) letter, for example, the Italian castrato Filippo Finazzi acknowledges the merits of “this great man.” But he reminds us that Bach’s music was not meant solely for providing “mere pleasure” and that a connoisseur who does not understand music would never develop a taste for Bach’s “heavy harmony.”⁴⁶

In response to Finazzi, Scheibe—who wrote under a pseudonym—compared Bach’s status in music to that of Newton in the sciences and argued that those who have delved so deeply in the sciences that they understand them will find ever more satisfaction and application in Newton’s writings. In short, as Scheibe says, “Bach is a true adornment for Germans,” whose works will be immortally remembered in “our fatherland.”⁴⁷

The author of the letter now wants to cut off the fame of the famous and now deceased Mr. Bach for good measure. He acts as if he were letting him go along as a gesture of grace for a great man, but he isn’t serious about this either. He deprives his music of the effects of pleasure on the listeners, who would have no taste for such a heavy harmony. But even if the harmonies of this great man were so heavy that they did not always have the desired effect, they still serve to provide a true delight to those who know music. Not all learned people are able to understand a Newton; but those who have advanced so far in the profound sciences that they can understand him find greater pleasure and real benefit when they read his writings. In short! Bach was a true adornment of the Germans, and his memory, which his works make immortal, will be a constant source of fame

⁴⁶ “Daß Sie mit Herrn Bach pralen, dazu haben Sie Ursache, und ich würde ein Thor seyn, wenn ich diesem großen Manne den Vorzug streitig machen wollte; aber man muß auch gestehen, daß zum Vergnügen allein desselben Musik nicht diene, und ein Liebhaber, der aber die Musik nicht versteht, wird niemahls an einer so schweren Harmonie Geschmack bekommen.” [Filippo] [Finazzi], “XXXVII Stück: Hamburg,” *Freye Urtheile und Nachrichten zum Aufnehmen der Wissenschaften und der Historie überhaupt*, May 12, 1750, 294.

⁴⁷ “Der Briefsteller will nun auch dem berühmten und nun verstorbenen Hn. Bach noch zu guter Leßt seinen Ruhm abschneiden. Er stellet sich, als wenn er ihn für einen großen Mann so aus Gnaden mitlaufen liesse, aber auch dieses ist sein Ernst nicht. Er entziehet seiner Musik die Wirkungen des Vergnügens bey den Zuhören, die an einer so schweren Harmonie keinen Geschmack bekämen. Doch gesetzt, die Harmonien dieses großen Mannes wären so schwer, daß sie nicht allezeit die gehoffte Wirkung thäten: so dienen sie doch den Kennen der Musik zu einem wahren Ergetzen. Nicht alle Gelehrte sind vermögend einen Neuton zu verstehen; aber diejenigen, die es in den tief sinnigen Wissenschaften so weit gebracht haben, daß sie ihn verstehen können, finden hingegen ein desto größeres Vergnügen und einen wahren Nutzen, wenn sie seine Schriften lesen. Kurz! Bach ist eine wahre Zierde der Deutschen gewesen, und sein Andenken, das seine Werke unsterblich machen, wird bey den Kennern der Musik unserm Vaterlande zum beständigen Ruhme gereichen; ein italienischer Kastrate mag auch dagegen sagen, was er wolle.” [Johann Adolph] A [Scheibe], *Sendschreiben an die Herren Verfasser der freyen Urtheile in Hamburg, das Schreiben an den Herrn Verfasser des kritischen Musikus an der Spree betreffend* (Berlin, 1750), 13–14.

among the music connoisseurs of our fatherland; An Italian castrato can say whatever he wants about it.

Bach's name comes up again in the rebuttal of the hitherto unidentified author of the pamphlet *Gedanken über die welschen Tonkünstler*.⁴⁸ Here we find the greatest praise to date that was bestowed upon Bach. The author includes a couplet claiming that "even the smallest work in which one can find a trace of Bach is worth more than anything that has come out of the quill of any Italian composer." In the ensuing sentences, the author comes close to Forkel's veneration of Bach as a composer with no equal:

Just so Greece had only one Homer, and Rome only one Virgil, Germany will have had only one Bach, who in previous times, whether in the art of composition or playing on the organ and the harpsichord, was unrivaled in all of Europe, and who no one will surpass in the future. The vaunted harmony and art of Padre Martini, the spirit and invention of Marcello, the song and taste of Geminiani, and the hand of an Alessandro [Scarlatti] combined could never a Bach make.⁴⁹

These comparisons between Bach and Newton or Homer show early instantiations of Bach's nationalistic hagiography.⁵⁰ Bach was increasingly being portrayed by Berlin musicians as the representative of Germany, a nation that could not only rival Italy and France, but even stand above them with regard to music. Bernd Sponheuer has argued that "German" music [from

⁴⁸ *Gedanken über die welschen Tonkünstler: Zur Beantwortung des im sieben und dreißigsten Stücke der hamburgischen freyen Urtheile befindlichen Schreibens an den Herrn Verfasser des kritischen Musikus an der Spree* (Halberstadt: Christian Ernst Immanuel Weldige, 1751).

⁴⁹ "Die Einwendungen, die der Herr Neustädter wider die Schriften des seeligen Herrn Baches macht, befremden mich im geringsten nicht. Solche Sachen sind über den Bezirk eines Italieners. Es wäre schimpflich, sich dieserwegen in einen Streit einzulassen.

Uns gilt das kleinste Werk, darinn man Bachen schmeckt,
Mehr, als was Welschlands Kiel noch jemahls ausgeheckt.

Es ist nicht so leichte, durch Vorurtheile verhärteten Ohren Vergnügen zu erwecken. Gesellet sich noch eine eifersüchtige Unwissenheit hiezu, so haben wir sofort die beyden Ursachen, die selbiges gänzlich verhindern. Doch wie Griechenland nur einen Homer, und Rom nur einen Virgil gehabt: So wird Deutschland nur wohl einen Bach gehabt haben, dem in der vorigen Zeit, es sey in der Setz- oder Spielkunst auf der Orgel und dem Flügel in ganz Europa keiner gleich gekommen ist, und den in der Folgewelt keiner übertreffen wird. Die so gerühmte Harmonie und Kunst des Paters Martini, der Geist und die Erfindung des Marcello, der Gesang und Geschmack eines Geminiani, und die Hand eines Alessandro zusammengebracht, machen noch lange keinen Bachen aus."

⁵⁰ See Chapter 3, p. 184 for a similar comparison drawn by Schumann between Beethoven and Shakespeare.

the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries] was often categorized as one of two contradictory types. There was an exclusive type, which ascribed unique qualities to German musicians, including depth, hard work, and thoroughness; but there was a second, more universal type, in which German music was held as a synthesis of all the best elements of other musics.⁵¹ Bach was a composer who was frequently held to represent both ideals.

Comparisons between Bach and other renowned composers of the time provides an interesting perspective concerning his reception in Berlin. Graun and Hasse were considered some of the best composers of their time, but nobody considered their music “German,” given how closely they were both associated with the genre of Italian *opera seria*.⁵² The same was true even for the Halle-born Georg Friedrich Händel, who had assumed the English name of George Frideric Handel and mainly wrote in the Italian and French styles for the London public.⁵³ Others such as Stölzel and Fux, may not have been as closely associated with Italian musical genres, but never achieved any widespread degree of recognition or popularity.

Perhaps Bach’s only rival in this regard could be Telemann, whose published oeuvre outmatched most of his contemporaries. Even more than Bach, Telemann’s music was considered the perfect manifestation of a cosmopolitan “mixed style,” as he effortlessly combined elements of French, Italian, and even “Polish” music.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, there were a few

⁵¹ Sponheuer, “Über das ‚Deutsche‘,” 128–32; Sponheuer, “Reconstructing Ideal Types,” 40–42.

⁵² Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart even asserts that “between 1740 and 1750, Italian (particularly dramatic) music blossomed in Naples and Berlin in an exceptional way.” “Vom Jahr 1740 bis 1750 blühte die welsche Tonkunst, besonders die dramatische in Neapel und Berlin in einem ausnehmenden Grade.” Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, ed. Ludwig Albrecht Schubart (Wien: J.V. Degen, 1806), 43.

⁵³ In a review in Nicolai’s encyclopedic journal, C. P. E. Bach chastises Handel’s suites for containing much copying of suites by French composers, whereas the suites in J. S. Bach’s *Clavierübung* are all “original and different.” See [Carl Philipp Emanuel] [Bach], “Auszug eines Schreibens aus — — — vom 27sten Febr. 1788,” ed. Friedrich Nicolai, *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* 81, no. 1 (1788): 297. Schulze, *BD III*, 439.

⁵⁴ Steven David Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste: Style, Genre, and Meaning in Telemann’s Instrumental Works* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

differences between them that might have resulted in Bach becoming posthumously the more “German” of the two. Telemann did not come from a musical lineage.⁵⁵ Perhaps more importantly in this regard, I believe, were exactly the characteristics that made Bach seem to many as an outmoded composer during his lifetime: his devotion to counterpoint and rigorous part writing. Telemann’s music, on the other hand, became increasingly associated with the prevalent, more progressive galant style. For those who identified closely with Bach after his death, the characteristic quality of his music, however outmoded or occult it might have seemed, was also received as something uniquely German.

As late as 1800, Berlin was unique among German cities in which works of Bach and his sons were performed alongside more contemporary music. As one musical journalist from Leipzig reported:

Berlin is perhaps the only place in Germany where you will still find, alongside the warmest admirers of modern music, the most ardent advocates of older styles. Johann Sebastian Bach and his famous sons are still battling with Mozart, Haydn, and Clementi for primacy on the piano stands of our music lovers (male and female): but now with decreasing success.⁵⁶

Our anonymous correspondent from Leipzig concluded his observation with a note of pessimism suggesting that the music of Bach was a dimming star overshadowed by the bright firmament of new music coming from Vienna and London. Yet matters were about to change

⁵⁵ We might also observe that Telemann did not have the same level of support and strong advocacy of his descendants that Bach did. Both Carl Philipp Emanuel and Wilhelm Friedmann played a crucial role in disseminating their father’s music and renown. The only musician of note among Telemann’s descendants, however, was his grandson Georg Michael Telemann (1748–1831) who, indeed, did much for this grandfather’s posthumous renown, albeit to a much lesser effect than the Bach sons. G. M. Telemann did not enjoy the same reputation as the Bach sons, and his move to Riga made him more out of touch with current happenings in Germany.

⁵⁶ “Berlin ist vielleicht der einzige Ort in Deutschland, in welchem Sie noch immer, neben den wärmsten Verehren der modernen Musik, die eifrigsten Verfechter des ältern Geschmacks finden. Johann Sebastian Bach und seine berühmten Söhne kämpfen noch immer mit Mozart, Haydn und Clementi um den Vorrang auf den Klavierpulten unserer Musikliebhaber und Liebhaberinnen: freylich aber jetzt mit geringen Erfolge.” “Korrespondenz,” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, no. 33 (May 14, 1800): 585.

radically. With the upheavals that took place in various European cities at the turn of the eighteenth century in the wake of radical social, economic, and political revolutions, many aspects of the society changed, resulting in what is now often referred to as “bourgeois emancipation” (*bürgerliche Emanzipation*).⁵⁷ An important shift around this time was the increasing attention given to purely instrumental music, which was becoming associated with Germans, just as vocal music was seen as Italian. By this time, Bach was already an established icon in the musical public sphere of Germany, so his becoming a universal German figure was only a matter of time. It comes as no wonder, then, that many of Bach’s instrumental pieces became pinnacles of the European canon in the nineteenth century.⁵⁸

It is significant that when the first issue of the famed *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* appeared in Leipzig in 1799, the cover image showed a portrait of Johann Sebastian Bach (Figure 4.1), not of Haydn, Mozart, or C. P. E. Bach, whose music was much more in vogue at the time.

⁵⁷ Literature on these social changes is vast. For representative music-related discussions, see Peter Schleuning, *Der Bürger erhebt sich: Geschichte der deutschen Musik im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2000); Hentschel, *Bürgerliche Ideologie und Musik. Politik der Musikgeschichtsschreibung in Deutschland 1776–1871*.

⁵⁸ For a discussion of the changes in the society and their impact on the reception of Bach’s music in the nineteenth century, see Sponheuer, “Über das ‚Deutsche‘,” 138–48; Sponheuer, “Reconstructing Ideal Types,” 48–56.

ALLGEMEINE
MUSIKALISCHE ZEITUNG.

ERSTER JAHRGANG
vom 3. Oct. 1798 bis 25. Sept. 1799.



Joh. Sebastian Bach?

L e i p z i g,
bey Breitkopf und Härtel.

Figure 4.1 Cover image of the first issue of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* from 1798–99, featuring a portrait of J. S. Bach. Image credit: Google Books.

Bach Among the Theorists in Berlin

More than anywhere else, Bach's legacy continued in the music theoretical writings of authors in Berlin, where Bach's music became central to their analyses.⁵⁹ In many of the theoretical disputes waged by these theorists in the public sphere of Berlin print culture, it was

⁵⁹ The title as well as inspiration for writing this subsection came after reading Thomas Christensen, "Bach among the Theorists," in *Bach Perspectives 3: Creative Responses to Bach from Mozart to Hindemith*, ed. Michael Marissen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 23–46.

Bach's music that took center stage. Bach was perhaps the only major German composer whose works were revered by the different generations of composers and theorists active in Berlin (both the older ones like Marpurg and Agricola, as well as the newer ones such as Kirnberger [who, although older in age, started publishing later], Reicheardt, and Schulz) making him a solid authority when it came to resolving disputes on musical matters. But as we will see, there was often little agreement about how Bach's musical legacy could be used to resolve some of these disputes.

We might begin by asking what music of Bach the Berlin theorists knew and cited in their writings? As it turns out, it was almost entirely drawn from Bach's keyboard works.⁶⁰ After Bach's death, his countless autograph manuscripts were divided among his heirs, with the majority of the most important works falling in the hands of Carl Philipp Emanuel and Wilhelm Friedemann Bach. It is thanks to this precious legacy (though one W. F. Bach was notoriously irresponsible with) we can thank for making the keyboard music of their father known among Berlin musicians.⁶¹ Many of these works were frequently copied and circulated in manuscript, and not surprisingly, excerpts of them appeared in the published writings of our various theorists.

One salient example of the way Bach's keyboard compositions influenced several Berlin music theorists was in the way many of them adopted his fingering practice, particularly Bach's insistence on using the thumb and having it go under the other fingers in playing most scalar

⁶⁰ For a discussion of the posthumous transmission of Bach's keyboard legacy, see Dirst, *Engaging Bach*. For the reception of Bach in later periods, see Russell Stinson, *Bach's Legacy: The Music as Heard by Later Masters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

⁶¹ For more on Bach's estate and musical legacy, see Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2000), 454–63. See also Robert L. Marshall, "Father and Sons: Confronting a Uniquely Daunting Paternal Legacy," in *Bach Perspectives 11: J. S. Bach and His Sons*, ed. Mary Oleskiewicz (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2017), 1–23. Marshall offers a new perspective on the relationship between Bach the father and his sons by taking a quasi-psychoanalytic approach, and shows himself clearly for C. P. E. and against W. F. Bach.

patterns. Marpurg, C. P. E. Bach, and Kirnberger all published works that intended to demonstrate this technique and its superiority over others. The “Bach fingerings” were first included by Marpurg in his *Die Kunst* from 1750 (as inspired by Couperin), and then much more elaborately expanded upon by C. P. E. in the first volume of his *Versuch*.⁶² In addition, between 1762 and 1766, Kirnberger published four anthologies of keyboard compositions that utilized these fingerings through progressively more difficult works, including works by George Frederic Handel (1685–1759), Johann David Holland (1746–1827), and himself.⁶³

Arguably the majority of Bach’s works cited by theorists were to demonstrate certain compositional techniques, particularly contrapuntal genres. It cannot be a surprise that many of Bach’s fugal compositions were excerpted by Marpurg in his fugue treatise.⁶⁴ After all, the treatise was obviously inspired by the publication of the *Kunst der Fuge* in 1751, which Marpurg knew well. (Recall from Chapter 2, p. 102–04, that Marpurg had written a preface to its second edition a year later). Throughout his treatise, Marpurg generously cited examples by Bach from this work as well as from the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, making Bach the most represented single composer in its two volumes. Thus, Marpurg’s treatise can be seen as the first in establishing Bach’s fugues as “the culmination and touchstone by which all fugal compositions should be judged.”⁶⁵

⁶² Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Die Kunst das Clavier zu spielen*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1750); Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen : mit Exempeln und achtzehn Probe-Stücken in sechs Sonaten erläutert* (Berlin: Christian Friedrich Henning, 1753). Both volumes were published in French translation by Marpurg himself in 1756 by Haude und Spener. For a recent English translation by Derek Remeš, see <https://music-treatises.nifc.pl/en/traktaty/27-abhandlung-von-der-fuge-vol-iii>.

⁶³ Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Clavierübungen mit der Bachischen Applicatur in einer Folge von den leichtesten bis zu den schwersten Stücken*, 4 vols. (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1766).

⁶⁴ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Abhandlung von der Fuge*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1753); Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Abhandlung von der Fuge*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1754).

⁶⁵ Claude V. Palisca, “Review: The Study of Fugue by Alfred Mann,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 12, no. 1 (April 1, 1959): 78.



Figure 4.2 The first *Well-Tempered Clavier* prelude (BWV. 846) given by Marpurg as an example in the first volume of his *Abhandlung von der Fuge*.

Another common use for much of Bach’s music represented in the theory treatises in Berlin was their “analyses” using some version of the fundamental bass famously developed by Jean-Philippe Rameau in his 1722 treatise on harmony, the *Traité de l’harmonie*.⁶⁶ According to Rameau’s theory, the fundamental bass was an imaginary bass line that reduced the harmonic structure of the music to its fundamental chords (mostly triads and seventh chords in root position, whose roots are mainly connected by fifths and fourths).⁶⁷ As discussed in Chapter 2, Marpurg was the first to disseminate Rameau’s theories in Germany, first in his *CMS*, and then through his translation of d’Alembert’s treatise. Ironically though, Marpurg himself did not produce any analyses using the fundamental bass.

Christoph Nichelmann (1717–1762) was the first to subject a work of Bach to this analytic technique, reducing the harmonies of the first 8 bars of the Sarabande from J. S. Bach’s last *French Suite* (BWV 817) to its fundamental structure (Figure 4.3 “No. 14”) above a

⁶⁶ Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Traité de l’harmonie réduite à ses principes naturels* (Paris: Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard, 1722).

⁶⁷ For a brief discussion of Rameau’s fundamental bass, see Joel Lester, “Rameau and Eighteenth-Century Harmonic Theory,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 761–64. For a more extensive discussion, see Thomas Christensen, *Rameau and Musical Thought in the Enlightenment*, Cambridge Studies in Music Theory and Analysis 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 103–32.

fundamental bass (Figure 4.3 “No. 15”) in his treatise.⁶⁸ Even if Nichelmann did not acknowledge his explicit debt to Rameau (or Marpurg for that matter) in using the fundamental bass, it is evident from the example that he was very familiar with the Frenchman’s theories. In the second, third, sixth, and seventh measures of his reduction, for example, he incorporated very short intermediary chords, so as to prevent a prohibited stepwise motion in the fundamental bass. In addition to this example, Nichelmann also includes several fundamental bass analyses of works by other contemporary composers.⁶⁹ As discussed in Chapter 1, Nichelmann’s treatise received pushback from C. P. E. Bach, prompting one of the more heated disputes in the Berlin music theory public sphere.



Figure 4.3 Nichelmann's Fundamental bass analysis of the Sarabande from Bach’s *Sixth French Suite*, (BWV. 817). Image Credit: Google Books

⁶⁸ Christoph Nichelmann, *Die Melodie nach ihrem Wesen und nach ihren Eigenschaften* (Danzig: Johann Christian Schuster, 1755), 59–61. Although Nichelmann’s treatise bears “melody” in its title, in fact, a harmony book. As evident in his discussion, Nichelmann (like Rameau) believed melody to be a product of harmony. Thus, to write a good melody, you need to know how to write good harmony. For more on Nichelmann’s theories in this treatise, as well as details of his dispute with C. P. E. Bach, see Thomas Christensen, “Nichelmann Contra C. Ph. E. Bach: Harmonic Theory and Musical Politics at the Court of Frederick the Great,” in *Carl Philip Emanuel Bach und die europäische Musikkultur des mittleren 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Hans Joachim Marx (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 189–220.

⁶⁹ Nichelmann included other examples by J. S. Bach too (see Table 1), but not with fundamental bass reductions.

The fundamental bass was also employed extensively by Kirnberger in his 1773 treatise, *Die wahren Grundsätze zum Gebrauch der Harmonie*.⁷⁰ In this treatise, Kirnberger analyzed two pieces from Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* using Rameau's fundamental bass.⁷¹ The first was a complete harmonic analysis of the B minor fugue from *WTC I*. (See ahead to Figure 4.5, page 233) Figure 4.4 shows another, more modest, analysis from the same work by Kirnberger, in this case, the fundamental bass of the *Prelude in A minor* from *WTC II*. As can be seen, contrary to Nichelmann, Kirnberger does not try to avoid stepwise motions in the fundamental bass.

⁷⁰ Decades after Kirnberger's death, his student J. A. P. Schulz claimed that he was the real author behind *Die wahren Grundsätze*. Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, "Abhandlung. Ueber die in Sulzers Theorie der schönen Künste unter dem Artikel Verrückung angeführten zwey Beyspiele von Pergolesi und Graun, zur Beantwortung einer Aeusserung der Hrn. v. Dittersdorf in Nr. 13 d. 1. Jahrg. der A. M. Z. Seite 204 und 205 (Part II)," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 2, no. 16 (January 15, 1800): 277–78. However, the theories and analyses probably all stem from Kirnberger himself. In a letter, Kirnberger refers to this specific example, and asks for Agricola's expert opinion. The original letter has been lost prior to 1931, but its reproduction can be found in Schulze, *BD III*, 257–58.

⁷¹ Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Die wahren Grundsätze zum Gebrauch der Harmonie*,... (Berlin und Königsberg: Decker und Hartung, 1773), 55–103 and 107–15. For more on these analyses, see Christensen, "Bach among the Theorists."



Figure 4.4 Example of a fundamental bass analysis by Kirnberger. Bach's A minor prelude (BWV. 889) from the *Well-Tempered Clavier, Book II*. Kirnberger, *Die wahren Grundsätze* (Berlin und Königsberg: Decker und Hartung, 1773), 107. Image Credit: Google Books

The importance of these examples in theory treatises for the dissemination of Bach's music cannot be underestimated. At a time when most of Bach's keyboard works had not been published, these snippets gave readers around Europe a peak at Bach's music, much of which was only to appear in print in the nineteenth century. And the precise analyses of Bach's harmonic language within these intricate contrapuntal structures did much to cement the widely shared praise for Bach as the "greatest" of harmonists.⁷²

⁷² Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Reichardt, 1782), 51. The full quote will appear later in the chapter.

The C. P. E. Bach-Kirnberger-Forkel Triumvirate

All these analytical writings about Bach's music, notwithstanding, there were three individuals who stand out as most responsible for promoting Bach as a national German hero, first in Berlin and then elsewhere. This was the "triumvirate of C. P. E. Bach, Kirnberger, and Forkel. Much of what we know of Bach's music and life is due to the efforts made by these three men. Each of them enjoyed an estimable reputation in their own field during the second half of the eighteenth century: C. P. E. Bach as one of the most successful composers, Kirnberger as one of the most reputable theorists, and Forkel as the greatest German historian of music.

In promoting Bach, each of these men pursued their own (often overlapping, sometimes competing) agendas. C. P. E. Bach did the most to promote (and preserve) his father's music, first in Berlin, and then later in Hamburg when he moved there in 1768. No doubt much of C. P. E.'s reasons for this were out of filial reverence, but these efforts also allowed him to market his father's music for profit. Kirnberger's ever-increasing obsession with Bach, on the other hand, mainly started out from analytic disputes with other Berlin-based theorists. He repeatedly claimed that his own theory of harmony was based entirely on the method of Bach, and that it provided the ideal pedagogy for learning how to compose. Forkel, who was the youngest of the three, lived most of his life in Göttingen at a time when Bach was already an established figure in Berlin. Yet political events in Europe made his advocacy of Bach ever more pertinent. In branding Bach as the greatest German national composer, Forkel followed a nationalist project that was already in the making. I will treat each of these figures and their contributions to the reception and legacy of Sebastian Bach in seriatim over the final three subsections of this chapter, although we will see how all three often interacted with one another.

C.P.E. Bach as Promotor of his Father's Music and Legacy

Of the three figures mentioned, Forkel and Bach were the most active in correspondence with each other. Their correspondence seems to have started in 1773, when Forkel was only 24 years old and Bach 59, and only came to a stop with the death of Bach in 1788. During this 15-year period, the young historian from Göttingen became obsessed with obtaining as much information about J. S. Bach as he could, pestering Bach's second surviving son with repeated inquiries.⁷³ With prodigious zeal and fecundity, Forkel incessantly requested for more information from C. P. E., whom he deemed as the most trustworthy source of information. It was well worth the effort; the responses he got from the younger Bach became one of the main sources of information that Forkel later used for his biography of Bach senior. Indeed, one wonders what our knowledge of Bach's life would have looked like were it not for Forkel and his incessant demands for more information from his sons.

For a long time, C. P. E. Bach's accounts of his father's life as reported to Forkel had been taken as absolute truth by scholars. Recent scholarship, however, has cast some doubt on many of C. P. E. Bach's claims. A few of these have been mentioned earlier in the chapter and a few more will be discussed further on. For the moment, I want to say a few words about C. P. E.'s account of *The Art of Fugue* (*Die Kunst der Fuge*) and its fraught publishing history.

Die Kunst der Fuge first came out in a hastily prepared edition by C. P. E. in 1751.⁷⁴ It was reprinted a year later, this time with a preface by Marpurg (discussed in Chapter 2). Many

⁷³ It was not only C. P. E. Bach that Forkel had correspondence with. He also communicated with Wilhelm Friedemann (1710–1784) and Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach (1732–1795). For a list of Forkel's letters, see Axel Fischer, *Das Wissenschaftliche der Kunst: Johann Nikolaus Forkel als Akademischer Musikdirektor in Göttingen, Abhandlungen zur Musikgeschichte 27* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2015), 658–73.

⁷⁴ There is a large body of literature on the *Art of Fugue*. See, for example, Zoltán Göncz, *Bach's Testament: On the Philosophical and Theological Background of The Art of Fugue*, trans. Peter Laki and Erzsébet Mészáros (Lanham,

aspects of this monumental work have puzzled scholars since its publication, but here I would like to focus one detail that C. P. E. Bach mythologized to promote his father's music and biography. As is well known, the set, as preserved in an autograph score, concludes with a triple fugue that is abruptly interrupted when all three fugal subjects are combined. (The third fugal subject is, of course, the B-A-C-H signature motive.)⁷⁵ In Bach's autograph score, C. P. E. adds a note explaining that Bach's sudden death prevented him from finishing the fugue.⁷⁶ As recent research has shown, this note was only added later (possibly around 1780), making it likely that C. P. E. was trying to establish a myth around his father.

Furthermore, a note that was added to the first edition and later elaborated by Marpurg, states that Bach, completely blind and on his deathbed, dictated a chorale prelude, *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen sein*, to a friend. This chorale prelude was then appended to the print of the *Kunst* as a kind of Benedictus to the work. Recent scholarship, however, has shown this story, too, was largely made up.⁷⁷ Still, all the stories were clearly useful to C. P. E. and Marpurg in

Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2013); Anatoly P. Milka, *Rethinking J.S. Bach's the Art of Fugue*, ed. Esti Sheinberg, trans. Marina Ritzarev (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2017); Joseph Kerman, *The Art of Fugue: Bach Fugues for Keyboard, 1715-1750* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 431–37; Christoph Wolff, "The Compositional History of the Art of Fugue," in *Bach: Essays on His Life and Music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 265–81; Christoph Wolff, *Bach's Musical Universe: The Composer and His Work* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2020), 290–97 and 310–16; Matthew Charles Dirst, *Bach's Art of Fugue and Musical Offering*, ABS Guides (New York: Oxford University Press, 2024).

⁷⁵ In the *Nekrolog*, Agricola and C. P. E. Bach claim that the final fugue was to be a quadruple fugue "which was to contain four themes and to have been afterward inverted note for note in all four voices." David, Mendel, and Wolff, *NBR*, 304.

⁷⁶ This claim has also been contested by some scholars, most notably Christoph Wolff, who has argued that Bach had most likely finished composing the final fugue but was unable to transfer it to the clean manuscript he was preparing due to poor health. Wolff, "The Compositional History of the Art of Fugue," 278. In his latest book on the composer, Wolff names his chapters on *The Art of Fugue* as follows: "The Art of Fugue Completed: The Manuscript Version" and "The Art of Fugue Unfinished: The Published Version." Wolff, *Bach's Musical Universe*, 290–97 and 310–16.

⁷⁷ See, for example, Christoph Wolff, "The Deathbed Chorale: Exposing a Myth," in *Bach: Essays on His Life and Music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 282–94; David Yearsley, *Bach and the Meanings of Counterpoint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1–41. Yearsley argues that Bach chose this particular chorale prelude from his earlier oeuvre as a last musical testament, in line with eighteenth-century practice of the preparation for death, the so-called *ars moriendi*. The "friend" has been identified as Johann Christoph Altnickol

helping to establish a poignant Romantic mythology about the composer and his final major composition project.

In one of the most oft-cited letters he wrote to Forkel, Bach refers to his father's early training, including some naming of the major composers whose music must have played an influence. But C. P. E. altered one telling fact:

Besides Froberger, Kerl, and Pachelbel, he heard and studied the works of Frescobaldi, the Baden Capellmeister Fischer, Strunck, some old and good Frenchmen, Buxtehude, Reincken, Bruhns, and ~~his teacher Böhme~~ the Lüneburg organist Böhm.⁷⁸

Why did C. P. E. decide to erase the only explicit reference to his father's teacher? Could it be that C. P. E. was trying to create a myth of "Bach the autodidact," who learned everything by himself or from his own family members? (Crediting Böhm as the source of Bach's musical knowledge might seem to suggest a dependency unworthy of the greatest artistic genius of the Germans!) Similar problematic passages of historical revisionism can be found in both the *Nekrolog* that C. P. E. Bach penned and further passages in the correspondence between himself and Forkel.⁷⁹

An important milestone in the reception of J. S. Bach's works occurred in 1765, when C. P. E. Bach decided to publish with the printing house of Birnstiel in Berlin some of the four-part chorales by his father. The details of this important publishing event have been amply reported

(1720–1759), Bach's son-in-law through his marriage to Elisabeth Juliana Friederica Bach (1726–1781) in January 1749.

⁷⁸ "außer Frobergern, Kerl u. Pachelbel hat er die Werke von Frescobaldi, dem Badenschen Capellmeister Fischer, Strunck, einigen alten guten französischen, Buxtehude, Reincken, Bruhnsen u. ~~seinem~~ dem Lüneburgischen ~~Lehrmeister Böhmen~~ Organisten Böhm geliebt u. studirt." Quoted in Schulze, *BD III*, 288. English translation from David, Mendel, and Wolff, *NBR*, 398.

⁷⁹ See, for example, Peter Williams's biography of Bach, in which he analyzes C. P. E. Bach's writings about his father. Williams, *Bach: A Musical Biography*. For yet another critical reading of these documents, see Buyken, *Bach-Rezeption als kulturelle Praxis*, especially 74-90.

by scholars.⁸⁰ But it is worth noting that the first volume was riddled with errors. Birnstiel then issued a second volume in 1769, with even more errors, and without any acknowledgement to C. P. E. Bach. Dissatisfied with how the project was going, Bach decided to contact Kirnberger and entrust the editing task to him (presumably knowing that he would never say no to anything involving his father's music). This is the first verifiable correspondence we have between Emanuel Bach and Kirnberger.⁸¹ The resulting new edition was issued over four volumes in 1784, 1785, 1786, and 1787. Was it a coincidence that this—the only music of Bach published between his *Kunst der Fuge* in 1752 and the first edition of the Well-Tempered Clavier in 1801—was the most representative genre of Protestant choral music? There is no way of definitively answering this question. But choosing a genre that was prototypically understood as a “German” (and “Protestant”) liturgical genre meant that Bach's music could be set apart even more from that of the other nations, where there was no culture of four-part congregational singing.⁸² In a supportive announcement for the publication of these chorales, the thirty-year old critic Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814) was unambiguous in emphasizing the connection between the musical genre and German nationalism:

The contents: chorales, the greatest work of German art; the creator of harmony: Johann Sebastian Bach, the greatest harmonist of all times and nations; the editor: Johann Philipp Kirnberger, the most discerning artistic adjudicator of our time.⁸³

⁸⁰ For the historical records concerning the publication of the chorales, see David, Mendel, and Wolff, *NBR*, 378–84. For an account of Kirnberger's involvement in their publication, see Beverly Jerold, “Johann Philipp Kirnberger and the Bach Chorale Settings,” *Bach* 45, no. 1 (2014): 34–43.

⁸¹ See the reprint of the surviving excerpt from the letter dated 21 July, 1769, in Ernst Suchalla, ed., *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: Briefe und Dokumente: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 177–79.

⁸² This is certainly not to say that the congregation sang all four parts. The choir sang all four parts, while the congregation participated by singing the chorale.

⁸³ “...der Inhalt: Choräle; höchstes Werk deutscher Kunst; der harmonische Bearbeiter: Johann Sebastian Bach, größter Harmoniker aller Zeiten und Völker; Herausgeber: Johann Philipp Kirnberger, scharfsinnigster Kunstrichter unsrer Zeiten.” Reichardt, *Muskalisches Kunstmagazin*, 1:51. English translation from David, Mendel, and Wolff, *NBR*, 384.

But not only were Bach's chorales the estimable pinnacle of this important Lutheran choral tradition, they had a pedagogical value that was already mentioned by Marpurg.⁸⁴ Heavily due to their promotion by Marpurg and later Kirnberger, Bach's chorales were held as the purest pedagogical examples of four-part writing and for the learning of harmony, a position that was adopted by a number of later eighteenth-century German theory pedagogues as well. Thus began a pedagogical tradition or regimes of four-part writing as the basic framework for learning harmony and composition that has persisted to the present day, regardless of the fact that it was otherwise a rather rare compositional texture in eighteenth-century musical practice.

Johann Philipp Kirnberger as "Student" and Disciple of J. S. Bach

Johann Philipp Kirnberger was the most successful theorist of the three figures. Boasting of his studies with J. S. Bach, Kirnberger maintained regular correspondence with Forkel, which came to an abrupt halt in 1780 (much to Kirnberger's frustration). His letters to C. P. E. Bach, however, do not seem to have exceeded a handful (at least the surviving ones).

Kirnberger managed to establish himself at the center of many debates on music in Berlin by presenting himself as the true heir of Bach's compositional pedagogy. For this reason, his writings are often cited as the most faithful representation of what Bach taught his best students in their regular composition lessons. Forkel seemed to endorse this view, describing Kirnberger

⁸⁴ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1758), 263–64.

as “one of the most remarkable of Bach’s students.”⁸⁵ In almost every subsequent discussion of Kirnberger’s biography, his name has always been associated with the school of J. S. Bach.⁸⁶

However, surviving documents do not necessarily corroborate the facts that Kirnberger actually ever studied with the elder Bach. Forkel based his biography on information relayed to him mainly by C. P. E. Bach, who had left Leipzig already in 1738 to join Friedrich’s newly formed orchestra in Neuruppin. So, C. P. E. Bach could not have been present in Leipzig when Kirnberger allegedly studied with his father. Are we certain that Kirnberger really did study with J. S. Bach? The evidence is actually not clear on this question. In this section, I will raise arguments that question the claim that Kirnberger was a student of Bach, even as I show why it would have been nonetheless important for Kirnberger to maintain this fiction.

Almost everything that we know of Kirnberger’s life comes from secondary sources, many of which were written long after Kirnberger’s death. The very first references to him appear in 1754 in Marpurg’s journal, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*.⁸⁷ The only new addition to Kirnberger’s biography in print appears some 36 years later in Ernst Ludwig Gerber’s lexicon of composers—seven years after Kirnberger’s death.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ “Er war einer der merkwürdigsten unter Bachs Schülern.” Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben*, 43. Translation from David, Mendel, and Wolff, *NBR*, 457. Here, I have changed the translation from *NBR* from scholars to students.

⁸⁶ There is even an entire dissertation on the influences of Bach on Kirnberger. See Ruth Engelhardt, “Untersuchungen über Einflüsse Johann Sebastian Bachs auf das theoretische und praktische Wirken seines Schülers Johann Philipp Kirnberger” (Ph.D., Erlangen-Nürnberg, Friedrich-Alexander Universität, 1974).

⁸⁷ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, vol. 1: 1754-55 (Berlin: Johann Jacob Schützens Wittwe, n.d.), Erstes Stuck, 85-86.

⁸⁸ Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler, welches Nachrichten von dem Leben und Werken musikalischer Schriftsteller, berühmter Componisten, Sänger, Meister auf Instrumenten, Dilettanten, Orgel- und Instrumentenmacher, enthält*, vol. 1: A–M (Leipzig: Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, 1790), 725–28. Kirnberger’s obituary in C. F. Cramer’s *Magazin der Musik* gives a short account of his life, but is essentially a summary of Marpurg’s earlier account. Carl Friedrich Cramer, ed., *Magazin der Musik*, vol. Erster Jahrgang, Zweyte Hälfte (Hamburg: in der Musicalischen Niederlage, 1783), 946–49.

Here is what we know today. Born in the Thuringian town of Saalfeld, he was the son of lower-class parents. According to his friend and pupil Johann August Eberhard (1739–1809), who became one of Kirnberger’s most fervent defendants after his death, Kirnberger never escaped from a “subordinate [social] circle” that would affect his manners to the end of his life.⁸⁹ In a society in which social class and provenance determined much of one’s future, Kirnberger’s upbringing remains a crucial subject for investigating the nature of his later writings.⁹⁰ After learning the fundamentals of music on the keyboard and the violin in his hometown, he went to Gräfenroda for further music studies with Johann Peter Kellner (1705–1772), an important figure in the dissemination of Bach’s music.⁹¹ In 1738, Kirnberger went to Sondershausen, and studied the organ with a teacher who we indeed know was a pupil of Bach’s, Heinrich Nicolas Gerber (1702–1775). Afterwards, according to both Marpurg and Gerber, Kirnberger went to Leipzig from 1739 to 1741 to study with J. S. Bach.⁹² This remains the most widely known detail about Kirnberger’s life and has been repeated by almost all scholars since the nineteenth century, serving as a validation for much in Kirnberger’s theories. In his short treatise titled *Gedanken über die verschiedenen Lehrarten in der Komposition als Vorbereitung zur Fugenkennntnis* (1782), Kirnberger acknowledges Bach’s teaching method as “the best, as it progresses step-by-

⁸⁹ “. . . Kirnberger nie aus einem sehr untergeordneten Kreise herausgekommen war, dessen Ton und Manieren ihm bis an das Ende seines Lebens anhängen.” Johann August Eberhard, “Erklärung,” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 2, no. 51 (September 17, 1800): 872.

⁹⁰ See, for example, Beverly Jerold, “Johann Philipp Kirnberger versus Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg: A Reappraisal,” *Dutch Journal of Music Theory/Tijdschrift Voor Muziektheorie* 17, no. 2 (2012): 93–95. Jerold provides ample documentation showing Kirnberger’s vacillating concepts, e.g., as regards musical temperaments, and analyzes in detail the inaccuracies in Kirnberger’s polemics against Marpurg.

⁹¹ Whether or not Kellner studied with Bach is not known.

⁹² “. . . so begab er sich im Jahre 1739 nach Leipzig in die Schule des sel. Herrn Bach, und setzte sich unter der gründlichen Anweisung dieses berühmten Mannes sowohl in der Composition als dem Clavierspielen veste.” Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, 1: 1754–55:85. “. . . brachte ihn zu dem Entschlusse, gleichfalls nach Leipzig zu gehen. Er führte auch diesen Vorsatz 1739 aus, und genoß den gründlichen Unterricht dieses großen Musiklehrers zwey Jahre hindurch, sowohl im Klavierspielen als in der Composition, . . .” Gerber, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon*, 1: A–M:725.

step from the easiest to the most difficult tasks.”⁹³ Bemoaning the fact that the master did not leave any theoretical texts behind, Kirnberger claims that he has presented Bach’s teaching method as well as possible in his *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik* (1771–79).⁹⁴

However, the discovery and publication of Kirnberger’s family register (*Stammbuch*) by Max Seiffert in the nineteenth century, cast doubts on the claims of Kirnberger’s length of stay in Leipzig.⁹⁵ According to multiple signatures in the *Stammbuch*, in 1740, Kirnberger seems to have stayed in Sondershausen for the entire year. After a brief period in Leipzig in 1741, we see Kirnberger in Dresden in June of that same year. Georg van Dadelsen was the first one who argued that based on the evidence from the *Stammbuch*, Kirnberger’s stay in Leipzig could not have lasted more than these few months (January–June 1741), undermining the view held by almost all scholars that Kirnberger stayed in Leipzig for two whole years.⁹⁶ Furthermore, his lack of formal education would have precluded his matriculation at the University in Leipzig, rendering it implausible that he was in Leipzig for a formal education at the university.⁹⁷

None of this, of course, rules out the possibility that Kirnberger might have taken some lessons with Bach during the few months he was in Leipzig. There are certainly sources that

⁹³ “Seine Methode ist die beste, denn er geht durchgängig Schritt vor Schritt vom leichtesten bis zum schwersten über...Aus diesem Grunde halte ich *die Johann Sebastian Bachsche Methode für die einzige und beste*.” Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Gedanken über die verschiedenen Lehrarten in den Komposition, als Vorbereitung zur Fugenkenntniss* (Berlin: Georg Jakob Decker, 1782), 4.

⁹⁴ “Ich habe die Methode des sel. Joh. Seb. Bach auf Grundsätze zurück zu führen und seine Lehren nach dem Maaße meiner Kräfte der Welt, in meine Kunst des reinen Satzes, von Augen zu legen gesucht.” *Ibid.*, 5. In an announcement for the publication of this thoroughbass treatise, Kirnberger asserts that he wrote it as a prequel to the *Kunst*, as there were people who had complained about the fact that, in his *Kunst*, Kirnberger had taken the knowledge of thoroughbass for granted. See “Avertissement,” *Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen Unpartheyischen Correspondenten* 172, (27 Oct. 1780). Forkel repeats Kirnberger’s claim that Bach’s teaching practice has been reproduced in the *Kunst*. Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben*, 41.

⁹⁵ Max Seiffert, “Notizen: Aus dem Stammbuche Johann Philipp Kirnbergers,” *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1889): 365–71.

⁹⁶ Georg van Dadelsen, “Kirnberger (Kernberg), Johann Philipp,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 7 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958), 950–56.

⁹⁷ Kirnberger’s name cannot be found in the university’s register.

support the claim that Kirnberger studied with Bach/. Marpurg, for example, claims Kirnberger himself told him and others that during his studies with J. S. Bach, Kirnberger was asked by his teacher to tune all the major thirds on the harpsichord high.⁹⁸ In any case, Kirnberger himself never explicitly mentions having studied with Bach; a surprising fact, given his high admiration for Bach. Only once in his writings does he refer to an instance of Bach correcting one of his fugues.⁹⁹ Furthermore, after his alleged studies with Bach, Kirnberger got various appointments, for none of which we have any testimonials from Bach. Also, as we will see, Kirnberger's invocation of several of Rameau's major arguments in his *Kunst* (especially his invocation of chordal inversion and later the fundamental bass) seems incompatible with everything else we know about Bach's own compositional pedagogy.

After his stay in Leipzig, Kirnberger went to Poland, where he spent a decade assuming various positions as harpsichordist and Kapellmeister. Kirnberger finally arrived in Berlin in 1751 as a violinist at the court of Friedrich, and then got a prestigious and lucrative appointment as the music tutor to Friedrich's youngest sister Anna Amalia in 1758, a position he maintained until his death.¹⁰⁰

A key turning point in his life happened in 1759, when a major debate broke out concerning one of Kirnberger's then-unpublished works. First, the pseudonymous Paul Dreyklang (most probably Quantz) made an announcement in Marpurg's *Kritische Briefe über*

⁹⁸ "Der Hr. Kirnberger selbst hat mir und andern mehrmahl erzählet, wie der berühmte Joh. Seb. Bach ihm, während der Zeit seines von demselben genoßnen musikalischen Unterrichts, die Stimmung seines Claviers übertragen, und wie dieser Meister ausdrücklich von ihm verlanget, alle große Terzen scharf zu machen." Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Versuch über die musikalische Temperatur* (Breslau: Johann Friedrich Korn, 1776), 213.

⁹⁹ "Ich kann den nehmlichen Fall von Bachens eigener Hand vorzeigen, welchen mir derselbe vorgeschrieben, als er mir einst eine Fuge zu machen aufgab." Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Allegro, für das Clavier alleine, wie auch für die Violin mit dem Violoncell zu accompagniren* (Berlin: George Ludewig Winter, 1759), 4.

¹⁰⁰ Gerber, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon*, 1: A–M:726.

die Tonkunst that a certain Peter Kleinlieb (lover of small things, i.e., Kirnberger) added a bass line to an Adagio from a certain duet and boasted of his achievement everywhere.¹⁰¹ A few issues later (July 28, 1759), another anonymous author (who signed his letter with six stars, hence Sechsstern) published a critique of a then-unpublished two-voice fugue by “Peter Kleinlieb.”¹⁰² Later that year, Kirnberger published a pamphlet titled *Allegro für das Clavier alleine wie auch für die Violin mit dem Violoncell zu accompagniren* in which he claimed authorship for the fugue, published it, and defended it against “Sechsstern’s” criticisms.¹⁰³ In his defense, Kirnberger quoted musical excerpts by J. S. Bach (see Table 4.1 above), as well as from Fux’s *Gradus ad Parnassum*, which he believed his critic had misunderstood. Kirnberger’s defense, in turn, then received a series of retorts in Marpurg’s journal by the same person. The twenty fourth letter, in particular, must have enraged Kirnberger the most, as it questions the nature of Kirnberger’s studies with Bach.¹⁰⁴ Sechsstern further states that he always harbored doubts whether Kirnberger could even have understood Bach’s principles.

¹⁰¹ “Dreyklang” must be referring to Quantz’s *Sei duetti a due Flauti traversi*, published only shortly before. In the *Vorbericht*, dated May 2, 1759, Quantz claims that it would be impossible to add a bass line to these duets, as they are complete on their own without needing a bass. For more on these duets, see Edward R. Reilly, “Further Musical Examples for Quantz’s ‘Versuch,’” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17, no. 2 (1964): 157–69.

¹⁰² Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, ed., *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst: mit kleinen Clavierstücken und Singoden begleitet von einer musikalischen Gesellschaft in Berlin*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1760), 41–48. For discussions of this debate, see Howard Serwer, “Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, 1718-1795: Music Critic in a Galant Age” (Yale University, 1969), 126–58; Howard Serwer, “Marpurg versus Kirnberger: Theories of Fugal Composition,” *Journal of Music Theory* 14, no. 2 (1970): 209–36; Jerold, “Johann Philipp Kirnberger versus Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg,” 97–103.

¹⁰³ Kirnberger, *Allegro*.

¹⁰⁴ “Ich verehere das Andenken dieses großen Mannes. Weil er aber schon todt ist, und sich also nicht selbst verantworten, noch seine wahre Meynung entdecken kann: so wird man mir auch nicht übel nehmen, wenn ich das, was dieser oder jener, der ihm etwan einmal durch die Schule gelaufen ist, der Welt als Gesetze aufbürden will, nicht sogleich, sobald nur sein Name dabey steht, als Evangelia annehme, am allerwenigsten Herrn Kirnbergern, der nicht einmal Namen recht lesen, und das, was doch sehr deutlich an ihm getadelt wird, nicht einmal verstehen kann, der immer eins fürs andre nimmt, wie mich für Paul Dreyklängen, wenn ich, sage ich, am allerwenigsten diesen Herrn Kirnberger für den wahren Erbinhaber der Bachischen Grundsätze erkenne, und immer im Zweifel stehe, ob er auch des sel. Bachs Meynung recht begriffen habe.” XXXIV. Brief., dated December 1, 1759, in Marpurg, *KBT*, 1:183.

Who was this “Sechsstern” and why did he take it upon himself to criticize Kirnberger so harshly? Was it Marpurg himself, using one of his several aliases, as Howard Serwer thought?¹⁰⁵ Kirnberger certainly did not think so, as he cited Marpurg’s treatise on fugue in his defense. Many years after the debate, Marpurg tacitly identified the Kirnberger’s critic as Johann Friedrich Agricola, noting that he was “accustomed to taking part in quarrels only secretly and under an assumed name.”¹⁰⁶ What was Agricola’s reasoning behind this criticism? We may never know. What we can do, however, is trace back Kirnberger’s activity subsequent to these debates and reappraise his later views. I suggest that no matter what the original motive behind this criticism was, Kirnberger benefitted enormously from this noisy debate by burnishing his credentials as a student of Bach and thereby furthering his career as a musical writer and theorist.

Tracing Kirnberger’s activities between the publication of his *Allegro* in 1759 and 1771, when he published his most famous treatise *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*, we see that he only edited a single short theoretical pamphlet on temperament.¹⁰⁷ Clearly, he must have dedicated most of his energy to his magnum opus in these intervening years. *Die Kunst* was published in two volumes, the second of which consists of three separate “books.” Kirnberger dedicates the last two books of the second volume to double counterpoint, spanning more than four hundred pages. Kirnberger contends that *reiner Satz* (regular or “pure” composition) represented the pinnacle of musical composition, and the secret to mastering it lay in the

¹⁰⁵ Serwer, “Music Critic in a Galant Age,” 129.

¹⁰⁶ Simeon Metaphrastes [F. W. Marpurg], *Legende Einiger Musikheiligen* (Cölln am Rhein: Peter Hammern, 1786), 58. Beverly Jerold asserts Agricola as the individual behind “Sechsstern.” See Jerold, “Johann Philipp Kirnberger versus Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg,” 98.

¹⁰⁷ As already mentioned in the first review of the work in Marpurg’s *HKB V*, this treatise was, in fact, penned by Moses Mendelssohn, presumably in close collaboration with Kirnberger himself. See Ariane Jeßulat, “Johann Philipp Kirnbergers theoretische Schriften zur musikalischen Temperatur,” in »... weit schärfer und gründlicher nachgedacht ... « : *Zur Musiktheorie Johann Philipp Kirnbergers*, ed. Immanuel Ott and Birger Petersen, *Schriften der Hochschule für Musik Mainz 1* (Mainz: Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, 2023), 197–99.

understanding of double counterpoint (along with thoroughbass, of course).¹⁰⁸ In this sense, Kirnberger stood on the shoulders of many German theorists before him.¹⁰⁹ Oddly, though, in addition to the music of Bach and Handel, Kirnberger praised Graun's galant music and considered him as a master of *reiner Satz* as well.¹¹⁰

As a composer, Kirnberger never succeeded as much as he wanted, and his fame rests now—as in his own lifetime—primarily on his theoretical writings. An account by his loyal student Johann Peter Abraham Schulz testifies to Kirnberger's strictness in his teachings. According to Schulz, Kirnberger—who perhaps wanted to train a second J. S. Bach in Schulz— forbade him from even attending concerts or operas lest the music corrupt his taste. As a result, Schulz learned nothing about the music from his own time, concentrating only on music in older styles. Moreover, Schulz bemoaned the fact that practical music lost all its charm to him blaming it on Kirnberger not being a particularly gifted practical musician. As he lamented: “Kirnberger himself was no special musician [*Praktiker*] and did not attend any concerts.”¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ The German-born theorist, Augustus Frederic Christopher Kollmann (1756–1829), who was perhaps the first theorist who disseminated Kirnberger's theories in the English language, translated “*Der reine Satz*” as “regular musical composition.” For a discussion of this translation compared to that of David Beach (“strict musical composition”) see Michael Kassler, ed., *A.F.C. Kollmann's Quarterly Musical Register (1812): An Annotated Edition with an Introduction to His Life and Works* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 48–49.

¹⁰⁹ Such as Theile, Werckmeister, and Weckmann. See, for example, Paul Walker, *Theories of Fugue from the Age of Josquin to the Age of Bach* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2000), 204–17; Yearsley, *Bach and the Meanings of Counterpoint*, 18–34.

¹¹⁰ Kirnberger co-edited (the other editors remain unknown) four volumes of duets, trios, quintets, sextets, and other choral movements from Graun's operas and wrote a laudatory preface for them, praising, among other things, the intricate double counterpoint used in them. Carl Heinrich Graun, *Duetti, terzetti, quintetti, sestetti e alcuni chori delle Opere del Signore Carlo Enrico Graun*, 4 vols. (Berlin: Decker und Hartung, 1773).

¹¹¹ “Kirnberger... glaubte vielleicht einen zweiten Seb. Bach in mir zu erziehen. Er hatte mich anfänglich mit Strenge von allen Musikaufführungen in Concerten oder Schauspielen abgehalten, um, wie er sagte, meinem Geschmacke keine falsche Richtung zu geben... je länger ich arbeitete, je mehr fand ich alle neuere Musiken schaal und unausstehlich und ich hing nur mit Leib und Seele an alter gearbeiteter Musik. Nur was mir mühsam ausgearbeitet zu sein schien, zog mich an, und daher ward meine ehemals so leichte Schreibart nur mühsam und peinlich. Praktische Musik verlor allen Reiz für mich, weil Kirnberger selbst kein sonderlicher Praktiker war und keine Concerte besuchte.” Carl Freiherrn von Ledebur, *Tonkünstler-Lexicon Berlin's von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (Berlin: Ludwig Rauh, 1861), 531.

As an example of Kirnberger's changing views on music theory, we can look at a few case studies. Kirnberger's opinions towards the theorist Johann Joseph Fux (1660–1741) and his teachings display a major shift from his earlier writings to his later ones. While he cited and recommended Fux in his earlier writings, towards the end of his career Kirnberger dismissed Fux as a second-rank theorist who would certainly be placed behind Bach. In his defense of his *Allegro* in 1759, for instance, Kirnberger invokes Fux many times as authority, showing his familiarity with the late theorist's *Gradus ad Parnassum*.¹¹² And in his entry on counterpoint in Sulzer's encyclopedia first published in 1771, Kirnberger again recommends the exercises in Fux's *Gradus* to anyone who wants to gain proficiency in the art of regular composition.¹¹³

After this point, however, Kirnberger reconsidered his views on Fux. The reason, as I surmise, must have been related to J. S. Bach's apparent opposition to Fux's teachings. In an oft-cited letter to Forkel, dated 13 January 1775, C. P. E. Bach claimed that his father "started his pupils right in with what was practical, and omitted all the dry species of counterpoint that are given in Fux and others...."¹¹⁴ Learning this from C. P. E. Bach's letter, Kirnberger must have had a quick change of heart.

¹¹²Kirnberger, *Allegro*, 4–5.

¹¹³ "Dazu findet ein Anfänger eine ziemliche vollständige Anweisung, mit einer großen Menge Beyspiele begleitet, in dem Werke, das der ehemaligen kaiserliche Capellmeister Fux unter dem Titel: Gradus ad Parnassum, herausgegeben hat. Es ist jedem, der in der Musik zu einiger Fertigkeit des reinen Satzes zu gelangen wünscht, anzurathen, die Uebungen eines solchen Contrapunkts mit großem Ernst zu treiben." Johann Georg Sulzer, ed., *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste in einzeln, nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Kunstwörter auf einander folgenden, Artikeln abgehandelt*, vol. I: A–J (Leipzig: Weidmann und Reich, 1771), sec. "Contrapunkt (Musik)," 579. As Schulz claimed years after Kirnberger's death, Kirnberger was only partially responsible for many of the musical articles, and Schulz wrote almost everything from letters S to Z. For more on this issue, see Beverly Jerold, "Johann Philipp Kirnberger and Authorship," *Notes* 69, no. 4 (2013): 690–92.

¹¹⁴ Translated in David, Mendel, and Wolff, *NBR*, 399. "...gieng er gleich an das Nützliche mit seinen Scholaren, mit Hinweglaßung aller der trockenen Arten von Contrapunten, wie in Fuxen e. andern stehen." In the original letter, the words "dry species" ["trockenen Arten"] have been underlined. Schulze, *BD III*, 289.

Thus, in 1777, in the second section of the second volume of the *Kunst*, Kirnberger found a certain example in Fux's *Gradus* "quite objectionable" and devoted a few pages to the admonition of Fux's example.¹¹⁵ By 1782, a year before his death, Kirnberger's view of Fux seems to have hardened further. In his *Gedanken*, Fux's teachings are branded as "too strict," "intolerable to the ear," and "incapable of being united with his practical examples."¹¹⁶ It seems as though Kirnberger's increasingly harsh rebukes of Fux were inspired by his wish to move closer to the teaching practices of Bach as reported by his son. Yet to complicate the picture here even more, new evidence from the compositional exercises between W. F. Bach and his father seems to demonstrate that J.S. Bach could indeed make use of "dry" contrapuntal exercises in his teachings.¹¹⁷

Kirnberger's changing opinions about Fux do not represent the only inconsistencies in his thinking. Recently, Beverly Jerold has shown that the articles on music in the first volume of Sulzer's encyclopedia—all allegedly written by Kirnberger—exhibit contradictions similar to the ones I have pointed out with regard to Fux.¹¹⁸ Jerold explains these inconsistencies on account of the fact that the articles were written by multiple authors, including Kirnberger's most celebrated student, J. A. P. Schulz, as well as Agricola.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ "...ist [d]as gegebene Exempel von Johann Joseph Fux in seinem Gradus ad Parnassum... ganz verwerflich..." Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik: aus sicheren Grundsätzen hergeleitet und mit deutlichen Beyspielen erläutert*, vol. 2, 2. Abtheilung (Berlin und Königsberg: Decker und Hartung, 1777), 132–39.

¹¹⁶ Kirnberger, *Gedanken*, 4.

¹¹⁷ See in particular Peter Wollny, "Ein Quellenfund in Kiew: unbekannte Kontrapunktstudien von Johann Sebastian und Wilhelm Friedemann Bach," in *Bach in Leipzig - Bach und Leipzig: Konferenzbericht Leipzig 2000*, ed. Leisinger, Ulrich (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2002), 275–87; Walter Werbeck, "Bach und der Kontrapunkt: neue Manuskript-Funde," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 89 (2003): 76–86.

¹¹⁸ Jerold, "Johann Philipp Kirnberger and Authorship."

¹¹⁹ In a recent article, she even argues for Agricola having written major parts of Quantz's flute treatise. Beverly Jerold, "Quantz and Agricola: A Literary Collaboration," *Acta Musicologica* 88, no. 2 (October 2016): 127–42.

Judging from his own writings and anecdotes from the time, the older Kirnberger got, the more he developed an obsession with Bach. (There may also have been something of an inferiority complex at play, which made him cling to Bach as an authority behind whose music he could hide.) Years after Kirnberger's death, Carl Friedrich Zelter wrote a letter to Goethe in which he recounts the story of a Leipzig linen draper visiting Kirnberger. As the story goes, the linen draper visited Kirnberger and upon seeing a portrait of Bach hanging there, commented:

‘You’ve actually got our Cantor, Bach, hanging there. . . They say he was a rough fellow; didn’t the conceited fool even go and have himself painted in a smart velvet coat?’ Kirnberger gets up quietly, goes behind his chair, and lifting it up with both hands in the guest’s face, exclaims, first gently, then *crescendo*, ‘Out, you dog!’ . . . As Zelter comments, “this story was the origin of the report that Kirnberger had lost his senses.”¹²⁰

But it was Marpurg who pushed Kirnberger the most regarding the latter’s loyalty to Bach. Even though Marpurg and Kirnberger had established a friendship in the 1750s, their friendship gradually soured (especially from Kirnberger’s side) in the following decades, partly due to Marpurg’s criticism of Kirnberger’s obsession with Bach.¹²¹ Kirnberger never reciprocated the warm feelings Marpurg expressed towards him (mentioned in Chapter 2), remaining bitter at his friend-turned-foe to the very end. In a letter to Forkel dated September 4, 1779, Kirnberger makes some snide references last issue of the *HKB*, which had been belatedly published by Lange in 1778—fully 16 years later than the previous volume. The content of the

¹²⁰ “‘Da haben Sie ja gar unsern Kantor Bach hängen...Das soll ein grober Mann gewesen seyn; hat sich der eitle Narr nicht gar in einem prächtigen Sammetroek malen lassen.’ Kirnberger steht gelassen auf, tritt hinter seinen Stuhl und indem er ihn mit beiden Händen gegen den Gast aufhebt ruft er, erst sacht dann *crescendo*: ‘will der Hund “raus!” “raus mit dem Hunde!”’ . . . Das war die Gelegenheit aus welcher das Gerücht entstand: Kirnberger habe den Verstand verloren.” Friedrich Wilhelm Riemer, ed., *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter in den Jahren 1796 bis 1832*, vol. 5: 1828-1830 (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1834), 163–64. Translation in David, Mendel, and Wolff, *NBR*, 412–13.

¹²¹ For example, according to Zelter, Marpurg had written a canon with the words “Kirn-, Kirn-, Kirnberger hat kein Gehirn” [Kirnberger has no brain], to which Kirnberger replied with another canon: “Mar-, Mar-, Mar-, Marpurg ist ein Narr” [Marpurg is an idiot]. Heinrich Bellermann, “Nachtrag zu Kirnberger’s Briefen,” ed. Joseph Müller, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* VII. Jahrgang, no. 28 (July 10, 1872): 444.

journal was devoted to Marpurg's new obsessions with ratios and temperaments (discussed in Chapter 2). Kirnberger then claims that a certain "foolish Pauli" seemed to be encouraging him to start a debate with Marpurg, so that people, "in order to amuse themselves, would read his journal to some fools."¹²²

In his critique of the treatise published in 1773 under Kirnberger's name, *Die wahren Grundsätze zum Gebrauch der Harmonie*, Marpurg comes to the defense of Rameau, whose theories he had earlier disseminated in Germany through his translation of d'Alembert redaction (see Chapter 2). In his discussion of Rameau's character, Marpurg refers to Bach as well, claiming that if Bach had been to Paris, Rameau would certainly have been the first to hold the immortal Bach—in whom the good talents of hundred other musicians had been united—in high regard.¹²³

In his treatise on temperament published in 1776, Marpurg, presumably echoing some other theorists active in Berlin, expressed his frustration with Kirnberger bringing Bach into every discussion. (Marpurg does so in an unrelated section of his *Versuch*.) He goes on to assert that Bach would not have taught harmony in the way that is outlined by Kirnberger and that he certainly had more than one method of composition that he would adapt to each student.

¹²² "Es kommt hier bey den Buchhändlern Lange eine gelehrte wesentliche Zeitung heraus, in welcher Marpurg die musikalischen Artikel besorgt, und der Narr Pauli möchte gern, ich sollte mich in einen Streit mit Marpurg einlassen, damit die Leute, um sich zu belustigen, an ein paar Narren seine Zeitung lesen." The original letter is now at the Library of Congress, and can be viewed online: <https://www.loc.gov/item/musmolden.2900/>. Reprint in Johann Philipp Kirnberger, "Ein noch ungedruckter Brief Kirnbergers an Forkel," ed. Friedrich August Kamne, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat* 7, no. 26 (March 29, 1823): 205–6. Kirnberger must have been referring to the *Berlinische gelehrte Zeitung*, which was edited by Johann Heinrich Friedrich Ulrich (1751–98), and appeared between 1779 and 1780, published by Joachim Pauli in octavo format. Joachim Pauli (1733–1812) founded his publishing house in 1761 in Berlin, after having gained experience at Haude und Spener since 1755.

¹²³ "Er verehrte die zu seiner Zeit bekannten großen Tonkünstler Deutschlands und Italiens, und würde der erste gewesen seyn, der dem unsterblichen Joh. Seb. Bach, in welchem die verschiedenen guten Talente von hundert andern Musikern vereinigt waren, seine Hochachtung bezeigt hätte, wenn derselbe nach Paris gekommen wäre." Marpurg, *Versuch*, 234.

Marpurg concludes by hypothesizing that if a manuscript on harmony by Bach were to be found, everyone would quickly see that Kirnberger's "Bach doctrines" do not represent those of Bach, something that Bach's son could verify.

Good God! Why should old Bach be dragged into a discussion in which he would have taken no part if he had been alive? No one will ever be persuaded that he would have expounded the principles of harmony according to the views of Herr Kirnberger. I believe that this great man had more than one method of instruction, and that he always adapted his style to the capacity of each pupil, according as he was more or less gifted by nature, or as he turned out to be pliable or stupid, clever or a mere blockhead. But I am perfectly well assured that if there still exist any introductions to harmony in manuscript by this master, they will nowhere be found to contain certain things which Herr Kirnberger wants to palm off upon as Bach's way of teaching. His celebrated son in Hamburg ought to know something about it.¹²⁴

By this time, however, Emanuel Bach had established a close friendship with Kirnberger and would not have said anything that would tarnish the theorist's claims. In their correspondence (some of which is still extant), Emanuel Bach always seems to side with the Saxon theorist. In a famous passage at the very end of his *Kunst*, Kirnberger cites a letter by C. P. E. Bach, in which the composer appears to endorse Kirnberger and shun Rameau (and Marpurg): "you can loudly proclaim that the [compositions] principles used by me and my father are anti-Rameau."¹²⁵ No such letter has been found to this date, so the veracity of the claim

¹²⁴ "Mein Gott! Warum will man den alten Bach mit Gewalt in einen Streit mischen, an welchem er, wenn er noch lebte, gewiß keinen Theil genommen haben würde? Man wird doch niemanden überreden, daß derselbe die Lehre von der Harmonie nach Art des Herrn Kirnbergers erkläret habe. Ich glaube, daß dieser große Mann sich mehr als einer einzigen Methode bey seinem Unterricht bedienet, und solche allezeit nach der Sphäre eines jeden Kopfs, nachdem er solchen mit mehreren oder wenigern Naturgaben ausgerüstet, geschmeidiger oder steifer, voller Seele oder Hölzern fand, eingerichtet hat. Aber ich bin auch zugleich versichert, daß, wenn noch irgendwo Anleitungen zur Harmonie in Manuscript von diesem Mann existiren, man nirgends gewisse Dinge finden wird, die uns der Hr. Kirnberger für Bachische Lehrsätze verkaufen will. Sein berühmter Hr. Sohn zu Hamburg müßte doch auch ein Wort davon wissen." Ibid., 239. English translation in Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach, His Work and Influence on the Music of Germany, 1685-1750*, trans. Clara Bell and J. A. Fuller-Maitland, vol. 3 (London: Novello, 1885), 117-18.

¹²⁵ "Was übrigens der Herr Capellmeister Bach in Hamburg von dem vortrefflichen Werke des Herrn Marpurgs halte, zeugen einige Stellen aus einem Briefe, den dieser berühmte Mann an mich geschrieben hat. „Das Betragen von Herrn Marpurg gegen Ihnen ist verabscheuungswürdig“ Ferner; „Daß meine und meines seel. Vaters Grundsätze antirameauisch sind, können Sie laut sagen.“" Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in*

cannot be proven. (Marpurg kept his friendship with C. P. E. Bach, as testified by the dedication of his *Fugues and Caprices* published as Op. 1 in 1777—when Bach had already been gone from Berlin for Hamburg for nine years.)

If we accept Kirnberger's claim that C. P. E. really made the above statement about his father, it still seems uncertain what C. P. E. means by "anti-Rameau." Was this merely a rejection of the Frenchman's theories, based on nationalistic sentiments? Or was it in line with his efforts in mythologizing his father as an auto-didact and unique character, whose ideas about music originated only from his own genius mind?

In any case, as multiple authors have shown, despite Marpurg's admiration and Kirnberger's contempt for Rameau's theories, the result of the disputes between the two theorists was contradictory. Kirnberger shows a much better understanding of Rameau's theories, whereas Marpurg's obsession with certain elements of the Frenchman's theories (such as stacking of thirds) at the expense of some of the other ones (most importantly fundamental bass) often renders his theories incoherent and far from Rameau's intentions.¹²⁶

Kirnberger's most detailed engagement with any Bach composition can be found in *Die wahren Grundsätze*, in which he provides an imaginary thoroughbass realization as well as two fundamental bass lines to the B minor fugue from the first book of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* (Figure 4.5).

der Musik: aus sicheren Grundsätzen hergeleitet und mit deutlichen Beyspielen erläutert, vol. 2, 3. Abtheilung (Berlin und Königsberg: Decker und Hartung, 1779), 188.

¹²⁶ For a thorough discussion of the Marpurg-Kirnberger disputes regarding Rameau and his theories, see Joel Lester, *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 231–57.

55 56

Figure 4.5 Kirnberger’s thorough analysis of a Bach fugue. Bach’s B minor fugue (BWV. 869) from the *Well-Tempered Clavier, Book I*. Kirnberger, *Die wahren Grundsätze* (Berlin und Königsberg: Decker und Hartung, 1773), 55–56. Image Credit: Google Books

In the example, the first fundamental bass line includes all “accidental” dissonances, whereas the bottom one only includes “essential” dissonances. The distinction between essential (*wesentlich*) and accidental (*zufällig*) harmonies was perhaps one of Kirnberger’s most original and valuable contributions to harmonic theory. As he defines them in his *Kunst*, as well as in *Die wahren Grundsätze*, essential harmonies are [dominant] seventh chords that are dissonant by nature, and therefore can be used unprepared, whereas accidental harmonies use sevenths that must be prepared as suspensions.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik: aus sicheren Grundsätzen hergeleitet und mit deutlichen Beyspielen erläutert*, 1. Auflage, vol. 1 (Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voß, 1771), 30; Kirnberger, *Die wahren Grundsätze zum Gebrauch der Harmonie*, 12.

Given the evidence presented in this chapter, it seems odd that Kirnberger and his theories have been held in such high esteem both by musicologists and proponents of the historically informed performance practice. One of the main reasons seem to be the common misconception that Kirnberger's theories most closely resembled those of J. S. Bach, a claim that has been criticized since Marpurg to this day. Considering the evidence presented above, I argue that it is high time Kirnberger's role in music theory be reevaluated through a less biased lens.

In any case, in part, thanks to Kirnberger's obsessive promotion of the Leipzig cantor, Bach's music was cited in various theory treatises as the best model to emulate for composers, not only in Germany, but also in England (and even France, later in the nineteenth century).¹²⁸ Kirnberger transferred some of this obsession to his loyal student and patroness Anna Amalia of Prussia (1723–1787), Friedrich's youngest sister, who amassed a large collection of works by and related to Bach, paving the path for the performance of Bach's music in the musical salons of Berlin.¹²⁹

Johann Forkel and the Foundations of Bach Hagiography

With the passing of Kirnberger in 1783, Wilhelm Friedemann Bach in 1784, and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach in 1788, a chapter closed on the first generation of Bach's devotees. Through their efforts, J. S. Bach had been firmly established in the minds of musicians in Berlin and beyond. Of the three figures whose efforts to promote the music of J. S. Bach are the focus

¹²⁸ As noted by Thomas Christensen, for example, soon after Kirnberger, theorists such as Johann Gottlieb Portmann (1739–1798), Daniel Gottlob Türk (1750–1813), and Justin Heinrich Knecht (1752–1817) published theory treatises in which they prescribed the writing of four-part chorales to students wishing to learn good harmonic writing. See Christensen, "Bach among the Theorists," 35 fn. 42.

¹²⁹ Buyken, *Bach-Rezeption als kulturelle Praxis*, 172–82; Eva Renate Wutta (née Blechschmidt), *Die Amalien-Bibliothek: Musikbibliothek der Prinzessin Anna Amalia von Preussen (1723-1787): historische Einordnung und Katalog mit Hinweisen auf die Schreiber der Handschriften* (Berlin: Merseburger, 1965).

of this chapter, Forkel was the youngest and only one with no direct connection to J. S. Bach himself.¹³⁰

Johann Nikolaus Forkel was born at Meeder in Coburg in Bavaria, but moved to the north already as a teenager, first to Lüneburg as a singer, and then on to Göttingen to study law at the university. Based in Göttingen for the majority of his life, Forkel had no obvious way of first having come into contact with Bach's music, though it probably happened through his studies with the Bach pupil Johann Peter Kellner.¹³¹ He later seems to have studied briefly with Wilhelm Friedemann Bach.¹³² As Forkel states in the preface to his biography of Bach, he got most of the information from his correspondence with C. P. E. and W. F. Bach, especially the former.

As discussed in the previous chapter, by the end of the eighteenth century, German music had finally established itself outside the shadows of French and Italian music. Thus, by this time, discussions about the primacy of different national styles also would include German music. In one of these instances, Joseph Haydn, during one of his London visits, seems to have met with resistance by some Italians, one of whom mocked German music *tout court*. In defending Haydn, Forkel (whose name appeared as F—l) wrote a short anecdote about the incident and included a diagram by the German-born Londoner Augustus Frederic Christopher Kollmann (1756–1829), a former student of Kirnberger's. The diagram shows J. S. Bach in the middle of a central triangle, surrounded by the names of J. Haydn, "Haendel," C. H. Graun, and another two dozen names of

¹³⁰ For an excellent recent source on the life and works of Forkel, see Fischer, *Das Wissenschaftliche der Kunst*.

¹³¹ There is a copy of one of Bach's French suites in the hand of Forkel from when he was around 15 years old. Ibid., 86.

¹³² Ibid., 463.

other composers in two further surrounding circles (Figure 4.6). At the end of his anecdote, Forkel proclaims Bach as the composer “from whom all musical wisdom emanates.”¹³³

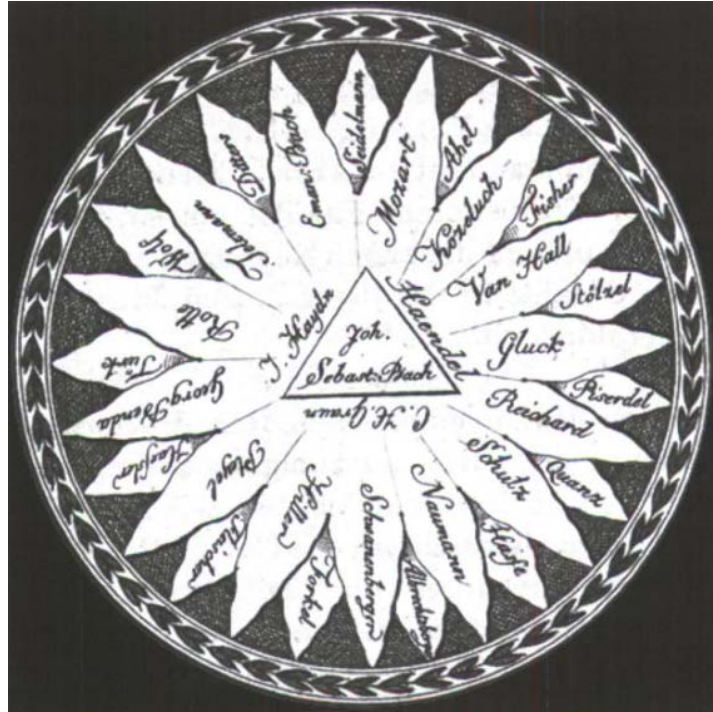


Figure 4.6 A. F. C. Kollmann's illustration of the musical sun, with J. S. Bach as the central figure. First published in “. . . Joh. Seb. Bach.” [Forkel], “Anekdoten,” *AmZ* 2, no. 5 (October 30, 1799): 104. Image Credit: Google Books.

Forkel was the author of the first major history of music in German, his *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (1788–1801), which followed the models set by Charles Burney, Padre Martini, Jean-Benjamin de la Borde, and John Hawkins. Forkel’s ambitious plan to write a complete and universal history of music was never completed. He stopped after two volumes, going only as far as Franchinus Gaffurius in the first half of the sixteenth century. Thus, for

¹³³ “. . . Joh. Seb. Bach. . . der Mann. . . von welchem alle wahre musikalische Weisheit ausgehe.” [Johann Nikolaus] [Forkel], “Anekdoten,” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 2, no. 5 (October 30, 1799): 104.

reasons unknown to us, his ambitious plan to continue the project to five volumes, capping off his history with Kirnberger, was never materialized.¹³⁴

But it seems that his first efforts in sketching a biography of Bach were to have been part of his (unfinished) history of music. When by 1801 a plan to publish a complete edition of Bach's works was announced by Hoffmeister und Kühnel in Leipzig, Forkel decided to publish the excerpt and expand his biography of Bach into a separate book.¹³⁵ Replete with patriotic fervor, Forkel's biography was motivated by an urge to situate Bach as a national German hero. Already in the preface, he makes his position clear: "the works which Johann Sebastian Bach has left us are an invaluable national patrimony, with which no other nation has anything to be compared."¹³⁶ Only a few sentences later, Forkel doubles down on his claim: "... the preservation of the memory of this great man (let me be allowed to repeat it) is an object in which not merely the interest of the art but the honor of the nation itself is deeply involved."¹³⁷

Forkel's work was received enthusiastically almost everywhere. Reviews appeared in countless journals and newspapers across German-speaking lands. Among these reviews, the most laudatory was perhaps the one that appeared in February 1803 in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*. The anonymous author, who was only identified personally to Forkel himself in a letter, was none other than Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832), the founder of the *Sing-Akademie* in Berlin, and the mentor and a close friend of Mendelssohn's. It was later

¹³⁴ For details of the (recently rediscovered) plan for the continuation of Forkel's project, and speculations on why he did not manage to finish it, see Fischer, *Das Wissenschaftliche der Kunst*, 439–44.

¹³⁵ Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben*.

¹³⁶ "Die Werke, die uns Joh. Seb. Bach hinterlassen hat, sind ein unschätzbare National-Erbgut, dem kein anderes Volk etwas ähnliches entgegen setzen kann." Ibid., V. The translations of the Forkel biography are from David, Mendel, and Wolff, *NBR*, 419–82.

¹³⁷ "... und doch ist die Erhaltung des Andenkens an diesen grossne Mann — man erlaube mir, es noch ein Mal zu wiederholen — nicht bloss Kunst-Angelegenheit — sie ist National-Angelegenheit." Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben*, VI.

discovered that in several personal letters written to Forkel, Zelter had many critical views on the biography, but out of courtesy he decided to communicate them privately to Forkel instead.¹³⁸ Zelter inherited many of Forkel's valuable manuscripts and in exchange let Forkel examine many of the manuscripts of the Anna Amalia collection that were in his possession.¹³⁹ Zelter's affinity for Bach's music and his directorship of the *Sing-Akademie*, combined with his familiarity with Forkel and many of Bach's manuscripts meant that the path to the famous revival of Bach's *Matthew Passion* in 1829 was only a matter of time.

According to the young Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), recounting his first meeting with Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791–1864) in spring 1829, Meyerbeer called Berlin the “Capital of Sebastian Bach.”¹⁴⁰ This was exactly around the time when the famous performance of Bach's *Matthew Passion* took place there on March 11, 1829, by the *Sing-Akademie* of Berlin under the direction of the 20-year-old Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy as well as his mentor Zelter. Much scholarly ink has been spilled about this famous event, one that was long considered to be the opening chapter in the revival of Johann Sebastian Bach's music drawn out of complete obscurity. This mythical narrative has been strongly debunked by many scholars, with the whole notion of a “Bach-Renaissance” being called into question.¹⁴¹ For example, scholars have

¹³⁸ For details of these letters that were only discovered in the 1960s, see Fischer, *Das Wissenschaftliche der Kunst*, 473–79.

¹³⁹ Hans-Joachim Schulze, “Karl Friedrich Zelter Und Der Nachlaß Des Bach-Biographen Johann Nikolaus Forkel,” *Jahrbuch Des Staatlichen Instituts Für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (1993), 1993, 141–50.

¹⁴⁰ “Berlin...[die] Hauptstadt von Sebastian Bach,” Quoted in Arno Forchert, “Die Hauptstadt von Sebastian Bach’ Berliner Bach-Traditionen zwischen Klassik und Romantik,” ed. Günther Wagner, *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 1995 (1996): 9–28.

¹⁴¹ For an excellent study of the events around the Mendelssohn performance, see Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St. Matthew Passion* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press,

exposed the catalytic role of several salons in Berlin, and shown that they provided a unique environment for the performance and dissemination of J. S. Bach's music. Many of these salons were led by Jewish women prominent in Berlin's upper society such as Sarah Levy (née Itzig) (1761–1854), Lea Mendesssohn Bartholdy (1777–1842), and Rahel Varnhagen (1771–1833)¹⁴² Their access to so many works of Bach can be traced to Kirnberger's collection of Bach's manuscripts that eventually found their way into the library of Anna Amalia, and from there, into copies circulated in these bourgeois households.¹⁴³

Kirnberger can be credited for instilling his passion for Bach's music in another of his pupils in Berlin, the Dutch-born Austrian diplomat Baron Gottfried van Swieten (1733–1803) who served as a diplomat in Berlin from 1770 to 1777. Thanks to van Swieten, some of Bach's music eventually found its way to Vienna, where it exercised an incalculably profound influence upon Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, among others.¹⁴⁴ One could say without too much exaggeration that the history of late Viennese classical would be scarcely recognizable to us

2005). Other works that deal with this topic include Martin Geck, *Die Wiederentdeckung der Matthäuspassion im 19. Jahrhundert. Die zeitgenössischen Dokumente und ihre ideengeschichtliche Deutung*, Studien zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts 9 (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1967); Markus Rathey, "Bach-Renaissance, Protestantismus und nationale Identität im deutschen Bürgertum des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Protestantische Identität und Erinnerung: von der Reformation bis zur Bürgerrechtsbewegung in der DDR*, ed. Joachim Eibach and Marcus Sandl, Formen der Erinnerung 16 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 177–90; Sachiko Kimura, "Mendelssohns Wiederaufführung der Matthäus-Passion (BWV 244) : eine Untersuchung der Quellen unter aufführungspraktischem Aspekt," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 84 (1998): 93–120; Andreas Glöckner, "Zelter und Mendelssohn: zur „Wiederentdeckung“ der Matthäus-Passion im Jahre 1829," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 90 (2004): 133–55.

¹⁴² On the connections between Jews in Berlin and Bach's music, see Wollny, *Ein förmlicher Sebastian und Philipp Emanuel Bach-Kultus*, 44. For a discussion of the different households relevant in the Bach reception in Berlin, see Buyken, *Bach-Rezeption als kulturelle Praxis*, 184–214., and more specifically, Rebecca Cypess and Nancy Sinkoff, eds., *Sara Levy's World: Gender, Judaism and the Bach Tradition in Enlightenment Berlin*, Eastman Studies in Music 145 (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2018); Wollny, *Ein förmlicher Sebastian und Philipp Emanuel Bach-Kultus*; Buyken, *Bach-Rezeption als kulturelle Praxis*, 94–142.

¹⁴³ For an overview of Anna Amalia's library see Wutta (née Blechschmidt), *Die Amalien-Bibliothek*.

¹⁴⁴ For more on van Swieten and his connections to Berlin and Vienna, see Gudrun Busch, "Der österreichische Botschafter Gottfried van Swieten, Das berliner Musikleben 1771–1777 und die Musik C. P. E. Bachs," in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: Musik für Europa*, ed. Hans-Günter Ottenberg (Frankfurt (Oder): Konzerthalle „C. Ph. E. Bach“, 1998), 108–62; Edward Olleson, "Gottfried van Swieten: Patron of Haydn and Mozart," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 89 (1962): 63–74; Yo Tomita, "Bach Reception in Pre-Classical Vienna: Baron van Swieten's Circle Edits the 'Well-Tempered Clavier' II," *Music & Letters* 81, no. 3 (2000): 364–91.

today were it not for the insemination of Bach's music. And for this fact, we have to thank a small circle of music theorists and fellow enthusiasts far away in Berlin who labored over the last half of the eighteenth century to cultivate, explore, and promote the music of the Leipzig cantor. Their efforts paved the path to the increasingly wide circles of influence of German music over the course of nineteenth century, to the extent that German music became the "standard" against which other European music was compared (even if the issue subsequently became problematic for the whole history of music in the West).¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ Applegate and Potter, "Germans as the 'People of Music,'" 1.

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