CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH DANIEL SCHUBART'S
IDEEN ZU EINER ÄSTHETIK DER TONKUNST:
AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION
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INTRODUCTION

Background to the *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*

Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Ideas Towards an Aesthetic of Music, 1784/85) is a popular history of music in the German language. The impetus for such an undertaking can be traced directly to the scholarly histories of music by Burney, Hawkins, Martini, and Forkel, which had recently been published, as well as the numerous musical almanacs, periodicals, travel journals, and other such writings. Histories of music were indeed valuable works, but their scholarly approach was not directed to the layman. On the other hand, musical almanacs, while written for the general public, were limited only to contemporary events. They looked forward and did not attempt to comment on the contributions of composers of the recent past. Schubart, however, sought to satisfy the need for a general history of music through his *Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, but in a way which was not overly documented, nor written in a complicated style, and which evaluated the most important musicians from previous generations whose influence was still in evidence during Schubart's lifetime. Perhaps more important was the fact that this history was written by a German who could express the German viewpoint.

Schubart has left us very little information concerning the writing of his *Ästhetik der Tonkunst*. We know that he began dictating
the manuscript in 1784\(^1\) to Baron Eugen von Scheeler, son of the Asperg commandant,\(^2\) while he was a prisoner at Hohenasperg. He was apparently still at work on the project late in 1785. In only three of his letters, 24 June 1785, 15 July 1785, and 1 October 1785, is the Ästhetik der Tonkunst even mentioned, and then he does little more than cite the shortened title. Just when the dictation of the manuscript was completed is not certain, but it extends beyond the end of 1785 since there are several references to events which happened after this date. Despite the lack of authoritative background concerning its origin, Schubart considered the Ästhetik his best literary work.\(^3\)

On 28 April 1787, about three weeks before his release from prison, Schubart wrote a letter to C. F. Himburg, a bookseller in Berlin. In that letter he stated that his wife would be traveling to Berlin and that she would be bringing along the manuscript of his autobiography, the Ästhetik der Tonkunst, and some poems, all of which she was to give to their son Ludwig, who at that time was also residing in Berlin.\(^4\) Apparently Ludwig was then to read these manuscripts

\(^1\)There are several passages in the Ästhetik where the author specifically cites the year 1784 in the text.


\(^4\)Strauss, Briefe, 2:206.
and make suggestions for their improvement. Schubart must have thought that these manuscripts were in a publishable form, as he wrote in a letter dated 26 August 1787 indicating to his son that he wanted to have the first volume of his autobiography published because he needed money. But Ludwig, in the foreword to the Ästhetik der Tonkunst, gives us quite a different perspective. According to him, the Ästhetik was not ready for publication. In fact, Ludwig claims that its preparation required much work. Not trusting his own judgment, he even went so far as to have excerpts of the Ästhetik published in various periodicals (from 1793 through 1806) in order to determine whether or not the public would welcome such a work. The response, he tells us, was favorable, and the manuscript was finally published by J. V. Degen in 1806 in Vienna, fifteen years after the author's death. There have been five other editions since the first. Morschner & Jasper also published an edition of the Ästhetik in Vienna in 1806, but no copy of this edition is known to exist. A certain Scheible edited Schubart's collected writings, which contained a new printing of the Ästhetik, and published them in Stuttgart.

5The reason for Schubart writing to Himburg was to let Himburg know that he had some manuscripts which might be available for publication within a short period of time.


7See the Bibliography for complete publishing information of these various editions.

in 1839. In 1924 Paul Alfred Merbach prepared an abridged edition of
the Ästhetik. A facsimile of the 1806 Degan edition with additional
corrections was prepared by Fritz and Margrit Kaiser in 1968 and pub­
lished in 1969. It is this edition upon which the following trans­
lation is based. Jurgen Mainka edited the Ästhetik for a paperback

The Ästhetik der Tonkunst is a "popular" history of music.
The information contained within is, at best, very sketchy, particu­
larly in comparison to monumental works such as the histories of Burney
and Hawkins. Although Schubart may not have had reference materials
while he was dictating his treatise (according to his son's testi­
mony),9 this fact may have had little bearing on the final product.
Schubart was accustomed to describe only those things which came from
his personal experience; he was not interested in exhaustive research.
He was a practical musician and poet, not a scientist, a methodical
person, nor a theorist.10 His observations of music and musicians,

9As to the availability of source material at hand, Schubart
must have had access to at least a few books. There are certain
instances in the Ästhetik der Tonkunst where Schubart's statements are
very close to statements found in other sources. On the other hand,
there are several instances where Schubart mistakingly attributes a
passage to the wrong person or in some way makes a statement which
contains factual inaccuracies, leading one to believe that indeed he
was without reference materials. The problem here is that many of
these false statements are perpetuated in later writings, such as
Robert Eitner's Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der
Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte

10Reinhold Hammerstein, "Christian Friedrich Daniel
Schubart: ein schwäbisch-alemannischer Dichter-Musiker der Goethezeit"
consequently, are to some extent superficial. His comments about theoretical matters in no way elaborate or even clarify the original theory. These passages are usually vague and backed only by very general statements. Regardless of what Schubart's intentions were for publishing the Ästhetik or preparing it for publication, it does not seem likely that he would have invested the time or energy necessary to bring it in line with the scholarly works of the music historians of his time. He was probably satisfied with the manuscript as it stood, just as he was with the articles he dictated for his Chronik.\(^{11}\)

Both of these works were dictated throughout by Schubart, and there is no evidence that passages were reworked or facts verified.\(^{12}\) Thus, we can probably assume that the work we now possess is similar in content and style to Schubart's original manuscript, with alterations only in its organization.

Like the Chronik, the topics covered in the Ästhetik are treated in a very informal way. Schubart may have been influenced by the many travel journals of this time. Most of these musical travelogues contained personal reflections and comments requiring little or no research on musical activity in a particular city. They were often rambling narratives on extramusical topics or discussions of musical

\(^{11}\)Schubart wrote a semiweekly publication from 1774 to 1777 and again from 1787 to 1791 which appeared under various titles (Deutsche Chronik, Teutsche Chronik, Vaterlandische Chronik, Vaterlandsschronik, and Chronik). The term Chronik is used here in a general sense.

\(^{12}\)Schubart preferred to work in the local tavern, with a mug of beer in one hand and his pipe in the other. These were the elements he considered conducive to creative writing.
taste where opinion could be expressed, and they were typically organized in the manner of a diary: by date rather than by topic. The Ästhetik der Tonkunst is organized in much the same way. Schubart selects a city for discussion, he briefly outlines the history of music in that particular city, and then he evaluates its musicians, many of whom were personal acquaintances. He never traveled outside of what is now southern Germany. And although the places discussed in the Ästhetik are not limited to cities or courts that Schubart had visited personally, the section on German music emphasizes activities in south Germany. His extensive reading and his background in music enabled him to comment on music making throughout Germany without actually having first-hand knowledge.

The Ästhetik der Tonkunst is an important account of the history of music in the late eighteenth century. Although Schubart was not in the mainstream of musical activity, he was a practicing musician, a near virtuoso who was respected for his abilities on keyboard instruments. He was personally acquainted with many of Europe's greatest musicians, and his impressions of these figures give yet another vantage point from which we can evaluate other contemporary.

13 Figure 1 identifies the cities or courts that Schubart is known to have visited.

14 Figure 2 shows the "German schools" discussed in the Ästhetik der Tonkunst. The "cities" listed are the governmental seats of the various German courts. Three of these are identified by school rather than by city: the Palatine-Bavarian school, the Saxon school, and the Württemberg school. But within these three schools, important cities are identified. The cities underlined are places that Schubart visited.
Figure 1. Schubart's Travels in Southern Germany
Figure 2. "German Schools" in Schubart's Ästhetik der Tonkunst
assessments (for example, Burney's) of the same musicians. Although Schubart was prejudiced in his view of the superiority of the German music and its potential, we can begin to appreciate musical taste and thought of this transitional period in the history of music, and we understand his concept of national identity. We also learn about musicians who have been passed over by history.

**Schubart's Life**

Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart was born on 24 March 1739\(^\text{15}\) at Obersontheim in the earldom of Limpurg. His father, Johann Jacob Schubart,\(^\text{16}\) was a cantor, preceptor, and parish vicar in Obersontheim at the time of Christian's birth. In 1740 the family moved to Aalen, where Johann assumed the duties of preceptor and music director. In 1744 he was appointed deacon.

Schubart characterized himself in his autobiography\(^\text{17}\) during his early youth of being dirty, untidy, and lazy; even at the

\(^{15}\) Schubart states that he was born on 26 March, but this is actually his baptismal date. Ernst Holzer, *Schubart als Musiker, Darstellungen aus der Württembergischen Geschichte*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1905), p. 15 n.

\(^{16}\) Information about Christian's forefathers can be found in Klob, *Schubart*, pp. 14-15.

\(^{17}\) Great care must be taken when evaluating Schubart's statements in this autobiography, since it was written under some unusual circumstances. Schubart was imprisoned at Hohenasperg at the time, and he dictated his autobiography to a fellow prisoner, editing it only upon his subsequent release. Schubart was in the habit of dictating his thoughts, for he also dictated his *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* and his journals. Much of his work, consequently, is rambling and often without substantive
age of seven, he could neither read nor write. But by his eighth year he "surpassed his father in clavier, sang with feeling, played the violin, and instructed his brother in music." Throughout his autobiography, Leben und Gesinnungen, we see abrupt behavioral changes and vacillation in interest between literature, religion, and music. Such changes became obsessions and everything else was put aside while Schubart pursued his latest quest. There does not seem to be any gradual transition from one passion to the other. His self-confidence is apparent throughout the autobiography, as in his estimation of his references. Obviously, if the manuscript was written while in prison, incriminating statements or strong viewpoints could not be included for fear that these pages might fall into the hands of the authorities.

There is a strong feeling of remorse and piety when he describes his early years at Hohenasperg. His attitude may partially be explained by the fact that conditions during his first year were extremely depressing, but there is also a possibility that this confession of past sins and a renewed commitment to pursue a virtuous lifestyle might have been contrived to gain for him a commuted sentence.

In spite of questionable, self-serving passages, the autobiography is valuable for Schubart's insights of music and the importance he places on it.

18 C. F. D. Schubart's des Patrioten, gesammelte Schriften und Schicksale, 8 vols (Stuttgart: J. Scheible's Buchhandlung, 1839-40), 1:17-18. Schubart's autobiography, titled Leben und Gesinnungen, occupies the first two volumes of this eight-volume collection. The autobiography is further divided into three parts (1791, 1793, and 1798). The third part bears the title Schubart's Karacter von seinem Sohne Ludwig Schubart, or Third and Last Part of the Leben und Gesinnungen. Throughout this dissertation the abbreviations GS, 1 and GS, 2 will be used to indicate the first and second volumes, respectively, of the collected writings of Schubart, and L & G, 1, L & G, 2, and L & G, 3 will be used to indicate the various parts of the autobiography.

19 GS, 1:18 (L & G, 1).
ability as a clavierist quoted above. This statement was challenged by Klob.20

Schubart's father was the dominating force in Christian's childhood. Most of the comparisons that Schubart makes, whether they be direct or indirect, are in relationship to his father. His mother, Helene Juliane Hörner, although quite probably a good woman and capable mother, does not receive nearly the attention that the father receives. There may also be a parallel in the roles played by each parent that manifested itself later in Schubart's marital life, as he tried to pattern his relationship after their model. And the problems which arose are of Christian's own making. Schubart by and large did what he wanted to do without much consideration for his wife or family; at the same time, he described his wife as a dutiful and faithful housewife who took on the responsibility of raising the children. Christian's own son, Ludwig, in writing the concluding part of Schubart's Leben und Gesinnungen, also had a worshipping attitude when it came to his father, though, as we shall discover, this attitude was not totally deserved.

All three of Schubart's later passions were nurtured in the home. One of them, music, became an important part of the daily activities:

My father remained an admirer and patron of music until the end of his life, and his house was--particularly in his younger years--a virtual concert hall wherein chorales, motets, clavier sonatas, and folk songs resounded.21

20Klob, Schubart, pp. 22-23. 21GS, 1:14 (L & G, 1).
Schubart's father had an unusually fine bass voice and he also played the clavier quite well.\textsuperscript{22} Thus Schubart's early enthusiasm for music undoubtedly came from his father, who may have also given him instruction in music. And, in addition, his training must have also included instruction in music theory for Schubart claims to have composed some galant and sacred pieces at ages nine and ten.\textsuperscript{23}

Johann must also have been influential in directing his son's other interests. Schubart notes that his father loved teaching, that he knew Latin, and that he had a great ability for speaking. And it seems that when Schubart applied himself to his studies, he was quite successful. With Rieder, preceptor in Aalen, he began studies in Latin and Greek, in addition to the other basic courses. He also received religious instruction from his father and from Koch, a local minister [Stadtpfarrer].\textsuperscript{24}

Schubart's enthusiasm for music continued to grow during this period, but his interest in literature, particularly in the old German romances and the stories of chivalry, was also growing. In 1751 a certain Herr von Malitz, a Prussian officer and a friend of Schubart's father, visited the Schubart home, and he brought with him the first five cantos of Klopstock's \textit{Messias}.\textsuperscript{25} which he read to the family.

\textsuperscript{22} \textit{GS}, 1:13-14 (L & G, 1).
\textsuperscript{23} \textit{GS}, 1:18 (L & G, 1).
\textsuperscript{24} \textit{GS}, 1:18-19 (L & G, 1).
\textsuperscript{25} Cantos 1-3 were published in 1748; 1-5, 1751; 1-10, 1755; 11-15, 1768; and 16-20, 1773. According to Schubart, this is perhaps the most important work in contemporary literature.
These stories greatly affected Schubart and had a lasting impression on him.26

In 1753 Schubart entered the Lyceum at Nördlingen, and there he began his formal studies in theology. He became the student of Albrecht Friedrich Thilo (1725-72), a teacher at the Lyceum since 1750. Thilo, whom Schubart characterized as a linguist, theologian, philosopher, and aesthetician, was an avid admirer of the ancients (e.g., Homer, Plato, Horace, and Cicero).27 Much of the instruction time was devoted to these sources, and classes were even taught in Latin. Thilo also introduced Schubart to the German poets, such as Klopstock, Bodmer, Haller, and Wieland.28 These studies were probably to Schubart's liking, and he claims to have been one of Thilo's best students, particularly in Latin and German, poetry and prose.29 In addition to the study of the ancient authors, philosophy, history, and religion were also taught, but religion was approached rather coldly, and, for that reason, Schubart did not pursue this subject with the same kind of zeal that his parents had intended.30

Meanwhile, his skills in music improved. It was during this period that he composed some clavier sonatas and a few fugal chorales, and he wrote a prosaic-poetic elegy about the Lisbon earthquake of 1 November 1755, which he mentions in the Ästhetik. Schubart was also

\[\text{26GS, 1:21 (L & G, 1).} \quad \text{27GS, 1:24 (L & G, 1).} \]
\[\text{28GS, 1:24 (L & G, 1).} \quad \text{29Klob, Schubart, p. 28.} \]
\[\text{30GS, 1:24-26 (L & G, 1).} \]
interested in folk music, and he wrote some folk-like songs which he claimed were still (ca. 1790) being sung.\textsuperscript{31}

In 1756, he was sent by his father to Nuremberg, where he enrolled in the Schule zum heiligen Geist. It seems that even less time was devoted to religious studies than before and more time was given to organ playing and enjoyment of the cultural climate that Nuremberg afforded.\textsuperscript{32} He became acquainted with the works of the "immortal" J. S. Bach;\textsuperscript{33} he played the organ at early Mass; he gave public and private concerts; he provided music for the devotionals at the homes where he boarded; and he gave lessons on the clavier. Georg Wilhelm Gruber (1729-95; at that time Stadtkapellmeister, but later succeeding Agrell as Kapellmeister in 1765) instructed Schubart in figured bass and composition.\textsuperscript{34} Schubart also composed some songs, which he said were quite well known and which were published in Schwabach, but which did not bear his name.\textsuperscript{35} It was in Nuremberg that Schubart's interest in the female sex was aroused, and the flames of love were fanned by the poetry of love.\textsuperscript{36} Attraction to women proved in later life to be a serious flaw in his character.

Schubart returned home about 1758, but was immediately sent to theological school in Lauterburg. His comments on this period center

\textsuperscript{31}GS, 1:28 (L & G, 1).

\textsuperscript{32}Schubart complains that instruction in the school was very poor. \textit{GS}, 1:32 (L & G, 1).

\textsuperscript{33}GS, 1:31 (L & G, 1). \textsuperscript{34}GS, 2:168 (L & G, 3).

\textsuperscript{35}GS, 1:33 (L & G, 1). \textsuperscript{36}GS, 1:34-36 (L & G, 1).
on worldly wisdom and on the priest, Father Schülen. But more important to him was his private instruction in Greek with one Schwebel.

After only a few short months (in the autumn of 1758), he again returned home and again was immediately sent away to study theology, this time in Erlangen, but not before he had visited his friends in Nuremberg. And again, worldly wisdom occupied more of his time than religious studies. He also claimed to have been the best clavierist and poet in Erlangen, which earned for him approval and money: consequently, he spent four weeks in the student prison for neglecting his studies. But all was not lost, for he had access to a clavier. While in prison he had a serious illness and was eventually called home by his parents.

The time spent at Erlangen was particularly rewarding for Schubart, and he spoke in some detail about his experiences there:

There were excellent musicians among the students—of whom I need only mention the chamber virtuoso Steinhardt, presently in Weimar—under whose direction many concerts were given. I practiced (at home and in musical gatherings) on the harpsichord [Flögel], violin, and in song; I traveled once to Bayreuth to a friend of my father's, Thomas, and heard there, for the first

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39GS, 1:40 (L & G, 1). To this point Schubart had a great deal of training in Latin and Greek, yet it is important to note that in his Ästhetik he limited the use of these languages to short, commonly used passages in an effort to make the treatise accessible to the general public. His main goal was to pass along information in a simple manner, without being overly didactic.

40GS, 1:41 (L & G, 1).  41GS, 1:44 (L & G, 1).
42GS, 1:46 (L & G, 1).
time in my life, a very good orchestra and some Italian singers, who carried me heavenward. Hasse and Graun were the cornerstones of the Bayreuth court, which, as is well known, knew how to combine German profundity with Italian song. 43

On his return home to Aalen, Schubart expressed his lack of feeling for religion, and, as a probationer, he also stated that his own sermons were empty. 44 He was more comfortable with music. He organized the Stadtmusik in Aalen and composed sacred works, symphonies, sonatas, arias, and other small works. 45 His playing abilities also improved:

I played the most difficult works of the Hamburg [C. P. E.] Bach and those of his father with fluency, and thereby made my hands strong and practiced [rund], until I weakened them somewhat by the destructive Alberti taste with [its] broken chords and by the ruinous toccatas which come to the piano from Jommelli's operas, in which they do not really belong. 46

Music, for Schubart, became a major preoccupation. He set forth requirements for a good clavierist:

I played, about this time, with adroit quickness [mit geflugelter Geschwindigkeit]; sightread very difficult works composed for the clavier or another instrument, with and without [figured] bass; played in all keys with equal dexterity, improvised with fervid ingenuity, and displayed the complete ability of a great organist. I could play with such fire—the principal characteristic of genius—that everything around me vanished and I only lived in the sounds which my imagination created. Indeed, I had complete control of all technical passages—a quality which is lacking in so many players. They are content if they succeed with a deathly leap [Todtensprung] and care not whether the listener also understands what they have to say. Every piece must form a whole, must have its own character, must not be blemished by capriciousness, and must be performed plainly and intelligently. Thus the late Schubart 47 (not Schubert, Schobert, or Schober,

43 GS, 1:46 (L & G, 1).
44 GS, 1:48 (L & G, 1).
45 GS, 1:49 (L & G, 1).
46 GS, 1:49 (L & G, 1).
47 See Johann Schober in the Appendix.
as the French mangle his name), Vogler, Eckard, Beecke, particularly Mozart, remain original for a long time, by which the budding virtuoso can measure himself. Speed generally impairs gracefulness, yet I sought, through true imitation of our heartstirring national song, to adopt the latter until the Italian song encircled me in sensual sounds and gave my style of playing more of the sweetness of fashionable taste, but at the same time weakened my hands, and during that time I played ornately and mixed many a style [Eigentümlichkeit]. A clavierist does wrong if he selects something other than the German model, for what are foreigners, even Marchand, Scarlatti, and Jozzi, against our Bach, Handel, Wagenseil, Schubart, Beecke, Eckard, Vogler, Fleischer, Müthel, Kozeluch, Mozart. Our virtuosos [Menatseachs] can hardly be counted! 48

It is apparent that Schubart considered himself to be a more-than-adequate clavierist, but also one who fell prey to contemporary taste. Again, it must be remembered that Schubart dictated his autobiography around 1778-79, during which time he was able to "improve" upon his aesthetical judgments of his younger years. Schubart also regretted the fact that he misused his talent in that he did not study music more diligently. 49

The scene changed, and Schubart became a private teacher for the children of the Blezinger family in Königsbronn.50 His enthusiasm for religion was rekindled,51 and he eventually relinquished his position to one of his brothers so that he might return to Aalen

48 GS, 1:50-51 (L & G, 1).
49 GS, 1:51 (L & G, 1).
50 GS, 1:52 (L & G, 1).
51 GS, 1:54-55 (L & G, 1)
and begin to preach in the bordering towns.\textsuperscript{52} From this point, he speaks nothing of music, only of preaching.\textsuperscript{53}

In 1763 Schubart accepted a teaching position (that of preceptor) in Geislingen, where he gave instruction nine hours a day and practiced his preaching in the nearby villages. He was also responsible for directing the choir,\textsuperscript{54} for which he claimed to have written some symphonies (or, more likely, overtures) and gave instruction in violin and shared the responsibility of playing the organ.\textsuperscript{55}

The cultural climate in Geislingen was such that Schubart renewed his interest in literature, which had come to mean that his current interest in religion would begin to diminish and then be totally supplanted. Love also replaced religion. Shortly after his arrival in Geislingen he met Helene Bühler, a daughter of a customs official, whom he married in 1764. Five children--three sons and two daughters--were born to this couple, but only one son, Ludwig, and one daughter, Juliane, survived infancy.

It was not long before Schubart felt the need to leave Geislingen in search of a place that had "more culture, more freedom, more worldliness."\textsuperscript{56} For Schubart's free and creative spirit,

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{52} GS, 1:57 (L & G, 1).
  \item \textsuperscript{53} On a visit in Esslingen to Christian Gottfried Böckh, his brother-in-law, Schubart commented on a clavister by the name of Engelhard who impressed him greatly. GS, 1:61 (L & G, 1).
  \item \textsuperscript{54} GS, 1:69 (L & G, 1).
  \item \textsuperscript{55} Klob, Schubart, p. 113.
  \item \textsuperscript{56} GS, 1:83 (L & G, 1).
\end{itemize}
Geislingen may have indeed been too restrictive. But there may also have been another reason for his wanting to leave: the in-laws. There were several instances to come when Schubart and his wife were separated, in which case we will find Helene and the children back in Geislingen and Shubart on his own. Another reason for separation may have been Schubart questioning his own religious faith and the doctrines of his church.57

In 1769 Schubart and his wife visited Böckh in Esslingen. Schubart and Böckh then traveled to Ludwigsburg to attend a performance of Jommelli's *Fetonte* (11 February). Schubart was greatly affected by the music he heard.

The spirit of music was great and it ascended heavenward and was played as if each musician were a nerve of Jommelli. Dance, scenery, flying scenery [Flugwerk], everything was in the boldest, newest, and best style. And now, "Good Night, Geislingen," with your simplicity, your mountains, your poverty, your tastelessness, your graveyard, and your student's prison.58

In the fall of 1769,59 Schubart took his leave of Geislingen--and his family--to assume a new position in Ludwigsburg, that of organist, conductor of sacred music, and vocal instructor at the church school.60 He finally made amends with his father-in-law, who allowed him to retrieve his family. In Ludwigsburg he was once again absorbed in music. Although not associated with the court, he became well

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57*GS*, 1:88 (L & G, 1). 58*GS*, 1:83 (L & G, 1)

59Klob, Schubart, p. 120. *GS*, 1:88 (L & G, 1) has 1768.

60Holzer assumes that Schubart gave vocal instruction, though he could not find written evidence that this was the case. Holzer, *Schubart als Musiker*, p. 13.
known among the court musicians, and he himself was aware of all the musical activity in Ludwigsburg. His observations of and contacts with the great musicians of this city form a basis for his comments in the Ästhetik der Tonkunst. It was not long before Schubart himself was in the mainstream of musical life. He participated in private concerts and occasionally played second harpsichord in the opera, in addition to his duties as organist. He played organ, clavier, harpsichord, and piano, and gave instruction to ladies of the court.

Schubart had an opportunity for a court appointment at Ludwigsburg, but he spoiled his chances in an interview with court minister Montmartin in August of 1771. Montmartin visited Schubart and asked him in which area he felt more comfortable, literature or music. Schubart, assuming that Montmartin knew full well of Schubart's prowess on keyboard instruments and probably hoping to impress Montmartin with his broad background, answered that he thought he was stronger in literature, whereupon Montmartin replied, "That's too bad." A position was not offered to him. Schubart also had marital problems. His wife and children left to stay with the Bühler family in Geislingen.

61 The first harpsichord was played by the Kapellmeister, the second was for the accompanist. See Klob, Schubart, p. 152.

62 Schubart gives specific instructions for a good organist. See GS, 1:98-99 (L & G, 1).

63 Klob, Schubart, p. 140. Literature was indeed one of Schubart's strengths, and it was during his residence in Ludwigsburg that several of his articles were published. GS, 1:108 (L & G, 1).

64 In a letter to Böckh in December, 1771, Schubart writes, "A wife who can abandon her husband does not deserve any sympathy." Strauss, Briefe, 1:185. Schubart's wife and children had apparently
On 13 August 1772 Schubart was interviewed by Charles Burney, who at that time was traveling through Europe in order to gather material for a projected history of music.

I can proceed no further in my account of this place, without making my acknowledgments to M. Schubart, organist of the Lutheran church: he was the first real great harpsichord player that I had hitherto met with in Germany, as well as the first who seemed to think the object of my journey was, in some measure, a national concern. I travelled not as a musician usually travels, to get money, but to spend it, in search of musical merit and talents, wherever I could find them, in order to display them to my countrymen. M. Schubart seemed sensible of this, and took all possible pains to please my ears, as well as to satisfy my mind. He is formed on the Bach school; but is an enthusiast, an original in genius. Many of his pieces are printed in Holland; they are full of taste and fire. He played on the Clavichord, with great delicacy and expression; his finger is brilliant, and fancy rich; he is in possession of a perfect double shake, which is obtained but by few harpsichord players.

He was some time organist of Ulm, where he had a fine instrument to play on; but here he has a most wretched one. His merit is but little known where he is at present planted: the common people think him mad and the rest overlook him.

We communicated our thoughts to each other in a singular manner: I was not, as yet, able to keep pace with his ideas, or my own impatience to know them, in German; and he could neither speak French nor Italian, but could converse in Latin very fluently, having been originally intended for the church; and it amazed me to find, with what quickness and facility he expressed whatever he would, in Latin; it was literally, a living language in his hands. I gave him the plan of my History of Music to read, in German; and to convince me, that he clearly understood my meaning, he translated it, that is, read it aloud to me in Latin, at first sight. My pronunciation of Latin, if I had been accustomed to speak it, would not have been intelligible to him; but as he understood Italian, though he could not speak it, our conversation was carried on in two different languages, Latin and

been gone since August of that year (see letter to Böckh, 26 August 1771; Strauss, Briefe, 1:181-82). This kind of sentiment expressed by Schubart most certainly made him vulnerable to an adulterous affair, for which he was excommunicated and which led to his expulsion from Ludwigsburg in 1773. His infidelity may be the reason for his wife's absence during this time, as Klob, p. 141, suggests.
Italian; so that the questions that were asked in one of these tongues, were answered in the other. In this manner we kept on a loquacious intercourse the whole day, during which, he not only played a great deal on the Harpsichord, Organ, Piano forte, and Clavichord; but shewed me the theatre, and all the curiosities of Ludwigsburg, as well as wrote down for me, a character of all the musicians of that court and city.

And, in the evening, he had the attention to collect together, at his house, three or four boors, in order to let me hear them play and sing national music, concerning which, I had expressed great curiosity. 65

Burney made several noteworthy observations. First, he confirmed Schubart's own estimation of his great abilities in performance on keyboard instruments. Second, Schubart expressed his interest in Burney's project for a history of music and even went so far as to write down the characteristics of the musicians in Ludwigsburg. This became important for Schubart when he began to compile his own history of music in his Ästhetik der Tonkunst, wherein he made judgments concerning the merits of musicians who were his contemporaries or immediate predecessors. Third, why does Burney claim that Schubart was an organist at Ulm when in fact he was not? Burney may have misinterpreted Schubart's response to his question about where he had been employed, or Schubart, in trying to paint a rosier picture, may have misled Burney into thinking that he was organist at Ulm. There is a passage in the Ästhetik where Schubart describes Geislingen, where he had been organist, as an "Ulmish town." 66 And fourth, Burney


66 See page 275 of this dissertation.
emphasizes Schubart's interest in indigenous or "national" music which manifests itself, if only to a small degree, in the Ästhetik. One other point must be made. Burney's language is no clearer than Schubart's. The statement "He is formed on the Bach school" is also found in the Ästhetik. And although Johann Sebastian Bach and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach are the leading candidates for such an attribution, no further identification is possible; thus, it is impossible to determine whether the author is referring to the older school of playing, represented by J. S. Bach, or to the newer school.

At the beginning of 1773 Schubart wrote a satirical poem, supposedly critical of public officials. This, coupled with Schubart's adultery with one Barbara Streicher of Aalen, resulted in an edict from Carl Eugen (dated 21 May 1773), Duke of Württemberg, which required him to leave the country.67

Schubart then went to Heilbronn; his wife and children went back to Geislingen.68 Schubart boarded with the Pirker family and gave lessons and singing and clavier, and he also gave virtuosic performances at private gatherings.69 Although the cultural climate was to Schubart's liking, he was without a livelihood, and he felt a need to improve his situation so that he might fulfill his obligations as a husband to provide support for his family still in Geislingen.

Schubart planned to go by way of Ansbach and then seek his fortune in Berlin, but a letter from "a long-time acquaintance" by

67Strauss, Briefe, 1:199.
the name of Gritsch, in Mannheim, announced a teaching position at the Ritterakademie in Saarbrücken.70 Schubart went to Mannheim and took up residence with Gritsch. After a short period of time and on the advice of another acquaintance, it was decided that Schubart would not accompany Gritsch to Saarbrücken, but would travel instead to Heidelberg. When he reached Kastell, he was caught in a rainstorm and was invited into the residence of a baron.

A young baroness was seated at a harpsichord and behind her stood her teacher, the first clavierist of the elector [Karl Theodor].

When the baroness got up from the harpsichord, I sat down and began to improvise. Everyone listened, gave approval, and when I ended, the head of the house stood behind me and smilingly gave me his "bravo." Also the elector's chamber virtuoso gave me his complete approval, which I deserved, for I had reached, at that time, my fullest maturity and played with proficiency, yet with taste .... I composed a rondo with variations for the baroness and was richly rewarded....71

Once in Heidelberg, he was advised by members of the palatine court to return to Mannheim to seek employment. Upon his return, he was employed by Count Nisselrode to instruct the count's son in music.72 At this point, several pages of Schubart's autobiography are devoted to the arts. He was fortunate enough to meet many of the artists of all types associated with the Mannheim court,73 and he even traveled to Schwetzingen to perform for the elector:

The elector played a flute concerto accompanied by the two Toeschis and the cellist Danzi. After this, I played several pieces on the piano, sang a Russian war song which I had even written myself, stood up, spoke about literature and art, and

72GS, 1:142 (L & G, 1). 73GS, 1:152 (L & G, 1).
won the elector's complete approval. "I want to hear and speak to you more often," he said with the most cheerful mien as I bade my farewell.74

Schubart's spirits were high as he hoped for a court appointment, but an inappropriate comment about the Akademie, one of the elector's undertakings, ended all chances for a position.

Schubart was then taken in by Count von Schmettau, with whom he discussed questions of religion. Schubart also made an acquaintance with Baron von Leiden, secretary to the Bavarian minister, who convinced Schubart to change his religion.75 In October 1773 he accompanied Baron von Leiden to Munich in order that Schubart might become a Catholic and thereby have a better chance to find employment since Roman Catholicism was the state religion of Bavaria. On the way to Munich, they passed through, among other cities, Darmstadt, Würzburg, and Nördlingen, where Schubart became acquainted with musicians and music of those cities, information which would be used later in his Ästhetik.76 He was particularly impressed with the musicians of Munich.77 But early in 1774, a court correspondent from Stuttgart came to Munich to denounce Schubart, stating that Schubart was not sincere in his conversion to Catholicism because he did not believe in the Holy Ghost.78 Schubart could not remain in Munich after this

74GS, 1:151 (L & G, 1). 75GS, 1:167-68 (L & G, 1).
77GS, 1:186-93 (L & G, 1). 78GS, 1:207 (L & G, 1).
public disgrace. His first inclination was to go to Stockholm, or so he wrote to his wife.79

However, he traveled only as far as Augsburg. There he met Conrad Heinrich Stage, whom Schubart had known in Geislingen. Stage was a printer and bookseller in Augsburg, and he asked Schubart to write something that he could publish. Schubart for some time had been thinking of writing a novel, but he finally decided on a journal80 to be published every Monday and Thursday. This Deutsche Chronik (subsequently published under different titles) reported accounts and views of political events, in addition to criticism of literature, fine arts, and music.81 Schubart's leisure method of writing is probably reflective of his lifestyle.

I wrote it [the Chronik], rather I dictated it, in the inn, with a mug of beer and my pipe, [and] without reference materials [Subsidien] in order to demonstrate my experience and a little bit of wit which Mother Nature had given me.82

Both his autobiography and his Ästhetik were dictated in this manner, and both without the aid of reference material. The Chronik came under condemnation early. In one article, Schubart praised the freedom of the English people. He was immediately denounced by Burgermeister

79GS, 1:218 (L & G, 2).
80By 1770 approximately 180 weekly publications were in circulation throughout Germany, but there were only four in Swabia—two in Stuttgart and two in Augsburg—and in all of Württemberg there were hardly more than a dozen publishers. Hammerstein, "Schubart," pp. 113-21 develops the history of the Chronik.
82GS, 1:221 (L & G), 2.
von Kuhn, and the Chronik could no longer be published in Augsburg. However, publication was taken up by Christian Ulrich Wagner in Ulm.\(^{83}\) Schubart's attitude of "Live as you want, but let me live as I want"\(^{84}\) is typical of his free lifestyle and one which would eventually get him into serious trouble.

The dictation of the Chronik occupied two mornings a week. During the rest of the time, Schubart was involved in the arts of Augsburg.

I gave lessons on the piano, and had the good fortune to prepare, in a short time, a couple of excellent pupils [subjekte], who were heard publicly with approval. I played the organ, harpsichord, and clavier, everywhere with approval; I gave lectures on literature and the arts, hosted learned and artistic gatherings in my home, read the newest publications and scores, took advantage of the arts, libraries, art galleries...\(^{85}\)

Schubart was indeed well-informed and was quite busy with his pursuit of knowledge. He had proposals of projected works by which he expected to share his knowledge, but none of these came to fruition.\(^{86}\)

By the end of 1774, he had alienated some because of his free spirit. A Father Merz eventually won a court decision which forced Schubart to leave Augsburg.\(^{87}\)

His next stop was Ulm. He comments that "the censor here is as liberal as anywhere in Germany."\(^{88}\) Thus, he envisioned no

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\(^{83}\)GS, 1:223 (L & G, 2). \(^{84}\)GS, 1:224 (L & G, 2).

\(^{85}\)GS, 1:237-38 (L & G, 2). \(^{86}\)GS, 1:238 (L & G, 2).

\(^{87}\)Klob, Schubart, pp. 216-17. \(^{88}\)GS, 1:262 (L & G, 2).
problems such as he had experienced to date. The Chronik was quite successful, for it also appeared in London, Paris, Amsterdam, and St. Petersburg. Schubart was also recognized for his musical talent, and various people visited him or would take him to an inn where they would arrange a bacchanalia in his honor. And he was reunited with his family.

He also had more time to travel. In the spring of 1775, he visited his brother-in-law in Nördlingen; he also visited his mother, whom he had not seen for ten years. He went to Wallerstein and reported on the musicians of the court in his autobiography, and he traveled to Memmingen to visit Rheineck, for whom he wrote a text for Rheineck's wedding cantata and also directed the performance (15 July 1776).

But even with all of this freedom, Schubart still had difficulties. His criticism of political injustices and a comment about the duke's mistress earned him a ten-year prison term, which began on 23 January 1777 at Hohenasperg, twenty-five miles from Stuttgart.

89 GS, 1:275 (L & G, 2)  90 GS, 1:266 (L & G, 2)
91 Klob, Schubart, pp. 221-22.
92 GS, 1:270 (L & G, 2).  93 GS, 1:273 (L & G, 2).
During the first year Schubart was placed in solitary confinement. Apparently he was allowed to have a Bible, but he did not have paper on which to write. In his autobiography, he expressed remorse for his past actions and compared himself with biblical personages, such as Judas, Ephraim, and the inhabitants of Babylon. His self-denial and personal suffering became important factors in the process of repentance. In February 1778 he was moved to a larger cell, but still he was not permitted to write, play music, or to speak to anyone. As time passed, some of these restrictions were loosened. He began to receive visitors in the summer of 1778; during 1778 and 1779 he dictated his autobiography, which he edited once he was released from prison, to a fellow prisoner through a hole in the wall. By 1781 he could write letters. He was allowed to play the organ at a church service and the clavier, and he was allowed to give instruction in keyboard, singing, and figured bass to several families of prison officials. He was also actively engaged in writing poetry. Many of his poems and musical compositions were published during his

97 GS, 2:20-21, 39 (L & G, 2).
98 GS, 2:42 (L & G, 2) and Klob, Schubart, p. 283.
imprisonment, the most important collection being his *Musikalische Rhapsodien.*

On 17 May 1787 he was released from prison and was immediately employed in the Stuttgart court as a poet. He was also allowed to resume publication of his *Chronik.* His final years seem to be uneventful, at least compared to his turbulent early years. A combination of his lifestyle, especially in the consumption of alcohol, and a hypochondriac attitude weakened him. In a letter dated August 1790, Schubart's wife writes that Christian "has not been in the opera house for a whole year." In the fall of 1791, he contracted a fever and he died on 10 October at the age of fifty-two.

**Translator's Notes**

The purpose of this dissertation is to provide an English translation of Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* and to annotate the translation as needed in order to verify, clarify, or correct Schubart's statements. For a

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100 C. F. D. Schubart, *Musikalische Rhapsodien,* 3 vols. (Stuttgart: gedruckt in der Buchdruckerei der Herzoglichen Hohen Carlsschule, 1786). A less important collection was his *Etwas für Clavier und Gesang* (Winterthur: Heinrich Steiner, 1783).

101 Schubart's exact position is somewhat confusing, for he refers to himself as theater and music director (i.e., he plays the keyboard at opera performances) and elsewhere as professor, theater director, and court poet. See Klob, *Schubart,* pp. 349, 361, 388.


103 GS, 2:223 (L & G, 3).


An attempt has been made in this translation to remain as close as possible to the original German. Schubart's style contains relatively simply sentence structures, as one might expect of a work that was dictated throughout and not subsequently reworked by the author. Yet simplicity does not always yield clarity. There are many places where the author's meaning is vague, and here annotations have been added.

Ludwig Schubart, who assumed the responsibility for editing his father's manuscript, indicated headings and subheadings but no chapter numbers. In order to simplify the numbering of footnotes in this translation, the translator has numbered each heading and subheading as a separate chapter. Similarly, Ludwig divided the treatise into two parts giving a heading to part two but not to part one. Footnotes to the original edition, whether by Schubart or by his son Ludwig, are indicated by asterisks and are placed above the footnote line; the translator's footnotes, which are nearly always in arabic numbers but occasionally indicated by an asterisk, are always placed below the footnote line. Underlined words in this translation were italicized in the original 1806 edition. However, bracketed foreign words are underlined as a matter of current practice, but they may not have been italicized in the original.
The following octave designations will be used in this translation:

\[
\begin{align*}
\varepsilon_1 - B_1 & \quad C - B \\
& \quad c - b \\
& \quad c' - b' \\
& \quad c'' - b'' \\
& \quad c''' \\
\end{align*}
\]

**Abbreviations**

Because of the number of footnotes and the need for shortened titles within those footnotes, it is appropriate to include at this point, for the convenience of the reader, a list of text abbreviations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviated Title</th>
<th>Full Title 105</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ästhetik or Ästhetik der Tonkunst</td>
<td>Schubart: Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burney F</td>
<td>Burney/Scholes: An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in France and Italy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Burney G</td>
<td>Burney/Scholes: An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in Central Europe and the Netherlands</td>
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<td>Burney H</td>
<td>Burney/Mercer: A General History of Music</td>
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105See the Bibliography for complete entries.
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<td>Forkel H</td>
<td>Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik</td>
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<td>Gerber L</td>
<td>Historisch-bibliographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler</td>
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<td>Grove 6</td>
<td>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</td>
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<td>GS</td>
<td>C. F. D. Schubart's, des Patrioten, gesammelte Schriften und Schicksale</td>
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<td>L &amp; G</td>
<td>Leben und Gesinnungen</td>
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<td>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</td>
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<tr>
<td>RISM</td>
<td>Repertoire international des sources musicales</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schilling</td>
<td>Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften, oder Universal-Lexikon der Tonkunst</td>
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<td>Strauss</td>
<td>Schubart's Leben in seinen Briefen</td>
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THE TRANSLATION
CHRIST. FRIED. DAN. SCHUBART'S

IDEEN
ZU EINER ÄSTHETIK
DER
TONKUNST.

HERAUSGEGEBEN
VON LUDWIG SCHUBART,
KÖNIGL. PREuß. LEGATIONSKATH.

WIEN.
BEY J. V. DEGEN.
BUCHDRUCKER UND BUCHHÄNDLER
1806.
FOREWORD

The following fragment, which is published fourteen [recte fifteen] years after the death of the author, would have been offered to the public earlier if so many a disconnected article had not first to have been completed, so much in language and diction corrected, and so many omissions—particularly in the examples where the author did not have the sources at hand—filled in. My late father dictated the following pages, just as his biography, at the fortress Hohenasperg to someone unskilled in writing, without subsequently reviewing the manuscript, without filling in musical omissions, without reviewing the language, and without eliminating the atrocious slips of the pen, which often go to the point of total unintelligibility.* The manuscript pages were strewed among his papers and were only brought together painstakingly. Nevertheless, since it was one of his favorite thoughts to write an Aesthetic of Music—of which he so often spoke with enthusiasm—since he already gathered a quantity of material to that end, and during the years 1784 and 1785 had begun writing, I thus undertook the above-mentioned labor, all the more gladly the more interesting the idea seemed to me and the more striking so many an article seemed to be.

*He had few books around him while he undertook the work and dictated a great deal from memory.
Also, after I had done my part on the manuscript, it was still important to consult with some competent connoisseurs about it and to learn the opinion of the artistic public by way of excerpts [vorgelegte Proben]. These same excerpts were presented to patrons of the fine arts in German monthly periodicals in Wieland's Der neue teutscher Merkur, in the Englische Blätter, and in the Liepzig Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung.\(^1\) The judgments were favorable; new views, distinctiveness of style, clarity and popularity of presentation, and, with all apparent ease, much profoundly creative truth based on experience were found in its various parts. And thus follows now the whole, as far as it might proceed from the extant papers.

Here the reader, even the non-musician, finds a brief comprehensible, and attractively presented history of music--from the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans on up the the great musical schools of the Italians, Germans and French. The German [school] is further divided,

\(^1\)The April 1801 edition of Der neue teutscher Merkur, pp. 261-75, contained an article which consisted of Schubart's sections on the horn, Benda, and the Palatine school. The section on English music is found in Ludwig Schubart's Englische Blätter (1796, [Vol. 5], No. 4, pp. 270-73). Several excerpts ("The History of Italian Music to Jommelli," "The History of German Music from Luther to Carl VI," "The Palatine School to Vogler," "Gluck," "The Saxon School," and "Georg [recte Johann Christian] Bach") appeared in various issues of the Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung (11, 18 and 25 January 1804 and 17 September 1806). Additional excerpts may have appeared in other periodicals, such as the article about aesthetical questions which was published in the 12 October 1793 issue of the Berlinische musikalische Zeitung. The text of the Ästhetik is essentially the same as the separately published articles with the exception of certain changes in spellings, changes in paragraph subdivisions, and the addition of italics. Thus, it is impossible to form an opinion about Ludwig's role in editing his father's manuscript or to determine content and style of the original manuscript.
after the manner of the schools of painting, into Viennese, Berlin, Saxon, and Palatinate; the remaining German princely courts—Württemberg, Salzburg, Mainz, etc., just as the imperial cities—are treated in special sections.

The most interesting things in this historical picture are the often rather elaborated characteristics of famous composers and virtuosos: they are mostly correct, stated with expert knowledge and concise brevity, and must be important to anyone who has a general interest in the art. The ability to characterize a great master in a few lines so that the initiate recognizes him at first glance, even though the name is left out, is, as is well known, among the most difficult problems of the writer. To my mind the characters of Handel, Gluck, Bach (father and son), Benda, Jommelli, Lolli, Madame Mara, Raaff, and some others are so drawn in these pages that one recognizes them instantly in the first lines and that their musical portrait is likewise brought to the mind of the reader. Their faded sounds are revived again in words, and one recognizes the possibility that the often lamented transitoriness of performed music could be captured through the work just as one has defined lasting art works. The experience of the author in musical performance as well as in composition shines forth everywhere, and his poetical language often proved useful
to him to seize the finest nuances of feeling and to lend words to obscure ideas which one might think hardly capable of expression.*

To these attributes are added a warm, German patriotism, which also characterized the Vaterlandschronik, 2 and just here found its most valuable sustenance. For England and France bow down before the musical genius of Germany, and even Italy's artistic glory can now name no Mozart and Haydn to us. The German instrumentalists have long been and still are the best in Paris, London, Rome, and [St.] Petersburg, and the very name German in these countries arouses a favorable predisposition for the performing virtuoso [Kraftmann].

In the second part of the work, which was to contain the principles of music, the author first furnishes a description of all the instruments, from the royal organ down to the unpretentious Jew's harp, and dwells especially upon types of keyboard instruments [Clavier-Arten], on which he distinguished himself, and about which he

*What one can take exception to these characteristics is a certain generality in praise and reprimand, a certain monotony of tirades which the editor was not always allowed to modify. One can do good service to another writer without wiping away the least of his distinctiveness; but one can also force upon the author his [the editor's] own style—we have examples—and one has then truly damaged [the author] even if this style is good.

2Ludwig is referring not to a specific title, the journal which his father wrote in 1788 and 1789, but to the journal in general (1774-77, 1787-91).
imparts many a secret skimmed from forty years of experience. Then he turns to the song, to musical style, to the technical terms, to coloration, to musical genius, and to expression, and concludes with a characterization of keys, which provoked attention even upon its first appearance and since then was characterized by one of the foremost connoisseurs as a "profoundly creative, true, and quite original tone painting [Tongemählde]." As this characterization is in the future by acclamation more closely and profoundly established, every composer will know which key he has to select for a given feeling or passion.

The great epoch, which in our days the immortal Mozart brought forth in music, fell no further [i.e., beyond Mozart] in the time of the author. I was at first willing to append the whole finished characters of Haydn and Mozart to the work; but I gave it up as well as the continuation of history from 1785 to 1800 (by another hand), for the quite simple reason that I only wanted to give the legacy of my father unmixed, uncut, and with utmost retention of his individual style.

The rubrics about musical notation, keys, thorough bass, about composition, about melody, harmony, etc. were indeed noted, but contained nothing other than some passages and casual words--only guidelines for performance [als Fingerzeige bey der Ausführung]. A special section of the book was to have dealt with the question, "What is there still left to do in music?" The author hoped to provide a lasting service to his favorite art with a most profound answer to this question more than to any other, and he was determined to dedicate to mankind the last energy of his life to the advocacy of its spontaneous dignity, purity, simplicity, and strength.
My distance from the place of printing has given rise to various misprints and irregularities in the spelling, even though I checked the manuscript carefully, which I beg to amend in an appendix.

Easter Day 1806

The Editor
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PART TWO

THE PRINCIPLES OF MUSIC

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[PART ONE]

[THE HISTORY OF MUSIC]
I. INTRODUCTION

It has been asserted hitherto that only the principles of the mathematical part of music could be formulated, the aesthetic part lying quite outside the sphere of criticism. Accordingly, works of the first type have accumulated to the point of disgust, and of the latter we possess barely a few weak, trembling essays. Music's skeleton, like all skeletons, is disgusting to view, yet it has great value for the critical analyst. On the contrary, the aesthetic portion of music is much more difficult but all the more fruitful and pleasant. It is concerned much more with melodic invention than with harmony and modulation, or, which is the same thing, that which gives this corpse flesh and coloring. The following treatise is destined to this end: to treat this important part of art and to represent the aesthetic principles of music as clearly as possible. Not for virtuosos and connoisseurs alone, but for anyone who does not want to be altogether ignorant of this divine art, an attempt to show quite clearly how one can actually grasp and judge musical beauty will be welcome. The whole treatise will turn on two large questions: "What is musical beauty?" and "How is this beauty produced?"

The objection that one may not form an opinion about sounds—that the sounds must be absorbed lightning quick by the ear and be felt with the heart because every artificial dissection decreases the
illusion--this objection loses all power when one considers that it would likewise not be permitted as a rule to form an opinion about subjects of painting, whose impressions are certainly just as transitory* as the impressions of music. Yet, one reads Mengs, Hagedorn, Lippert, Fuessli, Addison, d'Argenville, ¹ Caylus, Winckelmann, Goethe, and Herder about this and other fine arts with delight. What matters here is whether one feels the beauties of music itself in one's heart? Whether one is at least a master on an instrument? Whether one has philosophically reflected about this art; and, finally, whether one possesses the gift to grasp a succession of sounds and to clothe them in suitable words, to follow the composer's flight of imagination and the outpouring of his heart, and to show the reader why this phrase really is beautiful. But before anything the musical aesthetician must carefully investigate the effects of music and know how to show according to correct principles why this or that motion should bring forth such great and decisive effects, and why another phrase should slip away powerlessly from the heart of mankind.

*The objection that the painting remains, but sounds fade away, is false; the close inspection of a score brings sounds to me just as precisely to my ear as if the piece were actually performed. (The Author).

¹See Dezallier d'Argenville in the Appendix.
II. A SKETCHED HISTORY OF MUSIC

Music is as old as the world. Man could even be called a singing creature as with Aristotle's speaking creature. All mankind was born with a talent for singing. But this ability is developed more or less, or certain weaknesses in the organs of the voice, or an altogether unmusical upbringing hinder this development of natural abilities in most people. In a community of more than a thousand people, hardly a single person will be found who is not mightily affected by the flood of temple songs and is not carried away by its surge. It is, therefore, childish and totally against the dignity of humanity if one wanted to take up with any ancient musical historiographer that men learned singing from the birds or that music is an imitative art. The unvarying monotony of the bird's song is too tiring for mankind to deteriorate to this imitation except in certain humorous hours. The martin [Schwalbe] on our gutter still chirps today as in Adam's time; the soaring lark sings now over the heads of the ploughman as it sang over the head of Abel the shepherd; and the nightingale warbles in our time no differently than it did to the first couple from Eden's shaded grove. On the other hand what infinite changes has music undergone among the human race! How taste is governed by all heavenly realms! From the unsophisticated folk song of a grass nymph to the bravura arias of a Mara or Gabrieli—what blending, what tonal change! And from the village fiddler up to a Lolli or
or Cramer—what dissimilarity of taste [and] of skill! Here man appears in the noble position that the creator put him in. Indeed, the seven tones also lie in the throat of the bird, but what man has made out of these seven tones! He imitates the rustle of the gentle spring breeze with them, the howl of the night wind, and the forest-bending storm. He loves, he angers, he bewails, he fumes; [he] raves, prays, curses; he laughs, he weeps, he joins in with the Hallelujah of angels and disassociates himself from the thunder in the muffled noise of the death harps—and all of this with seven tones!

The godliness of music is therefore quite unmistakable. To man is musical genius innate, but it depends on the culture how far this, this musical genius, should disseminate. We have even today innumerable examples that men are born with the talent of discovering the alto, tenor, or bass to a melody. The peasant girl accompanies her friend without knowing that this might be the accompaniment. The artisan buzzes his raspy bass voice [Strohbass] to the song of his wife without ever having formally learned the relationships of the bass. (In the chapter on musical genius this point should be separated more extensively.)

Undoubtedly vocal music was going on long before instrumental music, for the investigation of a sound-emitting body is too difficult for the infancy of humanity. Singing is so natural and flows so freely and so artlessly from our hearts that every feeling of cheerfulness or of sweet melancholy or every passionate impulse is sufficient for us to open our lips to song. Quite certainly the first couple had already sung; their descendants echoed their sounds, and not until after many
centuries was it reserved for Jubal\(^1\) to lay the groundwork for the discovery of instrumental music. The shalmei, or the shepherd's flute, and the lyre, because of its simple construction, rightly belong among the first discovered instruments, and when the sacred writings say about Jubal, "From him descended the pipe and fiddle," it is certain that the shepherd's flute and lyre--and by no means our violin--is understood by that. For what riches of human knowledge does the violin, as we possess today, not require! The symmetry of the belly, of the sound-post, the extremely simple tuning, the notion of eliciting heavenly tones from disgusting catgut by means of horsehair smeared with rosin has certainly matured only in much later times.

But it is certain, and it can be proved irrefutably from the nature of mankind, that even before the Flood music among the human race was urged on very vigorously, and Bodmer in his "Descendants of Noah" [Noahchide]\(^2\)--this divine representation [Gemählde]\(^2\) of the early world--hardly has exaggerated the portrayal of the state of music in this age. Immediately after the Flood one finds again traces of the reviving music. The Chaldeans, and particularly the Phoenicians, very early have combined music with divine worship. They practiced the

\(^1\)Gen. 4:21.

\(^2\)The "Gemählde" described here by Schubart is actually used in a figurative sense: poetic verse functions as a substitute for the visual elements of a painting. Bodmer's biblical epic Noah, published in 1750, today is regarded with as much zeal perhaps as Schubart seems to have cherished it, though with opposite opinion (cf. Der grosse Brockhaus, 15th ed., 20 vols. [Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1931], 3:90: "B's eigene zahlreiche Dichtungen, z.B. seine verstiegenen bibl. Epen ['Noah,' 1750, u.a.], sind poetisch wertlos,..." An English translation of Noah by J. Collyer appeared in 1767.
song in great choruses and accompanied them particularly with wind
instruments of various inventions. Their so-called trumpets were made
of metal, but still more frequently of clay. Such can be explained by
the simplicity of these inventions. Music among the Egyptians arose
even higher. The votive song of Isis and Osiris was sung by several
thousand priests, and besides the resounding crumhorn, drum, cymbal,
which was made of steel and struck with an iron striker, was even
accompanied with an instrument that was so intense that it carried and
exalted the singing of many thousands. In Paris, London, Rome, and
other great artistic repositories one finds some of these instruments
of such enormous height and width that no man can play them now
(perhaps also because the mouthpiece is missing). Some of these wind
instruments have five to six holes, some even more, whereby variety
could be brought to the sound. Inasmuch as the taste of the Egyptians
was exceedingly great in all pieces, one might have also been able to
demonstrate, without historical evidence, that they loved the gigantic
in music--concerning which, by the way, all writers who have discussed
the Egyptian history show.*

*How frightfully striking the funeral music of the Egyptians
must have been if one might believe the testimony of Herodotus! But
if the melody [Satz] was as stiff as their paintings and statues, it
would have no more interest for us.

3The second book of Herodotus' account of the Greco-Persian
Wars contains the discussion of Egypt (see Book II, Chapter 79). It is
interesting to note that this is Burney's third excerpt from Herodotus
The music of Media and Persia was at first serious and majestic, but very soon fell to weakness with the nation. The Persians and Medians sing for women, says Xenophon; they don't make the soul strong, but rather they unnerve it. Accordingly, at the time of Darius Codomannus, the Persians loved the delicately cooing flute, to which an attractive girl sang and mixed all kinds of sensual motions among the singing.


4There is no mention of singing for women, but there is a story in Herodotus of a man who lost his chance for a rich bride because he danced. Or is Schubart thinking of some other source which he mistakenly attributes to Xenophon?

III. JEWS

Among all Eastern people, the Jews surpass by far the remaining in music. Very early they had already produced great masters, or as they called them Menatzeachs, which we would call virtuosos, in vocal music as well as in instrumental music, in our language. And if the poetic art of a people always observes equal motion with that of music, it is as yet impossible to conclude to what height music is said to have risen among the Jews.

Lowth in his De sacra poesi Hebraeorum praelectiones (1753) has indeed said much about Hebrew poetry, but by no means the thousandth part which the connoisseur perceives.* In all classes of poetry the Hebrews were masters; but while considering only the lyrical [poetry], it can also be concluded from this of the perfection of Hebrew music.

If the songs which are in the Bible have been set so splendidly to music, who even today can put somewhat more splendid ones in

*Herder in his Vom Geist der hebräischen Poesie [1782-83] has said far more than Lowth and for the most part has exhausted the claims of the writer.1 (The Editor).

1This is an abbreviated statement from an article on Lowth which appeared in Schubart's Vaterlandische Chronik (1787). See GS 8:89-90.
competition with theirs? The song of Moses in the wilderness was sung and accompanied by instruments of that time. Perhaps the world would be more astonished if we knew the melody itself with its harmonic treatment, as every person full of feeling is astonished over the song. At the time of the Judges, music began to decline among the Hebrews, but it again obtained high flight under David and Solomon. The spells of David's harp, which many a simpleton ridiculed, are easily explainable to everyone who knows precisely the magic of association between poetry and music. Quite certainly David declaimed great heart-rendering national events before Saul and accompanied them with the simple chords of his harp. Only through this can the great effect be understood, to a certain degree, which could unchain a furious Saul.

Undoubtedly David was one of the greatest musicians thereabout, because he knew how to combine the spells of music with those of poetry. Yet Hebrew music first reached its summit at the time of Solomon. At the dedication of his temple he had 8,000 singers and 12,000 instrumentalists; and the spirit of this great monarch is a guarantee to us that music would not have denied its remaining taste. In order for us to comprehend this to some extent, we must place before us the present-day hymn in such a way as it is accompanied by the

2Exod. 15:1-19. See also Exod. 15:20-21.
31 Sam. 16:23.
organ, the piercing zinks, and the resonance of the ram's horns
[Posaunenhall = ?shofar].

The Hebrews had various instruments which we do not know any
ger longer. For the most part these instruments were blown; and what was
struck with the hand, one used only in the more private concerts of
the rulers [der Grossen]

The resounding ram's horn [Hallposaune] may have had many
similarities with our cow horns [Kühhorne]; and the festive occasion
commended them.

The instrument with seven strings merely answers the great
riddle that the Hebrews, as all nations, had knowledge already of seven
tones. The heptachord was known to them, as to other people, because
the number seven is prominent in all arts and sciences as a standard of
all perfection.

With the Hebrews one knew no other connection to music than
with religion. Their temple song was full of dignity and majesty; the
Levites, who after all were chosen for the divine service, must have
also performed the music, yet always under the supervision of a certain
choral leader. Thus Asaph, at the time of David, for example, was such
a master. Judging by his divine songs, he must have set great

4Burney discusses the problematic terminology of ancient
instruments by citing the English version of Psalm 150:3-5 and then
giving six translations of the same verses, none of which agree
totally. See Burney H, 1:200-201. Forkel adds the Luther trans-
lation. [Forkel H, 1:129.]

5See 1 Chron. 6:39; 15:17, 19; 16:4-7, 37; 25:1-9;
2 Chron. 5:12; 20:14; Ezra 2:41; 3:10; Neh. 7:44; Ps. 50; 73-84.
ideas; and as the accounts about Hebrew music in general are obscure, I would almost assert that enharmony or unison [Enharmonie, Unisono oder Einklang] might have been its nature.

Antiphony was, as one can conclude from the Psalms, also known to the Hebrews. But after all, it can be gathered from the Hebrew songs that clearness of expression, thundering declamation, and slavish instrumental accompaniment must have been its character. It is to be regretted that the invention of notation originated in such late times, otherwise it would be easy enough to determine the character of music among all people.

The Hebrews determined the rise and fall of tones, of which they probably had not more than five, which agreed with the five vowels a, e, i, o, and u; the first designated the lowest tone, whereas the last, the highest. Quite certainly they were also such whereby the long or short duration of song was determined. To the musical symbols [Schreibkunst] of the Jews also belongs the eighteen metrical accents. Whether the true form of a cadence formula [eines künstlichen Gesanges] was contained in itself, according to the assertion made in the work Schilte Haggibborim, or whether they are said merely to explain

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6Forkel H, 1:156-57 citing Johann Christoph Spiedel, Unverwerffliche Spuren von der alten Davidschen Singkunst,.... (Stuttgart: Metzler und Erhardt, 1740).

7These metrical accents, which Burney called "musical accents," are in fact cadence formulas. See Burney H, 1:392-93; Martini H, 1:Table VI (following p. 424); Forkel H, 1:152-55.

8Hag-gibborim ("Shields of Mighty Men"). With the help of contemporary musical thought, Portaleone attempted a reconstruction of ancient music, which obviously contained some rather
mnemonic signs as single parts of the whole can never be decided with certainty. But from all of the historical fragments which have come to our time and which are supported in part by the most ridiculous hypotheses, the result is that the musical language of this nation may have been most difficult and troublesome.

Whether the Jews now even today understand this musical character is not known to me. Yet their precentors must have a type of notation, otherwise I do not completely comprehend how they can bring forth the various inflections of their songs.*

The Hebrews had a great many instruments, especially winds; their resounding ram's horn, which they used in war and divine worship, had a powerful tone. It was heard at a great distance, the armies were called together with it, and high feast days were announced or the Psalm of the priests was accompanied with it. From the headings of the Psalms it may be concluded that the Jews had a national poem for

*Martini, Burney, and Forkel in their historical works give the most satisfying information regarding this.9 (The Editor)

anachronistic concepts. Athanasius Kircher used this treatise as a source for his Musurgia universalis, although the author was mis-attributed. More contemporary to Schubart's time was a Latin translation of this Hebrew treatise which appeared in 1767 in Blasio Ugolino's Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrum. See RISM, B/IX/2 and Eitner Q. Although Kircher is cited by Martin, Burney, and Forkel as the main source of their information, it may have been that Schubart was familiar with the Ugolino version. See page 58, note 13 of this translation.

9This entire narrative involving the preceding two paragraphs parallels that of Burney H, 1:212-14, with the exception of the fact that Burney states that the Hebrew language originally had no vowels.
every national melody, to which several others were sung. According
to the way that the principal feeling, which laid in such a poem, was
now constituted, one needed only such instruments for its accompani-
ment as were best suitable according to its special nature and quality.
It is also highly probable that they already knew the minor and major
keys. Yet it cannot be claimed, as some more recent Rabbis try to
prove to the honor of their people, that the Samaritans had already
known them. It is even more difficult to determine what each instru-
ment quoted in the Bible (for example, the harp, Githit\textsuperscript{10} [an
instrument discovered at Gath],\textsuperscript{11} Gedor,\textsuperscript{12} the organ, the cym-
bals, and the various wind instruments) had actually had for a range
and for an effect. One should read what Gerbert, in his splendid
treatise concerning sacred music [De cantu et musica sacra, 1774],
and Pfeiffer, in a single essay on Hebrew music,\textsuperscript{13} have written
concerning this. Meanwhile, the astonishing effect of the Hebrew
music, whenever, for example, a David through the magic of his harp

\textsuperscript{10}Pss. 8, 81, 84. \hfil \textsuperscript{11}1 Sam. 27:2; 29:3.
\textsuperscript{12}I have not been able to locate this term in the Luther
translation of the German Bible nor in any sources dealing with Hebrew
musical instruments. Could Schubart's scribe have mistaken this word
as a homonym for the Hebrew words kinnor (psaltery) or asor (an
instrument of ten strings)?
\textsuperscript{13}\textit{Uber der Musik der alten Hebraer von August Friedrich
Pfeiffer} (Erlangen: Wolfgang Walther, 1779). Here is an example of
confusing attribution. The work just mentioned certainly is more
contemporary with Schubart's own time period, but there is another
August Pfeiffer (1640-1698) who also wrote an essay on Hebrew music,
"De neginoth aliisque instrumentis musicis Hebraeorum," which was part
of his \textit{Antiquitates Hebraicae selectae} (1689), but which was also
included in Blasius Ugoilinus' \textit{Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrum} (1767),
mentioned previously on page 57, note 8 of this translation. Which
drove away the spirit of melancholy from a Saul, is quite easily compreensible to me when I consider that the Jews used to unite poetry in its highest power with music, and that one could hear an instrument alone very rarely or not at all.

It also seems highly probable to me, for various reasons, that Hebrew poetry was more musical poetry than [true] song. The instrument accompanied the declaimer, who naturally must have been quite splendid and who was able to express all of the nuances and shadings, either with short strokes or full musical phrases which interpreted the spirit of the poem. Every comma, whole or half line, every sign of admiration, the exclamation, the question, and every period was expressed by means of the accompanying instrument. Even today one can clearly recognize in our best made pieces for musical declamation the extraordinary effect of Hebrew music. Yet one must likewise not go too far here out of the predilection for poetry and want to reject all composed [ausgeführt] song, for the song, or the music in general, can realize feelings and ideas according to their kind which are impossible for the poetry. And that the Hebrews must have had such composed song is clear to see from more than one passage of sacred writing. Their splendid antiphonal choruses, as for example, the Psalm "O give thanks unto the

Pfeiffer did Schubart intend? The first Pfeiffer (1748-1817) was active in Erlangen, and there is a possibility that Schubart may have known him. But there are also reasons for identifying the second Pfeiffer. References to the first Pfeiffer may be found in Schilling 5:442; Fétis B 7:20; Eitner Q 7:406; and RISM B/VI/2:649; the second Pfeiffer may be found in Fétis B 7:20 and RISM B/VI/2:849-51. The first Pfeiffer is probably the one Schubart intends.
Lord, for he is good" ["Danket dem Herrn, denn er ist freundlich"]\(^{14}\) and the masterly Psalm "Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in" ["Machet die Thore weit und die Türen der Welt hoch, dass der König der Ehre einziehe"],\(^{15}\) which assume an alternating and composed song; their sustained Hallelujah of many beats; their selah, which is certainly nothing other than a musical pause whereupon another choir began; their previously mentioned menatzeachs in all of the instruments already known at that time; the high flight of their imagination; and the full stream of their feelings--[these things] prove this sufficiently. The great number of singers and instrumentalists at the time of David and Solomon extols particularly Asaph, Calcol, and Dedan. Too bad that their sounds have faded away, and that the musical language of the Hebrews, as all the remaining ancient people in general because of the absence of understandable signs, could not be preserved as the poetry! This sigh still will be drawn often from us, but at the same time will make the great worth of our discovery of musical notation so much more perceptible. Still I must note here that by means of the Babylonian captivity and the resulting destruction of the Jews, music among these people has suffered immensely. Esra, this great man, indeed again established the divine service and with this also the music, but only as shadows of the former magnificence.\(^{16}\) The elders wept bitterly, they who yet recalled the former splendor of

\(^{14}\) Pss. 106:1, 107:1, 118:1, or 136:1.

\(^{15}\) Ps. 24:7, 9.

\(^{16}\) Ezra 3:10-11.
the divine service and particularly the festive sounds of music. The high triumphal tone, the thundering noise of their former music was silent by this time, and one sang for the most part the Lamentations of Jeremiah with weeping lutes and muted instrumental accompaniment. Music does not willingly linger among a people who bow to earth because of oppression, want, misery, and insult. For that reason, music among them recovered only gradually. At the time of Simon, the high priest, who was himself an excellent musician, there were again some good musicians. Josephus, in his history books as well as in his Jewish antiquities, diffuses much light on the rise and fall of Jewish music.

At the time of Christ music of the Hebrews does not particularly seem to have been in blossom. With the moral and political decay of this nation, music and poetry also decayed. Indeed, the testimony of some pagan writers, who call the music of the Jews the braying of an ass, is not totally valid, but it is certain that music in all forms drew to a close among the Jews after the death of Jesus. In the year A.D. 70 Jerusalem was destroyed; the Temple, together with the store of

17 See Simon Peter in the Appendix.

of all musical instruments, was burned; the people scattered among
the nations, and the few connoisseurs of old Hebrew music perished
by and by.

Today's Jews have indeed great masters in music. Thus one
finds, for example, especially among the Jews in Prague, virtuosos in
all instruments, but these people are no representatives of the ancient
taste; they have developed quite according to the new [taste]. For who
will believe that the Jews at the time of good taste would have sung so
abominably as their officiating ministers are now in the habit of
singing in the synagogues. They distort the sound so dreadfully, make
such abominable grimaces, and often become so red and blue in the face
that sometimes one should become anxious about the life of the
officiator.
IV. GREEK MUSIC

The Greeks must have been familiar with the secrets of this art very early. By their earliest history, as it is very much veiled in the mystic obscurity of fables, the power of music already flashes through; one should believe that music has given the wings for its astonishing ascent to this great people. Who does not know the fable of Orpheus who subdued the monsters of the forest with the magic of his lyre that they came and licked his soles?\(^1\)

In this whole poem the philosopher sees nothing other than the first impression of music on a people who were as musical as any in the world. Everything encouraged music in Greece. The favorable effect of the heavens, the delicate and responsive formation of Greek bodies, the lenient and the appropriate form of government for the arts, the almost sacred reverence of genius of all manner, and especially the blending of religion with the arts must have brought music to extraordinary fashion among these people. For a long time the Greeks absorbed only the magic of music until they reconstructed the goddess herself and formed a system. Yet one finds already in the decrees of Draco's and Solon's vestiges\(^2\) that this people emphatically bound music with


\(^2\)Circa 621 B.C. and 594 B.C., respectively.
education. Gymnastics and music were the two principal pillars on which their entire system was based. Yet it is beyond all doubt that they gave a much wider interpretation to the word music than we are accustomed to accept today. They understood music under the concept of art not merely influencing feeling by means of tones, but even gave it a moral significance and included there the harmony of all the powers of the soul, or as Plutarch says, the accord of moral feeling. Meanwhile, it engaged music by this time in the infancy of its history. Homer himself chanted his divine poems, and although this now must have been more musical declamation than real song, it is already a clear demonstration how deeply the Greeks felt that poetry is said to have always been united with music; the songs of Alcaeus, Pindar, and of Sappho, of Musäus and Anacreon were not merely read, as we imagine, they were chanted and accompanied by a lyre. This lyre was essentially a heptachord, or an instrument with seven stretched strings, which included the following tones: F, G, A, B flat, C, D, [and] E. But soon the octave was added.

The Greeks recognized very early the power of full chords. They knew that the fundamental already contained its fifth and that through the most intimate union with the later the third is generated. This they called the simple chord. But soon they found through the exactness of their ears that the prime reduplicated itself with the

3Schubart bases his statement not on historical fact, but on his observation of the simplicity of the triad and on the fact that the triad is nothing more than a natural phenomenon of sound. He explains it thusly: "Überall wird der Akkord nach einerlei Gesetzen gebildet. Der Grundton küsst in einer Bogenlinie die Quint, wie seine Gattin;
octave. They even placed the minor seventh in their scale because their correct, musical ear noticed that the penetrating octave, whenever it begins to tire, voluntarily leans toward the minor seventh: as the man kisses his wife in order to propagate his race. (An observation which the great Italian harmonist Tartini has made in his splendid, but unfortunately almost completely unknown, treatise on harmony.)

4Giuseppe Tartini, Trattato di musica secondo la vera scienza dell’armonia (Padova: Stamperia del seminario [Giovanni Manfrè], 1754).
The Greek scale was, therefore, the following:

7. Nete          e
6. Paranete      d  [the highest tetrachord]
5. Paramese      c
4. Mese          a
3. Lichanos      g  [the lowest tetrachord]
2. Parhypate     f
1. Hypate        e

Pythagoras first noticed the gap contained within and set up the following scale in two disjunct tetrachords:

8. Nete          e
7. Paranete      d  [the highest tetrachord]
6. Trite         c
5. Paramese      b
4. Mese          a
3. Lichanos or Hyperpate  g  [the lowest tetrachord]
2. Parhypate     f
1. Hypate        e

What now concerns the tuning of the Greek string instruments was whether such was constituted according to the following measures of Boethius:

e the highest string
b  the two middle strings
a  

or whether the Greek tetrachord contained tones before the time of
Pythagoras, which lie closer together, one cannot claim with certainty. It was always very incomplete and the arpeggio is so flattering; yet, the tones result from true dissonances in the further development. Pythagoras first noticed this incompleteness and invented on this account the famous instrument called the Helikon [= monochord], which had an altogether simple form and according to its construction some similarity with our present dulcimer.

This instrument was first adapted for that purpose in order to determine the relationships of consonances thereon. Kircher indicated seven lines to this preparation and said, "One should first divide a side of a square in two, then in four, and finally in three equal parts. Through these thus made points one should then draw parallel lines. Hereupon, one draws from the upper corner at the top of the aforementioned side a line to the middle of the lowest line, then this lowest divided line (to such kind in two equal parts) gives the accord; the second longer line from underneath against the third of their equals [gives] the Semitonium majus or the large imperfect tone, for example, c sharp, d, e, f of such a fourth against the fifth [gives] the Tonum majorem or whole tone, etc. Caelius Rhodiginus gave nine strings to the Helikon, whereon each bore the name of a Muse.
Et primo quidem Vnifonum dabunt BN ad NO.
Semifonum maius MP ad LQ.
Tonum minorem IS ad R.K.
Tonum maiorem sone bunt LF ad MG & SI ad QL.
Semidionum RK ad PM item VA ad SI.
Ditonum PM ad ON item SI ad QL.
Diatessaron LF ad KE item ON ad MG, item VA ad RK.
Diapente TL ad XN, ON ad LF, R.K ad ON, VA ad QL.
Hexachordon minus VA ad PM.
Hexachordon maius PM ad MG, SI ad ON.
Diapason VA ad ON, QL ad LF.
Diapason cum tono minore SI ad MG, cum maior tono RK ad LF.
Diapason cum ditone SI ad LF, item PM ad KE.
Diapason cum diatessaron QL ad KE, item VA ad LF.
Diapason cum diapente ON ad HC, item RK ad KE, VA ad MG.
Diapason cum hexachordos maiore SI ad KE.
Disdiapason QL ad HC, item VA ad KE. & sic de coeteris.

From this one sees that this instrument, if it were really played, indeed bore the performance of altogether simple composition, but in total was still very imperfect. It is nearly impossible for one to modulate to another key on this instrument since it lacked leading tones [Einleiter].

Of the few transcriptions of ancient Greek music which Mr. Burette discovered in the King of France's Library at the beginning of the previous century, the hymn to the Muse Calliope, which is already known, might also be presented here:
Example 1. Hymn to the Muse Calliope°
This little Greek song, that, according to its simplicity, completely approaches our ancient choral singing, has with all of its simplicity the defect of an extremely limited scale. Everywhere tones are missing which give gracefulness and roundness to the song. Nowhere is there a trace of modulation to another key. Indeed, this was impossible by the absence of so many semitones, while still easily allowing invented devices of artists to bring forth the half and quarter tones. At the time of Alexander the Great, music was in full bloom among the Greeks. Already a century before him, Pericles, the connoisseur and admirer of every art, had also patronized music with lavish generosity. To a great flute player he gave, according to our money, a present of 20,000 gulden. The conqueror of Asia rewarded the musician still more liberally. He took the best virtuoso of his time, Timotheus, with him and honored and rewarded him royally. This musician had every spell of music in his power. He roused sleeping courage to contention; he mitigated the blazing wartime storm; he distended the sparks of love to flames; he softened Alexander's heroic heart to pity towards the Greeks murdered by the Persians; from pity he proceeded to vengeance and fortified Alexander's fist with the murderer's torch, with which he set fire to Persepolis, as Dryden has matchlessly exhibited all of this.

in beauty and strength in his masterly ode _Alexander's Feast, or The Power of Music_.

If one dares to believe the enthusiasm of the poet, one could thus go even further into the history of Grecian music. In Homer's _Iliad_, particularly in the _Odyssey_, one finds innumerable traces how high music already was esteemed in the earliest times of the Greeks. But allowances must be made for the blossoming inventions of poets; thus, we do not have any definite account of the fates of this divine art among the Hellenes. The tones were absorbed and no theory was written. Finally, Aristoxenus appeared and first anatomized the heavenly body of music. He brought forth a number system that shows no genius and proves nothing but that the fifth, third, and higher octave, in a word, the full chord, lies in the sphere of music. From this relationship of even and odd numbers he proves that music is nothing other than arithmetic, which one mysteriously perceives. For example:

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1  2  4  5 [recte 8]  16  32
3  9 15
7 14
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In these numbers lie the relationships of music just as they are found among us today. Yet since the figures of the thorough bass

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8Apparently, Schubart is demonstrating the harmonic series. Assuming fundamental C, the first series, 1, 2, 4, etc., would represent different octaves of the fundamental tone. The second series, 3, 9, 15, would represent the major triad g - d' - b''. And the third series, 7 and 14, would represent octave B flats.
still have a further radius and the semitones are also understood, his system is thus no longer totally suited to our times. In spite of that the classification of the Greeks concerning musical tones was quite splendid. Namely, they divided such according to the proof of Plutarch:

\begin{align*}
&\alpha) \text{ into the diatonic, } \\
&\beta) \text{ into the chromatic, [and] } \\
&\gamma) \text{ into the enharmonic sounding genus }
\end{align*}

The diatonic scale of the Greeks proceeded equal to ours in whole and half steps, but the chromatic and enharmonic proceeded to an altogether different type, namely, the one in half steps and a minor third, the other in quarter tones and a major third. Their chromatic scale contained tones which we denote today with sharps, for example, G major, D major, A major, E major, B major, F-sharp major, C-sharp major, and G-sharp major.

The minor key they did not know at all; for it is nonsense if one wants to assume that the Lydian flute was created solely for gentle keys: a flute of a loud minor key cannot be imagined.\(^9\) The Lydian flute was certainly similar to our flute; and the Dorian, to our oboe.

\(^9\)Here Schubart seems to believe that Lydians were incapable of creating refined music because of their supposedly barbaric nature. Herodotus, whom Schubart has already quoted, stated that the Lydian people were aggressive and warlike. Sendrey provides additional information: "Like other peoples of the area, the Lydians worshipped Cybele, whose rites used orgiastic ceremonies and a noisy music that created a state of sensuous frenzy among the worshippers." (Alfred Sendrey, Music in the Social and Religious Life of Antiquity [Rutherford, New Jersey: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1974], p. 75. And, according to Schubart's own characterization of the keys later in this translation, one will come to understand that Schubart does
Nevertheless, it deserves to be noticed here that the Greeks also began very early to distinguish vocal music from instrumental music, and that the best, admirable effect of music could not be otherwise comprehended of poetry, being for a long time mistress over music, and that, therefore, the Grecian musicians had nothing to do other than to accompany great poets [Rhapsoden]. The Greeks had certain odeums, which one can almost compare to our opera houses; in these odeums not only great declaimers, mimics, and artists of all types practiced, but also musicians. Whatever was dead, whatever no other expression of poetry permitted, thither streamed the rapids of music!

The Greeks indeed did not have our musical notation with which one can impart the musical ideas of all nations, but they did have certain marks which they set down over or under the words of the poem and whereby they could show the rise and fall of the voice so well. We indeed now do not understand their musical signs any longer, yet we see so much from it that it was extremely limited. The sluggish or quick motion of the tones, the determination of the beat, the observation of musical colors, the blending of tones, and particularly the arrangement of beats the Greeks lacked totally. Even the profound scholar [Rhapsoden] not believe that such a people are capable of playing music in a tender, minor key. The lydians are not always characterized as warlike, however, for Mattheson presents just the opposite viewpoint when he stated that "the Lydians sang finer and more effeminately than the others,..." and that they "were everywhere described as sensual people." (Ernest C. Harriss, Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister: A Revised Translation with Critical Commentary [Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981], p. 179.) Burney even speaks of the "soft Lydian" and that the Lydian mode was appropriate for "complaint and songs of sorrow." (Burney H, 1:62). Apparently, Schubart is relying more on ancient texts than on contemporary accounts.
Plutarch has proved nothing further in his treatise on Greek music than that, in relationship to us, they stand approximately as a dwarf to a giant. Simplicity and correct relationships may have approximately constituted the character of Greek music. But what is this compared with the music of the Italians or Germans?! When the Greeks sank down from their original greatness, their music also sank; and Dio, the historiographer, rightly said, "the Greeks howl and sing no more, the Greeks 'lyre' and play no more."¹⁰

Before I conclude the article about Greek music, I must first briefly show their characteristics as far as it can be done.

First of all there seems to have been far more declamation than song. Pathos was certainly peculiar to this music as one can deduce with authenticity partly by the splendid poems, but also partly from the few fragments themselves.

The first Christians found Grecian music so splendid that they kept many practicable melodies and put only Christian texts underneath. They published a Grecian songbook which consists of eight parts or styles of singing, and therefore call it "eight sounds" [Achtklang].¹¹ This Achtklang also came at the time of Charlemagne to the Catholic church, and our great Luther kept them and put German texts underneath.


We thus possess them still in our church in the magnificent songs:

"Ein Kind geboren zu Bethlehem"

"O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig"

"Es ist das Heil uns kommen her"

"Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott"

"Dank sagen wir alle"

"Christ ist erstanden"

"Mitten wir in Leben sind"

"Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her"

Judging according to these magnificent melodies, which for so many centuries resounded in the Christian communion, simplicity and sublimity has been quite certainly the principal feature of Grecian music. Highly colored keys, artificial and far-reaching modulations, quick and winged melodic motion, distribution to the four voices of descant, tenor, alto, and bass they could certainly not have known. Their songs went in unison: as one sang, so sang all. Also they seem to have known nothing of the difference of the beats and measures. Their musical rhythm, therefore, must have been extremely exuberant, changeable, and direct, which our Klopstock missed in today's music. The division of the melody into beats indeed determines the movement of the measure, but at the same time [it] hinders the flight of imagination. Whether the Greeks divided the musical style into religious, dramatic, mimetic, chamber, and folk styles is very hard to answer; yet the scolia [(Scolien) Tischgesänge] prove, whereon Hagedorn has afforded us such a splendid treatise, that they knew how to separate
the sound of folk songs carefully from the sound of religious singing. Judging according to Euripides, Sophocles, and Aeschylus, their choruses were full of majesty and dignity; and since even the choruses of Aristophanes were sung, they must have been no strangers to the comic style. In a word and without having a knowledge of the Greek language, one can thus assert positively that their music indeed had been in a proportionately choice situation, but by no means can be compared to our music today. One searches in vain for these riches, this diversity of ideas, melodies, harmonies, modulations; this bold imagination; and these often indulging improvisations.
In conclusion, we append their scale:

For the clavier

Example 2. The Scale of the Greeks\textsuperscript{12}

Yet I must deal with the objection which Nepos, in the preface to his biography, tries to promote in the friends of music; for it seems that it had become dishonorable for persons of standing to

13Schubart errs in terming this chart "of the ancients," for their scale would have included only the Lesser and Greater Perfect System (or from A to aa). What Schubart has shown is a minimal representation of the scale according to Guido. Noticeably missing from his version, however, are the letters of pitch notation and the hexachord designations which are normally found in theoretical writings. The numbers here are exactly the same as those which have been recorded in treatises on music since Guido. Thus, it seems highly unlikely that Schubart would have dictated this chart from memory, but that he had access to some sort of reference source in this particular instance (although it would be rather simple to calculate all of the numbers if only one number was given). The two errors noted above are undoubtedly printing errors.
devote themselves to music, as he expressly cites the example of Epaminondas. But here the discourse is not about music in general, but only about the abuse of the sensitive Lydian flute, which at that time was so prevalent that the Grecian soul was not strengthened by it but rather was enervated.

And in this respect, it would still be injurious today for a hero if he wanted to ease the nerves of his soul with sensitive songs and a womanly instrument. Therefore, the Greeks, for this reason, considered it improper for a great man to devote himself to a wind instrument because the mouthpiece causes distortions of the mouth and chubby cheeks, and this was contrary to their high conceptions of beauty and propriety. But, as a rule, there were few great men in Greece who did not know how to play a musical instrument, particularly the lyre. Thus, according to Homer's testimony, the embassy delegated to the defiant Achilles came across the hero with the lyre. Miltiades, Cimon, Timoleon, Alcibiades, even Pericles and Socrates were splendid musicians. They sang at their meals and knew how to enliven these songs with the lyre, but it still remained improper to play the flute. Plutarch, in his often celebrated treatise on music, resolved this dispute totally.


The history of music among the Romans is an arid ground wherein only here and there a little flower grows. The Romans were totally copyists of the Greeks in all of the fine arts as also in music. Yet one finds already in Livius traces of the oldest music among the Romans. By this time Romulus and Tullus Hostilius, especially, combined music with their religious service. As all music which lies in the cradle, Roman music at that time was also small, indigent, and plain. The excellent musical historian Padre Martini maintains (out of which sources I cannot ascertain) that Roman music had for a long time no further range than our cow horn [Kühhorn], and I also believe his testimony. The sounds of the cow horn lie totally in nature; art must first seek out all of the remaining tones lying in between. But since leisure, effort, comfort, and prosperity belong to the study of this art, these mediant tones could not be expected so soon from the warlike Romans. The instruments which were unearthed in Rome were also made so poorly that those of the wilderness in North America have more beauty and range. In the rich antique halls of the Romans one finds instruments of such kind by the thousands, of which

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some have such a bizarre shape that one does not know what he should make of them. The simple and double pipe, the crumhorn, the coiled horn, the tuba or trumpet, the cymbal, and a type of drum can still be distinguished. Moreover, their lyres were made so restrictively and improperly that no strong, weighty sound can be expected from them. The art of bringing about sounding-boards, of dividing the strings by bridges, of diminishing or increasing the resonance seems to have been unknown to them even at the time of Horace. Yet the peaceful times of Augustus have also brought music to better reception. The vestal virgins devoted themselves to the song; girls and boys were trained to compete with one another in choruses, as one learns from the secular poems of Horace, which were certainly chanted by alternating choirs. If Roman music had been as splendid as poetry, something great and complete must have come forth. But the Romans prove by their example that music does not always bloom where the poetry has risen high. Indeed, some Roman philosophers should have explored the principles of music. But since all of their writings have been lost, who can judge?

It is known that the Romans made use of music in drama as well as with their armies, because they learned the power of it from barbaric people. But their war music was, as one certainly knows, extremely wretched and powerless. Their theatrical, especially mimical music, must have been far better, because they interpreted the pantomime of the great masters in mimicry. But since the Romans lacked musical notation, all of the examples of their music is lost.

With the fall of the Roman state, the arts also sank even deeper, and later on one hardly heard any whimpering sounds of
music. This divine art might have perhaps remained buried for a long
time among the Roman and Greek ruins if the Christians, convinced of
its power, had not continued it. That music was already used by the
apostles in hymns is shown by the admonition of the Apostle Paul:
"Edify yourselves even among one another with psalms, hymns, and lovely
spiritual songs." Every worship meeting of the Christians began
with a song and ended with a song, a custom which has remained until
our time. Pliny says of the Christians of his time [that] they rise
early, come together, and sing a song to Christ, their God; only then
do they go to their jobs.

Athanasius, the great church father, was undoubtedly a splen-
did musician. He thoroughly improved the church songs among the
Christians and composed some magnificent songs himself, of which we
sing his Te Deum laudamus thousands of times even today and desecrate
it thousands of times. Luther has translated it into German and has
kept Athanasius' melody. In the Greek church there are still many of
Athanasius' songs which have equal merit.

The songs of Lactantius were chanted for a long time in the
Christian church, and the Catholics still sing them. Luther drove out
the Latin song totally from the German church for the wisest of rea-
sons, but he also translated some of the best old songs and retained
the melodies. In the Eastern church the true taste of music was

\[2\text{Col. 3:16.}\]

\[3\text{Plinius, Pliny Letters, trans. William Melmoth, rev. W. M.}
 L. Hutchinson, The Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols. (New York: The
 Macmillan Co., 1915), 2:403-405.\]
preserved longer than in the Western [church], because here the music
degenerated, especially under the popes, very shortly in indulging dis-
play and pomp, which slew the noble simplicity. Their song was, as
Jamblichius says,4 "roaring, priestly howls," and their instrumental
accompaniment was nothing other than an unintelligible confusion and
jangling. In the Greek churches one kept, in comparison, the noble
simplicity until the fall of the state. The Greek monarchy proves the
phrase that the downfall of a state must not always precisely be bound
with the downfall of the arts and sciences, for out of Constantinople's
ruins stepped forth the teachers of all the human race. The Muses fled
to Italy and also with them Polyhymnia, Urania's cordial sister.

Very early, then, the Italians have been epoch making in music;
and this, their glowing epoch, illuminating the darkest of centuries,
has still not disappeared. All of Europe has developed according to
the Italians, and they deserved this honor before all people of the
world. For what was and is the music of the Italians? Their song is
touching, their instrumental accompaniment was, especially in the first
periods of their music, not noisy and deafening, but a still, crystal-
line sea, which bore and lifted the boat [Kahn] of song. It is, there-
fore, worth the trouble to search for the reasons whereby Italy swung
away so far above all other nations.

4No such statement is found in Iamblichus' Life of
ed., London: John M. Watkins, 1926), and it does not seem likely that
such a statement would be found in Iamblichus on the Mysteries of the
Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Assyrians, trans. Thomas Taylor (Chiswick:
C. Whittingham, 1821), a source which was not available.
First of all, the favorable climate, which invites mankind so much to song and play, may well have some part in this soaring of the imagination, although I may not want to assert with the great Winckelmann that the Greeks have become [great] merely by the blessing of their Greek climate and that, therefore, the Italian fragrance of oranges must have had such a great part in their blossoming music. One has indeed made the observation that a favorable climate produces greater musicians than an unfavorable one; yet our northern Germany has limited this statement very much, for we have brought forth musicians who do not merely contend with the Italians, but they surpass them in genius and abundance of discovery. A Fuegian does not sing, but, on the other hand, the Tahitian swims in the bliss of music. But two borderlines of the extremes here decide nothing. Yet this much remains certain, that a mild land and cheerful leisure almost always bring forth song.

The second reason for the ascent of Italian music is more decided and consists of the extraordinary encouragement itself by the noblemen [Grossen] and in the princely rewards which they give to distinguished musicians. The house of the Medici has gained immortal merit in music; the great princes of this house honored musicians as if they were the leading pillars of the state. A Kapellmeister by the name of Crysolidas, a native of Greece, had a salary of 2,000 sequins [Zechinen], the rank equal to a lord marshall, and usually ate at the duke's table every day. Under this great encouragement of the Muses, music in Italy really first bloomed. One still has sacred pieces from that time which are full of simplicity and majesty. Also, the theory
of music began to be investigated for the first time, and indeed with such thoughtfulness that our more recent musicians can still learn very much from that. The Republic of Venice emulated the Medicis [Medicærn] most laudably in the support of music. One of their citizens, by the name of Gioseffo Zarlino, wrote a work of four folio-sized volumes on harmony, which is still today the handbook of the greatest composers. The German Orpheus Bach once said to an Englishman who asked him what kind of a teacher he had had: "My father," he answered, "and Zarlino." The Venetians invented several stops in the organ; they combined instrumental music with the hymn in the church; and finally became, in the previous century, the creators of opera.

The first opera, which was performed at Venice in 1624 [sic], was certainly published but is quite expensive because of its scarcity, and now one pays more than one hundred Louis d'or for it. The opera is great in style, full of simplicity and majesty; the song prevails without exception, and the instruments are totally subject to it. The carnival entertainments have given cause for the discovery of opera. But what the Venetians praise above all is that one has them to thank for the great invention of musical notation. Before, it was extremely troublesome to notate a musical piece. Everywhere one made do with the so-called German tablature, where one drew four lines and indicated the highness and lowness of the tones and their value by letters and strokes. But Guido of Arezzo perceived the weakness of this type of notating and discovered our notation of today, a discovery which is even as great and important as the discovery of numbers. By means of this method, one has finally brought musical notation to the point
that not only sets down the slowest as well as the fastest tones, but
the musical discoveries of all nations can be preserved for posterity.
Rests, the barline, the increase in beats, the exactness and nature of
the key—for all of this we are indebted to the great Guido. He lis-
tened to the pulses of music and made them evident by signs. After his
death the notes were given more and more perfection: one divided the
whole beat into halves, quarters, eighths, sixteenths, thirty-seconds,
and sixty-fourths; the fermatas, mordents, and the symbols of all musi-
cal coloration were invented so that now the musical language is the
most precise and perfect one in the world.

Musical notation has also given a gigantic idea to the great
Leibnitz for inventing a universal language. He concluded that just as
every cultivated people can learn the notes quite easily without under-
standing the language of another thus, too, signs comparable to musical
notes were equally possible whereby our ideas could be made understand-
able to foreign nations. He died with the full conviction of the pos-
sibility of this discovery.

The papal court finally brought music in Italy to the highest
point. Pius IV [pope from 1559 to 1565] and Sixtus V [pope from 1585
to 1590] even canonized some musicians. They published their own let-
ters and mandates by which music was so highly recommended not only to
the ecclesiastics, but also its splendor and spirituality were proved
such that one nearly forgot everything else and only studied music.
The pope himself paid the musicians extraordinarily. The papal chapel
at the time of the mentioned Sixtus cost 150,000 florins a year to
maintain. Naples and Genoa also took up this musical enthusiasm
and soon all of Italy was a loud-sounding concert hall to which Europeans were attracted there in order to learn and hear true music!

The strongest and most decisive reason for the blossoming of music in Italy is surely its strictest union with religion. In more than one papal brief one still reads today the expression "Sancta Musica." Even Pope Honoris wrote "Beatus est, qui ad honorem Dei, et beata Virginus Mariae, coluit musicam." With the determination of good works, they expressly made the phrase: "It is deserving before God for the people to enjoy with music." Even in the previous century a Cardinal wrote: "Qui musicam no non callet, seu nullo oblectamento animi illam audit; ex diabolo est, nam solus ille omnem harmoniam respuit." One might take this impelling partiality for music to the point of fanaticism, and one might imagine Rome through several centuries: how all its sumptuous temples echo year after year with human voices, string sounds, organ tone, drums, trumpets, and all wind instruments; how no Italian prays, confesses, takes communion, or performs his devotions without having the sounds of music swim around him; and if one wants, one still adds the special sensitiveness of the Italian nerves: thus a blind man can reply to the question, "Whereby has Italy become so great in music?" In all types of musical styles this enviable country has produced masters. They determined the sacred style very early. Allegri already some centuries ago composed such

5Blessed is [he] who cultivated music to the honor of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary.

6Whoever does not understand music, or if he hears music with no delight of the spirit, he is of the devil, for that one alone has rejected all harmony.
splendid choruses and Italian songs that one cannot hear them without delight. His Miserere, which even today is sung in nearly all Catholic churches on Good Friday, is set with divine feeling and will never cease to impress as long as there are hearts that burn for devotion.7

The Psalms of Orlande di Lassus from the middle of the sixteenth century have so much simplicity, sublimity, and majesty of expression that I can hardly conceive how one even today can transmit the Psalms better in music. The masterpieces of this great master lie buried in the library in Munich, and only from time to time is there a scholar who blows away the dust and studies the scores of this great musician.8 Perhaps even a Vogler can make us familiar with the settings of this master.

The second period of Italian music lasts approximately from 1680 to 1750. It crossed over from the extreme simplicity to something pompous and united the worldly mien of drama with the glowing countenance of the sacred style. And this laid the first step for the downfall of music! Since nothing is harder to determine than the

7Schubart had heard a performance of this work on Good Friday (?1774) in the Dome Church in Augsburg and was awed by its beauty. GS, 1:233 (L & G, 2). In addition, several articles about Allegri's Miserere appeared in print close to the time of Schubart's work on his Ästhetik, and these may have also possibly been a source of inspiration for its inclusion in this treatise. See MAfD 1783, pp. 123-25 and MAadJ 1784, pp. 100-112. See also Karl F. Cramer, ed., Magazin der Musik (Hamburg: Musicalische Niederlage, 1783), pp. 157-58, cited by Leonard G. Ratner, Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style (New York: Schirmer Books, 1980), p. 161.

8Schubart saw Lasso's manuscripts while he was in Munich (early October 1773). He also commented that it would be best if these works remained unperformed, for musicians of his day would not even begin to comprehend and appreciate the greatness of such "simple" music. Thus he hoped that a scholar would be able to enlighten his countrymen. See GS, 1:198 (L & G, 1).
borderlines of musical styles, nothing is likewise easier than to run 
aground on this reef. It has certainly not happened yet, but the 
downfall of music is near.

On this profanation no one is guilty other than noblemen, for 
these men made the senseless demand on geniuses to implant the church 
to the theater and the theater into the church. This compulsion caused 
the composers to bring a certain pomposity to the sacred style which 
nealingly completely smothered the embers of devotion. Anton Caldara 
first wrote in this style around 1722, yet he still continued the fugal 
style. He was a great connoisseur of counterpoint and also understood 
the power of the song, but his spirit submitted to the taste of the 
imperial court where his Masses indeed have an appearance of theatrical 
choruses. Yet one wishes very much that his style had been preserved. 
Caldara gave the instruments no more than what they should have; he 
elevated the song and knew how to manipulate the thorough bass. Also, 
his fugues wind rather correctly and shun the thoughtless tempo that 
our modern composers have adopted, by which they have often made a 
contredanse out of a serious Hallelujah and Amen.

Undoubtedly, the greatest spirits have appeared in both of 
these musical epochs.

Fux, Caldara, Brescianello, Tonini, [and] Marotti were minds of 
the first rank; the great German masters, particularly, worked with 
success against the destructive flow; and only later the stream passed 
from its banks and destroyed the fields.

From 1740 to 1750 Italian music bloomed, especially the 
dramatic [music], in Naples and Berlin to an exceptional degree.
Connoisseurs claim, not without foundation, that this has been the most outstanding epoch in music. The king of Portugal had, about this time, an orchestra which was the astonishment of the world. But on 1 November 1755 Lisbon was swallowed up by an earthquake, and seventy-eight of the best musicians of the world were buried under the rubble. In this golden period the song applied to everything; it prevailed and the instruments served it as vassals. The dignity of the organ was recognized throughout Germany, and [the organ] was played by [Johann] Sebastian Bach, Handel, Marchand, and Martinelli with extraordinary emphasis. The most splendid writings about music were published, particularly in Italy and France. There were composers of the first rank, and the virtuosos were rewarded to the point of lavishness. But unfortunately at about this time the number of castrati increased so noticeably. The Italians first came to the abominable thought of transforming the human voice by emasculation. Castrations were even authorized by a papal brief, and this brief, moreover, has the detestable clause, "Ad honorem Dei." If God asked for castration to his glorification, we would have found well-expressed commands to that end in his words. But God and his magnificently ordered nature hates all mutilations. Nothing demonstrates this more than the castrati themselves, who, with all their art to which they undeniably rose, nevertheless howl and screech. God and nature laid down the law that one should set the descant and alto with females, only the tenor and bass with males. If one violates this great commandment, Mother Nature

9See page 13 of this translation.
avenges herself through dissonance and adverse impression. Hail to our fatherland that we indeed reward castrati but do not make any! Whoever understands the art of properly training females as the Germans has no need of eunuchs.

Since the song was cultivated so passionately in this musical epoch, instrumental music suffered. We have produced, therefore, from this time, except for some great organists, no special masters. This was reserved for the third epoch, which extends from 1750 until our time.

Even in this time period, the Italians still number great and extraordinary masters. Traetta, Galuppi, and Jommelli led the way. Traetta still maintains the dignity of the song but gives the instruments more work. His operas are composed with profound knowledge of the poetry and music; his recitative is passably correct; his arias have grace and often melting tenderness; and also his choruses do not lack dignity. But he was not a special contrapuntist, for his sacred pieces stream down like slush on a bare rock. His seizing after new notions, his boring coloratura, his frequent pauses, and other mannerisms destroy the simplicity of the phrase and promise his compositions no lasting permanence.

Galuppi, far greater than his predecessors, has extremely simple and lovely songs, rich inventions, ingenious modulations, and magnificent harmony. His instrumental accompaniment is not raging nor drowning the human voice, nor lulling for the instrumentalists, but is so splendidly chosen, [and] thus suited to the nature of the instruments. The notes are so easy, yet only a master can bring them out
completely. *Galuppi* has feeling for profound beauty; he was, mostly for that reason, a true interpreter of the poetical texts. He did not at all like the storm of inversion, which drops the principal thoughts as in a rain of fire on the soul of the listener. Whatever the poet spoke, he [i.e., the poet] repeated it to the composer in the simplicity of his heart. His [Galuppi's] scores seem so lucid; thus one finds so often with him that he tried to express a principal feeling with a single note or yet with a few notes. One sees the proof as he set the splendid aria of *Metastasio*:

Se cerca, se dice:

L'amico dov'e?

L'amico infelice,

Rispondi--mori.10

Also, we possess masterworks by him in the sacred style. Yet he succeeds much better with a Kyrie eleison and a Miserere than with a *Te Deum laudamus* and a *Gloria in excelsis*, for loud shouts for joy, intensely lasting fire, [and] heaven-aspiring pathos were never the Italian's concern; yet one must say of the great *Galuppi* that he has carefully studied counterpoint and has worked out his fugues with diligence. A Credo which he composed in Venice in 1752 is set with so much dignity and simplicity that he has made himself immortal by that alone, if his operas did not cry out still louder around the garland of immortality. In a word, *Galuppi* is a man celebrated through all of Europe, and he deserves this celebration so much more because he

combined the most godlike heart with his great talent. He died as Arion for his people\(^\text{11}\) and bequeathed 50,000 thaler for the poor.

On his tomb stands the inscription:

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Monumentum Galuppi
Angeli cantare
Sciunt
quaececinit\(^\text{12}\)
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Jommelli, the creator of an entirely new taste, and certainly one of the best musical geniuses who has ever lived. This immortal man paved himself, as have all spirits of the first rank, a completely unique path. His highly fervid spirit shines forth from all of his compositions: burning imagination; glowing inventiveness; great harmonic understanding; abundance of melodic passages; bold, strongly effective modulations; an inimitable instrumental accompaniment--[these things]

\(^{11}\)This reference is confusing. The most popular story concerning Arion comes from Herodotus. Arion, laden with treasures which he had won at a music contest, returned to the ship which was to bring him home (to Corinth). The sailors, envious of his wealth, plotted to kill him, but Arion elected to throw himself overboard rather than die at their hands. However, a music-loving dolphin rescued him and carried him back to shore, from which he was able to return to Corinth. (William Smith, ed., A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, 3 vols. [New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1967], 1:287.) If, by the phrase "died for his people," Schubart means that Arion was extremely loyal to the citizens of Corinth, then this sentence makes at least some sense. Galuppi was loyal to the Italian people and to the Italian musical style.

\(^{12}\)"A monument to Galuppi. The angels now know how to sing what he had sung." Galuppi died on 3 January 1785 in Venice. How would Schubart have known about this inscription? He was in prison until 1787. It may have been taken from a journal which would routinely report such events. For example, the inscription on Jommelli's grave--Jommelli died on 25 August 1774 in Naples--is found in Schubart's Deutsche Chronik (12 January 1775):27-28. It is also possible that Ludwig added this information.
are the outstanding characteristics of his operas. Also, Jommelli elevated himself to the rank of a musical inventor. The staccato of the basses, whereby they almost received the stress of the organ pedals, the precise determination of musical nuance, and, especially, the all-effective crescendo and decrescendo are his! When he applied these figures in an opera in Naples for the first time, all the people on the parterre and in the loges rose, and the astonishment shone from wide eyes. One felt the magical power of this new Orpheus, and from this time on he was considered the world's best composer.

He is censured because his instrumental accompaniment is too deafening.\(^{13}\) His violin [writing], especially the second, is in continuously hurried agitation, and a very strong singer is needed if he wants to force his way through this instrumental storm. Jommelli used to vindicate himself against these reproaches [by saying that] whoever wants to have a good orchestra must give it something to do and will put it to work in numerous places. A cold or a far too simple accompaniment makes the instruments lazy; for he often used to say [that] every musician whom one believes to be capable of nothing will play badly. His second reason was the great rarity of good singers. A genius in singing forces his way through because every orchestra has enough discretion to bow down before his song; and for bad singers it is truly a kindness if one sweeps them away in the flow of the accompaniment and drowns their mistakes. No one understood the art

\(^{13}\)Schubart discussed this very problem with Jommelli. See GS, 1:94, (L & G, 1). Burney also makes a similar observation about Italian orchestras in general. See Burney F, p. 77.
of adapting the composition to acoustical effects better than Jommelli. In little rooms and halls most of his compositions made a very poor effect; whereas in large theaters, as for example in Vienna, Naples, and Stuttgart, their effect is so much more remarkable. The whole opera house seems to be a sea of sound, where every wave, every surge, and often the splash of every single note can be noticed. In sacred pieces he was not as fortunate; yet his Requiem, and especially his 59th Psalm, which was his swan-song, belong among the best masterpieces of this type.\footnote{See GS, 1:92-93 (L & G, 1).} In the chamber style Jommelli worked much too carelessly for his pieces in this style to deserve much approval; yet he has shown in some works, especially in his magnificent Grafennecker symphony,\footnote{This symphony or, more properly, overture (i.e., sinfonia) also later served as the overture to Jommelli's Cerere Placata (1772). See Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, 23 (13 October 1821), col. 678. Even at this late date (1821), the work was still regarded with high esteem.} that no style might be too difficult for the [truly] great man. He died in Naples of an apoplectic fit, out of fright or even anger over the unfortunate result which his last opera had and out of envy over the palms which the German Schuster achieved.\footnote{Schubart's eulogy of Jommelli in the Deutsche Chronik does not mention Schuster nor the reason of Jommelli's death. Deutsche Chronik (17 October 1774):462-64.} Meanwhile, Jommelli's image in the history of music will remain eternally unforgettable, and the pupils of music will study his scores as painters and sculptors [study] the antiquities.
Nicola Porpora, founder of an altogether new singing school. He has trained the greatest Italian singers and has had the song so in his power that until now no one knew how to define it with such exactness. He was a profound, philosophical connoisseur of all voices [Organe] which belong to song; for that reason, his solfèges are still today the world's best. They improve the throat, make the sound strong and flexible, prepare [the singer] for the performance of the most difficult passages, and determine the sounds which are subject to the head, nose, throat, chest, and the all-invigorating heart.

Porpora particularly noticed the differences of the descant, of the alto and contralto, and of the tenor and baritone. But for the low bass his solfèges are of little value, because he, as all of his countrymen, considered the bass [voice] to be too rough and barbaric to be able to use it for the theater, other than perhaps in the choruses or in the comic opera style; thus, he ignored it completely.

Pergolesi was one of the greatest musical geniuses that the Italians have produced! Too bad that his genius withered too early, for Pergolesi died in his thirty-sixth year [recte 26]. All the pieces which we possess by him were valued higher than gold by all friends of music. His composition is extremely simple: with two violins, a viola, and an altogether simple bass he accomplished far more than some of the most recent composers with their raging storm of trumpets, drums, horns, oboes, flutes, bassoons, and all other wind instruments. Also, his modulations are as good as his harmonic movements are extremely simple, and he requires as few notes as is possible for the expression of his thoughts. His Stabat Mater [1736] is numbered
among the best masterpieces of art. For more than thirty years it has been performed throughout Europe during Passion Week with universal approval. How many thousands of tears has this piece elicited already from sensitive hearts! Klopstock, as is well known, has added a German text, with which it is now also sung by the Protestants. And this great, generally wonderful work consists of two voices and four instruments. The modulations are so natural as if art might have had nothing at all to do with it, and the expression of feeling is full of truth. But even this masterpiece is not without faults, which Vogler in his writings stated with much discernment. In spite of that, the public did not accept Vogler's corrections and left the work as charming as it is.

Pergolesi only composed a few operas; but--as one might say with Lessing's fable--the lioness gave birth only once, but she gave birth to a lion. These operas were heard with delight not only in Venice and Genoa but also in Milan, Florence, and Turin. Also,

17 Schubart announced this fact in his Deutsche Chronik (7 November 1774):510-11 and reported a performance of the work in Karlsruhe in the Deutsche Chronik (10 November 1774):518 and in Augsburg in the Teutsche Chronik (11 April 1776):238-39.

18 Schubart reported the four-voice setting by Hiller but doubted that the work would be enhanced by this addition. See Teutsche Chronik (11 April 1776):239.


these carry the stamp of Pergolesian genius, namely, utmost simplicity. As long as such musical compositions still create a sensation among us, the true musical taste is certainly there. The great Jommelli used to rightly say [that] when a Pergolesi is no longer appreciated, then the downfall of true music is certain. The sacred pieces of this immortal composer are preserved as sanctuaries. His Masses, Psalms, and Te Deum laudamus are honored with very large sums. The aria "Se cerca, etc." was perhaps his best, although the greatest masters after him tried hard to surpass him.

Padre Martini (in Bologna) is just as great a composer as a musical critic. He played the organ masterly, had the pathos of the sacred style in his power, and understood counterpoint from its foundation. His published history of music, in three quarto-sized volumes, is the most useful work of this type. Since he possessed an extraordinary store of musical sources and for thirty years gathered material for this work, one could, from this basis, already expect much from his history. If Hawkins, Burney, and Forkel have subsequently surpassed him, the honor of a pioneer yet always remains to him. The correct sketches of old and new musical instruments give a decided worth to this book.

Paisiello, a modish, extremely well-liked composer; sweets rain from his hands, but one may not search for hardy meals with him. He has to thank for his fame most of all the ladies, who fall in love with his sweetness; but he will be looked at considerably by all great connoisseurs as a flowering tree: nice to look at, but from which no lasting fruits can be expected.
Piccini, a true pupil of the Graces; for that reason all of
the European ladies especially have found so much taste in him. What
Chaulieu, Gresset, and Jacobi are among poets, Piccini is among
musicians. Hence, one finds occasionally in his compositions more
honey than solid food, more blossoms than fruit. His reputation indeed
still lasts, but I fear it will soon disappear as the fragrance of the
blossom. In opera style he is among all composers the most prolific
[der grösste Polygraph].

Sacchini. Already for a long time the favorite of our time.
He has established in Italy, France, Germany, and England more than a
pillar of fame, especially through the composition of his Oedipe—an
opera which one can always regard as a practical handbook for the
composition in this style. His style is good, light, and pleasing, as
his whole character was. He does not surprise by means of momentary
flashes of gratification but takes one through the always proportionate
warmth of his phrases. He writes very correctly and modulates very
naturally. His melodic phrases are extremely lovely. One may hear his
motive only once, yet one can know it by heart. His choruses are
indeed somewhat thin and clear yet always have so much dignity. In
the sacred style he did not have enough practice; consequently, his Masses have never attracted attention. Also, he was snatched away from the world prematurely. 21

21 Sacchini died in Paris, October 6, 1786, yet Schubart dictated this manuscript between 1784 and 1785. But there also exists another inconsistency within this paragraph. Sacchini's Oedipe à Colone did not receive its first performance until January 1786, and it was not until after its Paris premiere in February of 1787 that it was acclaimed a masterpiece (Grove 6, 16:371). A score was published in Paris in 1787 and a German translation appeared in print only in 1790. See Alfred Loewenberg, Annals of Opera, 1597-1940, 2 vols. (Geneve: Societas Bibliographica, 1955), 1:420-21. Obviously, this paragraph had to be written sometime after 1786 either by Schubart himself, or by Ludwig Schubart, who may have been editing this section in preparation for publication (e.g., pages 84-96 served as Proben in the Leipzig Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung 6 (11 January 1804):231-41).
VI. CONCERNING ITALY'S GREAT SINGERS

Undoubtedly the singing art has been in greatest blossom with the Italians among all nations. Even to this hour hardly a people possess the song to such an admirable degree as they do. Everything is sound and tone with them. The most ordinary marmot youth often sings the most beautiful and melody-rich little songs. Yet they are surpassed by far in real folk music by the Germans. But by even as far, the Italians surpass us in fine, great, thoroughly trained singing. All singing masters among us have developed themselves in this specialty according to the Italians. In the last hundred years and in the first half of this century, there were far greater singers in Italy than now. The present singers sing and cluck too much; also they often smother the song with excessive colorature and florid ornaments. One imitates these modish, sweet trifles of another, and thus the divine simplicity must be lost in a short time.

One of the prime reasons for the heights to which the Italian singers have risen, as has already been said above of music in general, is the extraordinary high repute wherein singers stand and the lavish salaries which they are given. A singer of the first rank in Naples and Rome can bring in 10,000 to 15,000 thalers of our money yearly.
Just recently the famous castrato Farinelli bought himself a duchy.\(^1\)

The Italians really have only three classes of singers, namely, sopranos, altos, and tenors; they divide the alto into the high and contralto. But the deeply moving bass voice they ignore out of capriciousness or out of shortcoming of such voices and use them only in the comic opera. Perhaps, too, there are few beautiful bass voices in a country where one drinks nothing but wine.

The best aforesaid voices among them are so much more splendid. A Faustina\(^2\) did not sing, she practiced magic. Her vocal range contains sixteen quite perfect steps. She was stronger in the expression of slower tones than in fast runs; consequently no one expressed the grief, the love, the devotion, and feelings of such kind more intimately than this great singer.\(^3\) One used to call her alone the tenth Muse of the Italians. Now she sits as a matron in Vienna,\(^4\) and her throat is dried up.

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\(^1\)Cf. Burney F, pp. 151-57 passim. Farinelli settled in Bologna ca. 1761. When Burney visited him in 1770, the mansion was still not completed. Presumably, this is what Schubart refers to as Farinelli's "just recently bought duchy."

\(^2\)See Faustina Bordoni in the Appendix.

\(^3\)Cf. Burney G, p. 193. Here Burney quotes Quantz. Schubart might have borrowed from either source, but it seems more likely that he would have borrowed from Burney.

\(^4\)Faustina retired sometime after 1750. But she and her husband left Vienna in 1773 and went to Venice, where they remained for the rest of their lives. Grove 6, 3:47. Most contemporary sources agree. (Burney H, 2:738 states that the Hasse family moved in 1775.) However, Hawkins H, 2:874, which was first published in 1776, states that Faustina "is now living at Vienna," and it may be this source to which Schubart refers.
Giovanni Carestini. A castrato and through all of Europe a famous contralto of whom Hasse said [that] whoever has not heard him has heard nothing right.\(^5\)

His voice was cutting like a cornett's tone and pierced the greatest orchestra. He brought out the most difficult runs with unbelievable ease. With these great qualities he further combined an altogether magnificent action, and Frederick the Great was so fascinated by him that for many years [1750-54] he had to sing only for him. But what one says [fabeln] about his death is a wicked invention of the Italians. For soon after his completed journey home to his fatherland from Petersburg in 1758, he died in peace.\(^6\)

Salimbeni, perhaps the greatest descant who has ever lived. He was for many years an ornament of the Berlin theater [1743-50]. He possessed only twelve perfectly clear tones in his compass, but whatever lay in this range he expressed with indescribable grace and beauty. He knew how to affect the heart of the listener so assuredly that he never sang without being rewarded with the sweetest tears. He died in his twenty-eighth year, in the full maturity of his voice and at the height of his fame. The previously mentioned Farinelli, who sung himself into a duchy, possesses, in addition to a wide compass

\(^5\)This exact quotation appears in Gerber L, 1:247-48, but Gerber does not cite the source of his information. He does, however, provide a list of works used to compile his biographical dictionary on pages xv-xvi. A paraphrase of this occurs in Burney H, 2:783, but was not in Burney G (again borrowed from Quantz), the source to which Schubart had access.

\(^6\)Farinelli was in Petersburg from June 1754 through 1756 (Grove 6, 5:779), but he did not die until 1782!
of tones and the most sensitive heart, still the most profound insight of art. He [?Salimbeni]\(^7\) has written a book on the song, which is a true masterpiece. His strength consists especially in the expression of the sacred style; consequently, he sang more in churches than in theaters.

**Bossi.** One of the best Italian tenors. His voice is fully natural, pure in the low as in the high [register]. He succeeds with the affective remarkably well, but he always mangles, as he often has expressed, violent, impetuous, heroic passion; only the German singers succeed in this.

**Aprile.** The former jewel of the Württemberg theater [1756-69] and one of the most perfect singers of the world. He sang with the purity of a silver bell up to the three-lined c [c''''], had a profound knowledge of song, and a warm, swelling heart. He particularly understood to the highest degree the art of varying an aria several times with extraordinary genius. Even the immortal Jommelli admitted that he had much to thank this great singer for.\(^8\)

\(^7\)There is no mention of a book having been written by Salimbeni in any of the standard reference sources.

\(^8\)Quite an opposite opinion is expressed in *Burney F*, p. 270.
Katharina Gabrieli* is the triumph of today's singing art! She has extraordinary height and unusual lowness [of range], reads as quickly as lightning, and brings out all passages, the fast as well as the slow, with unusual skill. Still she unites with it a characteristic of the heart and such a high, pure feeling that she is numbered, quite rightly so, among the best singers that Italy has produced. Yet all connoisseurs maintain that she is of value only for the theater and does not play a very favorable role in the church. This is easily understood if one thinks about the enormous scale passages to which she is accustomed. Also, her genius seems to be inclined more to the comic than to the tragic. She provokes more astonishment, surprise, or even laughs than a still, sweet, lost-in-daydreams feeling. But it will be hard to find a singer, if it is not our own great German Mara, who does it equally well in the flexibility of the throat, in the melting of tones, and particularly in the portamento.

In Naples, particularly in Turin, many singers are still found, among whom perhaps are some who belong in the foregoing shining order. The most recent travel writers, who at the same time are connoisseurs of music, maintain that the Italians still continue to promote the

*One does not confuse her with Francesca Gabrieli, a student of Sacchini, who as a prima donna sang second to Mara in London from 1785 to 1786.9

9The Francesca Gabrieli mentioned here is actually Adriana Gabrieli (1755-95), known as "La Farrarese," as noted by Scholes in Burney F, p. 124. This mistaken identity is perpetuated in Gerber, et al. Francesca was Katarina's sister.
singing art to its highest levels and to prefer good singing to the most shining performance in instrumental music. But great connoisseurs want to be convinced from sound reasons that there might not be any more real schools of the art of singing and that consequently the great taste naturally must fall.

One should read the splendid tract of the immortal Tosi about the art of singing\textsuperscript{10} in order to be able to compare the old and new taste of the Italians much easier. But the times unfortunately have also changed. At the time of Tosi one still transported apples, pears, and cherries; now one is satisfied with their blossoms. The great Pope Ganganelli\textsuperscript{11} considered so important the fall of the art of singing that he made the most magnificent preparations in order to control it.\textsuperscript{12} But what Montesquieu says also applies here: if the taste begins to sink, the hand of a genius can sometimes indeed stop it; but if the genius is dying, taste only plunges much more quickly and without stopping.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{10}Pier Francesco Tosi, Opinioni de' cantori antichi, e moderni o sieno osservazioni sopra il canto figurato (Bologna: Lelio dalla Volpe, 1723). A German translation of this treatise appeared in 1757.

\textsuperscript{11}See Clement XIV in the Appendix.

\textsuperscript{12}Schubart wrote several essays on the life of Pope Clement XIV, some of which appeared in his Chronik, but these contain only a few incidental references to music and nothing which supports this particular statement. See, for example, GS 7:7-96 and Deutsche Chronik (1774):429, 433-38; (1775):305-307, 330.

\textsuperscript{13}This quotation does not appear in Montesquieu's "Essai sur la goût dans les choses de la nature et de l'art," which would be the most obvious place to find such a statement, but perhaps this phrase is hidden elsewhere in his writings. See Charles Louis
Inasmuch as the Italians now have studied all the parts of music so thoroughly, it can be suspected from afar that they must have also had very good instrumentalists. And certainly they also contended here for the palms, although, speaking without prejudice, our fatherland has surely already caught them in this. The great study of the song led the Italians astray somewhat in neglecting the instruments; and because a delightful climate often can produce asthma, quite certainly no exceptional wind instrumentalists are expected from Italy. History knows not one great Italian trumpeter, trombonist, cornettist, hornist or bassoonist, and their flutists hardly extend beyond the mediocre. But have the Italians had great oboists more numerous than the Besozzi? Formerly there were quite splendid organists and harpsichordists among them. Who does not know a Scotci, Scarlatti, Montesquieu, Oeuvres completes, texte présenté et annoté par Roger Caillos, 2 vols. (Paris, Gail Timard, 1949-51), 2:1240-63. There is, however, a passage in the writings of Livy, which approximates this one: "... then let him note how, with the gradual relaxation of discipline, morals first gave way, as it were, then sank lower and lower, and finally plunged the downward plunge which has brought us to the present time, when we can endure neither our vices nor their cure." Titus Livius, Livy, trans. B. O. Forster, The Loeb Classical Library, 13 vols. (London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1919), 1:7. Schubart, in his Deutsche Chronik (14 September 1775): 590-92, laments the fact that music seems to be falling, and those who could prevent its fall are not doing anything. For example, "Hasse is dead; Gluck is writing for a foreign country and appears to be taking Hermannsschlacht to the grave; the London Bach is no longer ours; Schweitzer's genius is suppressed by the pitiful rewards of his contemporaries; the great Bach in Hamburg rests on his laurels; Hiller runs after the Leipzig craze and catches--butterflies; Homilius...." But no mention is made of Montesquieu. The continuation of this article, (18 September 1775): 597-600, is less critical and centers on the positive aspects of several German courts.

14 Schubart heard one of the Besozzis in Augsburg, but he did not specify which one he heard. See Deutsche Chronik
Jozzi, and Martinelli? Moreover, these great masters understood counterpoint, common modulation, ligatures, and all remaining arts of organ and clavier playing; but in our days they sink even deeper from the height of this fame, and a German of only minor importance in organ or clavier playing makes the greatest sensation in Italy.

The famous clavecimbalist Mayer of Florence, Schubart's student, came as a merchant's servant to Italy and is now one of the foremost of his instrument in all of Italy. 15

Today Clementi is regarded as the best clavier master in Italy. It is true that his right hand is remarkably strong; new passages, extremely bold modulations, studied movement, interest with all the flow of notes [Weitschweifigkeit], and originally gave him a high standing. But his left hand seems as if it were lamed by the stroke; consequently, a clavier player can only develop one-sidedly after this manner.

(30 May 1774):144 and GS, 1:234 (L & G, 2). There were five Besozzi oboists alive and active in 1774 but only two in Germany, Antonio and Carlo, father and son, both in Dresden. It may have been Antonio that Schubart heard, since Antonio supposedly left Dresden in 1774 and went to Turin. He could have stopped in Augsburg on his way to Italy.

15Schubart mentions a fourteen-year-old clavier student who visited him during his house arrest (shortly before his imprisonment in 1777) and who "is now [probably as he revised his autobiography after 1787, since this quotation appears as a footnote] one of the best harpsichord players in Italy." GS, 1:249-50 (L & G, 2). If this is the same person, then we can date Mayer's birth ca. 1762/63. By 1784/85, he would have had seven years since Schubart's arrest to mature; he would be at a good age for a promising virtuoso; and since Schubart appears to be quite fond of this student, a biased opinion may also account for the fact that he does not appear in the biographical dictionaries.
As for the organ, the genius of Italian music passes by saying nothing of it and visits the oak groves of Germany. Meanwhile, Italy has started the splendid violin school.

Tartini published the best principles on the violin and brought bow control and fingerings to a so-called system. His music was fetched out entirely from the violin and on time under the stroke. This school also discovered such a correct relationship of violin strings that nothing more is to be expected thereon. But the complaint about the Tartini school is that their majestic, representative stroke inhibits the quickness of execution and is by no means presented in fast passages. However, the pupils from this school are perfectly good for the sacred style, for their bowing has exactly as much power and stress as is necessary for the true expression of the solemn, sacred idiom.

Dominico Ferrari. This great man is the founder of the new violin school. Not the deep-cutting stroke of a Tartini, not the majestic and festive phrasing of the bow, not the grasp of the complete note is the character of this man. On account of [his] bizarre [character] he took exactly the opposite path of Tartini. His bowing

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16 Several treatises might apply here. One possibility is Tartini's *Traité des agréments de la musique* (Paris: l'auteur, [1771]). There is also a Lettera del defunto signor Giuseppe Tartini alla signora Maddalena Lombardini inserviente ad una importante lezione per i suonatori di violino (Venezia: Colombani, 1770) which Burney translated into English and which was published in London in 1771. A German translation by Heinrich Leopold Rohrmann was published in Hannover in 1786. *RISM B/VI/2:819-20*. David Boyden, "The Violin and Its Technique in the 18th Century," *Musical Quarterly* 36 (January 1950): 9-38 cites Tartini's *L'Arte del Arco* (n.d.).
is not straight but crooked. He stroked not with all his might but only slid away over the strings, selected the periphery of the bridge, ventured upwards high on the fingerboard, and thereby brought forth a tone about the same as rubbing [the rim] of a glass fairly lightly so that its crystal cortex resounds. But the mistake of this great man was that, out of obstinacy, he did not assume that which was good in Tartini. The Tartini tones are all quite fully developed, but the Ferrari are unripe. He kisses, as it were, only the fruit of the tree, but does not shake it so that the notes fall as a Borsdorf apple to our lap. His execution was therefore more echo than natural tone.

Antonio Lolli. Perhaps the Shakespeare among violinists. He combined the perfections of the Tartini and Ferrari schools not only in themselves, but found still an entirely new path. His bow stroke is eternally inimitable. One believed until now [that] fast passages were only expressed by means of a short stroke, but he pulls the whole bow, as long as it is, down the strings until he is at the point of the bow, and thus the hearer has heard a whole hailstorm of tones. Beyond that he possesses the art of drawing together new tones from his violin which have never been heard before. He imitates everything that has a sound in the animal kingdom to the most extreme illusion. His velocity extends to the point of magic. He not only plays [abstossen] octaves and tenths with perfect intonation, but he also plays [schlagen] double trills in thirds and sixths. And he ascends so as to become dizzy in the highest atmosphere of tones that he often concludes his concertos with a tone which seems to be the non plus ultra of tones.
Cold pedagogues indeed reproach him that he does not always observe the beat, but it is comical to set limits to turbulent lives and beings of genius. An important rebuke is that whenever one says, "Lolli has fallen in love too much with the comic style. He fluttered about not seldom in buffoonery and thereby made the listener laugh in the middle of the stream of feeling." But just as the court jester on the page of King Lear in Shakespeare is not only endurable but is of extreme effect, it was also with Lolli. Pathos produces exertion and the comic relaxes; precisely so, the great Lolli had a powerful effect on the listener. As for his compositions, they do indeed contain rich enjoyment; but from the side of art they are very faulty for Lolli's spirit hates all limits.

Nardini. Tartini's greatest student, a violinist of love, nurtured in the bosom of the Graces. The tenderness of his playing cannot be described; every comma seems to be a declaration of love. Particularly, he succeeds to the highest degree in the sentimental. One has seen ice-cold princes and ladies-in-waiting weep when he played an adagio. Tears often dropped from him to the violin while playing. He could transmit every affliction of his soul with his magical playing; but his melancholic manner made it so that one was not

17 In 1774 Schubart regarded Lolli as "the greatest violinist in the world" (Deutsche Chronik [28 November 1774]:556), and in his autobiography he called Lolli "the greatest virtuoso" that he had known (GS, 1:95 [L & G, 1]), but he also noted there that Lolli had tendencies for the comic style, which apparently became more and more usual in Lolli's playing as the years progressed. See MAadJ 1782, p. 33. A great deal of criticism comes from Lolli's visit to England in 1785. See Burney H, 2:1020-21 and Gerber L, 1:820.
always happy to hear him, for he was capable of transforming, as by magic, the most unrestrained improvisation into the most wanton dance upon graves. The stroke of his bow was slow and solemn; yet he did not tear out the notes by the root as Tartini, but merely kissed their tips. His staccato was slow, and every note seemed to be a drop of blood which flowed from the most sensitive soul. One maintains that an unfortunate love gave the soul of this great man this melancholic disposition, for persons who had previously heard him say that his style in younger years had been very bright and rose-colored. 18

All of Italy developed according to these great men, and even today one either attaches himself to one of them or becomes eclectic and constructs a new one from their manners.

In all of the remaining instruments the Italians have not been epoch making, and they themselves admit that they are students of the Germans, particularly in wind instruments.

18 These last three violinists (Ferrari, Lolli, and Nardini) were, at one time, in the employ of the Duke of Württemburg. See Burney G, p. 38. Schubart served as an organist in Ludwigsburg, where the duke now resided, and Burney's visit to Schubart himself is recorded on page thirty-nine of Burney G. It should not be surprising, therefore, that Schubart presents these three violinists together in his treatise.
VII. SCHOOLS OF THE GERMANS

The sources of this history are found scattered here and there, for example, by Mizler, Mattheson, Marpurg, Hiller, Hawkins, Burney, Forkel, Junker, and other musical authors. Meanwhile, we still lack a totally pragmatic history of German music. Yet it is hoped that we will get one shortly.

In the dawn of German history—as soon as a nation began to become Germany—one already heard of their taste for music. Music must have enlivened their banquets, music must have lifted their feet at dances, music resounded before their altars in Thuiskon's sheltered grove,¹ [and] music accompanied them in battles and death. The melodies of the bardic songs were depicted quite dreadfully by Caesar and Tacitus.² The bards usually stood on a mound, or on a rock, in the valley of battle and controlled from there their conflict with songs. The flow of the melodies was completely unique, wild, warlike,

¹In biblical times, the grove was the site of pagan worship. Hence its usage in this particular passage. See, for example, Jude 3:7, 2 Kings 18:4, 2 Chron. 33:3, et al.

and had perhaps some resemblance to our marches. The ancient Germans all sang in unison—the women an octave higher than the men—and this singing was accompanied with some noisy instruments. Especially, they used to strike sheets of metal together creating a great deafening noise or hold their shield in front of their mouth to amplify the singing voice. Also, it is certain that they have had a type of harp which they only used at divine services. Crumhorns and cornetts have been found in various places of Germany. But has it ever been determined whether these instruments came from the Germans or from the Romans? Meanwhile, one still finds some German idols which show a type of trumpet in the shape of a funnel and [which] prove sufficiently that the Germans were familiar with wind instruments at a very early age.

Charlemagne had the songs of the bards with their melodies collected and tried to introduce them among his own troops. When these valuable antique monuments are rediscovered (for surely they lie hidden, perhaps in some corner), one will then be in a position to form positively an opinion about old German music. However, this much is certain: the music of our fathers must certainly have had a great attraction, that they knew how to bring out great effects with it as the wild people in America do today, but that it must have been far more stormy declamation (a horrible, wild roaring) than true music. That such a warlike people would have completely ignored the affectionate and pleasantness of music, one surmises with assurance. Yet, I would like to hear some drinking songs of the old Germans which they used to sing at their banquet feasts [Festgelagen] and
which, even according to the testimonies of their foes, must have had very much charm.

At their divine services they sang the praise of Mannus, Thuiskon, Thuet, Woodan, Veleda, and Herda, in fact, often in alternating choirs; their assistants [Opferknaben] had to sing along, too.

One sees, therefore, that the propensity for music of thousands of years was inherited by us. Yet in the darkest of all ages, our countrymen always kept music, and when Charlemagne was emperor, this propensity for music multiplied itself so much thereby that it stepped into alliance with the Christian religion. Bonifacius, the apostle of the Germans, introduced the Latin song in our churches; whereas, certainly, the Germans themselves supposed for a long time and expressly maintained that it was absurd to sing something that one did not understand. But by and by they submitted themselves to this decree of the church and became [so] accustomed to these Latin songs that Luther had trouble persuading his supporters to sing in German.

In Germany, for a long time, there was no organ in the church, but [only] one instrument which was similar to a certain extent to the French serpent. Still later, the cornetts and trombones were introduced to the church, and only in the thirteenth century do I find an account of an organ at Cologne.

The Germans distinguished themselves remarkably through beautiful song and through strength in the wind instruments. Thus, a

3Tacitius, Germania, pp. 267 and 277 mentions Mannus, Thuiskon, and Veleda.
traveling bishop from Rome wrote about them: "It is surprising how these drunken and wild beasts sing and play so beautifully." Yet music was exposed to very great misuse among the Germans. It was used at furious folk dances, at bacchanalia, and at bawdy gatherings, in a word, to the corruption of mankind. Thus, the wandering musicians were considered dishonest, and the Sachenspiegel records expressly that one must not tolerate a musician among honorable people. But one sees only too well that this does not apply to the whole of music but merely to the destitute, itinerant street musicians, who generally make themselves despicable through slovenliness.

Until the time of Luther, sacred music in Germany became more and more brilliant: great sums were spent on singers and instrumentalists; singing schools were founded everywhere; foreign instruments were not only brought to Germany, but the organ was also enlarged with various stops; and a Nuremberger even invented the pedal whereby the organ attained great perfection as it stands today. Cornetts, trombones, horns, and trumpets were for a long time particularly favorite instruments of the Germans until they also finally made for themselves the table harp, violin, flute, oboe, bassoon, and other instruments, and had produced, already in early times, masters therein. But theoretical works around this time were not yet written, although the famous abbot Gerbert wants to maintain that many a splendid musical treatise lies hidden in cloisters.

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4A compilation of Saxon customary law made ca. 1220-35 by Eike von Repkow.
The famous nun Hrotswitha was not only a poetess, but also a splendid composer. She not only sang remarkably well, but also set some pieces to music herself, which point out her beautiful musical spirit.

A great obstacle to the assimilation of music through all of Europe was the absence of notation. In Germany one made use of the so-called tablature, which usually had four lines and indicated the melody with letters, numbers, and other signs. But as soon as Guido had invented notation, it was also introduced in Germany, generally by the bishops. From this time on, the supply of musicians in the cloister increased extraordinarily. The number of Masses, motets, Credos, Kyries, Requiems, antiphons, and others of such kind—who can count them all!

It would be too much to wish that a beautiful anthology be made from all these pieces, which would represent, all at once, the music at that time. The character of that music is extremely sluggish in motion, but this fault is compensated by the sublimity of movement, through the simple instrumental accompaniment, through sensitive song, through unconstrained modulations, and through other noteworthy qualities.

When Luther stepped forward, the sacred music of the Germans had already deteriorated to empty, vigorous pomp. Music was no longer measured according to its simple effect, but according to its display. Singing was now and then quite petulant, such that a Würzburg bishop, when he heard some new sacred music introduced, cried out loud, "Girls dance to that; that piece is merry!" [Mädelstanz tanz naus, 's Stückel]
The immortal Luther regulated this drawback as much as he could. At first he retained the antiphons and motets; later he gave them up for the German chorale singing. Luther was himself an excellent musician. He sang with feeling and played the lute. The great composer Handel possessed many pieces notated in Luther's own hand. He made these qualities his own and seasoned his own compositions with this magnificent salt. Some sacred songs, for which we have this unique man to thank, are a true treasure in the German history of art. He used to notate the chorales mostly in four parts, but he did not append any [additional] accompaniment. The periphery of its tones is chosen so naturally that they seldom wander out of the sphere of an octave. From Luther, for the benefit of music, is recorded here the musical preparations to German colleges and schools and the city musicians [Stadtzinkenisten], who used to constitute a type of guild at this time. The first have been accepted almost in all of the German schools: over a choral student [Chor Schüler] is placed a cantor or choragus who gives the young people instruction in singing as the cornettist does this with the instruments. With these singers the song and sacred music were borne [bestritten], and the schoolmaster's and cantor's positions were filled from them. Even the dirge was performed by these choral students. But the cornettists have the occupation of playing a chorale every day at the tower and of assisting with sacred music. One also sees from this arrangement how much our Luther recognized the power of music. If the wealth of the Protestant Church had not been lessened, sacred music would certainly be regarded equal to that of the Catholics. Already at Luther's time a chorale book was
published to which Luther wrote a foreword which breathes true inspiration for music. This interesting book that diffuses so much light over the tenet at that time is now most rare to find.

One sees from this sketched description that our fatherland at that time pushed more towards sacred music than towards the profane. The concerts themselves, which were given at imperial and other distinguished sovereign courts, had the workings of sacred music. The instrumentalists still knew nothing of forte and piano; hence, their performance must have been extremely fast. Nevertheless, one at least still has some folk songs from that time which are full of truth and nature. But in these folk songs, and in our gliding dance [Schleifer] and waltzes, are found the national musical character of our people. The greatest simplicity, unsophisticated and heart-stirring melodies commend the folk song at that time, as quick motion and the dance-inviting melodies commend the Schleifer. It is still something to wonder at how, with such a serious people as the Germans were all along, the wanton 3/8 meter could gain such great progress that it even to this hour is used in all the provinces of Germany as a national dance. But a hard substance can only be brought from its equilibrium by a rash and strong stimulus.

The melodies of the master singers, which likewise have been preserved throughout for many centuries, are also quite original. As honorable is our character, so honorable also are these melodies. The German folk songs, as the master songs, select the minor key infrequently, just as the master songs; thus, they give the impression of an unusually lovely, natural, and clear view. Our countrymen and
traveling artisans have kept these melodies nearly unchanged. But now one often hears the melodies sung in other keys and embellished.

Formerly one sang:

"Gott grüß dich lieber Wandersmann! wo-hin steht dir dein Sinn?"

Example 3. German Folk Song

Now the rabble sing this folk song at this time as:

"Gott grüß dich lieber Wandersmann! wo-hin steht dir dein Sinn?"

Example 4. German Folk Song Embellished

One sees from this little demonstration that only the old basic melodies remain except that the key was altered, although the Black Forest peasants and generally the Swabian countrymen have stayed
to this day with the first. Also the movement is much quicker and embellished with ornaments. Yet the master singers, which by the way are still in Nuremberg, Ulm, Strasbourg, have kept the unsophisticated motion of the old meoldies unchanged, and every connoisseur will certainly study them with profit and pleasure.

Before the time of the Thirty Years' War, music bloomed among us particularly at the imperial courts and the episcopal palaces. The emperors Charles [1500-58], Maximilian [1527-76], and Ferdinand [1503-64] maintained large choruses of singers and instrumentalists for sacred and secular uses. There was never a meal without table music, whereby lieder were sung, which very often fell awkwardly and massively and [which] had nothing in common with the neatness and simplicity of the ancient scolia and the chosen topics which the ancient table singers [Tischsänger] observed, according to the testimony of Homer. The elector of Bavaria [Duke Albrecht V] had at that time a quite splendid orchestra and had in Orlande di Lassus a Kapellmeister [1563-94] from whom one can still learn much today. In general the dukes of Bavaria in ancient times as in the most recent were always the greatest patrons of music and of the arts in general. In the Munich library one finds a complete repertoire of musical compositions from those olden times from which one can judge very well the taste at that time in the sacred as in the profane style. But here also the observation comes true that, just as now, the profane has nearly

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5Cf. GS, 1:226 (L & G, 2).
overpowered the sacred style; at that time the ecclesiastical pathos swallowed up the uncontrolled, secular style.

This phenomenon explains itself very easily from the character of that time. The zeal for the divine service was so great then that the echo of the antiphons and hymns was also heard with delight at the roaring banquets. It was, particularly in the cloisters, somewhat altogether customary to get drunk during the chanting of a psalm, about which the foreigners have criticized us very severly, and indeed rightly so. The wretched Thirty Years' War almost made smoldering ruins out of the whole of our fatherland. Before Wotan's thundering chariot fled all of the arts and sciences, and above all, the heavenly Polyhymnia. Where there is much lamenting and crying; where misery and misfortune stagger over the domain with whitened cheeks and scraggly hair; where widows and orphans, the aged and crippled sit and cry at the edge of streams--there the harps are suspended on the willow branches.6 This was the state of things in all of Germany at that time. Many hundreds of cloisters were plundered; the priceless scores were burned and scattered; the best instrumentalists served out of desperation as pipers and trumpeters among the armies; the temples echoed nothing anew except the plaintive Miserere; the dance and gladness fled from Germany's groves; and even the German song became silent at drinking-bouts. Yet as the music of Germany was so deeply rooted at that time, martial music was developed to its greatest force. Our composers invented then the march, a type of music which extols

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6psalm 137:2.
the heart and courage of a field army, that thereby the loss of the bard's songs can almost be compensated.

This great discovery has also a tactical reason for since that time of the great wars, the measured step was established; thus it was necessary to express this step through a musical tempo. The march was even taken up by the cavalry, but with the difference that the tempo was quicker.

The old German march surpasses by far most of the newer marches in higher martial consciousness for nothing is more ridiculous than to take up the Italian coos and sighs in a march as one is now so frequently apt to do. After the Thirty Years' War the fine arts and sciences revived themselves with slow breaths, but quickest was music. At the court of Emperor Maximilian it was stimulated with the greatest zeal. The emperor himself played the violin very well after those times and also now and again assumed a singing part in the Mass. From this time on it was as if it were hereditary among the imperial family to distinguish themselves through music. Among the princes as well as among the princesses of the Austrian house there were connoisseurs, respecters, and patrons of music. Leopold indeed had no great taste, but he maintained an orchestra of over a hundred strong. Joseph I unfortunately in many regards, especially with respect to music, ruled for too short a time. He not only played various instruments masterly but also requisitioned great musicians from Italy or sent Germans there in order to be trained. None of his provinces, perhaps none in all of Germany, surpassed the Bohemians in music. Singing schools were even founded in the villages there, and the wind instruments were
particularly pursued with such zeal that the Bohemians to this hour surpass not only Italy but even the rest of Germany herein. But what is the most significant thing is that the Bohemians formed a completely individual taste in music which is full of grace and character, but it also approaches the comic somewhat. The Bohemian chamber style is indisputably the most beautiful in the world. One hears a procession of Prague students playing symphonies, sonatas, little partitas, marches, minuets, and sliding dances [Schleifer]—what harmony, what roundness of performance, what unity, what soaring sound! But in singing the Bohemians still have not brought it as far as, for example, the Saxons and Bavarians, where there are singing schools for so many years and where there is a completely natural ability to sing among the people. In Bavaria everything babbles and sings. Who can hear anything more beautiful that a little Bavarian country song? So original and at the same time sweet; so melodic; so entertaining, and especially so moody; yes, often silly—no people of the world have produced [such] folk songs.

Under Karl VI music rose to a height which has still not been seen in Germany. He maintained a hundred singers and over three hundred instrumentalists. Both of his Kapellmeisters, Fux and Caldara, were the most profound composers in the world. Fux was particularly a great contrapuntist: his Masses still today are masterpieces full of sacred pathos wherein one finds such magnificently treated fugues that a composer today could hardly write any that are better. He also became a musical writer and wrote a Gradus ad Parnassum in Latin, wherein the foundations of music are discussed with great discernment.
This magnificent book was also translated into German for the use of composers and even today deserves universal recommendation. But it deals completely with the mathematical music and does not touch upon its aesthetic portion by any means.

In 1724 an opera was performed in Prague in the open air, the likes of which no one in the world even to this day has ever seen. The singers and instrumentalists numbered over a thousand. Four Kapellmeisters stood on hillocks and led the musical storm. More than fifty large harpsichords accompanied, and virtuosos from all parts and ends of Europe were heard there. The great idea was performed quite well in spite of its gigantic plan, but that says nothing of its costliness, for the performance of this opera cost the emperor 300,000 gulden. The result could not have been great because the musical machines were placed too close together, and Italian, German, and Bohemian performance styles crossed one another. This enormous opera found afterwards, certainly from the just aforesaid reason, no successor or imitator among the European courts.

Sacred music, especially, bloomed in full splendor in the imperial state during the time of Karl, chiefly in Vienna. In all the churches the most splendid Masses were performed, and one also heard here and there a distinguished organist. Froberger and Buxtehude were in those days the magicians on this instrument. Emperor Karl also had some violinists of great taste; the choral singing was splendidly

7The opera was Fux's Costanza e Fortezza for the coronation of Emperor Karl VI. Caldara conducted; also present were Carl Heinrich Graun, Quantz, Weiss, and Zelenka.
staffed; in a word, German music was epoch making first under Karl VI. For the time [being], Vienna has shaken off the Italian chains totally and has achieved a peculiarity in sacred, theatrical, mime, chamber, and folk style, which the foreigners wonder at with silent envy. Thoroughness without pedantry; grace on the whole, even more in isolated parts; always pleasant coloring; great understanding of wind instruments; perhaps somewhat too much "comic" salt--are the characters of the Vienna school.

Under the immortal Maria Theresa music in Vienna rose higher. She herself sang as an angel in her youth and played the clavier very well. Wagenseil was her teacher. This man was during his lifetime one of the best clavier virtuosos: he understood the nature of this instrument very well. His sonatas and concertos placed both hands in lively motion; his fingering is so natural; yet by no means does he reach the Bachian. He even played with unusual expression and worked out a fugue extemporaneously with much thoroughness.

Maria Theresa, to please her husband, patronized the Italian theater so much that the originality of the Viennese taste suffered.

8 In an article on Carl Philipp Emanuel, Wilhelm Friedmann, and Johann Sebastian Bach, Schubart wrote this about C. P. E. Bach: "Ich, der ich schon seit einigen Jahren die neuesten Klavierstücke durchstudirte, fand oft, dass die grössten Meister ihre Klavierstücke mit Bachischer [italics added] Gängen aufstutzen." Deutsche Chronik (16 January 1775):38-39. Another example from Schubart's writings is this: "Müthel [ist] aus der Bachischen [italics added] Schule;...." Deutsche Chronik (9 February 1775):94. Here, Müthel met both J. S. Bach and C. P. E. Bach, so it is impossible to determine what Schubart really means. But the word "Bachian" seems to indicate "trained after the manner of Bach," or "formed on the Bach school," as Burney puts it. See pages 21 and 23 of this translation.
somewhat from it; yet the great masters also used this drawback in order to reach a beneficial end by smoothing the rough edges of the Germans with Italian music. Hasse was the German Orpheus at that time. Not only Germany, but all of Italy perpetuated the memory of this great man with loud approval. He united the tenderness and grace of Italian song with the thoroughness of the German phrase; he studied his poet with more than customary thoughtfulness; he loved simplicity; he gave the instrument little to do in order to help the singing; he was simple in his modulations and extremely clear in his harmonies. His melodic movements are quite new, often very striking. His imagination was very rich and did not allow him to become exhausted by a great quantity of operas composed in Germany and Italy or by so many Masses and chamber pieces. All the courts respected this man and overloaded him with gifts. Frederick the Great often offered him his services, but which he declined out of love to the Saxon court (at that time the Royal Polish court). In short, Hasse was in reality a great, thorough composer contributing to the greatest honor of the Germans. When someone once degraded the great Hasse before Jommelli, the great master said with lofty indignation, "I cannot endure it when one belittles my teacher."  

9 Schubart added this footnote to his autobiography: "Jommelli was generally very calm [billig]. A flatterer once criticized the German composer in my presence. 'Silence!' said Jommelli with an angry glance. 'I have learned a great deal from Hasse and Graun.'" GS 1:94 (L&G 1). Then would logically follow the aside of Jommelli (i.e., "I cannot endure it when someone belittles my teacher.").
At the same time dance music in Vienna was almost brought to its zenith. Starzer composed such thoroughly splendid ballets that they not only enchanted the taste of the Viennese public but also of every foreigner. So much thoughtfulness reigned in the phrases of this man that it is regrettable not to be able to admire his strength even more in the sacred style. For Starzer was destined for the church, but his spirit lost itself in the whirl of the theater. Haydn, meanwhile, led the sacred music in Vienna. His style is fiery, full and noble, the shout for joy in his Hallelujah and Amen made him famous, but he trifles sometimes out of predilection against the Austrian taste in putting ornaments in his Masses where they should not be placed. These spangles often resemble the checkered dress of the harlequin and profane the pathos of the sacred style. His fugues, however, are worked out with fire and thoroughness.

The Berlin school has for a long time made a great sensation. And even if its brightness is now in a somewhat faded condition, it still deserves to be investigated most painstakingly. Frederick the Great, who quite certainly seemed to be no friend of the mechanical church service, hated the sacred style, and thus he transplanted it completely to the stage and in the concert hall. Hardly had he taken up the government when he already allowed the best Italian singers to come as a counterweight to his worries as a ruler. Many geniuses distinguished themselves under him as under the golden staff of every great man. The most noteworthy of whom are the following:
Gräun, a Kapellmeister in the literal sense; equal to every musical style. His operas are composed with indescribable loveliness and simplicity. Yet one finds monotony in them and generally more study of counterpoint than study of music. Nevertheless, his melodies are splendid, his modulations thoroughly new, his harmonies well chosen, and his manner of writing extremely simple; he composed many operas in the most splendid taste. Because he himself sang very well, he also composed all arias so tunefully that even today they correspond to the consensus of the whole world. Tenderness in feeling, clear imagination, magnificent understanding, youthful spirit, and a heart open to every good sensation are found in Gräun's scores. The principal feature in his musical character was this: to entrust everything to the voice and only little to the instruments. His basses are written with extreme contrapuntal correctness; contrary to the custom of the Italians, he figured them all with such conscientiousness that each modulation was noted by it. In all of his pieces neither the drumming bass nor the staccato comes out. He knew the nature of each instrument utterly: as a great painter mixes colors on his palette, so he mixed sounds. Yet his interest was more the very moving than the very stately. On profundity hardly a composer in the world came near him; in all musical workings he showed himself to be a master. His sacred works have a loveliness and solemnity with which few can be compared. His vocal phrase, the ebb and flow of his modulations, his crystal clear harmony, the extremely artistic handling of his

10 Compare Schubart's assessment of Gräun with Burney's. See Burney H, 2:952-54.
declarations and recitative, above all the nature of the middle voices—especially the viola which he allowed to work so cordially with the bass—the auspicious reforms of his texts, in a word: wisdom, intellect, profound understanding of all musical relationships, accommodation to the spirit of his century but never to the point of salvish lowliness, luminous phrase, profound sweeping profundity almost to the boundaries of pedantry are Graun; that lifeless silhouette! His Death of Jesus [Tod Jesus] was gazed at by all the world, although one could equally say, and rightly so, that still too much secular mien exists. But Graun did this for a profound reason: the angel took the pilgrim's form, in order to be able to speak with inhabitants who live in a lowly state [Staubbewohnern]. Oh, who has ever treated a fugue as this one: "Christ has left us an example that we should follow in his footsteps."

His last work was the great Te Deum laudamus [1757] on the Prague battle, which is full of dignity, nature, majesty, art, and

11 "Graun's Tod Jesu ist gewiss besser gearbeitet [than Allegri's Miserere; see page 89 of this translation], und weit mehr werth;..." MafD 1783, p. 124.

12 Compare the translation of this passage with that found in Leonard G. Ratner, Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style (New York: Schirmer Books, 1980), pp. 367-68. Schubart's complaint here concerns Ramler's deviation from, or perhaps his interpolation of, the biblical account of the Passion following Christ's death. See Matt. 27:51-53, Mark 15:38, and Luke 23:45. The passage in question in Graun's setting has a seraphim descending from the heavens to lament loudly that "he is no more!" Carl Heinrich Graun, Der Tod Jesu, ed. Howard Serwer (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions [1975], p. xix. The musical setting is accompanied recitative for a solo bass voice with obvious work painting in the accompaniment. An anecdote about this very passage may be found in M und KAadJ 1783, p. 141.

harmony; in short, the best Te Deum laudamus in the world. He died, this great, godly man, in his fortieth year. Frederick, his king, even stood in Bohemia surrounded by legions of enemies when he received the news of Graun's death. He hesitated, shook his head, and said: "Eight days ago I lost my best field marshal, now my Graun: a great man is a great man! I will appoint no field marshal nor Kapellmeister until I again find a Schwerin and a Graun."

With so many qualities, Graun still tried hard to improve the art of singers. Because he himself was a great singer, as already mentioned, he succeeded in this so much easier. The best singers, for example, Carestini and Salimbini, admitted to have learned very much from Graun. Of heavy coloratura he was not in the least a lover; on the contrary, he trained the human voice by splendid singing exercises to bring forth each tone complete and round, to express the text with extreme distinctness, to declaim the recitative intelligibly, and, especially, to perform the outstanding places with emotion.

Above all Graun accompanied as a master; thus his basses are so magnificently figured, for Graun rightly maintained that it would be laziness or lack of understanding if one failed to do this.

Graun also set spiritual lieder to music, especially some by Klopstock, and thereby demonstrated how masterly he knew how to treat even sacred music [choral]. But there was nothing less successful than the comic style, for his spirit was, as one can already see from this

14"Also, the famous singer Gasparini, long ago established and well advanced in years, died in Berlin. She and Salimbini and Carestini were formerly the jewels [Zierden] of the Berlin theater." Teutsche Chronik (9 May 1776):300.
sketch of his character, far too serious and too solemn for this sort. In short, Graun was a creator of the world-famous Berlin school, and his followers had never given up the vestiges of their great predecessor; thus they would never sink to the pedantic stiffness which one now rightly censures the Berliners.

Agricola, royal Prussian court composer; acted as composer, singing master, and musical writer, and in all three specialties he rose above the average. He composed serious and comic operas; in the serious style Graun was completely his model. He is very regular, but frequently stiff. His melodic movements are not always the best; on the other hand, his progressive and contemporary harmony is flawless. In the comic style he is more original. His Buona Figliuola has really splendid passages. He also composed very well for the clavier, yet more with art than with nature. His wife sang splendidly; he himself gave masterly instruction in singing; he translated the famous Tosi Singschule [in 1757] into pure German and increased it yet with magnificent comments.

Marpurg, one of the greatest musical theorists in all of Europe. His critical writings are not only written in a very clear style but also reveal deep musical views and great scholarship. He indeed remained true to his once stipulated musical system and

15 In content, Schubart's obituary of Agricola in the Deutsche Chronik (9 January 1775):24 is very similar to the evaluation presented here.

16 La buona figliuola was composed by Niccolo Piccinni in 1760. A setting of this text is not listed among Agricola's works.
defended it to the point of pedantry; yet one must admit that in his Beyträgê here and there are found very correct suggestions on musical aesthetics which no one had even treated before him. This man was so thorough [and] his judgments on musical works and artists were [ausfielen] so pertinent, yet his own compositions are so forced and stiff. His clavier pieces are highly forced and mathematically laid out; his arias are handled coldly and schoolmasterly; and his songs are without savor and strength. Yet the connoisseur must study them for the sake of their profundity.

Kirnberger indeed an ice-cold theorist, but a writer of great importance. One still has nothing more fundamental than his Die Kunst des reinen Satzes [1771, 1776-79]. Indeed, one gets a loud pounding of the heart when he sees the many figures and contrapuntal musings over which one must labor; but whoever wants to learn to compose thoroughly must not pay attention to the perspiration on the forehead nor be intimidated by the dryness of a Kirnberger. His system certainly goes deep, but it is too one-sided and thus deteriorates to injustices against men who have another system. The fugues of Kirnberger are certainly awkward and troublesome, but are treated with great art and must be studied carefully by organists and clavier players. But whatever he has written for the voice is intolerable.


and set with a deathly cold heart and therefore without any effect.

Between the ice-cold theorist and fervent genius a gaping chasm is established; this is also seen in Kirnberger, who, with his criticizing, fault-finding, and brooding, has given the Berlin school a bad reputation.

Krause has expressed excellent knowledge in music in his tract on musical poetry [1752], as well as on poetry in general. No poet who works for a composer can be without this useful book. He shows from Italian and German examples how arias, cavatinas, recitatives, duets, trios, and choruses of poets and composers must be properly treated. The public requires a new edition of this beautiful book where principles and examples of most recent times are more satisfactory.

One also has various musical compositions of this Krause which are treated, indeed, with much art but with little taste. For this reason, his lieder collection published in Berlin, 19 lieder by Germans in four parts on which the greatest masters worked, was appreciated by people. Although the phrase is very correct, the songs are well selected, and also the melodies are often not badly advised. But with nothing is carping criticism and stiffness less tolerating than with the musical lied.

Quantz. Perhaps the best flute player in the world, at least in theory no one has surpassed him. He has made a fortune at the Prussian court as still few musicians in Europe have done. Since he

was the flute teacher of his king [beginning in 1728], he enjoyed his favor for more than thirty consecutive years. He received a salary of 4,000 thalers, received one hundred ducats for each flute tested by him, and in addition to this [he received] many gifts. He lived in his own palace at Potsdam which the king had presented to him. His diligence was astonishing; the king possessed over three hundred unpublished concertos by him, without counting the innumerable sonatas, concertos, and other pieces which he had composed for him. Until his end Frederick preferred Quantz's compositions for the flute to all others. The world possesses very many pieces by this man. His method of blowing ([i.e.,] the manner of playing and handling his instrument), his new and most natural fingerings, [and] the many well-proportioned, composed works have made him the teacher of all of Europe in this. But with that, Quantz's merit is still not complete. He wrote a classic work about the flute under the title Anleitung die Flöte zu spielen [1752] with illustrated examples and, by measured numbers, advisable fingerings. By means of this book he assuredly and completely won the laurel of immortality. Hardly anything else can be said about this instrument than what he would have said here. Whoever has an ear, thoughts, and diligence can himself learn [to play] the flute from this book without an instructor [because] the style is clear and distinct, [and] the principles are faultless. But this work is also highly 

20Quantz actually received an annual salary of 2,000 thalers, as Burney reports in Burney G, p. 195. Burney's information was based on Quantz's autobiographical sketch, published in 1754 in the third number of the first volume of Marpurg's Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik (see page 134, n. 17 of this translation).
recomm ended to othe r mus icia ns. One finds therein magnificent hints and practical suggestions for the establishment of an orchestra, arrangement and placement of instrumentalists, training of the voice, and accompaniment of the harpsichord—all of which exhibit the hand of the master. Quantz maintained that the deeper the musician looks to the whole, the better he would be on his particular instrument. Consequently, virtuosos without theory were to him nothing more than naturalists and organ grinders who do not understand what they are performing. In short, Quantz is the model of a true virtuoso, according to whom those who want to be displayed with this title must measure up. He died venerable in years as in worth. He left behind a fortune of 70,000 thalers. Frederick had a monument erected for him: on black marble rested his bust of white marble; underneath one sees a flute encircled with laurel; the inscription reads: "Manibus Quanzii Instruxit Regem Friedericum secundum."21

The family of Benda, which extended itself even to our time in various branches, has brought forth many musicians. Here is the dis-course of the two famous violinists:

The elder Franz Benda [1709-86] was already in Frederick's service [1733-86] when Frederick was still a crown prince. In his best years he played the violin as a magician. He trained himself as all great geniuses themselves do. The tone which he drew out of his violin was the resonance of a silver bell. His arpeggios are new, strong, [and] full of energy; the fingerings were profoundly studied; and his

21By the hands of Quantz, he instructed King Frederick II.
performance was completely suited to the nature of the violin. Indeed, he did not play as fast as our rash contemporaries now demand, but [his playing was] so much more lucious, profound, [and] decisive. In the adagio he has nearly reached the maximum: he ladled from the heart and penetrated into the heart, and one has seen more than once people weep whenever Benda played an adagio.22 His various violin pieces are generally used even today as exercises for violinists. No one among the Berlin chamber musicians knew how to join profundity with grace as he; consequently, his approval still continues. When Lolli was in Berlin, Benda, although his hands were already very stiff, played him an adagio so inexpressibly melodiously that Lolli melted with delight and cried out, "Oh, if I could play an adagio like that! But I must be too much of a harlequin in order to please my contemporaries." Benda composed a great deal, yet his pieces are now becoming more and more rare because this great man has more manuscripts of his compositions than [he had] engraved and printed. From this man one has only twelve solos for the violin which were engraved in Paris [1763] and a flute solo that was published in Berlin [1756]. It is hoped that one would make his pieces, as a true violin school, more universal through publication.

His daughter, Juliane Benda [Reichardt], has earned universal approval in Germany for herself by her beautiful harpsichord playing, her magnificent voice, and her lovely lieder, which she published set to music [1775-80, 1781, 1782]. His [i.e., Franz's] younger brother,

Joseph Benda, plays the violin likewise very well, but by no means reaches up to his brother. He also composes very beautiful pieces in chamber style.23

Schulz, music master at the French theater in Berlin [1776-78] and afterwards Kapellmeister for Prince Heinrich [from 1780 to 1787], places himself for the most part in the sacred style. He also writes strongly and thoroughly, and has perfected the counterpoint. But what has made a name for him the most are the splendid articles of his concerning music in the last part of Sulzer's lexicon of the fine arts from the letter S on [1773].24 His principles are great and mostly correct; his German style is pure and crystalline; and his musical knowledge is ladled out from experience and suitable profound thought. He is one of the first who felt the need to treat the aesthetic part of music like the mathematical [part]. Since he is a studious musician and knows exactly the similarities of the arts and science to music, then nothing other than something thorough and beautiful is expected from his writing. [It is] too bad that we have only disconnectedly

23 In his ninth letter, Reicharadt writes about the Benda family, especially Franz, Carl [=Joseph], Friedrich, and Juliane (see also pp. 41ff), with much praise and also mentions other violinists such as La Motte, Lolli, Dittersdorf, Pesch, Franzel, and Cramer. Reicharadt also compares the dancing of Noverre to Benda's violin playing. A similar analogy links the violinist/composer Deller with Noverre. See page 203-4 of this translation. Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend, 2 vols. (Frankfurt und Leipzig: n.p., 1774; Frankfurt und Breslau: n.p., 1776; rpt. ed., Hildeshim: Georg Olms, 1977), 1:161-72.

(i.e., in alphabetical order) explained principles from which it is very difficult to discern his system.

Wilhelm Friedmann Bach. Undoubtedly the greatest organist in the world! He is a son of the world famous [Johann] Sebastian Bach, and has reached his father in organ playing if not surpassed [him].

He possesses a very fiery genius, a creative imagination, originality and newness of thoughts, an impetuous quickness, and the magical power to enchant all hearts with his organ playing. He has completely taken possession of the nature of the organ; still no one has copied his understanding of the stops. He mixes the stops as the painter mixes his colors on the palette without interrupting his playing for even an instant and thereby brings forth wonderful totality. His hand is a gigantic hand which does not tire by playing all day long. Counterpoint, ligatures, new, unusual modulations, magnificent harmonies, and extremely difficult phrases, which he brings out with the greatest purity and correctness, heart-stirring pathos, and heavenly grace—all of these things the magician Bach unites in himself, and in that way provokes the astonishment of the world. If the organ is good and complete, one does not need instrumental accompaniment when Bach plays, for he takes the place of an orchestra of a hundred persons by means of his creative spirit. Except for his great father, no one has ruled the pedal with this authority as he. He takes up the theme of a fugue with the feet, makes mordents and trills with the feet, and prevails over the most numerous congregation

25See Deutsche Chronik (6 June 1774):159-60.
with his footstep. Too bad that his organ compositions are more valuable but rarer than gold; yet, it is a consolation for art that this foremost master himself has assembled his organ pieces and has promised to have them published after his death.

Elizabeth Mara. She and the above mentioned Gabrielli compete with one another over the laurel of singing, but all true connoisseurs have decided it already in Mara's favor. Her range is of an astonishing compass: she reaches from tenor a up to c [c'''], hence up through nineteen [sic] golden rungs with highest refinement and correctness.²⁶ She reads off everything from the page that is laid before her;²⁷ she is as strong in the adagio as in the allegro. In her bravura arias she brings forth the most remarkable runs with extreme accuracy;²⁸ she throws off sixteenths and thirty-seconds with such power that no violinist does it like her. Her voice is clear and piercing. She sings with complete and broken voice (or sotto voce) with equal beauty. Her trills, fermatas, mordents, runs, mezzotints, especially her cadenzas, are incomparably beautiful. All of this she combines with a depth of feeling which abounds in every listener and fills him with delight. In every style she sings excellently. She succeeds in the lied as in the chorale because she lifts

²⁶MAadJ 1782, p. 34 has her range from g to e'''.


and sustains the whole notes with exceptional power. She has never sung in the comic style, yet she has many moods, as all great singers do, and does not always remain the same. When the grand duke was in Berlin, Mara should have excelled in a new opera. But she sang badly out of capriciousness because she was not given the role that she demanded.29 Smiling, the king said to the grand duke, "It would be easier for me to lead 200,000 heads of my army than that woman's head here."30 Mara's husband is a very good violoncellist, but is too conceited.31

Duport the elder has humbled him, for he plays the violoncello with such magical power that one will hardly find his equal in Europe. He directs the bow as in a storm, and the tone rains down. He slides boldly over the fingerboard to the extreme end and finally disappears in the tenderest harmonics. His concertos and sonatas are so difficult that only Jäger in Ansbach knows how to bring them out.32

29"Uebrigens besass sie so viel Capricen; sang, besonders wenn der König nicht in der Oper war, oft so nachläßig;...." MAadJ 1782, p. 35.


31Reichardt, Briefe, 1:8, praises Johann Mara's playing and calls him "certainly one of the greatest geniuses." An extended article about Johann Mara was in the MAadJ 1782, pp. 36-37. Schubart's statement basically agrees with these contemporary reports. But see Lord Mount-Edgcumbe, Musical Reminiscences (London, 1828), cited by Grove 6, 11:639, where Mara is described as "an idle drunken man and a bad player on the cello."

32Reichardt's assessment of Duport agrees with Schubart's. See Reichardt, Briefe, 1:177-78.
Ernst Eichner. This favorite of the Graces played the bassoon with unusual sweetness. He completely took up this grumbling, mocking tone and tuned it to the most delicate tenor and to the most lovely contralto.\textsuperscript{33} Pleasing gracefulness and melting sweetness was his performance, just as the style of his compositions. But he heaps too many sweets on his compositions and thereby destroys the unity of the phrase. For that reason his style becomes mottled more often, and many of his pieces seem to have more than one motive. Frederick the Great used to call him only dessert, whereas the crown prince [Friedrich Wilhelm] enjoyed him as a hearty dish. He remained his [i.e., the crown prince] favorite until he [Eichner] died-- alas, much too early for the musical Muse!\textsuperscript{34}

Reichardt. With this man, whom future generations will first call great, began a completely new musical epoch in Berlin.\textsuperscript{35} The king made him Kapellmeister of his choir and orchestra [1775],\textsuperscript{36} a highly important position if one does not forget that he was Graun's successor! He trained himself for the great post of Kapellmeister through self-study and travel. He played the clavier and violin with great agility, even to mastery. His phrase is splendid. He draws out

\textsuperscript{33}Again, see Reichardt, \textit{Briefe}, 1:181-84.

\textsuperscript{34}Eichner entered the service of Friedrich Wilhelm in 1772 at Potsdam, but died in 1777.

\textsuperscript{35}In an editorial in the \textit{Teutsche Chronik} (3 June 1776): 355-56, Schubart predicted the dawning of a new era in Berlin's music making under Reichardt's leadership.

\textsuperscript{36}Schubart announced this appointment in the \textit{Teutsche Chronik} (4 January 1776):15.
the genius of musical criticism [Kritteley] and asserts that thoughts of the genius cannot always be deciphered, although his predecessors demanded it. Dissected beauty seems to be nonsense to him. He threw himself to the fermenting heap of cold [musical] theory, as Curtius to the swamp, but with the difference that the disease [cold theory] itself did not subside completely. He is a writer, composer, and virtuoso. His principles on the various styles of music are faultless. He likes the song better than anything, and he prefers German poetry to all others for music. Generally, his operas, concertos, and chamber music are treated in a very beautiful style. Among the musical writers he is one of the best. His performance is first-rate. In his musical journeys, as well as in his letters there are numerous principles which the true musician must select with care. His Musikalisches Kunstmagazin [1782 and 1791] is full of great observations which only the simpleton can fail to appreciate. He has set some songs from

37 Schubart seems to combine the two most popular legends concerning Mettus (or Metius) Curtius into one analogy. In the first legend, Curtius is a Sabine general during the time of Romulus. While being chased by the Romans, he leaped into a swamp, which covered the valley later occupied by the forum, in order to escape. Curtius managed to free himself. Peace was subsequently made because of his self-sacrifice. In the other legend, a Roman youth, according to Livy, offered himself as a human sacrifice to fill a great chasm near the forum ca. 362 B.C. The gods were appeased, the chasm was closed, and the forum was no longer in danger. William Smith (ed), A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, 3 vols. (New York: AMS Press, 1967), 1:906. Here, Schubart likens Reichardt to the Roman youth who throws himself into the swamp, instead of the chasm, to appease the gods (or, in this case, the critics of music), but the appeasement is not complete.

38 Schubart reviewed the first volume of Reichardt's Briefe in his Deutsche Chronik (2 February 1775):75-79.
Messiah [Der Sieg des Messias, 1784] which compete with the great poet and are a reliable demonstration of his noble taste. When Reichardt says that he knows no greater poet than Klopstock, that sufficiently proves his correct feeling. Whatever he says about the chorale and about the investiture of sacred singing, in general, is nearly apostolic; herein he is rightly a favorite of Lavater\textsuperscript{39} and of all the devout. He thereby made himself vulnerable to his many enemies, since he swam too hastily against the stream and wanted to contribute all at once to the theoretical and stylish mania; surely the future generation will best decide the merit of this man. But it is also certain that he wants more than he can accomplish; he is, as it were, a musical Pietist.

\textbf{Frederick the Great} himself finally completes the role of the stately musical spectacle in Berlin. After him it was night [he died in 1786], and in his presence a light shone in which all of Europe basked and ravished. Thus, as he was a creator in everything, so he was also in music. Utmost accuracy reduced to basic principles was his first precept. He remained invariably true to this precept and let the stylish discoveries in music swarm and buzz about, even as unconcerned as the storming battle around his ears. He heard everything. The greatest virtuosos of the world had their odeum in Berlin, but he always judged according to his preconceived principles. All deceptions of musicians without inner strength (i.e., without correctly founded theory) slipped off his rocky soul as drizzle. He himself played the

\textsuperscript{39}See Lavater in the Appendix.
flute as a master, accompanied splendidly with the harpsichord, and understood composition masterly. He furnished the motives to many of Graun's arias. In a word, Frederick the Great is also the creator of one of the best musical schools as he is the creator of one of the most famous political and tactical schools in the world.
VIII. THE SAXON SCHOOL

The Saxons have distinguished themselves from ancient time on by their propensity for music.

Wittekind, a truly great man, retained a choir of singers and instrumentalists by which he inflamed his troops to contention. As Christianity was brought to Saxony, Otto the Noble was the first who introduced sacred music to his state. The Latin song [chant] indeed found long-standing opposition with the Saxons, but finally it broke through among the dukes from the Billung tribe. Heinrich the Lion improved war music and never led his troops to the battlefield without the courage-rousing trumpet [Tuba]. He himself played the trumpet [Trompete] as a master and used to say, "Without song there is no battle [Waffendrang]." And so it went until the time of Luther, whose immortal service to music we have already indicated above. We are indebted to the Saxons for the heartwarming chorale. Formerly, it was the custom throughout all of Germany that only the canons and choirboys sang. But Luther rightly claimed that singing was part of the divine service, and from this time on all places of worship resounded with sacred hymns. This great custom spread from Saxony throughout all of Germany and has become universal, in recent times, through the Reformation of the Catholics. Luther's enemies used to say, "Luther has hurt us more by song than by his doctrine."
Moritz maintained an admirable choir. He brought figured sacred music throughout Saxony; [he] founded singing schools and gave their directors the title of Cantors. Even today these splendid musical institutions, which are the pride of Germany and the envy of foreign countries, are in Saxony and have produced the greatest musicians. The Saxons have so distinguished themselves in music throughout many centuries that the Italians include all of Germany under the word Sassone, a country that they recognize alone as their worthy rival in music. When Elector Augustus [Augustus II the Strong] became King of Poland [1697], music received a new flight, and its prevailing simplicity degenerated almost to Persian revelry. He secured the greatest singers and composers from Italy and was one of the first who blended the Italian taste with the German. This blending, from August's time forth, has become a principal feature of German music. Therefore, it requires a great connoisseur to distinguish the characteristics of the peculiar German musical style from the interbreeding with the Italians.

Under this ostentatious king the first operas were performed according to Italian taste and, indeed, with greater display than in Italy itself. One saw elephants and lions here, not stuffed as in Italy, but appearing in more frightful reality. Decorations, machinery, flying scenery [Flugwerk]--all of that was viewed in its full splendor for the first time in Germany. But its orchestra was too strong and tumultuous to have been able to operate suitably; one compares it with the roar of the sea that swallows up the pleading voices of the distressed. From this time on the Saxon taste received
a new direction in music, for all of the rest of Saxony developed according to Dresden.

Augustus II\(^1\) kept this enthusiasm for music. Operas continued with their exceptional display so that even the Italians gathered around and, with concealed envy, cast a sidelong look at the progress of Saxon music. Under his reign the orchestra became more polished and learned to unite strength with grace. The greatest composers of the world have come from this school and, indeed, are not merely melancholy brooders and faultfinders but thorough, truly ingenious composers who aimed straight for the heart.

The best church choirs [Capellen] of Europe in this century have been staffed with Saxons. They, the Saxons alone, can compete with all of Italy without the rest of Germany. If music had a shrine, the following busts would have to be placed therein as sacred monuments:

Johann David Heinichen, great in church style, greater still in musical theory. His General-Bass in der Composition [1728], even up to our time, has been respected by all thorough musicians as a canonical book. He pushed deeply into the essence of music, calculated its most elegant relationships, pointed out the mysticism of contrary motion, or Motus contrarius, taught to figure the basses with utmost conscientiousness, drew the accompanist's attention to the flexibility to bend underneath the song, and gave the most magnificent rules to the art of

\[^1\text{See Augustus III in the Appendix.}\]
composing. Nevertheless, a certain anxiety appears between the lines, which his all too far-reaching theoretical knowledge must have produced.

Johann Sebastian Bach. Undoubtedly, the Orpheus of Germans! Immortal through himself and immortal through his great sons. The world has hardly ever produced a tree which quickly bore incorruptible fruit as this cedar. Sebastian Bach was a genius in the highest degree. His spirit is so original, so gigantically shaped that centuries will be needed before he will one day be within reach. He played the clavier, harpsichord, and cimbalon; and in the organ, who equals him? Who was ever compared to him? His hand was gigantic. He struck, for example, a twelfth with his left hand and ornamented in between there with his middle fingers. He made runs on the pedal with utmost precision [and] drew the stops so imperceptibly quickly that the hearer was almost swallowed up in the whirlpool of his sorcery. His hand was indefatigable and endured organ playing all day long. He played the clavier even as strongly as the organ and transcribed all the elements of music with Atlantean power; the comic style was as familiar to him as the serious. He was a virtuoso and composer in equal degree. What Newton was as a philosopher [sic], Bach was as a musician. He has composed many pieces for the church as well as for the chamber, but everything in such a difficult style that his pieces today are seldom heard at their best. His [cantata] cycles, which he wrote for the church, are now encountered only rarely, although they are an inexhaustible treasure for the musician. One encounters such bold modulations there, such great harmonies, such new melodic movements that one cannot
mistake the original genius of a Bach. But the ever more destructive search for smallness among the moderns has all but completely eliminated the taste for such gigantic pieces. This can even be asserted for his organ pieces. Hardly any man has ever written for the organ with such thoughtfulness, with such genius, with such insight into art than Bach; but it takes a great master if one wants to perform his pieces, for they are so difficult that hardly two or three men live in Germany who could perform them flawlessly. An improvisation, sonata, concerto, or figured chorale for the organ composed by Bach usually has six lines: two for the upper manual, two for the lower, and two for the pedal. The stops are mostly marked, which one has to draw hurriedly. The pedal is unusually busy, and the ligatures, the running phrases, and other ornaments are composed for the organ with such difficulty that one must often ponder on one line for hours. On top of this, the left and right hand more often have intervals of a tenth or twelfth, which only a giant can bring out.

Bach's clavier works certainly do not have the grace of today's, but they make amends for this deficiency through strength. How much our clavier players of today could learn from this immortal man if it were no longer a matter of the fickle approval of fashionable insects than of the greater, more important connoisseurs. The Bachian pieces are not transcribed from other instruments, but are true clavier pieces. He understood completely the nature of the instrument; his phrases strengthen the hand and fill the ear. Both hands are in equal pursuit, so that the left does not become weaker when the right becomes stronger. He also has such an abundance of ideas that no one comes as
close to him therein than his own great son. With all of these qualities, Bach still combined the rarest talent for instruction. The greatest organists and harpsichordists throughout all of Germany have developed in his school, and if Saxony herein has a noticeable quality before all other provinces to this hour, it must be owed alone to the aforesaid great man.

Handel. Again a giant! He was born at the Halle University and displayed from youth an extraordinary musical genius. The aforesaid great Bach was his most trusted friend from childhood on. Handel played the organ and clavier splendidly and thereby made himself known far and wide while yet in his youth. At age thirteen he composed an opera in Hamburg. He then traveled to Italy and wrote operas and other pieces, which met with unusual approval. There he also defeated the great Scarlatti at the clavier and still had not reached his twenty-fourth year, yet his fame was universal in Europe. Some traveling Englishmen took him with them to London, and it was here where he finally found the circle which was wide enough for his genius. There he became a royal Kapellmeister and played, for more than fifty years, a role the likes of which no musician has ever played in England. He was almost idolized by the British and earned a very great fortune. In Westminster his grave is among the nation's greatest men. But no musician has ever penetrated the spirit of the British so deeply as this one. First, he studied English poets with the greatest eagerness; then, he set some of their best pieces to music. Alexander's Feast [1736] by Dryden has assured his fame forever. This piece is still performed every year in London during St. Cecilia's Day [November 22]
with ever-increasing approval. It is simple, stately, and rich in gratification. Handel has obtained the spirit of the ingenious Dryden so completely that no musician since has again dared to set this poetic masterpiece to music.

Ramler has made a German text for this composition [1766] so that Germans would be able to judge for themselves the expression. Handel has also composed the cantata Cecilia [Cecilia, vogli un squardo (? 1736)] by Pope with almost the same success. Since Pope did not present to the composer such abundant great thoughts as Dryden, neither could Handel express his genius as well here. Yet this piece also was received very well by the English and is still often performed in London. Handel has made many operas in the Italian and English languages whereby his approbation increased until the end. The spirit of his operas has something quite original. Those he composed in Italy are completely Italian with the exception of some aspects of the German idiom. The ones made in England have received much of the peculiar character of this nation. Handel often selected, for example, a generally popular folk song and brought it to the theater with embellishments and artificial modulations. He has to thank the enthusiastic adoration for this craft with which the British rewarded him until the end of his career. And even yet they maintain that Handel surpasses every musician who has ever lived. Even the sacred pieces which Handel made in London, to this hour, have not been displaced by any others.

2A similar statement about Ramler's translation may be found in the MafD 1783, p. 191 n.
Handel was a splendid contrapuntist, yet he never sacrificed the genius of art, as one rightly reproaches some of his countrymen. Also, his chamber pieces especially some organ sonatas and fugues, will be preserved as long as true musical taste remains in the world. Handel was a man of unusual might [Liebeskraft]; he was one of the heaviest eaters in London and was never sick in his life. With such a body could such a spirit do things! Handel was, for example, capable of playing on the coupler [Koppel] for hours, with the greatest force, without complaining about fatigue. His hand was as far-reaching as Bach's; accordingly, some phrases in his organ pieces are very hard to bring out. Handel also understood the theory of other instruments perfectly. In short, he is one of the most perfect geniuses who has ever lived.

Gottfried August Homilius. A very thorough church stylist [Kirchenstylist]. He especially understood the art of setting a chorus masterly. Simplicity, sublimity, and dignity characterize his choruses. He did not search for bold harmonic movements, yet he found them. Now one begins to put his works into print, in fact, even opportunely, for the church musicians among the Protestants deteriorate more and more. Homilius also has the honor to have trained many

3In a report from Augsburg, apparently from one of Schubart's correspondents, there is an evaluation of Homilius' most recent oratorio [?] which bears essentially the same tenor as Schubart's description in this translation. Teutsche Chronik (11 April 1776):238.
thorough artists, among whom Hiller is certainly one of the best. 4

If Homilius uses rosalias too frequently, one must excuse it as in the spirit of his time. 5 Yet for thirty or forty years one could hear quite well the repetition of a phrase in another key and believe the result thereby to be strengthened.

Lorenz Christoph Mizler von Kolof. Master of Philosophy, Doctor of Pharmacy, Scholarly Court Adviser, Staff Physician, and Historiographer of Warsaw, stayed for the most part in Warsaw, played the clavier very well, and is one of the most famous German musical writers. His Musikalische Bibliothek [1738-52] was the first German newspaper. 6 It was written in a good manner and with much insight. Mizler had studied music history thoroughly, but his theoretical mania is unbearable. He believed, for example, the mathematical calculations of a piece to be the essence of music; accordingly, his own compositions became stiff and tasteless and were already hissed off the stage during his lifetime in Warsaw, Leipzig, and Dresden. Meanwhile, the gratitude of posterity is always due Mizler that he related so many praiseworthy applications to the theory of music. One can even today

4 In mentioning the publication of Hiller's newest Passion-Oratorio [?], Schubart credits Homilius, Hiller's teacher, for the success that Hiller has had. Deutsche Chronik (9 June 1774):166-67.

5 Schubart wrote an article on rosalia. See the third supplement to the Deutsche Chronik (October 1774):33-38. See also page 219 of this translation.

6 Although technically not the first periodical (Mattheson's Critica musica, for example, predates Mizler's), Schubart does not mention any of Mattheson's earlier journals in this treatise.
learn much from his writings if one has enough patience to work through his subtleties.

Johann Gottfried Müthel. From Bach's school; one of the best and most thoughtful organ and harpsichord players. His pieces have a completely original character: dark, ominous, unusual modulations, stubborn in motions, inflexible against the fashionable taste [Modegeschmak] of his contemporaries. But even this original character of his spirit deserves that the clavierist should study him and thereby become accustomed to the diversity of performance. Müthel himself is a splendid player, to whom Burney himself did justice, and who deserves to be better known in the musical world than he really is. But he wraps himself in his obscurity and only gives us concertos, sonatas, and other clavier pieces from time to time, which justify my opinion.

Hiller. Music director in Leipzig; the favorite composer of the Germans. As much as Hiller studied Italian songs, he studied the German ones even more and, accordingly, his songs cut so deeply into our heart that they have become common throughout all of Germany. Which traveling artisan, which common soldier, which young girl does not sing his "Als ich auf meiner Bleiche, etc.," "Ohne Lieb und ohne Wein, etc.," and various others? In the folk song no one has reached Hiller. He is the first, after Standfuss, who has brought comic

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7The article in the Deutsche Chronik (9 February 1775):94-95 is essentially the same as the section translated here, except that Schubart criticizes Müthel's music because it has little effect on the listener.

8Burney G, pp. 121, 240-41.
operas to the stage in the German language. His Der lustige Schuster [1759], Die Jagd [1770], Der Dorfbalbier [1771], Der Aerndtekranz [1771], and several others have brought forth general sensation in Germany. There is not a theater among us where they were not performed more than once. And one has not attributed this so much to the text, which is often rather impudent, but much more to the magnificent songs with which Hiller knew how to enliven these operas. Even in the higher arias Hiller has proved himself to be a master. Who can, for example, listen to the piece "Bild voll göttlich hoher Reitz, etc." without rapture? His choruses are worked out well and point to a man who has studied music on all sides. Since Hiller remarkably wrote a lot, he himself thus became often very diversified, but he continually succeeded with the lied. He published children's songs** and several collections of German songs, all of which will be sounded long after thousands of fashionable lieder are silent. As a theoretical writer Hiller has shown his fame. He wrote the Musical News** for several years, which he eventually published as a newspaper, wherein much taste and knowledge exist. By means of this journal, many important musical

\*It might be that Schubart is referring to the 1766 version of this opera, for which a vocal score was published in 1771. That would make this work more contemporary with the others mentioned.

**This refers to either the Lieder für Kinder [1769] or his Fünfzig geistliche Lieder fur Kinder [1774], but probably the latter because Schubart advertised the score in his Deutsche Chronik (7 November 1774):511-12.

notices have been circulated among us. Hiller certainly proved himself to be a great theorist. He opposed theoretical nonsense while drawing our attention more to the aesthetics of music. [It is] too bad that his newspaper was not continued! His most important work is his excellent Anweisung zur Singkunst, which he published at Leipzig in quarto with the necessary examples [Mustern]. His style is beautiful and relevant, the principles are from the greatest masters and extracted from practical experience, [and] the examples are selected according to the requirements of our nation and are also expanded to include choral singing. When one unites with it what Vogler has said about the training of the voice, we Germans possess in this area something complete with which we can defy foreign countries. Hiller has founded a singing school in Leipzig according to these principles from which the greatest singers have already come forth.

Johann Gottfried Walther was music director in Weimar [1707-48]. He played the organ masterly and composed a few church [cantata] cycles with much thoroughness. But what made a name for him was his musical dictionary [1732]. Before him no one had ever written a book of this kind. It is for its time unusually comprehensive and even today is an essential resource, especially whatever concerns the historical part of music. The foreigners, particularly Martini, speak about it with much respect. It would be nice if this book were again reissued by a Hiller or Forkel and enlarged with the necessary

12Johann Adam Hiller, Anweisung zur Singkunst in der deutschen und italienischen Sprache (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1773).
augmentation. In the way of resources, we now lack absolutely nothing since Rousseau, Mizler, Marpurg, Gerbert, Forkel, and others have supplied splendid contributions. Walther's son was one of the best organists in Germany, especially a master in the pedal, but he overrefined the chorales too much. He was for a long time music director in Ulm, and [he] died in his native city of Weimar.

Scheibe. A great theorist and a splendid composer. He became Kapellmeister in Copenhagen [1740-47 and 1766-76] and supplied many works which lay claim to [his] immortality. Few composers knew how to work out the recitative as masterly as he, his arias are rich in lovely movements, and his choruses are sonorous and strong. The Italian operas composed by him did not receive as much approval, because perhaps he did not possess enough strength in the Italian language. On the other hand, his German pieces reaped universal praise. The greatest poets--Klopstock, Gerstenberg, Schlegel, and others--supplied him with poetry, which he set to music with much expression. His Ariadne auf Naxos [by Gerstenberg] and Cephalus und Procris [by Johann Elias Schlegel] are his masterpieces. He also composed much for the church, with genuine understanding of church


14Johann Christoph Walther (1715-71). Johann Gottfried Walther became ill in 1745 and requested that his son take over his duties as organist. The duke, Ernst August, refused to appoint the young Walther as successor to his father. The son later obtained a position at the cathedral in Ulm in 1751. Grove 6, 20:191-92.

15Both of these were contained in a collection entitled "Tragic Cantatas for One or Two Voices with Clavier." (Copenhagen and Leipzig: Franz Christian Mumme, 1765). A second edition
style. In addition to that he possessed an expanded learning, especially in fine literature. That is why his style is more than correct; it is beautiful. We possess a rich supply of musical writings by him, which reveal this profound investigator in music as the man of correct taste. The immortal Lessing considered him to be the best musical writer in Germany. He elaborated on all aspects of music. His introduction to musical composition, which he published the first volume in quarto shortly before his death, is the result of many years of deep research. A better work has hardly ever been written on this great theme! How often one must lament that the death of an excellent man interrupted this invaluable work! In short, Scheibe was one of the most learned musicians of our century! What is the highly celebrated Doctor of Music Burney compared to a Scheibe? 17

Schweitzer. One of the most celebrated and most popular composers of recent times. He combines profound thoroughness with

appeared in 1779. See RISM A/I/7:367. Scheibe's death was noted by Schubart, who called him "one of the best musicians of our century" and who claimed that Ariadne auf Naxos and a Te Deum [sic] were his best works. See Teutscher Chronik (9 May 1776):300-301.


17Burney mentions only Scheibe's Der Critische Musikus. Burney's evaluation of German theory is not highly complimentary: "Mattheson, with all his pedantry and want of taste, was the first popular writer on the subject of Music in Germany; the rest were scientifically dry and didactic; but as taste improved both in Music and literature, better writers sprung up. Among the first of these was John Adolphus Scheiben...." Burney H, 2:948. In the first edition of his "German Tour," Burney slighted the Germans for "lack of genius," a slur for which he later apologized. See Burney H, 2:963.
unusual grace. His spirit reveals a certain propensity to greatness in his works, which distinguish his pieces before many others. After he had first made a name for himself by means of various small works, he finally stepped forward with Wieland's Alceste [1773], and the loud applause of our people urged him on. He has not only completely equalled his poet, but in many places has surpassed him in feeling and expression. How inimitably beautiful is it not expressed when Alceste whimpers, "O meine Kinder! meine Kinder!"; and what modern Italian aria can be compared to the one in G major in Alceste? The competition of the obbligato violins with the song makes the most magnificent effect. His choruses are also full of splendor and dignity. His taste is not new. In spite of that, he plucks only as many flowers from the modern musical bed as the thoroughness of his spirit can bear. His second serious opera, Aurore [1772]—likewise written [poesirt] by Wieland—is just as beautiful and rich in enjoyment; but whatever he has worked on in the comic field, he only half succeeded, because Schweitzer's spirit is too great for the musical Hanswurst. His best operas, meanwhile, are the favorite pieces at the best theaters in Germany. All friends of music certainly regret, with us, that our splendid Schweitzer, from propensity for the easy life, works much too little.

18 Schubart announced this work under the heading "Eine Musikalische Neugkeit" in the Deutsche Chronik (21 August 1775):535. It was reviewed (?) by Professor [Anton] Klein) but did not contain as much detail as what Schubart presents here. See Deutsche Chronik (7 September 1775):575-76. And Schubart's own review in the Deutsche Chronik (9 November 1775):720 is much more critical and does not mention specific details.
Naumann. Born a Saxon and presently Kapellmeister [from 1776] in Dresden. He has suddenly proclaimed himself to the musical world through a genuine masterpiece. King Gustav III had a work written in the Swedish language, entitled Cora, and Naumann set it to music with such success that it not only excited sympathy in Sweden but in the whole musical world. In Dresden Naumann set a German text to it [and] in Leipzig this great work was published, with fitting splendor. Here one searches in vain for profound modulations and new harmonies, although the phrase is crystal clear; but the melodies are more lovely and have very much the stamp of newness and grace [so] that one cannot compare them with anything. One swims in delightful sensation whenever one hears the three singers sing in the sun-temple accompanied by the breathing of the sweetest wind instruments. The recitatives are worked out very well, and the arias melting. If Venus needs a Kapellmeister, she would certainly choose a Naumann because his songs are submerged so completely in love. But according to my feelings, he declines too often into effeminacy, many times even into debauchery. His tones pass, as it were, into the listener's blood and stimulate his sensual pleasures. Meanwhile, one must consider that a result of the

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19Cora och Alonzio, a serious opera in three acts: libretto by Alderbeth after J.-F. Marmontel's Les Incas. (See MAfD 1783, pp. 142-43.) The German translation of Cora appeared in 1780 (MAfD 1783, p. 15.); concert performance parts taken from the opera were published in Dresden (1780) and in Halle (ca. 1781). This opera finally received its premiere in Stockholm on 30 September 1782.

20"Naumann goes on writing, in what seems to me an Italian style, too feeble and placid for those who admire the originality and force of Piccini and Paesiello." Burney H, 2:960.
temperament of the composer, because each work is an imitation of the master. Naumann understands the art of employing wind instruments at necessary places far better than one was accustomed until now from Saxons. He has, in addition, arranged various things for the royal stage in Stockholm, but which the king has used very stingily. Some lieder which we possess from him were written quite admirably, especially the amorous ones. In short, no one understands the amoroso today better than the charming Naumann, who is so completely engrossed in the spirit of our time. On the other hand, one can rightly maintain that he can almost never succeed in the sublime with this study of the gracious.

Georg Benda. Not only the greatest among all his brothers, but one of the best composers who has ever lived, one of the epoch makers of our time! He is thorough without pedantic exactness, great and small, serious and witty, [and] equally splendid in church, dramatic, and chamber style. His melodic movements are especially catchy for every trained ear, but the anxious mien of art shines forth now and then. Accordingly, not all of his arias are good to commit to memory. On the other hand, his recitatives and choruses are so masterly treated that herein he has almost reached the perihelium of art. How inaccessible are the choruses in his operas; [how] superior in Romeo and Juliet!21 In which magic labyrinth are his duets and trios plaited; how masterfully he knows how to alter [invertiren] the

21Romeo und Julie, a Singspiel in three acts; libretto by Gotter, after Shakespeare. The first performance was in Gotha on 25 September 1776. Grove 6, 2:465.
poet's words! When Rousseau says, in his musical directory, "the text is an orange [Pomeranze] in the hand of the composer, which he squeezes so long until its last golden drops fall," one has hardly ever shown this better than Jommelli and Benda.

Yet Benda has this peculiarity that, contrary to the custom, he also makes use of counterpoint in the dramatic style. He uses, for example, the alla breve and fugal style more than once and always with extraordinary effect. He has also famously shown himself to be a discoverer. He was the first in Germany who brought the musical, or declamatory, dramas into favor and raised the actor's language through his magical melodies. This, his great discovery, was soon received throughout all of Europe under the name melodrama; also, this magnificent idea has hence been transplanted by him to German soil. Through them the dignity of declamation is elevated to utmost height. Each sign of admiration, exclamation, [or] question; each comma, each pause, each stroke of thought or of expectation; each flaring or sinking feeling of the declaimer; each hardly perceptible passing of words--[these things] were expressed through this type of music. Occasionally the musical accompaniment even crashes into the words, not to drown them, but to carry them on their surges. Benda's masterpieces of

this type are his Medea [1775] and Ariadne auf Naxos [1775]. In both melodramas the thoughts and feelings of the poets are expressed so completely through the music that even the most avaricious listener leaves the parterre or the loge content. The overtures to these new dramas and the marches taking place therein are unique in their kind. Benda has applied all known musical movements to these dramas. And everything is set so lightly that even a person with only moderate skill can perform it properly. Propensity to sweet melancholy seem, however, to be Benda's principal feature; for that reason, passages of this kind are always successful before all others. The shocking [Entsetzliche] and awful, however, do not lie so completely in his sphere. He therefore was not preferred as a complete musical commentator of Shakespeare. His imagination is not wild but depends on the scepter of reason. His wit does not bloom through buffoonery for public approval, but he shows himself only through the lovely cultivation of his musical ideas. His coloring is not dazzling but extremely lovely and warm as his heart. He succeeds exceedingly with the naïve, but he always fails with the grotesquely comic. He has studied the song with great energy and effect. A voice of moderate compass can sparkle in the performance of a Benda aria.

23Both works were printed in piano reduction in 1778 and subsequently critically reviewed in Johann Nikolaus Forkel's Musikalisch-kritische Bibliothek, 3 vols. (Gotha: Carl Wilhelm Ettinger, 1778-79), 3:250-85. It is also interesting to note that Benda's Walder [1776] received an extended review in this same Musikalisch-kritische Bibliothek (2:230-74), but Schubart does not mention this particular work.
Even in his sacred pieces this great man has distinguished himself. We possess a few church cycles\(^{24}\) by him which prove to all of Germany how strong Benda was in sacred pathos. Wherever there is sacred music in our fatherland, there his cantatas were also performed. Even in the smallest musical cities, also in villages, where one only knows music to some extent, Benda is known. But one must regret that he has set the descant voice sometimes much too high to be able to bring the notes out at all times. The D \([d'''\)], for example, belongs to the gamut of voices of great range.

And yet, with everything said, the merit of this great man is still not exhausted. He also set various secular cantatas to music. Who has not been transported to rapture by his _Lalage_ by Kleist?\(^{25}\) Tears fall when the passage begins "Nur einen Druck der Hand, etc." and finally the sigh, with which the piece closes, "the whimpering _Lalage!_" cutting through the very marrow and bone. Even the clavier pieces of this master are excellently written and prove that his great spirit knew how to work in various styles with good fortune. And now Benda affirms this great approval for thirty years, not in decreasing but always in increasing degrees. What a brightness this immortal man disseminates to the musical history of our fatherland!

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\(^{24}\)The cycle for 1750-51 was lost; 1753-54, some cantatas were lost; 1760-61 preserved. _Grove_ 6, 2:464.

\(^{25}\)Amynts klagen über die Flucht der _Lalage_ (1774; holograph, ?1772). Schubart briefly reviewed this work in the _Deutsche Chronik_ (12 September 1774):381 and advertised the score in _Deutsche Chronik_ (7 November 1774):51. Later, it was reviewed in _MAFD_ 1783, pp. [207]-8.
Schuster, a native of Dresden, now Kapellmeister in Naples.\(^{26}\) Only twenty-five years old, he stepped forward as the rival of the great Jommelli and even in Naples wrested the prize from him by means of an opera.\(^{27}\) His phrase is bold and full of fire. He combines Italian melodic energy with German thoroughness and does not always make bows before the fashionable taste of our decadent contemporaries. He indeed descends sometimes to the listener, yet he more often pulls the listener up to him. He likes the simple song more than the intricate one. His instrumental accompaniment is fiery without drowning the song. His modulations are bold and surprising; his aria motives are new and penetrating. He treats his duets with Graun's genius. But he sometimes ignores his choruses, which often operate better on the listener by raging and fuming harmonies than by correct ones. Schuster's fame so spread in Naples, Rome, Mantua, Florence, and Turin that the Italians themselves have elevated him among the best composers of the period. As splendid as he is in the operatic style, as the Italians claim, he might be even more excellent in the church style. He has composed an oratorio for the last pope [Clement XIV].\(^{28}\)

\(^{26}\)Schubart announced the title of Kapellmeister in his Teutsche Chronik (22 February 1776):122. But he was apparently in error, for on an honorary title of maestro di cappella was given to Schuster.

\(^{27}\)Schubart perhaps is referring to Schuster's Didone abbandonata (1776).

\(^{28}\)There is no reference to Schuster ever having written an oratorio for the pope, and his journeys to Italy were spent mainly in Naples and Venice.
a great connoisseur of music, for which he received a thousand sequins together with a golden clock adorned with diamonds. This situation is so much more noteworthy since Schuster is a Lutheran. He has at the same time introduced the piano in Italy, on which he is a great master and has shown the manner of manipulating this instrument to the proud Italians. Schuster has been working for four years on a German opera, to which a famous poet has supplied the text. When this appears, Germany will know even more about him and will value him as highly as foreign countries already value him.

Rolle has made himself world-famous through his church cycles, cantatas, oratorios, motets, organ, and clavier pieces. Utmost precision of the phrase, seriousness and dignity in the expression, and magnificent basses distinguish his music. His recitatives are worked with much art, and his choruses are full of grandeur.

Abraham auf Moria [1776] and Lazarus [1778] made by the intimate, warm poet Niemeyer are his masterpieces. In particular one cannot listen to his Lazarus without being pierced by the delightful expectation of his resurrection. But the overcritical have wanted to find fault with it, since he has introduced Jesus singing. But in

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30It is impossible to determine which opera Schubart had in mind. It may be that this opera was never completed, for the librettists of the operas completed about this time are not "famous"—at least in Schubart's estimation.

31Rolle is described as "Niemeyer's travestist" in the MAFD 1782, p. 46.
the first place, here he had to follow the poet, and, in the second place, it is certain from history that Jesus had actually sung during his life. Shortly before his suffering, he began to sing the usual song of praise, which is said to have been after a melody well-known in those days [and] repeatedly sung by all God-fearing Jews. Who can, therefore, reproach Rolle for it even if he allows Christ to sing, that is, with all of his possible dignity? Rolle is especially a great master in the manipulation of the fugue, and that fugue which appears in Lazarus deserves to be placed among the best pieces of this type of music so misunderstood today. The clavier pieces by this master have much worth, yet he has been surpassed herein by many others.

Neefe. One of the most thorough and most pleasing composers of our time. He has become known by his comic operas, lieder, clavier pieces, but most of all by his Klopstock odes, which he set to music. The latter work was in reality a daring undertaking, and he has succeeded magnificently. The melodies are mostly suited to


33Christian Gottlob Neefe, [13] Oden von Klopstock mit Melodien (Flensburg-Leipzig: Korten, 1776). Apparently Schubart had known that Neefe was already working on this collection when he wrote the article about Klopstock's odes in the Deutsche Chronik (6 April 1775):223. A critical review of this collection appears in Forkel's Musikalisich-kritische Bibliothek, 1:211-26, where "Bardale," "Selma und Selmar," and "Cidli," in particular, are discussed among other poems. Another collection also was printed in 1776: Lieder mit Klaviermelodien (Glougau: Christian Friedrich Günther, 1776), which Schubart reviewed in the Teutsche Chronik (1 July 1776):422-23.
Klopstock's great spirit and express his profoundly melancholic feeling quite admirably. Bardale, Sommerrindnacht, the elegy Selma und Selma [recte Selma und Selmar], and the piece from Ossian's "Komm zu Fingals Feste," distinguish themselves before others. But he succeeds only in the melancholic and tender passages and not so well in the passages where the ode's high flight points most of all to the poet. Neefe's phrase is very pure, and his melodies are often magically beautiful. In the selection of keys, he is very fortunate in that he deeply feels that every good poem has its own musical key. For example, the splendid Klopstock poem to Cidli, where he finds her sleeping, would have been lost in all chromatic keys; where, on the other hand, it receives its full power in diatonic keys, such as in E-flat major or particularly in A-flat major. The songs of this composer are extremely singable and of unusually attractive melodies; they deserve very much to be placed on the harpsichord rack of our singers. Yet I must note that Neefe's Klopstock odes and lieder can be best performed on a good clavichord, because here one can best express the sensitive passages: the sighing, lamenting, weeping, the gentle nuances, the portamentos and mezzotints. The comic operas of this master indeed contain many beautiful places yet show that Neefe's spirit is not made for the comic theater. It seems to me that Neefe would shine most as a church composer. But unfortunately his present destiny is not suited to his spirit. He serves as music master at Seyler's Theatrical Society [1776-79]. Neefe also thereby distinguishes himself before many musicians in that he writes very good German. One has in the Deutsches Museum and in other German
monthly magazines some essays on musical matters by him, which are written unusually well and thoroughly.\textsuperscript{34}

Wolf, Kapellmeister in Weimar [1772-92], distinguishes himself more by profound thoroughness than by spiritual power. He is a very good clavier player [and] has an extremely clean and precise performance, [which] always remains the same but never becomes fiery.\textsuperscript{35}

His clavier concertos require a strong player, for there are a few risky passages. Wolf has also set some cantatas by our Herder [ca. 1781] to music, which reveal much skill for the heroic style. His choruses are full, strong, and harmonically rich, but his arias are not tuneful enough. He sometimes violates the idiosyncrasies of the accompanying instruments. Under his direction the Weimar orchestra has developed very well.

Steinhardt is one of our best flute players, and his wife is a very correct singer. Good violinists and wind players are not lacking there, because the present duke has a great deal of taste, and his privy councillor, the famous Goethe, helps in everything in making music at this court more sparkling. Generally one can say that the enthusiasm for music in Saxony is universal. Persons from all ranks are found at the public concerts and compete with the virtuosos. The Electress dowager of Saxony [Maria Antonia Walpurgis] wrote, under

\textsuperscript{34}See the listing in Grove 6, 13:91.

\textsuperscript{35}Schubart criticizes Wolf for writing pieces which are too pleasing for the ladies. See Deutsche Chronik (21 July 1774):264.
the name of Ermelinda, a very pleasing opera; besides, she sang and played the harpsichord well. Count Brühl and several grandees of the court have distinguished themselves as masters on the clavier, and there are today few of the Saxon ladies of culture who do not sparkle [brilliant] on the piano or in song.

True German thoroughness united with sensitive, pleasing melodies, is taken, on the average, as the principal feature of today's Saxon music. But for some time it seems to want to deteriorate into smallness and trifling through the increasing taste for operettas, which almost borders on mania. Through the invention of music printing, with which Breitkopf has made himself immortal, more of the best pieces can now be put into circulation quickly, and musical taste more easily spreads itself widely. When previously all pieces were engraved, they were very costly. But by means of music printing, one now gets for a Louis d'or what one could hardly have bought with several. Also, the printed notes are now so beautiful, clear, and distinct that they compete with the best engraved in Paris, London, Berlin, and Nuremberg.

36Talestri, regina della amazoni (1760) and Il trionfo della fedelta (1754). See Grove 6, II:677.

37See Burney G, pp. 41, 50-51 (especially p. 51).
IX. THE PALATINE-BAVARIAN SCHOOL

It has already been mentioned above that the dukes and electors of Bavaria had great merit in music all along and that the nation overall is remarkably musical. Every traveler, who takes along his ear and heart, will notice this with pleasure whenever he travels through this venerable, ancient province of Bavaria. Everything sings and rings amongst them, and even their so ill-reputed, rough language becomes sonorous and lovely in the mouth of a Bavarian girl whenever she sings a folk song. The Bavarian song distinguishes itself especially by the unusually fast use of the tongue, since they are capable of covering every note of the most fleeting passage with one syllable; the droll, burlesque, or vulgar comedy, no nation expresses it better than a Bavarian or Salzburger. With respect to the musical merit of the dukes of Bavaria in the oldest times, that which is necessary has been remembered. **Maximillian Emanuel**, one of the greatest German heros, maintained a very well organized orchestra and promoted church music above all. Every cloister in Bavaria has its own choir once more, where splendidly written pieces in the true church style often appear. The many churches in Munich resound year in and year out with songs and hymns, and Bavarians can thank this truly great elector that many of these institutions have taken up music. The many turmoils of war in which he involved himself made him, of course, a little less
responsive to the still peace of music, but his just decrees to take up music nevertheless continued in the midst of the din of war. In the remaining cities, even in the villages of his country, these charitable institutions disseminated themselves. Since this time, even at the smallest villages in Bavaria, one often hears good songs accompanied with instruments by the village inhabitants. The church style throughout all of Bavaria has preserved, before other German provinces, most of its ancient dignity and grandeur. The exquisite descant voices and, particularly, bass voices, which one comes across in Bavaria in unusual depth and strength, certainly add much to this.

Emperor Charles VII of the Bavarian house united splendor with all of these features. He maintained approximately two hundred of the choicest musicians, and because he was a friend of the Italians, he employed many singers, composers, and concertmasters from Italy. Consequently, the musical spirit of Bavaria took a somewhat different course. One adopted much from the gentle Italian song without thereby sacrificing the characteristics of the nation. Meanwhile, it must be confessed that the Bavarian national taste in general sympathizes with the Italian up to the point of deception; accordingly, it attracted attention to the point of loud laughter whenever one heard a droll Bavarian text recited with the Italian sweet song of a melting Italian melody. Charles VII was himself a connoisseur of music. He played the harpsichord and violin with moderate skill and is said to have set some pieces of music himself, which one would naturally praise because he was the emperor. The sad fortunes of this emperor, because he was a fugitive almost to the end of his life and because he had to surrender
Munich to the enemy, had brought life and activity of music in Bavaria to a moderate standstill. The great virtuosos dispersed by and by, and the rejoicing of Bavarians changed to wails of lamentation.

After the death of the wise but unhappy emperor came his son, the pious Maximilian Joseph, to the throne [1745]. Hardly had he concluded peace with his enemies when the harmonies, which had been driven off, returned with their retinue to his country. This elector was himself an excellent musician. He played the viola da gamba as a master, always bowing along with the violins in most of his concerts, and composed some church pieces, which are written in the best taste. Since he was so completely in favor of prayers, he dedicated his music completely to religion. He reestablished his orchestra quite soon and put the Italian Kapellmeister Tozzi, who had command over far greater people than he was himself, in charge [1774-75]; for Tozzi composed only moderately well, but he understood very well the art of coaching singers. Since the elector was an ecstatic lover of song, he always maintained the most excellent singers at his court, among which were found the best castrati of that time. But since these belong to the Italian school, we pass over them and stay with the Germans. Under this elector the following musicians distinguished themselves:

Joseph Michel. A composer of many minds. Since he only worked for the court, only a few of his pieces have come to the public. He surpassed Tozzi by far in compositional skills, composed operas and

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1See Burney G, p. 51.
church music with much taste and thoroughness, and also proved the
chamber style to be his most favorable side. His pleasant, lucid
spirit is also evident in his compositions. His phrases are not
mysteriously dark, as an oracle thundering out of the mouth of a copper
idol, but light and generally understandable. Musical public spirit
is the principal feature in his character; therefore, he was a uni-
versally liked composer. Later on he composed some German songs where
his spirit took a higher flight and sought to express more German qual-
ities. Michel, of course, spent several years in Italy [1774-76?] but
preserved his national style so that the Bavarian musical spirit shines
through in all of his pieces. In his chamber pieces there is an easier
flow and much instrumental insight. Even if Michel was no original
genius, he at least possessed an excellent musical talent.

Johann von Cröner. Best concertmaster of the elector, and at
the same time violin teacher of the prince. The emperor usually stood
next to him whenever a symphony was performed and played the violin
with him. Cröner was an unusually good ripienist, but he did not
understand the art of leading an orchestra with success, and,
accordingly, a state of confusion happened very often. The elector saw
the disorder, but he controlled it just as little out of the goodness
of his heart, as he controlled the political disorder of his ministers.
This Cröner also distinguished himself especially in solo playing; he
had an unusual, skillful stroke, short but nice, but he thereby

\[\text{2Cf. Burney G, pp. 50-51.}\]

\[\text{3Burney has just the opposite opinion. See Burney G, p. 50.}\]
drifted too much toward levity, and he never succeeded in bringing out the real characteristics of the violin. The tempo rubato he knew how to bring out masterly, but he was too lavish with this preciousness and often caused the accompanists to lose their composure. He loved the comic performance more than the serious.

Rheiner, a great bassoonist, equally strong in the presto as in the melting adagio. His tone was pure and full, and his taste very delicate. But he occasionally did not avoid groans and growls in the low range whereby one would often believe that he was hearing two different players, one bad and one good. He usually composed his concertos and sonatas himself with understanding and taste and performed them exquisitely. He belonged to the best reformers in Europe of this formerly so disgusting bass instrument. His stubborn opinions about music and his massive Bavarian character overshadowed his reputation in some respects.

Secchi, the most delightful [and] most amiable oboist of his time. The tones sighed under his lips from his beautiful, youthful soul and broke forth out of his magical instrument. He did not play,

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4Cf. Burney G, p. 60.

5In discussing temperament and the importance of correctly matching an instrument with the virtuoso's temperament, Schubart cites the following example: "Rheiner was one of the greatest bassoonists in Europe, yet more stormy than delicate." GS, 1:188 (L & G, 1).

6"Secchi was the second great oboist that I have heard. [Lebrun was the first.] He sighed the sounds, and inspired more sweet melancholy than Lebrun, whose temperament [Blutmischung] is more jovial." GS, 1:188 (L & G, 1). Schubart adds a footnote to his autobiography indicating that Lebrun had died in Berlin [16 December 1790], thus leading us to believe that he was still in the process of editing his autobiography.
he sang. He never brought forth difficulties because his studies were in gracefulness. The mezzotintos, the sustaining and abating of tones, the sensual nuance of an intemperance in the principal motive, the little flourishes, and especially his masterly cadenzas carried away all listeners. He was equally strong in accompaniment as in solo, and often the most able singer had enough to do to still sparkle next to him.

It was a wonder that a great organist or clavierist never distinguished himself under this elector. Only here and there one found a monk or priest in the cloister who knew how to handle the organ, but at his court there was hardly a tolerable player [Klimperer]. The ladies of the court were usually in the habit of accompanying [on] the harpsichord at concerts, but solo players were never heard except when foreigners were heard. The electress dowager of Saxony [Maria Antonia Walpurgis] was the first who brought in a Späth piano from Regensburg and thereby aided somewhat the taste for the clavier. After the death of the elector [1777], the Palatinate was united with Bavaria, and the great Mannheim orchestra fused with the Bavarian orchestra so that today it is one of the world's best orchestras.

Even from the earliest times, the palatine counts on the Rhine were great admirers of music. If the famous Heidelberg Library had not been lost to Rome by the most wretched fate, we would have found enough documents to explain the earliest history of music in this house. One certainly knows this much, that immediately after the time of the Reform, when the palatine counts became Protestants, very beautiful institutions for the assimilation of this art were constructed. In
the cities and villages cantors and precentors were engaged who must have instructed the youth in chorale singing and made the German lieder universal in the land. When the princes of this house resided in Heidelberg, they always had a choir around them. One reads with delight in the old German history that the old palatine counts with their princes and princesses, [and] also with many stately knights and brave men, sat around the table, every bite as if it were seasoned with music, and sipped the spirit of the fragrant Rhine wine amidst singing.

When the princes of this house were elevated to electoral rank [1620], music in the Palatinate received a new lustre, and only by Friedrich's [Friedrich V] sad fate, whom the inhabitantats of the Palatinate profaned with the inappropriate title of the "Winter King," was this lustre darkened. This unfortunate Friedrich played the harp admirably and also always had around him, in his misfortune, musical servants who frightened away the clouds of grief from his brow through melting chords. When the Palatinate became quiet again after the dreadful Thirty Years' War, Polyhymnia also tried again to raise her head there. But shortly the ensuing invasion of the French in this blossoming country scared her off. The Palatinate was a wilderness, and every note of joy was changed into a wail of lamentation. As the Palatinate slowly recovered after this raging destruction, the arts also recovered slowly, and with this, music. The electors became Catholics, but music lost nothing because of it; it won much more, for the Catholics from time immemorial have patronized music far more than the Protestants. Since churchly wealth among the Protestants came by
robbing the princes, [extra] funds were then lacking to maintain choirs. All they could do was to maintain carefully their heart-stirring chorales. Only under the Catholic regime of the palatine electors were matters improved, with choral and figural music in the churches. Even at the beginning of this century a bequest of 80,000 florins a year was established solely for the support of princely music. This bequest is so firmly grounded that no elector can abolish it anymore. Thus no one may be surprised when music in the Palatinate quickly ascended to such wonderful heights. Nevertheless, it was indebted first to the previous electors for the lustre which even stirred up the envy of the arrogant foreign countries and made the court into a school of truly good taste in music. This elector [Karl Theodor, elector from 1742] played the flute and was an enthusiastic admirer of music. He not only lured the world's best virtuosos to his court, founded music schools, allowed natives of genius to travel, but also ordered, with great cost, the choicest pieces of all kinds from all of Europe and let them be performed by his music masters. Quite soon the Mannheim school differed from all others; in Naples, Berlin, Vienna, and Dresden, taste to this time was always one-sided. One great master led the fashion, he held sway until another came forth who possessed enough power to supplant the previous one. Whereas Naples distinguished itself by splendor, Berlin by critical exactness, Dresden by grace, Vienna by the tragi-comedy, Mannheim stirred up the world's admiration by variety. The elector's theater and his concert hall were almost an odeum, characterized by the masterworks of all artists. The elector's changing mood contributed very much to this taste.
Jommelli, Hasse, Graun, Traetta, Georg Benda, Sales, Agricola, the London Bach, Gluck, [and] Schweitzer alternated there year after year with the compositions of his own masters, so that there was no place in the world where one could so surely develop his musical taste so quickly as in Mannheim. If the elector was in Schwetzingen and his splendid orchestra followed him there, one would have believed himself to be transplanted to an enchanted island where everything rang and sang. From the bathhouse of his Hesperidian garden sounded the most sensual music every evening; from all the shops and cottages of the small villages one heard the magical sounds of his virtuosos, who were skilled on all types of instruments.

No orchestra in the world has ever surpassed the performance of the Mannheim orchestra. Its forte is thunder; its crescendo, a cataract [sic]; its diminuendo, like a crystal stream splashing in the distance; its piano, a spring breeze. The wind instruments were all as suitable as they could be: they lift and carry, or they fill up and animate the storm of the violins. This school has distinguished itself famously in the art of singing, although the choir of singers here was never as outstanding as in Berlin or Vienna. German and Italian singers have trained themselves in this great school and afterwards have become the envy of other choirs. Yet many more admirable instrumentalists have gone forth from this school. Lord Fordice used to say, when he traveled through Germany, that when it comes to Prussian tactics and Mannheim music, the Germans regard all other people as unimportant. And when Klopstock heard this orchestra, the great, rarely surprised man cried out ecstatically, "Here one swims in the lasciviousness
of music!" All kinds of music were cultivated there with utmost precision. The church pieces are profound and fundamentally set; the opera style is rich and varied; the pantomime of the dancer is enlivened by the most appropriate melodies; the chamber music has fire, greatness, strength, and variety by many of the best virtuosos, even variety of musical styles; and in the symphony everything storms together in an inexpressibly beautiful totality. The most famous men of this school are the following:

**Holzbauer** was Kapellmeister first at the Württemberg court [1751-53], then he came at this rank to the Palatinate [1753-58] and helped the most in the perfection of this great orchestra. He was not only an unusually thorough and industrious artist who had studied composition profoundly and thoroughly, but an excellent mind, whose music had its own stamp, although he was not so obstinate in it not to seek gold from foreign lands. German character colored with Italian grace was nearly his principal musical feature. Through that he affected understanding, through this he affected the heart, and thus he touched the whole of man. Whatever he composed in the Italian language is indeed good, yet it appears that here he was not right at home. Only when the German taste triumphed over the inhabitants of the palatine court did he feel complete, and he composed the German opera **Günther von Schwarzburg** [1776].7 The poetry is by Professor **Klein**,

7The biography of Holzbauer in the MAadJ 1782, pp. 23-26, deals extensively with Günther von Schwarzburg. See also Schubart's Teutsche Chronik (3 October 1776):630-31, where he makes the statement: "A German opera from German history! from a German author! German composition! and performed in the best German theater!"
as a rule a truly deserving man in our literature, but this time his
counsel was not at its best, and his composer Holzbauer, went far above
him. The symphony of this German opera is written with much art and
insight. In it lies the character of the whole opera, compressed so
that the following scenes spin out, as it were, only the symphony.

Most of the arias have new and beautiful motives and are real-
ized very well. The duets are masterly worked out, and the choruses
rise by means of pomp and greatness. Holzbauer especially knows how
to use the instruments with great emphasis, although it seems that he
might daub [pinsle] too much here and there. The accompanied and
unaccompanied recitatives are not only grammatically correct and
emphatically suited to the laws of declamation, but they also become
extremely alluring through the interspersed ornaments, through the
transition to the arioso, etc. Equipped with these qualities,
Holzbauer also ventured to the church style, but in which, according
to my feelings, he did not succeed as well as in the dramatic style.
His fugues and alla breve pieces race through one another so timidly
and the harmonies in them are so thin that one really sees that
Holzbauer did not study counterpoint deeply enough. The chamber pieces
of this composer do not want to say much; they are mostly stiff and
old-fashioned. Still this master has the striking fault that cadenzas
composed by him are much too long, not drawn from the splendid motives,
but caprices which disturb the unity of the whole. A long cadenza is a
state within a state and always shades the impression of the whole.
Consequently, Holzbauer belongs to our good but not to our excellent
masters. If he had not composed his Günther von Schwarzburg, one would still hardly know him by name.

Vogler. An epoch maker in music [and] certainly one of the best organ and harpsichord players in Europe. His hand is round and splendid. He brings out the most frightful passages [and] the most perilous skips with wonderful ease. His variations are magical and his fugues [are] worked out with profound understanding. He improvises quite splendidly; I maintain that he improvises better than he composes. He has made his hand unusually strong by continual playing. Vogler possesses incontestable fire and genius; yet he reveals in his compositions, as in his playing, pedantry. 8 This phenomenon in the history of ideas would be puzzling to me, if it had not been known that Vogler himself pursued a system to which he slavishly resigned himself. He discovered a heptachord, from which he wanted to calculate the nature and development of all tones. Certainly his system has much profoundness and self-evidence, but no art can endure the slaves' yoke of a system less than the art of music. Volger wants to calculate, for example, all similar and progressive harmonies in music. He remains so faithful to these progressions and arithmetic relationships that they shine through in all of his compositions. A bird on a string certainly flies but only reaches as far as the string will allow. Genius flies the eagle flight; [it] drinks sunbeams! Every system constrains the spirit in all arts and sciences and inhibits the development of human knowledge. It is one thing to have order and a correct sequence of

8See the anecdote in MAadJ 1784, p. 125.
thought, imprisoned by self-made rules, so that no flash of the lightning of a new truth can penetrate. The continual reflection on deathly cold rules causes lava streams of genius to falter, and instead of fire, slush rushes forth. This is undoubtedly the case for Volger; his pieces have much stiffness, stubbornness, and coldness. The indi- gence of his inventiveness is a sequence of the timidity with which he writes. Whoever is satisfied with that which he has will never become a Croesus. Volger has composed symphonies in a completely original manner, which give him great honor; thus, for example, the symphony to Hamlet [1779] is a true masterpiece. First, he studied this great tragedy and expressed all of the principal scenes with tones. The listener is not easily so completely prepared for a great play by a musical prelude as by this one of Volger. His clavier pieces are splendid for the building of the hand, but not always beautiful to the listener, neither exciting to admiration nor heartening. In a word, Volger is a harmonic but not a melodic mind whose passages in his concertos, sonatas, and variations are often extremely weighty and intense but more a result of study than of genius; for that reason, one can remember little about them. His church pieces are all weighed out with arithmetic conscientiousness, but these also lack spiritual ascent, music of the spheres, and angel's rejoicing. His fugues are exquisitely composed, yet one also misses this harmonic fullness. In short, Vogler is a more splendid player than composer. His accompaniment on harpsichord is faultless. He plays masterly from the page and

9Vogler analyzed this work in his Betrachtungen der Mannheimer Tonschule. See Grove 6, 20:60.
knows how to pass over to other keys on the spur of the moment. His instruction in singing is likewise very celebrated. He carefully distinguishes the registers [Tone] of the throat, nose, head, chest, and stomach [des Magens] from one another. He was the first who controlled the disgusting sobbing and gurgling of the Italian school and gave freedom to sigh to the heart of the singer, when a suitable feeling forces the sigh from him. The splendid singer Lang in Vienna [1779-92] is his creation. She has high and low tones and marks the tones with exceptional accuracy. She sings in full- or half-voice equally well. Her portamento; her suspension and sustaining of the tone; her exceptional correctness in reading; her refinement in performance; her mezzotinto; the easy, quick flow [Fortrollen] of tones; her matchless fermatas and cadenzas; also her outward, majestic com-posure--for these she has, for the most part, her great teacher to thank. Vogler has also become a prolific musical writer. He published a Tonschule,10 a musical periodical,11 and other writings wherein the proof of his profound insight to the history and the spirit of music is so evident that even his opposition could not fail to recognize it. His comments are often original and planned with true philosophical spirit, but his style is often precious and pedantic, as his musical compositions themselves; the use of leg-pulling, of modish

10Georg Joseph Vogler, Entwurf eines neuen Wörterbuchs für die Tonschule (Frankfurt und Leipzig: Vaarrentrapp Sohn und Wenner, 1780) or Kuhrpälzische Tonschule (Mannheim: Author commissioned by C. F. Schwan und M. Gotz, 1778).

phraseology, and of stylish grace gives him often an offensive appearance. Instead of showing his natural physiognomy, he grimaces. His best compositions [Ausarbeitungen] are in the German encyclopedia\textsuperscript{12} and reveal the mature researcher and thinker. Also, the style is far better here than in his other writings, perhaps because someone has polished it. The musical articles in this work are, therefore, far more comprehensive and far more profoundly thought out than those in the Sulzer dictionary.\textsuperscript{13}

Raaff. One of the best and most profound singers in Europe.\textsuperscript{14} His voice is the most beautiful tenor that one can hear. He ascends to the sphere of the alto and descends just as successfully into the region of the bass. His tones are all thick, full, and pure. He sings everything with inimitable skill from the page whatever one lays before him and varies an aria repeatedly with indescribable art. His ornaments and cadenzas, as his musical taste in general, are incomparably beautiful. Whatever he sings, he sings with the deepest feeling, and his beautiful heart seems to resound again in his songs. Moreover, perhaps only a few singers in the world know how to speak about their art so thoroughly as Raaff. [It is] too bad that this

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{12}Deutsche Enzyklopädie (Frankfurt am Main, 1778-1804).
\textsuperscript{14}"Raaff is the most mature singer that I have ever heard." GS, 1:154 (L & G, 1). Schubart also praises Raaff for his humble character—a quality not found in most virtuosos. GS, 1:113, 154 (L & G, 1).
\end{flushright}
rare man is now growing old and already begins to tremble in his voice.

Christian Cannabich. Fashioned from nature herself to be a concertmaster! One cannot understand the role of *ripienist* more perfectly than Cannabich. His stroke is completely original. He has discovered a completely new bow control and possesses the talent of keeping the greatest orchestra in order with the slightest nod of his head and jerking movement of his elbow. He is in reality the creator of the uniform execution which prevails in the palatine orchestra. He has discovered all of those tricks which Europe now admires. Perhaps no one has ever studied the tone color of the violin as thoroughly as this master. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the originality of his strokes; it is not Tartini's stiffness by far, still less of the laxness of Ferrari. As effortlessly as one can imagine, he directs the bow and brings out the low and high, the strong and weak, even the finest shadings with absolute power. As great as he is a concertmaster, he is even as great in instruction. The best solo violinists and the most splendid ripienists come out of his school. His original manner of painting with the bow has brought forth a new violin sect. In the leadership of an orchestra and in the fashioning of artists stands his most superior merit. As a composer he is, in my opinion, not of much importance.\(^{15}\) In the strangeness of stroke; in the profound study of musical color; in a few, lovely cliches stands

\(^{15}\)It seems that Schubart's opinion had changed over the years. He discussed Cannabich in the chapter of his brief journey to Schwetzingen (nr. Mannheim). "My first friend . . . was Cannabich,
the whole character of his compositions. His ballets are not bad, but in fifty years no one will read them any more. Cannabich is a thinker, an industrious, tasteful man, but not a genius. Industry compiles and its compilations disperse; genius discovers and its discoveries compete with perpetuity. That he drank no wine during his life perhaps may also weaken Cannabich's fire.

Toeschi. The second concertmaster [from 1759] of the great Palatine-Bavarian orchestra. In bow control he is certainly no Cannabich; the latter commanded armies, the former [i.e., Toeschi] hardly a battalion. Nevertheless, he possesses something quite idiosyncratic: he has made his own special manner in the symphonic who combines the best German heart with the most beautiful understanding of his art. One must speak to him and must even hear his compositions performed in order to be able to judge them correctly. A single false stroke, a wrong bowing [Bogenlenkung] can give his pieces, which are quite original, a false character and bring about false judgments. I have heard them performed in highest perfection, and they seem to me to be much more study of the violin and of the peripheral flourishes of music than giving evidence of profound creation from the crystal sea of harmony itself. His symphonies, performed by the whole palatine orchestra, seem to me, at that time, to be the non plus ultra of the symphony [italics added]. It is not merely crowd noise, as the mob shrieks in revolt; it is a musical whole, whose parts build a whole again like a spiritual outpouring. The listener is not only deafened, but shaken and penetrated by thrown-down lasting effects. The so-rightly highly famed palatine orchestra has to thank this man the most for its perfection." GS, 1:152-53 (L & G, 1). Schubart implies that he at one time [possibly at the time he dictated his autobiography, ca. 1778-79] regarded Cannabich's symphonies as truly great works, but that on reflection [1784-85, or the dictating of Ästhetik der Tonkunst] in spite of the powerful effect they had on the listener, their worth, like sound itself, faded quickly. Could his opinions be affected by, say, the MAadJ 1782? See the next three footnotes.

16 Similar observations concerning his performance and compositions, especially his ballets, are made in the MAadJ 1782, pp. 6-7.
style by exceptional power and effort. They [i.e., the symphonies] begin with majesty and gradually spout forth into the crescendo, play full of grace in the andante, and end themselves in a joyous presto. Yet variety is lacking, for if one has heard one of his symphonies, he has heard all of them. Cannabich has brought the symphony further by drinking water than this man [i.e., Toeschi] has done by drinking wine. Toeschi earned for himself a laurel, which wound phlegmatically around his head, and [he] fell asleep quite tenderly on it. His ballets are treated with exceptional delicacy; one sees the dancers in his scores, and nothing is simpler than to lay words under his magical melodies, so rhythmical are they. Sweetness, pleasing charm, and light harmonies are his principal features. He seems to be more a student of nature than of art, since so little counterpoint comes out in all of his phrases. Toeschi does not refine; he relinquishes himself completely to the outpouring of his genius. Perhaps he is, except for Florian Deller, the most stately of Noverre's interpreters.

17Cf. MAadJ 1782, p. 63: "Fast alle seine Compositionen sind Wiederholungen; wer eine gehört hat, hat sie all gehört. So prächtig oft der Angang seiner Sinfonien ist in Einklang, so sehr ins Kriechende, Burleske, in seelenloses Geleyer fallen seine letzen Presti, und dann rosaliert er auch verzweifelt."

18Cf. MAadJ 1782, p. 64: "Schubart nennt ihn einen musikalischen Schächer."

19There is a quite lengthy article--at least, quite lengthy for Schubart--in the Teutische Chronik (4 July 1776):427-29 on Noverre, which also mentions in some detail Deller, who died in 1773.
Wilhelm Cramer, a violinist full of genius. He trained himself in the Mannheim school but soon overtook his teachers. He now lives in London [1772-99], and the English call him the world's best violinist. Even if this judgment might be exaggerated, one must confess that he has brought admirable perfection to his instrument. His bowing is quite original: he brings it not as other violinists straight down but rather from the top away, and he makes it short and exceptionally delicate. No one plays staccato with such extraordinary precision as Cramer. He plays very fast [and] quick, and all of this is unconstrained; he succeeds the best with the adagio, or much more with the affectionate and full of expression. It is perhaps not possible to perform a rondo sweeter and more heartfelt than Cramer does it. In this piece he even leaves a Lolli behind him.

Cramer composes his concertos, sonatas, and solos all himself, that is, thoroughly against the habit of most of today's virtuosos, and with excellent taste. No one who wants to train himself in the violin can do without the pieces of this master. His fingerings are so thorough and natural that the most difficult passages are made easier. His wife belongs among the best harp players of our time. One believes that he has been transplanted to Elysium whenever she and her husband vie with one another on the violin and harp.

Stamitz, the father, a famous, extraordinarily thorough violinist. His concertos, trios, solos, especially his symphonies are still in great esteem, although they already have an aging mien. The shortcoming of the new, modish, florid ornaments he replaces by other, more solid qualities. He has profoundly studied the nature of the violin;
Therefore, the phrases seem to almost fall as one into the fingers. His basses are composed so masterly that they can serve as humiliating models for today's shallow composers.

Stamitz, the son, the most famous violist in Germany and one of our most charming composers. He has profoundly studied the characteristic of the viola so that he plays this instrument with such a charm that was never heard of before. The old instruments must be treated extremely delicately if they should work in the tedious passage, and the worthy son of Stamitz understands this art in full measure. Certainly nothing still has been composed better for the viola than what he composed. One finds so much truth, so much beauty and charm in his works that he is acknowledged universally in Germany, Italy, France, and England as a pupil of the Graces. His symphonies also have a characteristic feature: they are full of pomp and harmony. His andantes are especially successful in a masterly way—derived from his sensitive heart. He is now chamber virtuoso for the queen of England [Charlotte].

Filtz belongs to the older composers of the Mannheim orchestra, but his spirit and his works have long ago made him immortal. I consider him to be the best symphony writer who has ever lived. Pomp, sonority, powerful, all-trembling thunder and rage of the harmonic deluge, newness of ideas and turns of phrase, his matchless pomposo.

Stamitz was supposedly in England from 1777 until at least 1779. See Karl Ferdinand Pohl, Mozart und Haydn in London, 2 vols. (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Son, 1867; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 2:272-73. However, the exact source of Schubart's information is not known.
his surprising andantes, his catchy minuets and trios, and finally his quick, loud, rejoicing prestos--to this hour have not been able to rob him of general admiration. [It is] too bad that this splendid mind, because of his bizarre fancy of eating spiders, withered away prematurely. His pieces today are already seldom performed because he allowed few to be engraved. Most of his compositions were stolen from him, otherwise we would have nothing at all by him. For he thought so modestly of his own works that he made kindling [Fidibus = a pipe lighter] out of many of his most excellent works after they were performed. Generally Filtz possessed a rather special musical and physical character. He had much Britishness in his physiognomy and in his whole psychic state.

Ludwig August Lebrun, a true magician on the oboe. This instrument, which comes so close to the human voice, is hardly a hundred years old, and Fischer, Besozzi, Secchi, and this Lebrun seem to have already exhausted it. Lebrun has forced two tones from it which until now did not lie in its gamut--the D and C [recte E (e)']. The oboe as a rule had a certain solemn tone which sounded close to

21"One of the greatest musical geniuses that I have ever come across was Lebrun; at that time a youth in years, but a man in his art. He has--even according to the testimony of his great rival Besozzi, with whom I spoke in Augsburg--attained the maximum [in perfection] on the oboe. His ornaments, inventions, and cadenzas are most inimitable. He overcomes all difficulties of his instrument, plays casually [leicht] and seriously [schwer], inspires wonder and sweet feeling, expresses foreign works as well as his own, and is, in a word, an original mind." GS, 1:153-54 (L & G, 1).

22The 1806 edition shows "C" (and which was not among Ludwig's addenda) but later editions correct the mistake.
the goose's honk. This is now not only refined by the named great masters but transformed to such a tempting sound that we can rightly number this instrument among the most pleasant discoveries of the human spirit. Hardly will one be able to do something more with it [than] what Lebrun has not already done. His tone has the utmost delicacy. He not only sighs, coos, laments, and weeps but also plays in the brilliant colors of joy. He succeeds with the lively presto as with the innermost sighing largo. In his concertos he overcomes all difficulties, and in his solos he is wholly emotional. He composes his pieces mostly himself, although he plays in more than one style. His compositions are exceedingly fine and sweet as drops of nectar. He has made ballets and chamber pieces which are evidence of the most refined taste. The ethereal beam of genius twitches in everything that he writes, that he performs. He has thus rightly earned admiration from France and Germany. Although he is not as learned as Besozzi, he has doubtlessly more genius than the latter.

Franziska Danzi, wife of the preceding, daughter of a famous Palatine-Bavarian cellist, who excels more in accompaniment than in solo. His daughter is the best singer of the elector.

Schubart claims that it was he who suggested to Lebrun that the oboe might be capable of sounding more cantabile, a challenge which Lebrun accepted and in which he succeeded. See Deutsche Chronik (2 February 1775):78.

Schubart made a comparison of these two oboists in his Deutsche Chronik (2 May 1776):288, in which he favors Lebrun.

See Franziska Lebrun in the Appendix.

Cf. GS, 1:154 (L & G, 1).
Among all singers now living, no one has brought her voice to more admirable heights than Franziska, for she reached the three-lined A [a''], and indeed not with poor intonation but with clearness and distinctness. She brings out the coloratura, which can be as difficult as it can be, with much correctness, but her tone is not strong enough in sentimental and sensitive arias. She seems to glisten more than the heart wants to touch; also her spirit seems to have more inclination to the comic than to the tragic performance. She was, at the same time, an elegant clavier player and composed several sonatas for her instrument, which are full of beautiful harmonies and intimate emotion.

Wendling, a superior flute player who knows how to combine true principles with perfect performance. His performance is distinct and beautiful, and the low and high tones are equally full and decisive. He is prouder of his playing of the beautiful and sentimental than of the difficult, rapid, and surprising. In this regard he used to call the friends of difficulty only leapers and jugglers; and herein he is only half right, for the successful conquest of great difficulties has always been a principal feature in the character of true men of power. The continuing quest and catching of sweet tones weakens the hand.

His compositions are unusually thorough and are precisely suited to the nature of his instrument. Certainly, his melodies

27This might be a misprint. MAadJ 1782, p. 10 shows f'''.

28The sonatas, two sets of six, were published in London between 1779 and 1781, and editions appeared in Mannheim and Berlin shortly thereafter.
grow older as he does himself; in spite of that his pieces must be studied with care by every instrumentalist. His wife\textsuperscript{29} has distinguished herself as one of our best theater singers. She figured in French, Italian, and German plays, though far more in comic roles than in tragic ones. She began to tremble too early, which made the most unfavorable impression in serious performace. The daughter\textsuperscript{30} of this honorable musical pair was indeed once the foremost beauty in the orchestra, but the natural coldness of her character made her all but unimportant in song and harpsichord playing.

Fränzl, one of the most delightful violinists of our time, equally strong in accompaniment as in featured performance. His bowing has so much delicacy and gently swaying gracefulness that no one can hear him without deep emotion. He is no slave to his own manner, but also plays unfamiliar works with warmth. The violin pieces composed by him belong to the best of this type; they are certainly not stormy and fiery, but so much more heartfelt, intimate, and full of new melodic movement. His Hollandois, rondos, and other equally sweet discoveries of music especially succeed to the point of magical illusion. His allegro rolls by so lightly and unrestricted that he seems to do nothing whenever he does everything. But perhaps his bow control is somewhat too over-refined and forced; at least it is not as free as Lolli's.

\textsuperscript{29}See Dorothea Wendling in the Appendix.

\textsuperscript{30}See Elisabeth Wendling in the Appendix.
Reiner, the best bassoonist out of the Mannheim school. His intonation is clear, his ornaments are tasteful and beautiful, but he does not reach the intensity by far of a Schwarz or Ritter.

Winter, one of the best pupils from the Vogler school. He plays the violin admirably and writes and composes very well. His symphonies are boldly constructed in part; he especially knows how to handle minor keys, which so easily lull to sleep, with much art and wisdom. He is also a musical writer, and his essays in the Mannheim Tonschule give evidence of understanding and afterthought, but his German style is still not polished enough.

These were, therefore, the most superior masters which the great Mannheim school has brought forth. But from time to time still the most admirable subjects go forth from her and become sought and esteemed in all of Europe. Since the aforesaid union of the Palatinate with Bavaria, these excellent minds have withdrawn mostly from the banks of the Rhine and transplanted themselves to Munich; yet a distinguished choir still has remained to the service of the Mannheim German theater.

31 There is something wrong here. Schilling cross-references "Reiner" to "Felix Rheiner," but it is clear that Felix Rheiner is not intended here. Schubart has already commented on Felix Rheiner ("Reuner" is Schubart's spelling, but Schilling cross-references this again to Felix Rheiner) previously as active in Munich. This Reiner is in Mannheim. Schilling's biography of Rheiner places him mostly in Munich. Although there is a twelve-year period (1770-82) when he travels through Europe (Germany, England, France, and Italy), he is not listed, nor is any Reiner, as an employee of the Mannheim court. See MAfD, p. 116, or John P. Newhill, "The Contribution of the Mannheim School to Clarinet Literature," The Music Review, 40 (May 1979):91.
From this short description of one of the greatest music schools, the principal character shows that there is more exceptional power than theoretical meditation in that place. Since the remaining German courts and considerable princes and dignitaries of the Imperial Diet never formed a distinctive music school, it will be enough to have wandered through them in spirit and in a general way to have characterized their advantages in art.
X. WÜRTTEMBERG

The counts as well as the dukes of Württemberg were always great lovers and protectors of music. Principally beginning in the sixteenth century, immediately after the beginning of the Reformation, music bloomed extraordinarily in Stuttgart. From 1550 to 1575 at the princely court of that place, there was a famous Kapellmeister known throughout Germany by the name of Sigmund Hemmel, who had not only studied music so thoroughly that there still exists in manuscript a translation and commentary on the famous Zarlino's Harmonik by him. He also made a name for himself by means of suitable compositions full of profound contrapuntal learning. He devoted himself chiefly to the church style after the spirit of that period. His Psalms of David, composed of German songs which he published in quarto in 1569 and set in four voices, is still highly regarded by experts. Various melodies of his have been admitted to our church, which are so full of dignity and religious grandeur that no one among us will make them better. How admirable are the songs Allein zu dir Herr Jesu Christ, Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist, [and] Mein junges Leben hat ein End, which were all composed by this Hemmel. In the Stuttgart archives motets and other pieces of this master must still lie, with which the world, in order to study the spirit of the age, should become acquainted.
Shortly before the time of the Thirty Years' War, the first Choralbuch was published in Stuttgart in 1618, which was received by various German provinces and was introduced in connection with the public worship. The devastating, bloody war drove off the musical Muse here, as it did everywhere, and she did not return again to this region the whole of the seventeenth century because the war's hardships never ceased during that period. A new ray for music shown first with the beginning of the eighteenth century. Duke Eberhard Ludwig maintained an orchestra of thirty persons, which Störl led as Kapellmeister [from 1703 to 1719]. The duke, a warlike soul, liked the wind and noise-making instruments very much. The rooms of his palace resounded continually of trumpets and drums, and from his time figured music was introduced in Württemberg churches. Störl was an unusually thorough man, whose published Choralbuch¹ for orchestra is an unquestionable witness. Even until this hour it is, in and outside of the region, generally liked, and, except for Telemann's, it is positively the best that we possess. His harmonies are natural and extremely correct, the signatures are simple, and his basses are mostly perfect. He also wrote the first church cycle² in Württemberg, wherein the tuttis and final choruses are especially masterly.


²See Johannes Mattheson, Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte (Hamburg: in Verlegung des Verfassers, 1740), pp. 52 and 351.
He had composed a *Te Deum laudamus*\(^3\) on the occasion of the Utrecht Treaty of 1713 which, because of correct expression and because of full harmonies, especially because of thorough fugal treatment, is today still admired by experts.

Duke Karl Alexander patronized music even more because he seemed to have received an enthusiasm for music with the Catholic religion. His orchestra was numerous and well engaged, and its leader was:

Brescianello from Bologna, a very good and pleasing composer. Since theater music in this region was still not in motion at that time, he devoted himself completely to the church and chamber style. His Masses are certainly not treated in an exalted style but are charming and devotionally awakening. The instruments in them are somewhat too intricate and cover the song. His chamber pieces lasted many years throughout in general approval until they finally perished in the flood of newer discoveries.

The true blossoming of Württemberg music began with the reign of Duke Karl.\(^4\) Since he had formed his musical taste in Berlin, he therefore tried to unite profundity with gracefulness in his orchestra from the beginning. He solicited many singers from Italy, filled his orchestra with first-rate masters, and took the great Jommelli with a yearly wage of 10,000 florins as principal Kapellmeister [1754-ca. 1768] into his service. From this time forward the musical taste in

\(^3\)According to Schubart.

\(^4\)See Karl Eugen in the Appendix.
the region became completely Italian. Formerly one heard only the operas of Hasse and Graun, but now one wanted to hear nothing but the operas of Jommelli. These operas were not only played with exceptional splendor but also executed to the highest perfection. Under Jommelli the Wurttemberg court music was one of the world's best.

April [in Stuttgart 1756-69], Grassi, Buonani, Cesari, and especially the unequalled Hager, distinguished themselves as singers. Hager was unquestionably the greatest tenor of his time. He sang with such enchanting gracefulness and with such sympathetic, heartfelt emotion that he fascinated all listeners. Moreover he was, in the German manner, such a profound musician that no Italian equaled him. He joined with these rare qualities a theatrical demeanor which revealed the greatest actor. When he sank to the lower register, he was an accomplished bass; when he ascended to the higher register, one heard in him the most unequaled tenor. His range went from bass F up to the non-ledger-lined descant c[c"'] and every tone was silvery.

The bravura arias succeeded as did the sentimental arias. His embellishments were completely full of beauty and always seemed to sprout from the motive like flowers. No singer understood the art

5Schubart viewed Hasse and Graun as equals, Jommelli a step above, and Gluck a step above Jommelli. GS, 1:92 (L & G, 1).

6See Anna Seemann in the Appendix.

7In his autobiography, Schubart listed April, Grassi, Rubinelli, Bonafini, Buonani, and Cesari as the leading singers of the Wurttemberg court. GS, 1:93 (L & G, 1). Schubart continued: "April [!] was perhaps the greatest singer of his time...." Schubart then described his strengths as a performer.
of declamation better than he. Metastasio himself must have admitted
that no one hit upon his meaning as perfectly as Hager.

Jozzi [in Stuttgart 1750-56], the foremost harpsichord player
of the duke. He played with great skill, threw off thirty-second notes
in octaves with the left hand, always successfully brought out the
stunning leaps over the hand [hand crossing?], and troubled himself
more to be outstanding in difficulties than to affect the heart of the
listener by means of graceful execution. His compositions for the
clavier are somewhat bizarre, and for that reason have fallen out of
fashion too soon; yet one might still recommend them to harpsichordists
for the development of the hand. They work, by the way, only on the
quilled harpsichord; but on the piano, pantaleon [Pantalon], and clav-
ichord they are hard to play and do not shine because they are too
plain.

Deller, this admirable man matured under the generous influ-
ence of Jommelli, but he never copied him, for Deller soon was aware of
his own fountain out of which he could create. Deller admired the gen-
ius of a Jommelli with enthusiasm but was proud and stubborn enough to
call out to him, "Don't disturb my circle." He was at first a ripien-
ist [1751] in the Württemberg orchestra, but when Jommelli left the
court, the duke appointed him concertmaster and court composer [ca.
1769-71]. Noverre, the foremost ballet master in the world,

8Deller must have been one of Schubart's closest friends
while in Ludwigsburg, for Schubart's autobiography also is very much in
keeping in the same spirit as the Ästhetik der Tonkunst. GS, 1:94-97,
202-4 (L & G, 1).
contributed much to the development of Deller's spirit. Deller composed the music to Noverre's magical ballets and indeed so splendidly that these ballets have become admired as masterpieces throughout Europe even today.9

Noverre himself admitted to never having come across a better interpreter of his mimical discoveries than Deller. The great tragic ballet *Orpheus* [1763] is rich in grand, dreadful, celestial, and exciting places. Newness in thought, grace and delicacy in feeling, sentimental sweetness in the nuances, rich rhythmical modulation— in a word, beauty sparkles everywhere in the musical character of this man. Because he played the *violin* with unusual gracefulness, the scoring *[Bearbeitung]* of this instrument also succeeded very well. Deller worked in all styles; the comic operas, for example, his *Contandina nella corte*10 and his *Maestro di Capella* [1771], are still favorite pieces of the Württemberg theater. The arias and cavatinas, the duets and final choruses have such lovely and noticeable motives and are, without detriment to simplicity, so rich in insinuatingly musical notions that they compete with the best comic operas. If Deller had written for the German theater, he would have become even greater because he often rejected the Italian prose and was overall more German than Italian in his way of thinking and in his taste.

9See also page 190 of this translation.

10This work may not have been composed by Deller. See *Grove 6*, 5:350.
His church pieces also demonstrate a great talent for the higher style. Had he lived longer, he would have furnished us with masterworks in this category. But he left the Württemberg court, went to Vienna and Munich [after 1771], and died there before his spirit had completely developed in the monastery of monk hospitalers, poor and hardly known. Within the cemetery walls of this charitable monastery towers up the grave of this admirable man. I found it in 1774 covered with nettles; meanwhile these laurels of fame after death [i.e., the nettles] flutter about his temple. He has also composed many chamber pieces which sparkle in equal beauty and elegance. One has hope of preserving the pieces of this charming master with others in the forthcoming Stuttgart Musiksammlung whereby the musical supply of the Germans would be enriched with new treasures.

The Plà brothers. If Castor and Pollux, both inspired by God who created them, had played the oboe, they could have hardly played better than these two. They were both Spaniards transplanted to Germany, [where they] cultivated their style under Jommelli and attained exceptional skill on their instruments. This pair of brothers is quite an exceptional phenomenon in music. As they loved one another inexpressibly, their musical performance was all the more sympathetic. Whoever has heard them, heard the ultimate in musical performance. One thought pursued the other; one breath lifted the other. This combining of psyches [Simpsychie] had never before been heard in Europe; it seemed to be a mutual friendship of two closely united angels. Both composed, both played their phrases masterly, and no one was able to decide who might be the greater. The uniting of sounds, the rise
and fall of the portamento, the resemblance in song, and, if one is permitted to say, no one has perhaps expressed, as long as the world exists, love and kindness better than these brothers. The younger one died in Ludwigsburg; there the older one threw away his oboe and [then] withered away in Spain. The compositions of these great masters are extremely rare because out of obstinacy they had left nothing to print. However, one has some of their sonatas which are composed with indescribable charm and will remain for all oboists an everlasting model.

Rodolphe, one of the foremost hornists. As imperfect as this instrument is, he knew how to wrestle with its inconsistencies so masterly. His strength was more in the lower register; he concerned himself with the upper register only so far as the nature of the instrument allowed. The affectionate passages always succeeded splendidly, and he was one of the first who expressed the mezzotint with the horn. But his greatest service is that he became an interpreter for the ballet. His ballets have brought forth a general sensation in Paris. German masters censure him for sweetness, or the all too strict adherence to the French taste. However, he possessed profundity and even understood counterpoint. As he grew older, he composed a Mass, which is still played in Paris in the Concert spirituel on Good Friday.11

Nisle, Rodolphe's student and rival, but absolutely not a Rodolphe. He played the horn quite splendidly, but whoever heard

11There is no mention of a Mass by Rodolphe in any of the standard reference sources.
Rodolphe hears in him [i.e., Nisle] nothing more than a stammerer. His spirit is too small to fly the innate flight. Nisle's compositions are poor because he does not understand the phrase. In the meantime, one must admit that he has hardly an equal as second horn. His double tongue, his crescendo, the ease by which he snatches the five ledger-line contra C \([C_1]\), his gentle piano, and especially his portamento raise him to the level of an eagle among hornists.

Seemann, neither composer nor soloist, but a completely admirable accompanist. The great Jommelli has trained him. So difficult is the art of accompanying, so many-sided are its intricacies, so profound is its needs—so capable was Seemann. He possessed all the qualities which the great Bach demanded from the accompanist. He knew how to cling to every disposition of the singer, and he kept time as no one else did. He listened to every pulse of the music; no one was more capable than he of controlling the spiritual storm. He clung to every temperament; [he] seemed to understand nothing, yet understood everything. He hardly had his equal when it came to instructing singers in their presentation; he noticed every dissonance, every deviation from harmony. His compositions for clavier and song are first-rate. [It is] too bad that he wrote too little out of mistrust of his spirit, because he used to say, "A candle is nothing in the presence of the sun." He withered in the thirtieth year of his life to the great loss of the musical
world. Grateful tears fall on this page! Seemann was my teacher and friend.12

Cesari. His wife [i.e., Seemann's] was an altogether first-rate singer, great by nature, and taught correctly by her husband. A human throat hardly expresses the runs more godly than this one. So naive, so wantonly beautiful, so flirting, and thus so right--one can hardly imagine something like Cesari. She plucked off the sounds only as though on the tip of her tongue, but she made up for the privation of the lower register by her precision of execution. She always sang sotto voce, but this was sotto-heavenly! O echo from primeval sound! She was not a virtuoso, for she affected only badly; but whatever she had studied, she sang as though no one would sing after her.

Bonavini. Female singer in great style. Her range was not very extensive, but the subdivisions of this range were so much more golden. Her runs never succeeded entirely, but her sustained and crescendo sounds did so much more. A genius she was not, but [she was] a gifted imitator.

The orchestra of the Württemberg court consisted of the best virtuosos of the world, and that was precisely its failure. Everyone built an individual sphere, and the conformity to a system was unbearable. Thus, there were often flourishes in the loud passages which did not belong there. An orchestra consisting of virtuosos is a world of kings who do not have any sovereign authority.

12This section is quite a bit longer than the brief mention of Seemann in Schubart's biography. GS, 1:98 (L & G, 1). And why is this one so sentimental? The obituary which appeared in the Deutsche Chronik (20 February 1775):118 is rather objective.
XI. SALZBURG

This archbishopric for several centuries has done great service to music. There is in that very place a musical endowment, amounting to 50,000 florins per year, which is used entirely for the support of a choir. The music in that main church is one of the most well-staffed in all of Germany. The organ there belongs among the most splendid ones that exist; [it is] too bad that a Bachian hand does not animate this masterwork! The tone is thick, and if all the stops were coupled, it would sound like a thunderstorm. It has three manuals, more than one hundred registers, and a tremendous pedal. The decorations of sculpture thereon are magnificent and in good taste.

The Kapellmeister Mozart (the father) has put music right in step. He himself is honorably known as a composer and writer. His style is somewhat old-fashioned but well-founded and full of contrapuntal understanding. His church music is of greater worth than his chamber pieces. By means of his Violinschule [1756], which is written in very good German and with deep insight, he has earned himself a great honor. The examples are admirably selected, and his fingering is nothing less than pedantic. He is truly inclined to the Tartini school, but allows more freedom in bow control to his student than the latter.
His son has become even more famous than the father. He belongs to the classification of a musical prodigy for already in his eleventh year he set an opera, which was well received by all experts. This son ranks among our best clavier players. He plays with magical skill and reads so accurately from the page that his equal is found only with great difficulty.

The choirs in Salzburg are splendidly prepared, but the style in the church for some time begins to degenerate into the theatrical—a disease which already has poisoned more than one church. The Salzburgers shine especially in wind instruments. One finds the most excellent trumpeters and hornists, but clavier and organ players are all the rarer. The spirit of the Salzburgers is prejudiced exceedingly to base comedy. Their folk songs are so amusing and burlesque that one cannot listen to them without appalling laughter. The Hanswurst spirit is visible everywhere, and the melodies are mostly splendid and of matchless beauty.¹

¹Schubart wrote a glowing report of music in Salzburg in his Deutsche Chronik (26 June 1775):408, but his enthusiasm has apparently lessened.
XII. BRUNSWICK

The dowager duchess [Charlotte Philippine], a Prussian princess, has transplanted the musical spirit of Berlin to this place. For forty years music has been in bloom there. Hasse's and Graun's operas are performed with good taste and correct execution. The greatest singers, a Carestini, Salimbeni, and others, sang at this theater. A Nardini, Ferrari and several virtuosos of the first rank adorned the orchestra.

Schwaneberger was Kapellmeister [from 1762 to 1802].\(^1\) His operas are composed with much profundity but are not melodic enough to maintain them for long. Schwaneberger is out of the Berlin school. Too much spirit disappeared because of the cerebral process; accordingly, his operas are almost forgotten. Also, his chamber pieces are of little importance.

Friedrich Gottlob Fleisher, a first-rate clavier player and famous composer. The familiar and the difficult are a principal feature in his musical character. The greatest difficulties he surmounts easily, but the adagio does not succeed nearly as well as the presto. His clavier pieces and songs for the clavier are first-rate

\(^1\)Burney regrets that he was not able to visit Brunswick, but he does praise the works of both Schwabenger and Fleischer, the first with six lines of text and the latter with but three. \textit{Burney G}, p. 237.
and set with much taste; he succeeds quite masterly with the comic places. His Podagrist is magnificent.²

Hurlebusch. A son of the famous organist of Hamburg [Conrad Friedrich Hurlebusch] and one of the best German clavier players. His accentuation is new and deeply penetrating; for that reason he especially shines on the clavichord, which he manipulates like a master. His adagio and largo are of matchless beauty. He has exactly what Fleischer does not have. [It is] too bad that he composes so little.

Zachariä (the poet) played the clavier very beautifully [and] also published various collections for the clavier, which give evidence of good taste. This is so much more to admire since Zachariä only began to study music when he was twenty-five years old.

The now reigning Duke of Brunswick [Charles Louis Maucourt] plays the violin splendidly and supports one of the best orchestras. He was not as much interested in the theater as in chamber music. He usually is in the habit of playing in the concerts. His solos are admired by connoisseurs; he plays the most difficult pieces of Lolli with expression and skill.

Music bloomed in this court only since the rule of the present margrave. The former [margrave], except for the falcon hunt, had almost no [other] passion, but the present one founded an orchestra twenty years ago wherein a few good minds distinguish themselves greatly.\footnote{It is} too bad that vocal music is completely lacking, but instrumental music is so much the better.

The leader of the orchestra is Kleinknecht, strictly speaking \underline{only} a transverse flutist,\footnote{Jakob Friedrich Kleinknecht appears as a flutist in Bayreuth in 1743. In 1747 he began to study violin and became Kapellmeister there in 1761. The court was moved to Ansbach in 1769, and he continued as director. Grove 6, 10:103.} but as profound a composer as we have in Germany. Indeed, he pursued only the chamber style, but his chamber pieces are models in this genre. His melodic passages are generally well chosen, and the basses are composed so splendidly that the composer must study them in order to learn about composing the bass. Kleinknecht's spirit is not full of fire, but contains a firm and regular step. He has written various trios, solos, symphonies, and other pieces which give evidence of a mature knowledge of harmony. Not so long ago he published his biography, which was written so

\footnote{See Deutsche Chronik (18 September 1775):597-98, where Schubart lists Kleinknecht, Liebeskind, Schwarz, Sartori, Ulrich, and Jager, respectively, as the leading musicians of Ansbach.}
splendidly, honestly, and thoroughly that the German man comes forth at all times.  

Schwarz. A pupil of the Württemberg chapel and unquestionably the best bassoonist of our time. His large physical body causes him to play somewhat asthmatically, but he compensates for it by thousandfold refinements. His tone is full and beautiful. He has magical accuracy in sound. In the tenor [range] he is extremely pleasant, and in the low [range] he is angry. He brings out the voluble passages with penetrating force, and no one plays the adagio better than he. Hence he unites in himself qualities that few virtuosos know how to do. The British have gazed at this master, and in Germany his banner has long waved. [It is] too bad that he understands too little to be able to compose a concerto himself. Yet he chooses very well and knows how to arrange pieces of various compositions to satisfy his spirit.

Johann Jäger. Perhaps the most energetic violoncellist that we have. I say "perhaps" because he has a significant rival in the great Legrand of Berlin, who is said to surpass him in speed, according to the admission of a serious connoisseur. One observation alone gives Jager the edge: Legrand does not play Jäger's most difficult

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3There seems to be a problem here with Schubart's information. Jakob Kleinknecht was the "leader" of the orchestra and the composer, but Johann Stephen Kleinknecht (b. 1731; d. after 1791), flutist and Jakob's younger brother, wrote the autobiography which appeared in Meusel's Miscellaneen artistischen Innhalts (1782) and was reprinted in Cramer's Magazin der Musik, 1 (1783):733. Grove 6, 10:103.

4Among the greatest of the traveling virtuosos that Schubart heard while he was in Ulm (1775-77), "Jäger received the palms." GS, 1:261 (L & G, 1).
concertos as strongly as his own. Jäger is quite original; his bow control is original, unrestricted, and fiery to the point of turbulence. All masters of the cello place their thumbs on the D string and by this means bring out the high passages. But Jäger departs from this method as proof that his genius has more than one way to reach its goal. He goes upwards with lightning fast skill to the D and A strings in the highest register and performs delicate phrases with the greatest tenderness and sweetness. He is criticized that he plays the lower notes too heavily, cuts them off too quickly, and proceeds to the second tone even before the first has faded out. Precisely, this causes lack of clarity in the performance as a clavier without good tuning. This criticism is not without basis: the fiery spirit of Jäger alone brought him to this disadvantage; now inasmuch as he has cooled down, he has certainly rid himself of this. Jäger is at the same time a great sight-reader, viz., he plays the most difficult pieces artistically, directly from the page. He writes compositions not according to rules but only according to the ear. His concertos and sonatas consist mostly of self-invented phrases which are great, noble, suited to the instrument, and full of difficulties. Jäger has had his pieces revised by good composers whereby they also received a correct form. However, one must surely confess that the plentiful branches, put forth by an often unrestrained improvisation, are still not all cut off. His son followed in his father's footsteps with the greatest
honor and was appointed violoncellist with this orchestra already in his eleventh year [ca. 1787], under his father.

Ulrich. A better ripienist than oboist. Since he plays mostly with a mute in order to stop the goose honks of the oboe in the low range, [and] since he caused a turmoil over this with a few concertos and sonatas and thereby exposed himself to the reproach of poverty, it is no wonder that he played no great role as a soloist. On the other hand he accompanied very well with the violin and was an accurate bower. He died, even before his musical taste was completely laid out, as chamber virtuoso in the Ansbach service.

The remaining members of the Ansbach orchestra are suited very well as a harmonious body, yet other than those already mentioned there are no virtuosos. Also, the incredible disregard of song in Ansbach causes the instrumentalists themselves to drift away more and more from the cantabile.

Gräf, in Erlangen, is an extremely good clavier player. His pieces, of which many are in the great Nuremberg collection engraved in copper, are very well proportioned, written with skill, [and] even

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5 Schubart wrote an article about Jäger in his Vaterlandschronik (1789), page 117 (see Holzer, p. 134) but the article was not available.

6 Ulrich performed in Ulm on Friday, 11 August 1775. (Schubart sold the tickets to the concert.) The review on the following Thursday is not particularly enthusiastic, considering that Schubart apparently underwrote the concert. See Teutsche Chronik (10 August 1775):512 and (17 August 1775):528.

7 This is possibly the same Gräf—spelled "Graf"—mentioned in Schubart's Deutsche Chronik (15 September 1775):599.
often with genius. Certainly, he does not compose according to modern
taste; but his phrases are so practical, so strengthening of the hand
for the clavierist that I must rightly recommend them before many of
the newer ones which often are really ephemeral.

When Bayreuth earlier built a special court, a special orches-
tra was also in that place. The margravine [Wilhelmine], a sister of
Frederick the Great, sang very well herself and composed many Italian
arias with taste and insight. Chamber music at that time was very
good. The best singers from all parts were heard in that very place.
The king gave his sister 30,000 thalers each year for the maintenance
of an orchestra, [and] because the margravine inclined more to the
Italian than the German taste, her orchestra consisted mostly of
Italians. When this house died, the orchestra also fell apart
[stäßbte aus einander].
XIV. WALLERSTEIN-OETTINGEN

Ever since this ancient noble house was raised to princely rank [1774], music has bloomed there to a very high degree. The prevailing sound there has something altogether original, a certain something which is combined from Italian and German taste and spiced with caprice.

Herr von Beecke is the leader of this orchestra [from ca. 1763]. He belongs not only among the best of harpsichordists but also among the most superior and most original of composers. His hand is small and brilliant; his execution, intelligible and plump; his improvisation, rich and sparkling, and—what honors him the most—his whole

1Schubart visited Wallerstein about 1775. In his autobiography (page 273) he refers the reader to an article by Schad, in which Schad discussed the music in Wallerstein in more detail than what Schubart could have said. This article was published in Wieland's Der neue Deutsche Merkur. There is also a brief mention of Wallerstein (in particular, Beecke and Janitsch) in the Deutsche Chronik (18 September 1775):598.

2Schubart regarded Beecke very highly. He dedicated a poem and a volume of his Musikalische Rhapsodien to Beecke, and he mentioned Beecke several times in his autobiography. GS, 1:50, 51, 273 (L & G, 1). The paragraph in GS, 1:273 (L & G, 2) is concerned with Beecke's compositional skills and mentions in particular his Requiem. The wording of this passage, however, matches the description of Rosetti's Requiem discussed on page 220 of this translation. This fact becomes even more suspicious when one considers that Schubart does not mention Beecke's Requiem in the Ästhetik. Could this possible error be an example of what Ludwig was faced with in attempting to reconstruct Christian's Ästhetik from "strewed papers"?
style of playing was created by himself. He has built a school in clavier playing known as the Beeckish school. The characteristic of this school is proper fingering, short, somewhat affected movement of the hand, intelligible performance, playing with common sense in passages, and an especially magnificent compact trill [Pralltriller.]

Beecke's clavier pieces are also written in this style. He still has this distinction, that all of his works represent a certain picture of feelings whose character is not easily misunderstood. One knows completely in what mood Beecke was when he composed this or that product, as he remains so true to the governing feeling. His concertos are not especially difficult but are particularly lovely and flattering to the ear. His clavier sonatas belong to the best of this type that we possess: they are rich in striking, mostly entirely new phrases. His modulations are not exactly daring but are very often surprising. He guards himself with anxious conscientiousness against rosalia; thus his nuances are so agreeable. His compositions for other instruments have quite an original coloring. The contour is stated most precisely, and the instruments bring forth such a powerful carnation and lovely color combination that one cannot hear them without a delightful sensation.

Beecke has also written much for voice, yet he does not distinguish himself as much in this as in instrumental pieces. He elaborates on the feelings within the song, but places more or less in them than is really there.

Rosetti. One of the most beloved composers of our time. One now sees Rosetti pieces on all claviers; his songs resound from all maidenly throats. And to be sure, one can hardly imagine something
lighter, more illuminating, or more mellifluous than the pieces of this man. **Naivety** is especially his main feature. But as easy as his works appear to be, they are so difficult to perform if one does not have any individual sympathetic feeling. The mere musical tumbler, who tries to find his fame only in a break-neck leap, will fail if he should perform a Rosetti work. Grace and beauty are of so infinite, delicate a nature that only a quiver of the hand destroys its fragile outline and the portrait of Venus becomes a caricature. This fundamental idea applies to a high degree in the performance of a Rosetti composition: on a harpsichord they work only poorly; on a Stein piano, better; [and] best of all on a Silbermann clavichord.

Rosetti also composed much for the church. His **Requiem [1776]** on the death of the princess of Taxis is particularly beautiful but does not have the solemnity, the mystery of death, or the consolation of resurrection as in the Jommelli **Requiem [1764]**.³ He trifles too much with the wind instruments. The nasal sound of the muted trumpet almost descends to the comic level and destroys the impression of mournful devotion. Also, he does not understand counterpoint well enough to work through a fugue with energy and vigor. Rosetti is the first Italian who musically adapted **German** poetry. Since he had studied the German language thoroughly these works have succeeded

³"Sein [Beecke] [italics added] Requiem auf den Tod der dasigen Fürstin ist der Pendent zu Jomellis Requiem, und eben so schon und rührend, als Werkmeisters Lobredes auf diese fromme Prinzessin." **GS, 1:273 (L & G, 2).** See page 218, note 2 of this translation.
extraordinarily well. Songs of love and gentle flowing sensations succeed the best.

Anton Janitsch. A very good, thorough, and pleasant violinist. His solo is strong, rich in difficult passages, and his execution above all has complete clearness. In the storm of improvisation he is not forced onto the shore of the beat. No one performs Beecke's compositions more powerfully than Janitsch. His bowing is piercing, and his disposition is fascinating and beautiful. There are few violinists who might be equally strong in solo and accompaniment as Janitsch.

Frau von Schaden. Certainly music history is not a dilettante's history, but only if mere dilettantes raise themselves to such heights as Frau von Schaden, they deserve not only to be noticed but also to be praised. She is, strictly speaking, a student of Beecke, but plays far more quickly than her master and in more styles. Her touch is splendid and gives flight to the clavier. She reads with indescribable skill, yet she shows her femininity. She speeds up the beat, grimaces at times, and embellishes the adagio. Her own heart does not swell when she expresses feelings, but is always in the manner of the master. Whatever can be performed by means of mechanics, those she executes masterly; but where genius is to be considered, there rules womanly weakness—then she struggles on the keys like a wounded dove and her life extinguishes.
To the honor of the Wallerstein orchestra, this should be added: that here the **musical color** has certainly become more distinctive than in nearly any other orchestra. Here the most refined and imperceptible blendings of tone are often perceived, especially with Rosetti, with pedantic conscientiousness.
For a long time this court did not set its eyes to music, although church music under the previous margrave was always tolerable. But the tolerable and the mediocre never attract attention in the history of music. Only under the present margrave did Germany begin to pay attention to the music at the court. The deceased Kapellmeister Schiatti was truly a mediocre composer, but he understood well the art of directing an orchestra and leading its members with vigor. Yet the honor of bringing this orchestra into favor was reserved for a German, and this German is the present Kapellmeister:

Schmittbaur [Kapellmeister from 1777 until 1804]. He belongs among the choicest composers of our fatherland, and only now does one see what the world long had in him.\(^1\) His church pieces, performed in Cologne, are full of understanding and artly insight. He manipulates the fugue profoundly, but he elaborates his modulations too much. His German cantatas are in part splendid. The poetry of Herr von Drais, which was based on a painting by van der Werff, he set masterly to

\(^1\)A similar evaluation of Schmittbaur may be found in Schubart's Deutsche Chronik (10 November 1774):518 n.
music, especially "Adam's feelings at the first thunderstorm." The approaching thunderstorm is expressed through muted kettledrums up to the deception, and its outburst rages in full instrumental storm. The sentiments of our first parents [Adam and Eve], at this unusual occasion, are expressed by means of the most natural song. His recitatives are not completely as profound as those of other German masters but are still pleasant by the interspersed accompaniments. His arias are first-rate for vocal exercise because they are difficult and are full of new modulations. This master has also written a great deal in the chamber style, always good and listenable, and in the style of Jommelli, his teacher, though never particularly outstanding. Perhaps the reason, among others, is that he is no master on any instrument, only touching them superficially, or as Rousseau says, "He only plucked the tips of notes."

Woeggel. A man who especially handled the trumpet as a master. Since he was rich in breath, had a strong chest, and lived dietetically, this giant task was all the easier for him. He came first to the happy idea of bending the trumpet in order to reach into

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2Die Ur-Eltern im ersten Gewitter (n.d.). There seems to be some confusion about the author of the text. Schubart and Grove identify Denis as the author, but Ludwig Schubart, in the addenda to the 1806 edition of his father's treatise, corrects the "error" and attributes the text to Drais. See Denis in Appendix.

3Schubart identifies Woeggel as one of the many virtuosos he had heard in Augsburg (on 20 April 1774) as "ein eben so grosser, nur etwas bizarren Theorist, der damalige starke Trompeter Weigel...." GS, 1:234 (L & G, 2). See also Deutsche Chronik (25 April 1774):63-64.
the bell and to be able to modify the sounds. Trumpets with keys seemed to him to have lost too much of their nature. He therefore came upon this discovery, without taking away from the resounding of the trumpet.

His tongue is first-rate in double-tonguing as in single, and his high range not only is exceedingly pure but also so lovely that it seems to be more like the human voice than a trumpet playing. The concertos for his instrument are mostly by Schmittbaur and are written with good taste and suitable profundity. But since he has specialized mostly to the high range, he loses noticeably in the low tones.

The margrave also possesses in Geyer of Durlach one of the most noteworthy organists, whom even a Vogler respected. He has fire, powerful hands, knowledge of the pedals, and understanding in the registration. But he elaborates too much on the organ and seems to have studied the adagio, largo, andante, and arioso much too little.

4The Inventionstrompete, or hand-stopped trumpet, was Woeggel's invention ca. 1777. See Grove 6, 19:220.

5Schmittbaur wrote seven trumpet concertos during the years 1773-74, but which are now apparently lost. See Grove 6, 16:679.

6Cf. "GEYER. Organist in Durlach, ein Mann ohne alle Kenntnisse und Geschmack; steif wie der Stok, der all Abende seinen Korper im Gleichgewicht erhalten muss, wenn er illuminirt ist; und sein Kopf leer, wie die Windlade seiner Orgel, den Weingeist ausgenommen, der darinnen verdunstet." MAadJ 1784, p. 55.
Sandmair. A good soloist on the violin, though even a more excellent ripienist.\textsuperscript{7} He developed at this court and traveled world-wide with Vogler.

The \textit{song} has been until now exceedingly neglected, doing irreparable harm to the instrumentalists, for without song no instrumentalist will be mature.

\textsuperscript{7}Cf. "Als Spieler is er fast ganz unbrauchbar; besonders spielt er als Ripienist seine Violine ohne allen Ausdruck und Punktlichkeit in der ewigen monotischen Leyer." MAadJ 1782, p. 12.
This city above other German cities has done great and venerable service to music. Already at the time of church reform, choirs were maintained, which, after the church song was brought in, came into exceeding favor and worth. I believe that this city had the first organ in Germany, at least one finds in their history earlier accounts of organs than in the records of other cities. Because of that there were great organists much earlier than elsewhere in Germany. Cantors or choir directors were paid, cornettists and trombonists retained, and they were combined with public singing. Therefore, the chorale singing is in no other German city so first-rate, thundering so majestically, filling up the temple halls so completely, and accompanied so profoundly by the organ than in Hamburg. The people of Hamburg were the first Protestants who brought figural music into the church, at first despite great opposition from the clergy. The wealth of this city, which, as is well known, was brought about by their extended trade, was very advantageous to music. The local authorities allowed considerable payments for the musicians, and wealthy individuals augmented the same by means of considerable bequests. At the beginning of this century the people of Hamburg again were the first who brought German songs to the theater. Although the poetry in the beginning was mostly base, the music for that time was composed very well.
Mattheson was the ruler of these musical dramas and the foremost musician in Hamburg. True, his own compositions were rather stiff and pedantic, but he improved this by transcribing first-rate pieces from Italy and France and setting German texts to them. Also, the best singers in Germany were enlisted for these dramas.

Schubart, my forebear, a first-rate tenor, who sang with unusual grace and had studied music as a master, was for many years the pride of his theater.

Mattheson played the organ vigorously, but his mathematical precision made him somewhat timid. But his greatest merit is that he became one of the foremost German teachers through his many musical writings. His Organistenprobe,¹ his Vollkommene Capellmeister,² and other of his writings contain a treasure of rare musical insight. Since he understood Latin, Greek, English, French, and Italian, he could read and study everything that was written about music in these languages. If one wanted to examine an organist or Kapellmeister today according to his strict requirements, exceedingly few would be qualified for these posts. Mattheson himself was more thorough and sound than melodic, [and] for that reason are his compositions now fashionable. He often forced pedantry to the ridiculous--he wanted to write [mahlen] not only for the ear but also for the eyes. Once he composed


²Johann Mattheson, Der vollkommene Capellmeister. (Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1739).
a cantata, titled Noah, which was supposed to express a rainbow; he wrote the notes in a half-circle and used red, yellow, blue, and other colored ink—an idea which Klopstock, in his Gelehrten Republik [1774], made fun of. With all these costly arrangements, Hamburg's music still had very much that was harsh and nearly barbaric. But suddenly a man stepped out of the clouds—claraque luce refulsit—and this man was:

**Telemann.** He studied theology, but his musical originality stood higher than theology. From nature endowed with genius, he cultivated music under the best masters. He traveled through Italy and France, took nourishment everywhere for his spirit without losing his own mannerisms. When he came back to Germany, he became Kapellmeister in Hamburg [1721], and here began the period of his greatness. He soon rose to one of the foremost European composers. Especially in the church style, he had no equal; thoughtfulness, Psalmodic spirit, loftiness, dignity, and majesty were compatible with a heart that was filled with religion. His many church cycles are a priceless treasure for music. In his middle age he inclined, enticed by Lully's example, to something of the French phrase, yet he soon turned back again, for the aberration of genius does not last long. In his later works he was a completely German man. No one could have written more correctly than Telemann, yet correctness did not eat into the delicate sprout of

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melo dy. Few masters were richer in melodic motion than he. His recitatives are models which the artist must study. His arias, mostly set with few instruments, have the greatest effect. The basses are so masterly prepared and so regularly figured that in this he was not surpassed by anyone. Telemann was the greatest in choruses. One has Alleluias and Amens from him which imitate the shout for joy and the rejoicing of the heavenly choirs such that the most frozen soul thaws thereby and must overflow in feeling. How he set and accompanied the chorales, how full were his harmonies, how successful his modulations could only be judged by those who were judges of original works. He has composed various oratorios, cantatas, and so forth, which are collected now like gems from the time of Dioscorides. His chamber pieces are not of this value by far, for even if he had worked out all of them with the utmost profundity, the products of this sort are too subject to fashion to be able to last for long. Telemann was destined for church music, and therein has he become the foremost German teacher. Where there is church music, there resound his discoveries. His spirit remained always great and lively to a most venerable age. He even played a passion-oratorio in his eightieth year, wherein the full vigor of his genius flared. The greatest poets of his time, Richey, Brockes, and Hagedorn, worked for him. He felt the power of the poetry so deeply that he wept while reading the first songs of [?Klopstock's] Messiah, that such a poet had not worked for him. Shortly before his end he still decided to set a hymn from Messiah to music. But he died and now listens to the chorus of the angels.
The luck of the people of Hamburg is enviable; after this enormous bereavement they received a:

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, who in many pieces even surpassed Telemann. He was Kapellmeister in Hamburg [1768-88] for Princess [Anna] Amalia of Prussia and had this title from various courts as well. He is the son of the great [Johann] Sebastian Bach and studied harpsichord and organ with him with such admirable success that he, even in his eleventh year, played through the magical pieces of his father [while] looking over his shoulder as he composed them. Soon, however, he let the organ go and devoted himself completely to the clavier and composition. Already in his eighteenth year, he became the harpsichord player for Frederick the Great and always accompanied the king's flute concertos and solos alone. Here he rose in every respect to the world's best clavier player. No one has ever penetrated the nature of harsichord, piano, pantaleon, and clavichord with such a profound view as this immortal man. In particular he was the first who brought color to the clavichord, who found the suspension and vibration of the tone, the portamento (a style of mezzotinto), the fermata, the compact trill, also the trill with turned ending, together with countless other clavichord ornaments. He plays very heavily yet beautifully. His legato style, his ornamentation, his modulations, his harmonic devices are incomparable. He has studied music in its widest domain. As great as he is a solo player, so creative are his

4The verb is in the past tense, meaning that there has been some editing by either Christian or Ludwig since the dictation of the Ästhetik in 1784/85.
improvisations; as great and stately is his imagination, so great is he in the accompaniment. Who accompanies like Bach? "No one!" all of Europe will answer. Frederick the Great, who had studied Horace's Nil admirari\(^5\) to such a high degree, stood more than once behind the great man when he cast a spell on a tone from the clavichord [and] then struck the ground with his walking stick and cried out, "Only one Bach! Only one Bach!"

One has countless clavier pieces from this master which all bear the stamp of the most extraordinary genius. So rich in invention, so inexhaustible in new modulations, so full of harmony is none as he. What Raphael as painter and Klopstock as poet [are], that is nearly Bach as harmonist and composer. What is criticized in his pieces is capricious taste, frequent oddities, farfetched difficulty, capricious placement of the music, when, for example, he always gives the middle fingers an odd domain, and stubbornness against fashionable taste.\(^6\) If there is some truth in these accusations, it is even truer that the really great man of course bends but can never degrade himself to the dwarfishness of his contemporaries. Bach used to say, "If my contemporaries fall, so it is my duty to pick them up, but it is not to lie with them in the muck." Thus one notices in his newest pieces always some concession to the spirit of the times, but never descending to

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\(^5\)Horace, Epistles, I:6.

\(^6\)Cf. Burney G, p. 218. Schubert commented on Bach's Six sonates pour le clavicin, à l'usage des dames (Amsterdam, 1770; rpt Riga, 1773) not in a condescending way as he had done with Wolf, for example, but in a very positive way. See Deutsche Chronik (15 August 1774):318-19 and (13 March 1775):168. This was not the case as with Johann Christian Bach. See page 257 of this translation.
the reigning spirit of pettiness. All trifles on the clavichord, all sweet, spiritually enervated essence, all jangling trinkets of today's composer are abominations to his immense spirit. He remains in spite of the fashion what he is: Bach!

As great as he appears here as clavierist, he is just as important as a teacher of the clavier. No one understands the art of training a master better than he. His greater spirit has formed a special school: that of Bach! Whoever is from this school will be received in all of Europe with open arms. His fingering is the most splendid that ever a clavierist will discover; his hand and physical posture, outstanding; and his execution, so unconstrained that one imagines sorcery without noticing a single magical incitement. Yes, he has become the teacher of the world in the clavichord. His Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen [1753] is as classic as ever a work was written. His style is serious, precise, and clear. His rules are extracted from the most profound experience. He is theorist and aesthete at the same time to an unusual degree. Everything that lies in the area of the clavier, he seems to have exhausted; for in the forty years where he prevailed, certainly many aspired to his colossal likeness, but they did not even begin to measure up.

He was just as distinguished as a director of a chorus. He knows how to blend hundreds of voices and stringed instruments as one, how to conduct as in the pulse of nature, [and] how to accommodate genius itself within the bounds of order; in these things he is scarcely to be equaled. Acoustics, the orchestral ordering, and many secrets of the Kapellmeister's art he understood from their foundations. Even as
a composer of songs he showed himself with lustre. His cantatas, his chorales, for which he selected texts from Gellert, Cramer, and Klopstock, are full of pathos, full of newness in melodic motion, unique in modulations, in short, a true harmony of the spheres. As great is his spirit, so great is his diligence. No genius has ever written as much as he, and everything, whether the least important little song or little minuet, bears his original stamp. Because of this extraordinary man, it is understood that music in Hamburg must have been intensely built. There, everything is song and sound; the greatest virtuosos appear there and are prinically rewarded; the dilettantes raise themselves to mastery.*

Theater music in Hamburg is one of the most choice in Germany. Though not heavily orchestrated, it is just right in performance so

*The counsellor Schubak, a universal thinker, plays not only the clavier as a master, but also composes quite splendidly. A man who can say, "I know only two teachers: Klopstock and Bach," deserves to be noticed by history, even if he also declares himself to be only a dilettante.8


8In a letter (3 July 1783) to his son Ludwig, Schubart writes: "Sag ihm [Johann Christoph Ludwig Abbeille] er soll ja Bachs wahre Art, das Klavier zu spielen sich eiligst Kauffen und studieren. Bach ist mir in der Musik was mir Klopstock in der Poesie ist." Strauss, 2:56.
that concertmasters should travel there to learn how to direct an orchestra. Since the best products of the world are performed there, it is easy to consider what a great music school Hamburg has become for our fatherland.

A theater, in which the poetic and music perfection of Lessing, Klopstock, Bach, Bode, Schröder, and others have worked for many years, must necessarily raise itself to a summit which projects over all other theaters. Thus nothing makes more sensation in Hamburg than what is extraordinarily great. A celebrated Englishman asserted publicly not long ago that, in general, musical taste in Hamburg is far greater than that in London.
XVII. MAINZ, TRIER, AND COLOGNE

When one speaks of the courts of the holy electors, when one thinks about their enthusiasm for the preservation of their religion, nothing else can be expected than flowering music— at least in the church style.

In Mainz the elector's court music has been composed always by first-rate minds. The previous elector [Emmerich Joseph] was so enthusiastic for music that he was awakened each morning to a so-called musical matins [and] an evening song with unspeakable feeling cradled him to sleep. Not often has a great man interwoven music so in his life as this one. Music woke him, music accompanied him to the table, music sounded on his hunts, music urged on his prayers in church, music rocked him in soothing sleep, and music has certainly welcomed this truly good prince in heaven.

Punto [in Mainz from 1769 to 1774]. Certainly the best hornist in the world. To be sure he is distinguished more in the second [part] than in the first, he has studied the compass of horn such as no other, [and] his completely vigorous soul blows out the bell of the horn. To hear an adagio played by him in the hour for lovers is the ultimate of art. He solves difficulties with indescribable ease. Thundering, he attacks the contra C and soars through the most unnoticeable curve to high C. He knows, with the hand in the bell, how to bring out so purely the missing tones in the scale of the horn that he accompanies
pieces in all keys with his D horn without taking refuge in a
time-wasting mechanical horn [i.e., using crooks]. His compositions
are even as first-rate as his performance, but they always presume a
master: they are not written for dilettantes.

The church music in Mainz has for a long time preserved itself
in the old solemn style. The antiphons are executed with dignity, and
the Masses have greatness, devotion, and depth of feeling. The fugal
style is more popular here than anywhere, and the organs are all
staffed with experts.
XVIII. COLOGNE

In the many churches of this great city, the most excellent motets, Masses, and antiphons resound more from ecclesiastics than from salaried musicians. The choirboys there sing beautifully, even to the point of delight, and among the many ecclesiastics one finds tenor and bass voices of the first rank. Instrumental accompaniment is, as one can easily guess, not exactly the most excellent but is engaged sufficiently well. The style in Cologne is almost as in Mainz, only it has a somewhat more modern mien. Among the choir regents there are completely excellent organists. Father Bauer and a nun named Agatha are true organ virtuosos. Also one often finds heavenly voices in the convent.

The elector has only moderately staffed court music, which the celebrated Schmittbaur formerly directed [from 1775 to 1777]. In this orchestra no member has distinguished himself up to virtuoso stock. One of the main reasons is this: that the musicians of that place only enjoy a very poor salary. So much greater is the zeal for music in private families. One finds there a cavalier or a lady who has pushed music to mastery. Although Cologne plays no special role in music at present, to its honor it deserves to be noted that the first Christian church song was heard there in the year 855. From this time on the enthusiasm of the people of Cologne for church music has continued strong, and in this great style they shine even today.
XIX. TRIER

As for church music here it is about as well established as in Mainz and Cologne; only here is was modified in such a way that the present elector [Clemens Wenzeslaus], one of the most pious rulers, was against the prevailing insolence in church style and preferred the old Masses and urged his composers to work in this style.

The musical posts were brought forward nowhere in all of Germany with such heart softened devotion as in Trier and Koblenz.¹ Too bad that the organs are not the best and that no organist has distinguished himself as a master there for a long time.

Also the court music there is staffed very well. The Kapellmeister Sales [Kapellmeister from 1768 to 1797], a thorough and pleasant composer and a man of the most engaging character, has emerged in dramatic and chamber style with honor. Although the elector does not have a theater, this master composed various operas for Mannheim, Munich, and for several Italian cities, and later on for London where they were received very well. His spirit is not great but pleasant. Lighter directions of thought, easy, pleasing melodies, warmth of the heart, good preparation of song, natural instrumental phrases, even insinuating harmonies and modulations display his musical character.

¹The Trier court moved permanently to Koblenz in 1786, but Koblenz was also active musically before this date.
Much beauty, but not much greatness, lies in his pieces; for that reason his Masses, Te Deums, and other church compositions do not have much to say. Without the prominence of the spirit no one ventures to this style! His wife is an admirable contralto. She formerly sang as a prima donna in one of Sale's operas, but the contralto still can, by its nature, never shine as the leading voice. As soon as only a mediocre descant or tenor is set on the page against it, it already stands in the shadow: for they are, by comparison, masters in song; thus, the contralto--male or female--sinks completely under. This was the fate of an otherwise admirable flower, the present wife of Sales. She was heard with admiration and compassion whenever she sang in concerts, but could never create a sensation whenever she appeared in the theater.

Among the instrumentalists of the Trier court, Vocika [?Woschitka] is especially distinguished. He was formerly chamber virtuoso at the Württemberg court, but his cynical character took him away from this court to Koblenz. He is without contradiction the

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2Achilles in Sciro (early 1774). Schubart mentions Sales' new opera, without title, in GS 1:184 (L & G, 1), but he did write an article about Achilles in Sciro in his Deutsche Chronik (12 May 1774): 100-104.

3Burney passed through Koblenz in 1772 and mentioned that there was "a most extraordinary performer on the double bass at this court, who plays solos on it, even worth hearing." Burney G, p. 26. In the section that follows, it is obvious that Schubart is discussing the same musician.
greatest double bassist of our time. He hit upon the idea of playing concertos and solos on his giant instrument. He even put these notions into practice, to the general amazement of his listeners. The low range was bellowing, gruesome, noticeably piercing—sounding as the howl of a storm in the tops of oaks. The higher tones brought forth the most lovely tenor voice, which was no longer as a string tone, but sounded as a tenor trombone.

He even composed double bass concertos; and since the idea is so completely original, they brought him so much more honor. Only one must consider that such an enormous bass instrument was not made to be

While in Ulm, Schubart had the opportunity to attend a concert to be given by the bassist Kempfer (Deutsche Chronik [1 June 1775]:352). In his review of the performance, he claimed that "Herr Kempfer ist, meines Wissens, der Einzige in Europa, der diess instrument Solo und mit diesem Nachdrucke spielt;...." (see Deutsche Chronik [12 June 1775]:373). But Kempfer is not mentioned in the Asthetik der Tonkunst. In addition, there seems to be a problem concerning factual information within this paragraph. Schubart identifies Vocika as a double bassist [Violonist and one who plays this Rieseninstrument]. However, in checking the personnel listing of the Trier court—where Schubart says that Vocika is now employed—only an Ignaz Wozschitka, a cellist, is the only member of the orchestra that approximates the name Vocika (see MAfD 1782, p. 153). In the same almanac Vocika's name is not among the outstanding cellists nor the one bassist mentioned (see pages 104 and 112); his name does not appear in the article on bassists in the MAadJ 1782, pp. 95-97, nor is he named among the eight bassists in the MAadJ 1784, pp. [15, 19, and 21]. Schubart was employed from 1768 until 1773 in Ludwigsburg, the seat of the Württemberg court, and he was familiar with the musicians of the court. Thus it is quite possible that he knew Vocika personally. An explanation of this apparent discrepancy (i.e., that Vocika is a cellist and not really a bassist, as Schubart claims) might be this: instrumentalists of the eighteenth century were expected to play more than just one instrument, as can be seen in personnel listings of the period. It may have been that Ignaz Wozschitka [?=Vocika] was assigned to play the double bass, an instrument whose primary function was that of an accompanying fundament instrument. The cello certainly had more solo literature available, and it may have been that Ignaz began playing this
a soloist. It sounds like mockery and falls during its grumbling phrases often into ursine and comical sounds. Yet, since it is difficult for man always to be only an accompanist and not to be now and then also an outstanding soloist, one must excuse the notion of Vocika. As an accompanist he has doubtlessly attained the maximum. He carries the entire storm of the orchestra on his bass. His very short bow brings the tones out so powerfully that they roar and rage through everything. His excellent eyesight, by which he noticed the smallest appoggiaturas six steps away, gave his performance such freeness and thoroughness that no one imitates it.

Great dilettantes have also been called to this court, among which Laroche, the famous author of the book Über das Monchswesen, towers above all others. He played the clavier as a master, with delicacy and thoroughness, and composed very well for his instrument. Everything that this great man did had the stamp of his individuality.

literature on the double bass, a notion which might have attracted Schubart's attention. Another curious fact which may also link this Wozschitka with Franz Xavier Woschitka, also a cellist, is that Schubart indicates that Ignaz's behavior got him into some sort of difficulties. Franz, likewise, was involved in a dispute, in this case with Adolph Carl Kunzen, concertmaster of the Schwerin court, who, because of this dispute, left Schwerin in 1753 (see Grove 6, 20:535 and 10:311). But this is circumstantial evidence at best.
XX. TAXIS

This gleaming German court has caused a sensation in recent times through music.¹ Everything here has become musical. The princesses played on the clavichord as angels, especially Princess Xaveria, who brought it to mastery. Her speed is unbelievable, but in exchange for it she loses delicacy. Regular disposition of an orchestra one must not expect in such a court where entertainment is viewed as an ultimate goal. If there had been a choir at Lampsacus among the priests of Priapus, they would for the most part have been enjoyed by the Taxis court.² The cooing dove on the shoulder of Venus-Anadyomene, the melting Endymion in the arms of Diana, the drugged climax of every hour of flirtation, everything that coos, languishes, and is relaxed with delight belong to the musical character of this court. Surely, according to this description, no great man could stand up in this region. Yet several minds, who were not completely unworthy to be priests in the sanctuary of love, distinguished themselves.

Touchemoulin has been for many years the same as a Kapellmeister [from 1761 to 1801]. His taste is completely French: pleasant and soft. He plays the violin with vigor, yet in a manner which

¹The Taxis court resided at Regensburg.
²A similar analogy, but describing Ludwigsburg, is found in GS, 1:118 (L & G, 1).
cannot please everyone. His son, when he was twelve years old, displayed great talent for the violin on which he performed the most difficult concertos with great dexterity [mit fliegender Fertigkeit], but the indulgent bringing up of his father was not advantageous to him.3

The clavier at this court was treasured and cultivated exceedingly. Since it is the favorite instrument of all the princesses, one can easily consider that it would not lack in virtuosos who play this splendid instrument with fire.

Kiefer. An unusually thorough clavierist, of course more a theoretician than a genius, but certainly a master in the understanding of fingering, in light and heavy performance, [and] in the art of reading and accompanying. He is the creator of clavier taste which now prevails at the Taxis court. His son, clavierist for the new Prince Palm, plays the pieces of the best clavier masters with much precision.4 But he is giddy before the depths of a Bach: from this ocean has he just taken a sip as a martin in flight. In a word, neither he nor his father are intellects of significance, but they are still good musical artisans. Formerly the taste of this court was completely Italian [1774-78; 1784-86] or French [1760-74]; now--I write this in 1784, for it could perhaps happen that the taste here in 1799 might be Russian or Chinese--the taste is completely German [1778-84].

3Schubart heard a concert by the Touchemoulins in Augsburg in 1774. See Deutsche Chronik (23 May 1774):128.

4Apparently Schubart met Kiefer (the son) in Munich. See GS, 1:191 (L & G, 1).
and often very funny operettas appear there which are supposedly from remarkably good minds. A Spanish cavalier has now composed some pieces there in the German language that manifest a feature of genius; also the German has turned out well, even to admiration. Yet one can expect lightness from such a court that it might find more pleasure in the comic than the serious. A certain frivolity has even crept into the church style which scatters every glimmering ray of devotion.

The music of Regensburg is very wretched. They have never had a good organist, and their choirs shout and howl without effect. Formerly Schlimbach, a thorough organ player and a very useful composer, was there, but now Polyhymnia passes over Regensburg, and no incense smolders on the altars of the Protestants.

The Prince von Fürstenberg rides music as Yorick does his hobbyhorse. Without being a musician himself, he listens to the

5Yorick is a fictional character created by Laurence Sterne and "related" to Shakespeare's character found in Hamlet, Act V. For an explanation of the relationship of these two Yoricks see the second of "The Passport. Versailles." series in volume two of Laurence Sterne's A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy by Mr. Yorick, 4 vols. (London: Printed for T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt, 1768), pp. 69-72. The significance of the hobbyhorse seems to be a reference to a harmless pastime, an escape from reality to a childlike world, or a moment for playing the role of a court jester, rather than a sign of serious mental deficiency. One particular reference to hobbyhorses has a direct bearing on Schubart's statement: "... have not the wisest of men in all ages, not excepting Solomon himself,—have they not had their Hobby-Horses;—their running horses,—their coins and their cockle-shells, their drums and their trumpets, their fiddles, their pallets,—their maggots and their butterflies?—and so long as a man rides his Hobby-Horse peaceably and quietly along the King's highway, and neither compels you or me to get up behind him,—pray, Sir, what have either you or I to do with it?" Laurence Sterne, The Life and Opinions of Tristam Shandy, Gentleman, 9 vols. ([n.p.], 1760-67), I:23-24. Although I have not been able to locate a specific passage, I presume there are passages in Sterne's writings where Yorick himself
singing, whistling, fiddling, blowing, and plays the bagpipes an hour a day year after year. He pays the virtuosos who can be heard at his court splendidly, but he has, by the way, neither a great Kapellmeister nor great singers nor outstanding instrumentalists. Whenever the prince is petty, everything around him shrivels up in the same spirit of pettiness. In the meantime one must say, to the credit of this man, that he values good musicians exceedingly, draws them to his table, and rewards them as any of his colleagues.

rides his own hobbyhorse, for this idea is certainly in Yorick's mind. See, in particular, Laurence Sterne, "Meditation upon Hobby-Horses," Yorick's Meditations Upon Various Interesting and Important Subjects (London: R. Stevens, 1760), pp. 51-55. Schubart was already familiar with Yorick's travels by 1773, for he speaks of Fuger, whom Schubart honors as the artist of the drawings of Yorick's travels and who lives in Heilbronn in 1773. See GS, 1:131 (L & G, 1). Later, in his Teutsche Chronik (13 January 1776):31, Schubart commented on the fact that Chodowiecki had recently completed twelve engravings for Sterne's Tristam Shandy. And finally, Shubart wrote: "One of my friends recently asked me in a very powerful letter to leave the article 'Music' out of my Chronik. And ten others beg me even as urgently to make use of it more often. What am I to do? Should I be allowed to ride my favorite hobbyhorse?" Teutsche Chronik (12 August 1776):512.
XXI. NASSAU-WEILBURG

The now reigning princess of this house has acquired a great reputation as a connoisseur and patron of music. Formerly she sang splendidly, but she has a certain physical condition of shaking; this moved her to drop singing, and now she devotes herself entirely to the clavier. She plays through difficult concertos of Schobert, Bach, Vogler, Beecke, and others with unusual facility. Her allegros and prestos always succeed, but the adagios and largos never do since she has a disgust for everything sad because of extreme sensitiveness of nerves. Her orchestra is very well staffed.

Rothfischer was the concertmaster there for a long time. No one is more capable of occupying this post than he. He plays the violin, even as a soloist, with much taste. Yet his real strength consists in regulation, judgment, and congruity of an orchestra and the masterly direction to a common goal. His stroke rips through, and he knows how to direct his arm while playing so that he commands it. His symphonies are strong, abundant in splendid ideas, and full of profound insight in the secrets of phrases. It is true of him what Plinius somewhere said: "Many are famous and some deserve to be," for he

1"Those who are actuated by the desire of fame and glory are amazingly gratified by approbation and praise even though it comes from their inferiors." Plinius, Pliny Letters, trans. William Melmoth, rev. W. M. L. Hutchinskon, 2 vols., The Loeb Classical Library (New York:
is by no means as well known in Germany as his intellect deserves. ²
Few virtuosos are so free of boast as this master. He values modest
and thorough criticism above all. He is now in Vienna, and leads the
orchestra of the German theater there. The Weilburg court feels the
loss of him all the more, the more difficult it is soon to replace
him. The remaining members of this orchestra certainly do not shine
much, but so much better are they accustomed to the musical concord.
Virtuosos of the first rank, who are heard there, are amazed at the
accurateness of execution and the precise harmony of musical coloring
which is observed here better than at many of the much greater courts.

Operettas, which are given here now and again, are mostly
French and, for that reason, do not have much to say.

The Macmillan Co., 1915), 1:310-11. Schubart has made similar
statements in his autobiography. For example, he commented that
"Spieleute sind rechtlos," and then explained that in former times
the terms "virtuoso," "concertmaster," and so forth, were unknown.
Whoever "fiddled, blew, or plucked" was called a Spielmann. "Many
of today's virtuosos [Kraftmännern] deserve no other name than this
[i.e., Spielmann]." GS, 1:113 (L & G, 1). Another example is the
following: "Among the many virtuosos whom I heard in Augsburg were
some who deserved this title." GS,1:234 (L & G, 2).

²"Dass er nicht bekannter ist--sich selbst noch nicht
bekannter gemacht hat, ists Bescheidenheit, die an Übertriebenes
Mistrauen und Nichtkenntniss seiner selbst gränzt?--oder was ists??"
MAadJ 1782, pp. 43-44.
The court at Cassel was always brilliant, yet I would not have remembered that it had ever attracted attention in music. Neither a composer nor a first-rate performer has distinguished himself there. The princes of this court were never much for music; consequently, the deathly silence which exists there in music. The counts loved only the noisy, warlike, bold, and dance-inspiring elements in their music; true singing and playing meant little to them. There were indeed some organists of tolerable significance formerly at this court, but what is a molehill next to mountains and the Alps?

The court music now is certainly in tolerable standing there, but it pales in comparison to the best regarded courts. Traveling virtuosos, who are heard there from time to time, alone sustain this court.
XXIII. DARMSTADT

This court deserves to become noticed on account of its quite splendidly prepared military music. No march in the world is executed as here. The wind instruments are all excellently staffed. The spirit of the marches is great and warlike; and the performance, burst after burst. The drum, which here is considered musical, is forced to its highest summit, from the whisper of pianissimo to the thunderstorm of the fortissimo. The surge and flood of sounds, the boiling and cooking under the hand of the master, the languishing away to nothing, the soaring to everything—drums are heard to do this all here.

Enderle is the Kapellmeister of this orchestra, born in Nuremberg, the son of a very famous, deceased bassoonist, who, because he had the misfortune of stabbing one of his comrades to death while under the influence of drink, committed suicide. Enderle plays the violin in a quite special manner. He knows how to bring out sounds and turns which still do not have any names. However, he inclines more to the facetious than to the serious. In his youth he had great speed and generally attracted attention. Since he is at the same time a splendid clavier player and has composed many excellent pieces for this instrument, he thereby acquired no low regard in musical composition. This master has made much less of a sensation because of his bizarre character than he might otherwise have made. Except for him, only a certain Merkel, who knew how to handle the clavier as a master, distinguished himself.
has maintained rather good music in recent times, yet no master has distinguished himself. One tastes the tolerable pieces of foreigners there, and this is its greatest, nearly its only worth. Yet one dilettante deserves to become noticed, who, throughout Germany, has elicited attention. This dilettante is named André.¹

He was so bold as to interpret musically the best poets. Lack of thorough insight is visible everywhere in his pieces. Meanwhile, his operettas were performed through all of Germany with general approval. It is true. They do penetrate into the spirit of the author not without success; he does have an abundance of pleasant melodies. His adaptation of fashionable taste and the facility of his style have earned him that considerable sensation, but André does not compose for the thinker. He is void of modulations and great harmonies that he might be able to penetrate up to the mark of a true connoisseur. He succeeds very well in song nonetheless. He seized upon real folk sounds in various of his songs and thereby struggled to gain general approval. Since he has some ability for poetry, this helped him exceedingly with his musical essays.

¹Schubart reviewed Johann André's Auserlesene scherzhafte und zärtliche Lieder (Offenbach: Johann André; Mannheim: J. M. Gotz, 1774) in the Deutsche Chronik (9 January 1775):22-24 and his Erwin und Elmire (Offenbach: Johann André, 1776) in the Teutsche Chronik (19 September 1776):599-600.
The remaining German courts have done so little real service to music that the stylus of history should not be preoccupied with them.

Würzburg has produced somewhat in song; the Mecklenburg courts are content with servants' music; and whatever appears to be noteworthy to the remaining princes and counts merely belongs in an alphabetical register of German music and not in the painting of a great totality. I now wish to conclude the history of German music in such a way that I might designate some masters who have distinguished themselves in music.

Adlung, from Erfurt, a truly good musical theorist. His method for playing the organ\(^2\) has much essence [Saft] and strength. He understands not only the mechanics of organ building; that is, not as an ordinary mechanic, in which he has noted very profoundly all the imperfections of the prevailing organ building, but also specifies principles, which must be a true amulet to musicians of the profession, especially organists.

Abel played a great role in London. He was really only a ripienist on the violin, but soon he devoted himself to composition with great success and produced admirable works, especially in the chamber style. His symphonies are full and beautiful; his clavier pieces, useful for dilettantes; and whatever he otherwise composed, emitted rays of a very happy mind. He worked his way up to a concertmaster in London [and] revealed in everything that he did more

skilled diligence than genius. He has many works engraved, but his name will not last long because of the fragility of his inner strength.

Alberti made noise in Vienna. He was, during his lifetime, one of the most beloved clavier players. The broken chords, which he invented, have, for a long time, occupied and tired the hands. His chosen motives were certainly more often tuneful and covered many mistakes of accompaniment. But since he had studied the nature of the clavier much too little [and] since he chattered, so to speak, more than the limit of sounds warranted, his approval did not last long. The giddy public had to stand up and notice the defects which his false fingerings to true clavier playing caused. A broken chord brings three fingers to movement and paralyzes two. Whoever does not put the whole hand into action, as Bach, never deserves to become an epoch maker in clavier playing.

Buxtehude, one of the greatest fugue players of the world. The skin of a present organist would shiver if he heard an alla breve or a fugue performed by a Buxtehude. He worked out the simplest theme with such exactness, weaving as a laybyrinth through one another, and always found a way out of this labyrinth so correctly that one must be astonished on that point. Profundity is the character of his compositions. His manner of writing is capricious. He gives each finger of its own sphere. The little fingers of both hands always assume the peripheries of his musical inventions, and the remaining eight fingers retain their own dance most exactingly. He notes, by means of the most unimportant appoggiaturas [die geringsten Vorschläge], the stability and
development of mezzotints, and thereby brings forth utmost precision—and also some difficulty for the player. For example, what one today expresses through a simple arpeggio, he expresses through all exacting determination with pauses and full stops:

**Today's Style:**

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+-------------------
|                   |
| arpeggio          |
|                   |
+-------------------
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or:

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+-------------------
|                   |
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+-------------------
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**According to Buxtehude:**

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+-------------------
|                   |
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or:

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**Example 5. An Arpeggiated Chord and The Same Arpeggiated Chord According to Buxtehude**
Georg Bach [recte Johann Christian Bach], Kapellmeister in England, and, because of his long residence there, he is known only as the "English Bach," a son of the immortal [Johann] Sebastian Bach.

So much flexibility of spirit, so much accommodation to the genius of the century, so much subjugation of profound theory to the transient melopoetics of the time--no one has had these abilities as this Bach. He seems to have set before himself out-and-out the plan to prove to his brother in Hamburg that one can be great and still submit himself to the trivial spirit of the masses. The result proves that this Bach was mistaken, for his spirit suffers from the chains of accommodation. The noble theory which he drew from the ribs of his great father he surrounded with silver gauze of modern taste--a giant wrapped in netting! For a long time the Italians admired him until he was finally called as Kapellmeister in London. He was a master in all musical styles. It was literally true what an English poet sang about him:

"Bach stood on Olympia's peak
And Polyhymnia came towards him.
She spread her silver arms
To him and said:
'You are completely mine.'"

His church pieces have much profundity, but with a certain worldly mien which betrays the odor of decay. His operas, which he composed in England, Italy, and Germany, reveal a commanding spirit in the area of music.
This Bach could be whatever he wanted, and one compared him rightly to the fabled Proteus: now he bubbled like water; now he flared like fire. In the midst of frivolity of fashionable taste the giant spirit of his father shimmers through. Thus, the prodigal son with ragged garments came home. The father threw his arms around his neck and sobbed, "You are my son!"

His brother in Hamburg wrote him repeatedly: "Don't become like a child!" But he always answered: "I must stammer in order that the children understand me."

But that this extraordinary man could work in the thoughtful style of his brother in Hamburg and his father is demonstrated by various clavier sonatas which he published in London. Especially known is a sonata by him in F minor which competes with the most profound and best pieces of this kind.

Bach has proved himself in all kinds of musical styles, almost with equal success. He worked for the church, theater, and chamber. He made tragic and comic opera [and] earnest and jocose ballets. Natural flow of thoughts, lovely melodies, ample knowledge of instruments, unexpected modulations, splendid arrangements of duets, festive choirs, and masterly recitatives characterize his best operas. He wrote many of them in Italy, England, and Germany, and even today they are performed with the most decisive approval.

One of course searches in vain for Jommelli's fire and the harmonic thoughtfulness of his brother in Hamburg in his operas, but nature and simplicity compensate so much more abundantly for these
deficiencies. He succeeds better with the affectionate and beloved
than the noble tragedy.

His jesting muse has many happy notions. She is more witty
than moody. For that reason his comic operas in London never lasted
very long. His ballets in both types are excellent and interpret the
whole sense of the pantomime.

His church pieces lack nothing in dignity and devotion. He has
composed some Masses for Rome and Naples which caused general admira-
tion there. Even for London he wrote some Psalms in the true, ancient
taste. His Te Deum laudamus is one of the most beautiful that we
possess in Europe. The fugues and choruses he arranged with great art
without falling into pedantry. His clavier concertos, sonatas, etc.,
with and without accompaniment, still belong among the favorite pieces
of the public. Bach himself played the clavier like a master, of
course not with the magical power of his father or brother in Hamburg,
but even so that no one in England surpassed him. Because he was of an
amorous nature, he longed for the approval of women. This fact clears
up much of his musical character. His adoption of the fashionable
taste, his often too great complaisance, his pleasing condescension to
the people's taste, his trifling which so ill suited his great mind,
facility in his composition despite his natural inclination to sever-
ity--all these things originated from his all too great love for the
female sex. He was the darling of English women. His symphonies are
great and magnificent--perfectly suitable for this writing style--and
are far more appropriate for private concerts than those of Jommelli.
Bach was one of the most industrious composers who has ever lived. His pieces are incredibly numerous and their performance is extremely irregular. Since Bach followed his own taste very seldom and it appeared as though always another one wrote rather than he himself, only a few of his pieces have individuality and originality. He himself was never content with his pieces for that reason, and whenever he had played the harpsichord for a long time, he always used to end with a pensive improvisation, and at the end would say, "Thus would Bach have played if he were permitted!" This great man died in 1782 as the best Kapellmeister in London, perhaps even before the full ripeness of his spirit, for he had hardly attained forty years of age. All of England lamented him, and his fatherland sent great condolences to his great spirit.

Pachelbel, a great organist in Nuremberg [and a] master in true organ taste. He composed colossal pieces for the organ, with two or three manuals, which he brought into full motion together with the pedal. His style is old but massive and full of thoughtfulness. His strength in the pedal was exceptional. He understood to a high degree the sustained style or the legato. Pachelbel composed fugues to be

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3When he visited Nuremberg in 1756, Schubart was impressed with the music and musicians of that city. "Among the city music I meet with near virtuosos, and in the churches I heard students of the German Arion, the immortal [Johann] Sebastian Bach, who made me feel for the first time what kind of a rare man a good organ player should be. The names Drexel, Pachelbel, Leffloth, [and] Agrell certainly deserve more thanks and recognition than what they have really received in the history of music." GS, 1:31 (L & G, 1). Within the next few pages of this translation, Schubart mentions these organists who have been neglected by history. Obviously, the autobiography served as the inspiration for their inclusion here.
difficult and with thoroughly German power. He played the chorale simply and varied it with much energy.

The remark belongs here that Nuremberg belongs to the best German cities which have done great service to their fatherland's music. In this city there are splendid institutions from the olden times which awaken and reward musical talent. It maintains its own Kapellmeister and about thirty city musicians often including people whom the world looked up to. The chorus is very well staffed, and even though ordinary people prevail, there is so much natural taste in music that the sensitive foreigner lingers with silent admiration. All the streets of this city resound with song on Sundays and holidays. Nowhere are there so many house organs as in Nuremberg because nowhere is family worship so at home. This musical taste has existed for centuries. Each church has a paid organist and a cantor. The rich donations of this city maintain choirboys from which sometimes great masters have stepped forth. With thankful joy the author recollects that he was indebted to this institution for his musical knowledge.

The greatest honor this venerable city has earned for itself is that it nourished artists who not only constructed the most choice instruments but also invented new things. The first excellent Harpsichord was made here by the unforgettable Glis. For the invention of the pedal, one has to thank Nuremberg.

Stainer, the best violin maker in the world, is a Nuremberger, and even today Nuremberg violins are counted among the leading and the best. In the making of wind instruments this city has not been surpassed by anyone. The Denner flutes are world famous. Trumpets,
trombones, cornetts, clarinets, and bassoons made there have durability and cutting tone. Particularly organs which were made in Nuremberg at that time, became models for all of Europe. In the Sebalder, Lorenzer, Frauen, and other churches stand splendidly built organs with full metallic tone and elegant quality, particularly in the pedal. In short, one can rightly call Nuremberg a musical German city.

The great masters in music, which this city brought forth, are the following:

Fischer, one of the most famous violinists of his time. His strength was in unusual passages, which he performed frankly and without mistakes in the shortest possible time. His spirit leaned more to the comical. He knew how to imitate every bird and indeed with such deception that one never knew if a nightingale clucked, a lark twittered, and canary warbled, a quail sung, or a cricket chirped. His compositions do not say much because it is difficult to guess the mood of such an original mind.

Drexel, a student of the great [Johann] Sebastian Bach, and indeed one of his best. He played the organ with much authority, understood the registers exceptionally well, and composed with spirit for this his instrument. His fugal style was not pensive but rather light and intelligible. He selected for his fugues mostly a songful theme and made them graceful, a feature which, as you know, is missing in most fugues. Counterpoint he understood solidly, but he weakened his hand too soon with the tumult of modulation. We still possess many pieces of this master which are full of signs of an excellent mind. His motets and church pieces are for the thorough musician perhaps
more valuable than a painting recovered from Herculaneum, for the
distinguished man wrote only a few, but what he wrote produced a great
impression.

Leffloth, the tenderest organ and clavier player that one can
think of. His melancholic character inclined his heart to the adagio,
and this he played with heart-penetrating force. He was a genius and
adhered to no school. Favored with fortune, he could travel through
all of Europe and hear everything great, but he remained Leffloth. His
composing, as his playing, was so original that it is impossible to
make a description of it. Resentment of approaching death, tears which
fall as dew on a funeral wreath, and trembling anticipation of future
reprieve--this is what his composition speaks. Hectic fever robbed the
world of this rare genius in the twenty-sixth year of his life. Before
his deathbed stood a Glis clavicord. A few minutes before his end, he
stretched his withered arms from the bed, spread his hands over his
clavier, and played "Ach Gott und Herr, wie gross and schwer, etc." with inexpressible grace. With tears shimmering, he sank to his
bed--and died.

This man would not only have surpassed every Nuremberg musician
by some distance, but would have been an epoch maker if it were possi-
ble to prolong his life in spite of his fallen fortune. Two days after
his death he received a call as Kapellmeister in Russia, but his higher
call was in heaven.

Agrell, Kapellmeister of this city [1746-65], born a Swede. A
true artist, but of cold nature: he played coldly but regularly; he
composed coldly but regularly. Stiff was his behavior [and] stiff was
his playing; but for every note he wrote down, he knew precisely how to account for it. He used to say: "Music is camouflaged arithmetic. If I take away notes and do not see the framework of the most refined arithmetic, then my composition is false." His clavier pieces train the hand exceedingly; his motets and church pieces are adapted most strictly according to the nature of the voice. We possess a rich supply of his products which must always remain valuable to connoisseurs because they move about within the fundamentals [Achse] of the most artful theories.

Gruber, a splendid violinist and presently Kapellmeister in Nuremberg [1765-96]. His composition is thorough, fiery, but too intricate. He gives the voices much to do and generally presupposes masters. His bowing is light and agile. He knows how to dispose of the harmonics so delicately that only a Friedel outdoes him in this. His church style borders very much on the stately, but it is overloaded with ornaments. The strong player generally has the fault that he gladly displays and composes too difficultly for his favorite instrument. One might almost claim that a great composer should indeed understand all instruments, but play none like masters because he places too much in the performance of these out of partiality and prejudice to another.

Gräf, an admirable trumpeter, rescued from the ruins of Lisbon. Perhaps no one has exhausted the nature of this instrument so completely as Graf. Without bending the trumpet as Woeggel, he

4See also Deutsche Chronik (18 September 1775):599.
brought forth everything that only the ear and heart could expect. He played a silver trumpet; and its penetration as well as its unspeakable purity was equally familiar to him. His trumpet pieces belong to the best in the world, but have become more rare because he only composed a few. He died as an offering to his art in the middle of a concerto from a hemorrhage caused by the excessive strain on his lungs.

Bischoff, a delightful violinist, and Hummel, a powerful bass singer, deserve not to be passed over in this history. In general, Nuremberg is rich in beautiful voices, and since it is a beer [-drinking] country, it produces more bass singers than one is accustomed to hear in wine [-drinking] countries.

Music publishing and the excellent engraving there give this German city a new merit in musical art as it has earned for itself immortal honor generally in almost all the arts and sciences.
XXV. AUGSBURG

Since this city became an episcopal see, especially since church music began to flourish there--of course under the shower of change, but even so--it gave honor to the bishops.

Augsburg was the third place which introduced the chorale. For several centuries the vespers services and choirs have been excellently staffed. Even today pieces from that venerable, fearful time are performed there which completely fill the ear and heart of the connoisseur. Heavenly uplifting devotion glows in these choirs; the song is mostly fitting; but the organ, or a Ruckpositiv placed in the choir, gives the song variety and fullness.

The Reformation split this city, as is known, into two parts and brought forth the so-called parity. The Lutherans introduced, as did their fellow believers, the German chorale with such eagerness that it can be compared with the best German cities. In the Barfusser Church, these songs are heard even today in their original purity. A well-paid music director, under whom are cantors and city musicians, conducts the choral and figural music of the Protestants. To these directorships the Augsburgers have always selected very able men.

Seyfert belongs indisputably among the first-rate musicians of our century. He developed in the school of the great Hamburg [C. P. E.] Bach and of the Berlin orchestra under the eyes of Graun.
Thereupon, he proceeded to Venice, earned for himself general approval through his wide-reaching harmonic knowledge, and came back to his fatherland with this thorough training, where he died at 33 [recte 41] years of age as music director. He was not only one of the most thorough German clavier players--Bach himself numbered him among his best students--but he also devoted himself to composition with such auspicious results that, in the short time of his life, the name Seyfert resounded through all of Europe.

He was a born musician. Wherever he went, he whistled and searched for melodies. Consequently, he became extraordinarily rich in melodies. He wrote much but never repeated himself; instead, he remained always new. Seyfert combined thoroughness and gracefulness to a high degree. He was equal to every style, for he used to say, "Whoever cannot do everything can do nothing." His masterpieces are:

1. **An Italian opera** which he composed in Venice and which is still performed there once a year. The modest melody of this opera, the lovely instrumental accompaniment, the novelty of its melodic motion, the correctness of harmony, and the surprising modulations have earned general approval for this opera in Italy. Seyfert gave evidence at that time of much preference for the comic; the tragic, however, later gained a very noticeable heaviness in his musical character.
2. A Passion-Oratorio [Jesu Christus, der auferstanden ist von den Toten, 1754] on Krause's poetry. This oratorio is filled with traits of genius. What a notion when He, in despair, allows Judas to rush Him to His death. The chorus "Das Herze blutet mir, etc.," belongs among the most admirable musical choruses which we have produced. Every experience of the listener, every rise and fall of the streaming blood, every delicate, intimate feeling of devotion is noticed here with indescribable art and understanding. Hardly any musician has succeeded better than he with the perception [Belauschen] of the most secret feelings. Out of eagerness to be new, he nevertheless fell occasionally to trifling. He allowed, for example, in this oratorio for Christ to be accompanied to the grave with muted trumpets, but he wiped away this spot and corrected it with the darkness of the grave represented in the chorus. The voices moan and sing no more; the instrumental accompaniment is prepared with profound understanding. But occasionally he slips back to the bizarre in his choice. He even began a certain aria with a triangle, but he no sooner perceived that it was ridiculous than he removed the nuisance.

3. Ramler's Ino [a cantata written ca. 1770]. Undoubtedly, Seyfert has captured the spirit of this poetical masterpiece the best among all musicians. The golden scale of criticism, which would

1 Schubart attended a performance of this work in 1774 in Augsburg. See GS, 1:233 (L & G, 2) and Deutsche Chronik (14 April 1774):38-39. Also mentioned in Schubart's autobiography is Ramler's Ino, the next composition to be discussed.
like to weigh poet and composer, would certainly be suspended in equilibrium here. Seyfert understood his poet only as well as one can understand him [i.e., the poet]. Ramler himself, and even the great [?C.P.E.] Bach, number this piece among the best products of music. How unequaled is the scene of Ino's fall into the sea! How divine [are] the best sentiments of its Godhood! How simple and great is everything! The declamations and recitatives have nothing above them, and his basses are so excellently figured that the young musician should accordingly "draw" from them as a painter draws from the ancients. His song has a beauty for which we have no word in our language. Sincerity is truly the principal character, yet his melodies beautify a certain glory which is lost on every description. If Seyfert would have had command of a great orchestra, he would have certainly been epoch making in music. He defeated armies with battalions. What more would he have done if he commanded armies? Just as the squinting glance, which in Augsburg the Catholics throw to the Protestants, so this Seyfert lured respect and admiration from them. They confessed unanimously that he did not have his equal among them, and they paid a great deal of money [mit schwerem Geld] for:

4. The Masses, as he composed them. These Masses are written in a greatly pensive style, but here and there they have a fashionable craze on account of complaisance for his contemporaries.

5. The clavier pieces of this master belong among the best of this kind. They were written with great understanding of the instrument, full of work for both hands, rich in new modulations, and
in the loveliest melodies. [It is] too bad that his clavier pieces still have not all been printed! He himself played in the manner of Bach and was one of the best clavier virtuosos of his time.

6. His symphonies take their leave of thousands of others through means of novelty and harmonic fullness. There is a symphony by him known as "Reiss, Teufel, Reiss" which, viewed as a symphony, hardly has its equal in the world. If one were to play [the role of] Doctor Faust, it [i.e., the symphony] would have a tremendous effect at the moment when the devil comes for the doctor.

In short, Seyfert belongs among the principals of German music according to general evidence, but his sphere for his great spirit was much too limited.

Giulini. A first-rate mind, the best composer among the Catholics in Augsburg. His masses are still performed in this city, in Naples, and elsewhere with enchanting approval. Padre Martini numbers them among the best in the world. The admirable character of this noble man shimmers forth from all of his phrases. His songs breathe warmth of the heart and love for God and his son. He by no means reaches the psalms' flight [Psalmenflug] of a Seyfert, but his humble, heartfelt speech; his gentle, adoring feeling for religion; his calm harmonies which are as clear as sparkling water rushing over golden sand--these things make his church music exceedingly valuable to all sensitive souls. Sketching the weeping Mary under the cross, expressing the palpitating life of her heart from a hard jolt, the drawing of His pious soul to heaven, the calmness of the dead who die in the
Lord—all of these sentiments lie in the sphere of his genius. In a word, he belongs to the class of the most sensitive composers who ever lived.

Demmler, a musical drifter [Luftpassagier], but who possesses true talent for composition. He plays the organ and clavier with taste and has composed several Masses and principal pieces of importance which reveal his mind. But he secludes himself in the Imperial Diet's comfort and is dead to the world. He can be what he wants, but will not be what he can.

Stein, an excellent musical mind respected for his inventions and his imagination. His taste is splendid. He himself plays by necessity not badly and knows everything great, especially whatever concerns clavier and organ playing. But as an instrument maker [Mechaniker], he hardly has his equal in Europe. His organs, harpsichords, pianos, and clavichords are the best that one knows. Strength paired with delicacy, seriousness with grandeur, [and] durability with beauty—he imprints all of his instruments with this stamp. This is still, however, the least [of what he does]. Stein is also the

2Stein was one of Schubart's dearest friends. In Schubart's autobiography he praises Stein's instruments, especially the organ in the Barfüsser Church (which Schubart has played occasionally) "because of the beautiful sounds which undoubtedly must have even been heard in heaven." Schubart and Stein attended a performance of Allegri's Miserere in the Dome Church which sent them into spiritual ecstasy. GS, I:230-32 (L & G, 2). Schubart had a Stein clavichord in his apartment. GS, I:248 (L & G, 2).

3"Stain [sic], ein vorzüglicher musikalischer Kopf, mechanisch und psychologisch betrachtet."
inventor of the divine instrument known as the Melodika [ca. 1758-72]. By it he puts the performer in the position to express most precisely the suspension of the tones, the mezzotinto, or even more, the rise and fall of each tone. When the secret of this splended instrument is one day universal, the clavierist will border close to singers and will make the trees dance, as Orpheus [did].

Schubart has several references to Stein's melodika. See, for example, his Teutsche Chronik (1 February 1776):15 and (8 April 1776):232.
This city has never distinguished itself with great, musical institutions and has hardly produced any musical minds of significance. Indeed, good organs and well-prepared church music are there, but there are neither organists of genius nor, moreover, outstanding musicians in the choir. Yet, the admirable concerts, which are frequently given at the so-called "Red House," make up for all of these weaknesses. There are few great masters who are not heard by and by, and, except for Hamburg, there are no private concerts as profitable as Frankfurt's. Lolli once took from a single concert 3,000 florins. Not only the dilettantism of the city, but also the great confluence of foreigners, especially at fair time, make these concerts so profitable and entices the greatest masters to that place. By this means, the musical taste of the city is greatly improved. Nowhere is musical education so universal as here. Even citizens of the middle class allow their children, almost without exception, to be instructed in singing and playing. But taste has now become insipid. Greatness, profundity, and loftiness were not so demanded there as the gentle, modish, comic, and trifling; a sad result of the long presence of the French in this city.
Otto, a mediocre organist and an even more mediocre performer. 1

Helferich, a modish clavierist. He trifles with flowers which bloom today and wither tomorrow.

Kayser, the best musical mind that Frankfurt has produced. He expatriated himself [1775] and now lives in Zurich. The originality of his character expresses itself in all of his compositions as in his playing. His hand is quick and glimmering; the contour of his passages is strongly marked; his grace notes are fat and beautiful; and his trills are powerful. He has written many things for the voice and the clavier, and impresses the stamp of his original spirit on every product. His phrase is thorough and manly, full of simplicity, and impinging on greatness. Gluck is his exemplar [Mann]. 2 He seems to have composed from this model without himself being robbed of his individuality. He has composed various lieder by Gellert, together with some by Cramer and Klopstock, very beautifully for the church and for private concerts. He has also succeeded admirably with some lieder by his bosom friend Goethe. 3 And yet this musician has produced

1 Schubart's subtleties are often too vague. Conjecture then becomes the only possible solution. Here is a good example. Perhaps Schubart is saying that Otto is adequate at the organ during a church service, but in solo performance he is less than adequate. Or perhaps he is saying that Otto has adequate training for being an organist according to standards established by eighteenth-century theorists, but that he just does not live up to expectations.

2 Cf. "Sein Mann ist Gluck;...." MAadJ 1782, p. 35.

little sensation in Germany. Gracefulness, complaisance, and the
lightness of the melodies are wanting. His phrase is often sullen and
morose as if he wanted to say to his contemporaries, "You are fools
that you do not choose me." We also possess from this man many beau-
tiful essays on music. His style is original, flaming in strong
feelings, full of great and correct thoughts, but too one-sided in
taste. He is also not a bad poet, but a spirit which wants to affect
originality glimmers from all of his products, straining after new
notions and always attaining only half of its goal. He lives in
association with the best minds in Germany, and, in this luminous
sphere, it is easy for him to believe that he is greater than he really
is. When Gulliver came home from Brobdingnag, he stooped under the
door because he believed he had become taller among the giants by two
heads. 4

4See the penultimate paragraph of "A Voyage to Brobdingnag"
in Swift's Gulliver's Travels. Jonathan Swift, Gulliver's Travels and
Other Writings, ed. Louis A. Landa (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.,
1960), pp. 120-21.
XXVII. ULM

This city has maintained city music since the Reformation with considerable expense, where good people have often distinguished themselves. The choir is staffed very well, and a solid taste prevails in figural music. The organ in the stately Münster [cathedral], perhaps the most beautiful church in Germany, has three manuals and sixty registers; its tone is thick and storms through all of the temple's vaults. At the beginning of this century, the organ was played by a very famous organist by the name of Schneider, whose successors yet blossom as very good musicians in Germany. His pieces were composed with exceptional thoroughness and could today be played on every organ with approval. He himself played vigorously and was especially a master of the pedal. His successor, Walther, has been depicted as previously high in the Saxon school. After him came the present organist, Martin,¹ who has to be thankful for all of his studies but very little for nature.

¹Johann Christoph Walther left Ulm in 1770, leaving the organist position vacant. It may be that Martin assumed the position at that time. At any rate, in 1772 Burney stated, although not mentioning a specific name, that "The present organist is not reckoned a great player; and I could not find, upon enquiry, that this city is now in possession of one capital performer upon any instrument." Burney G, p. [41]. But Schubart does name Martin as music director in Ulm. In the Deutsche Chronik (18 September 1775):599, he criticized Burney's remarks but added no new biographical information. Another of Schubart's references to Martin is found in his autobiography. After
Pri va te concerts, which were instituted now and then in Ulm, do not have much to say, for although one often chooses very good pieces, the performance mostly fails. The followers of the above mentioned Schneider are identified now, perhaps because it should sound fashionable. Sartorius, who is a very thorough violinist, was educated in the Mannheim school and is heard before the greatest courts and cities of Germany with approval. His stroke is gigantic, and his tone is cutting and thick. Too bad that he has no trill, but, instead of this, he trifles only with mordents. The splendid Kleinknecht, whose character was sketched above under the article on Ansbach, is likewise an Ulmer; and Nissle, one of our greatest hornists, originated from the Ulmish town of Geislingen.

stating that Ulm does not have much to offer in the way of music, he continues: "The music director Martin possessed a passion and a gift for music. He performed the best and newest pieces as well as he might be able to do in his limited circumstances." GS, 1:261 (L & G, 2). Schubart then mentioned the style of composition in Ulm, the success of sacred music, and the organ at the Münster cathedral. Next, chronologically, is the statement from the Ästhetik der Tonkunst. Schubart's last reference to Martin occurred in 1787. During October of that year, Schubart visited friends in Geislingen, Ulm, and Aalen. In a letter to his son, dated 18 November 1787, he mentioned, among others, "Martin (music director in Ulm), whose heart rings harmoniously like his lyre." Strauss, 2:245. Of the three positive statements about Martin, why is the one in the Ästhetik so negative?
Ehrenberg, court musician in Dessau. We have some sets of lieders by him which he has selected from the best poets and has set to music with taste. He succeeds especially well with mournful pieces, and no one would be more capable of adapting Hölty's spirit to music than this Ehrenberg. Thoughts of the grave, forebodings of death, visions of spirits, in a word, Ossian's manner transferred to music is his character.

Friedel. There are these two brothers who have both distinguished themselves famously as violinists. They have velocity and beauty of performance and especially play the harmonics with exceptional strength. Several violinists have developed in the manner of these Friedels to the extent that they almost establish a school. [It is] too bad that these excellent minds sank so deeply into debauchery that one cannot introduce them to good society with honor. Both composed exceedingly beautiful pieces for the violin. Their compositions are full of attractiveness and are so completely made for this instrument.

Frick from Durlach, presently clavicembalist for the Prince of Lichtenstein. He not only plays the clavier masterly and thoroughly, 

1See RISM A/I/2:534-35 and RISM B/II/pp. 342, 347, 348.
but also brought the *harmonica*, invented by Franklin, to perfection. He plays this profoundly calming, melancholic instrument with unbelievable tenderness and perhaps as well as it can be played. His pieces for the harmonica are still the only ones at the moment, because what Franklin composed for it has no musical value. Franklin was more a mechanic than a musician, but Frick is both.

Gluck. A man, admired by all three great schools of Europe, who rose to the position of a musical epoch maker. In the beginning he composed simple clavier pieces which only made little sensation. Then all of a sudden he ventured upon an opera and completely astonished Italy. His Alcestes [sic] was first performed in Florence, then in Venice and Naples with excessive approval which bordered on mania.² Always the same blazing fire throughout the whole opera; daring and uncommon phrases; dithyrambic fantasy flights; strong modulations; beautiful but not always correct harmonies; profound understanding of wind instruments which he knew how to use more frequently and more effectively than any other composer—these are Gluck's characteristic traits in the first period of his life. Suddenly he overthrew his existing system and pondered about the great thoughts in his soul: to reform the whole of music.³ He found that today's musical art is overlaid with many unnecessary embellishments. He wanted,

²Alcestes was first performed in 1767 in Vienna. Was Schubart perhaps thinking of Gluck's first opera, Artaserse, of 1741, which was premiered in Milan? In either case, some of Schubart's information will be incorrect.

³Gluck's reform of opera begins with his setting of Orfeo ed Euridice in 1762.
therefore, to take out its tawdry finery and dress it anew in the garments of nature. To greatly simplify the music, as it is at all possible, was the principal thought of the new Gluck system. In this new taste he wrote the famous opera *Iphigénie en Aulide*, 1774. Never before has an opera attracted so much attention as this one. The French and German critics praised and censured themselves hoarse, and praise and censure was overdone. All of Paris divided itself into two factions: Gluck's and Piccini's. Gluck's opera was given twelve times, one right after the other, with indescribable approval. The choruses bordered very close to our chorales. The arias are without all the embellishments, without coloratura, without fermatas, and without cadenzas. It is as though there is more declamation than music.

It gives much honor to the French that they could hear such simplified music eighty times in [only] a few years. Thus, the question is, has Gluck not gone too far in his system? Has he not mixed declamation with arioso? Has he not robbed music of its necessary decorations? Polyhymnia should not by any means stroll along in tawdry finery, but neither should she go stark naked. Forkel in his *Musikalische Bibliothek* has so splendidly cleared up this extremely important quarrel with reasons and objections, that I refer the

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4"And now he has performed his Iphigénie in Paris with an approval which matches the worth of the work. 'Original, new, strong, clever was his composition,' one person has written from Paris. And that is saying a great deal from a Frenchman, whose music possesses the least of these attributes." Deutsche Chronik (7 April 1774):23; *Iphigénie en Aulide* received *its premiere on 19 April 1774!*
reader to this recension of Gluck's Iphigénie, but with the warning, viewing Forkel as an anxious supporter of the Berlin school, that this anxiety induces him to do too little justice to the great Gluck.5

Gluck is undoubtedly one of the greatest musicians that the world has ever produced. His ideas all reach to the great, to the comprehensive. Klopstock is so completely the poet for this exalted spirit. His Hermannsschlacht is so splendidly set to music by Gluck that the Germans hardly possess a more stately theater piece as this.6 Whoever has heard Gluck himself play and sing [this work] went into rapturous wonder.7

At the same time this master held a completely unique skill of coaching singers. His niece would now be the best singer in Europe if an angel had not plucked her off and carried her in his arms to heaven.8 Gluck's spirit is so great in the tragic, but with equal success he also used it now and then in the comic style. But his


6Hermannsschlacht appeared in 1767 as "Tragodie mit Bardengesangen." By 1769 Gluck had set some of the bardic songs in chorus. The music has since been lost. Cf. Forkel, Musikalisch-kritische Bibliothek, 1:59.

7Schubart had heard this work and had seen the score by 1774. See Deutsche Chronik (7 April 1774):22-23.

8See Maria Anna (Marianne) Hedler, called "Nanette," in the Appendix. Schubart reported her death in his Teutsche Chronik (9 May 1776):299-330 and announced the publication of Klagen über den Tod der grosen [sic] Sängerinn Nanette von Gluck von ihrer Freundinn der Frau von Pernett und ihrem Freund und Verehrer Hauptmann von Beeke
giant soul could not endure Harlequin's coat for long. This rare man has also written various treatises on music in French, Italian, and German which generate from this fiery spirit and his profound musical knowledge. One compares what has been said here with what Riedel has written about Gluck's character. 9

Haydn. A composer of great genius, who, next to Mozart, has in most recent times been an epoch maker. He is the Kapellmeister for Prince Esterhazy and a favorite of all of Germany. His Masses breathe a lofty spirit, a thorough insight of the law of music, and a depth of feeling. His symphonies are admired, and rightly so, through all of Europe, for they are set in the true symphonic style, are easily practicable, often with instrumental fire, and written with completely original moods. By means of his clavier pieces, he has finally become the darling of all connoisseurs. They are not only thorough and suited for the instrument, but they distinguish themselves before all others through the unusual beauty of their melodic movements. His adagios, largos, andantes, cantabiles, rondos, and variations seem to have been given to him by the goddess Harmonia herself. So instructive for the player and so pleasant and entertaining for the listener that few pieces like them have been composed in Germany. Genius shouts

[recte Beecke] (Augsburg: Stage, 1776) in his Teutsche Chronik (12 August 1776):510-12. The setting by Beecke is for soprano, strings, and keyboard. A later work by Beecke, Abschieds empfindung an Mariane (Mainz: Bernhard Schott, ?ca. 1783) for voice and piano, may also be dedicated to the memory of Maria Anna Hedler.

9See note 5 on page 279.
approval to him and the temperate mind swallows his tones with delight (until 1784).\textsuperscript{10}

Himmelbauer. A respectable and exceptionally pleasant violoncellist without the musician's arrogance; a man of the most direct and kind heart. No one directs his bow so calmly and unrestrictedly as this master. He performs the most difficult passages with the most exceptional ease; his heart especially overflows in the cantabile. His sweet expression, his lovely fermatas, and, particularly, his great strength in the mezzotints [Mittel tinten] have been admired by all connoisseurs and listeners.\textsuperscript{11} He has composed [very] little for his instrument, but there few [works] have so much the more intrinsic value. He is from Vienna and now resides in Bern.

Hofmann, an already somewhat aged symphonic composer, who was generally liked twenty years previously but today is nearly forgotten. His spirit does not deserve this destiny, for one often finds splendid phrases and great thought in his symphonies; but unfortunately, fashion does not tyrannize more over an artist than over the musician.

Hoffmeister, one of the most recent composers whose galant pieces received much approval because of their modish, elegant dress. His symphonies have a flowing song and emit sparks of real musical

\textsuperscript{10}Schubart is apparently of the opinion that Haydn is a great composer at the time that he dictated the \textit{Ästhetik}. But by indicating the date, he also intimates that he has some doubt that Haydn's greatness will continue.

\textsuperscript{11}Schubart heard Himmelbauer perform in Ulm. See Deutsche Chronik (13 November 1775):728, where Schubart states essentially the same thing stated here.
fire. Yet he seems to have too little profound study to be able to
remain in esteem for long.

Giornovichi, a Bohemian and, for a long time, the greatest
violinist in Paris. His velocity is unbelievable; his stroke, free;
and his tone, crystalline. He is a born genius for the violin and
competes with Lolli and Cramer. He composed much for his instrument
with profound insight and correct taste. All of Europe has recognized
the worth of this great musician.

Körber, a very good hornist as second horn. He performs
correctly and pleasantly his own pieces as well as those of others.
His phrase is not exactly profound but still in the spirit of the
instrument.

Lang, a generally liked and really splendid musician. He has
emerged with honor in more than one specialty. Especially are his
clavier pieces eagerly sought through all of Germany and performed
here and there always with increasing approval. His concertos
and sonatas are not exactly extraordinarily difficult nor composed with
thoughtfulness, but they do distinguish themselves by means of

12 Schubart shared a concert performance in Ulm on
14 February and 18 February with Körber. See Teutsche Chronik
(12 February 1776):104 and (15 February 1776):112.

13 Schubart announced Johann Georg Lang's Sei sonate a
quatro parti obligate; per il cembalo, flauto traverso, violino e
violoncello, o viola...opera III (Offenbach: Johann André; Koblenz,
the author, [1775]) "Der Konzertmeister Lang, ein Deutscher, hat in
einer deutschen Stadt, durch einen deutschen Verlager, 6. deutsche
Klaviersonaten mit einem Italianischen Titel stechen lassen, Flöte,
Violin und Violoncelli begleiten sie." in the Deutsche Chronik
beautiful melodies and glittering clavier passages. It is amazing how Lang could compose such beautiful clavier pieces when he himself only plays the clavier moderately.

Mysliveček, a Bohemian and a very famous composer. He lived mostly in Italy and composed great operas which received much approval in Florence, Turin, and Genoa. His song is simple and penetrating; his arias and cavatinas are rich in new motives; his recitatives, thorough; and his choruses, strong and heaven-aspiring. He understands, to a high degree, the art of treating the instruments so that they do not interfere with the song. Also, his chamber pieces were sought and performed in all the European orchestras as masterpieces. This admirable composer died in 1722, in Florence, in the thirty-eighth year of his life. Since he was very industrious, the world possesses a rich store of his spiritual products.

Nopitsch, music director and organist in the imperial city Nördlingen [1781]. A person of great expectation. He plays the organ and clavier masterly and has a very fiery performance. His lieder and clavier pieces reveal a magnificent talent for music. His phrase is

14 Schubart mentioned the recent performances of Die zwei Gräfinnen [sic; this is not among Mysliveček's works listed in Grove 6] and Adriano in Siria (1776) in Florence in the Teutsche Chronik (30 September 1776):622.

15 There seems to be a discrepancy with this particular sentence. (Schubart's spelling is "Miskmizek.") Perhaps a printing error changed Schubart's date of Mysliveček's death from 1782 to 1722, and the error was never detected. If Schubart had indeed intended 1782, then Mysliveček is the composer, and the sentence should have read that he "died in 1781, in Rome, in the forty-third year of his life."
not only thorough but also new and rises through brilliant ideas. He modulates daringly and happily and understands simple and double counterpoint.

**Rheinek**, a very distinguished musical mind. A native of Memmingen. He composed a comic opera at Paris, which Rousseau himself transcribed and which he honored with approval. He plays [bläst] the clarinet charmingly. Also, he understands the clavier exceedingly well and has listened to the nature of human song precisely. His two volumes of published lieder belong to the most beautiful and shimmer especially in the clavier desks of the fair sex. Simplicity and purity is the principal character of his songs, but a little mischievousness seldom escapes him. His clavier pieces, on the other hand, are recommended only to average players.

**Schobert**, an extraordinarily fiery harpsichord player. He has for many years set the fashion in France, and even now his concertos and sonatas sparkle in the best musical circles in Paris. He understood the nature of the harpsichord completely and possessed unusual strength in the allegro and presto. But he did not succeed with the adagio, because he did not study the clavichord enough, and [he] stifled the feeling with runs and overloaded ornaments. He rose by his extraordinary talent to the important position of organist at Versailles, and died of mushroom poisoning before he was quite distinguished. His untiring diligence has afforded us a quantity

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Schobert was employed as a claviercembalist ca. 1760/61 by the Prince of Condé.
of pieces, but among which one must make a selection, for he composed much for students of a moderate capacity. A tragic circumstance which causes many a great master to sink further under his sphere! Whatever he composed for himself was always written in the best style and repeatedly gave evidence of traces of a fiery soul.

His brother, Schobert, lives in Paris [and is] now the best bassoonist [there].

Spandau, in the first horn [Primhorn], the best hornist of our time. He brings out the most delicate and purist tones on his instrument, but it seems that his lips often cause the tone to flutter for the horn generally never sounds good in the extremely high range. In a fleeting run the horn can certainly challenge the highest tones, but never stays on them for a long time without hurting the trained ear. Spandau composed very well and according to the nature of his instrument.

Spath, the teacher of the great Lolli. If this man had not exposed himself to a far too cynical life and [if he] had lived a little more refined life, he would have played a great role among us. His stroke is admirable, daring, and decisive, and his performance,

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17 See pages 16-17 of this translation.
18 "Der Ton seines Horns soll in dem kleinsten Zimmer eben so angenehm als eine Menschenstimme zu hören seyn." Gerber L, 2:536.
19 "In MS. sind um 1783 verschiedene Hornsachen von seiner Arbeit bekannt geworden." Gerber L, 2:537.
20 Spath visited Schubart in Ulm (early 1775). See GS, 1:95 (L & G, 1) and Deutsche Chronik (2 February 1775):78.
especially in the adagio, is full of power and beauty. In his youth he played the allegro nimbly and fleetingly, but over the years his arms became stiff. His own phrases have a somewhat old-fashioned mien for our time, and consequently, are not particularly tried any longer.

Schwindl, a popular and famous composer for the violin throughout all of Germany. He does not compose severly, but so much more alluring for dilettantes. His performance is fluent, and his spirit tuned to sweet melancholy. Accordingly, he became a favorite composer for the sect of sentimentalists [= Empfindsamkeit].

Schönfeld, a song composer who most recently has begun to attract attention. He selects poems from our best poets and finds their sense often with much luck; but his taste is too harsh; his color, too glowing; and the expression of his feelings, often too artificial. One finds his lieder scattered in various musical collections.

Simon, formerly a famous composer in Nördlingen [1731-50]. He wrote much for the organ, clavier, and church, and he understood the phrase thoroughly. Now he decays and lies in the dust. A great legacy snatched him away from music too early.21

Taube, one of the first musical critics! He wants to extract everything and perceive nothing. His newspaper and other musical periodicals reveal much insight in harmony. But their pedantic mien and the school-like theories with which they are covered weaken the impression that they should have for our fatherland.

21Simon inherited a drapery business in 1750 when his brother-in-law died.
Vanhal is among the most recent composers [and] doubtlessly one of the noblest and best. He has studied the phrase thoroughly, possesses his individual manner, and has a taste which recommends itself to every listener. Since he knows how to mix respectable harmonies and lovely melodies with so much insight and cleverness, it is no wonder that he is favorably received by Germans and Italians alike. He has written a great deal--much of it in the galant style--and always the approval of connoisseurs followed him. He died in madness.22

Esser,23 a famous violinist of completely individual expression. He plays the adagio and allegro equally strong and possesses various artistic skills whereby he modifies the tones to the most captivating kind. One can hear nothing more lovely, as when he touches the string with a little piece of wood instead of his bow and with it draws the tenderest harmonies from his violin. He composes very beautifully for his instrument, and his phrase has many peculiarities. With the attributes of a virtuoso he unites all caprices of the same. He never touches his fiddle if he does not feel the intimate atmosphere of the hour for lovers of genius, for he asserts that a virtuoso who is not inspired is a mere mechanic. Esser is a native of Zweibrücken.24

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22Could Schubart have come to this conclusion from Burney? See Burney G, p. 121.

23Schubart announced a "recent" performance of Esser in Genoa in the Deutsche Chronik (30 October 1775):691.

24See Esser in the Appendix.
Baron von Dalberg, a dilettante, as few as there are, who takes music up with the masters. He not only plays the clavier splendidly and possesses especially much strength in extemporizing fantasias, but also composes thoroughly and newly.

His clavier sonatas are very difficult and full of thoughtfulness, and his Gebet der Eva, 25 from the eighth song of Messiah [by Klopstock], which he published with musical declamation, is evidence of his beautiful spirit. Klopstock is his favorite poet. Accordingly, he set many of his [poems] to music and mostly succeeded splendidly.

Dittersdorf, 26 a Silesian and beloved symphony composer. He has a completely individual manner which degenerates only too often in burlesque and vulgar comedy. One must often burst out laughing loudly in the midst of a stream of sentiments because he blends into his pictures such checkered passages. Not easily may a composer succeed better in comic opera than this one, for the ridiculous never fails him.

Forkel, one of the greatest theorists of our time and a splendid musical writer. His Musikalische Bibliothek [1778-79] contains sparks of the most striking observations, but his criticism seems more often to become cold and stiff. Since he takes up the Berlin school

25Johann Friedrich Hugo Dalberg, Eva's klagen bei dem Anblick des sterbenden Messias. Eine Deklamazion mit musikalischer Begleitung. Aus Klopstocks Messiase 8n. Gesang. (Speyer: Bossler, [ca. 1783-84]).

26A somewhat more complimentary article concerning Dittersdorf by Schubart may be found in the Deutsche Chronik (16 February 1775):108-9.
as the best and the prevailing one, he has been led astray by this means to injustice towards other schools. We have to wait for a history of music [1788-1801] from him, and he will certainly not disappoint our expectations. His rare musical scholarship, the rich aids which he has at the famous Göttingen Universitäts-Bibliothek, and his powerful German style make him the most capable before many other authors for such an important work.

Forkel is at the same time one of our best clavier players, trained completely according to the Bach school, but his compositions for voice and instrument do not have much in particular to say. He has too little fire, his song is not flowing enough, and his modulations and harmonies are often sought anxiously.

Von Eschstruth, one of the most pleasant song composers. His song has lots of nobility, lots of true expression, and his harmonies are pure and bold. The distinct instrumental accompaniment, by change to double counterpoint having a simple melody for the voices, enhances his songs exceedingly. His youth and enthusiasm for music promised us yet many products of his beautiful spirit.

Eckard, a native of Augsburg. A great clavierist who has resided in Paris many years [1758-1809] and who has acquired money and respect. He plays strongly and extraordinarily heavy. In variations he has no equal because he knows how to alter a given phrase on the spur of the moment as often as one desires and in all keys. His hand has lustre and flight, and his fingering is faultless. His fermatas and cadenzas are completely new, and no one will imitate them so easily.
He has the **doubled trill** completely in his power. His nervous system is strong, without losing some of his sensitiveness. This enables him to play several concertos and sonatas, one right after the other, without stopping and without his hand becoming tired or even weak. This circumstance deserves to become quoted even more, for today there are more virtuosos who tire, from a weakness of nerves, even during the first concerto. Excesses in **sensual pleasure**, intemperance in drinking, even anger, want of emotion, too long a sleep, coffee, [and] strongly spiced foods—these things have produced such a high detrimental state in virtuosos. Eckard's diet saves him from that. Accordingly, he will be able to play still with a certain youthful power in his sixtieth year when other licentious virtuosos already pine away in their thirtieth and fortieth years. Eckard has composed a lot for the clavier: **concertos, fugues, [and] sonatas**, with and without accompaniment. He understands the nature of the clavier splendidly; therefore, his pieces deserve the most excellent recommendation. The phrases in his concertos are often so enchantingly difficult that only the most skilled hand can bring them out. Eckard is as strong with the left hand as he is with the right, and, for that reason, he often gives the left too much work in his compositions. Even his melodies are captivating without them mimicking the jangling of the mode. His modulations and harmonies are, of course, not as fresh and profound as Bach's, but [they] are thorough and natural. Contrary to the practice
of his contemporaries, Eckard also understood the art of masterly working out a fugue.*

Eckard writes not with the fire of a Schobert, but [he] compensates for it by profound thoroughness. Rousseau, this profoundly musical watchman, places an Eckard on the top of the world's best harpsichordists. The manner, as Eckard brought it to perfection, deserves to become more noticed. He chose at first a quilled harpsichord in order to practice in simple outline and to make his hand strong, since the hand tires much earlier on a piano or clavichord. After several years, Eckard played on the piano for the first time and finally on the clavichord in order to bring flesh, color, and life to his painting. That is why Eckard has become a great man [and] is admired in France and Germany.

This master is at the same time the best painter of miniatures in Paris, but practices only rarely this art which is so hazardous for his eyes.

Riepel, a famous musical pedagogue and a very thorough church scribe. The Catholics hold his Masses in high honor, and his Anweisung zum Satze [Anfangsgründe, 1752-68], published in folio, has raised him among composers to classic esteem. The principles therein are faultlessly good, and his discourse is easy and distinct, as also are the examples chosen with insight and taste.

*I have seen a fugue in manuscript by him which belongs to the best and foremost pieces of this now so misunderstood manner of writing.
This sketched history of German music must also manifest to the average person the thought that musical spirit belongs to the principal features of the German character. However, one accuses us of imitations, and as true as it is that no soul is inclined more in all forms as the German, thus the great German music schools have preserved their peculiarity. This peculiarity consists in the most profound study of harmony, in the natural flow of the key, or modulation, and in simpler, with all hearts sympathizing, melodies. German song is appreciated wherever there are human ears. The foot of a savage twitches, as do the legs of honorable Schwabians, whenever he hears a German sliding dance [Schleifer]. In the tone of charming folk song, Germany is surpassed by no other people; the greatest Italian masters often listen to our traveling artisans in order to steal charming melodies from them. Nature itself seems to sing from German throats, and this nature has given a course for the philosophical spirit of our nation, which must inevitably fashion every great school. Which people have chorales as we have? Which people have ever surpassed us in instrumental music? Which people have produced such generally good voices as ours? Finally, which people harmonize in the simple concert of nature so correctly as the Germans? All of Europe has recognized our worth; all European orchestras are staffed with German Kapellmeisters; and the word "tedesco" long ago flowed along as one with the Italian word "virtuoso."
XXIX. SWEDEN AND DENMARK

Both of these northern kingdoms have never been epoch making in music: in music, they go along with the taste of other nations. Their enthusiastic envy for the Germans, especially, is so visible that for several centuries none other than German Kapellmeisters were in this realm.

Sweden has at least indigenous singing. Yet this singing is so insignificant. It is so dissonant with the sound of nature that it might bore the reader if I were to show him but one single Swedish example. It is enough if I say that the whole range of the Swedish folk song lies within a fourth, for example:

\[\text{Allegretto}\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Dir, O tapf-res Schwe - den - land!} \\
\text{bieth' ich die - se rau - he Hand.}
\end{align*}
\]

Example 6. Swedish Folk Song
According to this style are nearly all of the primal folk melodies of Sweden modeled. But here German spirit breathes so intensely in this realm, our folk songs, dances, singing, and melodic forms force their way to the Dalecarlian and Norwegian peasants. What was the musical fashion among the Germans at the beginning of the century is today a fad in the cold zones of this kingdom in full swing. The Dessau March [ca. 1705]¹ has been, even in 1776, a favorite march throughout all of Sweden. As splendid and unique as this march is, it became so agonizing among the Germans after more than fifty years that it only haunts beer circles anymore. But in Sweden and Denmark this march is not the only one, but also other previously German pieces [Exstücker] are still displayed as new wares.

Gustav Adolph was the first in Stockholm who combined figured music with the chorale. His Kapellmeister, Erichsen, also made war songs for this king which are not without spirit. But the best comparison with our music nullifies all of his attempts. The paradoxical Queen Christina was a pedantic admirer of music. She had an odd notion that she wanted to hear a concert in the Greek taste. Mizler, a German, worked it out to the most exacting detail, had the virtuosos study it thoroughly, and the important result of it was that it was hissed off the stage. From this time on, music in Sweden has suffered various transformations and depended most uniquely on the mood of the court.

At the time of Carl XII, who could endure nothing but drums and trumpets, music sank so much in Sweden that—Believe it, posterity!

¹See Schilling, 2:394-95 for more information about this particular march.
in 1715 only two people in Stockholm were able to read music. The late Queen of Sweden, a sister of the great Frederick, commanded music to live—and it lived! From this time, particularly from the prosperous era of sovereignty in Sweden, one finds in Stockholm a well-staffed orchestra, and even a Swedish opera, of which Cora is a masterly example.

In the meantime it remains true that not one single Swede has distinguished in the whole of music history.

Denmark earned a somewhat greater merit in music. Without going to the time of the ancient bards [Skalden], whose music was rough and warlike, we find from the time of the Reformation on that the Danes have always been excellent patrons of music. Their kings have even made laws to practice music throughout the whole country. They maintained not only a state orchestra, but also commanded, according to German custom, cantors and city musicians [Stadtzinkenisten] to be appointed throughout the whole realm. The folk songs of the Danes are thoroughly German. Only the Icelanders have an altogether original

2See Ulrike in the Appendix.

3Cora och Alonzo by Johann Gottlieb Naumann. The opera was completed in 1779 and a score in German was published in 1780, two years before its first performance in Stockholm. Alfred Loewenberg, Annals of Opera, 1597-1940, 2 vols. (Geneva: Societas Bibliographica, 1955), i:400-401.
melody in their folk songs. They circumscribe nearly six or seven tones, beginning mostly in minor and ending in major. For example:

Example 7. Icelandic Folk Song

Also, their sacred songs are steeped in this taste. Yet Germany's surging stream in more recent times has carried away everything and Denmark has become, in musical aims, a subjugated province of us. The great Count Bernstorff promoted Scheibe--already mentioned above--to Kapellmeister, supported [stimme] the king in the maintenance of a first-rate orchestra, had opera performed in the Italian and German taste, and thus disseminated good singing through all of Denmark. What the immortal Holberg wished--who himself was a
first-rate musician and played the violin as a master--was realized under Christian VII! Polyhymnia herself received a chair and voice in the Danish council [Sanhedrin] [sic], and since then Danish music hovers almost in equal height to the Germans. Yet, too, Denmark has--an astonishing observation! [mirum visu!]--brought forth not one single great musician. Whoever was, or still is, outstanding there, is either Italian or German!
The Russian national music has, as one can easily imagine, very much wildness and roughness. One notices it mostly in their folk songs that they imitate the shrieks of certain birds which have, in form and parts, many similarities with our wild ducks [Aenten]. A people in Kazan, Astrakhan, Kamchatka, and Siberia, who are so very close to livestock and so addicted to the hunt, must easily be induced by such an imitation. Also, this is unique in their folk singing that they

Example 8. Russian Folk Song

\[1\text{Schubart indicates a treble clef but probably intends a French violin clef. Otherwise, the harmonies are wrong.}\]
almost all begin in major and end in minor. One cannot even say that it makes a bad effect, especially if the song was performed correctly; however, the melody of nature is not always appropriate for it.

It can easily be imagined what music sung by a pulk of Cossacks must have done for a greyish effect. It is hardly comprehensible how the Russian girls can find something such as that beautiful.

Peter the Great was the first one who, on his travels, received a taste for foreign music. He brought a number of wind instrumentalists to Russia and introduced German and Turkish music to most of his regiments. But it was left to Katharina I to transplant even finer music to Russia. She combined figural music with vocal music in her churches first and maintained a very good orchestra that consisted mostly of Germans.

Under Empress Elizabeth music rose even higher. An opera house was built and the best operas were heard at that time in the Russian and Italian languages. Yet all of this was only the dawn against the full day which, for music, broke under Katharina II. The Russian orchestra now consisted of more than two hundred persons, among whom Paisiello [1776-83] and Lolli [1774-83] were prominent. The immortal Galuppi has also worked for the Russian theater [1765-68].

The queen herself plays the harpsichord and is an ecstatic patron of music. The Russians should have begun some time in the

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Schubart periodically reported on Lolli and his activities. See Deutsche Chronik (28 November 1774):556 and (2 January 1775):8; Deutsche Chronik (4 March 1776):150-51 and (15 April 1776):246.
past to devote themselves to the study of music with moderate result. Yet at this time still no master among them has shown himself. Whatever shines in Russia is either Italian or German. The queen pays the musicians extraordinarily: the salaries in the orchestra climb from 1,000 to 10,000 rubles.*

*One should read in Hiller's musical news the splendid article "Über den Zustand der Musik in Russland."

³See page 157, note 11 of this translation.
XXXI. POLAND

The folk melodies of this nation are so majestic and at the same time so charming that they were imitated by all of Europe. Who does not know the serious, solemnly stately movement of the so-called polonaise? Who does not know the slightly nasal bagpipe song of the Poles? Their lieder, as their dance, belongs among the most beautiful and most charming of all peoples.

The Pole is especially strong in the shawm, trumpet, and horn. But they hold so obstinately to their taste that it is very difficult to introduce them to running passages of a popular orchestra. In no realm except England are there more larger and smaller orchestras than in Poland. At Warsaw in the 1770s a credible traveler has made the observation that more than 1,500 salaried musicians resided there. This is easily understandable when one remembers that Warsaw is the confluence of all Polish grandees who endeavor, out of pride and national taste, to outdo one another in the love for music. The king himself, as a great connoisseur of music, maintains an orchestra of approximately seventy persons, which Schröter, a first-rate musical mind, leads. The operas themselves are as magnificent as in perhaps any princely city of Europe. In more than one opera the orchestra consisted of between 500 to 600 persons, because the grandees used to lend all of their musicians to it.
All of Warsaw repeatedly resounds year after year with concerts and house music. All bacchanalia were crowned with music, and even the brandy drinking bouts of the lowly common people were inspired by means of song and play. Even the universal poverty that oppressed this noble people before many other nations could not dampen the spirit of music. Since the Poles now devote themselves to the theoretical part of music, the musical world may undoubtedly expect important benefits from them.
XXXII. SWITZERLAND

This fortunate state, since the time of its peace,\(^1\) has done great service to the arts and sciences. Theosophists, lawyers, doctors, philosophers, mathematicians, political and spiritual orators, great poets and artists have distinguished themselves here. Accordingly, it is inconceivable exactly why this republic remained so far behind in music. History hardly knows a couple of Swiss names who deserve to be noted in the annals of music. Yet music does bloom in the Catholic cantons far more than in Calvinist, from whose churches figural music—even the organ—is completely banished. The Catholic Masses, which are composed in Switzerland, have much dignity and an unmistakable simplicity. The modish taste has not caused so much devastation in the church style here as elsewhere. The Calvinists make do with psalms alone, whereupon some are written with the most stately devotion and in the most proper psalm tones. At Basel they were printed together and have been laid before the world as models of this art. In Zurich the musical spirit has become very universal in recent times. There are dilettantes there who rose to mastery. Also, year after year, concerts are given there where the greatest foreign

\(^1\)Because of its position in Europe, Switzerland has been subject to a number of wars. In Schubart's time, the Peace of Aargau (1712), which centered on Swiss neutrality, remained in effect until 1798.
virtuosos often come forward and thereby train the ear of the Swiss
even more. First-rate music masters often reside in Switzerland for
several years and give public instruction. But their own compositions
do not especially want to say much. Schmidlin set Lavater's Schweizer-
lieder to music [1769], among which some were distinguished very much
through their popularity that they were sung with delight by all peo-
ple. Also this Schmidlin has even set some sacred songs of Klopstock
and Lavater so exquisitely that his melodies have been taken up here
and there in the Protestant church.

The merit of Junker in the formation of musical taste in
Switzerland is really not small. He has proved himself with benefit
in the theoretical and practical fields, but in the aesthetical music
he does not have remarkable strength. His Vier und zwanzig Componisten
[recte Zwanzig Componisten] wherein many a mature opinion rules over
the greatest masters, his musical almanacs [1782, 1783, and 1784], and
his essay "Von den Pflichten des Capellmeisters"² have earned him a
lasting name in musical history. He himself plays the clavier and
flute with taste, and his article in the Württemberg Repertorium³
proves that he has studied music as one should.

In Bern much is related to music. Masters in all of the
instruments were employed here who have remarkably modernized the

²Carl Ludwig Junker, Einige der vornemsten Pflichten eines
Kapellmeisters oder Musikdirektors (Winterthur: Heinrich Steiner und
Comp., 1782).

³Carl Ludwig Junker, "Musicalische Lebensgeschichte Karl
Ludwig Junkers, von ihm selbst beschrieben," Württembergisches
taste of their music. At Winterthur many a beautiful work has been laid before the world through Steiner's praiseworthy zeal for music.\textsuperscript{4} Weiss, from Mühlhausen, now resides in London and is one of the best flautists of our time.\textsuperscript{5} On his flute, according to Tacet's recent invention,\textsuperscript{6} he also brings out the critical tones of his instrument with extreme clarity. His strength in the low range is exceptional; his low D[d'] ranges and cuts through ear and heart.

Since luxury also begins to gain ground in Switzerland, one can still expect many benefits for music there. For Polyhymnia hears, before other Muses, the sound of silver with pleasure, and nothing chases her off easier than want and poverty.

\textsuperscript{4}Several of Steiner's collections, such as \textit{Vermischte Lieder mit Melodien aufs Klavier [1776]} and Wernhammer's G. F. Gellerts \textit{geistliche Oden und Lieder, Erste Halfte (1777) [recte 1776]}, were announced in Schubart's \textit{Teutsche Chronik} (30 May 1776):350, (19 August 1776):526-28, and (3 October 1776):631.

\textsuperscript{5}Schubart heard Weiss in a concert given in Augsburg. \textit{Deutsche Chronik} (6 October 1774):439-40.

\textsuperscript{6}By adding a small key to Quantz's already improved flute, the weak sounds of g' sharp, f' sharp, b' flat, and c'' became more distinct, and a long key, when added, made the low c' sharp and c' full and pure. \textit{Deutsche Chronik} (6 October 1774):440 (=\textit{Gerber L}, 2:613).
XXXIII. HOLLAND

In this free state music blooms far greater than in Switzerland. Indeed, the spirit of action causes the Dutch people never to distinguish themselves particularly as musicians, yet they patronize great musicians. In Amsterdam the greatest virtuosos always reside, and concerts are strongly attended, even when it costs a ducat to enter. Lolli, who was very much admired there, received once for a single concert over 1,000 ducats after expenses were deducted.

Music publishing in Amsterdam is as strong perhaps in publishing as anywhere in the world, and the good compositions of distinguished masters are bought with British currency and are snatched up very fast.

The governor of Holland always maintained a very well organized orchestra which consisted of between thirty and forty people, and sometimes more. Many a great master, among whom the previously sketched Spandau also Vanhal, Kammel, and others, decorated this orchestra and made it into a school of art.

In The Hague very sparkling winter concerts are given, to which powerful men of the first rank participate and receive princely payment. In other respects the spirit of the Dutch is somewhat too cold for music. Consequently, their inventions are not so important.

1Schubart's spelling is "Kampel."
Yet their invention of the so-called Hollandois has given them, particularly, much honor. This national melody has some similarity in form with the rondo, except that the two-four meter is generally accustomed to alternate with the six-eight meter. Pieces of such a kind bring forth a peculiar effect: one believes to be standing on the shore of the open sea and to be watching the gently gliding boat in the morning dawn, even if the morning air feels somewhat cold; thus it is a magnificent sight to watch the gliding boat in the blushing, crimson colored waters.
XXXIV. ENGLAND

On this fortunate island, great in men of all kinds, where riches from all parts of the world flow together and, consequently art can also be rewarded, music, since the time of Queen Elizabeth, was always valued remarkably highly. Parliament appropriated 10,000 pounds for the maintenance of a royal orchestra, which was always staffed with first-rate Kapellmeisters, good singers, and distinguished virtuosos on all instruments. And yet, England has--incredible as it might seem!--never brought forth a musical school, never a great composer, never a singer of importance, nor has it even had a distinguished virtuoso. Accordingly, Klopstock recited the triumph song before their ears:

Whom do you have, of bold flights,
As Handel's magic resounds?
That exalts us over thee!

Yet England does not entirely lack an indigenous song. Their ballads and folk songs, which now, for the most part, have been collected and published with music, have simplicity and dignity, but they border, by no means, on Italian grace of German sincerity. The melody of the social dance in two-four meter, known in all the world under the name anglaise, is an invention of this great nation. The stimulus of the beat not only causes the feet to swing, but it unites all of society and the lively circle of the most varieties of characters to one purpose.
Sacred music in London is magnificently staffed, as one cannot otherwise expect from the streaming riches of these people. The organ in St. Paul's Cathedral is one of the most magnificent in the world and, since its construction [1697], is always played by famous masters. The British are great connoisseurs of counterpoint, predisposed for every beautiful melody, without themselves being able to bring forth such a kind. Since they are, as is well known, the most profound seekers of truth, they have more theoreticians of music than practitioners. They dissect too much and seek the luminous concept of perfection more than the obscure concept of beauty.

These people are the second in history who recognized the importance of music so much that they employed professors of music in their universities and created doctors in this art.

By means of this arrangement among them, the principles of music have been emphatically examined, and only Germany has surpassed the British herein.

Newton, this confidant of the Creator, has penetrated into harmony as deeply as into other sciences. His system is indeed difficult to comprehend, but [is] great and true. Nothing is more pensive than his researches on the chord, from which he derived the most far-reaching results. Thus he says, for example, "I take C as the purest tone to the fundamental. A simple striking. Already the fifth and third lie in its oscillations and vibrations. If the fifth and third, especially, were struck, thus further disclosures of the fundamental are uncovered, and with this they form triads, which reflect through the whole universe in thousandfold copies and resound in a myriad of
sounds. The unison [1] always generates the octave [8], the octave [8] always the major tenth [10] and the perfect twelfth [12], and thus almost ad infinitum. The octave [8] submits to the minor seventh [7]; the minor seventh brings forth muffled dissonances flowing through one another; sweeps in four, two, six, nine, and eleven [4, 2, 6, 9, 11] in half and whole steps. Finally, the storm settles when everything again is resolved in the basic chord."

1This particular passage is not in the standard secondary sources as a citation. De Villamil claims that Newton apparently was not that interested in music. He did not play any instrument, nor did he sing, and he had only one book on music, a book on the vibrations of strings. Grove 6, 13:170, states that he did copy technical details from Christopher Simpson's Division Violist (1659), but this was not the music book in his personal library. It seems that the music book was Friedrich Adolph Lampe's De cymbalis veterum libri tres... (Utrecht: Wilhelm van Poolsen, 1703). See Richard De Villamil, Newton: The Man (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., [1931], 1972), pp. 12 and 83. Grove 6 cites three of Newton's works that deal with music (see Grove 6, 13:170-71 and 14:666). Of Music is an early work (ca. 1665) and was not known outside a circle of close friends. Some of Newton's early papers on optics (published in 1704; 2d ed., 1717; 3d ed., 1721) contain five references to music (see Book 1, Part 2, Proposition 3, Problem 1, Experiment 7 =Hawkins H, p. 788; Book 1, Part 2, Proposition 6, Problem 2; Book 2, Part I, Observation 14; Book 2, Part 2; Book 2, Part 3, Proposition 16; and Book 2, Part 4, Observation 5). Gerber L cites Laborde's Essai sur la musique, which contains color descriptions of notes reportedly taken from Newton's book on optics. But the quoted passage (vol. 3, pp. 360-61) mentions Dortous de Mairan, who successfully repeated Newton's experiments on optics in 1716 and 1717 at Beziers (see The Correspondence of Isaac Newton, 7 vols. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959-1977], vol. 7: 1718-1727, ed. A. Ruppert Hall and Laura Tilling, p. 117, n. 6). Thus the Laborde passage has to be taken from a later edition and, based on the just mentioned reference and since Laborde's quote is in the third person, probably from the Preface to Sir Issac Newton, Traité d'optique sur les reflexions, refractions, inflexions, et couleurs de la lumiere. Par m. Le chev. Newton. Traduit de l'anglois par m. [Pierre] Coste, sur la seconde edition, augmentée par l'auteur (Amsterdam: P. Humbert, ca. 1720). There is a passage in Rousseau's dictionary (s. v. "sound") which discusses sounds derived from the harmonics and the fact that as the harmonics continue to ring they gradually disappear. The concept is similar to Schubart's, but
This thoughtful observation contains the whole teaching of
music in indescribable brevity and opens, at the same time, wonderful
prospects in everything [το παυ].

Avison devoted himself to the aesthetics of music and pub-
lished a masterly book on the joining of painting with music.² He
has extracted his observations from the greatest masterpieces and
listened to the beauty, as it were, in its creation [auf der That].
He proves with the most conclusive reasons that the musician has to
have, as the painter, his Contur or outline, his Colorit or coloring,
his Giaro obscuro or shading, his Mezzotinto or mezzotint, his Car-
nation or flesh tone, his Perspective or Haltung. His reasons are

²Charles Avison, An Essay on Musical Expression (London:
C. Davis, 1752). This essay was translated into German and published
in Leipzig by Schwickert in 1775. See Johann Nikolaus Forkel,
Musikalisch-kritische Bibliothek, 3 vols. (Gotha: Carl Wilhelm
unquestionable and, after the manner of his people, realized in a masterly style. His comparisons of great musicians with great painters in their own way can be set on the pages alongside the comparisons of the immortal Plutarch. This splendid book has been translated so beautifully in Switzerland that one can read it as an original [1775].

Burney, Doctor of Music, has made a name for himself in all of Europe by means of his musical journeys [1771 and 1773] and, particularly, through his history of music [4 vols., 2 in 1776, 1 in 1782, and 1 in 1789]. Indeed, his journeys contain an abundance of correct and true observations and reveal, in particular, much musical knowledge. But his opinions are much too British, i.e., too bold and often totally incorrect. Ebeling, the translator of these journeys, and Reichardt have demonstrated this to him most emphatically and with German courage, have reported his errors and his libels of great men. Burney traveled much too quickly and hurriedly to have been able to make observations with philosophical coldness. He does not do suitable justice to us Germans by any means. He concedes to us only artistic skill and diligence, but refuses us musical genius, a libel, which, through the whole history of music, is refuted to the honor of our nation.

His musical history, on which he collected and wrote for twenty years, indeed contains an indulging display of scholarship, for such can easily be obtained by whomever has enough money. But the work is filled with errors, his opinion is not original but mostly French, and his aesthetic sentiment does not say much.
In the meantime, Eschenburg's translation of this work has wiped away many of these conspicuous mistakes.

Hawkins, one of the greatest professors of music now living. He wrote for more than twenty years on his history of music [published in 1776], which came out of Oxford in four quarto volumes and is already translated into German,3 certainly the most important work that has ever been written on this subject. The extensive learning of this man, his indescribable abundance of materials in which he brought together, throughout his whole life, a store of musical writings and instruments that was valued at more than 100,000 Reichsthaler, his penetrating spirit, his crystalline style of writing, and above all, his impartiality make him a classic author of the first rank in the history of music.

The concerts in London are more common than in any other city of the world. One can divide them into public and private concerts. The public ones are large and the parts are skillfully assigned; whoever is musically endowed can be heard there. If one remembers how Handel and [J. C.] Bach stood out at those concerts, one has said enough to their honor. The sovereign orchestra consists of about seventy to eighty persons, among whom are very important masters.

3None of the standard secondary sources mentions a German translation of Hawkins' history of music, nor can it be found in the Ohio College Library Center (OCLC) index, nor in the National Union Catalog (NUC). Sections of the history may have been translated and may have appeared in periodicals or anthologies, but it does not appear that it was published as a single work.
There are innumerable smaller orchestras in London itself as well as in the provinces. Every milord and every great merchant holds his musical court to such a degree by the British that our virtuosos have expatriated themselves hundredfold in order to make their fortunes there. The opera theater in London is one of the richest and with the largest staff in the world. The best composers, singers, and virtuosos in all instruments are heard in the glorified rooms of the British opera. Gabrielli earned 30,000 florins of German money for herself during the winter of 1782 where she appeared on this stage. Here one would like to look toward heaven and sign over the partisan scales with which human merit is weighed. Already in England many a wise man has ruined his life by wasting thousands through licentious living. So profound is it that even the Briton, that so highly famed European thinker, has sunk in the muck of sensuality!

Music publishing in England is extraordinarily strong. All masters of the world have occasion here to step before the public under the most attractive advantages and either drink up the sun’s rays with Jupiter’s bird or shine like a phosphorus saturated glowworm.

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4The original phrase reads "sein eigenes Leben," but Ludwig Schubart corrected the printer’s errors with an addenda page and substituted "sein sieches Leben" for the previous page.

5The ancient Romans believed that Jupiter controlled the future of humans, and that he revealed the future to man by signs in the heavens and by the flight of birds, which are called the messengers of Jupiter. Thus, Schubart suggests that one who is friendly with Jupiter’s messengers will undoubtedly enjoy Jupiter’s favors. William Smith, ed., A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, 3 vols. (New York: AMS Press, 1967), 2:659. There are several references to Jupiter's birds in other writings. See, for example, Wieland’s letter to Schubart, 18 June 1766, (Strauss, 1:66) or Deutsche Chronik (19 January 1775):43.
XXXV. FRANCE

This state is, with [its] intentions to music, far more important than England because it developed a school. Already in ancient times the Gauls had a characteristic music differing from all peoples. The prevailing melody was indeed warlike, yet they differed greatly from the key of all remaining people in the purpose of the instruments and the accompanying song. It is a great observation that the French from the earliest times on were the first who ventured to make the minor key the prevailing one. Because of this, it is beyond all dispute that this nation has lowered to that weakness which all people, as well as the French themselves, have been resenting in this great nation. Generally, an established minor key softens man's strength to pulp and allows valets [Toilettenpuppen] to give the keynote.

Meanwhile, great honor is due the French that they combined music with religion earlier than all other Europeans and improved the church style remarkably.

Already Charlemagne collected the divine songs of the Greeks and transformed them to the taste of his people. His successor to the throne followed this lustrous path and advanced the chorale and florid counterpoint to their immortal glory.
The French were even the first who arranged the feast of St. Cecilia to the honor of music. This saint was elevated to patroness because of her love for music, and since this time, this festival is celebrated with great display throughout Europe, even by Protestant England, every year in November. On this day one sees in Paris the goddess Harmonia march in her festive pomp, and all churches and concert halls resound anew the love of music in solemn hymns.

In all musical styles of writing, Gaul has distinguished itself and each [style] has its own characteristic.

The sacred style is strongly contrapuntal, simple in the choruses, but not full enough in the fugues. The arioso has a certain offensive, worldly mien, which adversely affects the devotion. The basses are mostly very well figured, and the instruments fill out the song with power. But their choral singing, in comparison with the German, is empty and weak; it often approaches totally the secular song.

The opera style of the French begins from the time of the great Lully and Quinault. The latter was the best librettist in France. He understood the needs of music and, consequently, wrote very flowingly and harmonically for the composer. One must not search for greatness of ideas in him, but [there is] so much more gentleness in thoughts and images [and] so much more harmony in expression.

Lully, the Orpheus of the French, the true creator and reformer of their national taste. He was originally an Italian but

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1In his Deutsche Chronik (9 February 1775):90, Schubart is quite complimentary in discussing Lully. Especially noteworthy are his harmony, choruses, and overtures, but not arias or songs.
came to Paris at such an early age that the spirit of his nation evaporated within him. He studied harmony with unusual thoughtfulness and diligence, but this study did not make him pedantic, for his great genius soon convinced him that harmony without melody was no more or less than a corpse without life. For that reason he traveled through all of France, listened to the primitive sounds of these people, and transferred it, after improvement, to his operas. Therefore, the effect of his pieces was all-powerful, and no composer in the world can even boast of having affected a great people so quickly and universally as Lully. His arias and songs were sung at court, in the most glittering societies, and finally in the country at drinking bouts. His choruses are festively grand but are too sacred for the theater. In the recitative style he was such a great master that most of the European composers developed according to him and still today develop according to him. His arias, of course, have become somewhat old-fashioned for our time, but woe to him who even today does not feel the power of their simple expression deeply in the pulse of his heart! Even today if a Lully aria is decorated with the tassles [Franzen] of fashion, as some cunning composers have really done, it will still glisten as a masterpiece in all odeums of connoisseurs.

Lully understood the song exceedingly. He felt and roused feeling. Indeed, his song was extremely simple—still unfamiliar with our runs and ornaments, our fermatas and cadenzas—but truth, nature, and unsophisticated expression compensated by far for all of these shortcomings. Likewise in the chamber style, Lully excelled as a
master. His overtures, sonatas, and dance pieces testify to an inexhaustible musical genius.

He is the inventor of the minuet. The movement of this dance is so pleasant--carrying thither gently on waves, urging the feet on to calm, delicate muted double dance--that Lully was epoch making throughout Europe with the minuet alone. The comb of music would have had a noticeable gap if there were no minuet.

The first minuet (in German flying dance [Flugtanz] or suspended dance [Schwebetanz]) was danced in 1663 at Versailles by Louis XIV with one of his mistresses. It is admirable that the motive of the first minuet was submerged in the minor key. Here it is:
Example 9. Minuet After the Manner of Lully\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{2}This is not a minuet by Lully as Schubart suggests, because it is not among the incipits of Lully's minuets listed in Helen Meredith Ellis, "The Dances of J. B. Lully (1632-1687)," (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1967), pp. 166-74, nor is it among the incipits of other dance types listed in the Ellis dissertation.
For more than fifty years the minuet, this most significant movement, was cast in this pliant form until our great German father-land chanced upon the idea of also making minuets in the major key. Since then the Germans, particularly the Bohemians, make the best minuets in the world.

Lully made thirteen operas, many magnificent sacred pieces, and a number of galant things. His name is undoubtedly one of the best and most important in the history of music. After the death of this great man, French music made a long pause. Many a composer of standing indeed stepped forward, but as soon as the gigantic spirit of Lully appeared again at the theater, they all disappeared like meteors. When the spirit of the French sank ever deeper to pettiness at the end of their kings3 and the abortion of comic opera had been concocted, at that time one began to declare the gigantic form of Lully to be a monster. The creators, or much closer, the creators of this false taste were Grétry and Philidor.

Philidor drivel[s] in music as much as a Frenchman has ever draveled in society. His phrases are extremely wanton, without energy or backbone. At most a little French song succeeds with him. His symphonies are diluted; no drops of burgundy or champagne effervesce within. His arias hop on the toes of frivolous dance. His recitatives are childish, heartless stammering, disfigured by innumerable blunders against the rhythm; his choruses are diluted visions through which the

3King Louis XVI was executed 21 January 1793, thus ending the reign of France's kings. This has to be a textual addition by Ludwig, because Christian died in 1791.
moon shines and they dissolve in the breath of the slightest breeze. Some comic traits do succeed, yet he provokes only smiles and never loud, appalling laughter. In short, Philidor deserves this more than a composer at any time: Devour that shady monster, Oblivion!

Grétry, a first-rate mind. If he had appeared at a more favorable time, he would have really become a great master. He has studied music thoroughly; therefore, all of his pieces bear the mien of soundness. His operas have rightly made great impressions in his country. They are written strongly and are crystal clear. The gold thread of the Italian blends itself with the colored, silken thread of the French taste with him. His openings, or overtures, are pregnant with the embryos of all succeeding pieces and represent the whole picture sketched out. His arias have mostly new and happy motives, are magnificently colored, written with the understanding of the song, and sensibly accompanied by instruments. Grétry, in particular, composes for the violin with much insight into the nature of the instrument. In the phrase of the wind instruments he is not as fortunate. On the other hand, his basses are full of life and spirit. He understands the ebb and flow of the tones, or the so-called contrary motion [Motus contrarius]. His choruses have solemnity, and his comic performance does not lack salt in every part. Also, the Germans have done justice to Grétry, and his pieces are performed with approval at the German theaters.

Rousseau, this great oddity in literary history, also plays a very important role in music. His musical dictionary has rightly attracted great attention in the world. No master before him had
pondered on music with such philosophical discernment as he. His reflections about keys, motion, and behavior are profoundly created and masterly expressed. He was a dam against the shallow, fashionable taste of his countrymen and at least held back the inundation of those men for several years. He was a great admirer of the Italian taste, yet he was never on their same level. He was much more an eclectic and put together a section from Italian, French, and German forms, which would be splendid if an artist would present them to us. About the effect of music on the heart of men, about music's close association with poetry and painting, about the variety of musical taste, about the main periods of music history, [and] about the nature of every single musical composition--still no other writer has been so resonant as Rousseau. But his views here, as in other scientific matters, are often paradoxical, and he believes we have already done enough whenever he digresses from the well-trod highway and runs away as a wanton steed over hedges and shrubs.

Rousseau sang very well and with unusual feeling. In the accompaniment on the harpsichord he was a master, but he played solos only tolerably. Even in composition he emerged with advantage. His Pygmalion [1770] is a masterpiece according to text and music, but it is unfortunate that he is too much a slave of his own, unproven system. Consequently, this piece was effective in France and Germany only for a short time. One-sidedness of taste and stubbornness to cling to the spirit of his people promise no lasting permanence to all artistic products, and this was Rousseau's case.
Diderot, this splendid man of letters and poet, plays the harpsichord not only very well, but also published a theory on clavier playing. He has pondered on the spirit of this instrument more profoundly than a Frenchman at any time. The great [C. P. E.] Bach is his leader. Out of enthusiasm he visited him in Hamburg,* spoke a great deal with him about the art, and thereby rectified his system. His clavier theory is, therefore, nothing more than [C. P. E.] Bach's Clavierschule Frenchified. Diderot is an ecstatic admirer of the Germans and places our people above all other people in poetry and music.

Marchand, the greatest organ player of the French. He, with his nation, even considered himself to be a marvel. But when he traveled to Berlin, heard [C. P. E.] Bach play, the wings of pride left him. From this time on he changed his taste entirely and played in the Bachian manner. His organ pieces are thoughtful, unusually difficult, often ambitious, but many times too fiery for the organ style. He understood counterpoint masterly, but did not have enough pedal strength nor knowledge of the stops.

*Diderot wore the sable fur which he received from the Russian empress. With a respectful glance to his teacher, he took off his fur coat and hung it up next to Bach. "The empress made a mistake. The coat rightly belongs to you."

RISM B/VI/2 does not list such a work but refers the reader to Anton Bemetzrieder, Leçons de clavecin et principes d'harmonie par M. Bemetzrieder, [Préface par Diderot] (Paris: Bluet, 1771). Was this the source Schubart intended?
He composed much for the organ and clavier, and his pieces remain of great worth always for true connoisseurs. Bach himself treasured them, although the giant did see way above Marchand's head.

Legrand, this great harpsichord player, who was frequently called the musical magician in France is, indeed, for his fatherland a colossal figure, but for Germany only the usual measure. It is true that his hand flies as the martin (and that is an advantage of his steady nerves), but what has this intellectual power done?

His concertos and sonatas, with and without accompaniment, are magnificent. Youthful power, elasticity of spirit, newness in turns of expression and fingering arising therefrom, and greatness in modulation swim in his compositions. He puts wings on the keys of the clavier, had indescribable precision, and, with it, a grace which one has never seen in a Frenchman. Legrand wrote solely in the chamber style, and this always with much luck, because whatever he wrote was distilled from practical experience. He had thirty concertos engraved in copper in Paris; an industry which is without equal in the world of genius. His sacred style, as the French very much praise him, is nevertheless of little value. He forces greatness, and forced greatness is a changeling in the art.

The concerts in Paris belong among the best of the world. The Concert spirituel is a central point of everything that music has in greatness. All nations may come here with the very colorful differences of taste without it ever occurring to a Frenchman to comment on that point. The princes of the houses, especially the prince of Condé, maintained orchestras of prime importance. All of Paris abounds with
musicians, and Gluck and Piccinni have jostled so omnipotently in the mechanism [Maschine] of French taste, that a revolution, or rather an approximation to the German taste, must quite certainly ensue.

The French chanson is in the meantime of such modest importance that it seems inconceivable to me how the theorists would like to pollute whole pages with examinations of this motive. The two-four beat indeed elevates, yet never to the degree that the French imagine it in the stream of enthusiasm. In addition to that, the strict German Schleifer [sliding dance] already had this tempo before it was carved and defined by theory.

And herewith we conclude this short history of music. But on its sacred threshold are still the remaining questions:

1. What have we done?
2. What are we doing now?
3. What should we still do?

The first question is concerned with the fact that so much has already been done in music, as every thinker surely understands. Not only has the song been shaped, embankments and precepts for the stream of sensation have been prescribed, the collapse [Einsturz] [sic] or the accompaniment, of the instruments reported, and the utmost direction to the accompaniment with the harpsichord been given, but also instruments of which antiquity heard no sound have been introduced, new motives in minor and major keys have been discovered, and finally a canal through which the life's blood should flow into another life's blood has been found mechanically.
The organ in France has been rather strongly cultivated, but it would be ungrateful ever to want to put a French organ player against German strength and art. The Frenchman [Franzose] whimpers in womanly tones, the German strides accordingly in the manly ones; the German thinks and negotiates, the Frenchman [Franzmann] negotiates a great deal but does not think as much; the German is cold and profoundly cunning, the Frenchman [Franke] glides over the surface area of the thing. France tastes, Germany discovers, [and] Italy ornaments. This very old saying is still true today and casts light on all musical schools.

The last two questions, "Where are we?" and "What do we have to expect?" are of enormous importance. We would like to throw light on them:

1. With reference to whatever the current musical taste is in Europe, it is really still great and raises itself beyond everything thought or written about music at any time.

2. If Timotheus, who bewitched Alexander, were to appear today, he would have hardly been used other than a Colophonian boy. Velocity, constancy, deep and exalting feeling, artly insight and the gentlest mark on that which heart and spirit rouse have now

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5The Colophonians, from Asia Minor, were characterized by some ancient writers as being effeminate and luxurious, which does not seem to fit Schubart's description. By other writers, however, the Colophonians were characterized as being victorious in battle. Thus, a Colophonian boy, in this sense, would represent someone who might have ability for war (or in this case, the ability to play the flute) but not the maturity nor the experience. What Schubart is saying is that although Timotheus may have been a great flute player in his own time, he would in no way measure up to today's instrumentalists.
spread among us that the Greeks and Romans would look up high if they were standing before our orchestras. The theory has been so minutely dissected in all its veins, vessels, and arteries that the artist isstartled and can hardly stammer anything other than saying, "What did Philip leave to Alexander?" 6

3. There was once a time where one asserted very unashamedly that music had been brought to such a point that there was nothing left to do.

Since no art is exhausted less than music, since the domain of harmony is the universe, [and] since innumerable many new compositions, instruments, and motives are still thought of, one sees for himself how unphilosophical this claim is. Because the taste towards the comic produces great devastation among us, our best effort had to go to limit this taste as much as possible and to make a place anew for the serious, heroic, tragic, pathos, and stately.

The sacred style must again give up the insolent mien to which it has degenerated and reveal passion of devotion in heavenly-gazing eyes. On one hand the composer must not spend too much time in

6Schubart probably refers to a passage in Plutarch's Lives (s.v. "Alexander") where Alexander complains, upon hearing that his father Philip has conquered another city, that nothing will be left for him to accomplish. From history we know that Alexander, even with his early death at the age of 32, had become the world's greatest conqueror. Schubart is saying that there is still a great deal to be done in music. See Plutarch, The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans: The Dryden Translation, Great Books of the Western World, vol. 14 (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952), p. 542.
meditation, but on the other hand he should not mock all theories. It is true that music must be simplified, but it certainly must not be turned out bare into the world. It will be especially necessary to seek out a new rhythm in which the ever present cesuras will not make our music monotonous. Finally, the composer must refine new compositions, bring the old measure into motion again, study the folk melodies more closely, and he must compose and perform with a streak of genius in his soul. Thus, music will not only have been led back to its former dignity and sublimity but will soon reach a height [Sonnenpunkt] to which it has never ascended.

Hymn

Holy art of music, of the divine race!
Playmate of angels, confidant of heaven,
Over which fallen mankind complains.
The thorny path of life injured his sole,
A bloody tear fell upon the burning nettle.
Then you, heavenly one, tread, in swan's dress before them
And instilled in them the spirit of song.
Now the strings sounded under the drawn bow,
Now the golden web of the harp sounded,
Now the silver-webbed lyre sounded,
Now the trumpet sound blared,
And the charger neighed herein.
Now the blazing horn resounded,
Now the delicate, lydian flute whispered
Now the dance whirled again,
Now the young boy softened in love,
The toiling girl melted in love.
In the temple sounded the praise of Jehovah,
The echoing ram's horns resounded therein,
And the asoor and the githit and the crashing cymbal.
The thunder of the hymn rose to Olympus.
The Psalm fled lightning fast to the Holy of Holies;
And Jehovah smiled with approval!

Let me visit you, divine Polyhymnia!
For you also visited me in the hours of consecration;
You gave me manly song, and harpsichord playing,
That I might command the tears of the listeners to flow,
That I might color the countenance of the feeling boy
With the enthusiasm of passion;
That I might elicit sighs of love from the girl lying in wait;
That through Wotan's song I might swell the bosom of men.
Oh, let me never profane you, divine Polyhymnia,
Or your gift of heavenly dignity!
Let me sing, Jehovah,
Who is, who was, and who comes!
To you, oh virtue, to you, pious love,
To you, familiar pleasantry at the unprofaned cup,
And, alas to you, oh fatherland, fatherland,
That I love, as a youth his fiancée.
To you, oh fatherland, of heros and of fiery souls,
I dedicated my harpsichord playing and my song!

If I should someday slumber after my life of toils,
When the mound is piled up over my bones,
When I leave behind my bonds of chains,
At the site of the grave:
Thus, if a tender boy lingers at my grave,
Thus, if a sensitive girl lingers at my grave;
And they look heavenward and speak
With the shimmering glance of the most profound feelings
of their hearts:
"Blow gently breeze, around this ashen mound;
Here rests Polyhymnia's friend!
God gave him song and harpsichord.
He never profaned the priceless gift.
He hangs up the harp in the temple
And his telyn in Thuiskon's grove!
CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH DANIEL SCHUBART'S
IDEEN ZU EINER ÄSTHETIK DER TONKUNST:
AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION
(Part Two)
Ted Alan DuBois

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PART TWO

THE PRINCIPLES OF MUSIC
XXXVI. CONCERNING THE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Concerning the Organ

The first of all musical instruments, this superb invention of the human spirit has risen gradually through many centuries to that perfection of which it displays now. All of Europe endeavored to improve such a work. We have already heard in the history that the Germans contributed the most to its perfection.

This divine instrument has various ranks. From four stops it has risen to more than sixty-four, which are even doubled in some large works and are thus of marvellous effect. Some organs have only one manual, some two, others three. The pipes, which are set in motion by the stops and receive breath and life by means of the wind chest, are made partly of tin, partly of wood, sometimes also of silver. The main stops are the Prinzipal, Quinte, Oktave, Quintatön, Grobgedeckt, and Süss- or Kleingedechkt, and Sesquialtera; the various shadings, the flute stop; and for the diverse imitations of all instruments, of the trumpet, horn, viola, violin, timpani, cymbal, bird-singing, and finally of the echo and the human voice. The latter stop makes the greatest effect whenever a sensitive master handles it. The coupler is that stop which combines the whole power of the organ in one place. The pedal carries the flood of the greatest singing congregation. It is calculated according to the measure of the foot, and the organ
makers have already increased it from two feet to thirty-two. The pipe of low C then has a volume in which the largest man can stand comfortably.

The tone of a good organ must be large, cutting, and all-penetrating. Nothing is more difficult than the pure voicing of the organ. In the chords B major and E major there is the so-called hiatus or wolf, where the organ masters, who did not carefully study the temperament, try to conceal the imperfection of their kind of voicing. But since a true organ player as gladly wallows in the chromatic notes as the diatonic, the organ tuner must try carefully to conceal the wolf tone from all keys. It is a paradoxical yet perfectly founded principle that one may tune no key completely purely in the organ because other notes thereby suffer. The greatest art, therefore, consists of that which is to distribute the adherent imperfection of this instrument so wisely that every key has the smallest possible part of [the wolf]. The best and purest organ voicing is that by fifths according to the following arrangement:

- C major, G major
- E minor, B minor
- D major, A major
- F-sharp minor, C-sharp minor
- E major, B major
- G-sharp minor, D-sharp minor
- F-sharp major, C-sharp major
- B-flat minor, F minor
- A-flat major, E-flat major
C minor, G minor
B-flat major, F major
D minor, A minor

Since the keys are stated here according to their consonant-guinity, or inner nature, this is the best possible voicing. Temperament, or the important theory of equal and unequal beat, on the strength of which each note should move on to its related notes in a curve, the tuner must learn partly from the mathematical relationships but more through the most delicate and most refined ear. The best organs in Europe are found now in Rome, Florence, London, Antwerp, Salzburg, Mannheim, Berlin, and Frankfurt, and the most famous of all in the Franciscan monastery at Halberstadt.

About the mechanism of the organ and about the construction of the best organs in all of Europe, Werckmeister¹ and Adlung² have written the best works.*

Adlung has produced a thorough book about the nature of the

*The meritorious chancellery publisher Wagner in Ulm has completed an inventory of all known organs, which he collected over a thirty-year period, but this useful work still has not come out in print.

¹Andreas Werckmeister, Orgel-Probe, oder Kurtze Beschreibung, wie und welcher Gestalt man die Orgel-Werke von den Orgelmachern annehmen, probiren, untersuchen, und den Kirchen liefern künde und solle (Frankfurt am Main und Leipzig: Theodor Philipp Calvisius, 1681).

stops, about the advantages and weaknesses of our organs, and about the best possible furnishings of the organ. Yet hours of observation at the side of a master is more useful than years of reading about this subject.

Ideal of an Organ Player

Just as the organ is the best instrument, so is the organist the best musician. The manipulation of the organ is extremely difficult, and one must be endowed with intellectual and physical perfection. By the former I mean genius and study. If the embers of genius do not flame in one's bosom, he will never become a significant organist. And whoever relies solely on his genius and does not carefully study the nature of this difficult instrument, he will remain a naturalist forever: isolated sparks will cause admiration, but the whole will never build a fire.

First of all the organist must study counterpoint most minutely, for counterpoint has its true home at the organ.

A true organist must be able to realize thoroughly on the spot a given theme to a fugue, and this accomplishment cannot be imagined without profound study of counterpoint. How much skill does not belong to leading the modulations properly, striking the full harmonies correctly, inverting the principal phrase, employing single and double counterpoint, and doing all that with fire!

Improvisation [phantasie] is almost an individual product of genius. Without fiery imagination, without creative spirit, without
instantaneous ideas, no one will produce excellent improvisation. The
improvisation remarkably has very many similarities with the poetic
dithyramb: it steps from the domain of rules and measures, it irri-
gates and fertilizes without ever being inundated, it soars to heaven,
it plunges to hell, and all types of music lie in its circumference.
From this description it becomes evident, then, that there could be
few men who improvise well; for first of all, the creative spirit is
extremely rare, and then, not every hour is an hour when genius is
evident. Improvising cannot be learned at all, for, although there
are some who commit improvisation to memory, there is nothing easier
than to distinguish the practiced from the self-created. Improvisation
is, therefore, the first unmistakable characteristic of an excellent
organist.

The prelude and interlude are much easier, for one can acquire
moderate strength through imitation; and because the notes move within
the boundaries of the measure, the performance is subject to much fewer
difficulties.

The nature of preludes is, in short, this: they must be suited
precisely to the theme of the chorale [Lied]. For example, the prelude
to the chorale "O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort! etc.," must provoke fear and
terror, just as the prelude to the chorale "O Jerusalem du Schöne,
 etc." must arouse yearning and longing after heaven. Whoever deeply
feels the text of a chorale will never commit the impropriety of
preluding insolently to the song "O Traurigkeit, O Herzeleidl etc.,"
and pour out a black, lethargic sauce over the song "Nun danket alle
Gott, etc."
During the communion, where the preludes must be mostly long, the andante, adagio, largo, affetuoso, amoroso, and the cantabile are very much recommended. But one must be on his guard for profane ideas and for thoughtless rhythms and movements so that the listener is not disturbed in his prayers. Outside of the church it is permitted to play an alla breve or allegro in order to, as it were, relax the congregation somewhat from their exertion. Yet here one must be on his guard, out of respect for religion, not to fall into the thoughtless three-eight beat for fear that the congregation would be enticed to dance outside of church. On the other hand, six-eight and twelve-eight—in the most moderate tempi—are tolerable. It is best of all when one selects the alla breve beat which unites liveliness and fire with purity.

The interludes are more difficult and more important than many believe. They should, properly, always interpret the next line of the chorale. Whoever chooses a profane thought at the preparation of a holy thought sows weeds among the wheat; and whoever plays a sad interlude, creeping along in semitones, before a joyous thought does not know what he is singing and does not know what he is playing. One must likewise be on guard for lulling, redundant, apishly learned interludes, because they bore the congregation. Beautiful runs by means of fingerings, thirds and sixths, simple and, where possible, double trills, pleasant wandering half-steps, the not-too-lively and quick tumble through seventh and six-five chords, and a thousandfold tricks whereby the listener is entertained are the most unmistakable formula for these interludes. One must be on guard so much the more against
all luxuriant abuses in the chorale as they creep into the heart of
the listener like a poison. A Moravian attended a divine service
several years ago where a very good, but sometimes petulant organist
played. The organist committed the imprudence of choosing a profane
phrase for the interlude. After the service the Moravian said to the
organist, "You have annoyed me today, for I heard the run between the
chorale [verses] twenty years ago in a comedy." As strong as this
challenge is, one must follow the instruction of the apostle Paul which
gives the tenet to all supervisors of congregations, consequently also
to organists, to treat their delicate brothers with consideration. One
should read the beautiful and emphatic things the famous Kapellmeister
Reichardt in Berlin has said on the subject.

The strongest point of the true organist must be present in the
performance of the chorale. This performance is threefold: one either
preludes the chorale of the congregation simply, or alters it artisti-
tically, or accompanies the congregation with it. In the first case,
simplicity and beauty are greatly to be recommended. One chooses, for
example, the flute stop for the performance of the melody or, where it
is available, the divine vox humana, [and] plays the melody quite sim-
ply with extreme feeling of the prevailing tone. For the accompaniment
on the other manual, however, one should take perhaps the viola da
gamba and should play the pedal only simply, so that the tender melody
will not be destroyed. This very difficult manner of playing requires
much genius and feeling.

The artistic variation can be learned mechanically. One can
realize it fugally or with a running bass, with doubled or single
pedal, whereby the appropriate and quick alternation of stops brings forth great effect. One must especially be on guard here for prolixity and pedantic modulations; also the melodies must never drown in a whirlpool of strange ornaments. During the singing it is totally out of place to vary the chorale. Simplicity, tonal body, busy, prominent pedal, unaffected modulations, correct and beautiful harmonies are precisely what is required of musicians in this situation. Only wretched schoolmasters and bunglers search for honor when they entangle the congregation with all too artificial modulations.

The knowledge of the stops is for an organist just what the mixing of colors is to an artist. Both sides of the organ are the virtuoso's palette; and the quicker and more correctly an organist knows how to draw or replace the stops suitably for the gradual increase of sounds, the better he understands his instrument.

The pedal has great difficulties because of its enormous strength as well as because of its diverse nature. One may seldom pedal with the right foot as he does with the left because the right one actually belongs to the sphere of the obbligato cello, while the left foot borders on the nature of the double bass and the bass trombone. One must have special shoes with very high heels made so that I can bring forth the third and, by springing, even the fourth. In other respects the theory of the pedal is one with the thorough bass.

To all of these great qualities of the organist must still come, in addition, indispensable physical perfection. His hand must be strong and must possess great elasticity. Moreover, strong nerves are required, a far-reaching hand, and feet almost endowed with
dancer's skill. One sees from this how difficult it is to reach such an ideal and how high a man must be respected who measures up to the furthest point on this scale.

Concerning the Harpsichord or the Clavier

The clavier has succeeded the most among all the instruments in our time. Formerly, and in the first half of the present century, hardly one clavierist in all the provinces was found. Now everyone plays, strikes, drums, and pipes; the noble and ignoble; the bungler and virtuoso [Kraftmann]; woman, man, boy, and girl. The clavier has even become one of the most important articles in stylish upbringing. The instrument owes its present great improvement to this general enthusiasm.

In order to define the principles of the clavier precisely, the claviers themselves must be distinguished beforehand from one another.

1. The harpsichord [Flügel], which ascends and plucks the strings with either raven's quills or, still better (but of course far more expensive) with gilded metal. It merely has simple contour, but so clearly marked and so sharply drawn as the figure of a Kneller or Chodowiecki without change of color. On this instrument pure execution must first be learned, or, that which is the same thing, the hand is exercised in the correct musical design. If one even waves with the hand, the contour of the piece on this instrument will be distorted. For this reason the beginner should practice first on the harpsichord, acquire a quick, well-trained hand, and
strengthen himself in the most exacting and precise performance of compositions before he goes on to other clavier types.\footnote{Burney makes a similar observation in \textit{Burney G}, p. 96.}

Whoever has learned to perform a piece well on a Friederizi, Silbermann, or Stein harpsichord—for these are the best by far among all known until now—will progress on other claviers so much easier. But one must not tarry too long on the harpsichord, for this instrument is more for the allegro than the adagio; consequently, [it is] more appropriate to the art than to the performance of sensitive pieces.

2. Fortepiano. This splendid instrument—Hail to us!—again an invention of the Germans. Silbermann sensed the rudeness of the harpsichord, which either could not totally express the coloration or expressed it by means of stops in all too strong contrasts, so deeply that he thought of a way to bring colors to the harpsichord. He and his successors came, therefore, upon the great discovery of bringing forth the forte and piano without stops—because stops only cause delay—by means of the pressing of the hand with the greatest possible velocity. If the mezzotinto could be brought to the fortepiano, no wish would remain for the harpsichordist. Since then this magnificent instrument has been brought to such a perfection that one can produce the full magic of music, so much more by the elasticity of his fingers than by means of his knee, with which one modifies the strengths and weaknesses of the sounds without grimacing. There are fortepianos of ten, twelve, [and] up
to twenty stops. A nobleman in Mainz has made one where the flute, violin, bassoon, oboe, even horns and trumpets were conjured up in the fortepiano. When the secret of building is made known by this great inventor to the world, one will have an instrument that devours all others.

Späth in Regensburg, Frick in Berlin, Silbermann in Strasbourg, Strouth in London, and especially Stein in Augsburg now make the best fortepianos known.

The way of manipulating this instrument is very difficult from the quilled harpsichord. The latter [i.e., the harpsichord] requires only gentle touch, but the fortepiano requires a jerking or slipping motion. The musical coloration can be expressed here so suitably, but by far not in all its nuances.

3. Clavichord. This lonely, melancholic, inexpressibly sweet instrument, when it is made by a master, has advantages over the harpsichord and the fortepiano. By means of the pressure of the finger, by the vibration and bebung of the strings, by the strong or gentler touch of the hand, not only can the natural musical colors be determined, but also the mezzotinto, the swelling and fading away of sounds, the breathtaking trill melting away under the fingers, the portamento or the Träger, in a word, all traits are determined from which feeling is composed. Whoever does not like to thunder, rage, and storm; whose heart often and happily bursts into sweet feelings--let him bypass the harpsichord and fortepiano players, but extremely few clavichordists.
The clavichords today have almost reached their summit: they are of five or six octaves; are fretted or unfretted; with and without lute stops; and it seems for the sensitive player that another perfection can hardly be imparted to this instrument.

4. **Pantaleon.** A dwarf of the fortepiano. Since it sounds too tinny [blecheln], the instrument is continually incapable of giving the keynote in the world of music. The treatment of this instrument is a gentle touch. Since it only has tangents, which consist of little hammers or touch pieces [Tocken], they must be tossed rather than pushed through. The vibrato can be expressed here most perfectly, but all feelings founder because the nuances, or mezzo-tintos, are lacking. The continual bird-like jumping from one sound to another without filling in the gaps; the roar, noise, and rattle of this instrument—[this] makes it bearable for few gatherings and prophesies its near end.

5. **Harmonica.** The inventor of this clavier type was Franklin, one of the pillars on which the recent American greatness is founded. The Germans have perfected this instrument. It consists of tuned glass plates, or bell-shaped pieces of glass, all tuned according to the periphery of tones. By rubbing with wet fingers, the sound is brought forth from its first beginning to its full maturity in utmost delicacy. The sensitive player is made for this instrument. If the heart's blood drips from the tips of his fingers, if every

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2Schubart's outline of this section ("Pantaleon" through the paragraph on "Frick") follows that of the MAfD 1782, pp. 28-34.
note of his performance is a pulse beat, if he can transform rubbing, sliding, and tickling—then let him approach this instrument and play.

Frick, a German, has brought it to the greatest perfection. But in the domain of music, it is only provincial and deserves no further sphere of activity. The fragile bells; the extraordinary difficulty of tuning; the hollow, extremely melancholy tune which invites the deepest sadness; the difficulty of progress from one bell to another; the impossibility of bringing out even a moderate allegro; the continually howling, plaintive dirge [Gräberton]—these things make the instrument a black tint, a great painting where in every group sadness bows down over a deceased friend.

6. Melodiaka. This great invention of Stein [ca. 1758-72] rectifies [ausfüllen] all of the indicated deficiencies of the clavier. It has mezzotintos, liquifaction of sounds, which are brought about by means of spring mechanisms [Stahlfeder] at the keyboard, in a word, just those qualities which make it a slave of the player without ever making the player the slave. The finger of the player rules as a sceptre. The tangents are like pulp or may be kneaded as dough. A spring mechanism, which obeys the gentlest touch, is added to the keyboard of this instrument. This instrument would be almost perfect if it were not totally limited to pipes. The best performance relies upon the best performance of the flute player—and then nothing further. It is, therefore, an instrument with
which one can only color, but can never create new melodies—a magnificent fanfare without regard to good design.*

The remaining variations of the clavichords and claviers, for example, the nasal reed organ, the portative-clavier, [and] the positive organ, basically deserve little comment, because true connoisseurs have never esteemed them. But whether a new clavier type is still possible is a question which a musical Bacon must answer.³ It is possible. The needs of the playing genius must determine this.

³The inventor himself has made known a printed description of it.⁴

³Schubart held Bacon in high regard, especially for his inductive method, as for example, "Bako zeichnete die Charté der Wissenschaften." GS, 7:39.

⁴Johann Andreas Stein, Beschreibung meiner Melodica, eines neuerfindenen Clavierinstruments (Augsburg: J. J. Lotter, 1773).
XXXVII. CONCERNING FINGERING

The correct manipulation of this first instrument is above all determined by the Applicatur or fingering. This [fingering] cannot really be entirely defined for the genius, for he can invent phrases which require a new placement of the thumb. But for the already invented runs going through all keys, a [single] conceivable hand position or Applicatur is unattainable.

We shall use in all 24 keys: 1 for the thumb; 2, the index finger; 3, the middle finger; 4, the ring finger; [and] 5, the little or ear finger. These proposed fingerings are, as one sees, drawn from nature, but have long been insufficient for all the requirements of art. The artist is a god: if he creates new tirades, he must also create new fingerings. Consequently, all great composers should notate fingerings, as have, for example, Bach, Vogler, and others. The various tricks of music, such as they were observed by great colorists, must also be heeded by clavierists. Here are some of the timeless statutes which guide, and must continually guide, the clavier player:

1In Ludwig Schubart's corrections to the 1806 edition, he states that the application of this fingering system was missing from the manuscript pages, but that the "Bachian fingering" was not to be used here. Perhaps this refers to C. P. E. Bach's section on fingering in his Versuch (Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments, trans. and ed. William J. Mitchell [New York: Norton, 1949], pp. 41-78), which contained certain concepts that were challenged later in the century. See Grove 6, 6:573.
1. Pupil of the clavier! Read correctly! If you can do this, you can do everything.

But the art of reading is so great [and] has such unending modifications that it is extremely difficult to stammer about it. Yet I want to attempt some guidelines and lend a language to the aesthetic performance of the clavier.

2. First, one must practice in grammatical performance and conform to the musical pulse most precisely. One must reconstruct [umschreibe] the framework of the piece, determine all the borderline of the melodies most correctly, and mimic with philosophical coldness whatever the composer pronounced. Then, one must practice in the performance itself. If it is comical, one stops then and licks, as it were, the keys with the fingers.

3. The hand must always be brilliant; the fingers must be curved half-round and relaxed. As soon as they stretch, all the nerves are tense and no quick performance in conceivable. But if the performance is sad, nothing is clipped off, rather everything is refined. The notes melt under the fingers: they quiver, tremble, live, [and] die.

4. Colorature in the adagio are nonsense; however, much fashion authorizes this nonsense. One believes resting keys want to be animated by means of embellishments, but embellishments never animate; they destroy the vibrance of the [note] which bears them. The mordent, the half and whole trill, the fermata, and the cadenza must be performed with pleasant grace. In order to maintain the brilliance of the hand, the thumb must always play its magic
play. This important finger begins in valleys or on the lower keys and allows the other fingers to dance on hills. In this observation lies the whole magic of fingering.

5. In order to be able to play in all keys, one must practice early on in upward and downward transposition. For example, an Italian aria starts in D major; how quickly it is transplanted to A major if we remember the bass clef! Accordingly, the importance of the clef is so great that the true clavierist can never fail if he always has it in mind. If C, for example, is the keynote, and the congregation rises about a half step, I easily think of the figuration of C sharp; but if the congregation falls, thus I think of nothing but B flat in the musical characterization. In a word, every elevation or depression can be determined by the clef. For that reason Volger is quite mistaken when he eliminates so many

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{2}This entire paragraph presents problems in its translation since the author is not clear in his explanation. If Schubart is speaking about the practice of harmonizing a melody without the benefit of a figured bass, then this example is possible only if the melody is notated in the soprano clef. To transpose the melody from the key of D major to the key of A major, one would only have to add one sharp and substitute the bass clef for the soprano clef (i.e., from } \text{C to } \text{C}.}\]
clefs from music through his system, and with it wrests from the hands of all clavier and organ players the magic wand of change, or of passages to other keys.  

6. The performance on the clavier generally divides itself into the **solo** or **accompaniment**.

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3In his earlier writings, such as the *Tonwissenschaft und Tonsetzkunst* (1776), Vogler explained how forty-four different modulations were possible from any tonic note. However, in his Mannheim writings, such as the *Kuhrpfälzische Tonschule* (1778), the more distant relationships were purged. Schubart probably refers to this latter publication. See *Grove* 6, 20:60.
In reality only the true virtuoso or the musical genius can accomplish this. All solos which are not played by those initiated in the secrets of the art are changelings of music and have given clavier performance a bad reputation. The solo player must perform either his own or unfamiliar improvisations. In both cases he must possess genius. If I want to play a sonata by Bach, I must become absorbed so thoroughly in the spirit of this great man that my individuality withers away and becomes the Bachian idiom. All mechanical skills—the ear, quick hand, fingering, stability in the heart, understanding of the instrument, art of reading, and so forth—[are] discounted: no solo player ventures on the stage if he does not possess creative power, if he does not know how to transform the notes into just as many sparks, if he cannot petrify the accompanying voices around him as well as the listeners, and, alas, if he is incapable of commanding the spirit to burn in all ten fingers.

After solo playing comes the difficult art of accompaniment. Many believe to have already finished their studies herein, and they are yet in the rudiments of this art. To the true accompanist belongs, first of all, perfect knowledge of the thorough bass. It is, of course, surer if one figures the pieces, but the accompanist must also be capable of accompanying with power and energy a composition.
without figures. Whatever concerns the thorough bass belongs to the mathematical and not to the aesthetical in music. The great Bach has given such a splendid methodical instruction regarding this that an addition is hardly more feasible.\footnote{See the chapters on thorough bass and accompaniment in Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, \textit{Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments}, trans. and ed. William J. Mitchell (New York: Norton, 1949), pp. 198-429.} Vogler invented a new system of accompaniment to please the ladies, but it seems to me all too short and too flexible to be successful. Only the thoughtful musician, not the lady playing merely to pass the time, is capable of accompanying each piece as its nature requires. One must have studied and practiced for a long time the teaching of contemporary and progressive harmony, the extremely difficult instruction of modulation of the prepared and unprepared transition from one key to the other, the beauty of song, and particularly the discretion always to keep in equal step with the singers. Otherwise, one will hack and peck without any feeling but will never accompany. Accordingly, the accompanist in all the European orchestras is of such great importance that he has the position immediately after the Kapellmeister. And, most Kapellmeisters undertake this extremely important post themselves.

\textbf{Violin}

This instrument is one of the greatest inventions in music; the more splendid, the simpler it is. Its history is lost in remote antiquity, yet I did not want to assert, as \textit{Burney}, that the Jews and
Greeks already had had violins,² for that same instrument which Luther translated as "violin" was no violin, but a lyre, as Pfeiffer in his treatise on the Hebrew poetry rightly proved.³ The υλόν, hylin of the Greeks, was likewise not a violin, but as one sees from insignia on gems and coins indisputably a heptachord or lyre. But it is beyond doubt that the violin sprang up from the lyre, and it is highly probable an invention of the Spaniards. The historiographers of this nation [Spain] at least made first mention of our violin of today and define this instrument thus: "We have come to speak of a lyre, guitar, or as one now calls it, a violin, strung with catgut and drawing out magical tones with horsehair smeared with rosin."

Muratori cites this authority. But whether the Spanish are also the inventors of the tuning of the violin, on that I doubt for the most sound reasons. The Spanish now still tune the violin frequently as we tune the viola d'amore or cittern, for example: 1. A
   2. F sharp
   3. D
   4. A

Our masterly tuning of the violin today according to fifths is doubtless an invention of the Italians, and as Muratori and Martini maintain,⁴ the invention of a monk in the countries where Romance

²I find no such statement in Burney H, the most logical source for such a comment.
³See page 58 of this translation.
⁴Burney, Martini and Forkel cite references to Muratori, but none relates specifically to the passages here. Gerber L lists two
languages are spoken [Romanesishen]. Too bad that the name of this
great inventor slumbers in undeserving neglect! This tuning is so
splendid and, at the same time, so perfect that nothing more perfect is
possible. Things have come to such a state that one can bring out all
pieces--be they from the furtherst sphere--with agility and beauty.
And since the mezzotints, even the most refined nuances, lie in this
range and can be brought out through unnoticeable slides on the finger-
board, the violin has noticeable superiority over the clavichord.
Mozart, as has already been mentioned, has determined the theory of the
violin the best, but his bowing technique is too much like Tartini's
and is not suitable enough for the presto.

Splendid fingering; an extremely flexible hand; a bowing
suited for each performance; a pure stroke; expressive arpeggio, in a
word, fire and correct taste--these things must be found in a true
violinist. A great violinist is a great man. He can stir up and add
to storms of passion. The comic style, as well as the tragic style,
lies in his sphere. Without long study, and particularly without
spiritual glow, there will never be a great violinist. A violinist may
indeed not study composition as strictly as the clavierist, but he will
never become great in his art without the study of pure composition.
The violinist who can compose his concertos and sonatas himself will

works by Muratorî which supposedly contain information about music.
Of the more than six thousand columns of Latin text in Muratorî's
Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi, only three columns contain infor-
mation on music, none of which is applicable here. (Ludovico Antonio
Muratorî, Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi, 6 vols. [Mediolani:
Societatis Palatinae, 1738-42; reprint ed., Bologna: Arnaldo Forni
Editore, 1965], 2:356, 358; 3:876.) The other source, Amali d'Italia,
was not available.
also do this far better than another who does not understand the art of strict composition. Even the violinist confirms the great truth that mere practice without close study of fundamentals may never form a great man.

The best violins in the world are the Stainer, the Cremonese—
the new Cremona must be carefully distinguished from the old, in the case of violins—the Viennese, the Prague, Parisian, Nuremberg, and Munich violins.

The violin, this splendid instrument, has elaborated itself into many types.

The Viola

An ancient violin which affords great service to music. In more recent times it has been employed for solo playing with great effect. Yet this instrument has something so sad, something so in keeping with the gentle lament that one cannot listen to it alone at length. One today uses even two violas in most operas and sacred pieces, but the composer requires great care if he does not want to fall into cacophony in crossing with other instruments and in the infringement of harmony.

The [aural] contour of the viola is according to the nature of the instrument, extremely sharp, almost like glass. Each new beat must be so decisive that it slices through the whole symphony like a razor. Very much is lacking if one sets merely a mechanical or a mediocre mind on the viola.
The tuning of the viola is:

1. A
2. D
3. G
4. C

The viola generally has the remaining principles in common with the violin.

**The Violoncello**

Actually a tenor violin, yet it is also used as a bass instrument in accompaniment. This instrument compares more favorably to the solo violin than does the viola, because it has a certain imperious sound [Herrscherton], which is more appropriate for the solo. The tone of the violoncello is extremely piercing in the high range and, under the hand of a master, is charming and lovely. One can imitate the voice of the best tenors to the point of deception. But it is very hard to play, because the physical power which the descant violin requires must be twice as strong with this instrument. It strains the arm extraordinarily; the fingering almost cuts through the thumb of the left hand, and the right arm must be spread and moved like the wing of an eagle. For the violoncello a longer, somewhat tauter bow is required. In solo the stroke is mostly short, but in accompaniment, particularly in the recitative, long and arpeggiated [harpetschirend]. The fingerling is very distinct from the (descant) violin and viola in that the stroke is noticeably different under the chin and between the knees. In the higher passages the thumb, as it were, builds a new
bridge, over which the tone climbs upward to the regions of the alto, often climbing upward to the region of the descant itself. The accompanying violoncellist must thoroughly understand the thorough bass so that he can play intelligibly [vollgriffig], and this fact makes the violoncello far more difficult than the viola.

The Double Bass

The real bass violin of powerful, penetrating sound. It formerly had four to five strings, but now it uses, for accompaniment, not more than three, which are so much more adequate, as the double bass is never compatible with high notes. The bow here is extremely short and taut, whereby the tone profits in thickness and elasticity. A double bass of the largest type is so difficult to play that a gigantic hand is needed (for that), and even this gigantic hand must be armed with buckskin. The pegs are moved with large tuning keys. The bowing of this instrument for the most part is jerky, for legato bowing does not always have a good effect on it.

Whoever wants to play this huge violin with the force in an orchestra must have unusually good eyesight along with considerable theory and practice; a myopic eye is totally of no use for it.

In more recent times, as we mentioned above in the history of music, some virtuosos have even played solos on this giant. It goes without saying that it must be strung with four or five strings in this case. But the effect was not great; one indeed admired the notion, but at the same time felt nothing. This instrument was created for the
purpose of remaining a pedestal and never becoming a statue. One does not build the house from top to bottom, rather from bottom to top.

### Viola da gamba

An average[-sized] violin which one plays between the knees. It has six strings and is of exceptional grace. Nocturnes [Nachtstücke] can be performed magnificently on it, and, in general, everything that breathes grace and tenderness. This instrument requires much feeling and only few can play it thus, as it must be handled according to its nature. It does not endure strong accompaniment, for it accompanies mostly itself. A (descant) violin, two horns, and a bassoon are the best accompaniment here.

### Viola d'amour

Formerly also known as the psaltery, it is played under the chin and tuned almost like a cittern. It was formerly strung with brass strings, but for many years it again is strung with catgut. The instrument is extremely imperfect, because the tuning is so imperfect. Meanwhile, tender and amorous pieces, particularly so-called serenades before the windows of our Dulcineas, can be expressed well with it. This instrument is so exceptionally easy that a moderate mind can learn it in fourteen days.
**Baryton**

A splendid instrument, perfect by itself and perfect with accompaniment. It hovers between tenor and bass, but often climbs upward to the region of the descant. It is strung on top with catgut strings and below with bass strings. On top it is stroked with a bow and below [it is] snapped with the thumb. The manipulation is very difficult because stroking, snapping, and striking, as it were, form three contrary movements. Lidl not only invented this instrument, but also played it to utmost perfection. 5

**The Lyre**

or the lyra, chelys, and telyn of antiquity consists of seven, eight, or more strings. It is still common with the North American people; it is the favorite instrument of the Hottentots. These people take a goose quill or a fish bone and go over their lyre, which is tuned in chords, without bringing forth, through touch, the notes lying in between.

Since the lyre is undoubtedly the oldest instrument of the world, it can thus be considered the mother of all stringed instruments. From it is also derived, among others, the

5Schubart names Lidl as one of the more important virtuosos who performed in Augsburg while Schubart was in residence. GS, 1:234 (L & G, 2). See also the Deutsche Chronic (3 November 1774): 503-4, (12 June 1775): 373 and (13 November 1775): 728.
which likewise is lost in remote antiquity. It was invented by the Jews, imitated by the Persians, Medes, and Greeks, and came thus in the mists of time to us. The Jews used it in the beginning solely for the divine service. Their temple harps were very large and had such a sharp tone that twenty to thirty harp players penetrated the numerous congregation. In it first designation it was devoted to the praise and glory of Jehovah, as one sees from the Psalms, which were composed quite properly for the harp. The Jews also had house harps and traveling harps, which were for the most part used for religious songs. The traveling harps were made so light and graceful that one could take them everywhere with him. Thus the singer bemoans so touchingly at the waters of Babylon: "There we sat and wept, our harps [we] hanged upon the willows."6 The tuning of the Jewish harp is no longer known. But it must have been very perfect if one considers the astonishing effects which were attributed, for example, to David's harp playing. Today the harp is indeed played through all of Europe, but never used in churches and only very rarely in private concerts. The organ and the harpsichord have ousted it from this assembly. Therefore, whoever wants to play the harp does it for himself or can be accompanied with a violin. One has invented in our days very beautiful pedal harps with which one can bring forth semitones most hurriedly.

The nature of the harp has much solemnity, devotion, and uplifting spirituality. But one must see to it that the continual

6Psalms 137:1-2.
pizzicato is so imperceptibly done that it never degenerates into cat scratching [Katzengekrall], rather receives much more the so-called attack [Angriff] under one's fingers. In Nuremberg a magnificent instruction for the harp has been published according to which this instrument can be learned almost entirely alone.

The Lute

seems to have been altogether an invention of the Spanish. At least it is certain that the old German knights in the wars with the Moors had first brought the lute to us. Through the centuries it was the favorite instrument of grandees, emperors, kings, princes, and lords. Even the leading ladies sought an honor in it. In the old German romances of chivalry, where the costume is observed so heartily and faithfully, one finds numerous vestiges of this enthusiasm for the lute. All songs of joy and love were accompanied with it. As this instrument, according to the usual run of things, sank down to the clergymen's daughters, young seamstresses, and schoolmasters, the ecstasy for the lute slackened with the grandees. The nature of this instrument is dejected love, hushed sighs exhaled in silent night, [and] outbreak of plaintive feeling of the heart to the point of tears. Consequently, it is made for sensitive souls. The lute is very difficult to play because of the special tuning as well as because of the critical fingerings. The Germans have brought this instrument the furthest in principles as in practice.
Weiss, the father of the famous poet, was one of the best lutenists in Europe. He also published an instruction for the lute, which is perfectly adequate to study it completely. Today good lute players are extremely rare. They are still to be found but only in imperial cities, in cloisters--particularly among the nuns--and in small courts. The harpsichord and the violin have quite supplanted this magnificent instrument. The lute stop has been applied to the fortepiano, and so it is believed that the lute itself stands in need of nothing more. But the lute stop on the harpsichord still by far does not have the delicacy of the lute itself. Music would, therefore, lose a very moving peculiarity if the lute should be totally supplanted.

The Mandoline and Zither, or Guitar

have been for centuries the favorite instruments of the Spanish. There are few men among them who could not play poorly or well on them. They bring with it their serenades before the windows of their beloved; the Spaniard even takes along his familiar zither on promenades. Their improvisers, or extempore poets, accompany all of their notions with this instrument, which they play with fingers or whalebone. Although the Spanish invented this instrument, the Germans improved it under the name Mandoline. The tuning is: 1. C

2. A

3. F

4. C
The latter strings are covered with silver. By means of this important improvement the Germans have brought it to the point that one can now play obbligato and rather difficult pieces on it. One has also made the zither where the first string is a gut string and by which the performance of the higher passages is made remarkably easier. The striking imperfection of this instrument, since it can be played only in four, at the most five, keys, has greatly reduced the number of its amateurs. Only a few traveling musicians are to be found anywhere—in particular, Prague students or rarities [Sonderlinge] in imperial cities—who search out this antiquated instrument and who often pursue it to the point of mastery. It is so easy [to play] that each man of average capability can become an autodidact on it. Whoever cannot concern himself with music for a long time because of other important dealings and yet from time to time would like to accompany a chorale or folk song, for them we recommend this instrument above all others.
XXXIX. CONCERNING WIND INSTRUMENTS

After the instruments which the all-powerful stroke or touch of man commands follow those which his breath animates. And these seem to me to be older than the first because man generally thought of blowing easier than of stroking.

It is known from history that the ancients became proficient in whistling with pursed lips and tongue pulled back, with the aid of one or two fingers, or with a nut leaf, and that this has given rise to the invention of all wind instruments.

The first instrument of the kind was, according to the testimony of all nations, the cow horn, and this simple notion, perhaps of a cattle herdsman, has brought forth all those wind instruments to the world with which we are still today enchanted. Through quite natural syntheses one came to the syrinx, or the seven-tubed pipes stuck together with wax, about which the ancient poets, particularly the lyrical and idyllic poets, speak everywhere with enthusiasm. Our shepherds on the Alps and Aluchs have still today these actual herdsman flutes, which were made so venerable through their ages. The shawm, the penny whistle [Markpfeiffe], the little flageolets are not the most primitive pipes, because much knowledge was required to bore holes so that they could produce definite pitches. On the other hand, the reed-pipe, which is blown laterally with the lips and is ventilated
underneath with the thumb of the right hand [and] on which the Swabian shepherds still play today, is certainly an instrument which is more ancient than the syrinx itself. One finds traces of it in the most ancient writings.

The Trumpet

This totally warlike instrument seems to have existed even among all ancient people, but in a somewhat different form. The Jews had curved and straight trumpets which were supposed to have sounded so sharply that a single trumpeter could summon an army of 20,000 men to combat. The Persians and Medes had only curved trumpets, but the Greeks [had] straight [ones] by the name "salpinx." The Romans became acquainted with the trumpet from the Carthaginians and then introduced it to their armies. The Germans, who learned to work metal somewhat later, contented themselves with trumpets painstakingly fashioned out of stone and inlaid with wood--many of which are still exhibited in art galleries--and with these they brought forth that powerful sound which so often lifted the heart of our fathers and was so frightful to their enemies.

The character of the trumpet is, as everyone knows because of its penetrating, terrifying sound, quite heroic; it calls to battle and shouts for joy. Its range goes from low tenor G [g] up to the extreme descant B natural [b'']; the middle tones seem not be be suitable, although through the curvature of the trumpet, whereby the artist can put his hand in the bell and attempt to lure out these middle tones.
When this instrument does not remain within its nature, [or] when one forces it by means of the virtuoso's art out of its limitations, its principal character is lost. The trumpet, therefore, can only be used by composers for great, solemn, and majestic occasions. Yet great virtuosos have shown that one could also use the muted trumpet for the expression of most profound sorrow and moaning.

The method of blowing the trumpet is extremely difficult and seems to require nearly iron lungs [stählerne Lungenflügel]. The tongue with all of its simple, double, triple, and quadruple vibrations must have a splendid effect in this instrument. The trumpet has been used not only in recent times for heroic and solemn processions but even employed in solo. We now possess trumpet concertos which former ages considered to be sorcery. A Dresden trumpeter even came to the notion of inventing trumpets with keys, but the trumpet tone disappeared almost completely, and one heard only here and there [the] hybrid loudness produced by trumpet and oboe sounds. Rightly one has therefore rejected this invention, for changelings make progress nowhere less than in music.

Processions with trumpets can be made in two, three, four, or more parts. And it is amazing that the second part always ornaments [figuirt] more than the first. Perhaps tone is sought in the first part [Prim], but in the second [it] is fullness and range for tone
The musical world still has few printed instructions for the trumpet, perhaps because only the trumpeter can write for his instrument. In more recent times one has also set this important instrument to the mouth of even the heralds of war and peace. A trumpeter today is almost a holy man who is exempted from the gates of the greatest fortress just as he is from the abysses of the most frightful batteries. Also, one now uses the trumpet in the churches and, according to general experience, with the greatest effect. Yet it is only wholly applicable on feast days.

The Horn

This heavenly instrument, which we Germans used to call the Waldhorn, has undergone exceptional metamorphoses until it came to today's pedestal. Firstly, it was enlarged to [a] huge size, as it is still preserved today in Russia. But the inconvenience of carrying such an instrument has brought men to the idea of bending it more and more and giving it, finally, the present-day coiled form.

The horn has great qualities: it in fact never expresses true greatness or pathos; rather gentle, sweet, echo rousing, tenderly lamenting sounds, which fill the gaps of the string instrument, lie in the compass of the horn. The Germans have also brought this instrument

1The distinction between Prim and Secund can have more than one meaning. Prim can signify the first part—the melody or the most important part—and it can also be used to designate the highest range, something comparable to "clarino." Consequently, Secund represents an accompanying part which has a range that does not require the extremely high notes, but which might have a wider range than the Prim.
to utmost perfection: they have given it keys; they have discovered the intermediate tones by reaching into the bell; yes, they even made mechanical horns where one can immediately accompany in all keys of music by crooks. Also, there has never been stronger hornists among a people than among the Germans. Our noble nation used this instrument very early at the hunts; thus, it received the name Waldhorn. Already during the heathen times the name Jagdhorn [hunting horn] appeared so often in writings that one cannot doubt [that] the Germans knew the horn already before the time of Charlemagne. One finds, even in the Saxon annals, drawings of the horns of the Old Germans which agree perfectly with ours today. Yes, the ancient Germans made horns out of stone and indeed with such art and such understanding of tone that it would be hard to think of imitating the same still today.

The range of the horn is much wider than the range of the trumpet. Because it does not penetrate or rage as much, the intermediate tones, B flat, A, F, [and] D, together with the lower pitches [Abstufungen], do not come out as shrilly as with the trumpet. Consequently, these tones, which really do not lie in the range of the horn, are so indescribably sweet and affective for the heart of susceptible listeners. The horn is really not altogether hard to play, and it requires far less lung power than the trumpet. But it seems to me [that] the true hornist must possess far more genius than the trumpeter.

The tone of this instrument, its range, and the charm whereby the horn especially fills all gaps of music have rightly recommended it through all of Europe. The horn, if thought of as a human being,
is a good, honorable man who even takes his leave of almost all societies, not as a genius, but as a sensitive soul. What is most admirable [is that] this instrument, preeminently before all others, brings forth the greatest effect to the animal world. A forest full of animals prick up their ears and listen when the full-toned horn is blown upon. The stags lie down at the spring and doze, the frogs glide upon the breeze, and the sow lies down close by in sweet sleep and lets her nipples be sucked by her young offspring [Ferkein] to the three-eight meter. The melodies for the hunt, which were discovered throughout Europe, thus have the indescribable effect that they were pleasing not only for every human feeling at hunt time but also even for the animal temperament in all scenes of the hunt. How great is the soul of humans! A horn blast commands the dogs to plunge into the terrible forest in spite of the tusk of the wild boar, the piercing [bohrenden] antler of the stag, and the cunning of the fox. But even this all-commanding horn, in the more gentle tones, sounding down from the forest hills, also makes the stag lie down at the mossy spring and seem to drink in, as it were, the sounds with antlers held high.

The horn, therefore, is an instrument of prime significance because humans and animals listen to it. The reason for this is its fullness of tone and moderate vibrato [Mittelschwebung] by which it [spiritually] approaches most creatures. But whatever howls cannot tolerate the horn, because this lamenting instrument used to provoke howling.
The theory of today's horn has been clarified by the best masters. One even has a first-rate book about the Waldhorn which was published in 1764 in Dresden with the most magnificent examples.

A first-rate mouthpiece, quick tonguing, correct intonation, long continuous breath, and sweet melancholic feeling must guide the hornist.

The hunting hornist makes noises and rouses hunter and forest. His style is staccato and always hopping in unequal beats. The hornist weeps in the temple, draws the notes from the full soul, and endows with a living soul through its breath, as it were, the whole instrumental accompaniment. In concert and opera rooms the hornist is to be used in innumerable expressions. He is effective near and afar. Charm and, if one may say so, cordial familiarity is the keynote of this magnificent instrument. Nothing is more capable and able than the horn for the echo. Consequently, for a composer, the study of this instrument is recommended to a high degree. Agricola, Jommelli, and particularly Gluck used it with penetrating power and effect.

The Trombone

This instrument is quite churchly and circulates in three sizes: alto, tenor, and bass trombone. It is really a trumpet but with the difference that [it] can bring forth all tones which are lacking [on the trumpet] by pushing [the slide] in and out. The instrument is very old and, as it seems, an invention of the Jews. For already in the Old Testament appear notices of variations in
sound in wind instruments, and these cannot be thought of except for
the trombone. Every wind instrument has no more and no fewer notes
than the cow horn. Whatever goes beyond the complete chord is outside
the limit of its sphere of activity. The weaknesses of nature must be
compensated by inventions of art. This happened with the trombone,
where all possible tones can be brought forth through the drawing in
and pushing out [of the slide]. The right arm has command over the
breath by means of the slide, and thus it directs the whole harmonic
storm of the trombone. This instrument has never been profaned
through the millennia, but always remained, as it were, as an inher-
itance to the temple of God. One hung the holy trombone on the posts
of the temple, allowed them to sound only on feast days, or commanded
them to carry the flight of sacred singing. But in our days one has
desecrated it in opera service, and the trombone is no longer a prop-
erty of the divine service. One now also uses it with great effect in
the choruses of great operas.

The tone of the trombone is piercing and far thicker than the
trumpet tone; sustained notes \[\text{liegende Noten}\] can be so expressed on
no instrument of the world as on this one.

Sacred songs have not only been composed for the trombone, but
also concertos, sonatas, solos, and these always with admirable effect.
The Catholics in Germany alone still favor this instrument; and if
Vienna had not seen to it,* we would have had to fear losing it by degrees entirely.

The theory of the trombone was already set thirty years ago by Haider at Dresden in such a bright light that one still can hardly put down any [more] principles. Since it is so immensely neglected today and one leaves the practice only to wretched cornettists, our music leaders should take that into consideration to rouse again this divinely sanctioned instrument, to urge geniuses for it, and thereby give back the thundering tone to the trombone which it had during Solomon's time. In the meantime, there are still first-rate trombonists, particularly in Saxony and Bohemia.

But it is settled that the trombone tone is set entirely for the religion and never for the profane.

The Cornet [Zinke]²

An extremely piercing instrument, and like a sword, cuts through the largest congregations. But it is so difficult for the

*Also here Mozart has seen to it, and one since finds him using trombones in most of the newer operas.

²"To a cornettist with whom he [Schubart] lived and about whom his nagging wife often prophesied [that] his drinking would lead him to hell, he wrote this comforting verse: Wie glücklich ist der Zinkenist/Der Herr und sein Geselle! Er kommt, wenn er gestorben ist/Gewiss nicht in die Hölle:/Denn Gott hält oft ein Freudenfest/Mit auserwählten Christen;/Und weil man da Posaunen blas't,/So braucht man Zinkenisten." GS, 2:163 (L & G, 3).
chest since the breath is used only through a quite small opening, so that already more than one cornettist has contracted consumption and died. There is hardly one who [is] healthy [with] such an exhausting instrument as this. That may well be the reason why so few men devote themselves to the mastery of it.

The cornett is an instrument made out of ivory or out of hard wood. It has six holes and no keys; also, it is curved for convenience. Its scale is the following:

D, e, f, g, a, b flat, b natural, c, D, e, f, g, a, b natural, c, d

Masters force it still higher; also it has all the acoustical pitches [Halltone] of this scale. The fingering is very difficult and deviates wholly from the flute and oboe. In a word, there is no wind instrument which is equivalent in difficulty of blowing and fingering as the cornett.

The origin of the same we have without doubt the Jews to thank. One still finds in large art galleries many Jewish cornetts which calculate the rough working out to which ours are quite similar.

Also the Greeks seem to have known the cornett, as one learns from a credible sketch of Padre Martini. From time immemorial one has used the cornett solely, or rather for the most part, at the divine service. It has been accompanied by trombones, horns, and the organ, whereby the largest congregations can be kept in the key. Gluck has also tried to employ it now in the choruses of operas and, indeed,
with great success. Today cornettists are found only in Germany, for only here is there still lung power [Lungenflügel] which is able to sustain this difficult instrument. They have even become a guild among us and their duty is to accompany the chorale singing in the church as well as to rouse the devotion of a region from the towers by the sounding [Abblasung] of sacred songs and short sonatas. Among so many cornettists one finds of course some who deserve to be drawn from the dust. In Rothenburg ob der Tauber there have been cornettists for nearly a half a century, among which particularly were the Zahn brothers, who were famous throughout Germany as the best masters in cornets. Many first-rate cornettists have been educated in this school. Because of his strength on the cornett, a descendant of these Zahns was called to Russia where he acquired such riches at the court of the unfortunate Peter II that he now leads the most comfortable life on an estate.  

Since even our great nation unfortunately begins to become weak, I see no favorable prospects before me for this difficult and magnificent instrument.

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3 Orfeo ed Euridice, 1762.

4 Apparently Schubart is in error, for this particular Zahn was a bassoonist. Cf. M und KAadj 1783, p. 77: ZAHN. Einer der Rotenburger Bruder, die, so viel wir wissen, alle musikalisch sind. Er war sehr lange fagotist [italics added] bei der Petersburger Kapelle, und soll sich da ein Vermögen von 10,000 fl. gesammelt haben, wie man sagt, das er jetzt in Ruhe in seinem Vaterland verzehren will. Er wohnt zu dem Ende seit einigen Jahren auf einem Landhause, nahe bei seiner Vatersstadt.
This instrument is quite a new invention, about eighty, at the most a hundred years old. The French used it first with their regiments, although in a very imperfect form, accompanied it with horn or trumpet, and thereby aroused the attention of all Europe. Emperor Peter the Great brought the oboe to Russia along with many French and German oboists and introduced them to all regular regiments.

The famous artisan [Künstler] Denner, in Nuremberg, improved the instrument to which he applied keys, whereby even more notes could be brought forth. Since then it has been used in all types of music, and first-rate geniuses have brought it to such height and delicacy that it has now become a favorite of the musical world.

Its range goes from alto D [d'], also from C [c'] up to the high C [c'''']. The most recent masters have still added the three ledger-line D, E, and F [d'', e'', f'']. The tone of the pure oboe very much approaches the human voice in the high [range], but in the low [range] it still has much of the honking of a goose. Accordingly, one has tried to take the goose sound from it by means of mutes. But it is best when the master has his breath under control so that he wrests its unpleasantness from the low tones. The Germans now have in the oboe, as generally in all wind instruments, the greatest masters. Also, the Italians and French have studied the oboe extraordinarily whereby they must have inevitably risen to the mentioned perfection in a short period of time.
For this instrument much feeling is required and especially the most refined wind control. Whoever is not a master of his breath throughout several measures or whoever sustains the slightest injury to his breast should not venture upon the oboe.

[The] Clarinet

Is really an alto oboe. This instrument is still much younger than the oboe itself: it was first learned in Germany forty years ago. Its character is a romantic feeling and a thorough sound of sensitive hearts. Whoever plays the clarinet as Rheinek\(^5\) seems to make a declaration of love to the whole human race. The range of the instrument is not great, but whatever lies in its sphere, it expresses with indescribable grace. The sound is so sweet, so languishing, and whoever is able to express the intermediate tones thereon may be certain of his victory over the hearts.

This instrument today is becoming more perfect. At Nuremberg, Munich, Berlin, and Vienna the best clarinets in Europe are made. The harder the wood, the stronger the tone. Whoever has an ear for music and a sensitive heart can easily learn this instrument. In its range it has many similarities with the compass of the horn.

\(^5\) Schubart visited Rheinek in 1776 and wrote a highly complimentary article about him (though spelled "Reinigg") in the Teutsche Chronik (13 June 1776):384.
The English Horn

A quite new invention of the English, so much more important because it is the only instrument that the British invented. Certainly they came upon this instrument by way of the oboe. It has a great, wide curvature, six holes, and various keys. The form has given it the name horn, but this appears to me very improper, because, according to the idiom of our language, one should only call horn that which is made of horn.

The sound of this instrument lies in the sphere of the alto and tenor and often touches the border of the baritone. For the expression of despondency and profound melancholy, the English horn is exquisitely suited. One can tell immediately that it is a British invention. With such a horn, accompanied by a [glass] harmonica, suicide is suitable, says Burney.6

The playing of this instrument is very difficult because the many keys bring about difficulties in the fingering. It is used only lately, and indeed with important results, in opera and sacred music. If the composer can utilize the English horn according to his purpose, and if he never lends it a foreign language, then he can bring forth powerful effects with it. The compass of this instrument is now still not very great, but it is hoped that an inventive mind will shortly improve it.

6I have not been able to find any such statement in Burney's works.
The Flute

This instrument is divided into several branches: the straight flute and the transverse flute; in the larger and smaller, under which all types are included such as the penny whistle, small and shrieking, and the syrinx, somewhat larger and rustic.

The Flauto Dolce [Recorder]

A flute approximately as long as an ulna [and] made of hard wood. It has six openings and [plays in] the French clef. The tone is extremely soft and melancholic. Its compass comprises hardly two octaves. This flute permits only a very subdued accompaniment and, because of its nature, can only be used for mourning music and serenades or night music. The all-too-soft tone and the narrow range of the instrument has brought it today nearly out of fashion; one hears it neither in the church nor at concerts any longer. Previously, before the transverse flute came into fashion, it was remarkably promoted, especially in Germany; therewith were two such "flutes" played and they were accompanied by a bass flute [i.e., bass recorder], an instrument that seems similar almost to a bassoon and [which] was breathed upon from above through a brass tube. Such a trio did not sound bad, but it was too lulling and did not seem properly to suit the German spirit.

Traditionally, the French violin clef, when notated on a "flauto" part, designated the flauto dolce (i.e., recorder) rather than the transverse flute.
The Little Flageolet

is a tiny flute [kleines Flößchen] with which one imitates the bird song and trains the bird itself.\(^8\) The larger one is used more in appropriate places, for example, in operas where these flutes sound remarkably well.\(^9\)

The Transverse Flute

An extremely important invention of recent times, if one does not want to claim as some do [that] Apollo and Marsyas made their dispute upon these flutes.\(^10\) From some indications it seems also true that the Greeks have known a type of transverse flute. The distorted mouth, which this instrument produces and which the Greeks so often suspected, cannot be imagined with straight flutes as with transverse flutes. But even if they should have also had such a flute, it was yet far different from that of ours. They knew nothing of the semitone [or] of side keys, and the compass of their flute had, according to the testimony of Plutarch,\(^11\) perhaps seven to eight tones, [where]

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\(^8\) See Grove 6, 6:624 for a partial list of 18th-century books dealing with the training of birds.

\(^9\) Handel, Rinaldo (1711); Rameau, Platée (1749); Gluck, La rencontre imprévue (1764); Mozart, Die Entführung aus dem Serail (1782). Grove 6, 6:623.

\(^10\) See Marsyas in the Appendix.

\(^11\) Here Schubart presumably refers to Plutarch's De musica; and although there is no specific passage which discusses the narrow range of the flute, this fact is inferred. (This flute, in fact, is really the aulos.) Plutarch's treatise received renewed interest in
ours, on the other hand, numbers more than twenty. Our transverse flute is certainly a German invention. At the beginning of this century, a master in Nuremberg first produced such an instrument. His two sons, who were bright musical minds, devoted themselves to it, traveled around in Europe with whole chests of such instruments, and brought back a profit of thousands.* These brothers, named Denner, and their flutes are famous in all the world.12 They [i.e, the flutes] forced their way to Constantinople and Isfahan, even to China, by means of missionaries, although the Chinese passed themselves off as the inventors of this instrument. Now splendid transverse flutes are even made in France, Italy, England, and in many German cities, for the most part out of wood and ivory; then people tried to make them out of porcelain and silver, [but they] did not suit the virtuosos.

The tone of this flute is thick, full and pure, [and] full of tenderness and grace. Rustic untainted nature, arcadian shepherd

*Their profit was so large that they each bought themselves a manor and still had thousands remaining.

the eighteenth century because of the controversy about its authenticity and the fact that it provided useful information for the various writers of music histories during that period, an example of which may be seen in Hawkins H, 1:76-81. Here, again, the aulos is translated as flute.

12Johann Christoph Denner, the father, is not known to have made any flutes. Jacob, his son, however, did make transverse flutes, and it may be that Johann David, another son, may have made some, although none exists which bear his initials. See Grove 6, 5:374. See also Phillip T. Young, "Some Further Instruments by the Denners," The Galpin Society Journal, 35 (March 1982):78-85.
feeling, in a word, the musical ecologue and idyll appertain to the flute. The compass of this instrument ranges from low descant D [d'], to which some further add the low C [c'], up to the three-lined A [a'']. In this compass lies all semitones, and the low, middle, and higher tones can be brought forth equally clearly. By means of side keys, which Tacet invented, one now also performs the difficult pitches [schwebende Tone] in a critical range, i.e., B flat, F, and others, with the utmost clarity. The greatest princes, as Frederick the Great and the Elector Karl Theodor of the Palatinate, have chosen this instrument as their favorite and have maintained the most excellent flute players at their courts. Quantz has put the fingering of this instrument in full light and has written a masterwork about it [1752].

The flute has now become indispensable in all types of music. One uses it in the church, with Singspiels, concertos, and dances; in solo and in accompaniment, and this always with magnificent result. The clear and glassy-toned method of blowing this instrument is more difficult than one believes. A remarkably sound chest is needed because it requires sustaining, steady, and ever-flowing breath. The lower tones must roar, the upper ones must delightfully soar thither. The portamento, mezzotinto, and other musical ornaments can be expressed masterly on the flute. Since one can carry it around much easier than any other instrument, the innumerable quantity of dilettantes of the flute have thereby resulted today. But I alone maintain that the above mentioned difficulties of blowing will soon cool down this enthusiasm and will make room for another instrument.
The Fife

The instrument now becoming quite militaristic hardly deserves to be brought up here because of its imperfection. This shrieking, noisy pipe was created entirely for the soldiers and their Turkish music. It fortunately pierces the raging drums, but only in the higher tones, for in the lower [tones] it is swallowed up by the drum roll. Also the low tones of the fife are so unclear that one can hardly stand it. A good fifer therefore always remains in the high [range] in order to avoid the sickly tones of the low [range].

The Shawm

A clarinet in miniature and, in most probability, the mother of our gentle oboe. Previously only the shepherds knew this instrument, but its splendid effect soon made it so popular that it was introduced in the best societies. The tone of this has so much interest, peculiarity, [and] infinite pleasantness that the whole scale of music would have a noticeable gap if this instrument were lost. It is sociable, lovely, impressionable for humans and animals, and has a tone which all remaining instruments do not have. The great musicians, for that reason, soon admitted that the shawm is an important color in the painting of music.

Telemann brought it first to the solemn choir of church music, and Gluck has publicly authorized it as an occasional [episodisches] instrument for the opera. The places where it occurs must be most precisely marked, for it has such a peculiar color that only the true
connoisseur notices them. The compass of the instrument contains sixteen tones, which can bring about low and high under the lips of masters. Undoubtedly the shawm has given inducement to the invention of the oboe and clarinet, for the shawm was already there for centuries before one knew the names oboe and clarinet.

Previously one used this instrument only in war, but the much more warlike fife has supplanted it. The shawm has an effect close by, not in the distance, and this is the reason why the transverse flute was victorious over it.

The Bassoon

A new invention of all-powerful effect. This instrument is a relative of the serpent, which, as is well known, has such a strong tone that it substituted for the place of the organ in various French churches. One first noticed bassoons in the military campaigns of the marshal of Luxemburg, from whence one can conclude that the French are the inventors of this important instrument. Since wind tones must likewise be accompanied by wind tones, no better bass instrument is to be imagined for oboes, clarinets, trumpets, and horns than the bassoon.

This instrument has played a great role in our days. Not only has it been used for the accompaniment of the most important pieces on the organ, the theater, and chamber, but also so raised [it] to solo playing that now the bassoon has the clearest tenor; it becomes absorbed in the extreme depths and has a somewhat amusing, mocking
sound, then it again rises to tenor $F_f$, and through art still further to the high tenor $F_f'$ and also sparkles in the upper register as it has sparkled in the low register. The scale of this instrument is, therefore, the following. ([It is] well noted that all bass instruments are computed from the lowest note upward):

Contra $B$ flat $[B^b]$. This is its most extreme, natural low point; art brings forth still deeper tones.

$B$ natural, it has by means of vibrato [Schwebung].

$C, c\ sharp, D, d\ sharp, E, a\ sharp$ [recte e sharp]

$F, f\ sharp, G, g\ sharp, A, a\ sharp$, also a flat

$B$ flat, $b$ natural, $C, c\ sharp$

$D, d\ sharp, E, a\ sharp$ [recte e sharp]

$F, f\ sharp$

$G, g\ sharp$

highest still the alto $A[a']$

This instrument was made with much perfection at Nuremberg, yet the Parisian bassoons still have a noticeable superiority. It requires the fullest breath and such a sound and manly method of blowing that only few men are already capable, owing to its construction [Organisation], to play it to the point of mastery. Although the French invented it, the Germans have brought forth the greatest masters on this instrument. It has been used for a long time only for the accompaniment, but we Germans were the first also to wrest the solo from it, and indeed with such success that now the bassoon belongs among the best solo instruments of the world. The tone of the instrument is so sociable, so charmingly talkative, that for every untainted
soul the last day of the world may certainly run across many thousand bassoons. The bassoon adapts itself to all forms: it accompanies war music with manly dignity; it is heard in sacred rooms with majesty; [it] carries the opera [by virtue of its basso continuo function]; [it] reasons with wisdom in the concerto; [it] gives sway to the dance; and [it] is everything it wants to be.

Timpani

A relative of the drum. Bold was the thought of humans to kill the donkey, tan its hide, and draw out its sounds. In most remote antiquity one already comes across timpani among the Phonecians, Egyptians, Jews, Carthaginians, Greeks, and Romans as it becomes apparent from all the memorials of these people. Dreadful and true is the thought that vengeance gave the first material for the invention of the drum. "My enemy is dead!" thought a barbarian casually, "but upon his skin will I still bustle." He did it and his more humane imitators chose donkey hide. Warlike tone is the single character of this instrument; thus, there are few people in the world who do not know the drum. Forster came across drums or timpani on his travels around the
world even among the Tahitians, Otahitians, and Iroquois, who used them partly in wars, partly in smaller form for the dance.13

The Drum

Indeed really has a certain amount of wildness, rage, [the ability of] rousing to conflict, and something peculiar in its far-reaching sound [which] is so outstanding for signaling that another instrument can hardly be thought of for this purpose. Since the crescendo and decrescendo [and] since the swirling, raging, fuming, and the flowing into one another is expressed on the drum in the highest degree, the drummer must have something more than practice.

The timpanist is quite musical; he must rise according to the notation and to the beat. One can tune the timpani through all keys and bring forth marvel with it if one knows how to combine utmost ability of his arms with lively, ever-present spirit.

We possess a very beautiful book on the timpani which Hauber, court timpanist in Dresden, published in 1768. The instrument was used in the war, in the church, and in the opera. But in intimate, private concerts, it is intolerable.

13 Perhaps Schubart refers to the source listed below. If he does, then he is mistaken in stating that Forster traveled around the world, for Forster only compiled this book from several sources and translated these materials from English into German. Georg Forster, Geschichte der Reisen die seit Cook an der Nordwest-und Nordost-Khuste von Amerika und in dem nordenlchselsten Amerika selbst von Meares, Dixon, Portlock, Coxe, Long u.a.m. unternommen worden sind (Berlin: Voss, ca. 1791).
As is well known, the drums are also now played at sight with well-organized Janizary music just as the timpani.

The Turkish Music,

which was also introduced in Germany forty years ago by various regiments, has also motivated the study of Turkish musical instruments. The character of this music is so warlike that it lifts the bosom of cowardly souls. But whoever has had the fortune of hearing Janizaries themselves, whose music choruses are usually of eighty to a hundred persons strong, must smile sympathetically at the apings by which we mostly deform Turkish music.

When a Turkish concert was played in honor of the Turkish ambassador, Achmet Effendi, he shook his head indignantly and said, "That's not Turkish!" But since then, the King of Prussia has taken genuine Turks into his service and has introduced true Turkish music to some of his regiments. Also at Vienna the emperor maintains a first-rate choir of Turkish musicians, of whom the great Gluck has already used in the opera.14

The instruments for this music consist of (1) shawm, which the Turks made out of tin for the most part in order to sharpen the tone; (2) curved horns, which almost border on our bass horns in sound; (3) a large and a small triangle; (4) the so-called tambourine, where the shaking of bells, which are made out of silver by the Turks, make great

14 La rencontre impromptue, 1764.
effect; (5) two cymbals of the finest bronze, or bell-metal, which were struck rhythmically against one another; [and] (6) two drums, on which the smaller always rolls and swells, but the large is subdued and struck from below with a rod.

How original, how unique are the sounds gathered together here! The Germans have even reinforced this music with bassoons whereby the effect is still increased by vastness. Also, trumpet flourishes can be brought out well in it. In short, the Turkish music is the best among all warlike music, but also the most costly, if it would be as perfect as its nature and heroic design demands it. Since the Turkish music played not according to musical notation, but only from memory (because only we Germans have begun to notate it), nothing further can be said about their theory other than ear and practice deciding its perfection alone. Two-four meter is preferred although we have also made very successful attempts with other meters. Nevertheless, no other kind of music requires such a firm, decided, and all-powerfully predominant beat. The first beat of each measure is so strongly marked by means of a new, manly beat that it is nearly impossible to get out of step. F major and B-flat major seem to be the favorite keys of the Turks because the range of all their instruments coincides best in these keys. Meanwhile, we Germans have also made successful experiments with D major and C major from which the great importance of Turkish music becomes apparent.

Besides the aforesaid instruments there are still various ones which were previously invented not for whole concerts but only for social gatherings. Among these belong the excellent [mechanical]
portative organ [Reiseorgel oder Tragorgel], which today has attained such a perfection that often ten to sixteen pieces can be put on one cylinder. The smaller flageolet instruments, with which one trains birds, belong only marginally in even this sphere. Since everything here is mechanical and the zephyr's grasp of genius contributes nothing to it, these instruments do not belong in the mental range of aesthetics.

One has improved the little mouth-leaf [Mundblättchen] to such perfection in our days that one can play the best oboe concertos with it. Also there are men who imitate all instruments with only the tongue and lips. One blows on the brim of his hat, one forms the bass [part] with wet fingers on the table or stick, one whistles through his nose, or one imitates all of nature's sounds.

The Jew's Harp

was condemned only among the lowest class of men because of its imperceptible resonance and because of the rattling tongue which swallows up this resonance. But what men are not able to do! One now plays sonatas, variations, and whatever one wants on the Jew's harp. Yes, one has even discovered that the resonance of this despised instrument should belong among the world's most delicate sounds. If one could give more contour to this resonance and introduce it within the limits of melody, the Jew's harp might become ennobled. But perhaps another

genius will arise who will sharply contour and restrict the vibrations of the Jew's harp with his tongue, then one will really have an instrument that will be the best among all nocturnal instruments. Imagine the finest resonating tone defined most closely with all the tricks, then you think of the Jew's harp in its perfection.

Musical spirit drove the genius to such heights in the invention of his instruments that several other musical instruments can very easily be imagined. Wood and all metals, the steel, brass, and gut strings, stone, silver, and porcelain still have innumerable susceptibilities for sounds. All shapes are not even exhausted for musical instruments. One finds in critically observant travel journals so many new instruments, unknown to us, that only a creative mind is required to refine the inventions of the wilds.
XL. CONCERNING SINGING

This is doubtless the first article in the whole art of music, the axis around which everything turns, whatever is called melody, modulation, and harmony. All instruments are only imitations of singing: the song sits as a king on the throne, and, all around, all instruments bow down as vassals before it.

The Human Voice

is altogether natural, instinctive sound, and all remaining voices of the world are only more distant echos of this divine natural voice. The human throat is the best, purest, most splendid instrument in the creation. A natural, beautifully singing peasant girl makes more of an impression than the world's best violinist. Consequently, exceedingly much depends on recognizing the singing genius and giving the proper training to the same. Whoever can sing purely without instruction, whoever matches every given pitch equally well, whoever knows how to give the melody or accompaniment without instruction, whoever has his own ornaments taken from his individual character, and, the main thing is, whoever has a clear, far-reaching voice--he is a singing genius.

The great Porpora used to say: "To one perfect singer belongs a hundred qualities. Ninety-nine I count upon the voice alone, and
the hundredth I call theory." An extremely profound and striking observation! Whoever has an excellent voice needs only to learn to read notes [and] needs only to listen to choice music; thus, he is everything he wants to be; yes, even without music and mimicry of foreign taste, he will enchant all society. A singing genius must therefore be treated with extreme delicacy, and only a genuine musical mind can give instruction to the same. An uninteresting schoolmaster spoils the magnificent element, wipes away instinctive sounds, and howls his own bad sounds before the student. Of a singing master is required, consequently, the greatest musical qualities. He must be able to invent, feel deeply, compose correctly, and instruct with much wisdom.

Solfèges, or exercises of singing, give the voice the proper development and make, at the same time, the scales which stood in dark clouds appear as golden rungs. The arrangement of this solfège is therefore of extreme importance and deserves to be reduced to basic precepts. Here are the unchangeable precepts of the same:

1. The singer first should study his scales most closely and repeat them morning and night with the strongest conscientiousness.
2. He should learn well to express most precisely stationary sounds or white notes, [and] he should become a master of the rise and fall, of the growing and dying of sound.
3. Only then should he learn to ascend in eighths or simple notes in about steps of a second.
4. Thereupon, he should learn thirds, fourths, fifths, sixths, sevenths, octaves, and wider intervals expressed with the appropriate portamento or Träger.
5. After this, he should practice in running passages; therewith his throat will be smooth and will be rouladed according to the artificial language.

6. The nuances of feeling indeed cannot be defined too closely for whoever has no heart would also never learn to sing with feeling. But, give thanks to the creator, every human being has a heart, and he is a bungler who does not know how to find the heart strings to the most muffled instrument. Sentiment and feeling of nature are in all men's hearts but are deeper and more concealed with one than with another. It is therefore the singing master's obligation to seek out those aspects of his subject where he reaches him most certainly. If he hits upon these, the aorta positively opens and the deep-red jet gushes forth.

7. The singer must indeed carefully study the musical ornaments because in that way his throat becomes fluent, but he must not overburden the song therewith because all too much artificiality and embellishment damages the simplicity and crushes the invention. A gracefully expressed mordent; a portamento affectionately suspended along from one tone to another; the crescendo and diminuendo of sound; the blending sounds or the mezzotinto, a calming trill rising and again falling; a pleasant cadenza in the character of the aria, which never must be too long if it does not want to build a country within a country--these are approximately the ornaments which develop, lift, and beautify the song.
One divides the sounds of human voices most correctly into the following classes:

1. **The Head Tone**, which the great Porpora calls [the] reverberation in the skull. If a syllable names itself with the vowel I, the sounds resound upward in the head. One must therefore beware of coloring all too frequently with the vowel I because the song thereby deteriorates into mouselike whistles.

2. **The Nasal Tone** can only come forth in the comic, for example, in the expression of ridicule, impudence, and mimicry of the bagpipe and lyre. The French singing thereby becomes detestable that they also use the nasal tone in serious pieces.

3. **The Throat Tone** is actually the pure singing of a full throat and the peculiarity of Germans. For the building of the throat, a great deal is required. It first of all must already be there by nature and then be polished through constant practice so that it can express the whole notes, as well as the rolling ones, with equal fluency. The singer must avoid everything that makes the throat parched; likewise, the all too great slipperiness of the throat is detrimental to singing because there the sound seems to wade, as it were, in swamps. One must also know the throat anatomically and particularly to have examined the vibrations of the tongue most closely if one wants to sketch correct precepts for the building of the throat. Vogler has done this the best among all singing masters.¹

4. The Lung Tone. Physiologically viewed, the lung occupies itself indeed with all sounds, but here is the discourse of such, where the whistling and hissing of the lung is heard alone as, for example, in the songs of Cossacks and Kalmucks. This sound is so offensive and shrieking that it is tolerable in extremely rare cases and this mostly in low comedy.

5. The Stomach Tone. All hard aspirations, which [are] mostly double consonants, as, for example, the ch, come from the stomach. The Swiss express this sound most powerfully, but it is annoying and may not be used at all in music.

6. The Heart Tone. The soul of all sounds! Each tool of the voice is only dead sound if the heart does not give life and warmth to it. Each song in which the heart does not take part has little or no interest at all. Just as one can build the heart morally, so can a great master build the heart musically, which means [that] the feelings lie so close to the singer that his heart opens up and must be suited to the correct expression of the latter. Whoever himself feels nothing or has closed his heart to the impression of music sets himself up never to be a singing master. He will bring forth portative organs [ambulante Orgeln] which will remain deathly cold if they have droned out a piece made for a cylinder, but he will never create everlasting human songs which magnificently imitate angelic songs.

The voices according to their ranges are actually divided into four principal classes: descant, alto, tenor, and bass. But therein lie still the following graduations: the high and low descant; the
high and low alto, or contralto; the tenor, baritone, and low bass.
The scale of the high descant reaches from tenor B flat [$bb$] up to
the three-lined D [$d'\prime\prime$] or the three-lined F [$e'\prime\prime$]. The low descant
or second has a smaller compass and reaches upward only to the A [$a'\prime\prime$]
or B flat. The alto hovers in the middle and has a compass approxi-
mately of one and a half octaves. The contralto is even narrower and
has about an octave, ninth, or tenth, but all of these tones in utmost
fullness and clarity.

The baritone is half tenor and half bass, particularly adapted
for the theater. Its compass contains two full octaves, from F [F] up
to the F [f] again. The low bass also comprises two full octaves,
from the low C [C] up to the C [c'] again, and all in exceptional full-
ness, more forceful still than the sound of a trombone. This voice is
most rare and expressly capable of lifting and carrying the whole
choir.

One finds the most [in number] and the most beautiful descant
voices in Italy. Even the tenor voices there are more numerous than in
other countries. But the best alto and bass voices are indigenous to
Germany, although there are also quite splendid tenor voices in Bavaria
and Bohemia.

To the formation of the voice, provided Mother Nature has pre-
pared [it], the following principles are sufficient:
1. One should express the words which one wants to perform with
   extreme distinctness. Singers who are not understandable have
   already lost the first impression. One must have thoroughly
   studied the text, which one has to sing, most closely beforehand.
Every word, yes, nearly every syllable of the poet, must be born again on the lips of the singer. Plutarch and Klopstock after him have sought the principal effect in the distinct performance of singing.

2. The singer, if he does not sit at the harpsichord, stands erect, sings from his full chest, and accompanies the feeling of the melody with the appropriate pantomime. Whoever, for example, wants to perform an angry aria or a furioso with straight positioning of the head would be interesting only to the blind but never to the sighted. The shake of the head, each lesser or stronger motion of the same, gives an extremely important modification to the tone.

3. All bad habits of the voice—the nasal tone, the raspiness, particularly the faults arising from the weak lung, the dropping from the basic elements—can never be thought of with every good song.

4. Everyday ornaments, often even fashionable ornamentation inappropriately placed, are nonsense in good singing. In a word, genius can always claim its holy rights; thus it will likewise claim this in song. To the great singer one can give only few strokes of art to his perfection, for he brings his source of power from heaven. Meanwhile, it is folly to claim that a person could not impart the finest nuances and tirades to every singer through wise, melodic didactics, since it must remain an everlasting principle in the eyes of all those who are wise in detailing the beauty, goodness, and truth. Porpora and Hiller have given us the best introductions to the art of singing. Hiller is so interesting for Germany that he deserves to be honored in all singing schools as a classic.
writer. His Anweisung zur Singkunst\textsuperscript{2} is a magnificent extract of the most splendid principles of the best singing masters. He himself has produced for us the world's best female singer;\textsuperscript{3} therefore, it can rightly be concluded that Hiller must have completely seen through the mysteries of the art of singing.

If Germany would once be attentive thereon to rouse the singing genius; if it studies quite thoroughly the qualities of the true and great songs; if the princes not only lay out sparkling orchestras but also begin to arrange singing schools—everything can be expected for the German song. In the meantime, one must claim on the average that the imperial cities of Germany have done more for this first chapter of music than all the princes put together.

\textsuperscript{2}Johann Adam Hiller, Anweisung zur Singkunst in der deutschen und italienischen Sprach (Frankfurt und Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Junius, 1773).

\textsuperscript{3}See Gertrud Mara in the Appendix.
XL I. CONCERNING MUSICAL STYLE

The musical manner of writing is as diverse as the poetic. It can be stately and popular, plain and ornamented, sumptuous and simple, high and low, serious and joking, tragic and comic, thoughtful and superficial, strong but never weak. In the diversity and composition of these styles, the musician observes just those principles which the poet and orator have to observe; thus [it] is a sure proof of the close bond that unites the arts with one another. One could, in general, divide musical style into the religious and profane or, as the ancients used to do it, into the sacred and secular style. But especially in more recent times, music has broadened into various branches; thus a much closer classification is necessary. This classification consists in the following, quite natural gradations:

The Sacred Style

The most stately kind of musical style! One divides it into chorale and figural music. The chorale has so much dignity, inspiration, pathos, [and] lasting effect that it rightly stands at the head of the church style.

When all other music is subjected to the whims of fashion, the chorale remains alone, and its heavenly power effects equally strongly among all cultivated people. The eight melodies which Ambrose
borrowed from the Greeks, just as his own compositions, are still today heard with delight, although some of them are more than two thousand years old.

The first chorale songs from the time of the Reformation, which Luther and Zwingli brought about, are so magnificent, so thoroughly appropriate to sublimity of religion that hardly anyone among us could duplicate them. The more recent composers already began to bring ornamentation to sacred songs, yet they by no means tolerate such ornaments. A picture of the Blessed Virgin, painted by a Carlo Dolci, would almost be lost to every heavenly attraction if one wanted to dress it in the costume of the most recent fashion. Just as defaced is a sacred song hung with the valances of fashion! Whoever wants to compose devoutly must himself be devout. Accordingly, the best chorales which the Christian church possesses originate from the religious composers.

It is lamentable that the antiphons among the Protestants have almost entirely become obsolete, since they bring forth an evidently great effect as one can see with admiration from the Te Deum, Kyrie, and some Moravian antiphons. For that reason, Klopstock has tried to introduce the antiphons into his songs, but they are now still admitted nowhere other than in Hanau.*

*Also, in the new Württemberg chorale book [1799-1806], Padre Christmann has set some which have already been introduced here and there.
The figural music should have never been separated from the singing of the congregation but should have flowed together much more with congregational singing to a great confluence. Klopfstock asks, for good reasons, "Is music, then, to have been so complete only for the opera?" But since not every congregation can perform music, men and women, young and old, organ and congregation should alternate with one another in order thereby to give diversity to the singing.

Reichardt has elaborated on this subject with profound insight, but [it is] too bad that one indeed hears but does not follow such great suggestions which would further the edification to the highest degree. Nevertheless, as long as no better singing preparation is made in a country; as long as one does not plan for schoolmaster-seminarians, wherein one also trains these people for good singing; as long as the princes and magistrates do not interest themselves more energetically for religion--so long such preparations will remain no more than idealistic phantoms.

It has been customary to understand figural music as songs which were performed and accompanied by instruments. Yet there are also songs performed for the church accompanied only by a positive organ or even with no instrument at all. The Catholic church still has masterpieces to exhibit of this type, which creep [insinnuiren] through phrase and performance into every human heart. The motets of the Protestants are indeed mostly well composed, but the performance does not have much to say, for what is our song compared with those of the Catholics? We roar, shriek, rave, and fume, but they sing.
Masses, Kyries, Te Deums, Vespers, Psalms, Glorias, and like pieces are performed by the Catholics with such conscientious uniformity and decisive effect that we portray [spielen] a quite pitiful figure with our sacred music against theirs. I do not know what spirit of confusion once must have gone out which presented the lame thoughts to the Protestants of transplanting the so-called cantatas into the church. This type of piece consists firstly of a chorus, recitatives, arias, duets, chorales, and the like; but who does not already see from the description that this is a musical Harlequin's jacket which one should never have hung up on the sacred walls of the temple? Telemann, the Bachs, Benda, and other masters have afforded us indeed magnificent pieces of this type, but their profane mien, their dress stolen from the theater, the artificial distortion of the text, and the insolent manners have robbed almost all impression from the cantatas in the church.*

No congregation takes an interest in them [i.e., cantatas]. If the music is played after the sermon, as for example, in Ulm and other

*The Coburg court chaplain, Hohnbaum, has made some magnificent suggestions in his beautiful pamphlet on the Holy Communion to raise the feeling of devotion by adding suitable sacred music at this religious observance. Since he himself possesses great abilities for a sacred poet, his added test has succeeded very well. One of the most recent musicians, Vierling, organist in Schmalkalden [from 1768 until 1813], has set this experiment so well, according to the sense of the author, that the first realized attempt with it even had the happy
cities, then the congregation leaves and lets the chorus shriek and
drone in confusion. Only through the imitating of the Catholics, in
their antiphons and Masses, where no recitatives at all come forth but
everything is set in the real sacred style, can one reconcile the
congregation with the figural song.

To the sacred style belongs profound knowledge of counter-
point, exact study of the human voice, and particularly the greatest
discernment in order to distinguish the holy from the unholy.

result at a village church.¹ Yet, I would have to maintain that one
was fulfilled more by this solemn occasion with only chorales, where
one, two, or several voices alternated than with choruses, which are
overtrained, being able to immediately fall on the heart of the
congregation.

¹A chorale book was announced in the MAfD 1789, p. 96.
Cf. Johann Gottfried Vierling, Choralbuch auf Vier Stimmen zum
Gebrauch bey dem Öffentlichen- und Privat-Gottesdienst, nebst einer
Vorrede und kurzen Vorbericht mit einem Haupt- und Melodien-Register
(Kassel: Verfasser [Wainsenhaus-Buchdruckerei, "unter der Aufsicht des
Oberkommissarii Barmeiers"], 1789). Because of the date (1789), this
footnote is probably an addition by Ludwig Schubart.
The Dramatic Style

generally divides itself into the higher opera, the opera buffa, the intermezzo, and the pantomime. Since opera is an invention of the most sumptuous imagination, and since pomp, heroism, passion, the marvelous, the inspiration, ideas from Ariosto's world or Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, and the most frivolous and most dreadful scenes can be united in it [i.e., opera] the composer here has an enormous field before him. Whatever seizes, shakes, and carries the soul away with it; whatever fires the oscillating force of imagination; whatever touches and excites the heart; yes, even whatever brings forth terror and horror lies in the sphere of opera. The opera composer must therefore be a genius; [he] must understand singing and instruments precisely; [he] must have studied emphatically the effects of sounds or acoustics, the most effective placement of the orchestra, and the art of accompaniment; otherwise, the three Muses, Thalia, Melpomene, and Polyhymnia, will give him angry glances, and his powerless playing of the lyre [Saitenspiel] must become silent before them.

To the tragic opera, or to the heroic singing drama, belongs, undoubtedly, a great spirit which is never capable of sinking to the comic. Whoever wants to do everything [i.e., compose in both the serious and comic style] only slips over the surface of the thing and never extracts its essence [und saugt nie das Oehl des Kerns]. Whoever wanted to set *Hermannsschlacht*, ² the world's best play [Oper] to

²This is one of Klopstock's three plays dealing with the Germanic hero Arminius (*Hermannsschlacht*, 1769; *Hermann und die Fürsten*, 1784; *Hermanns Tod*, 1787).
music perfectly must not only be the most perfect musician but also, according to the design, a splendid poet; otherwise, he would continually miss the power of this masterwork. Gluck has composed some choruses of this play [Oper] very well but has by no means reached the meaning in a few. How great must the composer be who follows Klopstock's fiery flight by which he allows the Germans to throw down the gauntlet to the Romans!

The opera buffa, or comic opera, has indeed in more recent times been very much decried, and rightly so, when one considers the terrible misuse of it by the French and Saxons. But since music is of such all-comprehensive nature, it would be indiscrete if one wanted to constrict its sphere. Mankind, considered as a whole, is inclined more to the comic than to the tragic, and God has so arranged it, out of love for the human race, that we should console ourselves with joyful melodies and distinct ways of singing for our human misery. Great heroic operas tense and tire out the soul. Let us, therefore, always retain the comic opera in order to gladden the tired human race and to cool down the perspiring forehead of man from business at the theater.

Also, the comic opera has the noble aim that it may also represent humanity in its vulgar scenes, which is forbidden totally to

3 See page 279 of this translation.

4 Schubart had discussed with Holzbauer the idea of composing an opera based on Hermannsschlacht. GS, 1:154 (L & G, 1). Beecke, another of Schubart's friends, apparently had a setting of this work (see Grove 6, 2:351). Schubart considered this work to be an extremely important one. It was even greater than anything Metastasio had written. Schubart made the statement, "Metastasio did not write a Hermannsschlacht," in his Teutsche Chronik (4 July 1776):427.
the higher [serious opera]. In that way the popular song, and with it joy and cheerfulness, is disseminated among the most base situations of life. Hiller has aided the beautiful song immensely in Germany through his excellent comic operas. He penetrated so deeply into the spirit of our nation that his songs are themselves now sung [nachgetrillert] everywhere by the most common human species. Comic opera should always be allowed its worth, but it should never be degraded by the lowest class of people [Strassenvette].

Pantomime Style

This is actually the interpreter, or if the composer is very strong, the expositor of mimicry. It is part dramatic, but also part social. Cahusac and Noverre have again treated the dance quite dramatically according to the style of the great old mimics, and have found in Rodolphe, Deller, and Starzer the most illustrious interpreters of their mimicry. The dance composer must have nearly all the great qualities of the great opera composers. Even the stately, terrifying, [and] Shakesperian style lies in the sphere of the pantomime style. Indeed, the composer may not perform the great passions completely, but he must condense them; he must truly interpret every move of the sole of the foot, every motion of the hand, every changing expression, [and] every attitude. He must be equally as good in the comic [style] as the tragic. His melodies must be so light and effortless [reelltändelnd] (as paradoxical as this thought must seem), and all muscles must so be
affected that they [i.e., the melodies] are like salt that causes the limbs of a dead frog to leap.

Moreover, dance music divides, as opera music, into various classes. But here the chaconne comes into consideration which should be examined more closely in the chapter on special musical pieces. Whatever concerns the social dance is divided into various subclasses according to the diversity of national taste.

The minuet, or the French dance, is, according to the spirit of the French nation, a neatly-dressed compliment in art, and always has three-four meter. Such dances are very easily constructed. One makes them, with and without trios, with sixteen or more measures. Difficult modulations are too hard for this dance. Yet, it has become fashion today, for the sake of modulation, often to set the trio in very dazzling keys, but without effect. Simplicity also works wonders here.

The English dance. Its character is particularly social. It has many choreographic and lovely interwoven qualities [Schönheiten]. It always likes the two-four meter and a light, pleasant elevation. One also makes these dances with and without trios. They are common throughout Europe.

The Dutch dance seems to have been invented by sailors. It swarms throughout as a spray, the beat changes to slow or fast motion, and the melodies are particularly lovely to hear. These dances are far more difficult to set than the first mentioned [i.e., the minuet]; one has, for that reason, very few good ones.

The Polish dance, whose character is gravity and elegant, bodily contour, and which perhaps does not have its equal (for those
such highly praised, pantomimic dances by Forster and Gluck are still too unknown among us) like the two-four [meter], but for the most part the three-four meter, in the slowest possible motion. Those Paris dances, which are composed in the country itself, far surpass the remaining ones.

The Hungarian dance has some quite original turns, and the Jews and Gentiles [Heidemacken] even have original melodies which rather approach the dances of the gypsies. The meter is always two-four, the movement more slow than fast, and the modulation is quite bizarre (for example, they begin four measures in G and then end in C), and they still have many Baroque turns. This dance deserves very much to be brought to the theater.

The German dance, or the waltz, from the old Schleifer, now also known as the Ländler, divides itself into the close and wide. The close Schleifer, a very scandalous and disgraceful dance to the German earnestness, always has the two-four meter; the wide Schleifer, an impetuous, waltzlike dance in wide circles, which can be danced solo or tutti, alone or with a partner [gesellschaftlich], is set in three-eight or three-four [meter], with or without a trio. In no dance is the elevation stronger than that of the Germans. Every measure must be marked emphatically, and the movement must never be too furious nor too slow. In the first case, it whirls the head confusedly; in the second, it deviates from its nature.
The Germans still have some quite original dances, of which the Kiefer dance or Büttner dance deserve to be studied by the best ballet masters.*

The so-called seven leaps are likewise a very old invention of the Germans. It is actually a solo dance, and the melody is very unique, and one can hardly invent an accompaniment.

*The [inhabitants of] Schweinauer, a half hour from Nuremberg, have something quite distant from all provincial dances [in] that they begin to beat the two-four meter in the midst of the three-eight meter. The effect is striking.
XLII. CONCERNING CHAMBER STYLE

It was used in public and private concerts. Individual virtuosos can be heard on various instruments or the whole concern comes together. All types of concerti, simple and double, symphonies, sonatas, trios, quartets, also duos, belong in the sphere of the chamber style. The impression of these can be great depending on how the orchestra harmonizes or how great and average virtuosos perform. Diversity here makes a great effect. A Kapellmeister, consequently, does very well if he does not always further himself out of predilection for his own works but also allows others to display their compositions.

The popular style could also be added, among which the social songs and folk songs could be included. It is remarkably difficult, as a matter of fact, to compose a good folk song. Here imitations are of no value, but I must know how to touch the national cords so well that all of them resound the composed song. The traveling artisan, the peasant, the common girl find no taste in the embellished songs; they want to hear natural sounds. Therefore, one should study our magnificent folk melodies, whose effects have already been elaborated for more than a century; only then will one set a song that our people will accept.
XLIII. CONCERNING THE TECHNICAL TERMS OF MUSIC

Concerto

has its name from the struggle, conflict, and rivalry of the instruments among one another. There are simple, double, and multiple concertos for all instruments. Indeed, the art must stand out noticeably in concertos, and the most difficult compositions are justifiable; yet the graceful movements, the limits of musical style, have not been excluded from it.

Chorus

Harmonization of singing, or confluence of many sounds to one goal. There are choruses of four, eight, sixteen, even of thirty, fifty, and more voices. Pathos was originally made for the chorus. There are sacred and profane choruses, but both require a thorough composer. Alternating choruses are such where two choirs sing against one another. Masses, antiphons, Credos, Agnus Dei, Misereres, Requiems, and similar pieces are wholly intended for the church and require a composer whose heart is inspired with devotion. Psalms, hymns, [the] chorale and church song [Kirchenlied] are sacred songs composed to the higher strain of enthusiasm or to the gentle outpouring of the heart. They actually belong to the whole congregation.
Fugue

has its name from the lively movement, chasing through one another, of this musical composition. A fugue is extremely difficult to compose; only the profound connoisseur of counterpoint makes it faultless. They are composed more in the sacred style than in the profane, for the imitations thus come forth in the sacred style. Their loud shouts for joy, the ligatures [e.g., a series of long-valued notes] and other characteristics of the same make them extremely suitable to the sacred pathos. With each fugue a theme is established which repeats itself over again in various keys and is inverted and doubled. Also, the boldest modulations are permitted in the fugues. With a sacred fugue [Kirchenfuge] much care must be taken that the theme never degenerates into the profane [Frechheit]. They are divided into the simple and double fugue.

Alla Breve

Distinguishes itself from the fugue only by a quicker theme, by a more determined movement of the beat, and that the alla breve is equally suited for the church and the profane style. This musical composition is somewhat easier to make than the fugue because such intricate complexities do not come forth therein.
Aria

An artistic vocal piece which consists of two phrases: an antecedent and a consequent. The antecedent is worked out extensively: here inversions, colorature, fermatas, cadenzas, and all things are permitted, whereby the singer can elevate himself. But the consequent phrase usually distinguishes itself through simple motion, without repetition, and by artificial modulations. It is much shorter than the antecedent. Each aria must have a defined, insinuating motive, and other phrases draw from this motive through alterations [Inversionen]. If in an aria a singer in his full art can demonstrate and prove himself, one calls it a bravura aria.

Cavatina

is a subclass of the aria. It must not contain any coloratura. It is a simple, unsophisticated expression of one's feelings and has, for that reason, only one phrase. The motive of a cavatina must be sensitive, moving, intelligible, and light.

Recitative

Musical declamation or speech. One accompanies it with instruments or usually only with a harpsichord. One must know the rhythm perfectly; understand the prosody of the language most precisely; the height, the depth, the rise and fall of speech must be noticed sharply;
every comma, colon, period, question mark, every exclamation, every
dash and stroke of expectation, in a word, every distinctive mark of
speech [must be] observed with the strongest conscientiousness. The
recitative, therefore, is extremely difficult; [it] requires long study
and practice; and one notices in the new-fashioned pieces the most
wretched sins contrary to the rules of the recitative. The old
composers herein surpass most of the newer ones. Musical declamation
differs from the recitative through extremely fine nuances; the latter
[i.e., the recitative] is more metrical, but the declamation is freer.

**Arioso**

or moderate aria [Ariemässig] is a short, intermediate phrase in a
recitative which is close to the aria.

**Cantabile**

A piece on an instrument that imitates the song. It is
ridiculous when some also write "Cantabile" above a vocal composition.
Who will set above an organ sonata "Organoso" [Orgelmässig]?

**Maestoso**

whose character is pomp, dignity, and majesty.
Lamento

An extremely tearful and plaintive piece. Lamentoso is only a branch of it or only a little tearful spot.

Symphony and Overture

This type of musical composition arose from the inauguration to the musical dramas [Schauspiele] and finally has also been introduced in private concerts. It consists most of the time of an allegro, andante, and presto. Yet our artists no longer feel bound to this form and digress from such, often with great effect. A symphony is in today's manner, as it were, a sonorous preparation and powerful invitation to hearing a concert.

Sonata

A playing of the instruments, intimately or socially. Two parts never form a sonata, but three; and these three parts are as many friends who amuse themselves with one another in the intimate chorus. The sonata is, therefore, musical conversation, or imitation of human speech with dead instruments. The arioso, cantabile, recitative, and all types of singable [music] and instrumental music lie, accordingly, in the sphere of the sonata. For every instrument there are sonatas, but they must be modified according to the nature of the instrument.
Adagio
slow, sad motion.

Largo
motion declaring deep suffering.

Andante
a walking motion of the measure which touches [küsst] the line bordering on the allegro.

Allegro
a prevailing motive performed with rather quick motion.

Presto
very quick metrical motion, of two-four, three-eight, six-eight, and more metrical divisions.

Prestissimo
extremely quick metrical motion, and, as it were, the counterpart [Countrapunct] of the adagio.
Rondo

A universally popular composition of today. The recipe to the same is the following: one should invent a lovely motive of about eight measures, add two couplets, which must always have some analogy with the motive, season with pleasant modulations, begin again according to each couplet in the aforesaid motive, bring out all deceptions with which the great musician, as Homer, creeps along in his repetitions, [and] one should have heart and mind; thus one can certainly make a good rondo. Since no composition in the world has reached further than this, it must already have a great worth in itself, and this worth consists of simplicity. Better proof that man is still not entirely degenerate is the fact that he has taste--even for the pathetic rondo--for aversion to repetition, inasmuch as repetition strengthens the idea, is an almost unmistakable sign of the diminishing taste of a nation.

March or War Step
designates the step for entire armies that they must follow on the path of honor. The movement is solemn with foot soldiers [Fussvolk], quick with the cavalry. The march is an invaluable invention for war; even the horses feel its authority and move according to the beat of the march.
**Schik or Gigue [Quique]**

A hurried motion approaching the dance whose character is the hopping dance [Hüpfende]. Today the gigue [Schik] is nearly entirely obsolete; very unjustly, however, for it possesses so much character that music would have a gap if it should disappear.

**Gavotte**

Actually a type of dance which begins with the first half measure and the other half of the bar is picked up at the end of the first period. Yet this can be imitated with effect also on instruments, and particularly on the harpsichord.

**Murky [Murki]**

A quite original composition in equal beats that distinguishes itself by the continuous octave motion in the bass. One has misused it so much from its earliest beginning that now it is hardly recognized any more. But the true master of sounds will, even today, know the place where he can insert the cradle of the murky.¹

¹Schubart's metaphor seems to indicate that Schubart himself considers the murky bass, which is even simpler than the Alberti bass, of being an infant when compared to the other kinds of accompaniment; hence, the "cradle," where it rests before being awakened.
Musical coloring seems to me to be entirely an invention of more recent times.\(^1\) I say "seems" because one cannot yet claim so positively that the ancients could have painted only with one color. From a place in Plutarch where he expressly says, "as soon as the sounds stormed heavenwards, as soon did they die under the grasp of masters," it becomes evident very distinctly that the Greeks have at least known forte and piano. But, as far as the history of music extends, one does not find the slightest trace that musical coloring had been observed by the ancients. The forte and piano themselves are still not more than a hundred years old, for the Italians wrote it for the first time beneath their compositions approximately fifty to sixty years ago; before this time all pieces were performed at the same level or left to the option of the player. It is therefore easy to consider how extraordinarily much music has gained through the modification of coloring, because every phrase of music already contains the law of performance. But since there are more ripienists than solo players, coloring must be observed for the sake of the equality of performance.

\(^1\)Schubart's use of the term "musical coloring" refers to all of the shadings, such as dynamics, articulations, and ornaments, used by the performer in bringing the music to life.
The great Jommelli was the first who determined musical coloring [musikalische Farbengebung], and since that time one has gone so far that one also marks the finest nuances for the player. These coloristic signs are the following:

**Forte and Fortissimo**

The observation of the loud and of the even louder, without blending.

**Piano [and] Pianissimo**

The observation of the quiet and of the even quieter, without blending.

**Crescendo**

which now is expressed with the sign — which indicates an increasing volume of sound. The beginning whisper of sound up to the thunderstorm.

**Decrescendo**

has today the sign — therefore, a reversed crescendo. It goes from the full life of sound to its dying away and deliquescence in the breeze.
Forzando [Forçando]

Sudden and harsh marking of the sound. Coming forth generally before the beat or at the beginning of a new phrase.

**Diminuendo**

Noticeable lessening of sound.

**Calando**

Gradual strengthening [Verstärkung] [sic] of sound.

**Morendo**

As it were, the last breath of the musical composition.

**Fermata [Ferma]**

A pause accompanied by an ornament.

**Mordent**

A Schneller or a little ornament of a single note.

**Triller, Pralltriller, Doppeltriller**

Quick alternation of two, three, or four notes standing next to one another.
Cadenza or Schlussfall

as it were, the last elevation of the virtuoso in a piece, where he tries to win the "bravo" and applause of the listener by exertion of all his power.

Mezzotinto

or Mitteltinten. It is the blending of sounds, one into another, without notice of its scale degree [Abstufung].

Staccato

played short or pointed sound. This musical figure is indicated by strokes [▼] or with dots [•]. It is, as it were, a distinct outline of each single note.

Legato [Ligato]

is marked with a curved line (―). It connects the notes as far as the line extends.

Vibrato

The sounds here are not pulled up by their roots, but only touched [gekitzelt] on their tips.
**Pizzicato**

A figure for the violin and the clavichord. Whenever it is not played with the bow or the hand itself, but the strings are only plucked.

**Tenuto**

When the performance of the sound is sticky, as it were, or a rosin seems to adhere to our fingers. It is like the pleasant negligence of a charming girl in her dressing gown and contributes a great deal to beautiful performance.

**Ad libitum**

indicates the lack of the beat where the player or singer has free dominion to do whatever he thinks proper.

**Tasto Solo**

A figure for the organ where one sustains the pedal and changes places [modulirt] with his hands above.

**Dolce**

Observation of sweet performance.
Furioso

Wild, lively performance.

Amoroso

Tender, languishing performance.

Still many nuances and fine shadings of music can be noticed which belong not to the sphere of the writer, but to the halo of the musical mind. The portamento or the Träger, the half or whole trill, the sudden interruptions of compositions, the tempo rubato, where the performance does not intend to leave, yet it continues--this tender hesitation of a sweetheart who is about to leave his girl--and a hundred other similar devices [Nebenzüge] are effective only under the hand of the master.
XLV. CONCERNING MUSICAL GENIUS*

No proverb is so true and the nature of the thing so suitable than this venerable one: poets and musicians are born. So certain is it that every human being brings along a musical germ to the world; so certain is it also that the organs of the ear, throat, and an unfavorable structure of the hands; also the upbringing prevents many from developing this musical germ. The musical genius has the heart for its foundation and receives its impressions through the ear. "He has no ear, no musical ear!" means, in musical terms, as much as, "He has no musical mind." Practical experience teaches that men come into the world without the feeling for rhythm and that they are oblivious and insusceptible to the beauties of music. On the other hand, the future virtuoso announces himself already in his youth. His heart is his principal chord and strung with such tender strings that they harmonize from every harmonic touch. All great musical geniuses are consequently self-taught (oûtôdôx̂ martyr), for the fire that inspires them charms them incessantly to seek their own path of flight. The Bachs, a Galuppi, Jommelli, Gluck, and Mozart distinguished themselves already in their childhood with the magnificent products of their genius.

*This section has been translated in Richard W. Harpster, "Genius in the 18th Century: C. F. D. Schubart's 'Vom musikalischen Genie,'" Current Musicology 15 (1973):73-80.
Musical euphony [Wohlklang] was in their soul, and they soon threw away the crutch of art. The characteristics of musical genius thus are undoubtedly as follows:

1. **Inspiration** or enthusiastic feeling of musical beauty and greatness.

2. An extremely tender feeling in the heart which sympathizes with all nobleness and beauty that the music brings forth. The heart is, as it were, the sounding board of great musicians: [without] this [he] is worthless, for he will never be able to produce anything great.

3. A highly refined ear that swallows each pleasing sound [Wohllaut] and reluctantly hears each discord. If a child without any instruction produces a chord on the harpsichord; if a girl or boy can improvise the accompaniment of a folk song; if the brow of the young listener wrinkles at dissonances and smooths at consonances; if the young throat already in its youth trills individual melodies--then musical genius is present.

4. Natural feeling for the rhythm and measure. If one puts a key in the hand of a child six or seven years old and then sings or plays a composition, and if the child beats the measure all by himself, then a musical mind is certainly there.

5. Irrestible love and inclination for music, which carries us away so powerfully that we prefer music to all other joys of life, is a very strong criterion for the presence of musical genius. Yet this distinguishing mark is sometimes deceiving for there are people who
fiddle, strum, and play the lyre all day long and who themselves hardly rise above the mediocre.

In a word, the heavenly flash of genius is of such divine nature that it cannot be concealed. It presses, forces, pushes, and burns so long until it bursts forth as a flame and glorifies itself in its Olympian splendor. The mechanical musician lulls to sleep, but the musical genius awakes and rises heavenwards. Yet he has room enough also to carry up the listener on his cherubic wings.

However, the musical genius without culture and practice will always remain very imperfect. Art must complete and fill out what nature threw down raw. For if there were men who were born perfect in any art, application and effort would easily die away in the world.

The history of the great musicians proves it: how much sweat falls with their practice; how much oil their evening lamp consumes; how many imperfect attempts they let evaporate in the fireplace; how, deeply concealed in loneliness, they practiced finger, ear, and heart until they finally appeared and elicited a jubilant "bravo" from the world through their masterpieces.

The greatest strength of musical genius manifests itself in composition [Tonsatz] and in the wise leadership of a great orchestra. A true Kapellmeister and music director must know all musical styles and know how to prove himself as a master in at least one of them. He must have studied counterpoint to the most intimate understanding; he must be rich in great and interesting melodic motion; he must have profoundly studied the heart of humanity in order to be able to play on the heart strings [Cordialnerven] just as surely as on his favorite
instrument. Finally, he must be an acoustician and know how to lead, with breath and stroke, a hundred minds as if they were one so that thereby a great, all-effective whole is formed. If one would only study Der vollkommene Kappellmeister or a Mattheson or Junker,¹ he would be amazed at the wide range of its theoretical and practical requirements.

Woe to you, pupil of music! If you already dream of being a Kapellmeister before you have the qualities of the good ripienist, or as Handel used to say, "It is like wanting to be an admiral without possessing the knowledge of a sailor." The half-developed musicians, the traveling artisans, who today blacken the musical world like a swarm of locusts, might frighten you off that you wear yourself out in your chamber; for you must practice melody, modulation, and harmony—and then, in the glory of a cultivated genius, you can appear among your contemporaries.

¹See page 304, note 2 of this translation.
Musical expression is the golden shaft around which the aesthetic of music turns. We understand by that the _appropriate_ performance of each individual piece, even of each single thought. Generally, the musical expression consists of three points: _correctness_, _distinctness_, and _beauty_. Correctness consists in the precise reading and in the strongest observation of rhythm.

_Roading_ is far more difficult than many imagine. Since every musical thought contains its appointed performance within itself, it depends on whether I penetrate into the _nature_ of this thought and describe it characteristically. It is the case in music as in rhetoric: thorough, tuneful reading must precede beautiful declamation. Long, continuous practice is required for reading. One must thoroughly study the scores of great masters many times, the hand must practice by the performance of difficult passages and must also not neglect the simplest phrases, for there are often easy phrases which are more difficult to perform than the most complicated [ones]. This paradox resolves itself thereby if one knows that easy phrases require deep feeling of beauty, whereas the difficult ones require mostly only mechanics. I have heard great singers as well as accomplished clavierists who performed the most difficult arias and concertos with admirable dexterity and yet were not capabale of singing or playing the
plainest chorale or the simplest folk song. Through diligent solfège and practice of fingerings, the singer and instrumentalist can acquire that skill in reading.

The second quality of good musical performance is distinctness. What one does not understand does not affect the heart. One must, therefore, sharply contour every musical comma, even every single note; he must practice the shortness [Abstossen] of sounds, for nothing is more distinct than a staccato phrase; he must never murmur when he should speak; and he must apply himself, particularly in performance, to rounding off the phrase. Quite preferably, the singer has need of this distinctness, for, unfortunately, often the most beautiful poetry is lost among the lips and teeth of most singers. For that reason the effect is only simple, when it should have been doubled: that is, music and poetry should have worked together on the heart. That is the reason why so little attention prevails in our concerts. If one would only sing one good folk song distinctly and understandably, and see there! all eyes would widen, all ears would listen carefully, and all hearts would open. Every singer should, consequently, read through their texts very closely, discern the power of each word, give to every word its determined pronunciation, and be especially on guard against the detestable lengthening and stretching of vowels, whereby the performance becomes, for the most part, incomprehensible.
The third quality of musical performance is, finally, beauty. Whoever has a feeling heart; whoever knows how to perceive according to the poet and composer with whom the flow of song even waltzes away; whoever clearly saw the heavenly beauty in the hours of dedication—he requires only a nod, for he will sing beautifully and will know how to perform each piece beautifully.

The beautiful consists of so many infinite, fine nuances, even in music, that it is impossible to define them all. A girl full of innocence and charm is beautiful often without knowing it herself; at least she does not know her temperament and how to separate each feature of her beauty from one another. However, very interesting observations concerning this can yet be made.

The blending of sounds; the light, pleasing portamento or gliding from one sound to the other; the swelling, rising, falling, [and] dying of sound; the naivety with which one adds little ornaments; the beautiful contour with which one marks each phrase, the gentle vibrato, the breathing of singers; the lovely trill; the melting execution; and finally the beautiful position of the musician and the heartfelt expression in his face—all these together make up the beautiful musical performance. Since each thought has its own color [and] since many pleasing shades of color, from the fiery color of pathos on to the rosy color of tender joy, lie in between, it is, as already mentioned, impossible to mark all of these gradations as to indicate each nuance of coloring in the case of a Titian, Correggio, or Mengs.
One who merely performs things which another has composed has to observe this and still other obligations. But infinitely more important is the musical expression by the composer himself, for he must know what poet and speaker should know and still combine with all of that the most illustrious knowledge of music.

For example, sacred pathos has simple, great, thoughtful, all-penetrating expression. Some of our chorales have already for centuries affected all human hearts. What is the reason for this long effect: simplicity, the sense of devotion, [and] greatness, which always and above all subdues all hearts and rises heavenwards. To the expression of sacred style belongs, consequently, much warmth for religion, great sense, and the tenderest feeling of the heart which a musical language can lend to the simplest form of prayer.

Musical expression in the churches changes according to the subjects. For example, the triumphant style prevails on feast days, the flood of sound surges and waltzes and carries its joyful feeling towards heaven. If someone wanted to bring the words "Gott fährt auf mit Jauchzen und Frohlocken" to music, the prevailing idea would be the triumphant ascension of Christ, just as Klopstock has portrayed it.

With the idea "Gott," the composer would have to linger, invert more often, and, by a general pause, impress the heart of the hearer.

The idea "fährt auf" as the prevailing idea, one would have to project over the whole composition. All tones would have to rise little by little and at the same time elevate the hero to heaven.

"Mit Jauchzen und Frohlocken!" are merely subsidiary ideas [Nebenideen]. Consequently, it would be foolishness if the musician
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"Mit Jauchzen und Frohlocken!" are merely subsidiary ideas [Nebenideen]. Consequently, it would be foolishness if the musician
could be misled in making them, through careful working out, the principal notion of his work. Jauchzen and Frohlocken might well brighten the composition, but the auffahrende Gott must shine far above the rejoicing tumult.

A Requiem, or death music, must be immersed wholly in the color of sadness. The words "Requiem aeternam da nobis, Domine!" seem to have, as it were, only one expression. In a strongly colored key, as in A major, E major, B major, etc., these words can hardly be set. C major and A minor are too light for this theme. There remains, therefore, only the keys marked with flats. These sway not only by their gentleness in sleep, but also point out the nature of death through its fading gloominess. Every musician must consequently choose E-flat major or C minor, A-flat major or F minor, but best of all B-flat major or G minor for this theme.

Since, in order to raise the musical expression, extraordinarily much depends on choosing the keys well, the following characterization stands here in its correct place.
Characterization of the Keys*

Each key is either colored or not colored.
One expresses innocence and simplicity with uncolored keys.
Gentle, melancholic feelings [are expressed] with flat keys; wild and strong passions with sharp keys.

C major is quite pure. Its character is innocence, simplicity, naivety, [and] baby-talk.

A minor, pious womanhood and tenderness of character.
F major, complaisance and repose.
D minor, dejected womanhood which broods notions and illusions.
B-flat major, cheerful love, good conscience, hope, a longing for a better world.
G minor, displeasure, uneasiness, worry about a failed scheme; discontented gnashing at the bit; in a word, anger and disgust.

E-flat major, the key of love, of devotion, of intimate conversation with God; expressing, through its three flats, the holy Trinity.

C minor, declaration of love, and at the same time lamentation of unrequited love. Every languishing, longing, sighing of the love-crazed soul lies in this key.

A-flat major, the grave key. Death, grave, decay, judgment, eternity lie in its circumference.

F minor, deep depression, wailing for the dead, groans of misery and yearning for the grave.

D-flat major, a leering key, degenerating into grief and rapture. It cannot laugh, but it can smile; it cannot howl, but at least it can grimace its weeping. Consequently, one can transfer only unusual characters and feelings to this key.

B-flat minor, an oddity, for the most part dressed in the garment of night. It is somewhat disgruntled and embraces most rarely a pleasant mien. Mockery against God and the world; displeasure with itself and with everything; preparation for suicide resound in this key.

G-flat major, triumph in difficulty, a free sigh of relief on having crossed hills, reminiscence of a soul which has struggled hard and finally is victorious lie in all applications of this key.

E-flat minor, feelings of anxiety of all the soul's deepest distress, of being lost in daydreaming despair, of blackest
melancholy, of the soul's gloomiest condition. Every fear, every hesitation of the shuddering heart breathes from the shocking E-flat minor. If ghosts could speak, they would doubtless speak from this key.

B major, strongly colored, announcing wild passions, made up of the crudest colors. Anger, rage, jealousy, fury, desperation, and every burden of the heart lies in its sphere.

G-sharp minor, ill-humor, a heart squeezed to the point of suffocation, laments of misery which sigh at the double-sharp, difficult struggle, in a word, everything that laboriously rings through is this key's color.

E major, loud shouts for joy, laughing pleasure, and still not altogether full gratification lies in E major.

C-sharp minor, laments or repentance, intimate conversations with God, the friend and the playmate of life, sighs of unsatisfied friendship and love lie in its circle.

A major, this key contains declarations of innocent love, contentment over its situation, hope of reunion at the parting of a lover, youthful cheerfulness, and trust in God.

F-sharp minor, a gloomy key. It pulls at passion as the biting dog at one's pants leg. Anger and discontent are its language. Ordinarily, it does not seem to be well in its position; therefore, it always languishes for the repose of A major or for the conquering bliss of D major.
D major, the key of triumph, of Hallelujahs, of battle cries, of triumphant rejoicing. Accordingly, one sets attractive symphonies, marches, festive songs, and heaven-rejoicing choruses in this key.

B minor, is, as it were, the key of patience, of the silent expectation of fate, and of the submission to the divine decree. Therefore, its complaint is so gentle, without ever breaking out in offending murmurs or whimpers. The application of this key is rather difficult for all instruments; for that reason, one finds so few pieces which are composed expressly in this key.

G major, everything rustic, moderately idyllic and lyrical, each quiet and satisfied passion, each tender recompense for sincere friendship and true love; in a word, each gentle and serene motion of the heart can be expressed splendidly in this key. Too bad that it is today so very much neglected on account of its seeming agility. One does not consider that there is no difficult and facile key in the real sense, but these apparent difficulties and agilities depend on the composer.

E minor, naive, womanly. Innocent declaration of love, lament without murmuring, sighs accompanied by few tears. This key speaks of impending hope of the purest happiness calling forth in C major. Since by nature it has only one color, one could compare it with a girl, dressed in white, with a rose-red bow on her bosom. One withdraws from this tone with inexpressible grace again to the fundamental C major, where heart and ear find the most perfect satisfaction.

If one wanted to object to this characterization of keys as in the literary criticism that no key could have a determined character
because of the various ornaments, one must consider that it is the duty of every composer to study closely the character of its keys and only take up the sympathetic ones in its halo. A good companion never invites bizarre characters which disturb the circle of his confidants; on the contrary, he chooses homogeneous men who elevate the pleasure of society. A freethinker who brands himself through slovenliness does not belong to a silent, Christian gathering on Good Friday even if he would stay put in his rightful place. Even so it is also the case with the composer. As soon as he has once selected a suitable key of prevailing feeling, he may never slip into keys which contradict this feeling. It would be unbearable, for example, if an aria whose fundamental key is C major concluded the first part in B major, or if one wanted to change over suddenly from F minor to F-sharp major. In short, the musical expression through all keys is so strictly determined that—although I wonder if philosophical critics have not made it valid enough—it far surpasses the poetical and pictoral expression in precision.

Devotion and sublimity are the characters of sacred expression; amazement, heroics, majesty, the deeply moving, melancholy, and joy is the character of dramatic expression.

Intimate conversation, on the other hand, sociability, conformity to each character, musically all-in-one concentrated, signifies the expression of chamber music.

Also, popular music is a carcass without nature's expression that is rightly buried in the meadow.
APPENDIX

An Alphabetical Listing of Names Derived from Schubart's Ästhetik der Tonkunst

The following compilation is an attempt to identify and account for all of the individuals mentioned in Schubart's treatise. Most of these individuals are well-known, with an abundance of biographical information available; others, however, even though Schubart may have known them personally, have not stood the test of time and now, except for Schubart's reference to them, have been completely forgotten. Entries are brief. The listed main source of information for each person, as well as commentary within this translation, should be checked for additional biographical background.

Each entry of this appendix should consist of five specific areas as outlined below. The first three sections are modeled after the basic format used in Grove 6.

1. Full name with variant spellings of names. In so many instances, Schubart's spelling rarely agrees with modern spelling. Sometimes it is necessary to make an educated guess based on additional information provided by Schubart. However, in some cases, this is not at all possible, thus, all we have is what Schubart tells us.

2. Places and dates of birth and death.
3. A brief description of the individual (e.g., composer, performer, etc.)

4. The major source of information used in compiling this particular entry. Source titles have been abbreviated; see the next page for a list of these abbreviations. In the case of multiple abbreviations, the first one listed is the principal source of biographical information.

5. The page number(s) where one would find this person within the body of the translated text.
Many of the following abbreviations were used in the translation, but several others have been added.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviated Title</th>
<th>Full Title*</th>
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<tr>
<td>ADB</td>
<td>Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Book of Kings</td>
<td>McNaughton: The Book of Kings: A Royal Genealogy</td>
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<td>Boalch</td>
<td>Boalch: Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord</td>
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<td>Bryan: Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers</td>
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<td>Burney/Scholes: An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in France and Italy</td>
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<td>Burney/Scholes: An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in Central Europe and the Netherlands</td>
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<td>Ebeling: Carl Burney's der Musik Doctors Tagebuch</td>
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<td>Choron</td>
<td>Choron/Fayolle: Dictionnaire historique des Musiciens</td>
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<td>Dance Encyc</td>
<td>Chujoy/Manchester: The Dance Encyclopedia</td>
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<td>DDT</td>
<td>Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst</td>
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<td>EB</td>
<td>The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th ed.</td>
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<td>Eitner Q</td>
<td>Eitner: Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon</td>
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<td>EMDC</td>
<td>Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du conservatoire</td>
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<td>Fétis B</td>
<td>Fétis: Biographie universelle des musiciens + supplement</td>
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* See the Bibliography for the complete entry.
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<td>La Grande Encyclopédie</td>
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Abel, Carl [Karl] Friedrich
b. Cothen, 22 Dec 1723; d. London, 20 June 1787
Composer and viola da gamba player
Grove 6
252-53

Achilles
Mythological personage; reference is to Homer's Iliad
Smith
80

Achmet Effendi
Turkish ambassador?
Schubart, Kaiser
386

Addison, Joseph
English public servant and man of letters
Grove 6
47

Adlung [Adelung], Jakob
b. Bindersleben, nr. Erfurt, 14 Jan 1699; d. Erfurt, 5 July 1762
German organist and scholar
Grove 6
252, 334

Aeschylus
b. 525/24 B.C.; d. Gela, Sicily, 456/55 B.C.
Writer of tragedies
EB
77

Agatha
Nun in Cologne, virtuoso organist
Schubart
238

Agrell, Johann Joachim
b. Löth, Ostergotland, 1 Feb 1701; d. Nuremberg, 19 Jan 1765
Swedish composer, violinist, and harpsichordist
Grove 6
261-62

Agricola [née Moletni], Benedetta Emilia
b. Modena, 1722; d. Berlin, 1780
Soprano; wife of Johann Friedrich Agricola
Grove 6
133
Agricola, Johann Friedrich  
b. Dobitschen, Saxe-Altenburg, 4 Jan 1720; d. Berlin, 2 Dec 1774  
German musicographer, composer, organist, singing master and conductor  
Grove 6  
133, 181, 369

Alberti, Domenico  
b. Venice, ca. 1710; d. Rome, 1740.  
Italian composer, harpsichordist, and singer  
Grove 6  
253

Albrecht V  
b. Munich, 29 Feb 1528; d. Munich, 24 Oct 1579  
Duke, 1550-79; elector of Bavaria; succeeded by Wilhelm V  
GB  
122

Alcaeus  
b. Mytilene, Lesbos, ca. 620 B.C.; d. ca. 580 B.C.  
Greek lyric poet  
EB  
64

Alcibiades  
b. Athens, ca. 450 B.C.; d. Phrygia, now Turkey, 404 B.C.  
Politician and military commander  
EB  
80

Alexander III the Great  
b. Pella, Macedonia, 356 B.C.; d. Babylon, 13 June 323 B.C.  
King of Macedonia, 336-323 B.C.  
EB  
71, 326, 327

Allegri, Gregorio  
b. 1582; d. Rome, 17 Feb 1652  
Italian composer and singer  
Grove 6  
88

Ambrose  
b. Trier [Treves], ca. 340; d. Milan, 397  
Saint, bishop, and Doctor of the Church  
Grove 6  
398-99
Anacreon
b. Teos, Ionia, ca. 582 B.C.; d. ca. 485 B.C.
Last great lyric poet of Asian Greece
EB
64

André [André], Johann [Jean]
b. Offenbach, 28 Mar 1741; d. Offenbach, 18 June 1799
Composer and publisher
Grove 6
251

Anna Amalia [Amalie]
b. Berlin, 9 Nov 1723; d. Berlin, 30 Mar 1787
Princess of Prussia, patron of music, amateur musician, and composer;
sister of Frederick II (Frederick the Great)
Grove 6
231

Apollo
God of Light, lyre player
Smith
378

Aprile, Giuseppe [Scirolino, Sciroletto]
b. Martina Franca, Taranto, 28 Oct 1732; d. Martina Franca,
11 Jan 1813
Italian castrato and composer
Grove 6
105, 202

Arion
b. Methymna, now Molyvos, Lesbos; fl. 625-600 B.C.
Greek cithara player and singer who accumulated great wealth by
successfully winning contests
Grove 6
94

Ariosto, Ludovico
b. Reggio Emilia, Italy, 8 Sep 1474; d. Ferrara, 6 July 1533
Poet and playwright
EB
403

Aristophanes
b. ca. 450 B.C.; d. ca. 385 B.C.
Greek dramatist
EB
77
Aristotle
b. Stagirus, 384 B.C.; d. Chalcis, 332 B.C.
Greek philosopher
Grove 6
48

Aristoxenus
b. Tarentum, now Taranto, ca. 375/60 B.C.; d. ?Athens
Greek theorist
Grove 6
72

Asaph
Biblical personage
55, 60

Saint Athanasius
b. Alexandria, Egypt, ca. 293; d. Alexandria, 2 May 373
Theologian, ecclesiastical statesman, and Egyptian national leader
EB
83

Augustus [Octavian; Caesar Augustus, etc.]
b. 23 Sep 63 B.C.; d. A.D. 19 Aug 14
First Roman emperor
EB
82

Augustus II the Strong [Frederick Augustus I of Saxony]
b. Dresden, 12 May 1670; d. Warsaw, 1 Feb 1733
Elector of Saxony, 1694-1733; King of Poland, 1697-1709, 1710
EB
148-149

Augustus III [Frederick Augustus II of Saxony]
b. Dresden, 17 Oct 1696; d. Dresden, 5 Oct 1763
King of Poland, 1734-63
EB
149

Avison, Charles
b. Newcastle upon Tyne; baptized 16 Feb 1709; d. Newcastle upon Tyne, 9 or 10 May 1770
English composer, conductor, writer on music, and organist
Grove 6
311-12

Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel
b. Wiemar, 8 Mar 1714; d. Hamburg, 14 Dec 1788
Composer, keyboard player, and theorist
Grove 6
127, 152, 207, 231-34, 247, 255-56, 257, 264, 265, 267
268, 323, 346, 350, 351
Bach, Georg [recte, Johann Christian]
b. Leipzig, 5 Sep 1735; d. London, 1 Jan 1782
Composer and keyboard player
Grove 6
I81, 255-258, 313

Bach, Johann Sebastian
b. Eisenach, 21 Mar 1685; d. Leipzig, 28 July 1750
Composer and organist
Grove 6
91, 140, 150-52, 154, 209, 231, 255, 256, 257, 290, 324

Bach, Wilhelm Friedmann
b. Weimar, 22 Nov 1710; d. Berlin, 1 July 1784
Composer; Schubart identified him as Erdmann Bach in the Deutsche Chronik (16 January 1775):39
Grove 6
140-41

Bach without first name
86, 156, 244, 253, 289, 401, 424

Bacon [Baco], Francis [Franciscus]
b. London, 22 Jan 1561; d. London, 9 Apr 1626
Baron de Verulamio, chancellor of England, lawyer, courtier, statesman, and philosopher
EB
345

Bauer
Padre in Cologne; organist
Schubart
238

Beecke, (Notger) Ignaz (Franz) von
b. Wimpfen am Neckar, 28 Oct 1733; d. Wallerstein, 2 Jan 1803
German composer and pianist
Grove 6
218-19, 221, 247

Benda, Franz [František]
b. Staré Benátky, Bohemia, baptized 22 Nov 1709; d. Nowawes, nr. Potsdam 7 Mar 1786
Violinist and composer; father of Juliane (see Reichardt)
Grove 6
I37, 138

Benda, Georg (Anton) [Jiří Antonín]
b. Staré Benátky, baptized 30 June 1722; d. Kostritz, 6 Nov 1795
Composer
Grove 6
I63-65, 181
Benda, Joseph
b. Staré Benátky, baptized 7 May 1724; d. Berlin, 22 Feb 1804
Violinist and composer; 1742 in Potsdam, studies with his brother
Franz, appointed to the Prussian court orchestra, succeeds Franz as
Kapellmeister (1786-97)
Grove 6
139

Benda without first name
401

Bernstorff, Andreas Peter, Graf von
b. Hannover, 28 Aug 1735; d. Copenhagen, 21 June 1797
Denmark count and statesman
GB
296

Besozzi, Antonio
b. Parma, 1714; d. Turin, 1781
Oboist: 1738-57, Dresden; 1757-59, Stuttgart; 1759-74/76, Dresden
Grove 6
108, 193-94

Besozzi, Carlo
b. Dresden, 1738; d. after 1798
Son of Antonio, oboist and composer; 1755-92, Dresden
Grove 6
108, 193-94

Bischoff, Johann George (the elder)
b. Nuremberg, 1733
Violinist, instrument maker, and timpani virtuoso
Gerber L, Choron, Gassner
263

Bode, Johann Joachim Christoph
b. Brunswick, 16 Jan 1730; d. Weimar, 13 Dec 1793
Book dealer and translator; editor of the Hamburgischer Correspondent;
1778, in Weimar
GB 15
235

Bodmer, Johann Jakob
b. Greifensee, nr. Zurich, 19 July 1698; d. Zurich, 2 Jan 1783
Swiss historian and author
GB
50
Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus
b. Rome, ca. 480; d. ca. 524
Roman writer and statesman
Grove 6
66

Bonifaci on [Winfrid]
b. Wessex, England, between 672 and 675; d. Dokkum, Frisia, 5 June 754
Archbishop of Mainz, apostle of Germany
New Cath Encyc
116

Bonafini [Bonavini], Catharina
b. Italy; d. Venice, ca. 1800
Singer in Württemberg ?; trained in Dresden; 1780, lives in Russia; 1783, in Italy; 1790, Reichardt meets her in Modena
Gerber L, Schilling, Fétis B, Laborde
208

Bordoni (see Faustina Hasse)

?Boschi [=Bossi], Giuseppe Maria
fl. 1698-1744
Italian bass; Schubart claims this Bossi was an Italian tenor
Grove 6
105

Breitkopf, Johann Gottlob Immanuel
b. Leipzig, 23 Nov 1719; d. Leipzig, 28 Jan 1794
German publisher
Grove 6
172

Brescianello [Bressonelli], Giuseppe Antonio
b. Florence, ca. 1690; d. Stuttgart, 4 Oct 1758
Italian violinist and composer; Kapellmeister 1717-37; 1744-51
Grove 6
90, 201

Brockes [Brokes], Barthold Hinrich
b. Hamburg, 22 Sep 1680; d. Hamburg, 16 Jan 1747
Poet
GB
230

Graf von Brühl
?One of the sons of Heinrich Brühl; dilettante
Burney G, pp. 93, 97, 100, 150; Forkel M-k B, 1:299-300
172
Buonani [Bonani], Monica
Singer in Württemberg court
Schubart
202

Burette, Pierre-Jean
Musician and scholar
Grove 6, Gerber L
69

Burney, Charles
b. Shrewsbury, 7 Apr 1726; d. Chelsea, London, 12 Apr 1814
English composer and music historian
Grove 6
57, 99, 114, 156, 160, 312, 351, 376

Buxtehude, Dietrich
b. ?Oldesloe, now Bad Oldesloe, ca. 1637; d. Lübeck, 9 May 1707
German composer and organist
Grove 6
126, 253-54

Caesar, (Gaius) Julius
b. Rome, 12 or 13 July 100 B.C.; d. Rome, 15 Mar 44 B.C.
Roman emperor
EB
114

Cahusac, Louis de
b. Montauban, ca. 1700; d. Paris, 1759
Dance master
Dance Encyc, Laborde
405

Calcol [Calkol, Chalcol]
Biblical personage, 1 Chron 2:6
60

Caldara, Antonio
b. Venice, ca. 1670; d. Vienna, 28 Dec 1736
Italian composer
Grove 6
90, 125

Calliope
Muse of epic poetry and eloquence
EB
69
Cannabich, (Johann) Christian (Innocenz Bonaventura)
b. Mannheim, baptized 28 Dec 1731; d. Frankfurt am Main, 20 Jan 1798
Composer, violinist, and conductor
Grove 6
188-90

Carestini, Giovannib. Filottrano, nr. Ancona, ca. 1705; d. ?Filottrano, ca. 1760
Italian alto castrato, in Frederick's employ 1750-54
Grove 6
104, 132, 211

Carl XIIb. Stockholm, 17 June 1682; d. Fredrikshald, now Halden, Norway
30 Nov 1718
King of Sweden, 1697-1718
EB
294-95

Cassius Dio Cocceianus (called Dio)b. Nicaea, Bithynia, ca. 150; d. 235
Roman administrator and historian
EB
75

Soldier, writer on fine arts
Michaud, Laborde
47

Cecilia [Cacilia]Saint and martyr of the early Christian church, honored as patroness
of music since the late 15th century
Grove 6
316

Charlemagne [Karl der Grosse]b. 2 Apr ca. 742; d. Aix-la-Chapelle, now Aachen, W. Ger., 28 Jan 814
King of the Franks, 768-814; Emperor, 800-814
GB
75, 115, 315, 367

Charles V (also Charles I of Spain)b. Ghent, 24 Feb 1500; d. Yuste, Spain, 21 Sep 1558
Holy Roman emperor, 1519-56
EB
122
Charles VII
b. 6 Aug 1697; d. Munich, 20 Jan 1745
Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria from 1726; Holy Roman emperor from 1742
EB 174-75

Charles Louis Maucourt
b. 1760; d. 1825
Duke of Brunswick
MGG, s.v. "Braunschweig"
212

Charlotte
Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Queen of England, wife of George III
The Book of Kings 192

Charlotte Philippine
b. Brunswick, 1 Aug 1713; d. Brunswick, 26 Mar 1780
Sister of Frederick II, wife of Duke Carl I (1735-80)
MGG, s.v. "Braunschweig"
212

Chaulieu, Guillaume Amfrey, abbé de
French poet
Michaud, Laborde 100

Chodowiecki [Chodowiecys], Daniel Nikolaus
b. Danzig, 1726; d. Berlin, 1801
German painter and engraver
Bryan, M und KAaAdJ 1783, pp. 28-32 340

Christian VII
b. Copenhagen, 29 Jan 1749; d. Rendsburg, W. Germany, 13 Mar 1808
Danish ruler, 1766-1784
EB 297

Christina
b. Stockholm, 8 Dec 1626; d. Rome, 19 Apr 1689
Queen of Sweden, 1644-1654
EB 294, 295
Christmann, Johann Friedrich  
b. Ludwigsburg, 9 Sep 1752; d. Heutingsheim, nr. Ludwigsburg  
21 May 1817  
German clergyman, composer, and writer on music  
Grove 6, MAadJ 1784, pp. 45-51

Cimon  
Military commander, son of Miltiades

Clemens Wenzeslaus of Saxony  
b. 28 Sep 1739; d. Oberndorf, 27 July 1812  
Elector of Trier, Prince-Bishop of Augsburg

Clement XIV [Giovanni Vincenzo Antonio Gaganelli]  
b. Sant' Arcangelo, nr. Rimini, 31 Oct 1705; d. Rome, 22 Sep 1774  
Pope, 1769-1774

Clementi, Muzio [Clementi, Mutius Philippus Vincentius Franciscus Xaverius]  
b. Rome, 23 Jan 1752; d. Evesham, Worcs., 10 Mar 1832  
English composer, keyboard player and teacher, music publisher, and  
piano manufacturer of Italian birth

Condé, Louis-Joseph de Bourbon, prince de  
Military leader

Correggio [Antonio Allegri (called Correggio)]  
b. Correggio, Italy, Aug 1494; d. Correggio, 5 Mar 1534  
Italian painter of the school of Parma

Cramer, Angelique  
Wife of Wilhelm Cramer; singer, harpist, and keyboard player

Schubart
Cramer, Johann Andreas
b. Jöhstadt (Erzgebirge), 27 Jan 1723; d. Kiel, 12 June 1788
Theologian and writer
GB
234, 272

Cramer, Wilhelm
b. Mannheim, baptized 2 June 1746; d. London, 5 Oct 1799
German violinist
Grove 6
49, 191, 282

Cröner [Croener, Kröner], Johann Nepomuk
b. Munich, ca. 1737; d. Munich 27 June 1785
German composer and violinist
Grove 6
176-77

Croesus
d. ca. 546 B.C.
Last king of Lydia (ruled ca. 560-546 B.C.); probably from Herodotus Persian Wars
EB
185

Crysolidas
Medici Kapellmeister
Schubart
35

Curtius, Mettus or Mettius
Roman youth or Sabine general (see page 144, n. 37 of this translation)
Smith, EB
144

Dalberg, Johann Friedrich Hugo, Freiherr von
b. Herrnsheim, nr. Worms, 17 May 1760; d. Aschaffenburg, 26 July 1812
German author, amateur composer, and aestheteician
Grove 6
288

Danzi, Innozenz [Innocente]
b. Italy, ca. 1730; d. Munich, 17 April 1798
Cellist, father of Franziska; in Mannheim, 1754; to Munich, 1778;
retires, 1783
Grove 6
194
Darius II (called Codommanus)  
d. Bactria, 330 B.C.  
Last king, reigned 336-330 B.C., of the Achaemenid dynasty

David  
Biblical personage  
54, 55, 58, 60, 359

Dedan  
Biblical personage  
60

Deller [Teller, Döller, Töller], Florian Johann  
b. Drosendorf, baptized 2 May 1729; d. Munich, 19 Apr 1773  
Austrian violinist and composer

Demmler [Dümler], Johann Michael  
b. Hiltenfingen, Swabia, baptized 28 Sep 1748; d. Augsburg, buried 6 June 1785  
German organist, pianist, and composer

Denis, Johann Neopomuk Cosmas Michael  
b. Schärding, 27 Sep 1729; d. Vienna, 29 Sep 1800  
German poet and bibliographer

Denner [Tenner], Jacob  
b. Nuremberg, 1681; d. Nuremberg, 1735  
Instrument maker, son of Johann Christoph

Denner [Tenner], Johann Christoph  
b. Leipzig, 13 Aug 1655; d. Nuremberg, 20 Apr 1707  
German woodwind instrument maker

Denner [Tenner], Johann David  
b. 1691  
German instrument maker
Dezallier d'Argenville, Antoine-Joseph
b. Paris, 4 July 1680; d. Paris, 29 Nov 1765
French writer on fine arts
Michaud
47

Diana
Roman goddess
Smith
243

Diderot, Denis
b. Langres, 5 Oct 1713; d. Paris 31 July 1784
French philosopher and critic
Grove 6
323

Dioscorides [Dioskorides]
Schubart does not give enough information to be able to identify
this particular Dioscorides with any certainty
Oxford, Smith
230

Dittersdorf, Carl Ditters von [Ditters, Carl]
b. Vienna, 2 Nov 1739; d. Neuhof, Pilgram, Bohemia, 24 Oct 1799
Austrian composer and violinist
Grove 6
288

Dolci [Dolce], Carlo [Carlino]
b. Florence, 1616; d. Florence, 1686
Italian painter
Bryan
399

Draco [Dracon]
fl. 7th cent. B.C.
Roman lawgiver
EB
63

Drexel [Dretzel], Cornelius Heinrich
b. Nuremberg, baptized 18 Sep 1697; d. Nuremberg, 7 May 1775
Composer, organist, and writer on music; Schubart claims that Drexel
was a student of J. S. Bach, which will eliminate Johann Chrysostomus
Drexel, b. 1758
Grove 6
260-61
Dryden, John  
b. Aldwinkle, Northamptonshire, 19 Aug 1631; d. London, 1 May 1700  
Writer of literature, poetry, drama, and criticism  
EB  
71, 152-53  

Dulcinea del Toboso  
Fictional character in Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (1605) and the object of the Don's attention; Schubart refers to "Dulcineen" (genitive plural)  
Walsh  
357  

Duport l'aîné, Jean-Pierre  
b. Paris, 27 Nov 1741; d. Berlin, 31 Dec 1818  
Cellist and composer; employed by Frederick the Great beginning in 1773; supervises concerts at court, 1787-1806  
Grove 6  
142  

Ebeling, Christoph Daniel  
b. Garmissen, nr. Hildesheim, 20 Nov 1741; d. Hamburg, 30 June 1917  
German writer on music, translator, and librarian  
Grove 6  
312  

Eberhard Ludwig  
b. Stuttgart, 18 Sep 1676; d. Ludwigsburg, 31 Oct 1733  
Duke (1677-1733) of Wurttemberg  
GB  
200  

Eckardt, Johann Gottfried  
b. Augsburg, 21 Jan 1735; d. Paris, 24 July 1809  
German pianist and composer active in France  
Grove 6, Laborde  
289-91  

Ehrenberg  
d. 1790  
Court musician in Dessau; composer; apparently died very young  
Schilling, Gerber NL  
276  

Eichner, Ernest (Dieterich Adolph)  
b. Arolsen, baptized 15 Feb 1740; d. Potsdam, early 1777  
German bassoonist and composer; enters the service of the Prussian crown prince, later Friederich Wilhelm II, in 1773  
Grove 6, Forkel M-k B  
143
Elizabeth I
b. Greenwich Palace, Greenwich, 7 Sep 1533; d. Richmond, 23 Mar 1603
Queen of England
EB
308

Elizabeth [Yelizaveta Petrovna]
b. Kamerskoye, nr. Moscow, 18 Dec 1709; d. St Peterburg, now
Leningrad, 5 Jan 1762
Empress of Russia (1741-62)
EB
299

Emmerich Joseph
b. Coblenz, 12 Nov 1707; d. Mainz, 11 June 1774
Baron of Breidbach at Bürresheim; Elector of Mainz (1763-74)
ADB
236

Enderle, Johann Joseph
d. Nuremberg, 1748
German wind player, father of Wilhelm Enderle
Grove 6
250

Enderle [Enderlein, Enterlin], Wilhelm Gottfried
b. Bayreuth, 21 May 1722; d. Darmstadt, 18 Feb 1790
German violinist, pianist, and composer; in Würzburg, 1748;
concertmaster at Darmstadt, 1753; Kapellmeister, 1762
Grove 6, Gerber L
250

Endymion
Mythological youth of distinguished beauty in perpetual sleep. Diana
dreaded the very sight of a man. None was allowed in her temple, and
she remained a virgin.
Smith
243

Epaminondas
b. Thebes, ca. 410 B.C.; d. Mantinea, 362 B.C.
Greek statesman and general
EB
80

Erichsen
fl. ca. 1620
Swedish composer; Kapellmeister to Gustav Adolph
Schubart
294
Ermelinda (see María Antonia Walpurgis)

Eschenburg, Johann Joachim
b. Hamburg, 7 Dec 1743; d. Brunswick, 29 Feb 1820
German classicist, poet, translator, and civil servant; translated Burney's history in 1781
GB, Grove 6
313

Eschstruth, Hans Adolph Friedrich von
b. Homberg, nr. Kassel, 28 Jan 1756; d. Kassel, 30 Apr 1792
German lawyer, composer, and writer on music
Grove 6
289

Esra [Ezra]
Biblical personage
60

Esser, (?Karl) Michael, Ritter von
b. Aachen, ?Apr 1737; d. ?ca. 1795
German violinist and composer
Grove 6
287

Esterhazy (see Nikolaus Joseph)

Euripides
b. Athens ca. 484 B.C.; d. Macedonia, 406, B.C.
Greek tragic poet
EB
77

Farinelli [Broschi, Carlo; Farinello]
b. Andria, Apulia, 24 Jan 1705; d. Bologna, 15 July 1782
Italian soprano castrato
Grove 6
103, 104

Faustina (see Hasse)

Ferdinand I
b. Alcalá de Henares, Spain, 10 Mar 1503; d. Vienna, 25 July 1564
Holy Roman emperor (1558-64) and king of Bohemia and Hungary from 1526
EB
122
Ferrarese [Ferrarese] del Bene, Adriana [Gabrielli, Adriana; Gabrielli, Francesca]
b. Ferrera, ca. 1755; d. ?Venice, after 1799
Italian soprano
Grove 6
106

Ferrari, Domenico
b. Piacenza, 1722; d. Paris, 1780
Italian violinist and composer; student of Tartini
Grove 6
110, 111, 188, 211

Filtz [Fils, Filz], (Johann) Anton
b. Eichstätt, Bavaria, baptized 22 Sep 1733; d. Mannheim, buried 14 Mar 1760
Composer and cellist
Grove 6
192-93

Fischer, Johann Christian
b. Freiburg, 1733; d. London, buried 3 May 1800
German oboist and composer active in London from ca. 1768; studied with A. Besozzi in Turin in the 1750s
Grove 6
193

Fischer [not Johann, Johann Nikolaus, John Abraham, or Ferdinand; possibly Gabriel or Melchoir]
Violinist in Nuremberg
Schubart
260

Fleischer, Friedrich Gottlob
b. Cöthen, 14 Jan 1722; d. Brunswick, 4 Apr 1806
German composer
Grove 6
211-12

Fordice [Fordyce?]
Gerber NL lists a Miss Fordyce and a Mrs. Fordyce and indicates that portraits were made by Reynolds and Corbut of the former, and by Willson and Watson (1771) and Kaufmann and Green (1782) of the latter. Miss Fordyce is a lute player, though she is not listed in Anthony Wilson [Henry Bromley] A Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits... (London: T. Payne, 1793) (cross-referenced in Gerber L). Mrs. Fordyce is identified as a dilettante and the wife of Dr. Fordyce. The exact identity of Dr. Fordyce is unknown. Burney F lists a Fortrose as an English ambassador in Italy. Schubart states that Lord Fordice traveled through Germany. Could it be that either Fortrose or Fordyce is Schubart's Fordice?
181
Forkel, Johann Nikolaus [Nicolaus]
German music historian, theorist, and bibliographer
Grove 6
57, 99, 114, 158-59, 278, 279, 288-89

Forster, (Johann) Georg (Adam)
b. Nassenhuben, nr. Danzig, now Gdańsk, Poland, 26 Nov 1754;
d. Paris, 11 Jan 1794
German writer and traveler
GB, EB
384-85, 407

Forstmeyer, Andreas Ehrenfried [=?Sandmaier]
Durlach violinist, travels with Vogler
MAfD 1784
226

Fränzl, Ignaz (Franz Joseph)
b. Mannheim, baptized 4 June 1736; d. Mannheim, 3 Sep 1811
Violinist and composer; in the Mannheim orchestra, 1747-78; remains in
Mannheim after the orchestra is disbanded
Grove 6
196

Franklin, Benjamin
b. Boston, 17 Jan 1706; d. Philadelphia, 17 Apr 1790
American printer and publisher, author, diplomat, inventor and
scientist; invented the glass harmonica ca. 1760
EB
277, 343

Franz Stephan
b. Nancy, 8 Dec 1708; d. Innsbruck, 18 Aug 1765
Duke of Lothringen, 1729-35/38; grand duke of Toscana, 1737-65;
Franz I as Holy Roman emperor, 1745-65; married Maria Theresa
GB
127, 386

Frederick II [Friedrich II; Frederick the Great]
b. Berlin, 24 Jan 1712; d. Sanssouci, nr. Potsdam, 17 Aug 1786
King of Prussia, dilettante, and patron of music
Grove 6
380, 386

Frick
A German instrument maker who worked for Joseph-Antoine Berger
(1717-77) in 1765 in Grenoble. Frick stole plans for a keyed harp
from Berger. Schubart identifies him as a piano maker in Berlin.
Boalch reference to Diderot Encyclopedia, s.v. "Epinette"
342
Frick [Frik, Frike], Phillip Joseph
b. Willanzheim, nr. Kitzingen am Main, 27 May 1740;
d. London, 15 June 1798
German organist and glass harmonica player
Grove 6, MGG
276-77, 342, 344

Friedel [Fried'l] brothers
Violinists
Schubart
262, 276

Friederizi [Friederici], Christian Ernst
b. Meerane, 8 Mar 1709; d. Gera, 4 May 1780
Family of keyboard instrument makers; student of Gottfried Silbermann;
settles in Gera
Grove 6
341

Friedrich [Frederick] V
b. Amberg, 26 Aug 1596; d. Mainz, 29 Nov 1632
Elector Palatinate of the Rhine, King of Bohemia (1619-20;
Friedrich I, the Winter King), and head of the Protestant Union
against Catholic Austria at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War
EB, GB
179

Friedrich Wilhelm
b. Berlin, 25 Sep 1744; d. Marble Palace, Potsdam, 16 Nov 1797
Crown prince of Prussia; King Friedrich Wilhelm II of Prussia
GB
143

Fritz, Barthold
b. Holle, 1697; d. Brunswick, 17 July 1766
German clavichord maker, inventor, and writer on tuning (1756)
Grove 6
342

Froberger [Franzberger], Johann Jacob [Jakob]
b. Stuttgart, baptized 19 May 1616; d. Héricourt, nr. Montbéliard,
France, 6 or 7 May 1667
German composer, organist, and keyboard player
Grove 6
126

Fuessli, Johann Heinrich
b. Zurich, 3 Dec 1745; d. Zurich, 26 Dec 1832
Swiss historian, writer, and statesman
ADB
47

462
Fux [Fuchs], Johann Joseph  
b. Hirtenfeld, nr. St. Marein, Styria, 1660; d. Vienna, 13 Feb 1741  
Austrian composer and music theorist  
Grove 6  
90, 125

Gabrielli [Gabrieli], Caterina  
b. Rome, 12 Nov 1730; d. Rome, 16 Feb or 16 Apr 1796  
Italian soprano  
Grove 6  
48, 106, 141, 314

Gabrielli, Francesca or Adriana (see Ferraresi del Bene)

Galuppi, Baldassare  
b. Burano, nr. Venice, 18 Oct 1706; d. Venice, 3 Jan 1785  
Italian composer, conductor, and instrumentalist  
Grove 6  
92, 93, 94, 299, 424

Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott  
b. Hainichen, Saxony, 4 July 1715; d. Leipzig, 13 Dec 1769  
German author and poet  
GB  
234, 272

Gerbert, Martin, Freiherr von Hornau  
b. Horb am Neckar, 11 or 12 Aug 1720; d. St Blasien, 13 May 1793  
German music historian, theologian, abbot, and composer  
Grove 6  
58, 117, 159

Gerstenberg, Heinrich Wilhelm von  
b. Tondern [Schleswig], 3 Jan 1737; d. Altona, 1 Nov 1823  
German poet, critic, public official, and amateur musician  
GB, Grove 6  
159

Geyer, Johann Georg  
Durlach [Karlsruhe] organist  
Schubart, Kaiser  
225

Giornovichi [Jarnovik, Jarnovič, Jarnowick, Jarnovicki], Giovanni [Ivan] Mane  
Italian violinist and composer  
Grove 6  
282
Giulini [Cursini], Johann Andreas Joseph
German composer
Grove 6
Gliss [Glis], Johann
fl. first half of the 18th century
Nuremberg organ and clavier builder. He constructed an organ in
Erlangen in the Lutheran Haupt- und Stadtkirche, 1736-37
Gerber NL, Johann Ulrich Sponsel, Orgelhistorie (Nürnberg:
Georg Peter Monath, 1771), p. 135
259, 261
Gluck [Gluk], Christoph Willibald Ritter von
b. Erasbach, nr. Berching, Upper Palatinate, 2 July 1714;
d. Vienna, 15 Nov 1787
German composer
NG
38, 181, 272, 277-80, 325, 369, 372-73, 381, 386,
403, 407, 424
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von
b. Frankfurt am Main, 28 Aug 1749; d. Weimar, 22 Mar 1832
German writer
EB
47, 171, 272
Graf or Graf
Clavierist in Erlangen; student of Phillip Christoph (from Augsburg);
many of his pieces are in a Nuremberg collection (possibly relating
him to the following Graf)
Schubart
216-17
Gräf or Graf
Nuremberg trumpeter; possibly one of the six sons of Johann Graf
(Schilling, Gerber NL)
Schubart
262-63
Grassi [Crassi], Luigi (not Antonio) [Antonio and Luigi may be the
same person. If not, biographers of this period have mixed them up
fairly well.]
b. Rome; d. Pisa, 1807.
Italian tenor; active in Württemberg under Jommelli; also active in
Berlin, 1768, 1782, 1786; in 1788 he received a yearly pension of
500 thalers from the king, Friedrich Wilhelm II, and from 1789 he
resided in Pisa.
Schilling, Gerber NL, MAfD 1782, Choron
202
Graun, Carl Heinrich
b. Wahrenbrück, 1703-4; d. Berlin, 8 Aug 1759
Composer, Kapellmeister of the Berlin Opera under Frederick the Great
Grove 6
130, 131, 132, 133, 143, 146, 167, 181, 202, 211, 264

Gresset, Jean-Baptiste-Louis de
b. Amiens, 29 Aug 1709; d. Amiens 16 June 1777
French poet and dramatist
EB, Laborde
100

Grétry, André-Ernest-Modeste
b. Liège, 8 Feb 1741; d. Paris, 24 Sep 1813
French composer
Grove 6
320-21

Gruber [Grueber], Georg Wilhelm
b. Nuremberg, 22 Sep 1729; d. Nuremberg, 22 Sep 1796
German violist and composer
Grove 6
262

Guide of Arezzo [Aretinus]
b. ca. 991-92; d. after 1033
Music theorist
Grove 6
86, 87

Gulliver
Fictional character from Swift's Gulliver's Travels
273

Gustavus II Adolphus [Gustav Adolph]
b. Stockholm, 9 Dec 1594; d. Lützen, Saxony, now E. Ger., 6 Nov 1632
King of Sweden, 1611-32
EB
294

Gustavus III
b. Stockholm, 24 Jan 1746; d. Stockholm, 29 March 1792
King of Sweden, 1771-92
EB
162

Hagedorn, Friedrich von
b. Hamburg, 23 April 1708; d. Hamburg, 28 Oct 1754
German poet
EB
47, 76, 230
Hager, Christoph von
German singer in Württemberg court at Stuttgart
Schubart, Kaiser
202-03

Haider
Dresden trombone theorist; supposedly published a book on trombone in 1764
Schubart
371

Handel [Händel, Hendel], George Frideric [Georg Friederich (Friedrich)]
b. Halle, 23 Feb 1685; d. London, 14 Apr 1759
English (naturalized) composer of German birth
Grove 6
38, 91, 119, 152-54, 308, 313, 427

Hanswurst
German Commedia dell'arte character
161, 210

Harlequin
Italian Commedia dell'arte character
129, 280, 401

Hasse [née Bordoni], Faustina
b. Venice, 1700; d. Venice, 4 Nov 1781
Italian mezzo-soprano
Grove 6
103

Hasse, Johann Adolf
Composer
Grove 6
103, 128, 181, 202, 211

Hauber
Court timpanist in Dresden; supposedly published a book on timpani in 1768
Schubart
385

Hawkins, Sir John
b. London, 29 Mar 1719; d. London, 21 May 1789
English music historian, antiquarian, and attorney
Grove 6
99, 114, 313
Haydn [Haidn], (Franz) Joseph  
b. Rohrau, Lower Austria, 31 Mar 1732; d. Vienna, 31 May 1809  
Austrian composer  
Grove 6  
I29, 280-81

Hedler, Maria Anna [Marianne] (called "Nanette")  
b. 1759 or 1760; d. 22 Apr 1776  
Niece of Gluck; soprano; Millico was her teacher in 1770  
Grove 6  
279

Heinichen, Johann David  
b. Krössuln, nr. Weissenfels, 17 Apr 1683; d. Dresden, 16 July 1729  
German composer and theorist  
Grove 6  
I49-150

Heinrich  
b. Berlin, 18 Jan 1726; d. Rheinsberg, 5 Aug 1802  
Prince of Prussia; brother of Frederick the Great  
GB  
I39

Heinrich der Löwe  
b. ca. 1129; d. Brunswick, 6 Aug 1195  
Duke of Bavaria and Saxony, 1142-80  
GB  
I47

Helfferich  
Clavierist at Frankfurt  
Schubart  
272

Hemmel [Hemel, Haemel], Sigmund  
d. probably at Tübingen, end of 1564  
German composer and singer, in the Stuttgart Hofkapelle, 1544  
Grove 6  
I99

Herda [=Erda]  
Teutonic goddess of earth  
116

Herder, Johann Gottfried von  
b. Mohrungen, East Prussia, 25 Aug 1744; d. Weimar, 18 Dec 1803  
German critic, theologian, and philosopher  
EB  
47, 53, 171
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Birth-Death</th>
<th>Nationality and Occupation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Herodotus</td>
<td>b. ca. 490/84 B.C.; d. ca. 425/20 B.C.</td>
<td>Greek author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiller, Johann Adam</td>
<td>b. Windisch-Ossig, nr. Görlitz, 25 Dec 1728; d. Leipzig, 16 June 1804</td>
<td>German composer and writer on music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himmelbauer, Wenzel</td>
<td>Cellist, in Prague 1764; in Vienna 1782; &quot;now&quot; in Bern</td>
<td>Cellist; in Prague 1764; in Vienna 1782; &quot;now&quot; in Bern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hölty, Ludwig Heinrich Christoph</td>
<td>b. Mariensee, nr. Hannover, 21 Dec 1748; d. Hannover, 1 Sep 1776</td>
<td>German poet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoffmeister, Franz Anton</td>
<td>Composers and publisher in Vienna</td>
<td>Composers and publisher in Vienna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoffmann, Leopold</td>
<td>b. Vienna, 14 Aug 1738; d. Vienna, 17 Mar 1793</td>
<td>Austrian composer, violinist, and organist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hohnbaum, Johann Christoph</td>
<td>Coburg court chaplain</td>
<td>Coburg court chaplain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holberg, Ludwig Freiherr von</td>
<td>b. Bergen, Norway, 3 Dec 1684; d. Copenhagen, 28 Jan 1754</td>
<td>Norwegian-Danish poet and historian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holzbauer, Ignaz (Jakob)</td>
<td>b. Vienna, 17 Sep 1711; d. Mannheim, 7 Apr 1783</td>
<td>Austrian composer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Homer
fl. ca. 9th or 8th century B.C.
Greek writer of epic poems
EB 64, 72, 80, 122, 416

Homilius, Gottfried August
b. Rosenthal, Saxony, 2 Feb 1714; d. Dresden, 2 June 1785
Organist, composer, cantor, and music director; at Dresden from 1755
Grove 6 154-55

Honorius
Pope (Schubart does not give enough specific information to correctly identify this pope.)
Schubart 88

Horace (=Quintus Horatius Flaccus)
b. Venusia, Italy, Dec 65 B.C.; d. Rome, 27 Nov 8 B.C.
Latin lyric poet and satirist
EB 82, 232

Hrotswitha [Roswitha]
b. ca. 935; d. 1000
Nun of Gandersheim, German poetess, author of six plays (comedies) in imitation of Terence
Grove 6, EB 118

Hummel
Bass singer in Nuremberg; ?son of Matthaus Hummel, lute and violin maker in Nuremberg ca. 1720 (Gerber NL)
Schubart 263

Hurlebusch, Conrad Friedrich
b. Brunswick, ca. 1696; d. Amsterdam, 17 Dec 1765
German Composer, harpsichordist, and theorist; organist at Hamburg, 1727-36; at Brunswick, 1737-43
Grove 6 212

Hurlebusch, the son
Clavieivist at Brunswick
Schubart 212
Isis
Egyptian goddess; wife of Osiris
EB
51

Jacobi, Friedrich Heinrich
b. Düsseldorf, 25 Jan 1743; d. Munich, 10 Mar 1819
German writer (he founded Der Teutsche Mercur with Wieland) and philosopher
EB
100

Jäger, Johannes
b. Schlitz, 31 Aug 1748
Cellist at Ansbach
Gerber L, Mendel, Schilling, Gerber NL
142, 214-16

Jäger, Johann Zacharias Leopold
b. Ansbach, 1777
Cellist; appointed to the Ansbach court orchestra ca. 1787; son of above
Mendel, Gerber L, Schubart
215

Jamblichus
b. Chalcis, Coele-Syria, now in Syria, 250; d. ca. 330
Major figure in the philosophical school of Neoplatonism
EB
84

Janitsch, Anton
b. Switzerland, 1753; d. Steinfurt, 12 Mar 1812
Violinist and composer; ca. 1784 in the service of the Duke of Oettingen at Wallerstein
Gerber L, Schilling
221

Jehovah
Biblical personage
329, 359

Jeremiah
Biblical personage
61

Jesus Christ
Biblical personage
61, 131, 168-69, 266, 431
Jommelli [Jomelli], Nicolo [Niccolò]
b. Aversa, 10 Sep 1714; d. Naples, 25 Aug 1774
Italian composer of opera and sacred music
Grove 6

Joseph I
b. Vienna, 26 July 1678; d. Vienna, 17 Apr 1711
Holy Roman emperor, 1705-11; son of Leopold I
EB
124

Joseph I
b. Lisbon, 6 June 1714; d. Lisbon, 24 Feb 1777
King of Portugal, 1750-77
91

Joseph Wenzel
Prince of Fürstenberg
245

Josephus, Flavius [Joseph Ben Matthias]
b. Jerusalem, 37/38; d. Rome, ca.100
Jewish priest, scholar, and historian
EB
61

Jozzi [Yozzi], Giuseppe
b. ?Rome, ca. 1710; d. ?Amsterdam, ca. 1770 or earlier
Italian singer (castrato soprano), harpsichordist, and composer,
at Stuttgart, 1750-56
Grove 6
109, 203

Jubal
Biblical personage; Gen. 4:21
50

Junker, Carl Ludwig
b. Kirchberg an der Jagst, 3 Aug 1748; d. Ruppertshofen, 30 May 1797
German pastor, writer on music and art, and composer
Grove 6
114, 304, 427

Kammel [Kampel, Kamel, Kammel, Kamml, Khaml, Cammell], Antonín
b. Belšc, Bohemia, baptized 21 Apr 1730; d. ?London, by 1787
Violinist and composer of Czech origin, at one time employed in
Holland. Grove 6 does not mention that this Kammel ever resided in
Holland, though his works were published there. If this is actually
the case, then Antonín is not the person Schubart intends.
Grove 6
306
Karl Alexander  
b. Stuttgart, 24 Jan 1684; d. Ludwigsburg, 12 Mar 1737  
Duke of Württemberg, 1733-37
GB 201

Karl Alexander [Christian Friedrich Karl Alexander]  
b. Ansbach, 24 Feb 1736; d. Ansbach, 5 Jan 1806  
Margrave of Brandenburg at Ansbach-Bayreuth
ADB 213

Karl August  
b. Weimar, 3 Sep 1757; d. Graditz bei Torgau, 14 June 1828  
Duke of Saxony-Weimar, 1758-1815; grand duke, 1815-28; son of Anna Amalia (1739-1807)
GB I71

Karl Eugen  
b. Brüssels, 11 Feb 1728; d. Hohenheim, 24 Oct 1793  
Duke of Württemberg, 1737-93
GB 201

Karl Friedrich  
b. Karlsruhe, 22 Nov 1728; d. Karlsruhe, 10 June 1811  
Margrave of Baden-Durlach, 1738-1803; elector, 1803-06; grand duke, 1806-11
GB 223, 225

Karl Theodor  
b. Drogenbos, nr. Brussels, 11 Dec 1724; d. Munich, 16 Feb 1799  
Prince of Bavaria, 1742-99; received flute lessons from Wendling, 1751 or 52
GB 180, 380

Karl Wilhelm  
b. 1709; d. Basel, 1738  
Margrave of Baden-Durlach  
MGG, s. v. "Karlsruhe" 223

Karl II Wilhelm Ferdinand  
b. Wolfenbüttel, 9 Oct 1735; d. Ottensen, nr. Hamburg, 10 Nov 1806  
Duke of Brunswick, 1780-1806; nephew of Frederick the Great
GB 212
Karl VI  
b. Vienna, 1 Oct 1685; d. Vienna, 20 Oct 1740  
Holy Roman emperor from 1711; as king of Hungary, Charles III;  
Joseph I's successor  
EB  
T25, 126, 127

Karolina  
b. Leeuwarden, 28 Feb 1743; d. Kirchheimbolanden, 6 May 1787  
Princess of Orange-Nassau; married to Karl Christian, prince of  
Nassau-Weilburg  
The Book of Kings  
247

Katharina I [Yekaterina Alekseyevna (née Marta Skowronska)]  
b. Marienburg, now Malbork, Poland, 1683/84; d. St. Petersburg, now  
Leningrad, 17 May 1727  
Empress of Russia, 1725-27  
EB  
299

Katharina II the Great (née Sopohie Friederike Auguste von  
Anhalt-Zerbst)  
b. Stettin, Prussian, now Szczecin, Poland, 2 May 1729;  
d. St. Petersburg, now Leningrad, 17 Nov 1796  
Empress of Russia, 1762-96  
EB  
299-300

Kayser, Phillipp Christoph  
b. Frankfurt am Main, 10 Mar 1755; d. Oberstrass, nr. Zurich,  
24 Dec 1823  
German composer  
Grove 6  
272-73

Kiefer  
Clavierist at Taxis court in Regensburg; ?theorist  
Schubart  
244-45

Kiefer, the son  
Clavierist for the new Prince of Palm; from Regensburg  
Schubart  
244

Kircher, Athanasius  
b. Geisa, nr. Fulda, 2 May 1601; d. Rome, 27 Nov 1680  
German polyhistorian, theologian, and music theorist; resident  
mainly in Italy  
Grove 6  
67
Kirnberger [Kernberg], Johann Philipp
b. Saalfeld, baptized 24 April 1721; d. Berlin, 26 or 27 July 1783
German theorist and composer
Grove 6
134-135

Klein, Anton
Professor; in Mannheim beginning in 1768; he held various court positions
DDT, vol. viii and ix (1902/R1958)
182

Kleinknecht, Jakob Friedrich
b. Ulm, baptized 8 June 1722; d. Ansbach, 11 Aug 1794
Kapellmeister and composer
Grove 6
213-14, 275

Kleist, Ewald Christian von
b. Zeblin, 7 March 1715; d. Frankfurt an der Oder, 24 Aug 1759
German lyric poet
EB
166

Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb
b. Quedlinburg, Saxony, 2 July 1724; d. Hamburg, 14 Mar 1803
Epic and lyric poet
EB

Kneller [Kniller], Sir Godfrey, Baronet
b. Lübeck, 1646/49; d. Twickenham, nr. London, 1723
English portrait painter of German birth; settles in London ca. 1674
Bryan
340

Körber, Ignaz [Ignatius]
b. Mainz, 1744; d. Gotha, 1801
Waldhornist at Gotha; in Paris, 1766 (a challenger to Punto?); opens a music store in 1785; later a bassoonist
MAFD 1782
282

Krause, Christian Gottfried
b. Winzig, now Wiąsko, Silesia, baptized 17 Apr 1719;
d. Berlin, 4 May 1770
German lawyer, music aestheteician, composer, and poet
Grove 6
135, 266
Lactantis, Lucius Caecilius Firmianus
b. North Africa, ca. 240; d. Trier, West Germany, ca. 320
Christian Apologist
EB
83

Lang, Johann Georg
b. Svovín, 1722; d. Ehrenbreitstein, 17 July 1798
German composer of Bohemian descent
Grove 6
282-83

Lang [Lange; née Weber], (Maria) Aloysia (Louise Antonia)
b. Zell or Mannheim, between 1759 and 1761; d. Salzburg, 8 June 1839
Soprano; student of Vogler; in Vienna 1779-92
Grove 6, s.v. "Weber"
186

Laroch, Georg Michael Fink, von Lichtenfels
Dilettante clavierist in Trier; author
Schubart, Kaiser
242

Lassus, Orlande [Roland] de [Orlando di Lasso]
b. Mons, Hainaut, 1532; d. Munich, 14 June 1594
Composer
Grove 6
89, 122

Lavater, Johann Kaspar
b. Zurich, 11 Nov 1741; d. Zurich, 2 Jan 1801
Writer, patriot, Protestant pastor, and founder of physiognomics
EB
145, 304

Lebrun [née Danzi], Franziska [Francesca] (Dorothea)
b. Mannheim, baptized 24 Mar 1756; d. Berlin, 14 May 1791
Soprano; elder sister of Franz Danzi
Grove 6
194-95

Lebrun, Ludwig August [Ludwig Karl Maria]
b. Mannheim, baptized 2 May 1752; d. Berlin, 16 Dec 1790
Oboist in Mannheim, 1764-; marries Franziska Danzi, 1778; son of Jakob Alexander Lebrun, oboist at Mannheim 1747-71.
Grove 6
193-94
Leffloth [Löffeloth], Johann Matthias [Löffeloth, J. Matthäus]
b. Nuremberg, baptized 6 Feb 1705; d. Nuremberg, buried 2 Nov 1731
German organist and composer
Grove 6

Legrand
Cellist in Berlin
Schubart

Legrand, Jean-Pierre
b. Tarbes, 8 Feb 1734; d. Marseilles, 31 July 1809
French harpsichordist
Grove 6

Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm
b. Leipzig, 3 July 1646; d. Hanover, 14 Nov 1716
German philosopher
Grove 6

Leopold I
b. Vienna, 9 June 1640; d. Vienna, 5 May 1705
Holy Roman emperor, 1658-1705
EB

Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim
b. Kamenz, 22 Jan 1729; d. Brunswick, 15 Feb 1781
German dramatist, author, critic, and aesthetician
EB

Prince of Lichtenstein
Schubart

Lidl [Liedl, Lidel], Anton (Andreas)
b. ?Vienna; d. London, ?before 1789
Virtuoso on and improver of the baryton; viola da gamba player
Grove 6

Lippert, Philipp Daniel
b. Meissen, 29 Sep 1702; d. Dresden, 28 Mar 1785
Professor of Antiquities at the Academy of Arts in Dresden (from 1764)
ADB
Livius [Livy], Titus
b. Patavium, now Padua, 59 B.C. or possibly 64 B.C.; d. Patavium, A.D. 17
Roman historian
EB
81

Lolli [Colli], Antonio
b. Bergamo, ca. 1725; d. Palermo, 10 Aug 1802
Italian violinist and composer
Grove 6

Louis XIV, the Sun King
b. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 5 Sep 1638; d. Versailles, 1 Sep 1715
King of France, 1643-1715
EB
318

Lowth, Robert
b. Winchester, 1710; d. London, 1787
British theologian; professor of poetry at Oxford, 1741-50; bishop at Oxford, 1766; bishop of London, 1777
GB
53

Lully [Lulli], Jean-Baptiste [Biovanni Battista]
b. Florence, 28 Nov 1632; d. Paris, 22 Mar 1687
Composer, dancer, violinist, and instrumentalist of Italian birth
Grove 6
229, 316-20

Luther, Martin
b. Eisleben, now in E. Ger., 10 Nov 1483; d. Eisleben, 18 Feb 1546
Biblical scholar, linguist, and founder of the 16th-century Protestant Reformation
EB
75, 83, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 147, 352, 399

Mannus
Founder of the Germanic race
Tacitus Germania
116

Mara [née Schmeling], Gertrud Elisabeth
b. Kassel, 23 Feb 1749; d. Reval, now Tallinn, 20 Jan 1833
German soprano
Grove 6
48, 106, 141-42, 397
Mara, Johann Baptist
b. Berlin, 71746; d. Schiedam, nr. Rotterdam, 1808
Cellist; husband of Mara
Grove 6, Schilling
142

Marchand, (Jean) Louis
b. Lyons, 2 Feb 1669; d. Paris, 17 Feb 1732
French harpsichordist, organist, and composer
Grove 6
91, 323-24

Maria Antonia Walpurgis [psuedonym: Ermelinda]
b. Munich, 18 July 1724; d. Dresden, 23 Apr 1780
Electress dowager of Saxony
GB
171-72, 178

Maria Theresa
b. Vienna, 13 May 1717; d. Vienna, 29 Nov 1770
Empress, Archduchess of Austria, Queen of Hungary, Queen of Bohemia, wife of the Holy Roman emperor Francis I (d. 1740)
GB, EB
127, 128

?Marothi [Marotti], George
b. Debrecain, 11 Feb 1715; d. Debrecain, 16 Oct 1753
Professor of rhetoric, history, and mathematics at Debrecain
GB
90

Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm
b. Seehof, nr. Wendemark, Brandenburg, 21 Nov 1718; d. Berlin, 22 May 1795
German critic, journalist, theorist, composer, and civil servant
Grove 6
114, 133, 159

Marsyas
Greek mythology; flute player (?aulos) who challenged Apollo (lyre and cithara player) to a contest and lost
Smith
378

Martin, ?Johannes
Organist in Ulm, successor to Walther, who leaves in 1770
MGG, s.v. "Ulm"
274
Martinelli
German organist; contemporary of J. S. Bach
Schubart
91, 109

Martini, Padre Giovanni Battista
b. Bologna, 24 Apr 1706; d. Bologna, 3 Aug 1784
Italian writer on music, teacher, and composer
Grove 6
57, 81, 99, 158, 268, 352, 372

Mattheson, Johann
b. Hamburg, 28 Sep 1681; d. Hamburg, 17 Apr 1764
German composer, critic, music journalist, lexicographer, and theorist
Grove 6
114, 228-29, 427

Maximilian II
b. Vienna, 31 July 1527; d. Regensburg, 12 Oct 1576
Holy Roman emperor, 1564-76
EB
122, 124

Maximilian II Emanuel
b. Munich, 11 July 1662; d. Munich, 26 Feb 1726
Elector of Bavaria, 1679-1726
EB
173

Maximilian III Joseph
b. Munich, 28 Mar 1727; d. Munich, 30 Dec 1777
Elector of Bavaria from 1745, composer and string player
Grove 6
175

Mayer
Keyboard player in Italy; Schubart's student
Schubart
109

Medici family
Italian patrons of the arts
85, 86

Melpomene
Muse of tragedy
Smith
403
Mengs, Anton Raphael
b. Aussig, Bohemia, 22 Mar 1728; d. Rome, 29 Jun 1779
Neoclassic painter and writer on art
Bryan
47, 430

Merkel
Clavierist in the Hofkapelle at Darmstadt
Schubart
250

Metastasio, Pietro [Trapassi, Antonio Domenico Bonaventura]
b. Rome, 3 Jan 1698; d. Vienna, 12 Apr 1782
Italian poet and librettist
Grove 6
203

Michl [Michel, Michelini], Joseph (Christian) Willibald
b. Neumarkt, 9 July 1745; d. Neumarkt, 1 Aug 1816
Double bass player, publisher, and composer
Grove 6
175-76

Miltiades
Greek musician
Schubart
80

Mizler von Kolof [Mitzler de Kolof, Koloff], Lorenz Christoph
b. Heidenheim, Franconia, 25 July 1711; d. Warsaw, Mar 1778
German writer on music, physician, and mathematician
Grove 6
114, 155-56, 159, 294

Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, baron de La Brede et de
b. nr. Bordeaux, France, 18 Jan 1689; d. Paris, 10 Feb 1755
Politician, philosopher, and writer
EB, Laborde
107

Montmorency, Francois-Henri, duc de, duc de Luxembourg, marechal de France
b. Paris, 8 Jan 1628; d. Versailles, 4 Jan 1695
Military leader
La Grande Encyclopédie
382

Moritz, Landgrave of Hessen-Kassel
b. Kassel, 25 May 1572; d. Eschwege, 15 Mar 1632
German patron and composer; Landgrave, 1592-1627
Grove 6
148
Moses
Biblical personage
54

Mozart, (Johann Georg) Leopold
b. Augsburg, 14 Nov 1719; d. Salzburg, 28 May 1787
Composer, violinist, and theorist
Grove 6
209-10, 353

Mozart, (Johann Chrysostom) Wolfgang Amadeus
b. Salzburg, 27 Jan 1756; d. Vienna, 5 Dec 1791
Austrian composer and performer
Grove 6
210, 280, 371, 424

Muratori, Lodovico Antonio
b. Vignola, 21 Oct 1672; d. Modena, 23 Jan 1750
Scholar and pioneer of modern Italian historiography
EB
352-53

Musaeus of Ephesus (?Alexandria)
f.l. second century B.C.
Epic poet. There is also a Musaeus who was a singer associated with Orpheus.
Smith
64

Müthel, Johann Gottfried
b. Mölln, Lauenburg, 17 Jan 1728; d. Bienenhof, nr. Riga, 14 July 1788
German composer
Grove 6, Burney Tagebuch, 3:269-73
15x
6

Mysliveček [Miskmizek, Mislimizek, Mysliwczek, Mysliveček], Josef
b. Horní Sárka, nr. Prague, 9 May 1737; d. Rome, 4 Feb 1781
Czech composer
Grove 6
283

Nardini, Pietro
b. Livorno, 12 Apr 1722; d. Florence, 7 May 1793
Italian violinist and composer
Grove 6
112, 211

Naumann, Johann Gottlieb
Composer and conductor
Grove 6
162-63
Neefe, Christian Gottlob
b. Chemnitz, 5 Feb 1748; d. Dessau, 26 Jan 1798
German composer
Grove 6
169-71

Nepos, Cornelius
b. ca. 100 B.C.; d. ca. 25 B.C.
Roman historian
EB
79

Newton, Sir Isaac
English scientist
Grove 6, Laborde
150, 309-10

Niemeyer, August Herrmann
b. Halle, 1 Sep 1754; d. ?Halle, 7 Jul 1828
Professor of theology at Halle (1779) and poet
Gerber L, Gerber NL, RISM
168

Nikolaus (Joseph), "the Magnificent," Esterházy von Galántha
b. 18 Dec 1714; d. 28 Sep 1790
Prince Esterházy; music patron
Grove 6.
280

Nisle [Nissle, Nüssle, Nüsslin], Johannes
b. Geislingen, 28 Feb 1735; d. Sorau, now Zary, Poland, 22 May 1788
Horn player
Grove 6, Schilling
206-07, 275

Nopitsch, Christoph Friedrich Wilhelm
b. Kirchensittenbach, nr. Nuremberg, 4 Feb 1758; d. Nördlingen, 22 May 1824
German composer, organist, and teacher
Grove 6
283-84

Noverre, Jean-Georges
French-Swiss choreographer
Grove 6
190, 203-04, 405
Orpheus
Legendary musician of Greek mythology
Grove 6
63, 95, 270

Osiris
Egyptian god of fertility and a personification of the dead king as god of the underworld; husband of Isis
EB
51

Ossian [Oisin]
Poet of the third century "discovered" by James Macpherson and published in 1762-63 in the epics Fingal and Temora
Burney G, p. 80 n.
170, 276

Otto, Johann David
Mediocre organist of Frankfurt
Schubart
272

Otto II, der Erlauchte (Noble)
b. Kelheim, 7 Apr 1206; d. Landshut, 29 Nov 1253
Duke of Bavaria, 1231-53
GB
147

[Ovid] Publius Ovidius Naso
b. Sulmo, now Sulmona, Italy, 20 Mar 43 B.C.; d. Tomis, now Constanta, Romania, A.D. 17
Roman poet, author of Metamorphoses (A.D. 1-8)
EB
403

Pachelbel [Bachelbel], Johann
b. Nuremberg, baptized 1 Sep 1653; d. Nuremberg, buried 9 Mar 1706
German composer and organist
Grove 6
258-59

Paisiello, Giovanni
b. Roccafurzata, nr. Taranto, 9 May 1740; d. Naples, 5 June 1816
Italian composer
Grove 6
99, 299

Palm-Gundelfingen, Prince Karl Joseph
Prince of Thurn and Taxis
Schubart, Kaiser
244
Paul
Biblical personage
83, 338

Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista
b. Iesi, Marche, 4 Jan 1710; d. Pozzuli, nr. Naples, 16 Mar 1736
Italian composer
Grove 6
97-99

Pericles
b. Athens, ca. 495 B.C.; d. Athens, 429 B.C.
Greek statesman
EB
71, 80

Peter I the Great
b. Moscow, 9 June 1672; d. St. Petersburg, now Leningrad, 8 Feb 1725
Tsar and Emperor of Russia, 1682-1725
EB
299, 374

Peter II [Karl Peter Ulrich, Duke of Holstein-Gottrop]
b. Kiel, 21 Feb 1728; d. Ropscha, nr. St. Petersburg, 17 July 1762
Emperor of Russia from 5 January to 9 July 1762
EB
373

Pfeiffer, ?August Friedrich
b. Erlangen, 13 Jan 1748; d. Erlangen, 15 July 1817
Professor of Oriental Languages
Schilling, Fétis B, Eitner Q
58, 352

Philidor, François-André Danican
b. Dreux, 7 Sep 1726; d. London, 31 Aug 1795
Composer
Grove 6
320-21

Philip II of Macedonia
b. 382 B.C.; d. Asia Minor, 336 B.C.
King of Macedonia, 359-336 B.C.
EB
327
Piccinni [Piccinni], (Vito) Niccolo [Nicola] (Marcello Antonio Giacomo)
Opera composer
Grove 6
100, 278, 325

Pindar
b. Cynoscephalae, Boeotia, central Greece, 522/518 B.C.; d. after 446, probably ca. 438 B.C.
Greek choral lyricist, master of epinicia (odes celebrating an athletic victory)
EB
64

Pius IV [Giovanni Angelo de' Medici]
b. 31 Mar 1499; d. Dec 1565
Pope, 1559-65
New Cath Encyc
87
Plà, José (=Giuseppe)
Juan (=Giovanni Baptista)
Manuel
Variant spellings of the family name: Blasa, Blas, Blass [?], Le Plats, Pla, Plah, Plas, Plat, Plats.
b. Catalonia, possibly Barcelona, fl. from ca. 1750
Spanish oboists and composers. Much confusion clouds the biographical information about these brothers. It many cases, references to these musicians are by family name only.
1752 - two brothers (unspecified) from Madrid arrive in Paris and, according to Fetis, performed in the Concerts spirituel.
1752 - José and Juan travel to Stuttgart and are employed (ca. 1753) by the grand duke, Karl Alexander, of Württemberg.
ca. 1760 - the two brothers may have been in London.
1761 - Juan dies in Stuttgart. José continues in the duke's service until 1763 when he goes to Amsterdam, where he will remain until 1776.²
1761 - the older and the younger are in Germany, possibly referring to Manuel and José.
1782-1789 - Plà, the older and the younger are in Germany,² possibly referring to Manuel and José.
1786 - In ms. in the Westphalien Niederlage there are six oboe concertos, 20 trios for two oboes and bass, and three [?] oboe solos.
Additional sources not cited by Sanchez include Burney G, p. 38, Schilling, Gerber L, and the musical almanacs cited in the footnotes.²

¹Schubart's spelling.
²According to Fetis B, 7:74. Other sources state that his whereabouts are unknown (Gerber L) or that he returns to Spain (EMDC).
³MAfD 1782, p. 107. See also the almanacs for 1783, 1784, and 1789. Sanchez cites Subira, who states that "In 1783-84 Plà the elder and the younger were part of the chapel orchestra in Mannheim. Also that same 'Almanac on Music' in the volume for 1789 includes the name of Manuel Plà among the composers who live in German countries." The MAfD 1782 lists the oboists of the Mannheim court, but no mention is made of the Plà brothers. The 1782 and 1783 almanacs indicate that the Plà brothers were formerly at Ludwigsburg but no mention is made of their whereabouts at that time. Also the MAfD 1789, p. 86, lists "Plats" but nothing else.
⁴Mitjana claims that Manuel never left Spain and was, for the most part of his life, employed in the Royal Chapel in Madrid. He also played the clavecin well (Gerber L has psaltery).
Plinius = Pliny the Younger (Gaius Caecilius Plinius Secundus)
b. Comum, Italy, A.D. 61/62; d. Bithynia, now in Turkey, ca. 113
Roman author and administrator
EB
83, 247

Plutarch
b. before A.D. 50; d. after A.D. 120
Greek philosopher and biographer
Grove 6
64, 73, 75, 80, 312, 396, 418

Polyhymnia
Goddess of lyric poetry, inventor of the lyre
Smith
84, 123, 179, 255, 278, 297, 305, 329-30, 403

Pope, Alexander
b. London, 22 May 1688; d. Twickenham, 30 May 1744
English critic, poet, satirist, and wit
Grove 6
153

Porpora, Nicola (Antonio)
Italian musician
Grove 6
97, 390, 393, 396

Priapus of Lampsacus
God of fertility; son of Dionysus and Aphrodite
Smith
243

Princess of Nassau-Weilburg (See Karolina)
Singer and keyboard player
Schubart
247

Proteus
Prophectic old man of the sea who was able to assume various forms
Smith
256

Punto, Giovanni [Stich, Johann Wenzel (Jan Václav)]
b. Zehusice, nr. Česká Třebová, 26 Sep 1766; d. Prague, 16 Feb 1803
Bohemian horn player
Grove 6
236-37
Pythagoras
b. Samos, Greece, ca. 580 B.C.; d. Metapontum, ca. 500 B.C.
Greek philosopher and religious teacher
EB
66-67

Quantz, Johann Joachim
b. Oberschellen, Hanover, 20 Jan 1697; d. Potsdam, 12 July 1773
German flautist, composer, writer on music, and flute maker
Grove 6
135-37, 380

Quinault, Philippe
French dramatist, librettist, and poet
Grove 6, Laborde
316

Raaff [Raff], Anton
b. Gelsdorf, nr. Bonn, baptized 6 May 1714; d. Munich, 28 May 1797
German tenor
Grove 6
170-74, 384

Ramler, Karl Wilhelm
b. Kolberg, 25 Feb 1725; d. Berlin, 11 Apr 1798
Poet
GB
153, 267

Raphael
b. Urbino, 6 Apr 1483; d. Rome, 6 Apr 1520
Italian painter
Bryan
232

Reichardt [née Benda], (Bernhardine) Juliane
b. Potsdam, 14 May 1752; d. Berlin, 9 May 1783
Singer, clavier player, and composer; daughter of Franz Benda
Grove 6
138

Reichardt, Johann Friederic
German composer and writer on music
Grove 6
143-45, 312, 338, 400.
Reiner?
Bassoonist in Mannheim
Schubart
197

Rheinek [Reinek], Christoph
b. Memmingen, 1 Nov 1748; d. Memmingen, 29 July 1797
German composer, singer, pianist, and clarinettist
Grove 6
284, 375

Rheiner [Reiner, Reuner], Felix
b. Eichstätt, 1732; d. Munich, 1782
Bassoonist in Munich
Gerber L, Gerber NL, Schilling, Burney G
177

Rhodiginus (Ricchieri), Lodovico Caelius
b. Rovigo, 1447/69; d. Rovigo, ca. 1525
Humanist, Professor of Philosophy at Padua
Fétis B, RISM
67

Richey, Michael
b. Hamburg, 1 Oct 1678; d. Hamburg, 10 May 1761
Poet and scholar
GB 15, MAfD 1783, pp. 164-66
230

Riedel, Friedrich Justus
b. Bisselbach, nr. Erfurt, 10 Jul 1742; d. Vienna, 2 Mar 1785
German teacher and writer
MAfD 1782, 1783, 1789
280

Riepel [Ipleer, Leiper, Perile], Joseph
b. Höchschlag, Upper Austria, 22 Jan 1709; d. Regensburg, 23 Oct 1782
Austrian theorist, composer, and violinist
Grove 6
291

Ritter, Georg Wenzel
b. Mannheim, 7 Apr 1748; d. Berlin, 16 Jun 1808
Bassoonist and composer
Grove 6
197

Rodolphe, Jean Joseph [Rudolph, Johann Joseph]
b. Strasbourg, 14 Oct 1730; d. Paris, 12 or 18 Aug 1812
Alsatian horn player, violinist, and composer
Grove 6, Laborde
206-07, 405
Rolle, Johann Heinrich
b. Quedlinburg, 23 Dec 1716; d. Magdeburg, 29 Dec 1785
German composer
Grove 6
168-69

Romulus
Mythical founder of Rome
Smith
81

Rosetti [Rösler, Roșetă, Rossetti, Rossler], (Francesco) Antonio
[Franz Anton, František Antonín]
b. Leitmeritz, now Litomerice, ca. 1750; d. Ludwigslust, 30 June 1792
Bohemian composer and double bass player
Grove 6
219-222

Rothfischer [Rottfischer], Paul
b. Altmannstein, Bavaria, 1746
Composer and violinist
Schilling, Fetis B, Gerber L, Gerber NL
247-48

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques
b. Geneva, 28 June 1712; d. Ermenonville, 2 July 1778
Swiss philosopher, author, and composer of French Protestant descent
Grove 6
159, 164, 224, 284, 291, 321-22

Sacchini, Antonio (Maria Gasparo Gioacchino)
b. Florence, 14 June 1730; d. Paris, 6 Oct 1786
Italian composer
Grove 6, MAFD 1783, pp. 103-107
100, 101

Sales [née Blumer], Franziska
Wife of Pietro Pompeo; formerly Pietro's student; singer (alto) at Koblenz
Schilling
240

Sales [de Sala], Pietro Pompeo
b. Brescia, ca. 1729; d. Hanau, 21 Nov 1797
Italian composer
Grove 6
181, 239-40
Salimbeni [Salembini], Felice
b. Milan, ca. 1712; d. Ljubljana, Aug 1751
Italian castrato; student of Porpora
Mendel, Schilling, Laborde
104, 105, 132, 211

Sandmair (see Forstmeyer)

Sappho
b. Lesbos, Asia Minor, fl. ca. 610-580 B.C.
Greek lyric poetess
EB
64

Sartori [?Sartorius]
Violinist from Ulm; trained in Mannheim and Ludwigsburg; chamber virtuoso in Ansbach
Schubart, Deutsche Chronik (29 June 1775):414
275

Saul
Biblical personage
54, 59

Scarlatti; Domenico
b. Naples, 26 Oct 1685; d. Madrid, 23 July 1757
Composer, keyboard teacher, and performer
Grove 6
108, 152

Schaden, Frau Nanette von
b. Prank, nr. Salzburg
Amateur keyboardist, singer, and composer; student of Beecke; ca. 1788 in Wallerstein and 1791 in Augsburg
Gerber NL, Schilling
221

Scheibe, Johann Adolph
b. Leipzig, 5 May 1708; d. Copenhagen, 22 April 1776
German composer and theorist
Grove 6
159-60, 296

Schiatti [Schiatty], Giacinto [?Luigi]
d. ?1777
Italian composer and violinist; concertmaster for the margrave of Baden-Durlach ca. 1740; in Russia, 1747
Gerber L, Fétis B, Gerber NL
223
Schlegel, Johann Elias
b. Meissen, 17 Jan 1719; d. Sorø (Seeland), 13 Aug 1749
German poet
GB
159

Schlimbach [Schlimmbach], Georg Christian Friedrich
b. Ohrdruf, 1 Dec 1759
Organist and composer at Regensburg; 1782 he is cantor and organist at Prenzlau; later he is in Berlin; student of Bach (?Ernst Carl Gottfried Bach)
Schilling, Mendel
245

Schmidlin [Schmidli], Johannes
b. Zurich, 22 May 1722; d. Wetzikon, 5 Nov 1772
Swiss composer and minister
Grove 6
304

Schmittbaur [Schmittbauer], Joseph Aloys
b. Bamburg, 8 Nov 1718; d. Karlsruhe, 24 Oct 1809
German composer, conductor, and glass harmonica maker
Grove 6
223-25, 238

Schneider, Conrad Michael
b. Ansbach, baptized 28 Aug 1673; d. Ulm, 23 Nov 1752
German composer and organist
Grove 6
274

Schneider [Sartori], Georg Ludwig
Son of Conrad Michael Schneider; employed in Mannheim in 1747 as a violinist and later as a flautist
Grove 6
275

Schobert, Johann [Jean]
b. ?Silesia, ca. 1735; d. Paris, 28 Aug 1767
Harpischordist and composer
Grove 6
247, 284-85, 291

Schobert [Schubert (MAadJ 1782), ?Schubarth, G. P. (hornist in Versailles), Schubart, Schober (GS, 1:30, 50 [L & G, 1])
Brother of Johann Schobert; bassoonist in Paris
Schubart
285
Schubert [?Schubert, Schobert, Schober (GS 1:30, 50 [L & G, 1])]
Tenor in Hamburg
Schubert
228

Schönfeld, Johann Philipp
b. Strasbourg, 1742; d. Strasbourg, 5 Jan 1790
Alsation composer and conductor
Grove 6
286

Schröder, Friedrich Ludwig
b. Schwerin 3 Oct 1744; d. Rellingen bei Pinneberg, 3 Sep 1816
Actor and director; directed in Hamburg, 1771-80, 1785-98, 1811/12;
in Vienna, 1781-85
GB
235

Schröter [Schröder], (Johann) Heinrich
b. Warsaw, ca. 1760; d. ?Paris, after 1782
Violinist in Warsaw
MAFD 1783, 1784, and 1789
301

Schuback, Jacob
b. Hamburg, 8 Feb 1726; d. Hamburg, 15 May 1784
German lawyer and amateur musician
Grove 6
234

Schubart, Christian Friedrich Daniel
b. Obersontheim, Swabia, 24 Mar 1739; d. Stuttgart, 10 Oct 1791
German poet, journalist, writer on music, and composer
Grove 6
259

Schulz, Johann Abraham Peter
b. Lüneburg, 31 Mar 1747; d. Schwedt an der Oder, 10 June 1800
German composer and conductor
Sulzer, MAFD 1784, p. 50, Grove 6
139

Schuster, Joseph
b. Dresden, 11 Aug 1748; d. Dresden, 24 July 1812
German composer and conductor
Grove 6
96, 167-68
Schwanberger [Schwanberg, Schwanberger], Johann Gottfried
b. Probably at Wolfenbüttel, ca. 1740; d. Brunswick, 29 March 1804
German composer and Kapellmeister
Grove 6
211

Schwarz, Andreas Gottlob
b. Leipzig, 1743; d. Ansbach, 26 Dec 1804
Bassoonist
MAadJ 1782, Gerber L, Schilling, Gerber NL
197, 214

Schweitzer [Schweizer], Anton
b. Coburg, baptized 6 June 1735; d. Gotha, 23 Nov 1787
German composer
Grove 6
160-61, 181

Schwerin, Kurt Christoph, Graf von
b. Pomerania, 1684; d. Prague, 1757
Field marshal for Frederick the Great; killed at the battle of Prague
GB
132

Schwindl [Schwindel], Friedrich
b. 3 May 1737; d. Karlsruhe, 7 Aug 1786
Composer, violinist, and teacher active in Germany, the Netherlands,
and Switzerland
Grove 6
286

?Scotti [Scotci]
Cembalist in Milan ca. 1770
Gerber L, Burney F, p. 74, Schubart
108

Secchi [Sechi], Giosseffo
Oboist
Gerber L, Gerber NL, Burney G, pp. 60-61
177-78, 193

Seemann [née Cesari], Anna
Wife of Friedrich Seemann, singer in Württemberg
Schubart
202, 208

Seemann, Friedrich
d. 1775
Court singer (ca. 1745) and organist (1772); student of Jommelli
Burney G, p. 37, MAfD 1782, p. 133
207-08

494
Seyfert [Seyffert], Johann Gottfried
b. Augsburg, 11 May 1731; d. Augsburg, 12 Dec 1772
German composer
Grove 6
264-68

Seyler, Abel
Swiss theater director and actor active in Germany
Grove 6
170

Shakespeare, William
Playwright and poet
EB
II2, 165, 405

Silbermann, Johann Andreas
b. Strasbourg, 26 May 1712; d. Strasbourg, 11 Feb 1783
German keyboard instrument maker (organ)
Grove 6
220, 341, 342

Simon, Johan Caspar
b. nr. Schmalkalden, Erfurt, Thuringia, 10 Jan 1701; d. Leipzig, 22 Nov 1776
German composer and organist
Grove 6
286

Simon Peter [Peter]
Biblical personage, one of the disciples of Christ
61

Sixtus V [Felice Peretti]
b. 13 Dec 1521; d. 27 ALug 1590
Pope, 1585-90
New Catholic Encyc
87

Socrates
b. Athens, ca. 470 B.C.; d. Athens, 399 B.C
Greek philosopher
EB
80
Solomon
fl. mid-10th century B.C.
Biblical personage
54, 60, 371

Solon
b. ca. 630 B.C.; d. ca. 560 B.C.
Athenian statesman and poet
EB
63

Sophocles
b. Colonus, nr. Athens, ca. 496 B.C.; d. Athens 406 B.C.
Playwright of Greek tragedies
EB
77

Späth, Franz Jakob
b. Regensburg, 1714; d. Regensburg, 23 July 1786
German organ builder and piano manufacturer
Grove 6
178, 342

Spandau [Spandauer]
Horn player at The Hague, 1772
Burney G., p. 234; MAfD 1783, p. 96; Gerber L
285, 306

Spath [Spat]
Violinist, teacher of Lolli; in Ludwigsburg, 1770
Gerber NL
285-86

Stainer [Steiner], Jacob [Jakob]
b. Absam, nr. Hall, Tyrol, ?1617; d. Absam, late Oct or early Nov 1683
Austrian viol maker; Schubart states that he is in Nuremberg
Grove 6
259, 354

Stamitz, Carl (Philipp)
b. Mannheim, baptized 8 May 1745; d. Jena, 9 Nov 1801
Composer and violinist, violan, and viola d'amore player
Grove 6
192

Stamitz, Johann (Wenzel Anton) [Jan Waczlav (Václav) Antonín (Antonín)]
b. Německy Brod, now Havlíčkuv Brod, baptized 19 June 1717;
d. Mannheim, 27 Mar, buried 30 Mar 1757
Composer, violinist, and teacher
Grove 6
191-92

496
Standfuss, Johann C.
d. after ca. 1759
German composer and violinist
Grove 6
156

Stanislaw, August Poniatowski
b. Woliszyn, Poland, 17 Jan 1732; d. St. Petersburg, now Leningrad,
12 Feb 1798
Polish king, 1764-95
Grove 6, GB
301

Stein [Stain], Johann (Georg) Andreas
b. Heidelberg, 6 May 1728; d. Augsburg, 29 Feb 1792
German keyboard instrument maker
Grove 6
220, 269-70, 341, 342, 344

Starzer [Sterzen, Startzel], Joseph (?Franz)
b. 1726 or 1727; d. Vienna, 22 Apr 1787
Austrian composer, violinist, and administrator
Grove 6
129, 405

Steiner, Heinrich
Publisher in Winterthur
Schubart
305

Steinhardt, Johann Wilhelm Friedrich
Flutist in Weimar, 1776; formerly at Stuttgart
Gerber L, Schilling, Eitner Q
171

Steinhardt, Madame
Singer; wife of Johann Steinhardt
Schubart
171

Stöhl, Johann Georg Christian
b. Kirchberg an der Jagst, 14 Aug 1675; d. Stuttgart, 26 July 1719
German composer and organist
Grove 6
200

Strouth
London piano maker
Schubart
342
Tacet [Tacer t], Joseph
Active ca. 1756
English flute player and improver of the instrument
Gerber L, Schilling, Eitner Q
305, 380

Tacitus, Cornelius
b. ca. 56; d. 120
Roman orator, public official, and historian
EB
II4

Tartini, Giuseppe
b. Pirano, Istria, 8 Apr 1692; d. Padua, 26 Feb 1770
Italian composer, violinist, teacher, and theorist
Grove 6
65, 110, 111, 112, 188, 209, 353-54

Taube, [?Christian Friedrich]
Music critic and writer.
Schubart
286

Telemann, Georg Philipp
b. Magdeburg, 14 Mar 1681; d. Hamburg, 25 June 1767
German composer
Grove 6
200, 229-30, 231, 381, 401

Thalia
Greek muse of comedy
Smith
403

Theuth or Theut
Egyptian god, inventor of names; or figure in German folklore
116

Thuiskon [Thuisto, Thusto]
Father of Mannus, founder of Teutonic race
Tactitus Germania
114, 330

Timoleon
b. ?411 B.C.; d. 337 B.C.
Statesman and military leader; ?musician (Plutarch Lives)
80
Timoteus
b. Thebes
Flautist in service to Alexander the Great
Laborde
71, 326

Titian [Tiziano Vecellio]
b. Pieve di Cadore, Italy, 1488/90; d. Venice 27 Aug 1576
Painter of the Venetian school
Bryan
430

Toeschi, Carl Joseph
b. Ludwigsburg, baptized 11 Nov 1731; d. Munich, 12 Apr 1788
Composer and violinist
Grove 6
189-90

Tonini
fl. Early 18th century?, active in Germany
Schubart
90

Tosi, Pier Francesco
b. Cesena, ca. 1653; d. Faenza, 1732
Italian writer on music, singer, teacher, composer, and diplomat
Grove 6
107, 133

Touchemoulin, Egidius or Ludwig
b. 1759; d. 14 July 1830
Son of Joseph
Grove 6
244

Touchemoulin [Touchesmoulin, Touchmolin, Dousmoulin, Dousmolin, ?Tusmolé, ?Duschmalui], Joseph
French violinist and composer
Grove 6
243-44

Tozzi, Antonio
b. Bologna, ca. 1736; d. Bologna, after 1812
Italian composer, active in Spain; Hofkapellmeister in Munich, 1774-75
Grove 6
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<th>Name</th>
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<th>Death Details</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Additional Details</th>
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<td>Traetta [Trajetta], Tommaso (Michele Francesco Saverio)</td>
<td>b. Bitonto, nr. Bari, 30 Mar 1727; d. Venice, 6 Apr 1779</td>
<td>Italian composer</td>
<td>Grove 6</td>
<td>92, 181</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tullus Hostilius</td>
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<td>Third Roman king, 642-637 B.C.</td>
<td>EB 81</td>
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<td>Ulrich [Ulrich], Jean-Rodolphe</td>
<td>d. Zurich, 8 Feb 1795</td>
<td>Oboist, violinist, and composer for the oboe; formerly in the Duke of Württemberg's service at Stuttgart; then to Ansbach; finally to Switzerland in 1780</td>
<td>Grove 6</td>
<td>216</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ulrike [Luise Ulrike]</td>
<td>b. Berlin 24 July 1720; d. Swartsjö in Mälarsee, Sweden, 2 July 1782</td>
<td>Princess of Prussia; Queen of Sweden; sister of Frederick the Great</td>
<td>The Book of Kings</td>
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<td>Urania</td>
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<td>Veleda [Velleda, Velaeda]</td>
<td>Prophetess in German folklore</td>
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<td>Venüs [Aphrodite] Anadyomene</td>
<td>Goddess of love</td>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>162, 243</td>
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Vocika [= Woschitka (see Grove 6)], Ignaz
Double bassist in Trier; formerly at Württemberg, then Koblenz
Schubart
240-42

Vogler, Georg Joseph [Abbe Vogler]
b. Pleicharch, nr. Würzburg, 15 June 1749; d. Darmstadt, 6 May 1814
German theorist, teacher, organist, pianist, and composer
Grove 6
89, 98, 158, 184-87, 197, 225, 226, 247, 346, 348, 351, 393

Wagenseil, Georg Christoph
b. Vienna, 29 Jan 1715; d. Vienna, 1 Mar 1777
Austrian composer, keyboard player, and teacher
Grove 6
127

Wagner, Christian Ulrich
b. Ulm, 28 Dec 1722
Ulm publisher and organist
Gerber L
334

Walther [Walther], Johann Christoph
b. Weimar, 8 July 1715; d. Weimar 25 Aug 1771
Organist and second son of Johann Gottfried Walther; organist in Ulm,
ca. 1752-70; returns to Weimar, Sep 1770
Gerber L, Gerber NL, Schilling, Fétis B, Eitner Q
159, 274

Walther, Johann Gottfried
b. Erfurt, 18 Sep 1744; d. Weimar, 23 Mar 1748
German organist, composer, theorist, and lexicographer
Grove 6
158-59

Weiss, Carl
b. Muhlhausen, ca. 1738; d. London, 1795
Flautist
Gerber L, Schilling, Eitner Q, Fétis B
305

Weiss, Silvius Leopold
b. Breslau, 12 Oct 1686; d. Dresden, 16 Oct 1750
Lutenist
Grove 6
361
Wendling [née Spurni], Dorothea
b. Stuttgart, 21 March 1736; d. Munich, 20 Aug 1811
Singer
Grove 6
†196

Wendling, Elisabeth Augusta [Gust]
b. Mannheim, 4 Oct 1752; d. Munich, 18 Feb 1794
Singer
Grove 6
†196

Wendling, Johann Baptist
b. Rappoltsweiler, Alsace, 17 June 1723; d. Munich, 27 Nov 1797
Flautist and composer; appointed to the Mannheim court, 1751 or 1752
Grove 6
†195-96

Werckmeister [Werkmeister], Andreas
b. Benneckenstein, Thuringia, 30 Nov 1645; d. Halberstadt, 26 Oct 1706
German theorist, organist, organ examiner, and composer
Grove 6
†334

Werff, Adrian van der
b. Krâlingen, nr. Rotterdam, 21 Jan 1659; d. Rotterdam, 12 Nov 1722
Dutch painter
Bryan
223

Wieland, Christoph Martin
b. Oberholzheim, nr. Biberach, 5 Sep 1733; d. Weimar, 20 Jan 1813
German poet
GB
37, 161

Wilhelm V
b. The Hague, 8 Mar 1748; d. Brunswick, 9 Apr 1806
Prince of Orange-Nassau, Erbstatthalter of the Netherlands
The Book of Kings
†143

Wilhelmine Friederike Sophie
b. Berlin; 3 July 1709; d. Bayreuth, 14 Oct 1758
Sister of Frederick the Great, margravine (from 1731) of Brandenburg-Bayreuth
GB, The Book of Kings
†217
Winckelmann, Johann (Joachim)
b. Stendal, Prussia, 9 Dec 1717; d. Trieste, 8 June 1768
Archaeologist and art historian
EB 47, 85

Winter [von Winter], Peter
b. Mannheim, baptized 28 Aug 1754; d. Munich, 17 Oct 1825
German composer and violinist
Grove 6 Flinsbury, 197

Wittekind [Witzkind]
ca. 750-807, probably
Leader of the Saxons against Charlemagne
GB 147

Woeggel [Woege]
Michael
b. Rastadt, 1748 or 1749;
Trumpet player in Baden, Durlach and instrument maker
MfD 1782, 1783, 1784. Schilling, Grove 6, s.v. "Trumpet,
"Schmittbauar" 224-25, 262

Wolf, Ernst Wilhelm
b. Grossen, Behringen, baptized 25 Feb 1735; d. Weimar,
29 or 30 Nov 1792
German composer
Grove 6 171

Woodan [Wuoden, Odin, Woden, Wotan]
Teutonic god
116, 123, 329

Xaveria
Princess, wife of Prince Karl Alexander?; clavichord player at Taxis
Schubart
243

Xenophon
b. Attica, 431 B.C.; d. Attica, shortly before 350 B.C.
Greek historian
EB 52

Yorick [Yorik]
Fictional character of Laurence Sterne
245 (see especially the footnote to p. 245)
Zachariae [Zachariae], (Just) [Justus] Friedrich Wilhelm
b. Frankenhausen, Thuringia, 1 May 1726; d. Brunswick, 30 Jan 1777
German poet and editor; in Brunswick by 1748
Grove 6
212

Zahn brothers
b. Franconia; d. 1790
Bassoonists, although Schubart states that they are zinkists
Schilling, Sainsbury, Choron
373

Zarlino, Gioseffo [Gioseffe]
b. Chioggia, probably 31 Jan 1517; d. Venice, 4 Feb 1590
Italian theorist and composer
Grove 6
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Zwingli, Ulrich [Huldreich]
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