

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

GEORG PHILIPP TELEMANN (1681-1767):

HIS RELATIONSHIP TO CARL HEINRICH GRAUN AND THE BERLIN CIRCLE

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Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767):

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The history of music in Germany in the first half of the eighteenth century is best understood within the context of the social, cultural and intellectual history of the German people during this period.

The intellectual coming of age of the middle classes during the first decades of the century occurred as a result of growing confidence in the establishment of a national spoken and literary language. In a gradual progression of liberation and purification, the German language broke away from the dominant voices and cultures of its closest neighbours, leading to the crystalization of a clearly indigenous culture later in the century. Few other art forms followed this development more closely and indeed benefitted more from it than music.

At the beginning of the century German music, and German culture in general, was still very much subjected to vassalage to foreign powers. Only in its church music, however, could a small but distinctly native voice be detected. With the growth of literary confidence, in particular in devotional poetry, music received considerable creative impetus. The figure who most closely followed these linguistic and literary developments is Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767).

The object of this thesis is to place in its proper context the highly influential musical personality of Telemann, in particular through a study of his relationship to a younger generation of composers and theorists: the 'Berlin Circle'. In a detailed study of the composer's relationship to Carl Heinrich Graun (1703 or 1704-1759), the court Capellmeister at Berlin, the association between words and music, between musical and literary languages, will be discussed and, furthermore, they will be seen to be interdependent.

PREFACE

The foundations for this present study of the relationship between Georg Philipp Telemann and his contemporaries were laid in the summer of 1976. With the completion of this thesis, some twelve years later, I am now in a position to express publicly my sincere gratitude to all those people who were responsible for my receiving, at that time, the Shakespeare Scholarship of the Hamburg F.V.S. Foundation, which enabled me to study in Germany during 1976/1977. To Robert Marchant, former professor of music, and his colleagues in the Music Department of the University of Hull, to the late Philip Larkin, who had the task of choosing a "Shakespeare Scholar" and to the Stiftung F.V.S., Hamburg, for its generous scholarship, I owe unlimited respect and gratitude.

Without the support, encouragement and assistance of many friends in England, Hamburg and Berlin, the task of researching and writing this thesis would have been well nigh impossible. For their assistance with linguistical problems, both English and German, I would like to express my gratitude to Michael Aspinall, Karen Christenfeld, Andrew Lord Miller and Chris Charlesworth, as well as countless other friends and colleagues. Nevertheless, all ideas and theories expressed in this thesis are the work of the present writer, unless stated to the contrary, and he alone bears the responsibility for their accuracy.

The writer would like to express his indebtedness and gratitude to the staff of the following libraries for their constant willingness and diligence in making available their materials: the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, West Berlin, the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, East Berlin, the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna and the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Brussels.

Finally, I would like to thank my tutor, Mr. Anthony Ford, for his continual encouragement, authoritative advice and constant concern for clarity in musicological argumentation.

To all those people and institutes mentioned here, and to my dear parents for their encouraging moral support, I offer my thanks, and dedicate, with gratitude, the present thesis.

Throughout the thesis all quotations appear in the original language and are taken, whenever possible, from the original source. Translations of all quotations and titles have been provided by the present author, unless otherwise indicated. All translations of prose quotations will appear in the text, with the original provided in a footnote. In the case of poetic quotations the original will appear in the text and a prose translation (unless otherwise indicated) will appear in a footnote. In all translations the author has aimed to provide an accurate idiomatic English rendition of the original, whilst in no way feeling obliged to reproduce the



punctuation and sentence divisions of the original.

The eighteenth century spelling of such common terms as Cantor, Capellmeister, Concertmeister and Capelle has been adopted and each appears in italics. Those German nouns that have become incorporated into English language musical vocabulary, however, will not begin with a capital letter (lied, singspiel, etc.) and will not be italicized. The German spelling of smaller towns and courts (Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, for example, instead of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel) has been retained throughout the thesis, but larger cities appear in their English form.

All musical examples from Telemann's Singe-, Spiel- und Generalbaß-Übungen (Hamburg, 1733-1734) include the composer's own continuo realizations. Otherwise, only the bass and upper parts are given, as in manuscript or contemporary published sources.

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A LIST OF THE MOST COMMON ABBREVIATIONS FOUND IN THIS THESIS

A.	- Alto
autogr.	- autograph (manuscript)
B.	- Bass
B.c.	- Basso continuo
<u>BWV.</u>	- <u>Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis</u>
cf.	- ( <u>confer</u> ) compare
col/cols	- column/columns
<u>DdT.</u>	- <u>Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst</u>
<u>DTÖ.</u>	- <u>Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich</u>
ed.	- editor/edited/edition
fn.	- footnote
<u>idem.</u>	- the same author
<u>ibid.</u>	- ( <u>ibidem</u> ) in the same source
<u>infra.</u>	- below
<u>MGG.</u>	- <u>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</u>
ms.	- manuscript
no.	- number
<u>op. cit.</u>	- ( <u>opere citato</u> ) in the work cited
p/pp.	- page/pages
repr.	- reprint
S.	- Soprano
<u>s.d.</u>	- ( <u>sine dato</u> ) without date
<u>s.l.</u>	- ( <u>sine loco</u> ) without place
<u>s.n.</u>	- ( <u>sine nomine</u> ) without name
<u>supra.</u>	- above
T.	- Tenor
<u>TMW.</u>	- <u>Telemann Musikalische Werke</u>
tr.	- translator/translated/translation
vol/vols	- volume/volumes

LIBRARY SIGLA.

- A - Österreich (Austria).  
-Wn. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien (Vienna).
- B - Belgique/Belgie (Belgium).  
-Bc. Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Bruxelles (Brussels).
- D - brd - Bundesrepublik Deutschland (West Germany).  
-AU. - Staatsarchiv, Aurich.  
-B. - Staatsbibliothek (Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz), West Berlin.  
-BS. - Stadtarchiv und Stadtbibliothek, Braunschweig.  
-Gs. - Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen.  
-Hs. - Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg.  
-LÖh. - Bibliothek der Hansestadt, Lübeck.  
-Mbs. - Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München (Munich).  
-W. - Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.
- D - ddr - Deutsche Demokratische Republik (East Germany).  
-Bds. - Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, East Berlin.  
-Dl(b). - Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden.
- GB - Great Britain  
- Lbl(bm). - The British Library (Formerly British Museum).

US - United States of America.

-Wc. - Library of Congress, Washington (D.C.).

USSR - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

-TAu. - Universitetskaja biblioteka, Tartu (Dorpat).

## INTRODUCTION

During his life, Telemann remained alert to cultural developments at home and abroad: in his twenties he mastered the idioms of French and Italian orchestral music; in his thirties he took to composing sacred and secular cantatas as well as elaborately scored orchestral suites; and then, in his forties and fifties, the full extent of his versatility was to unfold in the multifarious activities of Music Director of the Five Main Churches and Cantor of the Johanneum in Hamburg - one of the richest musical centres in eighteenth century Germany. On the eve of his sixtieth birthday, the ever-alert composer began to interest himself in theoretical discussions with Johann Adolph Scheibe (1708-1776), planned a number of theoretical writings of his own and, in 1739, became a member of a 'corresponding' society centred around Lorenz Christoph Mizler (1711-1778). Scheibe, possibly more than any other writer, embodied the spirit of the new age. Telemann's influence played an important part in the formation of his musical ideas; the older composer was to remain Scheibe's most enthusiastic advocate and supporter.

Something occurred during the 'decade of theorizing', however, that attracted Telemann's attention and rekindled his interest in composition to a considerable degree, for, in his seventies and eighties, he was to compose some of the most inspired sacred and secular cantatas and oratorios of the period. It is no coincidence that the foundations of this external force of inspiration were being laid in exactly those years in which Telemann had turned to theoretical writing.

The establishment of a Prussian Capelle in 1740, on the accession of Frederick the Great, was seen as the beginning of a new

chapter in the history of music in Germany. Johann Mattheson (1681-1764), in his Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte (Foundations to a Triumphant Arch), published in Hamburg in 1740, saw the Berlin Capelle as a significant 'new light' ('In Berlin gehet itzt der Musik... eine solche Sonne auf') in the musical firmament. The leading musical figure in Berlin, Carl Heinrich Graun (1703/4-1759), had been corresponding with Telemann for the last eight years when, in 1743, he informed the Hamburg Music Director that cultural expansion was underway in the Prussian capital. During the next twenty years, Berlin was to remain in the forefront of Telemann's mind, almost directly as a result of his correspondence with C.H. Graun.

Previous contacts between Telemann and Graun had arisen out of artistic collaborations during the 1720s and 1730s between the opera establishments at Hamburg (where Telemann was Music Director) and Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (where Graun acted as Vice-Capellmeister). An opera of Telemann's, Gensericus, was heard at Braunschweig at this time, and operas by Graun, written for Braunschweig, were heard in Hamburg. In 1727, furthermore, both composers set the same libretto to music within the space of a few months. In later years, Graun became an important intermediary in Telemann's dealings with the musicians and writers of the Berlin circle.

It is in one particular field of musical composition that we can best study the mutual influence of Telemann and the Berlin circle: in the activities of the First Berlin Lieder School, in which Telemann was to hold an honorary position. The years 1737-1741 brought new refinement to lieder collections in Germany and, besides the theoretical expostulations of Mattheson, Gottsched, Scheibe and



Mizler, it was Telemann's lieder that provided some of the finest examples of the genre. One of the founders of the First Berlin Lieder School, Christian Gottfried Krause (1719-1770), was fully conscious of this fact; his book Von der musicalischen Poesie (On Musical Poetry) (Berlin, 1752) was clearly written under the inspiration of Telemann's vocal music; and the Oden mit Melodien (Berlin, 1753), the first corporate collection of lieder by Berlin composers - co-editor of which was Krause - is noteworthy for containing two lieder by Telemann.

The years preceding the publication of Krause's book are indeed marked by an intensification of Telemann's relationship with the musicians of the Berlin circle. This is documented in the Hamburg composer's correspondence with Johann Friedrich Agricola (1720-1774), Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714-1788), Franz Benda (1709-1786), Christoph Nichelmann (1717-1762), Johann Joachim Quantz (1697-1773) and, most extensively, with C.H. Graun. During the 1750s, Telemann became the Hamburg agent for the distribution of the theoretical writings of Agricola, Bach, Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718-1795) and, possibly, also Quantz. Through his associations with these musicians, it is possible to detect a rejuvenation in Telemann's work in the first half of this decade and, because of his own strong influence on the activities of these musicians, it is possible to speak of a period of rejuvenation as well as of reciprocal influence occurring at this time.

In addition to the musical figures in Berlin, Telemann was particularly inspired by the writings of the poet Carl Wilhelm Ramler (1725-1798) in his last years. In his lieder collections, Telemann had shown that he was acutely aware of literary developments in Germany, and chose the most recent poems of the day to set to music.

It is not clear who had alerted Telemann to the poetry of Ramler, but the composer's associations with Berlin at this time were too close for him not to be informed of Ramler's writings. *After he set* Ramler's Passion text Der Tod Jesu in 1755, a new period opened up in Telemann's compositional activity: it was his Indian summer, in which he wrote a series of large-scale vocal works, five of which set texts by Ramler.

The relationship between words and music has often been of prime importance in periods when changes and developments in literature were at their most intensive; the 1750s were such a time. The spirit of the Aufklärung took possession of writers, philosophers, theologians and composers throughout Germany. In 1748, Gottsched published a definitive grammar of the German language, Klopstock issued the first cantos in his epic Der Messias, Krause had begun work on an authoritative study on the relationship between words and music, and Telemann and Graun were already involved in a heated correspondence about setting words to music.

Telemann and Graun's deliberations on the composer's role as clothier of words in music is indeed a sign of the times. Not only were they concerned with how best to bring out the poem's scansion and syntax in music, but - and this was probably the crux of the matter - they wished to establish which 'musical' language was most appropriate for this purpose. They were concerned with the kinds of recitation in music: they discussed the merits of recitatives of both Italian and French provenance, not always without prejudice.

Some of the best examples of their own quite distinctive styles of word-setting can be found in their settings of Ramler's Der Tod Jesu. Their respective compositional activities in the service of

Ramler's text - one of the finest devotional poems of the Aufklärung - presents us with vivid tokens of their collective interests and aspirations: two generations and two musical personalities seem to come together in 1755 in the search for the clearest expression of words in music. What follows is a study of the relationship between these two composers, and of the mutual inspiration that was channelled between Telemann and the Berlin circle during the Aufklärung.

RECIPROCAL INFLUENCES

AND

REJUVENATION

### Telemann and the Lied

Telemann's interest in the lied, as well as his concern for the widest circulation of printed music, provides the best angle from which to study his relationship to the composers, musicians, poets and theorists of the Berlin circle. This study also throws light on the nature of social, economic and intellectual developments which paved the path for the composer in the age of Enlightenment.

The enthusiastic support of the North German Bürger for public performances of vocal and instrumental music during the first half of the eighteenth century was one of a number of important factors in his struggle for social independence and intellectual freedom. This keenness to hear music was accompanied by an active desire to obtain printed copies of music in order to sing and perform oneself. The first decades of the century saw the steady growth of an activity in music publishing which made available collections of vocal and instrumental pieces for the use both of professional and amateur musicians. A further important step in the struggle for intellectual emancipation was made through the widespread circulation of musical journals and theoretical writings. Even if the authors and publishers had initially been motivated by economic considerations alone, the enthusiastic reception that these publications received from the public is proof enough of the necessity and intellectual value of such publications. In all of these matters, Hamburg was immensely productive and for quite some time held a leading position

as a centre of enlightened thought and practice.<sup>1</sup>

A clear indication of this development can be seen in the numerous collections of selected opera arias which appeared in print shortly after the first public performances had taken place.<sup>2</sup> The demands made upon the singer in these collections were, however, somewhat beyond the capabilities of most amateurs.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, material for amateur singers had to be provided in another more suitable form: the lied.

Although Germany had experienced a relatively productive phase of lied composition during the seventeenth century (particularly during and immediately following the Thirty Years War), the form virtually ceased to exist in the first decades of the eighteenth century under the pressure of the immense popularity of German opera

1. See E. Rebling: Die soziologischen Grundlagen der Stilwandlung der Musik in Deutschland um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts (Saalfeld/Ostpr., 1935) for a detailed study of social and artistic developments in Germany in the first half of the eighteenth century.
2. See W. Schulze: Die Quellen der Hamburger Oper (1678-1738) (Hamburg, Oldenburg, 1938), 103-132. Schulze located twelve printed and numerous manuscript collections of arias. These extend back to the early years of public opera performances in Hamburg and include collections from J.W. Franck's Aeneas (published in 1680), J.S. Kusser's Erindo (pub. in 1695), A. Steffani's Roland (pub. in 1699), Keiser's Almira and Octavia (pub. in 1708), Mattheson's Henrico (pub. in 1711) and Telemann's Adelheid (pub. in 1727).
3. Reinhard Keiser's collection of Erlesene Sätze, Aus der Opera L'Inganno Fedele, [first produced at Hamburg in 1714] Bestehend in Sing-Sachen, Für verschiedene Stimmen mit und ohne Instrumente, nebst einer italienischen Cantata, Mit dem Accompagnement der Flute traversiere (Hamburg, 1714), copies of which are preserved in D - ddr - Bds and Gb - Lbm, contains a number of very elaborate coloratura arias that would today prove testing even for professional opera singers. The Erlesene Sätze has been included as an appendix to R. Keiser: Der hochmütige, gestürzter und wieder erhabene Croesus. Ed. M. Schneider, DdT, 37-38. (New edition: Wiesbaden and Graz, 1958), 225-274.

and Italian secular cantatas. What better way then could there be to encourage, on the one hand, the growing confidence of the middle classes and, on the other, domestic music making, than through the form of the lied? Stimulated by the needs of the middle classes, the German lied was, in the third decade of the eighteenth century, reborn.

One of the most important and influential figures in the new period of lied composition was Telemann.<sup>1</sup> His own collections of lieder encouraged other composers to experiment with the form, and provided them with excellent examples of word-setting in pieces of relatively small proportions. When Christian Gottfried Krause (1719-1770), founder of the First Berlin Lieder School, wrote his book on the nature of setting words to music, Von der musicalischen Poesie (On Musical Poetry) (Berlin, 1752),<sup>2</sup> he most certainly knew Telemann's lieder and may have regarded them as the best examples of word-setting available at that time. The work of the First Berlin Lieder School began a phase of lied production which set the highest standards for composers of lieder in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Telemann's strong determination to provide the music enthusiast of his day with adequate performing material had brought forth a formidable batch of publications from him since the appearance of

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1. See the excellent study of Telemann's lieder by K. Zauft: Telemanns Liedschaffen und seine Bedeutung für die Entwicklung des deutschen Liedes in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts (Magdeburg, 1967).
  2. An English translation of Krause's book is provided in : J.H. Mallard: A Translation of Christian Gottfried Krause's 'Von der musikalischen Poesie', with a Critical Essay on his Sources and the Aesthetic Views of his Time (Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1978).

his first instrumental collection in 1715.<sup>1</sup> Of the first dozen publications, however, only four contain vocal music, in the form of short sacred cantatas, cantata arias, operatic arias and an intermezzo.<sup>2</sup> It was in the next publication, the music journal Der getreue Music-Meister (The Faithful Music-Master) (Hamburg, 1728 & 1729), that Telemann incorporated lied compositions in his publications for the first time. The two lieder in question, however, differ very little from the popular folk-like arias which were given to simple comic characters in Telemann's operas of this period;<sup>3</sup> the difference lies neither in the text nor in the vocal writing, but only in the accompaniments from which introductory and intermediary ritornelli are conspicuously absent. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that in this fortnightly subscription publication, besides providing examples of the most varied instrumental forms, Telemann also saw the necessity to satisfy the public's taste for miniature vocal pieces that do not exceed the capabilities of amateur singers.

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1. This collection was the Six Sonates à Violon seul, accompagné par le Clavessin (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1715); ed. J. Baum, in Moeck's Kammermusik nos. 101-103 (Celle, 1948) as Sechs Sonaten für Violine und B.c.
  2. These are Harmonischer Gottesdienst (Hamburg, 1725 and 1726), arias from the cantata cycle of 1727 (Hamburg, 1727), Lustige Arien aus der Opera Adelheid (Hamburg, 1727 or 1728), and the intermezzo Pimpinone (Hamburg, 1728).
  3. The opera Emma und Eginhard (Hamburg, 1728) contains numerous examples of this style, in particular the arias of the two comic characters Urban and Barbara. The only extant source of this opera is a transcription, made early this century, of the Hamburg copyist's manuscript which was then destroyed during the bombing of Hamburg in the Second World War. This transcription is preserved in Us - Wc, Mus.ms. m 1500 T23E5.



Before further considering Telemann's lied production in chronological order, mention may be made of a collection of lieder discovered some years ago by Adolf Hoffmann<sup>1</sup> which originate from Telemann's student period at Hildesheim and constitute the earliest examples that we possess of his work. This is a collection of thirty-six lieder texts, entitled Singende Geographie (Singing Geography) (Hildesheim, 1708), by the Rector of the Andreanum Gymnasium in Hildesheim, Johann Christoph Losius. Although no mention is made of Telemann on the only preserved manuscript copy of these lieder that actually contains the musical settings or, indeed, in any contemporary discussions of Losius's book, it has been possible to attribute these to Telemann on account of remarks concerning his student years at the Andreanum in the autobiography of 1740.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, all of these lieder betray characteristics of Telemann's later style and particularly of the lieder of the Singe-, Spiel- und Generalbaß-Übungen (Hamburg, 1733-1734). Most noticeable in these early lieder is the conciseness of form corresponding to the demands of the text, the instinctive feeling for melodic contour in accordance with the desire for simplicity and singability, clear harmonic progressions avoiding static tonal

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1. See A. Hoffmann (ed.): G.Ph. Telemann: Singende Geographie (Hildesheim, 1708. New edition: Wolfenbüttel, 1960).

2. See J. Mattheson: Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte ..., 357: 'Herr Losius was in the habit of writing one or two verse-plays each year and performing them so that the recitatives were spoken but the arias sung; and for these I had to compose the music...' ('Der Hr. Loßius pflegte jährlich ein oder zwey Schauspiele poetisch zu verfassen und aufzuführen, also, daß die Recitative geredet, die Arien aber gesungen wurden; und zu diesen musste ich die Musik setzen ...')

structures and some interest in word-painting, though generally more concerned about achieving a musical expression of the overall mood or atmosphere of the text. In this early collection the texts, mere aids in learning geographical facts, were certainly not works of any literary importance. Nevertheless, Telemann has succeeded in writing a collection of lively vocal miniatures which must have contributed to making geography lessons at the Andreanum considerably more enjoyable.

Telemann's next collection, the Singe-, Spiel- und Generalbaß-Übungen, also served an educational purpose: providing examples of how to play from a figured bass. Although his essential aim with this collection was to instruct, there is no reason whatsoever why the four dozen pieces<sup>1</sup> should not also be regarded as a collection for the use of singers. This is a characteristic that we find in all of Telemann's publications, typical of a person whose earliest musical training was of an autodidactic nature; the desire to educate and the desire to please and amuse are of equal importance. The literary quality of this collection is considerably higher than that of the Singende Geographie, the texts having been selected

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1. This collection contains a variety of vocal forms, providing examples of thorough-bass practice not only in lieder but also in da capo arias, recitatives and ariosi. The majority of the pieces, however, are in binary form and have a strong lied character: short, concise pieces in which the vocal writing is characterized by smooth movement by step, a tessitura that does not exceed a ninth, very rare use of melismas, short phrases, simple harmonic progressions and no independent instrumental accompaniment.

Lorenz Christoph Mizler, in his Musikalische Bibliothek vol. 2, part 1 (Leipzig, 1740), 14, insists: 'all beginners should have this work' ('daß billig alle Anfänger dieses Werk in Händen haben sollten').

from the work of the best poets of Telemann's day,

Telemann's fine literary sense kept him constantly in search of texts of superior quality. He was always looking to those writers who showed progressive tendencies in their work, writers who in turn influenced Telemann in his fight against mediocrity and conservatism in music. His collection of 1733-1734, the Singe-, Spiel- und Generalbaß-Übungen, is a clear reflection of literary standards of the day and is notable for its inclusion of poetic texts by Barthold Heinrich Brockes.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Brockes (1680-1747) was co-founder, together with Johann Albert Fabricius (1669-1736), Michael Richey (1678-1761) and Johann Ulrich von König (1688-1744), of a Teutsch-übende Gesellschaft (German-practising Society), in Hamburg in 1715. The aim of this society was to encourage the writing and reading of German literature. All four men were noted for their natural literary styles, uncluttered with foreign words and rhetorical bombast. Brockes, however, was by far the most talented and most influential poet of his generation. His Passion text Der für die Sünden der Welt gemarterte und sterbende Jesus (Jesus, martyred and dying for the sins of the world), published in Hamburg in 1712, attained considerable popularity as a devotional poem, exceeding thirty editions between 1712 and 1722 (see K.J. Snyder: 'B.H. Brockes', New Grove 3 (1980), 326), and was set to music by Keiser (1712), Telemann (1716), Handel (c.1716), Mattheson (1718), Stölzel (1720), Fasch (1723) and J.S. Bach (who incorporated a number of verses of the text in his St. John Passion of 1724), as well as many minor composers.

In his nine-volume masterpiece Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott (Earthy Joy in God) (Hamburg, 1721-1748), a continuous hymn of praise to God and Nature, Brockes created, in vividly pictorial descriptions, an Arcadian world of shepherds and shepherdesses north of the river Elbe. What made his texts so attractive to composers was the combination of a strong feeling for the dramatic situation and the musicality of his verse style.

Three texts by Brockes are to be found in Telemann's Singe-, Spiel- und Generalbaß-Übungen: the text of Die Frau (No.12) appeared in the third edition of Herrn B.H. Brockes...verteutschter Bethlehemitischer Kinder Mord des Ritters Marino, nebst des Hrn. Übersetzers eigenen Wercken (Hamburg, 1727); that of Sommer-Lust (No.32) in the fifth (1736) and sixth (1739) volumes of the Irdisches Vergnügen; whilst that of Falschheit (No.26) has not been located in the published works of Brockes.

The rich variety of texts in this collection encouraged Telemann to match this with suitable variety in the musical setting. Lieder in binary form alternate with short arias either in ternary (i.e. da capo) or binary form. The subjects of the texts range from tranquil contemplations of nature to witty satirical comments on contemporary habits and morals; the poets include the epigrammatic Richey, the witty Daniel Stoppe (1697-1747), the epicurean Hagedorn and the pastoral Brockes.

In matters of musical expression, the collection is a model of its time. Each lied has a distinctive character and atmosphere of its own dictated by the content of the text. The finest examples of Telemann's lied style are to be found in the lilting polonaise rhythm of Sanfter Schlaf (Gentle Sleep) (No.25):

Soll man sonder An-stoß ru-hen, wenn der Blick des Ta-ges flieht,

\* All musical examples from Telemann's Singe-, Spiel- und Generalbaß-Übungen are quoted together with the composer's own continuo realizations.

the alternation of triple and duple metres in the gentle depiction of the fickleness of Freundschaft (Friendship) (No. 42):

Die Freundschaft dieser Welt ist unbeständiger, als das Geld, das heute steigt und morgen fällt.

the sedate chorale-like melody above an uninterrupted walking bass in Mäßigkeit (Moderation) (No. 36):

Es ist die Mäßigkeit die Mutter aller Tugend,

the drone bass in Brockes's pastoral Sommer-Lust (Summer Joy) (No. 32):

Auf den bunt beblühten Fel-dern, in den schattenreichen Wäl-dern

and the finely pointed patter declamation in Richey's witty epigram Sein Diener (His Servant) (No. 17):

Sein Diener! ey das lautet fein, wann heutzeit age groß und klein von un-ge-felkt zusammen rennen, und

An examination of the arias would reveal similar examples of apt musical setting and fine awareness of the atmosphere of each text.

### The Lied in 18th Century Germany

In the years following the publication of the Singe-, Spiel- und Generalbaß-Übungen, the lied became extremely popular with the culture loving middle classes. Although Telemann's endeavours to cultivate wide interest in musical collections for use at home was an important stimulus, this enormous upsurge of public interest in the lied was mostly due to the work of Valentin Rathgeber (1682-1750) and Johann Sigismund Scholze (1705-1750). Neither of these men, nor for that matter Telemann, had used the word 'lied' in the titles of their collections, thus avoiding any association with the musical taste of the lower classes and entertainment in disreputable places. Furthermore, neither Scholze nor Rathgeber were willing to openly admit authorship of their collections; Scholze adopted the pseudonym 'Sperontes' and Valentin Rathgeber only hinted at his identity by concealing his initials in the sentence:

Von einem Recht gutmeinenden Liebhaber.<sup>1</sup>

In 1733 Rathgeber published his Ohrenvergnügendes und Gemüth-ergötzendes Tafelkonfekt (Table Confectionery for the Entertainment

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1. 'By a genuinely well meaning amateur.' See M. Friedlaender: Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert, vol. 1 (Berlin and Stuttgart, 1902; repr. Hildesheim, 1962), 70 for a discussion of Rathgeber's hidden identity.

of the Ear and the Delight of the Soul)<sup>1</sup> in the Bavarian town of Augsburg. The Tafelkonfekt contains strophic dance-songs and drinking-songs for one to four voices (some of which bear the title 'Quodlibet'), often with obligato instrumental parts provided. The texts are of a popular style, many of which are coloured by Bavarian dialect. The quality of the individual pieces varies quite considerably, from some that are rather monotonous and musically uninteresting to works of true melodic distinction. Rathgeber's Tafelkonfekt earns its place in the history of the German lied as a rare example, in the eighteenth century, of a collection of popular regional melodies and texts.

Sperontes's Singende Muse an der Pleiße (The Muse Singing on the Banks of the Pleiße)<sup>2</sup> appeared in Leipzig in 1736, heralding a phase of enthusiastic involvement with the lied in north German centres. The collection comprises instrumental pieces that have been adapted for voice; German texts by Sperontes, Christian Günther (1695-1723) and others have been added to instrumental dance melodies, mostly minuets, polonaises and gavottes, generally of French origin. As one can imagine with such a venture, the marriage of text and music is an unhappy one and the literary quality of the collection is not very inspired; from our point of view, therefore, it does

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1. Modern edition in Das Erbe Deutscher Musik vol. 19, ed. H.J. Moser (Mainz, 1969). This publication contains all three volumes of Rathgeber's Tafelkonfekt.
  2. Modern edition in DdT vols. 35 and 36, ed. E. Buhle (Wiesbaden and Graz, 1958). ATT four volumes of the Singende Muse appear in this publication.

not represent a true lieder collection, in which the words should be wedded to the music. As a collection of songs for the amusement of singers and accompanists, however, despite the fact that many of the pieces are decidedly unvocal, it nevertheless enjoyed enormous popularity during the eighteenth century: volume one was reprinted four times (in 1740, 1741, 1747 and 1751) and further volumes were issued in 1742, 1743 and 1745. The contents of all four volumes constitute some 250 songs. Rathgeber's collection never attained such popularity, though it too was extended by a further two volumes (in 1737 and 1746). It was on account of the popularity of these two collections that the German amateur musician's appetite for lieder soon became insatiable.

In the same year that Sperontes issued the first volume of his Singende Muse a collection of lieder was compiled in nearby Halle under the editorship of Johann Friedrich Gräfe (1711-1787) which aimed at raising literary and musical standards in lied production. In the preface to the first volume of the Sammlung verschiedener erlesener Oden (Collection of Varied and Exquisite Odes),<sup>1</sup> dated

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1. The word 'Ode' has precisely the same meaning as 'lied' and both were interchangeable. 'By the words 'lied' or 'ode', the use of which I vary, according to which of these first comes to mind, I understand the same as the Frenchman understands by the word 'chanson', whether one is singing of wine or love, or any other sacred, moral or secular object.' ('Ich verstehe unter den Wörtern Lied oder Ode, die ich vermischet gebrauche, nachdem mir eines eher als das andere einfällt, was die Franzosen unter chanson verstehen, es mag der Wein, oder die Liebe, oder sonst ein anderer geistlicher, moralischer oder weltlicher Gegenstand darinnen besungen werden.' See F. W. Marpurg: Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst vol. 1, third letter (Berlin, 1760), 21).



Halle 1736, but first published the following year, Gräfe clearly places his collection in competition with that of Sperontes. As regards the texts of his Oden, Gräfe states that he has selected verses:

To which, on my request, some of the best virtuosi have composed melodies.<sup>1</sup>

Further emphasizing his opposition to Sperontes's method, Gräfe mentions at the end of his preface that:

the music which appears above the odes is completely new and actually made to fit the poetry.<sup>2</sup>

Public response to Gräfe's collection seems to have been quite enthusiastic; it was twice reprinted (in 1740 and 1743) and was followed by a further three volumes, in 1740, 1741 and 1743.

An interesting feature of these collections is the inclusion of the work of five different composers, two of whom were to become leading figures of the Berlin Lieder School. The compositions of Gräfe (55 Lieder) and Conrad Friedrich Hurlebusch (c.1696-1765) (72 Lieder) constitute the lion's share of the settings but such distinguished composers as Carl Heinrich Graun (8) and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (3) and the Italian Giovannini (7) are also represented.

1. '... zu welchen einige berühmte Virtuosen auf mein Ersuchen die Melodeyen gesetzt'. See M. Friedlaender: op. cit., vol. 1, p. 88.
2. '... die Music, welche über den Oden steht, ist ganz neu, und eigentlich zu der Poesie verfertiget'. See ibid. In Sperontes's collections the music appeared in the top half of the page (without text) and the complete text appeared below this in the bottom half of the page. Gräfe emphasizes that in his Lieder the texts (of the first verse only) appears directly under the vocal system.

The aim of these collections, to unite music and poetry in true harmony, falls somewhat short of the mark through the rather variable quality of the music and its often stubborn reproduction of the decorative and distracting features of rococo instrumental melody. This excessive leaning towards the galant style, with its frivolities and graces, stands in the way of direct expression. Perhaps the only composer who provides a setting of artistic substance is the altogether more serious-minded C.Ph.E. Bach. Bach's innocent pastoral lied Eilt, ihr Schäfer (Hurry, ye Shepherds), in volume three (Halle, 1741), his first published lied composition, distinguishes itself through melodic simplicity and straightforward harmonic maturity that ideally suit the pastoral atmosphere of the text:

Pastorella

Eilt, ihr Schäfer, aus den Gründen, eilt zu mei-nem Thy-ris hin

Graun's lieder are likewise characterized by a more refined, that is, less ornamental, musical language. He does in fact come quite close to a heartfelt expression of words in music in the Abschieds-Ode an Phyllis (Farewell Ode to Phyllis), also in volume three. Despite its major tonality this lied, very much in the style of contemporary French chansons, creates an atmosphere of sorrow and resignation through the slow sarabande rhythm, and the placing of sighing appoggiaturas at the beginning of each bar:

Gemessen  
[Grave]

End-lich muß ich mich ent-schlies-sen, dich das Letz-te mal zu küs-sen, weil wir

doch, ge-lieb-tes Kind, mor-gen schon ge-schie-den sind. Heu-te

Hurlebusch, Gräfe and Giovannini contributed settings of variable quality, though generally maintaining an uninspired, highly ornamental rococo melodic style. Nevertheless, we must appreciate the fact that these volumes of lieder exerted considerable influence on the further raising of artistic standards in lied production in northern Germany.

### Contemporary Critical Reactions

The fifth decade of the eighteenth century was a period of enormous activity in the field of lied production. The first years of this decade are crammed full of reprints and continuation volumes of Sperontes's, Gräfe's and Rathgeber's collections and new publications from Mizler, Telemann and Valentin Görner (1702-1762).<sup>1</sup>

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1. See APPENDIX II of this study for a list of lieder collections published in Germany between 1733 and 1767.

Moreover, it is significant that as this growth of interest of composers and subscribers spread, music theorists began to investigate the development, and set about preparing definitions of the true nature of the genre.

The keen eye of Johann Adolph Scheibe (1708-1776) had followed developments with particular interest, and in the sixty-fourth issue of his music journal Der critische Musicus (Critical Musician) (Hamburg, 1737-1740)<sup>1</sup> he published a detailed appreciation of the lied. The bulk of Scheibe's argument strongly betrays the influence of the reformist literary critic Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700-1766) who had discussed the nature of lieder and their demands on composers in his Versuch einer kritischen Dichtkunst vor die Deutschen (Essay on a German Critical Poetic Theory) (Leipzig, 1730). Indeed, every issue of Scheibe's Der critische Musicus is imbued with the spirit of reform encountered in the writings of Gottsched.

Not only Scheibe but also Lorenz Mizler and Johann Mattheson had directed their attention towards the lied in their writings of this period. In his comprehensive book on musical practices of his day, Der vollkommene Capellmeister (The Perfect Capellmeister)

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1. Scheibe's Der critische Musicus first appeared in fortnightly instalments (26 issues: from 5 March 1737 until 18 February 1738) and, following a pause of a year, it resumed publication as a weekly (52 issues: from 3 March 1739 until 23 February 1740). In 1745 Scheibe published these 78 instalments together in an extended and improved edition, supplemented by various highly informative essays (e.g. on recitative, on the current style in music, etc.). The sixty-fourth issue appeared on Tuesday 17 November 1739. In the extended and improved edition of 1745 a number of detailed footnotes were added, in which Scheibe discussed and criticized the lieder of Sperontes, Gräfe, Mizler and others; Telemann alone was praised for his lieder.

(Hamburg, 1739), Mattheson only briefly mentions the lied, expressing his dissatisfaction with the setting of various verses to the same melody.<sup>1</sup> This is a sentiment which also recurs in the writings of Scheibe and Mizler.<sup>2</sup> In the interest of loyalty to the poet, these theorists questioned the practice of setting the entire lied, with its many verses, to the same melody throughout.

Mizler published his ideas on lied composition in the form of a detailed commentary to passages from Gottsched's Versuch einer kritischen Dichtkunst, relevant to the lied, which he presented in the Musikalische Bibliothek (Musical Library) (Volume 1, Part 5, Leipzig, 1738).<sup>3</sup> He came to the conclusion, repeated by Scheibe a year later in his Der critische Musicus,<sup>4</sup> that the composer must constantly aim to match his style to that of the poet:

a composer should endeavour, in vocal pieces, to arouse the passions that the poet has expressed in words by varying the sounds.<sup>5</sup>

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1. See J. Mattheson: Der vollkommene Capellmeister (Hamburg, 1739), in the English translation by E.C. Harriss (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1981), 431. Mattheson's only collection of lieder, the Odeon Morale, jucundum et vitale, appeared in Nürnberg in 1751 when he was seventy years of age and well past his best.
  2. Mizler, an 'amateur' composer, extremely erudite in musical theory, the sciences and philosophy, founded in Leipzig in 1738 the Korrespondierende Societät der musicalischen Wissenschaften. On Mizler and his society, see Chapter 7 of this study.
  3. See L.Chr. Mizler: Musikalische Bibliothek vol. 1, part 5 (Leipzig, 1738), 1-31.
  4. See J.A. Scheibe: Der critische Musicus (Leipzig, 1745), 587. The original article appeared on 17 November 1739.
  5. 'Ein Componist, soll in Singstücken die Leidenschaften, die der Dichter mit Worten ausgedrucket, durch die Vermischung der Tone zu erwecken sich bemühen.' See L.Chr. Mizler: op.cit., 2.

Scheibe and Mizler were very much in agreement on the qualities of good lieder and the short list that follows combines their principal ideas on lied composition:

1. Should one melody be used for a number of verses, then this must correspond to the general atmosphere of the text and not merely to that of the first verse;
2. One must avoid placing extra emphasis in the music on particular words and phrases in the first verse which will generally prove irrelevant in other verses;
3. If the mood of the text varies greatly from verse to verse then the composer must follow the poet and change the music accordingly;
4. Modulation to distant keys, and also dissonances, must be kept to an absolute minimum; and
5. A comfortable vocal tessitura is essential in all types of lied, with neither extreme high nor low notes.

Despite Mizler's clear observation of the character of good lieder, his own publication of the Sammlung auserlesener moralischer Oden (Collection of Exquisite Moral Odes) (Leipzig, 1740) proved how incapable he was of putting these ideas into practice. Scheibe wrote to his friend and mentor, Johann Christoph Gottsched:

Mizler's Odes are so bad that even the printer is disgraced, particularly nowadays, by letting such a pitiful scrawl be printed, in which no rules at all are respected...I write this by no means out of enmity, but what I have just reported is the general verdict of Herr Telemann and other musical experts.<sup>1</sup>

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1. '...Mizlers Oden. Diese sind so schlecht, daß es dem Drucker schon eine Schande ist, zumal zu jetzigen Zeiten, ein so elendes Geschmiere gedruckt zu sehen, in welchem nicht die geringsten Regeln beobachtet sind...Ich schreibe dieses keineswegs aus Haß, sondern was ich annetzo gemeldet habe, ist der allgemeine Ausspruch des H. Telemanns und anderer Musikverständigen.' See Scheibe's letter to Gottsched, 21 August 1741, reproduced in F. Wöhlke: Lorenz Christoph Mizler, Ein Beitrag zur musicalischen Gelehrten-geschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts (Würzburg-Aumühle, 1940), 75.

This 'general verdict' is more clearly expressed by Telemann in his ironical comments on the contemporary interest in lied composition, to be found in the preface to his own lieder collection of 1741:

Regarding the melodies I confess my weakness in that I have not nearly attained the affected bathos or art of writing humbly; and I view various masterpieces in this style by some colleagues not without a certain jealousy. For there I discover that they have picked their manner of writing airs out of the sacred mire of Greece and constructed it by means of compass and ruler, following the sects of philosophers and according to the principles of star-gazers and palmists. On the other hand, the pedantry of bar accentuation, accidentals, the jostling together of melodic and harmonic sounds and notes, the prohibition of consecutive octaves and fifths, in addition to other tyrannical impositions; in short, the rubbish of the new heretical rules, even if Mattheson or a Mizler had not made them, they have trampled bravely underfoot, and therefore are all the more capable of approaching the abyss of deep composition.<sup>1</sup>

Scheibe summed up the responses to Mizler's lieder in the revised version of his Der critische Musicus (Hamburg, 1745).<sup>2</sup> He felt that the

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1. 'Die Melodien (anderseits) betreffend, so bekenne ich meine Schwäche, daß ich den gesuchten Bathos, oder die Kunst niedrig zu schreiben, noch lange nicht erreicht habe; und ich sehe verschiedene Meisterstücke einiger Mitarbeiter in dieser Schreibahrt nicht ohne Eifersucht an. Denn daselbst entdeckte ich, daß sie ihre Gesangsweisen aus dem heiligen Moder Griechenlands hervor geklaubet, sie nach Cirkel und Maßstabe, nach den Secten der Weltweisen, nach den Grundsätzen der Sternkucker und Handbeseher, eingerichtet, hingegen die Schulfüchserey des Tactgewichtes, der Unterscheidungszeichen, der aneinander stoßenden melodischen und harmonischen Klänge und Töne, das Verbot zweier Octaven und Quinten, nebst andern tyrannischen Aufbürdungen, kurz: den Plunder der neuen Ketzerregeln, hätte sie auch ein Mattheson oder Mizler gegeben, beherzt unter die Füße getreten haben, und daher um so viel geschickter sind, sich dem Abgrunde des tiefen Componirens zu nähern.' See the preface to G.Ph. Telemann: Vier und zwanzig, theils ernsthafte, theils scherzende Oden, mit Teichten und fast für alle Häuse bequehmen Melodien versehen (Hamburg, 1741), reproduced in DdT, 57 (Wiesbaden-Graz, 1959), 3 and G.Ph. Telemann: Singen ist das Fundament zur Music in allen Dingen (Leipzig, 1981), 219.

2. See J.A. Scheibe: op.cit., 592.



main point of criticism was the poor quality of the word-setting: a lack of co-ordination between text and music, a disregard for musical and literary accentuation, bad harmonic progressions, a far too large and unvocal tessitura, and 'ugly' (häßliche) melodies:

in a nutshell, Mizler's ode collection contains everything that one can call unnatural in music.<sup>1</sup>

A comparison of Mizler's setting of Johann Christian Günther's ode Von der Selbst-Zufriedenheit (On Self Satisfaction) with Telemann's setting of the same text in his Singe-, Spiel- und Generalbaß-Übungen will demonstrate that Scheibe's criticisms, although somewhat caustic, are not totally unfounded. In Telemann's setting, a fine atmosphere of untroubled complacency is created through the sure-footed tread of the bass part, the clear-cut self assurance of the two-bar phrase structures and the pompous demonstrations of over-confidence in the regular pauses for reflection. The vocal tessitura oversteps an octave by only a semi-tone, and nowhere is the voice required to manoeuvre complicated intervallic hurdles. All modulations occur naturally, without any forced twists and dissonances are kept to an absolute minimum:

Telemann - Singe-, Spiel- und Generalbaß-Übungen: No. 19



we-der Staat noch Geld: weil ein je-der stünd-lich sieht, daß, wer heu-te trägt und blüht, morgen oft am Ru-der zieht.

Mizler's vocal writing is decidedly unidiomatic. The tessitura encompasses a major tenth, including a painful spotlighting of the upper half of this for most of the second part of the lied. Since both sections are to be repeated, the singer must grapple with three extremely difficult intervallic leaps of a major ninth, a diminished octave and a minor seventh. The modulation to the relative major tonality is very sudden and extremely awkward, emphasizing a wide intervallic leap in the voice: a harsh juxtaposition of the dominant harmony of the main tonality with the tonic of the new tonality, in which there the third of the chord and here the fifth are separated by a diminished octave. In the second half of the lied, Mizler's rhythmic figures lack variety, each phrase ending with the same rhythmic pattern:

Mizler: Sammlung auserlesener moralischer Oden: vol. 1, No. 9

In der Ruh ver-gnü-g-ter sin-nen steckt das höch-ste Gut der Welt;  
und dies Klein-od zu ge-win-nen, braucht man we-der staat noch Geld:

weil ein je-der stünd-lich sieht, daß, wer heu-te

trotzt und blüht, mor-gen oft am Ru-der zieht.

Whilst neither Telemann nor Mizler have placed any emphasis on particular words, only the former has attained a telling representation of the text's character in music.

Scheibe, moreover, had very little praise for another collection that had recently appeared, Gräfe's Sammlung verschiedener und aus-erlesener Oden. In the lieder of this collection, Scheibe detected a lack of fine melodies, a certain artificial vocal style, unsuitability of the melodies for all 'throats or voices' ('Hälsa oder Stimmen') and a lack of correspondence between the melodies and texts. The supreme master in this genre, Scheibe continues, is undoubtedly Telemann, whose melodies are extremely comfortable to sing, are simple, natural and unforced, and display a clear reflection of the content of the text.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See J.A. Scheibe: op.cit., 588-589.

When reading Scheibe's writings we must always bear in mind that after he had moved to Hamburg in 1736 he became a close and very loyal friend of Telemann. One can easily picture the two men immersed in enthusiastic discussions of current musical trends and developments.<sup>1</sup> Thus, Scheibe's writings may be regarded, to a certain extent, as records of these discussions with Telemann. Indeed, in the preface to his 1741 collection of lieder, Telemann states that Scheibe had been at his home recently and that they had discussed the current popularity of the lied, as a result of which he would like to dedicate his collection of lieder to Scheibe.<sup>2</sup>

### Telemann's 1741 Collection

In the preface to his Vier und zwanzig, theils ernsthafte, theils scherzende, Oden, mit leichten und fast für alle Häse bequehmen Melodien versehen (Four and Twenty Serious and Comic Odes Set to Easy Melodies, Suitable for Nearly all Throats) (Hamburg, 1741)<sup>3</sup> Telemann mounts a brilliantly witty attack upon the melodic simplicity and poor word-setting of recent collections of lieder, particularly those of Sperontes and Mizler. He speaks out in favour of pure melody devoid of the 'artificial ha-ha-ha, he-he-he' ('das gekünstelte ha-ha-ha, he-he-he') of coloratura opera arias. He fur-

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1. One wonders, could Scheibe, too, have been responsible for Telemann's decision, in c.1740, to dedicate his remaining years to theoretical writings? Mizler, as we shall see in a later chapter, had received little resistance from Telemann to accept membership of the Leipzig Korrespondierende Societät in 1739.
  2. See G.Ph. Telemann: Vier und zwanzig Oden... Modern edition, DdT, vol. 57 (Wiesbaden-Graz, 1959), 3. See also G.Ph. Telemann: Singen ist das Fundament..., 219.
  3. An extended quotation from this preface appears on p. 25, supra.

ther draws attention, in his characteristically witty manner, to the often wide vocal tessitura of these earlier collections and assures his subscribers that neither the extreme high notes of a 'wren' ('Zaunkönig') nor the low notes of a 'bittern' ('Rohrdommel') are required by the singers of his lieder. Does Telemann indeed live up to the high standards that he has set himself in his preface?

As with all earlier lieder of Telemann's, the pieces here are short songs generally in binary form, exhibiting clarity of melodic contour, a vocal tessitura that rarely exceeds a ninth, colourfully inventive harmonic progressions and a consistent adherence to the overall atmosphere of each text. An interesting feature of this collection is the adoption of German expression marks such as 'kühn' (bold), 'trollend' (trotting), 'lustig' (merry), 'freundlich' (friendly), 'unschuldig' (innocent) and many others. These German markings, quite consistent in their function, appear in place of Italian tempo markings and provide an accurate guide not so much to the tempo but more to the character and atmosphere of each piece.<sup>1</sup>

Some commentators have found fault with Telemann's lieder in the Vier und zwanzig Oden, criticizing them for being unvocal.<sup>2</sup> It is certainly true that many of the melodies have a dance-like character of a strong French flavour, more often associated with instrumental rather than vocal music, but the vocal writing is always idiomatic. More to the point is that Telemann does seem to be concerned with creating models of miniature vocal composition and, consequently, does place certain restrictions on his style. In many

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1. Telemann had first made use of German expression marks in a cantata for New Year's Day in 1734 and since then continued to use them. See W. Menke: Das Vokalwerk Georg Philipp Telemanns. Oberlieferung und Zeitfolge (Kassel, 1942), 63-64.

2. See M. Friedlaender: Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert..., vol.1, p. 81, and Wilhelm Krabbe (ed.): DDI, vol. 57, p.x.

of the pieces he is true to his own idiosyncratic style, as can be seen in such lieder as An den Schlaf (To Sleep) (No.5), with its perfectly balanced melodic contour and sensitive harmonic colouring,<sup>1</sup> and the lively Trinklied (Drinking Song) (No.9), with its hiccuping syncopations and slightly tipsy phrase structure:

Telemann - Vier und zwanzig Oden: No.9

Kühn [bold]

Auf! For-dre Von dem besten Wein! Ver-trin-ke Frost und Ernst und Gril-len! Es la-det  
dich die Freundschaft ein, und Freu-de soll die Glä-ser fül-len.

Telemann's keen interest in the most recent developments in German literature is clearly manifested in the inclusion of five texts by the Hamburg merchant Friedrich von Hagedorn in his Vier und zwanzig Oden.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See pp. 34-35, infra, for a detailed analysis of this lied.
  2. A text by Hagedorn, Der Spiegel (The Mirror) (No.14) had appeared in Telemann's previous Lied publication, the Singe-, Spiel- und Generalbaß-Übungen (Hamburg, 1733-1734). In Hagedorn's poetry we encounter unrestrained enjoyment of the pleasures of life. His literary models were the naturalistic lyric poetry of John Dryden, Matthew Prior and Alexander Pope, the fables of Jean de LaFontaine, as well as the odes of the Roman poet Horace and the Greek poet Anacreon. Hagedorn's writing is characterized by great charm and wit, by a lively feeling for form and rhythm and by lively epigrammatic gibes at contemporary habits.

It is possible that Telemann had been introduced to Hagedorn at the home of Brockes. A further opportunity for meeting Hagedorn probably arose through the generous hospitality of a learned Hamburg physician, Dr. Carpser, who assembled a group of poets at his home every Friday evening. These lively cultural gatherings took place during the period when Telemann was preparing his collection of Vier und zwanzig Oden. Although we do not know for certain that Telemann was at these meetings, present there were the four poets who exclusively contributed the texts to the Vier und zwanzig Oden and a composer who displayed Telemann's influence in his collection published a year after that of Telemann. The poets were Johann Matthias Dreyer (1716-1769), Johann Arnold Ebert (1723-1795), Hagedorn, and Daniel Stoppe (1697-1747) and the composer was Johann Valentin Görner (1702-1762). It is certainly possible that Telemann too attended these meetings.

The Sammlung Neuer Oden und Lieder (Collection of New Odes and Lieder) (Hamburg, 1742)<sup>1</sup> of Johann Valentin Görner displays quite clearly the immediate influence of Telemann's Vier und zwanzig Oden on composers of lieder. The texts set in Görner's collection are, furthermore, exclusively the work of Hagedorn with whom he collaborated in the publication of these lieder. We know that Görner had been in contact with Telemann for quite some time, as two compositions of his, a Passacaille and a short piece entitled Trouble-Fête, both for keyboard, were included in Telemann's music journal Der getreue Music-Meister.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, very little is known of

1. Modern edition: DdT, 57 (Wiesbaden-Graz, 1959).

2. See A Thaler: 'Der getreue Music-Meister, a "Forgotten" Periodical', The Consort 24 (1967), 287.

the Saxon-born Görner's life, although a few signposts do suggest that he was in Hamburg a long time before his appointment as Cantor of Hamburg Cathedral in 1756. Görner's presence at the Friday evening gatherings at the home of Dr. Carpser must have encouraged discussions of musical settings of texts, in particular those of contemporary lied collections.

The most noticeable influence of Telemann on Görner's lieder is seen in the adoption throughout of German expression marks, a feature which had obviously fascinated progressive German composers. Further influence can be detected in the often irregular lengths of phrases, usually three-bar phrase groupings, which is a marked feature of Telemann's music in general. Görner, however, displays signs of quite assured musical originality. His feeling for melodic contour is on the whole highly accomplished. His melodic cells have a simplicity and folk-like quality that nevertheless, through the avoidance of wandering sequential treatment and monotonous rhythmic repetition, are very well developed. If his melodic talent is slightly greater than that of Telemann in the Vier und zwanzig Oden, the older master outshines Görner in harmonic interest, in the shape of his bass lines and in the meticulous attention he pays to the spoken rhythm of the text.

Görner's setting of Hagedorn's An den Schlaf, included in the supplement to the second volume of Sammlung Neuer Oden und Lieder (Hamburg, 1744), is a beautifully poised ode to Morpheus, the god of sleep. Telemann, furthermore, had set the same text in his Vier und zwanzig Oden. Görner's exemplary setting is distinguished by a finely balanced melodic contour, with no disjointed intervallic leaps or static rhythmic repetitions. The gently pulsating bass line holds

the harmonic development firmly on the rails, and all modulations are smoothly and quite naturally managed. At the plea for comfort from Morpheus in times of unrest, Görner creates a feeling of urgency and restlessness through short interruptions and highly appropriate sequential repetition in the vocal line. This is a setting of quite rare beauty:

Görner - Sammlung Neuer Oden und Lieder: vol. 2, supplement

Sanft [Gentle]

Gott der Träume! Freund der Nacht! Stif-ter sanf-ter Freu-den! Hal-der Morpheus!  
 Der den Schlä-fer glück-lich macht, wann ihm Fürsten rei-den.

säu-me nicht, wenn die Ru-he mir ge-bricht, Aug' und Herz zu wei-den.

Telemann, on the other hand, gives to his setting a darker atmosphere with some fine harmonic shading. Unlike Görner's, Telemann's setting favours minor tonality, thus creating an aura of mystery around night and dreams. This is a masterstroke of tonal planning, for at the plea for comfort Telemann lifts his song out of the sombre tonality of F minor into the bright tonality of A flat major. Telemann, too, has a sense of restlessness in the music of the following bars, but here the vocal line, with its accentuated slurred groupings, is aided by a bass line broken by nervous pauses. With melody that is simple and vocally highly idiomatic, and a harmonic development that perfectly reflects the atmosphere of the text, Telemann has created one of the finest lieder of the period:



Telemann - Vier und zwanzig Oden: No. 5

Trollend [Trotting]

Gott der Trü-me, Freund der Nacht! Stif-ter sanfter Freu-den, Holder Morpheus säume  
der den Schä-fer glück-lich macht, wenn ihn Für-sten rei-den.

nicht, wenn die Ru-he mir ge-bricht, Aug'und Herz zu wei-den! -den!

Contemporary critics responded quite coolly to Görner's lieder, drawing attention to errors in the part-writing and word-setting. These criticisms, however, did not prevent the Oden und Lieder from becoming extremely popular with the public: the first volume (1742) was reprinted four times, volume two (1744) three times, and volume three (1752) twice. A number of features of style and form in Görner's pieces were quite innovatory and found their imitators in later collections. In a number of lieder we find something resembling a choral refrain, even at times accompanied by the indication above the staff: 'Chor'. This occurs most often in lively pieces in which the wonders of wine and women are praised in song. These lieder would have been sung at festive gatherings in taverns and at home. Adolph Karl Kunzen (1720-1781), in his Lieder zum Unschuldigen Zeitvertreib (Songs for Innocent Amusement) (Hamburg, 1748, 1754 and 1756) took up this practice of punctuating lieder with a choral refrain and even stipulated (in the preface to the third volume of lieder, 1756) that the refrain should be repeated by

the chorus. Görner also exerted a certain influence on later composers of lieder through his setting of verses of a more narrative style, quite common in Hagedorn's writing. Johann Ernst Bach's (1722-1777) Sammlung auserlesener Fabeln (Collection of Exquisite Fables) (Nürnberg, 1749)<sup>1</sup> contains a number of settings of narrative texts by Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715-1769), in which the composer follows closely the changing moods in the texts. Bach's Fabeln are of further interest in that they display for the first time written-out keyboard accompaniments - as opposed to continuo realizations - with elaborate figuration and some degree of word-painting.

A considerable number of lied collections appeared during the following years which, although they enjoyed great popularity with the public, did very little to raise or even maintain the high standards set by Telemann and Görner at the beginning of the decade. Corporate publications such as Musikalischer Zeitvertreib (Musical Pastime) (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1743, 1746 and 1751), the Neue Sammlung verschiedener und auserlesener Oden (New Collection of Varied and Exquisite Odes) (Leipzig, 1746 - two volumes, 1747, 1748 and 1749) show a return to the style of Sperontes, in that dance-like melodies abound, and a markedly instrumental character is in evidence. Very often wide-leaping intervals and exposed high notes make the lieder of these collections entirely unsuitable for the voice.

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1. Modern edition: DdT, 42, ed. H. Kretzschmar (Wiesbaden-Graz, 1957 - revised edition).

As we know only too well today, over-production can, and very often does, lead to a considerable deterioration in quality. Scheibe and Mizler had already recognized an inconsistency of quality in lied collections at the end of the 1730s and suggested various ways of improving these.<sup>1</sup> Little attention appears to have been paid to these pleas for improvement, for a decade later the situation had greatly worsened. The time had come for renewed analysis of the lied and for an expurgation of all the blemishes of more than a decade of over-production.

#### Christian Gottfried Krause and the First Berlin Lieder School

The spirit of enterprise and growth in enlightened Berlin at mid-century provided the ideal atmosphere for a closer, more objective examination of the lied. The writers, musicians and composers of the Berlin circle were united in their aim to bring new life to the genre. But the initial impetus for this activity came not from within, but from outside the court Capelle.

In much the same way as Italian theorists and poets paved the way at the end of the sixteenth century for the development of monody, the Berlin Lieder School of the 1750s arose out of the philosophical and literary analysis, largely undertaken by non-musicians, of previous methods of setting words to music. In both cases, discussions of musical matters came after a thorough examin-

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1. See pp. 22-24, supra.

ation of words and musical poetry.<sup>1</sup> In Berlin, Frederick the Great's magnanimous support of the arts and his liberal approach to the sciences created an intellectual atmosphere vibrating with enthusiasm and mutual inspiration. The German poet Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim (1719-1803) gave a clear description of this atmosphere in a letter to Johann Peter Uz (1720-1796) in 1758. Although written more than a decade after he had left Berlin, it overflows with vivid nostalgic recollection:

Ramler, Leßing, Sulzer, Agricola, Krause...Bach, Graun, in short, all who appertain to the Muses and the liberal arts joined together daily, sometimes on land, sometimes on water. What a delight it was to vie with the swans in swimming in the Spree and to lose oneself in this company and among a thousand young women in the Tiergarten.<sup>2</sup>

It seems that in addition to swimming and chasing young girls, these learned men also found ample time to exchange ideas on aspects of contemporary literary and musical activity.

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1. See G. Frotscher: 'Die Ästhetik des Berliner Liedes in ihren Hauptproblemen', Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft vi (1923/1924), 431-448.
  2. 'Ramler, Leßing, Sulzer, Agricola, Krause...Bach, Graun, kurz alles, was zu den Musen und freyen Künsten gehört gesellte sich täglich zu einander, bald zu Lande, bald zu Waßer; was für ein Vergnügen war es in solcher Gesellschaft auf der Spree mit den Schwänen um die Wette zu schwimmen. Was für eine Lust, in dem Thier Garten sich mit der gantzen Gesellschaft unter tausend Mädchen zu verirren?' Gleim's letter to Uz is dated Halberstadt, 16 August 1758. This quotation is taken from H.-G. Ottenberg: Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (Leipzig, 1982), 93 and 306, fn. 95.

In imitation of an English prototype, these men gathered together in clubs,<sup>1</sup> which, one can reasonably assume, would also have been frequented by other members of the court musical establishment, such as Johann Gottlieb Graun, Johann Joachim Quantz, Christoph Nichelmann, Franz and Georg Benda, and other figures resident in Berlin and Potsdam. Through these weekly club meetings, the Berlin composers became united in a mutual search for clarity of musical expression, and a collective interest stimulated virtually every Berlin musical thinker to publish his own treatise in the 1750s. In order, however, to be able to arrive at general principles about the nature of music as a whole, they began initially by examining the genre that seemed the simplest in its structure. With its clear relationship between text and music, and thus between form and content, the lied qualified for this close examination.

Two publications, Von der musicalischen Poesie (On Musical Poetry) (Berlin, 1752) and Oden mit Melodien (Odes with Melodies) (Berlin, 1753), announced the existence of the Berlin Lieder School and introduced the initiator of this movement, the lawyer Christian Gottfried Krause. It is characteristic of the time that Krause, no professional musician but rather an accomplished amateur composer and performer, should have called this movement into being.

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1. The 'Monday Club' existed from 1746, the 'Thursday Club' from 1749; see H.-G. Ottenberg: ibid., 93. Ramler's letter to Gleim, dated Berlin, 14 July 1759, mentions: 'I can compare our Thursday Club to all of them. The musicians are cheerful and honourable people: Quantz, Agricola, Nichelmann and our beloved father Krause.' ('Aber allem diesem setze ich unsere Donnerstagsclubbe entgegen. Die Musici sind fröhliche und ehrliche Leute. Quantz, Agricola, Nichelmann und unser lieber Vater Krause.' See C. Schüddekopf (ed.): Briefwechsel zwischen Gleim und Ramler vol.2 (Tübingen, 1907), 394.

His book about the setting of words to music, Von der musicalischen Poesie, was written over a period of five years (1747-1752),<sup>1</sup> during which he maintained close contact with other literary and musical figures in and around Berlin. Written under the influence of recent developments in lied composition in Germany and as a reaction against abuses in contemporary vocal music (unvocal melodies, elaborate coloratura, bad texts, poor word-setting, etc.), the book clearly betrays its author's indebtedness to earlier writers on this subject. In a direct, yet unacknowledged quotation from Scheibe's Der critische Musicus,<sup>2</sup> we find a clue to an important musical personality who greatly influenced Krause in formulating his theories. Krause writes:

[In lied melodies] one must taste the wine, experience the sweetness of love, feel true satisfaction and contentedness, be free of all troubles and even be able to be persuaded that one is a shepherd.<sup>3</sup>

In 1745 Scheibe had used precisely these words to describe the perfect match between words and music in Telemann's Vier und zwanzig Oden! Furthermore, it seems quite possible, considering the extent to which Telemann had mastered many problems of form, harmony, melody, rhythm and word-setting in his lieder, that Krause had Tele-

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1. See B. Engelke: 'Neues zur Geschichte der Berliner Liederschule', Riemann-Festschrift. Hugo Riemann zum 60. Geburtstage (Leipzig, 1907), 457-461.
  2. See J.A. Scheibe: op.cit., 589.
  3. 'Man muß darinn den Wein selbst schmecken, die Süßigkeit der Liebe empfinden, eine wahre Zufriedenheit und Gnügsamkeit fühlen, von allen Sorgen befreyet und selbst ein Schäfer zu seyn überredet werden.' See Chr.G. Krause: Von der musicalischen Poesie (Berlin, 1752), 113-114.

mann's lieder before him as he wrote this book expounding his theories on the composition of vocal music. Telemann's name is not once mentioned in Krause's book, but his spirit is there in virtually every statement on lied composition and word-setting.

The volume of thirty-one Oden mit Melodien, which appeared in Berlin a year after the publication of Krause's book, constitutes, as it were, an appendix of musical examples to the sections of that work which discuss the lied. The editors of this collection were Carl Wilhelm Ramler (1725-1798), poet and professor of philosophy at the Berlin military academy, and Krause; the former selected the texts, the latter the composers. The publication is prefaced by a detailed discussion of the editors' aims and expands upon the ideas on word-setting relevant to the lied found in Krause's book.

Originally this appears to have been conceived as a collection of Krause's settings of texts by Gleim.<sup>1</sup> The idea was then expanded, no doubt stimulated by the lively atmosphere of the Berlin clubs, to include texts by other poets (Hagedorn, Nicolaus Dietrich Giseke, Johann Arnold Ebert, Ewald Christian von Kleist, Johann Peter Uz, Johann Adolf Schlegel and Johann Matthias Dreyer) in musical settings by every available Berlin composer: Franz Benda, Johann Joachim Quantz, Johann Friedrich Agricola, Johann Gottlieb and Carl Heinrich Graun, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Christoph Nichelmann.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See. B. Engelke: op.cit., 463.

2. F.W. Marpurg: Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik i/1 (1754), 55-57, contains a list of all 31 lieder, the author of each text and the names of the composers who set these to music.

Of particular interest to our study of influences on the Berlin lied is the fact that this collection contains only two lieder by a composer not resident at Berlin, and he a generation older than all other composers represented. This composer is Telemann.

### Von der musicalischen Poesie

Krause's Von der musicalischen Poesie was intended both for poets and composers and, consequently, had much to say about literary content, syntax, punctuation and other matters of poetic construction. No less stringent are Krause's directions to composers. On a number of occasions we notice in his writing an echo of passages from the preface to Telemann's Vier und zwanzig Oden. In the interest of simplicity, and to facilitate singing by heart, melodies must be light and flowing<sup>1</sup> and avoid leaps through wide intervals, coloratura and other vocal decorations.<sup>2</sup> He is rather scathing about the 'operatic' (opernmäßige) melodies which are all too frequently found in contemporary lieder,<sup>3</sup> and recommends that composers

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1. See Chr.G. krause: op.cit., 115.

2. Ibid., 9.

3. Ibid., 113.



turn to the French Chanson for inspiration.<sup>1</sup> A practice of composing melodies without the aid of a keyboard instrument is strongly recommended, in order to attain this folk-like simplicity. Furthermore, these melodies should be conceived without taking into consideration the addition of a bass part or any accompaniment.<sup>2</sup> Krause is of the opinion that the melody of a lied is 'virtually nothing but a truly artificial declamation.'<sup>3</sup> The imitation of speech in

1. See Oden mit Melodien (Berlin, 1753), Foreword; quoted in M. Friedlaender: op. cit., vol.1, p.116.  
A collection of four volumes entitled Nouveau recueil de chansons choisies (La Haye: Neaulme/Gosse and Neaulme, vol.1 (1723; second ed., 1726), vol.2 (1724), vol.3 (1726) and vol.4 (1729), preserved in D - brd - B, DMS.0.63 882), provide typical examples of the French chansons of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This publication ran to eight volumes (1723-1743), many of which were reprinted a number of times (the first volume, for example, was reprinted in 1726, 1731 and 1735). The short strophic songs, generally simple folk-like solo melodies without bass part, but also occasionally in two or even three parts, are distinguished by dance rhythms, harmonically explicit melodic lines (triad figures, leading-note accentuation, etc.) and simple syllabic word setting. The poetic themes encompass pastoral, idyllic and amorous subjects, 'comical and grotesque' and 'critical and satirical' verses, drinking songs, as well as songs 'contre l'amour et le vin', 'Plans de Morale Galante et Bachique' and 'Airs sérieux et tendre'. The large number of extant copies of this publication in German libraries (see Répertoire International des Sources Musicales B,2: Recueils Imprimés XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle (Munich-Duisburg, 1964), 260-263) testifies to its popularity in that region during the eighteenth century. Furthermore, the frequency of copies in Berlin libraries (the first three volumes are preserved in duplicate copies in three different Berlin libraries, volumes four and six in two Berlin libraries, and volume five in one Berlin library), indicates that these chansons were well known and admired in Berlin and may have constituted the chansons known to Krause and Ramler at the time of their work on the book Von der musicalischen Poesie and the collections of Oden mit Melodien.
2. Oden mit Melodien ..., Foreword; ibid., 116.
3. '... fast nichts anders als eine recht künstliche Declamation.'  
See Chr.G. Krause: op. cit., 207.

music, however, was not Krause's aim, rather he saw the function of music as an expression of the Affekten, the states of the soul. As music is fundamentally concerned with expressing emotions, writes Krause, all odes that are to be set to music should consequently be emotional pieces. Furthermore, since each verse will not have its own distinct melody, only those lieder which depict no more than one basic emotion are musical.<sup>1</sup> This idea of one emotion dominating an entire piece or movement was nothing new in Krause's day, as the Affektenlehre (Doctrine of Affections), expounded by German music theorists in the first half of the eighteenth century (Werckmeister, Mattheson and others), under the influence of Descartes' work on the nature of emotions, had fully observed and further stylized this practice in musical composition.

The question of how to set a number of verses to music had long troubled composers - and theorists. Krause believed that short, one-verse lieder were the most suitable for contemporary composition; should they have more than one verse they should still be as short as possible, so that the constant repetition of the same melody should not cause boredom.<sup>2</sup> In lieder with more than one verse the composer must make his rhythms ('Rhythmen') correspond to the poet's metre and he should express as clearly, vivaciously and agreeably as possible the dominant emotion.<sup>3</sup> He recommended

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1. Ibid., 114.

2. Ibid., 115.

3. Ibid., 116.

that poets should, in consideration of the repetition of the same music for each verse, aim to make the poetry of these verses correspond in matters of punctuation, caesurae, emphasis and phraseology. These rules for strophic settings should, however, be disregarded if and when the verses differ greatly in their emotional content, and a different melody must then be written to correspond to the differences in the text.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, lieder that have two alternating contrasted melodies can often be agreeable.<sup>2</sup> If each of the many verses, however, has a completely different melody then this can no longer be considered a lied but a collection of 'ariettes'.<sup>3</sup> A little later in this study of the lied, Krause draws the conclusion that odes are by no means the most perfect type of musical poetry, for the music cannot express every inflexion of the text.<sup>4</sup> On the whole, though, the strophic form was maintained and this was strongly supported by the desire for the words to be "expressed" and not "painted" in music. The function of music, in Krause's opinion, was not to paint individual details but to recreate the overall atmosphere, the inner substance, of the text. Marpurg best summed up this practice in the words:

The composer of odes must know, like the chemists, how to condense the power of a whole drink in a few drops.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Ibid., 116.

2. Ibid., 116-117.

3. Ibid., 116.

4. Ibid., 118.

5. 'Der Componist muß, [mit dem Zuschauer zu sprechen,] den Chymicis gleichen, die die Kraft eines ganzen Tranks in wenig Tropfen zu concentriren wissen.' See F.W. Marpurg: Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst vol.1, third letter '... an den Herrn Advocaten Christian Gottfried Krause. Berlin, den 7. Julius, 1759.' (Berlin, 1760), 19-20.

## Oden mit Melodien

If we turn our attention now to the lieder of the Oden mit Melodien, it will become clear that Krause's theories were shared quite enthusiastically by the composers of the Berlin Lieder School. In these lieder the composers have successfully achieved a folk-like simplicity and resolutely turned their backs on the decorative melodic graces of contemporary operatic style. Perhaps Quantz, Franz Benda and Johann Gottlieb Graun could be accused of having written some melodies that are more instrumental than vocal in character:

Oden mit Melodien (Berlin, 1753) - No.9 - J.J. Quantz: Amint. Ach ich verschmachte! Schenket ein!

Hurtig [swist],

Ach ich Ver-schmachte ! Schenket ein! — Leert al-ler Fäs-ser, gebt mir Wein -

Ach ich Ver-schmachte ! Schenket ein! — Leert aller Fässer, gebt mir Wein

The majority of lieder in this collection are generally characterized by two-part writing, concise diatonic melodies, simple rhythmic patterns, clear harmonic structures, unfigured bass parts and a complete absence of independence in the accompaniments; there are no preludes or postludes, and only rarely are very short instrumental interludes of one or two bars to be found. It is inter-

esting to note the extent to which Carl Heinrich Graun has adapted himself to this style and trimmed away the melodic graces found in his lieder for Gräfe's Sammlung verschiedener und auserlesener Oden (1736-1743) and in his operatic music contemporary with the new lieder:

Oden mit Melodien (Berlin, 1753) - No.2 - C.H. Graun: Es ist doch meine Nachbarin.

Vergnügt [merry]

Es ist doch mei-ne Nach-ba-rin ein auf-ge-räum-tes Weib-  
Ich ha-be, wenn ich bey ihr bin, den schön-sten zeit-ver-treib.

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach is perhaps a little hesitant in his writing in this style, but he shows some interest in Görner's example of an alternation between solo and 'chorus':

Oden mit Melodien (Berlin, 1753) - No.18 - C.Ph.E. Bach:

Den flüchtigen Tagen wehrt keine Gewalt.

Geschwind [Fast] Alle [Tutti] Einer [Solo]

Den flüch-ti-gen Tagen wehrt keine Ge-walt; den flüch-tigen Tagen wehrt keine Ge-walt; die

Agricola, Nichelmann and J.G. Graun display close adherence to Krause's theories and Krause's own lieder need not fear the comparison with those of Bach, C.H. Graun or Telemann. Telemann, in his two lieder, is, as always, absolutely true to himself and just cannot resist the temptation to enliven his lied Mussel singt zu ganzen Tagen (Mussel sings all day) with some witty word-painting - an unthinkable straying from Krause's path!

Oden mit Melodien (Berlin, 1753) - No. 30 - G.Ph. Telemann:

Mussel singt zu ganzen Tagen.

Gelassen [Calm]

Mus-sel singt zu ganzen Ta-gen; doch bey seines Nachbars Plagen lacht der alte schadenfroh, lacht der alte schadenfroh

Telemann's influence is so strong on the work of the Berlin Lieder School that it is possible to say that it was in part his lieder, and particularly those of the Vier und zwanzig Oden, that determined the spirit of the school.<sup>1</sup> The most obvious influence is to be found in the adoption of German words to indicate the atmosphere and tempo of each lied. Simplicity - so that everyone could enjoy the songs - is a characteristic maxim of Telemann's that finds much support in Krause's writings and in the lieder

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1. See K. Zauft: Telemanns Liedschaffen..., 17.

of the Oden mit Melodien. Furthermore, Krause's request for melodies that could stand on their own feet, without accompaniment, was bravely attempted by the Berlin composers but in no way could these men out-sing Telemann in this matter. In fact, Marpurg noticed this attribute of Telemann's lieder when he discussed these in the first volume of his Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst (Critical Letters concerning Music) (Berlin, 1760-1763):

The odes of Herr Telemann are, furthermore, composed so that even without the bass they make their effect.<sup>1</sup>

A number of years later Krause, writing to the poet Gleim, drew attention to Telemann's fine sense of style in his lieder<sup>2</sup> and in 1774 the composer and theorist Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752-1814), a leading figure in the Second Berlin Lieder School, wrote that Krause, in his book, shows himself to be:

an admirer of Telemann, with all his faults as well as his merits.<sup>3</sup>

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1. 'Des Herrn Telemanns Oden sind ferner so beschaffen, daß sie auch ohne Baß ihre Wirkung thun.' See F.W. Marpurg: Kritische Briefe ..., vol.1, twenty-first letter (Berlin, 1760), 162-163.
  2. See Krause's letter to Gleim, dated 12 September 1766, mentioned in B. Engelke: op. cit., 471-472.
  3. '... ein Verehrer von Telemann mit allen seinen Fehlern sowohl, als seinen Verdiensten.' See J.F. Reichardt: Über die deutsche comische Oper. Nebst einem Anhang eines freundschaftlichen Briefes über die musikalische Poesie (Hamburg, 1774), 114, quoted in W. Hobohm: 'Telemann und Ramler', Telemann und seine Dichter 1, Konferenzbericht der 6. Magdeburger Telemann Festtage, 1977 (Magdeburg, 1978), 65.

In 1755 a second volume of Oden mit Melodien was published in Berlin, presumably once again under the editorship of Ramler and Krause, although in this case we have no indication of the composers' identities in any contemporary report of the publication. (There is, however, one exception, as the final lied in this volume actually bears the name of Johann Christian Bach). The pieces display a somewhat marked loss of conviction over the first volume; the most inspired pieces being the very short and lively wine and drinking lieder. One commentator<sup>1</sup> has ventured the opinion that Krause's guiding hand appears to be absent and that Marpurg probably had more to do with the editing of this volume than Krause.

In his Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst Marpurg observed that at the end of the decade both volumes had gone out of print,<sup>2</sup> but this by no means indicated a waning of interest in the lied. The second half of the decade brought forth numerous collections of lieder in Berlin, both sacred and secular. This firmly attests the popularity of, and enthusiasm of Berlin composers and singers for, the lied. In the period before Krause's Oden mit Melodien, that is in the first half of the eighteenth century, forty collections had appeared in Germany. In the second half of the eighteenth century

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1. See H. Kretzschmar: Geschichte des Neuen deutschen Liedes vol.1: Von Albert bis Zelter (Leipzig, 1911), 238.

2. See F.W. Marpurg: Kritische Briefe ..., vol.1, thirty-first letter, (Berlin, 1760), 243. The contents of these volumes, however, were included in an anthology of Lieder der deutschen (Berlin, 1767), which appeared in the year of Telemann's death.



more than 750 lied collections were published throughout Germany.<sup>1</sup> That Berlin remained a major centre of lied production for quite some time confirms the high degree of stimulation which emanated from the work of Krause and the First Berlin Lieder School. Furthermore, the most important composers of lied during the period between Telemann and Schubert were C.Ph.E. Bach, J.A.P. Schulz, J.Fr. Reichardt and C.F. Zelter, all of whom resided for a time in Berlin.

### Telemann and the Berlin Circle

The involvement of Krause with Telemann's vocal music suggests a closer acquaintance between the two men than is actually attested in extant records. A letter addressed to Telemann in 1749 from Pisendel<sup>2</sup> appears to contain a reply to Telemann's inquiries about his knowledge of Krause's work. Pisendel had visited Berlin in 1744 with the Dresden court Capelle but Krause had not yet taken up residence in Berlin, arriving there towards the end of 1745. Pisendel, however, remained in close contact with members of the Prussian court, as he had been a major instructor in the early musical development of the Graun brothers, Franz Benda and Quantz, from whom he certainly received the latest court news. The four

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1. See R.A. Barr: 'Lieder; c.1750-c.1800', New Grove 10 (1980), 836.
  2. Pisendel's letter is dated Dresden, 16 March 1749. See G.Ph. Telemann: Briefwechsel ..., 349.

extant letters from Pisendel to Telemann (one each year between 1749 and 1752) betray a clear preoccupation of both men with the activities of the Prussian court. Furthermore, we have evidence that Telemann had already been in touch with musicians in Prussia even before Frederick the Great's accession to the throne, in 1740, through his correspondence with Carl Heinrich Graun.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, in two letters from Graun to Telemann (Berlin, 22 June 1743 and 20 June 1747), possibly typical of others now lost, various aspects of word-setting in vocal music had been discussed, heralding the intensive preoccupation with words and music in their extant letters of the 1750s. Is it possible that here we have the important link between Krause and Telemann? Could Graun and Telemann possibly have stimulated Krause to begin, in 1747, work on a treatise on the relationship between words and music?

If only a small part of what must have been an enormous correspondence between Telemann and his contemporaries has survived, it is nevertheless possible to notice certain areas of emphasis. The sixteen extant letters from Berlin figures to Telemann provide a good idea of his interests over two decades (1739 to 1759) and also clear evidence of his influence on the work of this school of composers.

### J.F. Agricola

Three letters to Telemann from Johann Friedrich Agricola (1720-1774) exhibit the many different aspects of this mutual respect

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1. The first preserved letter between Graun and Telemann (Reinsberg, 7 December 1739) indicates quite unequivocally that they had already been corresponding before Telemann's journey to Paris in 1737 and probably even as early as 1735. See p.112, infra.

between Berlin figures and Telemann. Agricola's reputation became secured by the publication, in 1757, of his detailed annotated German translation of Pier Francesco Tosi's Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni (Observations on the Florid Song)<sup>1</sup> (Bologna, 1723) under the title Anleitung zur Singkunst (Introduction to the Art of Singing) (Berlin, 1757). The aim of this publication was to provide a report of the present state of singing in Italy and among Italian singers abroad which, in Agricola's opinion, no longer enjoyed the best health, and to encourage the blossoming of the art of singing in Germany.<sup>2</sup> Telemann had sent Agricola an advance payment for thirty copies from Hamburg subscribers to this translation, for which, it appears, he received six free copies.<sup>3</sup> These letters indicate further that Telemann had discussed also with Agricola, and not only with Graun, the question of recitative and other matters concerning the setting of words to music. Indeed, Agricola expresses great enthusiasm for Telemann's vocal compositions, stating that he was the first composer who had impressed him in his youth, regarding the quality of good vocal music. Six cantatas and numerous sacred pieces by Telemann were the first musical compositions which had stirred his heart.<sup>4</sup> A few years later, Agricola was in

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1. This is the title of the English translation by J.E. Gaillard, published in London in 1742.
  2. See Agricola's letter to Telemann, dated Berlin, 20 October 1755, in G.Ph. Telemann: Briefwechsel..., 368.
  3. See Agricola's letter to Telemann, dated Berlin, 24 May 1757, ibid., 370.
  4. See Agricola's letter to Telemann, dated Berlin, 18 November 1752, ibid., 366.

possession of autograph manuscripts of four sacred compositions from Telemann's 'großen oratorischen Jahrgänge' (grand cycle of oratorios). He found these to be so agreeable that he did not hesitate to make copies of them with his own hand.<sup>1</sup>

A few years earlier, Agricola had announced that he would be sending Telemann some of his 'comic and serious vocal works' (komische und ernsthafte Singstücke) and requested that he should express his 'austere' (recht strenge) opinion of these.<sup>2</sup> We cannot, however, be certain that Telemann actually received these pieces, for in a later letter Agricola apologized for not yet having sent him any examples of his music but hoped to be able to rectify this deficiency, possibly through sending Telemann his recent 'operette'.<sup>3</sup> Besides criticisms of his musical compositions, Agricola had also mentioned that any 'objections' to his Anleitung would be accepted with gratitude.

1. See Agricola's letter to Telemann, dated Berlin, 24 May 1757, *ibid.*, 371. Although these copies have yet to be located, the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz in West Berlin has in its collection two cantatas from Telemann's 1762 cantata-set copied in the hand of Agricola: D - brd - B, Mus.ms. 21728/5 and 21728/5 Nr.2.
2. See Agricola's letter to Telemann, dated Berlin, 18 November 1752, *ibid.*, 367. These works were probably the opera Il filosofo convinto in amore (1750) and the intermezzo La ricamatrice divenuta dama (1751). See Hans Rudolf Jung's commentary in G.Ph. Telemann: *ibid.*, 394, fn. 255.
3. See Agricola's letter to Telemann, dated Berlin, 20 October 1755, *ibid.*, 369. This work must be the 'festa teatrale' Il tempio d'amore, performed at Charlottenburg, the king's Berlin residence, on the occasion of the marriage of Prince Ferdinand to Princess Anna Elisabeth Luise von Schwedt on 30 September 1755.

## F. Benda

The correspondence of other Berlin composers and musicians with Telemann is characterized by a high level of mutual respect and developed on much the same lines as the correspondence between Agricola and Telemann. Franz Benda (1709-1786), violinist in the court musical establishment and a composition pupil of Johann Gottlieb and Carl Heinrich Graun, had been asked by Telemann to find subscribers for a collection of 'solo' compositions by Tartini amongst members of the court Capelle and amateur musicians.<sup>1</sup> That Telemann approached Benda in this matter provides us with ample evidence of his high regard for the Bohemian violin-virtuoso. Although Benda was unsuccessful in his efforts to find subscribers, he admits that he holds Tartini in great esteem. The concluding salutation of his letter to Telemann goes beyond the obligatory formal flattery. In addressing Telemann at the head of his letter as 'GeEhrtester Freund' (Respected Friend), Benda joins the ranks of close acquaintances (C.H. Graun and Pisendel) who expressed heartfelt respect and friendship in their modes of address.

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1. See Benda's letter to Telemann, dated Berlin, 22 February 1749, *ibid.*, 327-328 and 379, fn. 70. These 'soli' were possibly the Sonate a violino e violoncello o cimbalò, Op.1, published in Amsterdam in 1734, reprinted c.1738 and printed again by the Parisian music publishers Le Clerc-Boivin in 1740.

C.Ph.E. Bach

Telemann's godson Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach also corresponded with the Hamburg Music Director on aspects of Berlin's music life. There appears to have been a particularly close friendship between Bach and the Graun brothers for, in one of Bach's letters to Telemann,<sup>1</sup> mention is made of Carl Heinrich Graun's restlessness on account of his Passion oratorio;<sup>2</sup> this same letter announced that Graun will be writing to Telemann during the next few days. We also find reference to Johann Gottlieb Graun here, who had intended giving Bach some concertos to send to Telemann; but as Bach had not yet received these he presumed that Graun would be sending them directly to Telemann.

In 1755, Bach had, for the second time, been unsuccessful in his application for the vacant post of Thomaskantor in Leipzig.<sup>3</sup> Although this application had been supported by a written recommendation from Telemann, he was nevertheless rejected in favour of Johann Friedrich Doles.<sup>4</sup> Bach's growing frustration with the stylized taste of his master Frederick the Great, the pitiful state of his salary in comparison with that of his colleagues, and the total lack of recognition of his talents came to an end in 1767, on the

1. See C.Ph.E. Bach's letter to Telemann, dated Berlin, 29 December 1756, ibid., 372.

2. The work in question is without doubt Der Tod Jesu (1755).

3. He first applied for this post on the death of his father in 1750.

4. See the Bericht über die Wissenschaftliche Konferenz zum III. Internationalen Bach-Fest der DDR: 1975 (Leipzig, 1977), 76. See also H.-G. Ottenberg: Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (Leipzig, 1982), 83, fn. 72.

death of his godfather. Telemann, during his last years in office, had certainly put in a good word for Bach as his possible successor as Cantor of the Johanneum and Director of the Five Main Churches. Bach's application for the post was supported by a recommendation from Telemann's grandson, Georg Michael Telemann (1748-1831), who filled the office in the interim period before Bach was installed in these positions in March 1768. He repaid his debt to Telemann many times, through continued respect for his achievements and loyalty to his compositions, which were often heard under Bach's direction in Hamburg.

### C. Nichelmann

Telemann's name must have carried some considerable weight in the mid-eighteenth century because a previous student of his, now dissatisfied with his position as harpsichordist in the Prussian musical establishment, requested his assistance in gaining new employment. Christoph Nichelmann (1717-1761 or 1762), infected by the literary fever of Berlin in the fifties, published a treatise on the nature of melody, Die Melodie, nach ihrem Wesen sowohl, als nach ihren Eigenschaften (Regarding the Nature and Characteristics of Melody) (Danzig and Hamburg, 1755), which provoked some argument in intellectual quarters. In response to published criticism of

his ideas, Nichelmann issued a counter-attack.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the controversy over his treatise made life at court for Nichelmann somewhat uncomfortable after 1755, and it is probably for this reason that he decided to resign from his post in the court Capelle. In his letter to Telemann,<sup>2</sup> he requests him to bear him in mind should he hear of a vacant post; he knows his strengths, as a practical musician and as a composer, although he admits to a preference for a post as musician rather than composer. As far as we know, Nichelmann remained, however, for the last five or six years of his life in Berlin, concentrating solely on the composition of lieder and smaller keyboard pieces.

#### J.J. Quantz and his 'Versuch'

Only one letter has survived from Quantz's correspondence with Telemann and this is clearly a reply to a letter from Telemann in

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1. The author of Gedanken eines Liebhabers der Tonkunst über Herrn Nichelmanns Tractat von der Melodie (Thoughts of a Musical Amateur Concerning Herr Nichelmann's Treatise on Melody) (Nordhausen, 1755) concealed his identity behind the pseudonym 'Caspar Dünkelfeind'. This publication launched a personal attack at Nichelmann and not only at his theories. In his defence, issued anonymously, Nichelmann published his Die Vortrefflichkeit der Gedanken des Herrn Caspar Dünkelfeindes über die Abhandlung von der Melodie ins Licht gesetzt von einem Musikfreunde (The Excellence of Herr Caspar Dünkelfeind's Thoughts about the Treatise on Melody, as Represented by a Music-Lover) (s.l., s.d.), in which he held C.Ph.E. Bach responsible for the Gedanken. Nichelmann had critically analysed a lied of Bach's in Die Melodie and the author of the Gedanken disagreed with the conclusions drawn in this analysis. Furthermore, Nichelmann was probably favoured more highly by Frederick the Great. Indeed, his salary was considerably higher than that of Bach for quite some time. See D.A. Lee: The Instrumental Works of Christoph Nichelmann (Dissertation, University of Michigan; Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1968), 44.

2. Dated Berlin, 2 February 1756. See G.Ph. Telemann: ibid., 127.



which he had expressed strong approval of Quantz's recently published treatise Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen (Essay of a Method for Playing the Transverse Flute) (Berlin, 1752).<sup>1</sup> Conceived as far more than an introduction to flute playing, Quantz's Versuch was of invaluable importance to musicians and composers in the eighteenth century, and provides us today with a superb analysis of style and taste in music at that time. Telemann's influence on Quantz's musical personality and consequently on the ideas expounded in his treatise, is exceptionally strong. Telemann had long been regarded by his younger contemporaries as the agent of the modern style in music.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Quantz's letter is dated Berlin, 11 January 1753, *ibid.*, 364-366. See E.R. Reilly: Quantz and his 'Versuch'. Three Studies (New York, 1971), 61-62, for an English translation of this letter.
  2. A quarter of a century before Quantz's Versuch, Johann Christoph Gottsched had assessed the nature of Telemann's musical character in the words: 'At times he follows the Italian, at other times the French and frequently a mixed style in the composition of his pieces. He avoids all extravagant difficulties which only please masters and he prefers at all times the charming to the obscure modulations of the notes, although they may be at the same time more artificial. Is there anything more sensible than this? For since music shall serve in the entertainment of man, an artist deserves far greater praise if he produces from his listeners a smiling expression and a delighted disposition than if he occasioned merely an anxious wonder and nothing but frowning countenances.' ('Er folget zuweilen der Welschen, zuweilen der Französischen, oftmahls auch einer vermischten Art im Setzen seiner Stücke. Er vermeidet alle ausschweifende Schwierigkeiten, die nur Meistern gefallen könnten, und ziehet die lieblichen Abwechselungen der Thöne allezeit den weitgesuchten vor, ob sie gleich künstlicher seyn möchten. Und was ist vernünftiger als dieses? Denn da die Music zum Vergnügen des Menschen dienen soll; so muß ja ein Künstler ein grösseres Lob verdienen, wenn er bey seinen Zuhörern eine lächelnde Mine, und vergnügte Stellung wircket; als wenn er bloß eine ängstliche Verwunderung, und lauter in Falten gezogene Angesichter verursacht hätte.') See J.Chr. Gottsched: Der Biedermann (Leipzig, 1727-1729), quoted in G.Ph. Telemann: Singen ist das Fundament..., 146-147. This text appeared in the 85th bulletin of Der Biedermann, which was issued on 20 December 1728.

In his music, Telemann was the first and probably most influential representative of the mixed style in eighteenth century music, a style that combined elements of Italian and French music, and in Telemann's case also Polish music, with native German music. Quantz's Versuch, furthermore, can be regarded as the literary propaganda of this style. In his youth Quantz was encouraged to play Telemann's compositions<sup>1</sup> and, as a member of the Dresden court orchestra under the directorship of Pisendel, became well acquainted with Telemann's orchestral and chamber compositions. In addition to those works which were circulated in contemporary manuscript copies, Quantz probably knew the following published collections of Telemann's compositions:

Sonates sans basse à deux flûtes traverses ou à deux violons, ou à deux flûtes à bec (Hamburg: 'aux dépens de l'auteur', 1727).

Sonate metodiche a violino solo o flauto traverso.  
Op. XIII (Hamburg, 1728).

III Trietti methodici e III scherzi a 2 flauti traversieri overo 2 violini col fondamento  
(Hamburg, 1731).

Continuation des Sonates méthodiques (Hamburg, 1732).

12 fantaisies à traversière sans basse (Hamburg, 1732-1733).

Musique de Table, partagée en trois productions, dont chacune contient 1 ouverture avec la suite à 7 instrumens, 1 quatuor, 1 concert à 7, 1 trio, 1 solo, 1 conclusion à 7 (Hamburg, 1733).

Nouveaux quatuors en six suites à une flûte traversière, un violon, une basse de viole ou violoncel et basse continue (Paris, 1738).

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1. See Quantz's autobiography in F.W. Marpurge: Historisch-Kritische Beiträge..., vol. 1, part 5 (Berlin, 1755), 201 and 229.

A comparison of Quantz's guidelines on the composition of good solos, trios, quartets and Ouvertures with the works contained in the above-mentioned collections, quite clearly confirms that Telemann's compositions constantly served as models for Quantz's theories.<sup>1</sup>

An important aspect of Quantz's description of contemporary instrumental music is the emphasis placed on the emancipation of certain parts from their role of filling-out the harmony. In his discussion of quartets 'with three concertante instruments and a bass' ('mit drey concertirenden Instrumenten, und einer Grundstimme'), he stresses, in particular, the need for a 'discerningly devised mixture of the concertante instruments' ('eine mit vieler Beurtheilung angestellte Vermischung der concertirenden Instrumente') in which a preference for one part should not be apparent. Furthermore:

each part, after it has rested, must re-enter not as a middle part, but as a principal part, with a pleasing melody; but this applies only to the three concertante parts, not to the bass.<sup>2</sup>

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1. The reader is referred to Ingeborg Allihn's excellent study of this aspect of the relationship between Telemann and Quantz: G.Ph. Telemann und J.J. Quantz, Magdeburger Telemann-Studien 3 (Magdeburg, 1971).
  2. 'Eine jede Stimme muß, wenn sie pausiret hat, nicht als eine Mittelstimme, sondern als eine Hauptstimme, mit einem gefälligen Gesange wieder eintreten: doch ist dieses nicht von der Grundstimme, sondern nur von den dreyen concertirenden Oberstimmen zu verstehen.' See J.J. Quantz: Versuch..., XVIII, § 44, repr. of the original edition of 1752, ed. A Schering (Leipzig, 1906), 234. The English translation of this passage, and all other quotations from Quantz's Versuch, is taken from E.R. Reilly: Johann Joachim Quantz: On Playing the Flute (London, 1966), 316-317.

In concluding this section on quartets, he makes the following recommendation to his readers:

A certain group of six quartets for different instruments, the majority for flute, oboe and violin, which Herr Telemann wrote some time ago, but which have not been engraved, may provide excellent and beautiful models for compositions of this type.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, Telemann's quartets, in their democratic sharing of material between all four instruments, thus including the bass, are an important landmark in the progression from the trio sonata to the later quartets of Haydn and Mozart. Furthermore, in his letter to Telemann, Quantz stressed that Telemann's quartets had encouraged him to try his hand at composing works in this form.

The chapters of Quantz's treatise which deal with the matter of ornamentation are likewise indebted to the example of Telemann. It is, nevertheless, essential to remember that in spite of certain parallels between the ideas of Telemann and Quantz on this matter, ornamentation in the music of the mid-eighteenth century in Germany was to a great extent a question of personal taste.<sup>2</sup> In his endeav-

1. 'Sechs gewisse Quatuor für unterschiedene Instrumente, meistens Flöte, Hoboe, und Violine, welche Herr Telemann schon vor ziemlich langer Zeit gesetzt hat, die aber nicht in Kupfer gestochen worden sind, können, in dieser Art von Musik, vorzüglich schöne Muster abgeben.' See J.J. Quantz: Versuch..., XVIII, § 44 (ed. A. Schering), 235 and E.R. Reilly (tr.): ibid., 317.
2. This becomes apparent in a comparison of Quantz's ideas with those of C.Ph.E. Bach, whose Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu Spielen (Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments) (Berlin, 1753 and 1762) was published also in Berlin, and only a year later than Quantz's Versuch, but displays by no means total concurrence of ideas.

ours to educate amateur musicians in the practice of ornamentation, Telemann had provided examples of embellished slow movements in some of his printed instrumental collections, notably the Sonate metodiche (1728 and 1732) and the III Trietti methodicie III scherzi (1731). If Quantz's embellishments<sup>1</sup> do seem a little over-graced in comparison with those of Telemann's, let us not forget that Quantz was first and foremost an outstandingly accomplished instrumentalist, whereas Telemann, a true musician at heart, had long since rejected the excessive virtuoso aspect of instrumental writing and performance so common in his day. Telemann's embellishments never camouflage the original melody but constantly permit it to continue its song in a melodically, not instrumentally conceived variation of the original.<sup>2</sup>

Soon after the publication of his Versuch, Quantz took the opportunity of expressing his loyalty to Telemann's music in the course of a controversy over his treatise. In Hamburg, in 1753, Joachim von Moldenit, a pupil of Quantz and Buffardin in Dresden, published a collection entitled Sei Sonate da flauto traverso e basso continuo, con un discorso sopra la maniera di sonar il flauto traverso (Six Sonatas for transverse flute and continuo bass, with an essay on the manner of playing the transverse flute) in which he raised objections to Quantz's method of tonguing, as well as other matters. Moldenit recommended a method which involved the use

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1. See J.J. Quantz: Versuch..., XII-XV and tables 17-19 (ed. A. Schering) Anhang A and E.R. Reilly (tr.): ibid., 136-195 and, in particular, 169-172.

2. See I. Allihn: op.cit., 31-37, for a detailed discussion of this matter.

of the lower lip. Marpurg, in his Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik (Historic-critical Contributions to the Reception of Music) (Berlin, 1754-1762),<sup>1</sup> published some caustic reports of Moldenit's theories, which encouraged Moldenit to issue another article, this time attacking Quantz personally. Tired of Moldenit's petty arguments, Quantz publicly entered the dispute with his Antwort auf des Herrn von Moldenits gedrucktes so genanntes Schreiben an Hrn. Quantz, nebst einigen Anmerkungen über dessen Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen (Reply to Herr von Moldenit's so-called printed letter addressed to Herr Quantz, together with some comments on his Essay of a Method for Playing the Transverse Flute).<sup>2</sup> Carefully demolishing Moldenit's theories one by one, Quantz suggested a public contest between one of his pupils and Moldenit, in which both methods of tonguing should be heard in performances of Telemann's unaccompanied flute Fantasias.<sup>3</sup> Needless to say, Moldenit did not publicly accept the challenge and Marpurg reported this in his Beyträge, thus concluding the dispute. By recommending Telemann's Fantasias for this contest, Quantz provides a perfect assessment of the Hamburg master's work; he would certainly not have recommended pieces which were unknown to the public, which were of poor musical quality or which were not ideally suited to the instrument.

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1. See F.W. Marpurg: Historisch-kritische Beyträge..., vol. 3, part 6 (Berlin, 1758), 544-557.

2. Ibid., vol. 4, part 3 (Berlin, 1759), 153-191. An English translation of this pamphlet appears in E.R. Reilly: Quantz's "Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen": a Translation and Study, vol. 2 (Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1958; Ann Arbor, 1969), 823-851

3. 12 fantaisies à traversière sans basse (Hamburg, 1732-1733). Modern edition in IMW. vol. 6, ed. G. Haubwald (Kassel and Basel, 1955).

Perhaps the closest parallels between the music of Telemann and the theories, and in this case also the music, of Quantz can be found in the latter's collection of Sei duetti a due Flauti Traversi (Six Duets for Two Transverse Flutes), which were published in Berlin in 1759. In the preface to this collection,<sup>1</sup> Quantz expresses his respect for Telemann's work and praises him as a master in the composition of flute-duets. The important rules for composing duets, which Quantz then presents in some detail, read virtually like an analysis of Telemann's flute-duets. Moreover, a comparison of Quantz's Sei duetti with Telemann's Sonates sans basse à deux flûtes traverses (1727) manifests a remarkable similarity of style and texture.<sup>2</sup>

#### C.Ph.E. Bach's 'Versuch'

I have singled out for special mention Quantz's Versuch because of Telemann's obvious influence upon it. C.Ph.E. Bach's Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen, an equally important reference work, does not interest us so much here as the strongest influence noticeable in it is that of the author's father, J.S. Bach, particularly his methodical approach to fingering and ornamentation. 'In composition and keyboard playing I have never had any other teacher than my father' ('In der Komposition und im Clavierspielen habe ich nie einen anderen Lehrmeister gehabt, als meinen Vater'),

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1. See E.R. Reilly: 'Further Musical Examples for Quantz's Versuch', Journal of the American Musicological Society xvii (1964), 159-165, which also provides an English translation of the entire preface.

2. See I. Allihn: op.cit., for a detailed discussion, with musical examples, of this relationship between the music of Quantz and Telemann.

Carl Philipp Emanuel proudly confessed in his autobiography.<sup>1</sup> However, Telemann's concern for his godson's well-being was, as we have seen, quite generous, and he made every effort to ensure the distribution of C.Ph.E. Bach's writings in his area. Indeed, the Hamburger Correspondent carried two public announcements, on 29 April 1752 and on 12 January 1759, stating that copies of Bach's Versuch were obtainable from 'Capellmeister Telemann'.<sup>2</sup>

Like Quantz's Versuch, Bach's treatise also includes a number of chapters on general musicianship which are not solely reserved for keyboard performers. It is in these chapters that C.Ph.E. Bach expresses his own artistic beliefs, his own originality and uniqueness. However, in the chapters on thorough-bass practice, which constitute much of the second part of his treatise (Berlin, 1762), we do indeed find Telemann's name mentioned on more than one occasion.

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1. See C.Ph.E. Bach's autobiography in C.D. Ebeling and J.J.C. Bode (translators): Carl Burney's der Musik Doctors Tagebuch seiner Musikalischen Reisen vol. 3 (Hamburg, 1773), 199. For an English translation see W.S. Newman: 'Emanuel Bach's Autobiography', Musical Quarterly 11 (1965), 363-372.

Telemann was quite aware of this strong paternal influence and in a sonnet composed on the death of J.S. Bach, published in Marburg's Beyträge, he wrote: 'So schlaf! Dein Name bleibt vom Untergange frey:/Die Schüler Deiner Zucht, und ihrer Schüler Reih',/Bereiten für Dein Haupt des Nachruhms Ehrenkrone;/Auch Deiner Kinder Hand setzt ihren Schmuck daran:/Doch was insonderheit Dich schätzbar machen kann,/Das zeigt uns Berlin in einem würd'gen Sohne.'  
See 'Sonnet auf weiland Herrn Capellmeister Bach, von Herrn Capellmeister Telemann', in F.W. Marburg: Historisch-kritische Beyträge..., vol. 1, part 6 (Leipzig, 1755), 561. See also G.Ph. Telemann: Singen ist das Fundament..., 239. An English translation of this sonnet is provided in H.T. David and A. Mendel: The Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents (New York, 1945; revised ed., London, 1966), 227.

2. See Hamburger Correspondent: 1752 - No.68. Saturday 29 April, p.4; and 1759 - No.7. Friday 12 January, p.4.



In a short chapter on the qualities of good bass-lines (Baß-thema), Bach states that perfect examples of these are to be found in the works of his father, (C.H.) Graun and Telemann.<sup>1</sup> We can be quite certain that Bach was well acquainted with Telemann's music, initially through his father, who had performed some of Telemann's works in Leipzig, and through personal contact with his godfather, but also through the collaboration with Georg Michael Telemann at the beginning of Bach's Hamburg period and the subsequent study and performance of much of his predecessor's music during these Hamburg years. The catalogue of Bach's musical estate,<sup>2</sup> published under the supervision of his widow in Hamburg in 1790, provides details of specific works of Telemann's in Bach's library. Amongst these items we find the Brockes-Passion (1716), the oratorio Seliges Erwägen des Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi (Blessed Reflections on the Suffering and Death of Jesus Christ) (some time before 1728), a St. Matthew and a St. Mark Passion, and a printed cantata-cycle Musicalisches Lob Gottes in der Gemeinde des Herrn (Musical Praise of God in the Congregation of the Lord) (Nürnberg, 1744).


In the preface of this last work, C.Ph.E. Bach found a valuable addition to his own register of figured-bass symbols. Bach must have known this cantata-cycle before he moved to Hamburg in 1768 because in the preface to the second part of his Versuch he recommends to all of those involved in figuring bass-lines the use of a 'Telemann arc' ('ein Telemannischer Bogen') to indicate the omission of a particular interval from the chord which the figures would usually imply. In the


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1. See C.Ph.E. Bach: Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen vol. 2 (Berlin, 1762), 322.


2. See H. Miesner: 'Verzeichnis des musikalischen Nachlasses des verstorbenen Capellmeisters Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach', Bach-Jahrbuch 35 (1938), 103-136; 36 (1939), 81-112; 37 (1940-1948), 161-181.

following chapters, Bach often repeats this recommendation.<sup>1</sup> In Telemann's own words:

An arc  above a diminished fifth indicates that in place of the sixth, the octave should be taken instead.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, the figuring  to an F sharp bass note does not imply a  $\frac{6}{5}$  chord but a chord in which the bass note is doubled and the sixth is omitted. In addition to recommending this symbol for a diminished triad, Bach also advocates its use in conjunction with a  $\frac{6}{5}$  chord in which the third is omitted resulting in either a three-note chord or a doubling of the bass or the sixth.<sup>3</sup> Born out of the desire to rid the thorough-bass of the appearance of an 'arithmetic book' (Rechenbuch),<sup>4</sup> this symbol was of great practical value for the performer; C.Ph.E. Bach acknowledged this and incorporated it in his method of thorough-bass. It seems strange then that references to

1. See C.Ph.E. Bach: Versuch..., vol. 2 (Berlin, 1762), 52, 54, 61, 90, 92 and 105.

2. 'Ein Bogen , über einer kleinen Quinte, daß diese nicht die Sexte, sondern an deren Stelle die Octave zu sich nehmen solle.' See G.Ph. Telemann: Musicalisches Lob Gottes..., (Nürnberg, 1744), Preface. See also idem.: Singen ist das Fundament..., 228.


3. Further examples appear in association with  $\frac{8}{6}$ ,  $\frac{4}{2}$  and other chords to denote a three-note chord.

4. See G.Ph. Telemann: Musicalisches Lob Gottes..., Preface; and idem.: Singen ist das Fundament..., 227.

it are very sparse in later treatises on the subject.<sup>1</sup>

### F.W. Marpurg

The reader will probably have noticed the frequency of references to the works of Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718-1795) in this study and wondered about his position in the daily musical activities of Berlin.<sup>2</sup> Like Krause, Marpurg never filled a musical position, serving firstly, it is assumed, as private secretary to a Prussian nobleman and then later as director of the Prussian State Lottery. His interest in music was that of a fanatically enthusiastic amateur, an interest which is vividly recorded for us in his journalistic and theoretical writings. In the former he notified his

1. Georg Michael Telemann makes only scant reference to his grandfather in his Unterricht im Generalbaß-Spielen (Hamburg, 1773). This treatise is strongly indebted to Bach's Versuch, from which Georg Michael Telemann quotes quite freely. There is much evidence to support the assumption that he had been introduced to Bach's treatise by his grandfather, with whom he resided from 1755, on the death of his parents. The Unterricht does, however, inform us that G.Ph. Telemann never used the arc (  ) in his earlier compositions (Unterricht..., p. 61), probably indicating that with the publication of the Musicalisches Lob Gottes he made use of this symbol for the first time. In a postscript at the end of his Unterricht, G.M. Telemann suggests that those readers who would desire to have musical examples in connection with the text should 'in default of a better work' ('...in Ermangelung eines besseren Werkes...') turn to his grandfather's Singe-, Spiel- und Generalbaß-Übungen (Unterricht..., p. 105). For further information on G.M. Telemann, see his autobiography, written at Riga in 1777, in H. Miesner: 'Die Lebensskizze des jüngeren Telemann (1748-1831) und seine Werke', Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte 33 (1931-1932), 143-156.
2. It is not clear when Marpurg actually took up residence in Berlin. He had lived in Paris some time around 1746, functioning as secretary probably to Generallieutenant Friedrich Rudolph Graf von Rothenburg (Prussian emissary to Paris in 1744-1745), and it is generally assumed that soon after this he settled in Berlin, where he resided for most of his remaining years. Whilst in Paris he was, it is said, on friendly terms with Voltaire, d'Alembert, Rameau and others. In his theoretical works, Marpurg contributed greatly to the dissemination of Rameau's theories in Germany.

readers of recent publications of both books about and containing music, in which music was viewed also from a practical standpoint. Furthermore, his chronicling of various questions puzzling his contemporaries (for example, the discussion of the lied, the arguments about the relative merits of French, Italian and German music and performance, the question of recitative, the Quantz-Moldenit affair, etc.) contributed greatly to a wider distribution of knowledge of and about music.<sup>1</sup> In a number of didactic works, however, Marpurg does seem, with his slightly restricted background knowledge, somewhat less at ease. A possible exception to this rule is his Abhandlung von der Fuge (Treatise on Fugue) (Berlin, 1753-1754) which, on account of its methodical thoroughness and its indebtedness, in part, to Telemann, merits closer examination here.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See C. Burney: The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and the United Provinces (London, 1773), reprinted as P.A. Scholes (ed.): Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe vol. 2 (London, 1959) which refers to Marpurg as 'perhaps the first German theorist that could patiently be read by persons of taste.'
  2. Marpurg's first literary work was in the form of a weekly musical journal, similar in style to Scheibe's Der critische Musicus, from which Marpurg 'borrowed' his title. Like all his journalistic writing, Marpurg's Der critische Musicus an der Spree (Berlin, 1749-1750) appeared anonymously, and at first there was some confusion as to the identity of its author. In 1749, Telemann heard from Pisendel of the new musical journal that was appearing in Berlin, Der critische Musicus an der Spree (see Pisendel's letter to Telemann, dated Dresden, 16 April 1749, in G.Ph. Telemann: Briefwechsel..., 349-350). Pisendel believed its author to be Krause. Telemann must have passed this information on to Scheibe, recommending the new journal to his friend, who, in his reply to Telemann (Scheibe's letter is dated Sonderburg auf Alsen, 6 January 1750; ibid., 329), refutes this assertion mentioning that he had recently heard from (C.H.) Graun that the author is not Krause but Marpurg.

Marpurg must have been in contact with Telemann at the beginning of the 1750s because an announcement in the Hamburger Correspondent of 6 June 1753 states that, in addition to Bach's Versuch, subscribers to Marpurg's Abhandlung von der Fuge can obtain their copies from Capellmeister Telemann. Furthermore, Marpurg printed Telemann's sonnet on the death of J.S. Bach in his Beyträge in 1755.

Although we possess no letters between Marpurg and Telemann, an abundance of references to his music is to be found in Marpurg's writings, in which continual respect for the Hamburg Music Director can be read. The compilation of his Abhandlung was directly inspired by his recent study of J.S. Bach's Die Kunst der Fuge (The Art of Fugue) (1749), the second published edition of which appeared in 1752 with an extended preface by Marpurg. J.S. Bach is certainly the person most often cited in Marpurg's treatise, but the first volume of it is dedicated to Telemann and opens with a most sincere laudatory message addressed directly to him. In this prefatory 'letter', Marpurg establishes the importance of Telemann's compositional style for future developments in music:

The masterpieces from your pen have long since contradicted the erroneous opinion that the so-called galant style cannot be combined with elements borrowed from polyphony.<sup>1</sup>

Marpurg was not entirely convinced of the course on which music was developing. He believed that only through the art of counterpoint

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1. 'Die Meisterstücke Ihrer Feder haben vorlängst die falsche Meinung widerlegt, als wenn die sogenannte galante Schreibart sich nicht mit einigen aus dem Contrapunct entlehnten Zügen verbinden liesse.' See F.W. Marpurg: Abhandlung von der Fuge (Berlin, 1753), Preface. See also G.Ph. Telemann: Singen ist das Fundament..., 254.

could one save music from the 'spreading rubbish of effeminate song' ('einreißende Trödeley eines weibischen Gesanges') and help 'to restore in some measure...the honour of harmony' ('die Ehre der Harmonie...in etwas wieder herzustellen').<sup>1</sup> The successful fusion of contrapuntal techniques with the galant style is a marked feature of Telemann's instrumental music. Marpurg draws examples of Telemann's contrapuntal style from three instrumental collections. From the Sonates sans basse à deux flûtes traverses (Hamburg, 1727)<sup>2</sup> he takes an example of a fugal subject that begins on the dominant (Sonata No. 1 in G major, second movement) and of double-fugal writing (Sonata No. 2 in E minor, second movement, and Sonata No. 6 in E major, second movement); from the Sonates Corellisantes (Hamburg, 1735)<sup>3</sup> he takes an example of chromatic fugal writing (Sonata No. 3 in B minor, sixth movement) and of the progress of a fugue (Sonata No. 5 in G minor, fifth movement); and finally, from the XIIX Canons mélodieux ou VI Sonates en duo a flûtes traverses, ou violons, ou basse de viole (Paris, 1738)<sup>4</sup> he takes an example of a canon in unison at the octave (Second Canon in G minor, first movement). In the case of this last example, Marpurg continues by

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1. From Marpurg's preface to the second edition (1752) of Bach's Kunst der Fuge; in H.-J. Schulze (ed.): Dokumente zum Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs 1750-1800, Bach Dokumente 3 (Leipzig, 1972), 16. English translation in H.T. David and A Mendel: op.cit., 266-268.
  2. Modern edition in TMW. vol. 7, ed. G. Haußwald (Kassel and Basel, 1955).
  3. Modern edition in TMW. vol. 24, ed. A Hoffmann (Kassel and Basel, 1974).
  4. Modern edition in TMW. vol. 8, ed. G. Haußwald (Kassel and Basel, 1955).

recommending the publication to his readers:

Anyone wanting more examples from this excellent pen should procure for himself the XVIII Canons mélodieux ou VI Sonates en Duo of M. Telemann, engraved in Paris, in 1738.<sup>1</sup>

One might be excused for thinking it rather strange that as a figure of the 'Enlightenment', Marpurg should have directed so much energy to an aspect of music that had come to sound 'barbaric' (barbarisch) to the 'tender ears' (zärtliche Ohren) of his time.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, important to remember that part of Marpurg's aim was to encourage the incorporation of contrapuntal features into the basically homophonic texture of compositions in the galant style. It was the music of Telemann that partly inspired this action and its example was seen to show the way ahead.

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The years preceding the publication of Krause's Von der musikalischen Poesie were important in that a collective identity and collective aims gradually established themselves in the work of the Berlin circle of composers. If Krause deserves much of the credit

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1. 'Wer mehrere Exempel von dieser vortrefflichen Feder haben will, der schaffe sich die 1738 zu Paris gestochenen XVIII Canons mélodieux ou VI Sonates en Duo par Mons. Telemann.' See F.W. Marpurg: Abhandlung von der Fuge vol. 2 (Berlin, 1754), 94.
  2. From Marpurg's preface to the second edition of Bach's Kunst der Fuge. See p. 72, fn. 1, supra.

for this, the inspirational force at work in these developments was the music of Telemann. One wonders if Krause is thinking, amongst others, of Telemann when he writes in the Musicalischen Poesie:

Our times are fortunate, in that we possess several composers to whom not only the notes and their sounds but also the human heart and the essence of the fine arts and poetry are known.<sup>1</sup>

It would be interesting to think that in these words, Krause is expressing the respect and appreciation of a group of composers for the work and inspiration of Telemann.

#### Telemann and Carl Wilhelm Ramler

There is one particular figure, mentioned earlier in this section in connection with Krause, who, possibly more than any other single Berlin artist, provided the old man Telemann with an elixir of creative inspiration. This figure was no musician but the poet Carl Wilhelm Ramler.<sup>2</sup>

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1. 'Unsere Zeiten sind so glücklich, daß wir mehrere Componisten haben, denen nicht nur die Töne, sondern auch das menschliche Herz, und das Wesen der schönen Wissenschaften und der Dichtkunst bekannt ist.' See Chr.G. Krause: Von der musicalischen Poesie (Berlin, 1752), 152.
  2. On Telemann and Ramler see W. Hobohm: 'Telemann und Ramler', Telemann und seine Dichter 1, Konferenzbericht der 6. Magdeburger Telemann Festtage, 1977 (Magdeburg, 1978), 61-80.



The 'German Metastasio' is how one commentator described Ramler in 1761.<sup>1</sup> Although his texts were indeed extremely popular with composers in the second half of the eighteenth century, his literary output can in no way be compared with that of Metastasio, neither in its volume nor in its quality. What impressed composers most in Ramler's writing was the dramatic quality of his poetic vocabulary and a highly idiosyncratic style, which combined emotional feeling with a strong sense of form. In paying homage to Horatian ideas and forms, and through his predilection for the ode, he earned himself a further epithet as the German Horace.

Through his close collaboration with Krause in preparing the Oden mit Melodien collections, and his constant encouragement of Krause's work on the book Von der musicalischen Poesie, Ramler showed an acute awareness of the demand for suitable poetry for musical treatment. His texts provided composers with ideal material for setting to music. These texts are characterized by an abundance of vowels, with relatively fewer consonants, a recitative that is more prose than verse, contrasting with a considerably more concise aria-verse, words containing few syllables (1 or 2) and a clear formal conception. In compliance with what Krause demanded from musical poets, Ramler clearly understands the necessity of a dominating affect in each piece, the inappropriateness of certain words for musical setting and the need for freedom of rhyme and metre. Contrary to Krause's teaching, however, is his principle that the aria is not the only place for expressing emotions, but that the recitative too is a powerful vehicle for expressive writing. Obviously,

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1. See the Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste vol. 7, first piece (Leipzig, 1761), 194.

such poetry would affect Telemann, whose keen interest in literary developments had kept him alert to the finest poetry of his time. It is quite fascinating to observe the ageing master constantly laying his hand on the literary pulse of the century.<sup>1</sup> We can appreciate that he did this because he sensed an urgency in these literary developments which, more clearly than any other art form, are best representative of the age. Telemann's artistic personality evolved in the mid-Baroque and was propelled forward by the current of literary development in the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

The astonishing boldness and freshness of Telemann's late compositions is a consequence of the literary assuredness of this period. Between the years 1755 and 1767 Telemann composed, in addition to his regular representative pieces, twelve large-scale works, the texts of which predate their musical setting by Telemann often merely by a few months. In addition to the five texts by Ramler, there are three by the Braunschweig writer Friedrich Wilhelm Zachariä (1726-1777),<sup>3</sup> and one each by the Hamburg pastor Joachim Johann Daniel Zimmermann (1710-1767),<sup>4</sup> the Copenhagen court preacher Johann Andreas Cramer (1723-1788),<sup>5</sup> Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock,<sup>6</sup> and the Rellingen pastor Christoph Wilhelm Alers (1737-1806).<sup>7</sup>

1. See E. Valentin: Telemann in seiner Zeit (Hamburg, 1960), 43.

2. Ibid.

3. Die Tageszeiten (Hours of the Day) (1757), Das befreite Israel (Liberated Israel) (1759) and Die Auferstehung (The Resurrection) (1755).

4. Betrachtung der neunten Stunde am Todestage Jesu (Contemplation of the Ninth Hour on the Day of Jesus' Death) (1755).

5. Die Donner-Ode, in two parts. (1756 and c.1762).

6. Sing, unsterbliche Seele and Mirjam und deine Wehmut (1759).

7. Der Tag des Gerichts (The Day of Judgement) (1762).

Without exception, these texts manifest a poetic language of the highest order and constitute some of the finest sacred musical poetry written in Germany in the second half of the eighteenth century.

There is every possibility that Ramler had been in touch with Telemann in connection with the publication of his lieder in the first volume of Oden mit Melodien in 1753. That Ramler took particular interest in the music of these volumes can be detected in a letter to Gleim that same year, in which he mentions that a number of lieder from Telemann's Vier und zwanzig Oden would probably find their way into a third volume of Oden mit Melodien.<sup>1</sup>

### Der Tod Jesu

Writing to Gleim in 1755,<sup>2</sup> Ramler expressed his annoyance on hearing that his Passion cantata text, written at the request of Frederick the Great's sister, Princess-Anna Amalia, had appeared in a pirate publication in Hamburg. How this text, Der Tod Jesu, came into the hands of the Hamburg printers J.G. Piscator and Son is not absolutely clear, although a number of clues do suggest that Telemann was responsible for it. This unauthorized publication of Ramler's text appeared together with Zimmermann's Die Betrachtung der neunten Stunde am Todestage Jesu; the names of the authors, however, do not appear anywhere in this publication, which seems to

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1. See Ramler's letter to Gleim, dated Berlin, c.8 December 1753, in C. Schüddekopf: Briefwechsel zwischen Gleim und Ramler, vol.2 (Tübingen, 1907), 78.

2. See Ramler's letter to Gleim, dated Berlin, 9 February 1755; ibid., 181-182.

have been intended as a text book to accompany the performance of 'zwey Passions-Oratorien' (two Passion oratorios) in the Hamburg Drill-Hall on 19 March 1755. The Hamburger Correspondent of 18 March 1755 informs us, in two separate notices, of both the publication and the performance and, furthermore, mentions that the texts, and also the tickets to the concert, are obtainable from Music Director Telemann.<sup>1</sup> Until quite recently there have been conflicting opinions as to the date of composition of Telemann's settings of the above mentioned texts. Following the reappraisal of an article written earlier this century,<sup>2</sup> and renewed examination of the newspaper announcements of March 1755, however, it has become clear that both works, there referred to as 'zwey Passions-Oratorien', were written and performed for the first time in that year. Further proof that these works are indeed the 'zwey Passions-Oratorien' of 1755 can be found in the pairing of these two works in a number of contemporary manuscript copies.<sup>3</sup>

Ramler completed his Tod Jesu text at the beginning of July 1754. During its evolution, he was corresponding regularly with his close friend Gleim, whose opinion he often sought and together with whom he had initially intended writing the text. Gleim had shown some passages of the text to Klopstock, who was staying with him at that time; both men were of the opinion that these passages were

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1. See the Hamburger Correspondent: 1755 - No. 44. Tuesday 18 March, pp. 3 and 4.
  2. See W. Lott: 'Die beiden Uraufführungen des "Tod Jesu" im März 1755', Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst 29 (1924), 123-127. See also W. Hobohm: op.cit.
  3. Copies are preserved in A - Wn, S.A. 68!C.21 and D - brd - B, Mus.ms. 21722.

'already musical without music'.<sup>1</sup> Princess Anna Amalia had originally planned to compose the music to Ramler's cantata herself, but she only completed the opening chorale and first chorus.<sup>2</sup> The text was then entrusted to Carl Heinrich Graun, who composed his setting some time before 9 February 1755.<sup>3</sup>

It seems likely that Telemann had given Ramler's text to the Hamburg publishers J.G. Piscator and Son in preparation for the performance of his setting of this text. But how did Telemann come to possess a copy of it? Considering his close association with Berlin musicians and literary figures at this time, it is probable that he received the text either from Krause or Graun, or even directly from the author Ramler. Furthermore, as Klopstock was often in Hamburg during the 1750s<sup>4</sup> it is also possible that Telemann heard of or acquired Ramler's text from him. Whoever was responsible provided Telemann with poetry that inspired him to compose the first in a series of mature vocal compositions no fewer than five of which are settings of texts by Ramler.

Ramler would have been quite surprised to learn that the first public performance of a musical setting of his Tod Jesu was not by Graun, performed in Berlin on 26 March 1755, but a work by Telemann,

1. See Gleim's letter to Ramler, dated Halberstadt, 8 July 1754, in C. Schüddekopf: op.cit., vol. 2, 115.
2. See J.Ph. Kirnberger: Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik vol. 2 (Berlin and Königsberg, 1776-1779), 75.
3. See Ramler's letter to Gleim, dated Berlin, 9 February 1755, in C. Schüddekopf: ibid., 181.
4. Klopstock married a Hamburg resident, Margareta Moller, in St. Peter's Church, Hamburg, in 1754.

whose Tod Jesu was heard in Hamburg a week earlier on 19 March. A year later, Ramler had the opportunity of hearing Telemann's setting in a concert performance in St. Peter's Church in Berlin on Palm Sunday 11 April, and possibly also Good Friday 16 April. He wrote to Gleim after hearing the Palm Sunday performance that 'the music was composed better than it was performed'.<sup>1</sup>

### Die Donner-Ode

Later that same year, Telemann's Donner-Ode, commemorating the Lisbon earthquake (November 1755), was performed in Hamburg.<sup>2</sup> The text for this work had been adapted by Ramler and Krause from Johann Andreas Cramer's poetical translations of Psalms 8 and 29. A letter from Ramler to Gleim informs us of Ramler and Krause's collaboration on the text of Telemann's Donner-Ode:

Yesterday, I attended the rehearsal of a Donner-Ode composed by Herr Telemann, the text of which both of us, Herr Krause and myself, pieced together from Cramer's Psalms. Herr Krause beat or rather played the timpani in it; you will not know that he is also a virtuoso of this thundering instrument. The piece was composed on the occasion of the earthquake and today it was performed in St. Peter's Church as a prelude to the Te Deum.<sup>3</sup>

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1. 'Die Music ist beßer componirt als executirt worden.' See Ramler's letter to Gleim, dated Berlin, 13 April 1756, in C. Schüddekopf: op.cit., vol. 2, 238.
  2. This took place in St. Catherine's Church on 10 October 1756, as part of the divine service. The work was soon repeated in one of Telemann's popular public concerts and thereafter became a regular favourite with the Hamburg concert public.
  3. 'Gestern war ich in der musicalischen Probe einer Donner-Ode die Herr Telemann componirt, und wir beyden, Herr Krause und ich, aus Cramer's Psalmen zusammengestoppelt haben. Herr Krause schlug, oder spielte vielmehr, die Paucken dazu. Sie werden noch nicht wissen, daß er auch auf diesem donnernden Instrument ein Virtuose ist.'

The Donner-Ode is a finely integrated cantata structure which, unusually for its ecclesiastical function, is a brilliantly festive affair. One has the impression that Telemann, whilst composing this cantata for the 17th Sunday after Trinity, was conscious of the effect that it would have on his listeners. This is Telemann at his most powerful: resounding trumpet fanfares decorate the opening chorus, celebrating the glory of God's name, serenely joyous calls for adoration and jubilation characterize the soprano's aria with divided violas, and the thundering voice of God's majesty receives vivid depiction in a duet for two basses, supported by timpani rolls. Further strokes of originality can be seen in the avoidance of all cyclic forms in the arias, favouring in all five pieces a through-composed structure. The absence of all lines of narrative in Ramler and Krause's paraphrased adaptation of Psalms 8 and 29 precludes any passages of recitative in Telemann's composition, in which we sense a fine arch of jubilation - marked by the D major chorus 'Wie ist dein Name so groß' (How excellent is thy name), appearing both at the beginning and at the end of the cantata, as strong pillars of sound.

In May 1757, Agricola wrote to Telemann stating that he had been shown (possibly by Krause) a copy of the music of the Donner-Ode: 'I could have wanted to cry more than once as I looked through it.'<sup>1</sup>

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Das Stück ward bey Gelegenheit der Erdbeben verfertigt, und man hat es heute in der Petrikerche als ein Vorspiel zum Te Deum aufgeführt.' See Ramler's letter to Gleim, dated Berlin, 11 December 1757 in C. Schüddekopf: op.cit., 307.

1.. 'Ich hätte, bey derselben Durchsehung lieber mehr als einmal weinen mögen.' See Agricola's letter to Telemann, dated Berlin, 24 May 1757, in G.Ph. Telemann: Briefwechsel..., 371.

Die Hirten bei der Krippe zu Bethlehem

By the end of 1757, Ramler had completed a further secular text, a Christmas cantata this time, at the instigation of Agricola, Quantz and Krause. This text was sung in Berlin that Christmas to the music of Agricola. Ramler's cantata Die Hirten bei der Krippe zu Bethlehem (Shepherds at the Manger in Bethlehem) also found its way into Telemann's library, probably coming directly from Ramler or from his friend and admirer Agricola. The autograph manuscript of Telemann's setting of this text bears clearly the date, 1759, in Telemann's hand.<sup>1</sup>

In Der Tod Jesu Ramler had adopted a markedly prose-like style for both recitatives and arias but in Die Hirten bei der Krippe zu Bethlehem the aria-verse has become somewhat terser. The powerful adjectives of the Passion text have now been replaced by an extremely imaginative treatment of verbs, with no diminishing of intensity. The vivid description of pastoral scenes of the Nativity has prompted Telemann to refrain from semplice recitative treatment altogether. Instead, at all times he provides an accompaniment, better termed a musical commentary, for four-part string ensemble.

On 9 May 1759, Ramler had had the opportunity of getting to know a new work by Telemann, which was performed in Berlin only a few weeks after its first Hamburg performance. Furthermore, this was the occasion of a private concert at the home of Krause:

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1. This manuscript is preserved in D - brd - B, Mus.ms. autogr. Telemann 5. The later addition of four chorales, indicated by separate sheets of paper inserted in the autograph manuscript, suggest that the work was probably performed in a public concert shortly before it was included in a church service. Unfortunately, no information has survived of a public performance of Telemann's setting of Ramler's text, not even in the Hamburger Correspondent.



On the 9th of this month I heard at the home of our Krause, in the company of our Lessing, the Herr court-chaplain Sack, prior Süßmilch, preacher Dietrich, privy councillor Bucholz representing our Sulzer, a beautiful composition of some pieces from the Messias by Telemann. These were the beginning of the poem and the canto of Miriam and Deborah from the last book. The composer pleased me well, but the poet seven times better.<sup>1</sup>

These works are known as Telemann's Sing, unsterbliche Seele and Mirjam und deine Wehmut, setting selected verses from Klopstock's epic Der Messias.<sup>2</sup> It appears that Marburg had also been present at this concert, and he was later stimulated to make this observation in his Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst:

On hearing this excellent music, which does not lack beautiful melodies, distributed effectively and<sup>3</sup> tastefully, we are carried away into a pensive state.

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1. 'Am 9ten hujus habe ich bey unserm Krausen in Gesellschaft unsers Lessings, Herrn Hoffprediger Sacks, Probst Süßmilchs, Prediger Dietrichs, Geh.-Rath Bucholzens, unsers Sulzers pp. eine schöne Composition einiger Stücke des Messias von Telemann angehört. Es war der Anfang des Gedichts, und der Gesang der Mirjam und Debora aus dem letzten Buche. Der Componist gefiel mir gut, aber der Poet siebenmal besser.' See Ramler's letter to Gleim, dated Berlin, 12 May 1759, in C. Schüddekopf: op.cit., vol. 2, 387. A Hamburg performance of these pieces had taken place on 29 March 1759.
  2. Canto I, verses 1-41 and Canto X, verses 472-515. A modern edition of Telemann's work is printed as G.Ph. Telemann: Sing, unsterbliche Seele und Mirjam und deine Wehmut (1759), ed. G. Godehart (Celle, s.d.). Klopstock's Der Messias was written over a period of a quarter of a century (1748-1773) and extended to 20 cantos.
  3. '...daß man bey Anhörung dieser vortrefflichen Musik in eine Tief-sinnigkeit versetzt wird, welche die Schönheit der Melodien nicht vermisset.' See F.W. Marburg: Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst vol. 1, 19th letter (Berlin, 1759), 144.

## Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu

The previous winter, Ramler wrote to Gleim complaining of the burden of writing 'Charfreytags - und Weihnachtslieder' (Good Friday and Christmas songs).<sup>1</sup> This dissatisfaction with his destiny as a writer of sacred musical poetry is quite noticeable in his attitude to a direct commission from Telemann for a text in 1760. Telemann's oratorio Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu (The Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus) was first performed in Hamburg on 28 April of that same year, and only two months earlier, Ramler had written to Gleim expressing little enthusiasm for the project:

I have given a solemn promise to complete something by Easter with which an aged musician will sing his demise. Herr Telemann, a doyen of 78, will sing his swan-song and I am to provide the words for it. Unfortunately, slow as I am, I have only recently promised this and just now begun it. It cannot possibly be any good, with my present duties at the military academy.<sup>2</sup>

This apparent lack of enthusiasm, and the obvious haste with which Ramler complied with Telemann's request can at times be detected in the text. One notices a number of recitative passages in which there is an uncharacteristic piling-up of words beginning with 'sch' and

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1. See Ramler's letter to Gleim, dated Berlin, 31 December 1758, in C. Schüddekopf: op.cit., vol. 2, 308.
  2. '...ich habe ein feyerliches Versprechen von mir gegeben auf Ostern etwas fertig zu machen, woran sich ein alter Musikus todtsingen will. Herr Telemann, ein Greis von 78 Jahren, will seinen Schwanengesang singen, und dazu soll ich ihm die Worte vorsprechen. Zum Unglück für mich langsamen habe ich es erst itzt versprochen und erst itzt angefangen. Es kann unmöglich gut werden, bey jetzigem Dienste am Cadettenhof.' See Ramler's letter to Gleim, dated 24 February 1760, in W. Hobohm: 'Telemann und Ramler...', 66 and 78, fn. 32.

arias with longer lines, often containing words with more than two syllables. Probably on account of the somewhat 'wordy' nature of the text, we encounter more semplice recitative in this work than in any other of Telemann's late works. His music is, nevertheless, highly accomplished, and in its melodic freshness and harmonic interest merits a place amongst the masterpieces of his last years. Krause and Agricola were greatly impressed by this work<sup>1</sup> and the music collector Georg Johann Daniel Poelchau (1773-1836), who possessed numerous autograph manuscripts and contemporary copies of Telemann's works, regarded it as 'one of his best works'.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Secular Texts: 'Der Mai' and 'Ino'

Despite the undoubted mastery of Ramler's sacred cantatas, his true vocation was as a writer of secular poetry. The Christmas cantata Die Hirten bey der Krippe zu Bethlehem gives us a clear impression of his humanistic tendencies. This text transports the pastoral

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1. Krause wrote to Ramler in May 1760: 'At last, the Easter piece has arrived from Hamburg. Herr Agricola finds it better than the Passion music and, I tell you, it is quite unique. Telemann has shown, in his eightieth year, that he can do anything' ('Endlich ist das Oster-Stück aus Hamburg gekommen. Herrn Agricola gefällt es besser als die Passionsmusik, und ich sage Ihnen, es ist ganz unvergleichlich. Telemann hat in seinem 80ten Jahr gezeigt, daß er alles kann.') See Krause's letter to Ramler, dated Berlin, 31 May 1760, quoted in W. Hobohm: op.cit., 65. In that same year, Agricola also set Ramler's text to music and several years later, in 1777, C.Ph.E. Bach performed his own setting in Hamburg.
  2. '...einer seiner besten Arbeiten.' See H. Miesner: Philipp Emanuel Bach in Hamburg (Wiesbaden, 1969), 74, fn. 5.

lyricism of secular ode poetry into the framework of a sacred cantata. The son of David has been born into a world of milk and honey, with a golden harvest, lambs, cows and lions, and rustic pipers and fiddlers. Perhaps Ramler's finest texts are the secular musical poems Der Mai (May), 'one of the most perfect German musical poems',<sup>1</sup> and Ino, 'a poetic masterpiece'.<sup>2</sup> Telemann, by now an avid supporter of Ramler's writing, set both of these texts, but it is not clear when and where these secular cantatas were first performed.

Telemann probably composed his Mai cantata some time around 1760. According to Karl Goedeke<sup>3</sup> the text was printed in Berlin in 1758, as a 'special' publication. The autograph manuscript of Telemann's cantata<sup>4</sup> exhibits quite clearly the early stage of deterioration that his handwriting had reached at 1760. Only two years later the hand has become very unsteady; we notice greater recourse to abbreviation than before and the assistance of an amanuensis has now become unavoidable.<sup>5</sup> It seems, therefore, feasible to place Telemann's

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1. '...eines der vollkommensten deutschen musikalischen Gedichte.' See J.F. Reichardt: 'Über die musikalische Komposition des Schäfergedichts', Deutsches Museum vol. 2, July-December (Leipzig, 1977), 173.
  2. '...ein poetisches Meisterstück'. See Chr.F.D. Schubart: Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst (Vienna, 1806; repr. Leipzig, 1977), 173.
  3. See K. Goedeke: Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung. Aus den Quellen vol.4, part 1. Third edition (Dresden, 1916), 180.
  4. Preserved in D - brd - B, Mus.ms. autogr. Telemann 3.
  5. The autograph manuscript of the St. Matthew Passion of 1762, preserved in D - ddr - Bds, Mus.ms. autogr. Telemann 12, is clear evidence of this. After c.1760, Georg Michael Telemann probably assisted Telemann in writing out his compositions in full score. The handwriting of G.M. Telemann is found in much of the St. Matthew Passion manuscript of 1762.

Der Mai together with those works written in and around 1760. Ramler's cantata is an idyllic festive poem welcoming the arrival of May; we encounter an Arcadian world in full blossom. The poetic vocabulary is vividly pictorial and sensuously descriptive of spring's fragrance. Telemann matches this with charmingly refreshing music, closer in character to the lied than to the operatic cantata.

By far the finest secular text that Telemann ever set to music was Ramler's Ino. Never before had Telemann encountered such a perfect blend of drama and poetry, of narration and reflection, and of emotion and structural control. Ramler's text was first published in Berlin in 1765.<sup>1</sup> In January 1766 the texts of both Ino and Der Mai were printed in J.J. Eschenburg's Hamburg magazine Unterhaltungen,<sup>2</sup> where references were made to musical settings by Telemann (Der Mai) and Krause (Ino). As Krause's Ino is merely a revision of Telemann's composition we can assume that Telemann composed his Ino cantata some time in 1765. We have no record of a performance of the work during Telemann's last years but it is possible that C.Ph.E. Bach performed this setting of Ramler's cantata in one of his popular public concerts in Hamburg, on 5 May 1768.<sup>3</sup>

Telemann's Ino is a tour de force for the soprano soloist. Although the cantata contains two da capo arias, one has the impression of hearing a grandly proportioned through-composed solo operatic scena. Indeed, the dramatic intensity of Ramler's text has

1. See K. Goedeke: op.cit., 181.

2. See J.J. Eschenburg (ed.): Unterhaltungen vol. 1, first piece (Hamburg, 1766), 72.

3. See Hamburger Correspondent: 1768 - No.70. Saturday 30 April. See also H.-G. Ottenberg: op.cit., 157-158 and 312, fn. 38 and 39.

encouraged the virtually uninterrupted progression of recitative (accompanied), arioso, aria and instrumental commentary. With the exception of a mere handful of semplice recitative bars, Telemann has composed accompanied recitatives of extraordinary expressive power.

Ino, daughter of Cadmus and Harmonia, and sister of Semele, is being pursued by her insane husband Athamas, who, having already murdered one of their sons, is now intent on killing the other. In the opening accompanied recitative, we are thrown, together with the persecuted Ino, totally into disarray: at the second bar, with its unexpected chord of the augmented sixth, Telemann achieves spatial and acoustical disorientation - 'Wohin? Wo soll ich hin?'. Harmonic stability is created only when Ino becomes aware who it is who is responsible for her dilemma; in the following da capo aria, she questions the injustice of Juno's actions. The stylistic idiom here is not that of the Baroque ritornello; motifs heard at the outset are now shorter and conciser, sequential repetition has become a means of heightening harmonic tension, and we notice greater concern for contrast of ideas than in Telemann's earlier works. What follows is a masterly alternation of accompanied recitative, instrumental commentary, expressive arioso and extended aria fragments, and an impressive depiction of Ino's escape.

Her husband appears, his hands covered with the blood of his murdered son; Ino has no other option but to jump from the cliffs into the sea (dramatic Accompagnato, with concitato figures in the orchestra). Here she is welcomed by a peaceful symphony (a gentle minuet for two flutes and unison violins only). This tranquil state is interrupted by her startled regaining of consciousness, followed by a beautiful depiction of her floating on the waves (arioso,

with triplet violin figuration in thirds and sixths). Yet then, realizing that in the fall she had let go of her son (agitated aria fragment), Ino implores Neptune to return him to her (smoother, more extended aria fragment, followed by a return of the agitated fragment). He then appears before her in the company of Tritons and Nereids (extended fragment: a Siciliano cavatina), and mother and son are both depicted floating on the waves (return of triplet violin figuration). In a short piece of narrative - the only extended passage of recitativo semplice in the entire cantata - Ino describes her journey at the bottom of the ocean. Two dances of celebration follow (two minuets for strings, flutes and horns), the second of which provides the material for the ensuing cavatina, proclaiming Ino's acceptance by the gods, and the bestowing of the new name of Leucothea on her. An aria then continues the mood of thankful rejoicing (a through-composed structure), before a brilliant Accompagnato, portraying the assembly of the ocean gods and the arrival of Neptune, prepares us for the final aria. Ramler's final verses are a joyous hymn to God's grace. Telemann ends his cantata in a blaze of C major, in a manner that belies his advanced age and any loyalty to the ideals of the Baroque. Here, as in the cantata as a whole, he shows himself to be a master of the early Classical idiom, composing a majestic da capo aria which Graun, Hasse and Gluck would have been proud to have written.

It is important that we realize that the expansion of the orchestral accompaniment in vocal pieces at this time occurred less from pure musical developments but in response to the intellectual and emotional changes in contemporary literature. All of the writers

who provided Telemann with texts for his last mature works made exceptional demands on the composer, Ramler at their head certainly did. Little did Ramler know, when he wrote to Gleim in 1754 'the arias are only for the musician, but the recitatives are for the poet',<sup>1</sup> that the musician Telemann would be stimulated by his recitative poetry to compose some of the finest vocal music of that time.

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1. '...die Arien nur für den Musikus, die Recitatife (sic.) aber für den Poeten sind.' See Ramler's letter to Gleim, dated Berlin, 29 June 1754, in C. Schüddekopf: op.cit., vol. 2, 112.



TELEMANN

AND

CARL HEINRICH GRAUN

## Introduction

Having discussed the activities of the individual members of the Berlin circle in their relationship to Telemann, we can now focus our attention on the most important figure in Berlin, and examine his relationship to Telemann.

Carl Heinrich Graun, Königlicher Capellmeister (Royal Capellmeister) to Frederick the Great, had established a strong reputation as a composer of Italian opera, and in contemporary writings he is portrayed as one of the most accomplished figures in German musical life, together with Telemann and Hasse. In Berlin, he was on friendly terms with musicians, composers, theorists and writers both at court and in the town.

Graun merits closer examination here on the grounds that his correspondence with Telemann is more significant than that of any other contemporary musical figure. Over a period of some twenty years, the two men corresponded on various topics of current musical interest and, of all the Berlin figures mentioned in this context, Graun enjoyed the closest association with Telemann. In a number of instances, Graun acted as mediator in Telemann's dealings with members of the Berlin circle; Graun may even have been the initiator of some of Telemann's connections in Berlin.

It is intriguing, in view of their close association, that not a single piece of evidence exists to corroborate a meeting between the two men. Their correspondence, however, is too warm in feeling

and too conscientiously argued in their discussion of the relative merits of French and Italian music for it to be merely a 'pen-friendship'. This chapter will suggest where and when their paths may have crossed.<sup>1</sup>

### Cultural links between Hamburg and Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel

Graun's name first occurs in connection with Telemann during the 1720s and as a result of artistic association between the opera houses at Hamburg and Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. Both men had only recently taken on new responsibilities during these years: Telemann had left Frankfurt for Hamburg, where, from October 1721, he held the position of Director of Music of the Five Main Churches and Cantor of the Johanneum, and Graun had joined the Braunschweig Opera in 1724 as tenor soloist. Telemann added a further appointment to his Hamburg posts in 1722, when, as Director of the Hamburg Opera, he took control of what was widely acknowledged to be the operatic centre of Northern Europe. Through this additional responsibility, Telemann's reputation further increased, and his stage works were sought after by other neighbouring German opera companies, chief amongst them the court opera at Braunschweig.

Close ties between the opera houses at Braunschweig and Hamburg had in fact long existed. After initial success at Braunschweig, the opera composers Johann Sigmund Kusser (1660-1727) and Reinhard Keiser (1674-1739) both moved to Hamburg, in 1693 and 1696 respectively, to consummate their operatic careers. The two houses exchanged numer-

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1. Although both Telemann and Graun appear to have been in Dresden in 1719 for the court wedding festivities, there is no proof that a meeting took place between the celebrated composer and the young pupil of the Kreuzschule, then in his mid-teens.

ous compositions over the years.<sup>1</sup> Telemann was always particularly anxious to maintain these close cultural ties in order, essentially, to offer his Hamburg audience the widest possible selection of contemporary operas, but also, no doubt, to secure performances of his own operas outside Hamburg.<sup>2</sup>

### Telemann's 'Gensericus' in Braunschweig

Graun sang his first role at Braunschweig during the Candelmas fair (February) of 1725 in Ottone, Re di Germania, with music by Handel and Lotti.<sup>3</sup> That same season, Telemann's 1722 Hamburg opera Sieg der Schönheit (The Triumph of Beauty) was performed at Braunschweig under the title Der Grosse König der Africanischen Wenden Gensericus (Genseric, Mighty King of the African Vandals),<sup>4</sup> and it seems possible that Graun sang the small tenor role of Helmiges in these performances. The work was revived in 1728, when it was heard

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1. Keiser's Die großmütige Tomyris (Generous Tomyris), for example, written for Hamburg in 1717, was repeated at Braunschweig in 1719 and 1720; the title role, composed for the soprano Margaretha Susanna Kayser, was taken by Madame Kayser at both the Hamburg and Braunschweig performances. See K. Zelm: Reinhard Keiser. Die großmütige Tomyris. Kritischer Bericht (Munich, 1976), 13-14. In later years, Madame Kayser became a close associate of Telemann, who, in his Hamburg operas and oratorios, wrote numerous arias for her, which superbly show off her exceptional vocal abilities.
  2. Telemann was quite familiar with the court of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. During his school years at Hildesheim (1697/8-1701), he was present at 'special festivities' ('bey besondern Festen') and at 'all trade fairs' ('bey allen Messen') in Braunschweig. See the autobiography of 1740 in J. Mattheson: Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte (Hamburg, 1740), 357.
  3. See F. Chrysander: G.F. Händel ii (Leipzig, 1860), 95: 'Otto wurde im Jahre 1725 in Braunschweig, und 1726 in Hamburg gegeben. In Braunschweig sang der nachmals berühmte Graun den Adelbert; die Musik war hier 'von Händel und Lotti' gemischt.'
  4. A libretto authenticating this performance is preserved in D - brd - W, Textb. 663.

by Telemann's Frankfurt friend, the lawyer, amateur musician, poet and later town councillor Johann Friedrich Armand von Uffenbach (1687-1769);<sup>1</sup> and again in 1732, this performance corroborated by a libretto dated the same year and by an inscription in the only surviving manuscript of Telemann's score.<sup>2</sup> It may be assumed that Graun took the only tenor role in all revivals of Telemann's opera at Braunschweig. This information alone would not suffice to support the assumption that close associations existed between Hamburg and Braunschweig at this time, if it were not for the startling number of connections between the two centres, and consequently between the two composers, in the ensuing years.

#### Uffenbach's 'Poetischer Versuch'

In November 1726, Telemann wrote to Uffenbach requesting a copy of his Poetischer Versuch, which, he understood, had recently been completed.<sup>3</sup> The publication of this collection of cantata texts was sponsored by the Duke of Braunschweig, and Telemann believed (erroneously) that Graun was at work setting these texts to music. He suggested to Uffenbach:

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1. A note in Uffenbach's diary mentions a performance of Genericus at Braunschweig on 18 August 1728. Extracts from Uffenbach's diary appear in G.F. Schmidt: Die frühdeutsche Oper und die musikdramatische Kunst Georg Caspar Schürmanns (Regensburg, 1933-1934), i, 102-111. See also E. Preußner: Die musikalischen Reisen des Herrn von Uffenbach (Kassel and Basel, 1949).
  2. The libretto is preserved in D - brd - W, Textb. 664; the manuscript forms part of the Telemann collection in D - brd - B, Mus.ms. 21, 777.
  3. Poetischer Versuch, worinnen die Nachfolge Christi in Betrachtung seiner heilsamen Lehre...zu einem Kirchen-Jahrgange...entworffen wird (Frankfurt, 1726). A close friendship between Telemann and Uffenbach had existed since the former's activities in Frankfurt (1712-1721), Uffenbach's name appears in a list of founders and supporters, for the year 1717, of the Frankfurt Collegium Musicum, the secretary and administrator of which was Telemann.

although in Wolfenbüttel Mr. Grauen [sic] is currently composing the music, I would nevertheless, in a year, make bold as to pit my compositions against his, and try to see, which one of us comes closest to suiting the purpose.<sup>1</sup>

This remark to Uffenbach constitutes the first record of Telemann's awareness of Graun's existence; and there seems every indication that the name was not new to him. However, it is not clear who had provided Telemann with this false information concerning Uffenbach's Poetischer Versuch. According to a series of letters from Georg Caspar Schürmann (1672/3-1751), court Capellmeister at Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, to Uffenbach, written between 1726 and 1729, it was Schürmann himself who was at work setting Uffenbach's sacred texts to music.<sup>2</sup>

It is interesting to read that Telemann wished to pit himself against a composer, some twenty-two years his junior. Was he perhaps a little curious of the reputed musical abilities of a younger contemporary? Was he even in search of exciting new talent to enliven the repertoire of the Hamburg Opera? Whatever his motives, his enthusiasm for new musical developments and for the work of his younger contemporaries was particularly strong during these years, and in the 1720's the court of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel particularly held his attention.

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1. '...obzwar gegenwärtig M.<sup>r</sup> Grauen in Wolfenbüttel die musicalische Composition verfertigt, so würde ich mich doch erkönnen, übers Jahr ihm die Meinige entgegen zu setzen, und zu versuchen, wer von uns beyden dem Zwecke am nächsten zukommen wisse.' Taken from Telemann's letter to Uffenbach, dated Hamburg, 27 November 1726, in G.Ph. Telemann: Briefwechsel..., 221.

2. See W. Nagel: 'Deutsche Musiker des 18. Jahrhunderts im Verkehre mit J.Fr.A. von Uffenbach', Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft, xiii (1911-1912), 95-102. In his letter to Uffenbach, dated 22 August 1727, Schürmann enclosed 'das erste Stück' of the cantata-cycle (see ibid., 101).

Johann Ulrich von König, a Mutual Patron

In our search for possible links between Hamburg and Braunschweig during this period, we constantly stumble upon the name of Johann Ulrich von König (1688-1744), poet, opera librettist and, from 1720, private secretary ('Geheimer-Secretär') and court poet in Dresden.<sup>1</sup> König had been instrumental in securing for Graun the position of tenor at the Braunschweig Opera in 1724. Furthermore, there seems every reason to believe that Telemann also benefited from König's influence in opera circles, for prior to his official appointment in Hamburg, Telemann had received a commission to compose a work for the Hamburg Opera, which received its first performance there on 28 January 1721. The text of this opera, Der geduldige Sokrates (Patient Socrates), is a German translation, by König, of Nicolò Minato's Italian libretto for Antonio Draghi's La Pazienza di Socrate (Prague, 1680).<sup>2</sup> König probably recommended Telemann to the Opera directors for the composition of the music to his opera libretto, and, possibly, established the contacts that eventually led to Telemann's appointment in Hamburg.

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1. Between 1710 and 1716, König had written no less than seven original librettos for the Hamburg Opera, all of which were set to music by Reinhard Keiser. There then followed three years holding various posts at Leipzig and at the court of Weissenfels. After leaving Hamburg, however, König continued to write opera libretti, providing the Braunschweig Opera with a number of texts, generally heard in settings by Schürmann.
  2. König had previously provided Telemann with oratorio texts in Frankfurt in 1718: five texts constituting the oratorio Der Königliche Prophet David als ein Fürbild unsers Heylandes Jesu. The music of this work is lost.

'Sinilde' and 'Sancio'

Carl Heinrich Graun's second opera for Braunschweig, Die in ihrer Unschuld siegende Sinilde (Sinilde, triumphant in her innocence), is a setting of König's German translation of Francesco Silvani's original libretto for Gasparini's Il miglior d'ogni amore per il peggiore d'ogni odio (Venice, 1703). First performed in February 1727, Graun's opera pre-dates Telemann's setting of exactly the same text, heard at Hamburg in October 1727, under the title Sancio oder die siegende Grossmuth (Sancio or magnanimity victorious), by merely eight months. The libretti printed in 1727 to accompany the Braunschweig<sup>1</sup> and Hamburg<sup>2</sup> performances, provide us with some information about the practices of these respective opera companies.

The Hamburg libretto (Sancio) is considerably longer than that for Braunschweig (Sinilde). As has already been mentioned, however, Sinilde was performed in February and Sancio in October 1727. The text must have been submitted to each company some time during 1726 or, in the case of Sancio, early 1727; but taking into account the practices of the different establishments. Sancio includes a number of ensembles (arias a 2, 3 and 4) which, together with three solo arias and a great deal of recitative, are not to be found in Sinilde, an indication, probably, that Sancio represents an expansion of the Sinilde text. The music of these operas is, unfortunately, preserved only in frag-

1. Die/In ihrer Unschuld/Siegende/SINILDE/In einem Sing-Spiel/auf/ Dem grossen Braunschweigischen/Schau-Platz/vorgestellt/In der Winter-Messe 1727./Wolfenbüttel/Druckts Christian Bartsch/Herzoglicher Hof-und/Canzeley-Buchdrucker. D - brd - B, 4 in: Mus. T81.
2. Sancio,/oder/Die Siegende Großmuth./In einem Sing-spiele/auf/dem/Hamburgischen/Schau-Platze/vorgestellt./Im Jahr 1727. Gedrucket mit Stromerschen Schriften. D - brd - B, 37 in: Mus. T6 R.



mentary form.<sup>1</sup> However, two settings of the same aria text survive. 'Es glänzet die Unschuld in himmlischen Strahlen' (Innocence shines forth in heavenly rays of light) has an almost identical opening melodic figure in both Graun's and Telemann's opera:<sup>2</sup>

Example 1: 'Es glänzet die Unschuld...', sung by 'Die Unschuld' in Graun's Sinilde: Act two, scene nine.

Example 2: 'Es glänzet die Unschuld...', sung by 'Die Unschuld' in Telemann's Sancio: Act two, scene nine.

The similarity here is quite noteworthy although it is impossible to tell who had inspired whom. It seems likely therefore, that Telemann and Graun knew each other's work, probably through the associations between the Hamburg and Braunschweig opera companies.

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1. C.H. Graun: 22 Arien aus der Opera vom/Sancio und Sinilde komponiert von Graun/gespiehlet zu Braunschweig/im Februario 1727; in: D - brd - B, Mus.ms. 8203. Three arias from Telemann's Sancio are included in Der getreue Music-Meister (Hamburg, 1728-1729) and one further aria is preserved in manuscript in: D - ddr - Bds, Mus.ms. 30237, Sheet 41-42; see W. Menke: Thematische Verzeichnis der Vokal-Werke von Georg Philipp Telemann ii (Frankfurt am Main, 1983), 77.
  2. Although this figure is a common cliché in music of this period (see also Bach's Choral Prelude Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme, BWV 645), here we encounter it in two settings of the same text, where a setting in triple metre, as the spoken rhythm would seem to require, has been rejected in favour of one in quadruple metre.

### Graun's operas in Hamburg

Graun's next Braunschweig opera, Iphigenia in Aulis, was first heard in 1728. Three years later, on 3 December 1731, this work was performed at the opera house in Hamburg, followed four years later, in November 1735, by performances of Polydorus, which Graun had written for Braunschweig in 1726. There exist no indications how these performances came about nor concerning those taking part. If we bear in mind that Telemann's Genericus was still in the repertoire at Braunschweig at this time, the performance of operas by Graun in Hamburg in 1731 and 1735 would appear to further emphasize the strong links between the two houses during this decade. It seems unlikely that Schürmann would have performed Telemann's Genericus without the composer's consent or possibly even professional collaboration. (Instances of revivals of operas by Telemann in cities other than Hamburg are very rare.) Similarly, the Hamburg opera directors would surely have acquired copies of Graun's scores either directly from the composer or from the commissioning body. Furthermore, Braunschweig and Hamburg were merely two days' coach-ride apart; and curiosity, pride and perhaps just a suggestion of artistic possessiveness would have dictated Graun's journey to Hamburg and Telemann's to Braunschweig to hear these performances.

It would appear likely that professional contacts had been established between Telemann and Graun before the autumn of 1731; personal contacts, however, seem to extend back to 1727 or possibly even 1725. Since it is possible to date the commencement of their correspondence activity no later than in the last days of Graun's Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel period (early 1735), a friendly association between the two composers would appear to span a period of more than thirty years.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See p. 112, infra. The last letter is dated Berlin, 15 May 1756.

### Mizler's 'Korrespondierende Societät'

In the course of their correspondence, it is possible to perceive a gradual widening of Telemann and Graun's mutual horizons as well as a noticeable growth in their friendship. This can partly be explained by Telemann's enthusiasm for the establishment of a Prussian Capelle in Berlin and his interest in the activities of its composers, musicians and writers. But the 1740s also marked a significant change in Telemann's own activities, most clearly reflected by his willing acceptance in 1739 of an invitation from Lorenz Christoph Mizler to become a member of the Korrespondierende Societät der musicalischen Wissenschaften (Corresponding Society of Musicology).<sup>1</sup> Graun, too, became a member of the society, but not until July 1746; soon after it was to enter a period of decline.

#### The Aims of the Society

Mizler's society plays an important role in a discussion of Telemann's relationship to his contemporaries, and in particular to Carl Heinrich Graun. The aim of the society was, in Mizler's own words, 'To perfect, as far as that is possible, the musical sciences regarding not only history, but also whatever is relevant in the realms

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1. On Mizler and his society see G.J. Buelow: 'Mizler', New Grove 12 (1980), 372-3; F. Wöhlke: Lorenz Christoph Mizler, Ein Beitrag zur musicalischen Gelehrten-geschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts (Würzburg-Aumühle, 1940); and H.R. Jung: 'Telemann und die Mizlersche "Societät der musicalischen Wissenschaften"', Konferenzbericht der 3. Magdeburger Telemann-Festtage 2 (Magdeburg, 1969).

of worldly wisdom, mathematics, rhetoric and poetry'.<sup>1</sup> The society's title indicates how this might be accomplished: members were encouraged to correspond with each other on topics of current musical interest. The idea behind this activity, bringing together leading musicians, composers and theorists in a collective pursuit, had far-reaching significance for musical relationships in mid-century Germany.

At regular intervals, Mizler would circulate among the members a package containing the writings of the society; each member was then invited to criticize the work of the others. This also implied, besides an exchange of theoretical writings, an exchange of compositions, as Mizler had cause to stress much later on.<sup>2</sup> If the composers of the society, who, by 1747, included Germany's 'Mighty Handful' (Telemann, J.S. Bach, C.H. Graun and Handel - the latter the society's only honorary member), did indeed follow Mizler's suggestions, there may well have been a period of mutual inspiration between some of the leading composers of the day.

Mizler's ambitions for the society were, however, considerably higher than this, and, as one could expect of a man with pronounced scientific leanings, he gave prime attention to the mathematically-minded members of the society (C.G. Schroeter and H. Bockemeyer, in particular) in the regular issues of the Musikalische Bibliothek. Indeed, Mizler had underlined in the statutes of the society, published in the fourth part of the first volume of the Musikalische

1..See L.Chr. Mizler: Neu eröffnete Musikalische Bibliothek, vol. 1, part 4 (Leipzig, 1738), 73-74. This publication, which appeared in Leipzig between 1736 and 1754, became, after 1738, the official journal of the society.

2. See L.Chr. Mizler: op.cit., vol. 4, part 1 (Leipzig, 1754), 112: 'When good composers criticize each other's work in a friendly manner, this is the path to perfection' ('Wenn gute Componisten einander ihrer Arbeit in Freundschaft beurtheilen, so ist solches der Weg zur Vollkommenheit').

Bibliothek (Leipzig, 1738), the qualities required of prospective members, where we find:

II..Practical musicians can find no place in the society, because they are not in a position to contribute anything to the reception and improvement of music.  
 III. Theoreticians, however, will find a place with us  
 ...But the most useful members are those who are versed in both the theoretical and practical sides of music.<sup>1</sup>

### Telemann's Contributions to the Society

Telemann contributed various articles to the society's packages. His first submission, the Beschreibung der Augenorgel (Description of the Ocular Organ), originally published in Hamburg in 1739, found its way into the second volume of the Musikalische Bibliothek in 1742. The members appear to have paid little attention to this piece of work, a German translation of Louis Bertrand Castel's description of the ocular organ or ocular harpsichord, as no comments followed in subsequent issues of the Musikalische Bibliothek. In 1743 Mizler published in the journal seven essays in the form of letters answering the question: Why are consecutive parallel octaves and fifths not pleasing to the ear? The best answer was to be rewarded with the society's prize. Only two letters bear their authors' names; the others use either a society pseudonym<sup>2</sup> or no name at all. As the closing date

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1. 'II. Bloße praktische Musikverständige können (deswegen) in dieser Societet keinen Platz finden, weil sie nicht im Stande sind, etwas zur Aufnahme und Ausbesserung der Musik beyzutragen.  
 III. Theoretisch Musikgelehrte aber finden einen Platz bey uns... Die nützlichsten Mitglieder aber sind, welche in der Theorie und Praxi zugleich wohl bewandert.' See L.Chr. Mizler: Musikalische Bibliothek, vol. 1, part 4 (Leipzig, 1738), 74.

2. Mizler, for instance, gave himself the name 'Pythagoras', on account of his own interest in mathematics.

for submission of letters was February 1740,<sup>1</sup> when the society numbered only seven members, it is possible that of the five unidentified authors, one might well be Telemann.<sup>2</sup>

Telemann's only known original theoretical contribution to the society's packages, his Neues musicalisches System (New Musical System),<sup>3</sup> dealing with intervallic relationships, met with sharp criticism from the Pythagorean members and probably led to his disillusionment, as well as that of many of his colleagues, with the aims of the society.<sup>4</sup>

### Criticisms and Resistance

Graun, writing to Telemann in June 1747, soon after joining the society, stated:

For the kind information which Your Honour has given me regarding the musical society, I offer you my most humble thanks; it agrees mostly with the information which I have received from our illustrious Pisendel, except that he,

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1. See F. Wöhlke: Lorenz Christoph Mizler..., 103.
  2. Ibid., 103-104.
  3. See L.Chr. Mizler: Musikalische Bibliothek, vol.3, part 4 (Leipzig, 1752), 713-719.
  4. Telemann's Neues musicalisches System does not take into account the intervallic relationships of equal-tempered keyboard instruments but, with 'unrestricted instruments' ('uneingeschränkte Instrumenten') in mind (violin or cello), deals with the different qualities of a single note dependent on its position in the harmony. He divides the octave into 55 commas; each whole tone comprises 9 commas, and the octave comprises 6 tones and 1 comma: C - D - E - F# - G# - A# - B# - C. Each interval has four degrees: smallest ('kleinste', i.e. diminished: C - E $\flat\flat$ ), small ('kleine', i.e. minor: C - E $\flat$ ), large ('große', i.e. major: C - E) and largest ('größte', i.e. augmented: C - E#). Martin Ruhnke ('Telemann', New Grove 18 (1980), 655) has stated that Telemann's System attempted to demonstrate the nature of chromatic and enharmonic relationships and was not an attempt to devise a new temperament.

possibly through somewhat excessive modesty, did not wish to say as much. It amazes me that this musicians' circle lowers itself so much as to attempt to press such an honour upon those practical musicians outside the circle, for those whom I have spoken with have rejected it in different ways but have not been able to escape with a good grace. Our Quantz is at a loss for a valid excuse. All fear the satirical quill of the incompetent critics who, through their miserable practice, show how much their hearts are susceptible to noble and beautiful musical feelings. Hitherto, experience has made me believe that one cannot be both a mathematician and an expressive composer, at least, I have no knowledge of such a person.<sup>1</sup>

The information concerning Quantz's rejection of membership of the society is corroborated in a letter from Pisendel to Telemann, two years later:

Herr Mizler has recently included in the article from Könskie, in the public newspaper, that the erudite Dr. Mizler has sent such and such worthy men, the names and titles of whom escape me, a new member's diploma etc. Amongst them he publicly mentioned Herr Quantz, who, however, as long as half a year ago, returned the forwarded diploma, of course, with the greatest courtesy.<sup>2</sup>

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- 1.. 'Vor die gütige Nachricht, welche mir Ew.HochEdelgeb. wegen der musicalischen Gesellschaft gegeben, sage ergebensten Danck, und kommt selbige mit derjenigen meistens überein, welche von unsern ehrl. Pisendel erhalten habe, außer daß selbiger vielleicht aus etwas überflüssiger Modestie nicht so viel hat sagen wollen. Mich wundert, daß diese Circkel Musici sich so erniedrigen, und denen unbezirckelten Practicis eine solche Ehre aufzudringen suchen, denn diejenigen, welche ich davon gesprochen, haben es auf unterschiedliche Art abgelehnet, aber nicht mit guter Manier davon loß kommen können. Unser Quantz ist eben mit einer gütigen Excuse sehr verlegen, alle aber fürchten die satyrirische Feder der unbefugten Criticorum, welche durch ihre klägliche Practique zeigen, wie viel Theil ihr Hertz an edlen und schönen musicalischen Empfindungen zu nehmen tüchtig ist. Noch bißhero macht mich die Erfahrung glauben, daß ein mathematischer und schön und rührend denkender Componist nicht besammen stehen können, zum wenigsten ist mir keiner bekandt.' See Graun's letter to Telemann, dated Berlin, 20 June 1747, in G.Ph. Telemann: Briefwechsel..., 272-273.
  2. 'Der Herr Mitzler hat auch neulich in der öffentlichen Zeitung unter dem articul von Könskie mit einrucken laßen: daß der gelehrte D. Mitzler diesen u diesen braven Männern (die Nahmen u expressiones sind mir ausgefallen) das Diploma als neuen Mitgliedern etc. überschicket. darunter er auch den Herrn Quantz öffentlich genannt, der doch schon vor länger als einem halben Jahr das zugeschickte Diploma

The ironical manner in which these letters are written gives us a clear idea of attitudes towards the society at this time. Graun, Quantz and Pisendel were major figures in the music of Germany at that time who, presumably not alone, expressed great dissatisfaction with the activities of Mizler's society. Graun, however, was the only one who actually became a member, albeit a decidedly passive one of the society.<sup>1</sup>

### A Cantata Collection

One society activity in the later part of its existence, which may have brought somewhat more involvement from Graun, was a planned collection of sacred cantatas, intended to include model compositions of this genre by leading composers in the society. In the society's fifth package the members were requested to give their opinions of the texts submitted and to explain, for the benefit of composers and poets, how one should go about composing a sacred cantata.<sup>2</sup>

This must have been seen as quite a pleasant development in the society's activities, following the extended mathematical discussions published in previous issues of the Musikalische Bibliothek, and had considerably more to do with musical composition than anything which precedes it in the society's publications. The remarks of the society

zwar mit größter Höflichkeit wieder zurückgeschickt.' See Pisendel's letter to Telemann, dated Dresden, 16 April 1749, in G.Ph. Telemann: Briefwechsel..., 350.

1. Graun, however, must have been responsible for the inclusion of details about the Prussian court Capelle, which appeared in the Musikalische Bibliothek, vol. 4, part 1 (Leipzig, 1754), 176-177.
2. Ibid., 108-111.



members reveal their attitudes towards the composition of sacred cantatas,<sup>1</sup> all perfectly in tune with contemporary compositions of this genre. They specify:

two-part arias (da capo) with two contrasting emotions;  
poetry that should not be too ardent or emphatic, thus  
befitting the place of its performance;

and a structural plan comprising:

a chorale of either one or two verses, or a chorus, setting  
a biblical verse that is not too long;  
a recitative of between 12 and 20 lines;  
an aria, arioso or perhaps a fugal chorus;  
a recitative;  
an aria;  
and a concluding chorale or choral fugue.

Very soon, however, this pattern was to undergo considerable modification. The texts of Telemann's late-period cantatas and oratorios are at times exceedingly emphatic in their imagery, and in some of these late works an attempt is made at through-composed forms.<sup>2</sup>

We can assume that both Telemann and Graun, among others, contributed to this discussion of sacred cantatas. Although by now immersed in the task of providing Italian operas for the entertainment of the Prussian monarch, Graun had composed much German sacred vocal music during his last years at Dresden and,

1. Ibid.

2. See the discussion of the late works incorporated into the chapter on the poetry of Carl Wilhelm Ramler (Part I, chapter 4).

as Vice-Capellmeister (from c.1730), at the court of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel; a cantata of his may possibly have been submitted to Mizler. However, only Telemann's cantata for this collection, Weint, weint betrübte Augen (Weep, weep sad eyes), appears to have survived; a contemporary manuscript bears the inscription: 'Auf Reminiscere 1754. Ward für die musikalische Gesellschaft in Leipzig, zu ihren heraus zu gebenden Jahrgange, gemacht. Die Poesie ist von H. Doctor Mizler!' ('For the second Sunday in Lent, 1754. Composed for the musical society in Leipzig, for its planned publication of a cantata collection. The poetry is by Herr Dr. Mizler').<sup>1</sup>

#### Berlin in 1751/1752: Hypothesis or Reality

A large number of clues suggest that Telemann's friendship with musicians at the Prussian court became more intense and more intimate after December 1751, and that Telemann may possibly have visited Graun in Berlin at this time. Graun had repeatedly invited Telemann to visit him in Berlin.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, Graun always addressed his letters to Telemann with the customary politeness and formality until, in reply to Telemann's long letter of December 1751, he extended these salutations with the unusually warm-hearted address: 'Liebenswürdigster Freund' ('Most kind friend').<sup>3</sup>

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1. The cantata is preserved in D - brd - B, Mus.ms. 21736/20. See W. Menke: Das Vokalwerk G.Ph. Telemanns..., 105 and idem.: Thematisches Verzeichnis der Vokalwerke von Georg Philipp Telemann I (Frankfurt am Main, 1982), 141 (1:1542).
  2. See Letters II (15 June 1740), lines 21-23, and III (22 June 1743), lines 56-59, in APPENDIX I.
  3. See Letter VIII (14 January 1752), opening address.

Soon after this, Telemann received a number of honours in publications by Berlin musicians and theorists: Krause clearly based much of his Von der musicalischen Poesie (Berlin, 1752) on a knowledge of Telemann's vocal works; Marpurg dedicated the first volume of his Abhandlung von der Fuge (Berlin, 1753) to Telemann; and the first volume of Oden mit Melodien (Berlin, 1753) contains two lieder by Telemann, the only composer represented who did not reside in Berlin. Moreover, in their treatises on style and performance, Quantz (1752) and C.Ph.E. Bach (1753) expressed much respect for the achievements of Telemann. At the same time, Telemann became the Hamburg agent for the circulation of Marpurg's, Bach's and Agricola's theoretical writings.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, it seems quite possible that, during the latter half of 1751, Telemann may indeed have visited Graun in Berlin, and established closer friendships with some of the leading composers and theorists of the day.

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1. Each of these subjects are discussed in greater detail in chapters 2 and 3.

THE CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

TELEMANN AND GRAUN

### History of the Correspondence

The correspondence between Telemann and Graun, with all its missing questions and answers, its twisted reasoning and its erroneous judgement, is a living document of a very lively chapter in the history of music. Writing to the enthusiastic music collector Georg Johann Daniel Poelchau in September 1816, Telemann's grandson Georg Michael Telemann expressed the value of the Telemann-Graun correspondence:

his [Telemann's] correspondence with Graun, as many another correspondence in the area of music, ought to be imparted to the musical world. This would be a real profit for art.<sup>1</sup>

Georg Michael appears to have held the eight autograph letters from Graun to Telemann and the sole letter from Telemann to Graun, luckily in the form of a scribe's copy, in his possession at the time of writing his letter to Poelchau. These letters were acquired from Telemann's grandson by the German philologist Karl Simon Morgenstern (1770-1852), an avid collector and professor at the University of Dorpat (now Tartu, in Estonia), who bequeathed his collection to the university library.<sup>2</sup> Besides providing us with

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1. '...mögte doch sein Briefwechsel mit Graun, so wie manch andere, ins Gebiet der Tonkunst gehörende Correspondenz, der musikalischen Welt mitgetheilt werden! Es würde für die Kunst ein wahrer Gewinn seyn!' See G.M. Telemann's letter to Poelchau, dated Riga, 30 September 1816 in F. Chrysander: 'Briefe von K.Ph.E. Bach und G.M. Telemann', Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, iv (1869), No. 23, 180.

2. USSR - TAU, Mrg. CCCLIV a Epistolae autographae CC. philosophorum celeberrimorum, Tom V. See G.Ph. Telemann: Briefwechsel..., 264-306. See also APPENDIX I of this study for an English translation of the Graun-Telemann correspondence.

information concerning the day to day business of a court Capellmeister and a Town Music Director, the correspondence is an invaluable record of their conflicting attitudes towards the setting of texts to music and the related question of French and Italian recitative styles.

Contrary to the suggestions of previous commentators, the present writer believes that the first documented letter from Graun to Telemann was written some time before the spring of 1735. In the first preserved letter of their correspondence Graun clearly states that he cannot recall having received a reply to the letter 'that I had mailed to Your Honour from Wolfenbüttel.'<sup>1</sup> (I,4). Later in the same letter Graun mentions that he had been forced to postpone further correspondence because of Telemann's visit to France, which took place during the period from the end of September 1737 until May 1738. Consequently, the correspondence must have started some time before spring 1735 when Graun moved permanently from Wolfenbüttel to Ruppin and not, as has often been suggested, before Telemann's journey to Paris in autumn 1737.<sup>2</sup>

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1. '...welches ich aus Wolfenbüttel an Ew. HochEdelgeb. abgesendet.' See G.Ph. Telemann: Briefwechsel..., 268. The numerals following each quotation, that is when enclosed in brackets, point to the exact reference in the translations of these letters in APPENDIX I. e.g.: (Letter - I, line 4).
  2. It is possible that Graun had returned to Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel after 1735 on short visits; two of his operas were revived there in the years following his departure: Sinilde, in 1736, and Pharao Tubaetes, in 1737. cf. J.W. Grubbs: The Sacred Vocal Music of the Graun brothers: A bio-bibliographical study (Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1972), vol. 1, 393 and 395. It would seem illogical, however, to write to Telemann from Wolfenbüttel requesting musical publications, which Graun intended to subscribe to, if Graun were only on a short visit to Wolfenbüttel, before returning to Ruppin or Reinsberg.

Recitative - French or Italian?

By far the most important topic under discussion in the correspondence between Telemann and Graun is that concerning the relative merits of the French and Italian styles in music. As early as 1743, in the third of the nine preserved letters (III, 22-32), the question of conflicting national practices in setting words to music is mentioned, and a discussion of this subject continued at least a further 13 years, on the evidence of the final preserved letter of May 1756 (IX, 4-9).

To understand the true significance of Telemann and Graun's deliberations on the questions of French and Italian recitative it is necessary to place these in the context of the controversy over national styles in music, ardently argued by men of letters on French and German soil. The Italians took no active part in a feud that concerned their musical language which, by the middle of the century, had penetrated into every major musical centre in Europe. The heated arguments that were fought in Parisian circles had the invasion of Paris by Italian opera companies as their most important stimulant and the adoption of an Italian style of music in French opera as ultimate goal. In Germany, however, and particularly in Berlin, similar arguments were a carefully disguised attempt to undermine both styles, with the conviction that a 'German style' was coming into being.

Graun had sworn allegiance to the Italian musical style and he could not see any sense or logic in French recitative. Telemann, on the other hand, was more reasonable in his judgement, acknowledging the intrinsic qualities of both and, furthermore, employing characteristics of both in his own music.

### The Relative Merits of French and Italian Styles in Music

A conscious awareness of national styles developed initially from comparisons of Italian and French music in the seventeenth century. In his Harmonie universelle (Paris, 1636-1637), Marin Mersenne (1588-1648) alluded to the differences in the music of these two nations.<sup>1</sup> A few years later Athanasius Kircher (1601-1680) acknowledged, in his Musurgia universalis, sine Ars magna consoni et dissoni (Rome, 1650), the existence of a German style in addition to the French and Italian styles.<sup>2</sup> The comparison of the relative merits of the French and Italian styles, however, began in 1702 on the publication of François Ragueneau's (c.1660-1722) Parallèle des italiens et des françois, en ce qui regarde la musique et les opéra (Paris, 1702).<sup>3</sup> Ragueneau, in favouring the Italian

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1. cf. M. Mersenne: Harmonie universelle (Paris, 1636-1637), ii, 356.
  2. See I. Willheim: Johann Adolph Scheibe: German Musical Thought in Transition (Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1963), 143.
  3. An English translation appeared in London in 1709, reproduced in Musical Quarterly xxxii (1946), 411-436. German translations appeared in J. Mattheson: Critica musica, i (Hamburg, 1722), 91-166, and F.W. Marpurg: Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst, i (Berlin, 1759), 65-71, 89-94, 113-118, 398-403, 405-406.



style, inspired Jean Laurent Le Cerf de la Viéville (1674-1707) to rush to the defence of the French style with his Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française (Brussels, 1704-1706).<sup>1</sup> Johann Mattheson, in his first book on music, Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre (Hamburg, 1713), gives a clear impression of the characteristics which distinguish four different nations:

the Italians perform best...the French entertain best; the Germans compose and work best; whilst the British make the best critics.<sup>2</sup>

In the writings of Mattheson we discern a personal attitude towards the theory of music, bustling with prejudices and preferences, and it is this fanatical expression of personal opinion which dominates all later discussions of national styles. Furthermore, Mattheson was one of the first German writers to draw attention to the renaissance of musical composition in Germany.

### Marpurg

If the chief spokesmen in the French dispute were the eloquent

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1. Sections translated into English in O.Strunk: Source Readings in Music History (New York, 1950).

2. 'Die Italiäner executiren am besten...die Frantzosen divertiren am besten; die Teutschen aber componiren und arbeiten am besten; und die Engelländer judiciren am besten.' See J. Mattheson: Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre (Hamburg, 1713), 219.

Encyclopédistes, in particular Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), the most ardent chronicler writing in Germany was Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg. Whilst the Encyclopédistes were loyal defenders of one particular style, the Italian, Marpurg was less prepared to show support for either foreign style, insisting instead on a German style. Marpurg's discussions of the relative merits of the French and Italian styles are an attempt to relate German music to these styles.<sup>1</sup> His interest in this widely discussed question is clearly reflected in the choice of essays which appeared in German translations in his journals.<sup>2</sup> If this choice manifests a preference for French authors it is by no means an expression of partiality for French music but reflects, in an indirect way, German indebtedness to the example of the French in aesthetic writings on music.

As we have seen, Marpurg launched his publishing activity in 1749 with the musical journal Der Critische Musicus an der Spree (Berlin, 1749-1750). It is significant that the opening pages of this publication contain a violent attack on Italian music and musicians, whose monopoly of the German musical scene was, to Marpurg's delight, crumbling under

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1. See H.J. Serwer: F.W. Marpurg (1718-1795): Music Critic in a "Galant" Age (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1969), 237.

2. Examples of this are: F. Raguenet: Paralèle ..., (Paris, 1702), see page 114, fn. 3, supra.; and C.G. Krause: Lettre à Mons. le Marquis de B\*\*\* sur la différence entre la musique italienne et françoise (Berlin, 1748), in F.W. Marpurg: Historisch-Kritische Beyträge ..., 1st Stück (1754), 1-23. See also H.J. Serwer: op. cit., 231-232.

the upsurge of native musical talent. This aversion to Italian music pervades much of his literary output and conforms with the ideas of the French aesthetes who were extensively quoted and translated in Marpurg's journals. In his criticisms of the excessive flamboyance of Italian instrumentalists, the lack of variety in their expression of feelings and the exaggerated stage manner of singers such as Farinelli and La Strada, as well as of the 'miserable' harmony, 'careless' melody and 'disorderly' state of contemporary Italian music, Marpurg betrays markedly anti-Italian attitudes.

In view of Marpurg's aversion to Italian music one might expect him to subscribe with enthusiasm to the pro-French attitudes of some of his contemporaries. This is not the case, although we do encounter considerably more praise for certain composers and standards of instrumental performance in France. He nevertheless printed comments about the poor training and inadequacies of French singers and the fact that the conductor made more noise than the orchestra. The style of French vocal music he found to be behind the times and not in accord with: 'the good new taste that rules with us'.<sup>1</sup> In the foreword to his translation of Louis Bollioud-Mermet's De la corruption du goust dans la musique françoise (Lyons, 1746)<sup>2</sup> Marpurg expresses a clear preference

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1. '... den bey uns herrschenden guten und neuern Geschmack ...', in F.W. Marpurg: Kritische Einleitung in die Geschichte und Lehrsätze der alten und neuen Musik ... (Berlin, 1759), 30.

2. See F.W. Marpurg: Der Critische Musicus ... 319-320.

for the modern style of Rameau over the old-fashioned music of Lully. In translating Jean le Rond d'Alembert's Elémens de musique, théorique et pratique suivant les principes de M. Rameau (Paris, 1752)<sup>1</sup> into German Marpurg performed an invaluable service to the propagation of Rameau's theories outside France, whilst expressing his own conflicting ideas on melody and harmony in copious notes inserted at the end of the translation.

Marpurg had spent some time in Paris before settling in Berlin and had been acquainted with some of France's most distinguished musicians and musical thinkers. Furthermore, like his colleagues Mattheson and Scheibe, Marpurg was strongly indebted to the French aesthetes of the early part of the eighteenth century, whom he aimed to emulate in clarity of reasoning and thoroughness of discussion in his own journalistic and theoretical writings. His translation of d'Alembert's Elémens is a clear sign of his regard (albeit restricted) for French music, musicians and theorists.<sup>2</sup> His attack on Italian music is an attack on the Italian performer. Kuhnau had warned his fellow-countrymen, in the wittily satirical novel Der musikalische Quacksalber (Dresden, 1700), of the infiltration

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1. J.L.R. d'Alembert: Hrn. d'Alemberts...Systematische Einleitung in die musicalische Setzkunst, nach den Lehrsätzen des Herrn Rameaus. Aus dem Französischen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen vermehrt (Leipzig, 1757).
  2. It is significant that Marpurg translated two of his own books on music theory into French: the Abhandlung von der Fuge (1753-1754) appeared as Traité de la fugue et du contrepoint (Berlin: Haude and Spener, 1756) and the Anleitung zum Clavierspielen (1755) appeared as Principes du clavecin (Berlin: Haude and Spener (G.L. Winter), 1756). See H.J. Serwer: op.cit., 216, fn.1.

of Italian musicians into Germany; if only Kuhnau had lived to see the Italian domination of German music in later years! Marpurg was rebelling against this situation but saw the rise of a new generation of German composers as an encouraging sign of the end of Italian domination of Germany. Marpurg's attitudes to foreign musical styles became somewhat calmer as the years passed; he was able to write in 1759:

If I should express my feeling, I would say that I would gladly listen to a Frenchman talk about music, but I would rather listen to Italian music...that with all this I would make an exception here and there and gladly allow that we can just as easily compose well in the French style as badly in the Italian.<sup>1</sup>

### Rousseau

One wonders, however, if Marpurg would have gladly listened to Rousseau on German music:

What would Germans, Spaniards and Englishmen do without Italian music? Miserable caterwauling,

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1. 'Wenn ich nach meiner Empfindung sprechen wollte, so würde ich sagen, dass ich gerne einen Franzosen über die Musik reden, aber lieber eine italiänische Musik hörte;...dass ich aber bey allem diesen hin und wieder eine Ausnahme machte, und gerne zugebe, dass man so wohl, im französischen Style gut, als im italiänischen schlecht setzen könnte.' See F.W. Marpurg: Kritische Briefe..., i, 9th letter (August 18, 1759).

after the nature of these tribes, would  
be the only thing that they could offer.<sup>1</sup>

Rousseau based many of his theories about nationality in music on the relationship between language and music and the qualities that a particular language imparts to the music. In the article on 'Accent' written for the Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers (Paris, 1751-1780) but later incorporated in Rousseau's Dictionnaire de musique (Paris, 1768), the author delivered further blows at German culture, whose language he found monotonous and lacking in accent. In saying this, Rousseau placed the German language on the same level as French, both of which, in his opinion, produce melodies that are monotonous and dull. With his Lettre sur la musique française (Paris, 1753),<sup>2</sup> the most clearly argued pamphlet published during the journalistic Querelle des Bouffons, and the most blatant expression of dislike for French opera, Rousseau expressed his admiration of contemporary Italian opera, which had the advantage of a language entirely suited to musical setting.

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1. 'Que feraient les Allemands, les Espagnols et les Anglais sans la musique Italienne? De misérables charivaris à la mode de leurs nations seraient toute leur ressource ...' See J.-J. Rousseau: (Fragmentary) Lettre à Grimm (1750), translated from the original French quoted in A. Jansen: Jean-Jacques Rousseau als Musiker (Berlin, 1884; repr. Geneva, 1971), Anhang I, 459.
  2. See O. Strunk (ed.): Source Readings in Music History (New York, 1950), for an abridged English translation.

The performance of Italian buffa operas and comic intermezzi, by Pergolesi, Jomelli, Leo, Rinaldo di Capua and others, by a wandering company of Italian singers in Paris in 1752, gave the opponents of contemporary French opera an opportunity publicly to hail an alternative operatic style to that of the tragédie lyrique, with its rather antiquated mythological plots. In addition to objections about the poor standard of singing and playing in French theatres, the Encyclopédistes found French opera too literary, too steeped in mythology, too complicated in its instrumental accompaniments, lacking true melody, and too concerned with theatrical declamation rather than with music. The performance of Rousseau's Le devin du village at Fontainebleau in October 1752, and in Paris the following year, was a philosopher's practical attempt at reform of French opera. In this work Rousseau advocated simplicity and naturalness in French opera, in the music as well as the plot, in emulation of Pergolesi's intermezzo La serva Padrona which had been given in Paris a few months earlier.<sup>1</sup> Rousseau's intermède is a slight piece, but a French piece. The melodies of his airs are indebted to the dances of Lully and Rameau, his recitatives lack expression

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1. It seems rather than take contemporary opéra seria or opéra buffa as models, which, it must be admitted, were also neither 'simple' nor 'natural', the Encyclopédistes appear to have found only the intermezzo worthy of imitation.

and his part-writing is clumsy.<sup>1</sup> A hint of Italian influence can at times be found in the violin figuration in some of the arias. Furthermore, with this piece Rousseau disproved his maxim that the French language cannot be set to music. Nevertheless, Le devin du village was an important step in the formation of a new type of French opera, the opéra comique, as a musical genre rather than a play with inferior music.

Marpurg's tone is somewhat cool when he reports<sup>2</sup> on a discussion in the pages of the Journal des Sçavans combiné avec les Mémoires de Trévoux (1754)<sup>3</sup> upon Rousseau's Lettre sur la musique française. He certainly could not bring himself to endorse Rousseau's praise of Italy as the only possessor of a natural operatic style, and he was also less prepared to accept what he considered Rousseau's 'capricious' (bloßer Eigensinn)<sup>4</sup> preference of Italian to French music. It is important to remember that Marpurg was constantly at pains to place these national styles in relation to a German style; he was consequently averse to expressing any loyalty to foreign styles. If Rousseau, on the other hand, hailed

1. This is not to say that French recitative lacks expression or that French part-writing is generally clumsy; Rameau's operas are perfect proof that the opposite is true.
2. See F.W. Marpurg: Historisch-Kritische Beyträge . . ., i/1(1754), 57/58.
3. Journal des Sçavans . . . i (January, 1754), 210-223.
4. See the preface to his translation of Ragueuet's Paralèle.



the Italian style as the only true contemporary musical style in Europe, it was, in essence, an attempt at reform in French opera and a struggle to break with what he saw as the antiquated tradition of the tragédie lyrique.

One of the main faults of French opera, in the opinion of the Encyclopédistes, was the quality of its recitative, which was considered to be monotonous, too declamatory and often very long-winded. Lully is said to have based his recitative style on the declamation of the great actors of his day, in particular that of the tragedienne Mlle. Champmeslé, whom he heard at the Comédie-Française.<sup>1</sup> Rousseau considered the development of French recitative, as a close reflection of theatrical declamation, to be extremely harmful to the quality of melody in French opera. Lully arrived at melody, as well as recitative, from a careful study of declamation. Rousseau, disturbed by this over-emphasis on declamation, insisted that an analysis of French and Italian opera must first and foremost be concerned with their definitions of melody and recitative.<sup>2</sup>

Rousseau argued that melody could not be derived from theatrical declamation, since melody aimed at the expression of the mood and the line of thought in a scene whilst declamation concentrated on individual emphasis of words and shorter

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1. See J.-L. Le Cerf de la Vieville: Comparaison . . ., ii (Brussels, 1705) 204. See also L. Rosow: 'French Baroque recitative as an expression of tragic declamation', Early Music, xi (October, 1983), 468.

2. See A.R. Oliver: The Encyclopedists as Critics of Music (New York, 1966), 46.

utterances or sensations.<sup>1</sup> French recitative, with its large intervallic leaps, its incessant raising and lowering of the voice, its frequent use of messa di voce, its sudden 'outbursts and shrieks' and its inequalities in rhythm, duration and stress was seen as a poor and inaccurate reproduction of declamation.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the French language was only capable of expressing ideas and not sentiments, and with its lack of a marked accent could not create song. Consequently, French opera was devoid of melody, and its recitative had been developed beyond its capacity. The contrast that Italian operatic music provided to this is quite startling but, as a comparison, is quite misleading.<sup>3</sup> Rousseau considered the Italian language to be far better suited to musical adaptation, producing melody quite naturally. In its juxtaposition of natural musical declamation and melodically dominated moments of expression, Italian opera maintained a clear distinction between recitative and melody (aria). French opera, however, did not have this line of demarcation, being essentially concerned with declamation and allowing only brief lapses into melody in the Italian sense. In Italy the emphasis was on melody, the aria and the

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1. See J.-J. Rousseau: 'Expression', Dictionnaire ...

2. See J.-J. Rousseau: Lettre ..., in O. Strunk, op. cit., 652.

3. Indeed, Italian recitative of this period can be considered to be even less 'melodic' than French recitative. Whilst the latter is, in essence, a rather artificial style of declamation, reflecting the heightened recitation of actors, the former maintains a simpler, less extrovert style of declamation, following more the natural contour of everyday speech. Rousseau, it seems, found Italian recitative more 'melodic' precisely because of its natural, flowing and undemonstrative melodicism.

singer; in France the emphasis was on declamation, recitative and, in the operas of Rameau in particular, on harmony and the orchestra. Rousseau's dictum was that melody is the soul of music;<sup>1</sup> its purpose is to give expression to an emotional experience.<sup>2</sup> In accordance with nature, Italian melody was a direct expression of emotional feelings. In its detachment from nature, French vocal music, and moreover the French language, at once cerebral and monotonous, were incapable of moving the heart.<sup>3</sup>

### Scheibe

At the same time that Rousseau was preparing his articles for the Encyclopédie<sup>4</sup> the German musical theorist Johann Adolph Scheibe was penning his third commentary on recitative:

No other musical style is more suited to the expression of the passions than the recitative. It gives the best emphasis to the dialogue; it correctly points out the places where the singer is to raise or lower his voice; it takes part in the affections and all the passions...finally, when it is accompanied by instruments, it enhances the affect to a degree which could hardly ever, indeed never, be reached by a mere actor.<sup>5</sup>

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1. J.-J. Rousseau: 'Musique', Dictionnaire...
  2. Idem.: 'Imitation', ibid.
  3. See I Willheim: op.cit., 105.
  4. The first two volumes of the Encyclopédie appeared in 1751-1752. Rousseau had completed his articles on music by the summer of 1749 and handed these to Denis Diderot, the chief editor, in 1750. Many of Rousseau's articles had to wait several years before they were eventually published. See A.R. Oliver: op.cit., 90, fn.5.
  5. See J.A. Scheibe: Thusnelde, ein Singspiel in vier Aufzügen. Mit einem Vorbericht von der Möglichkeit und Beschaffenheit guter Singspiele begleitet (Leipzig and Copenhagen, 1749), 'Critischer Bericht', 52-53. The English translation is taken from I. Willheim: ibid., 185.

In view of these statements it is important to know that Scheibe, in this same essay, expressed clear preference for French rather than Italian recitative, for, in his opinion, the former was dramatically more expressive.

Scheibe was preoccupied throughout his life with the nature of recitative and with speculation as to its ideal form and function, and in his work few other subjects received as much attention. In five essays, written between the years c.1730 and 1765, Scheibe expounded his theories on recitative.<sup>1</sup> This was the first time that the subject had been analysed in a systematic and detailed manner.<sup>2</sup>

1. Compendium musices theoretico-practicum, das ist Kurzer Begriff derer nötigsten Compositions-Regeln. Unpublished manuscript, c.1730. Modern publication in P. Benary: Die deutsche Kompositionslehre des 18. Jahrhunderts (Leipzig, 1961).

'Abhandlung vom Recitativ', Der critische Musicus, 2nd edition, iv (Leipzig, 1745), 733-750.

Thusnelde, ein Singspiel in vier Aufzügen, mit einem Vorbericht von der Möglichkeit und Beschaffenheit guter Singspiele begleitet (Leipzig and Copenhagen, 1749), 'Critischer Vorbericht'.

'Sendschreiben, worinnen vom Recitativ überhaupt und von diesen Kantaten insonderheit geredet wird', Tragische Kantaten für eine oder zwei Singstimmen und das Clavier (Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1765).

'Abhandlung über das Rezitativ', in F. Nicolai (ed.): Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und freien Künste xi (1764), 211-268 and xii (1765), 1-44 and 217-266.

For a detailed discussion of Scheibe's interest in recitative see G.J. Skapski: The Recitative in J.A. Scheibe's Literary and Musical Work (Dissertation, University of Texas, 1963).

2. See G.J. Skapski: op. cit., 135-138, for a discussion of previous studies in the eighteenth century of recitative.

Scheibe, in defining recitative as a singende-rede (singing speech),<sup>1</sup> emphasized essentially its declamatory nature. Composers were encouraged by him to study the art of declamation of actors as a guide to composing recitative. Furthermore, careful attention must be paid to specific characteristics of language, to the rhythmic qualities and caesuras of the verse and to the sense of speech. In the musical realization of this singende-rede, however, song or melody have very little functional importance:

I do not know but soon I may say: in recitative one has very little, if nothing at all, to do with melody. By melody I mean anything that one sings; but it cannot be said of recitative that it is song. It can be defined, much more, as a succession of different notes which follow one another, which are made up to imitate, or rather, properly suit the speech of man.<sup>2</sup>

It is the composer's task to give emphasis to the inflexion of speech by means of harmonic modulations. Carefully chosen harmonic modulations can underline changes of emotional states, highlight or conceal marks of punctuation and contribute to

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1. See J.A. Scheibe: Der critische Musicus ..., 743. This concept of recitative as a 'singing speech', inspired by the study of the contours and rhythms of natural oration, is very much in accordance with the ideas of Vincenzo Galilei (Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna - Venice, 1581) and the members of the Florentine Camerata.
  2. 'Ich weiß nicht, ob ich nicht bald sagen dürfte: man habe im Recitative mit der Melodie sehr wenig und fast gar nichts zu thun. Ich verstehe nämlich unter der Melodie, alles, was man singt; vom Recitative aber kann man nicht sagen, daß es ein Gesang ist; sondern man kann es vielmehr eine Reihe verschiedener aufeinander folgender Töne nennen, die dazu erfunden sind, die Rede des Menschen nachzuahmen, oder vielmehr ordentlicher abzumessen.' J.A. Scheibe, ibid., 743.

the expressions of ideas such as doubt or surprise as well as musically underlining questions.

In his attitudes to foreign styles Scheibe was far less prone to biased evaluations than some of his contemporaries. If he preferred the French recitative to the Italian where dramatic expression is concerned, he credited Italian recitative with a natural expression of the accent and declamation of its language. Italian recitative composers did not always follow exactly the scansion of the poetry but instead aimed at a more natural declamation of the text. Scheibe's opinions of the Italian musical style in general were conditioned by his own national interests. Whilst thanking German composers for contributing quite considerably to the improvement of the Italian style he also recognized the debt which is owed to this style for purifying music of the older contrapuntal, artificial forms.<sup>1</sup>

Scheibe appears to have regarded French opera as the most dramatic. Confirmation of this can be clearly found in his opera libretto Thusnelde, a reworking of an earlier text, Hermann, which had been prevented from reaching the stage by the collapse of the Hamburg Opera in 1738. This text gives considerable prominence to the chorus and expands the function of recitative beyond mere narration. Indeed, the dramatic and expressive qualities of Scheibe's recitative verse seem to cry out for an

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<sup>1</sup> See I. Willheim: op. cit., 144-145 and references there to Scheibe's Der kritische Musicus.

accompagnato setting of the text. This reversal of emphasis in opera, no longer favouring the aria, but stressing the dramatic possibilities of the chorus and the recitative, contributed greatly to erasing the demarcation line between aria, arioso and recitative, in preparation for the opera reforms of the next decades.<sup>1</sup> In recognizing the strengths of French opera in the dramatic quality of its choruses and recitatives, instead of pointing to its weaknesses, Scheibe was able to anticipate the developments of the next generation of opera composers. Scheibe's music is proof enough of the composer's conviction of a musically vital recitative.<sup>2</sup>

### Krause

In 1754 Marpurg published Krause's appraisal of Scheibe's Thusnelde in his Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik.<sup>3</sup> Here Krause draws particular attention to the dramatic quality of the recitative verses and repeatedly suggests that an expressive accompagnato recitative would be most fitting for these verses. This article, however, is conceived less as a critical assessment of the text than as a series of guidelines on how to set the text to music successfully, similar to Krause's ideas in his

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1. See I. Willheim: op.cit., 226.

2. See the Tragische Kantaten (Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1765).

3. See F.W. Marpurg: Historisch-Kritische Beyträge... i/2 (Berlin, 1754), 93-141.

Von der musicalischen Poesie. This book, moreover, provides us with the clearest representation of Krause's views on recitative and also on opera in general. When reading Krause's book, however, we must remember that his subject is the nature of texts best suited to musical composition. He does, indeed, discuss the music which a particular text should inspire but this is always viewed from the standpoint of the needs of the text, not the needs of the music.

As Italian music had spread widely throughout Europe, German singers had adopted the Italian manner of singing.<sup>1</sup> In stating that

Italian music pleases us Germans better than  
the French.<sup>2</sup>

Krause is expressing the general opinion of his day and certainly that of many of his Berlin colleagues.<sup>3</sup> His main argument seems to be that Italian music is much livelier in the expression of emotions than French music, in which signs are to be found of less involvement of the heart.<sup>4</sup> French and Italian operas have recitative and aria, but they are very different from each other:

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1. See C.G. Krause: Von der musicalischen Poesie (Berlin, 1752), 24.

2. 'Uns Deutschen gefällt die italienische Musik besser als die französische.' Ibid., 111.

3. In particular J.F. Agricola and C.H. Graun.

4. See C.G. Krause: ibid., 111.



A French opera has more melody, music and song in recitative. In its arias, however, it has less musical art than in an Italian singspiel. On the other hand, Italian recitative approaches speech; the arias, however, contain all art of which, according to the prevailing affect, the composer and the singer are capable.<sup>1</sup>

Krause's explanation of the relationship between recitative and 'aria' in French opera retraces the evolution of opera in France and refers to the influence of related forms. The earliest opera composers aimed at a play sung to music, and the first French opera composers decided that recitative should be regularly and melodically sung. This will explain why French recitative is always sung to a beat, with more movement in the bass and interspersed with many ariosi.<sup>2</sup> The reasons for the brevity of French arias are twofold: firstly, on account of the poor musical ability of French singers and secondly, because the French nation love the singing of chansons ('das Liedersingen').<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, on account of the great popularity of dancing and dance melodies, French composers are obliged to keep their

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1. 'Eine französische Oper hat also im Recitativ mehr eigentliche Melodie, Musik und Gesang; in den Arien aber weniger musikalische Kunst, als ein italiänisches Singspiel. Hingegen kommt das italiänische Recitativ dem Sprechen näher; die Arien aber begreifen alle Kunst, deren der Componist und der Sänger nach dem vorhabenden Affecte fähig sind.' See C.G. Krause: op. cit., 24. The term singspiel in this context embraces all forms of theatrical music in Italian: opera seria, opera buffa and intermezzo.

2. Ibid., 23.

3. Ibid., 24.

arias short.<sup>1</sup> As regards declamation in recitative, he draws attention to a natural pronunciation of the words of a lively oration, as is to be seen in Italian recitative.<sup>2</sup>

Krause's most ardent expression of his opinions on the relative merits of Italian and French music is his Lettre à Mons. le Marquis de B.<sup>xxx</sup> sur la différence entre la musique italienne et françoise, which appeared in Berlin in 1748. This was translated into German a few years later by Marpurg, who published it, together with his own commentary, in the first issue of his Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik.<sup>3</sup> Krause is a staunch defender of Italian opera and has much praise for the expressive arias of Graun's operas. He insists that French composers cannot match the degree of emotional involvement encountered in the operas in the Italian style. In stating that Handel and Telemann tended to favour the French style of music and Hasse and Graun the Italian style Krause aimed to prove that Germany did not have its own idiosyncratic musical style. This caused Marpurg to attack Krause for his disregard for the originality of contemporary German music, which indeed differs very greatly from contemporary French or Italian music.<sup>4</sup> It seems now the right moment to call upon two German composers to express their views on

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., 9-10.

3. vol. i, 1st Stück (1754), 1-46.

4. See F.W. Marpurg: ibid., 37 and also Critischer Musicus an der Spree, 44th Stück (December 30, 1749), 354.

questions concerning Italian and French musical styles and, in particular, their ideas about French recitative.

### Telemann and Graun

It is necessary, at the outset, that we realize that Telemann and Graun were not exact contemporaries; their ages differed by some twenty-two years and, consequently, they almost represent two generations. Furthermore, whilst Telemann had reached maturity under the influence of diverse musical styles (French, Italian, Polish and German), Graun had quite early in his career been exposed to the by then dominant Italian style. By the time Graun had reached the age of thirty his musical language was markedly Italianate in style and character and, in this, he had the necessary qualifications for the post of Capellmeister to the Crown Prince of Prussia. Telemann, at the age of thirty, was exceptionally well versed in all styles of music and, as one of the first composers to unite all these foreign influences in a typically German 'mixed-style', turned his back on the confined musical atmosphere of court life to embark on a career as town music director, initially in Frankfurt-am-Main and later in Hamburg. The discussion of matters concerning the setting of words to music, with particular emphasis on recitative, which interested Telemann and Graun in the middle of the eighteenth century, must be viewed against the background of their decidedly different musical careers.

Both composers had, as the basis of their own recitative styles, the Italian model in mind. Whilst Graun, for the greater part of his professional career, was involved with setting Italian texts, Telemann composed relatively few works which do

not set German words.<sup>1</sup> Graun was always concerned with applying the Italian recitative style to Italian texts. Telemann, on the other hand, adapted this style to the needs and requirements of German texts and, consequently, was always aware of the shortcomings of this marriage. For this reason Telemann also directed his attention to the French style of recitative and showed no inhibitions in adopting characteristics of this style in his setting of German texts, when he felt these to be of use to him. It is, therefore, perhaps appropriate to speak of Telemann's own idiosyncratic recitative style as further evidence of his tendency towards a 'mixed-style' in music, a style that particularly influenced his younger contemporaries. Graun, however, was too involved with the style and conventions of Italian opera seria to be in any way interested in the, in his opinion, irrational style of French recitative.

Graun's main objections to the French recitative style are that it is not natural and often goes against musical and literary rhetoric. In particular, he draws attention to what he considers to be the bad positioning of arioso in the operas of Rameau (V,6). In a later letter he seems to consider the

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1. Besides a quantity of sacred works in Latin, Telemann also composed various secular pieces in French (including a cantata Polyphème, written in Paris in 1737, and six cantatas for Count Erbach, none of which have survived) and a number of arias (inserted in his German operas) and secular cantatas in Italian (which have survived). See W. Menke: Thematisches Verzeichnis der Vokalwerke von Georg Philipp Telemann 2 (Frankfurt, 1983).

arioso sections of French recitative to be unmotivated and points out that Telemann certainly does not incorporate ariosi in his recitative without motivation. On this account he believes Italian recitative to be more rational (VI,28-30). With the aid of nine musical examples taken from Rameau's Castor et Pollux (Paris, 1737) Graun intended to prove that French recitative composers had a poor understanding of melody, harmony, modulation and poetic scansion.

Graun criticizes Rameau for not being emphatic or expressive enough and for not observing the literal sense of the text. Graun's own settings of the French texts manifest an unnatural declamation, short-winded phrase structure, inappropriate use of sequential repetition, poor regard for rhythmic drive over longer passages, insufficient attention to subsidiary words or images, emphasis of unimportant words and erratic harmonic progressions.<sup>1</sup> In his endeavours to show that the French verse could just as easily be set throughout without the customary change of metre, he has placed the French language in a metrical strait-jacket, creating unnatural emphases.

French poetry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with its vers libres, the lengths of which varied from line to line, is, in theory, non-metrical.<sup>2</sup> The strongest syllables

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1. See the analysis of Graun's setting of the closing lines from the Prologue of Rameau's Castor et Pollux, p. 137, infra., and the discussion of his recitative setting in the chapter on Der Tod Jesu.

2. See L. Rosow: op. cit., 468-469.

and, consequently, those that were stressed, appeared at the 'rhyme' - the final counted syllable of a line (the mute 'e' of a feminine rhyme, although pronounced, is never counted) and at the 'caesura' - the subsidiary accentuated syllable (the sixth in an alexandrine). These were stressed in the music by coinciding with a downbeat or the third crotchet in quadruple metres. If we study Graun's Italian version of the final lines from the Prologue to Castor et Pollux (Letter VI, examples 7 and 8),<sup>1</sup> we will comprehend more clearly the logic behind the change of metre in French recitative.

The four lines of poetry have the following syllabic proportions.

D'un spectacle nouveau | que la pompe s'apprête! (12)

Minerve à l'amour va s'unir. (8)

Les arts vont préparer la fête, (8)

L'amour va l'embellir. (6)

Example 1. Rameau's Castor et Pollux; Prologue, closing bars:

D'un spec-tac-le nou-veau que la pompe s'ap-prê-te! Mi-nerve à l'a-mour va s'u-nir. Les  
 arts vont pré-parer la fê-te, l'a-mour va l'embel-lir.

1. See J.Ph. Rameau: Oeuvres complètes viii, 61.

Example 2. Graun's resetting of the Prologue, closing bars:

D'un spec-ta-cle nou-veau que la Pom-pe s'ap-prê-te! Mi-nerve à l'a-mour va s'u-

- nir, les arts vont pré-pa-rer la fê-te, l'a-mour va l'em-bel-lir.

In this example the lines vary in length beginning with twelve syllables, not counting the mute 'e', and ending with a six syllable line. Rameau provides musical stress for the caesura and rhymes, all of which fall on a downbeat. Graun, however, gives greater emphasis to 'Minerve' than to the rhyme which precedes it 's'apprête' and provides a break between the last two lines where Rameau effectively maintains continuity to the final cadence. The listener's attention, however, is skilfully distracted from the poetical structure by Rameau's careful expression of the words 'Arts' and 'Amour' by means of marginally halting the movement. Graun is less successful on all these counts. The change of metre enables the composer to place musical emphasis on both rhyme and caesura when the line length is constantly changing, as well as permitting the expression of subsidiary words; all contributing to making the delivery more fluent. The changes of metre are essentially inaudible and therefore only worry the critical eye. Neither French nor Italian recitative adhered strictly to the beat, the only exception occurred when there was more movement in the bass. If Graun believed that these changes of metre caused singers and

accompanists certain difficulties (VI,38-40), Telemann was quick to assure him that this is by no means true since: 'everything flows continuously like champagne.' (VII,77-78). Telemann saw the practicality of a recitative which permitted metre changes and he even composed some music in this style in his later compositions. To prove to Graun that this style could just as easily be applied to German texts Telemann provided some examples from a Passion composition that he had written some years earlier (VII,85-88). Furthermore, his Hamburg instrumentalists had in no way been irritated by these changes of metre.

By making use of triple metres within the basic framework of a recitative in quadruple metre, the composer was able to create a more flowing melodic and rhythmic movement. The triple metre, having only one stressed note, smooths out the metrical accentuation when placed between two bars in quadruple metre. This stressed note, curiously, often loses its weight of accentuation in this position and conforms to the natural accentuation of the text. For example, in Telemann's Passion<sup>1</sup> setting the line 'Und die Aeltesten und der ganze Rath', if delivered by a singer intent on observing the natural stress of the text, does not receive any accent at all on the first beat of the first bar of triple metre:



It is precisely this idea of redistribution of emphasis in recitative with alternating quadruple and triple metres that

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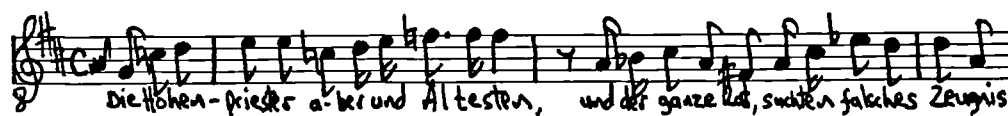
1. It has not been possible to locate this passage in one of Telemann's Passions; not enough manuscript sources are available to make an exact reference possible.



completely eludes Graun. Indeed, Graun cites this passage in particular as a 'bad' example of accentuation in recitative and points to the last syllable of 'Aeltesten' which has received unnatural stress (VIII,89-91).<sup>1</sup> Consequently, it is possible to regard the bar-line as an aid in the notation of recitative and not always as an indication of the position of a stressed beat.

Telemann, however, stood alone in his defence of alternating quadruple and triple metres in recitative. Scheibe, otherwise quite alert to the qualities of French recitative, sees the alternation of metres creating considerably more difficulties instead of trying to alleviate them.<sup>2</sup> Marpurg found French recitative inferior to the Italian, referring to them as the 'old' and the 'new'. He considered the alternating metres of the 'old', the French recitative, to be damaging to the symmetrical structure of music, preferring the 'good symmetrical rhythm of today's music'.<sup>3</sup> Marpurg also aimed to prove that French recitative did not necessarily require a changing metre, by

1. Bach's setting of the same words in his St. Matthew Passion (Neue Bach Ausgabe, ed.A. Dürr, Leipzig, 1972, 162) is a typical example of this composer's extremely exclamatory style of recitative; a heightened declamation, both intense and expressive. Yet the style is not 'natural' and 'melodic', in the Italian manner, but rather extrovert and demonstrative, more in the French manner.



2. See J.A. Scheibe: 'Abhandlung über das Rezitativ'... xii (1765), 14.
3. '(die gute) symmetrische(n) Rhythmik der heutigen Musik', in F.W. Marpurg: Kritische Einleitung ... (Berlin, 1759), 208.

resetting, in much the same way as Graun's resetting of Rameau, the monologue 'Enfin, il est en ma puissance' from Lully's *Armide* (Paris, 1686), which he included in his 'Unterricht vom Recitativ.'<sup>1</sup> Rousseau provided an analysis of this same monologue in his *Lettre sur la musique française* to confirm his opinion that French recitative was unnatural and lacking in expression. The quality of Rousseau's own recitative is characterized by a strange mixture of French and Italian elements. Whilst aiming at a less melodically developed contour and consciously trying to follow the *parlando* style of Italian recitative, he cannot completely shake off the French influence, particularly noticeable in his cadential formulae and occasionally in his choice of wide interval leaps:

J.-J. Rousseau: *Le devin du village* - Scene 6.

Colette

par un sort a mon tour je me sens pour sui - vi-e, la De-vin n'y peut rien que je suis malheur-

Colette Colin Colette

- eux! D'un a-mant plus cons-tant... Ah! de ma mort sui - vi-e votre in-fi-dé-li-té. Vos soins sont su-per-

- plus, non Co-lin, je ne l'ai-me plus

1. See F.W. Marburg: *Kritische Briefe ...*, ii (Berlin, 1763), 269-271.

Graun would appear to have been somewhat impeded in his argument by an imperfect understanding of the workings of the French language. He failed to understand the practice of elision, when a word that ends with a vowel is followed by a word beginning with a vowel. This led to his faulty re-setting of the line 'rendre au jour' which was made into four syllables when with elision there are only three. He also misinterpreted the pulse of a  $\frac{2}{2}$  bar following a bar in common time, where the crotchet beat becomes a minim beat in duple metre. Hence Graun found the word 'digne' to be too long drawn out. One wonders how well Graun knew French opera. It seems very likely that Telemann heard Rameau's Castor et Pollux at Paris during its first series of performances in the autumn of 1737, for we know that he was in Paris at that time. It is, furthermore, a great pity that Telemann never fulfilled his promise to write a report on the state of music in Paris and France.<sup>1</sup>

Graun informed Telemann that he found that French recitative singing resembled the 'howling of dogs' (VI,42-43) and pointed to one bar in Rameau's Castor et Pollux where, in the setting of the word 'même', the singer has to articulate on two exposed high notes. This bar, he states, would give even the best singers difficulties and create a 'miserable French howling!' (VIII, 46-49). Opinions on the art of singing in France are quite uniform in the writings of the eighteenth century; the French, although lauded as a nation fond of singing chansons, received little

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1.. A planned description of music in Paris and of French music and musicians in general was announced in the introduction to the Beschreibung der Augenorgel (Hamburg, 1739). See p. 103, supra.

praise for their operatic singing. Rousseau, clearly criticizing the composition of French recitative, laments the shouting and shrieking that characterizes its delivery by the performer.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, French recitative does at times demand exceptional vocal agility, perfectly exemplified in the problems experienced by French singers today in performances of Rameau's operas.

Telemann, on the other hand, did not seem to be too pleased about the quality of Italian recitative singing, which he referred to as a 'Calcuttan-cockerel-language' (VI,44-46). This comment had the approval of Graun who appeared to be somewhat distressed by the state of Italian singing. Krause informs us, in his Von der musicalischen Poesie:

There is no longer anyone on the Berlin stage, other than the unique [Madame] Astroa, who can sing recitative with action, both slowly and emphatically.<sup>2</sup>

Krause's recommendations to composers to keep their recitatives short and concise was certainly a reaction to the monotonous and inexpressive performance of these passages by some contemporary opera singers. It is significant that Telemann asks the question: 'Why have Italian cantatas gone out of fashion?' He attributes this to the quality of the recitatives, to their

1. See J.-J. Rousseau: Lettre sur la musique française ..., in O. Strunk: Source Readings ..., 652.

2. 'Auf der ganzen berlinischen Schaubühne ist nicht mehr, als die einzige Astroa, welche das Recitativ mit Action, langsam und nachdrücklich singet.' See C.G. Krause: Von der musicalischen Poesie ..., 236.

poor execution and, probably, to their lack of popular appeal (VII,100-102). This also is true of Italian and French opera and it is interesting to note that after the middle of the century recitative sections in opera become considerably shorter. A comparison of the two versions of Rameau's Castor et Pollux (Paris, 1737 and 1754) for example, reveals that the later version contains substantially less recitative. That Graun's late operas continued to contain long expanses of recitativo semplice, however, is an exception to the general rule. Berlin's opera conventions were suspended in time and took almost no heed of stylistic developments in other parts of Europe.

Although Telemann felt that neither the French nor the Italian recitative styles could be credited with having a resemblance to speech, he agreed that in future composers should 'recite according to the Italian manner' (VII,7-8). In following Italian recitative practice he confessed to 'swim with the tide'. He was not afraid, however, of intermingling ariosi at any given moment, where he felt these to be appropriate and effective, as in a number of his collections of music for the church year (VII,92-95). All Graun's accusations of Telemann's partiality in favour of French recitative seem irrelevant in the light of Telemann's objective conclusions. Conversely, Graun's assertion that French recitative is only favoured in France is also disproved by Telemann's example. Graun was too fixed in his ways to be at all open-minded in comparisons of French and Italian recitative. He could not see that French music was rational. Graun's solution: one should wait until news has been heard of the existence of a style of recitative

in Turkey,'thereupon we shall recite according to the Turkish manner'. (VIII,6-7).

Telemann and Graun were also concerned about the question of the relationship of melody to harmony. Rameau had caused quite a stir with his assertion, in the Traité de l'Harmonie (Paris, 1722), that melody arises from harmony.<sup>1</sup> The Encyclopédistes, as strong supporters of the melodious operas of the Italians, were not prepared to endorse Rameau's definition of melody. The reputed lack of melody in French operas, in particular those of Rameau, provided fuel for their campaign against their national operas. They found Rameau's harmonies to be too complicated and his accompaniments too contrapuntal, all of which distracted the listener from the melody and the words. Rousseau and his colleagues saw melody as the most satisfactory means of expressing passions and feeling; for them melody formed the backbone of dramatic music. It was certainly in answer to this exaggerated emphasis on melody, to the almost total neglect of harmony, that brought the following statement from Rameau in 1754:

It belongs to harmony alone to stir the passions; melody derives its strength only from that source whence it springs directly.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See J.-P. Rameau: Traité de l'Harmonie (Paris, 1722), 138.

2. See J.-P. Rameau: Observations sur notre instinct pour la musique (Paris, 1754), 11, quoted from C. Girdlestone: Jean-Philippe Rameau. His Life and Work (London, 1957), 536.

In the preface to his translation of d'Alembert's Elémens, Marpurg mentioned that he was not satisfied with Rameau's theory of harmony and melody and advised his readers to consult his own Handbuch bey dem Generalbass (Berlin, 1755-1760) in which he explained his position. Marpurg considered melody and harmony to be interdependent and stated that neither could exist without the other.<sup>1</sup> In this attitude Marpurg, without explicitly emphasizing the point, is commenting on the tendency in German music of his day towards an even balance of the two components. Italian opera was still very much 'melody opera' whilst French opera tended to develop more freely harmonic interest.

Telemann seems to have written to Graun some time in 1751 complaining about the blandness of harmony in contemporary music. Graun, ever sensitive to possible criticisms of his own music, asserted that he often uses 'hot spices' (scharffe Gewütz) in his music where he feels that the words require this. He believed, however, that a harmony that is too spicy is not at all 'healthy'. He therefore drew the conclusion that Telemann preferred a stronger harmonic seasoning than he did and suggested that they should continue to follow their own individual tastes (VI,110-113).

Earlier in the same letter Graun had taken Rameau to task for his mathematical approach to the theory of music and in particular to the treatment of dissonances. As we have

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1. See F.W.Marpurg: Handbuch bey dem Generalbass (Berlin, 1755-1760), 23.

seen in an earlier chapter Graun was opposed to the study of music from a mathematical viewpoint and insisted that he knew of no composer who combined mathematical erudition with emotional feelings in the composition of his music (IV,13-16).<sup>1</sup> Rameau was criticized for stating in his Traité de l'Harmonie that all dissonances can be resolved in a consonance, and that this can be any consonance. Graun then gave two examples of chains of suspensions (VI,71-73) which Telemann, in his reply to this letter, declared were none other than delayed octaves in the first example and a row of sevenths, resolved by step in the treble and by movements in thirds in the bass. The fault appears to be the emphasis given to the resolutions of these dissonances which always move in similar motion, creating concealed or delayed consecutive octaves. Telemann assured Graun that this latter treatment of dissonance is to be found in the music of earlier composers, including the solis of Corelli and is by no means an uncommon practice (VII,75-76).

Telemann's letter to Graun contains one of his most powerful statements on the relationship of melody to harmony and, consequently, a major declaration of his aims in composition:

I have for so many years wearily melodiced  
and copied myself a few thousand times, (as others  
like me) and have consequently come to this conclusion:  
If there is nothing new to be found in the melody, then

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1. See Graun's criticisms of Mizler's 'Korrespondierende Societät', pp. 104-106, supra.



one must search for it in the harmony. Yes, people say: One should not go too far. I reply: as far as the deepest foundation, if one wishes to merit the name of an assiduous master.<sup>1</sup>

Even in his earliest preserved compositions we find Telemann showing an acute awareness of the possibilities of creating added tension through harmonic colouring. In those compositions of his Indian summer, after 1755, his harmonic vocabulary is often extremely adventurous. The 'hot spices' used in these works, mainly vocal, are all in accordance with the demands of the texts for intensified expression. A work which shows particular harmonic originality is the late oratorio Der Tag des Gerichts (Hamburg, 1762). In the accompanied recitatives of this work we encounter expressive use of augmented intervals in the melodic writing which, together with a highly imaginative handling of diminished harmonies and an idiosyncratic use of enharmonic progressions, continually heighten the tension in Telemann's musical interpretation of the text.<sup>2</sup>

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1. 'Ich habe mich nun von so vielen Jahren her ganz marode melodirt, und etliche Tausendmal selbst abgeschrieben/copirt, wie andere mit mir, mithin also draus geschlossen: Ist in der Melodie nichts Neues mehr zu finden, so muß man es in der Harmonie suchen. Ja, heisst es: man soll aber nicht zuweit gehen; bis in den untersten Grund, antworte ich drauf, wenn man den Namen eines fleißigen Meisters verdienen will.' See G.Ph. Telemann: Briefwechsel ..., 284-285.
  2. See Max Schneider (ed.): DdT, 28 (1907); in particular the accompanied recitative pp. 54-58, bars 8-14, to the words: 'Noch nie empfundene Schauer füllen mit unausstehlich herbem Schmerz der Sterblichen beklommenes Herz. Die süße Harmonie der Sphären löst sich in rauhen Mißklang auf'. On Telemann's harmonic vocabulary see G. Fleischhauer: 'Einige Gedanken zur Harmonik Telemanns', Beiträge zu einem neuen Telemannbild (Magdeburg, 1963), 50-63.

Graun could not accept this negative attitude to the power of melody. He believed, certainly, that most French composers had already exhausted the possibilities of melody and that this could not be said of Telemann, whom he warned, with friendly concern, to beware of creating a feeling of satiety by writing too much (VIII,97-100). Graun went on to declare that searching for new notes in harmony was like searching for new letters in a language. In stating that 'present language teachers' seemed to be more concerned with deleting letters from a language, he is possibly implying that music had become complex enough in its harmonic content and could well require some process of simplification. Graun's harmonic style, like Telemann's, is a close reflection of his melodic language. Whilst Telemann's melodies constantly demand that harmony modify its laws of juxtaposition, progression and modulation, Graun composes his melodies within the confines of smooth cantabile interval relationships, forcing harmony into a subordinate, accompanying function. Graun's melodies are, on the whole, diatonic, often outlining the notes of the triad; any notes foreign to the harmony implied in the bass line are usually in the nature of accented dissonant appoggiaturas which are rapidly quitted. Graun's predilection for chords of the diminished seventh, in particular in accompanied recitatives, always has these resolved according to common practice; rarely do we encounter any startling juxtapositions of chords or original paths of modulation.<sup>1</sup> Graun was, in essence, a melodist; his source

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1. Some marginal exceptions to this rule can be found in Graun's Passion cantata Der Tod Jesu, a discussion of which will appear in the final chapter of this study.

of inspiration was the lyrical quality of the singing voice - his own. His attitude to harmony, therefore, was that it should support the natural flow of the melody and not make its presence too conspicuous.

In their extant correspondence, during the seventeen years from 1739 to 1756, Graun and Telemann discussed some of the most important theoretical questions of their day. They displayed a keen interest in the quality of vocal works and the nature of texts best suited to musical setting. They showed particular concern about the careful observation of the poet's scansion and syntax and about the composer's powers of intensifying literary points through musical means. If the main topic of their correspondence concerned the relative merits of the French and the Italian styles this by no means detracted emphasis from the dominant issue: a composer's relationship to his text.

The German musicologist Anna Abert has noticed a tendency at certain points in the history of music towards an increased interest in the importance of the word. These 'textbetonte Epochen' occurred in 1500, 1600 and 1750, when considerations as to the nature of texts and their command of musical matters far outweighed purely musical deliberations.<sup>1</sup> Telemann and Graun both felt that in their own day music was more than ever before a most powerful means of giving expression to words. Their correspondence, and much more, their compositions superbly testify to this awareness.

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1. See A.A. Abert: 'Wort und Ton', Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Hamburg 1956 (Kassel and Basel, 1957), 44.

Additional Annotations on the Correspondence

One of the important motives behind Telemann's correspondence with his Berlin colleagues was the promotion of his printed music. Two of these publications, Musique de Table (Hamburg, 1733) and the Nouveaux Quatuors (Paris, 1738),<sup>1</sup> had attracted subscribers from all over Europe and had contributed greatly to establishing Telemann's reputation as one of the finest composers of instrumental music. Graun's letter from Wolfenbüttel, written some time before spring 1735, had been in the form of an order for 'gewißer Musicalien' (some printed music) which he had wished to subscribe to. On resuming his correspondence with Telemann in December 1739, Graun remarked that he was intent on acquiring some Berlin subscribers to works of Telemann's advertised in a catalogue (I, 12-13).<sup>2</sup> His journey to Dresden in December 1739, however, hindered him in fulfilling his obligation. The following summer Graun had to admit that partly owing to the 'pauvreté' of local amateur musicians he had been unable to find any subscribers for Telemann. It was his hope that more concerts would be given in Berlin in the future (II, 12-13). In June 1743, Graun declared that he was trying his best to find subscribers for Telemann's collections and announced that some must already have been in contact with

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1. Musique de Table, ed. J.P. Hinrenthal, TMW vols. 12-14 (Kassel, 1959-1963).  
Nouveaux Quatuors, ed. W. Bergmann, TMW vol. 19 (Kassel, 1965).
  2. This would appear to have been the Catalogue des Oeuvres en Musique de Mr. Telemann, Maître de Chapelle et Directeur de la Musique a Hambourg, qui se vendent a Hambourg chez lui. Amsterdam, 1733. A copy of this catalogue is preserved in D - brd - Hs, Sig.Ms. 370/1; cf. M. Ruhnke: 'Telemann als Verleger', Musik und Verlag: Karl Vötterle zum 65. Geburtstag (Kassel, 1968), 513.

Telemann personally (III, 47-49). Although this matter did not arise again in later letters between Graun and Telemann, Telemann continued to promote his published collections, as well as those of his colleagues, in his correspondence with other members of the Berlin Capelle. This activity, partly conditioned by economic necessity, played an essential part in what Telemann regarded as his duty to propagate music widely. It stemmed not just from financial considerations, but from the notion that 'man lives to work and to serve his neighbour.'<sup>1</sup>

In two letters from Graun to Telemann (Reinsberg, 7 December 1739 and Berlin, 15 June 1740), we are informed of Graun's journey to Dresden and of preparations for the funeral of Friedrich Wilhelm I, including the employment of two singers from Dresden (I, postscript and II, 17-18). As yet, however, no plans had been made to expand the instrumental forces employed by the monarch-designate. In the second letter, furthermore, Graun expresses his dissatisfaction with the meagre concert activity at Berlin, which he hopes will improve shortly (II, 11-13). In a later letter Graun gossips about the scandalous behaviour of the court poet Bottarelli and the poor abilities of two singers, Bucella and Pasqualini, recruited from Italy (III, 33-46 and 50-55). In 1751, however, Graun was able to report about the excellent musicianship but inadequate voice of the singer Reginello, with whom he had sung duets at his home (V, 24-34). Reginello does not appear to have sung in operas at this time, as can be deduced from a remark in Graun's second

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1. '...weil der Mensch der Arbeit wegen und um den Nächsten zu dienen lebet.' See the 'Vorwort' to G.Ph. Telemann: Der Getreue Music-Meister (Hamburg, 1728-1729).

letter that same year, in which he states that he wishes he could have heard Reginaldo sing recitative (VI, 47-48).

Some time before 1743, Telemann had written to Graun with the request for assistance in securing for his son a medical position or perhaps a place to study medicine in Berlin. Since there had been so many applicants, Graun was not able to reply positively to the request. Graun guaranteed him his assistance, as soon as the 'doctor', one must assume, had returned from Ansbach where he had been treating the margravine of Bayreuth, Frederick the Great's sister.<sup>1</sup> As this episode clearly shows, a great deal of mutual respect for their respective positions in society dominated their correspondence from its earliest stages.

Respect for each other's music can be found throughout the correspondence between Telemann and Graun. It must be assumed that Graun had subscribed to some of Telemann's printed collections of music, although we have no indications of specific titles. We do know, however, that Graun regarded his friend's Passion compositions Der Tod Jesu and Die Betrachtung der neunten Stunde (both composed in 1755) very highly. In these he discovered:

the most fashionable choruses which are most fitting for the church and for the words [and] the most agreeable arias.<sup>2</sup> (IX, 18-20)

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1. cf. G.Ph. Telemann: Briefwechsel..., 297, fn. 22. In his autobiography of 1740, Telemann mentions a son, Johann Barthold Joachim: 'geboren 1723, den 13 März; wird, nachdem er die Schulwissenschaften noch einige Zeit betrieben, die Chirurgie ergreifen.' See J. Mattheson: Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte..., 367.

2. '...die modesten zur Kirche und zum Worten geschicklichsten Chöre [und] die gefälligsten Arie...'. See G.Ph. Telemann: Briefwechsel..., 293.

Telemann had been particularly interested in getting to know Graun's music and had heard of a 'chorus' which he especially wanted to see. Together with this chorus, Graun sent a number of 'leichte Arien' (lighter arias) from his opera Armida (Berlin, 1751) enclosed with his letter to Telemann (VI, 125). In his reply to this letter, Telemann, in addition to scrupulously dissecting Graun's ideas on French recitative practice, expressed high praise of the arias which, in his opinion, could serve as models to the greatest masters of Italian music (VII, 169-172).

In the last preserved letter of the correspondence (IX), Graun apologizes for the delay in replying to Telemann's letter as he was preoccupied with 'a minor task for our Princess Anna Amalia.' (IX, 10-11).<sup>1</sup> That this was, as has been suggested,<sup>2</sup> the Te Deum, which Graun had composed some time during the first half of 1757, seems quite improbable. Firstly, this was certainly no 'minor task', with its expansive treatment of the text in eleven movements, and its employment of relatively large forces.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, there seemed, as yet, no cause for the composition of a Te Deum in May 1756, as the Seven Years' War had not yet reached the stage whereby celebrations were called for. In May 1757, however, Marburg was able to send the autograph score of the Te Deum to Breitkopf at Leipzig with the remark 'composed by high order'.<sup>4</sup> It does seem strange to

1. '...eine kleine Arbeit vor unsrer Princeß Amalia...'; see G.Ph. Telemann: Briefwechsel..., 292.
2. cf. J.W. Grubbs: op.cit., i, 298-299.
3. The Te Deum is scored for SATB soli, SATB chorus, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, strings and continuo.
4. 'Es ist auf hohen Befehl verfertiget'. See H. von Haase: 'Beiträge zur Breitkopfschen Geschäftsgeschichte: C.H. Graun und F.W. Marburg', Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft, ii (1920), 454.

regard the 'kleine Arbeit' and the work written on 'hohen Befehl' as one and the same composition. Who commissioned the Te Deum we cannot tell. The 'kleine Arbeit' could, however, hardly have been more than a chamber cantata or a few lieder.

Graun would appear to have acted on Telemann's behalf in the latter's dealings with residents of Berlin and their friends. Quantz had requested Graun to ask Telemann to pass on a message to a former pupil of his, Joachim Moldenit, who was residing in Hamburg. Furthermore, Telemann had hoped through Graun's assistance, to extend his interest in flowers and plants through some contributions from Berlin. This enthusiasm for plants, first recorded in his last preserved letter to Uffenbach in 1742,<sup>1</sup> served Telemann as a relaxing hobby in his old age. He received contributions of plants from all over Europe, from Pisendel (in 1749) and from Handel (in 1754), and possibly from Uffenbach (c.1742). He also corresponded with Agricola (in 1755) and C.Ph.E. Bach (in 1759) with the hope, through their assistance, of becoming acquainted with the director of the botanical gardens in Berlin, the botany professor J.G. Gleditsch.

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1. See Telemann's letter to Uffenbach, dated Hamburg, 27 August 1742; in G.Ph. Telemann: Briefwechsel..., 237-239.



'DER TOD JESU' :

RAMLER'S PASSION ORATORIO

IN SETTINGS BY

TELEMANN AND GRAUN

### Historical Context

We can profitably follow up Telemann and Graun's discussions of word-setting in their correspondence - which expresses clear divergences of approach - by comparing their respective settings of Ramler's Der Tod Jesu, arguably the Passion text of the Aufklärung. Der Tod Jesu<sup>1</sup> was one of the few poetic texts of the mid-eighteenth century still being 'read' throughout the following century. In its musical setting by Carl Heinrich Graun it passed from one generation of music enthusiasts and amateur singers to the next in a virtual unbroken line of musical revivals. With this unprecedented history, Graun's Der Tod Jesu constitutes one of the few compositions of its era that did not require to be 'rediscovered'.<sup>2</sup> From the year of its first performance in 1755, in Berlin, the work was heard there well nigh annually until the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> With the posthumous publication in 1760 of the score of Graun's Tod Jesu by the Leipzig company of Breitkopf,<sup>4</sup> the work became available throughout Germany. Virtually every German town that had its own musical tradition mounted regular performances of Graun's work: from Darmstadt (beginning in 1767) and Erlangen (1776) in the south to Kiel (1795) and Königsberg (c.1762) in the north, from Breslau (1762) in the east to Cologne (1765) in the west. Even as early as 1767, in Basel, performances had been

1. See also pp. 77-80, supra.

2. See I. König: Studien zum Libretto des 'Tod Jesu' von Karl Wilhelm Ramler und Karl Heinrich Graun (Munich, 1972), 16.

3. Ibid., 5-6, including detailed references to sources consulted.

4. Der Tod Jesu, eine Cantate, in die Musik gesetzt von Herrn Carl Heinrich Graun, Königl. Preuss. Capellmeister (Leipzig: Johann Gottlieb Immanuel Breitkopf, 1760).

given outside the borders of German states followed later by performances in Copenhagen (1778), in Stockholm (1782) and in Vienna (1787).<sup>1</sup> As a consequence of the growing frequency of performances throughout Germany, but especially in North German centres, Johann Adam Hiller, an avid admirer of Graun's music, prepared a vocal score of Graun's Tod Jesu in 1783<sup>2</sup> that attracted a large number of subscribers.<sup>3</sup>

It was not only Graun's setting of the text, however, that secured for Ramler's Passion text a place in the minds of later generations. Following the first official publication of the text in 1755,<sup>4</sup> to accompany the first performances of Graun's setting in Berlin, the poet undertook various revisions before including it in his collection of Geistliche Kantaten (Sacred Cantatas) (Berlin, 1760).<sup>5</sup> The original text of 1755 was set to music by Telemann in that same year and also by Georg Anton Kreusser (1743-1810), Concertmeister in the court Capelle at Mainz, some time in 1783.<sup>6</sup> Three

1. See I. König: op.cit., 5-15, for a detailed discussion of the history of Graun's Tod Jesu in performance.
2. Herrn Carl Heinrich Grauns...Passions-Cantate: Der Tod Jesu, in einem Clavierauszuge herausgegeben von Johann Adam Hiller (Breslau: Gottlieb Löwe, 1785).
3. See I. König: op.cit., 11, fn.7.
4. See pp. 77-79, supra., for a discussion of a pirate publication in Hamburg, in 1755.
5. The cantata text appeared again, with some further revisions, in the following authorized editions of Ramler's works: Geistliche Kantaten (Berlin: C.F. Voß, 1768); Geistliche Kantaten, Second edition (Berlin: C.F. Voß, 1770); Lyrische Gedichte (Berlin: C.F. Voß, 1772); and Poetische Werke, Second Part (Berlin: J.D. Sander, 1801). See I. König: op.cit., 138-144, on the various versions of Ramler's Tod Jesu.
6. Kreusser's Tod Jesu was published by the Schott company, in Mainz, in 1783.

further Tod Jesu compositions, by Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach (in 1769), Christian Ernst Graf (in 1780) and Silvester Julius Kraus (in 1800), make use of official revised, printed editions of Ramler's text: Bach (1760 edition), Graf (1772 edition) and Kraus (1768/1770 edition).<sup>1</sup> Although none of these 'alternative' settings of Ramler's Tod Jesu enjoyed anything like the popularity of Graun's composition, they give evidence of the firm position held by Ramler's Passion text in the minds of German composers of the second half of the eighteenth century.

In view of the immense popularity of Ramler's text, it is essential that we do not rush into unjust conclusions as to its literary quality, biased by 230 years of literary development. Ramler's poetic language perfectly expresses the sentiments of his age. In his language we experience, in its strengths and its weaknesses, the vitality of an emerging, not yet fully mature, national literary language.

Ramler's text had a counterpart in the first half of the century in Barthold Heinrich Brockes's Passion oratorio Der für die Sünden der Welt gemarterte und sterbende Jesus (Jesus, martyred and dying for the sins of the world) (Hamburg, 1712). By c.1750, Brockes's text had been set to music more than ten times, but was then found to be no longer in accordance with the linguistic and theological feelings of the day.<sup>2</sup> Both texts are Passion oratorios<sup>3</sup> but

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1. See I. König: op.cit., 37-38.

2. Ibid., 26. See also H.E. Smither: A History of the Oratorio. Vol. 2: The Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Protestant Germany and England (Chapel Hill, 1977), 111.

3. See pp. 171-172, infra.

differ greatly in their styles of oratory, their dramatic content and their overall dimensions. Furthermore, through its undogmatic and undramatic nature, and its clear involvement with sensations, Ramler's text displays the marks of a new concept of theology, of a new quality in literature and a new age of thought.

Possibly the most important spiritual and intellectual centre in the first half of the eighteenth century was the town of Halle, and its university; considerable inspiration for the development of ideas and beliefs in the German mind emanated from there. It is perhaps significant that both Brockes (1680-1747) and Ramler (1725-1798) studied at Halle University; Brockes studied law, from 1700 until 1704, and Ramler studied theology, from 1742 until 1744. The man of the Baroque sought the universally practical discipline of jurisprudence, whilst the 'enlightened' man turned his attention to the spiritual needs of mankind, in the philosophical-anthropological study of theology. Neither Brockes nor Ramler, however, seems to have given his studies his undivided attention. Brockes spent much of his student days travelling the continent, flirting with the Muses, but finally acquired a qualification in law. Ramler, on the other hand, became disillusioned with Pietistic ideology and orthodox doctrine, and discontinued his studies. Brockes's subsequent professional activities were in the service of his community, as town councillor; his passion was naturalistic poetry. Ramler earned his livelihood as a private tutor and then as a tutor at the military academy in Berlin; his passion was poetry in the manner of the Horatian ode. Both Brockes and Ramler, nevertheless,

were products of the spiritual and intellectual atmospheres of their day. Brockes's poetic writing represents the German mind on the threshold of a new era; Ramler's writing is a reflection of the intellectual and spiritual climate of this new era. But first it is important to assess the significance of Pietism as a source of later spiritual and intellectual developments in Germany.

### The Passion Oratorio in the Era of Pietism

Brockes's Passion text Der für die Sünden der Welt gemarterte und sterbende Jesus, one of his earliest poetic works, is, in its spiritual content, a clear offspring of Pietistic ideology at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In reaction to growing secularism in the Church and the lifeless adherence to dogmatic orthodoxy, the fathers of Pietism stressed the need for greater personal involvement in the practice of faith. They advocated closer study of the Bible, in private reflection and in group readings, greater exercise by the laity of their spiritual priesthood, an intensification of Christian brotherly love, tolerance and charity in all religious controversies, reform of theological education and a mode of preaching that aimed at edification and the inspiration of piety.<sup>1</sup> In all this we sense the importance of the individual. It was further stressed that the New Testament teaching of new birth and new life required activity in personal faith; repentance, regeneration

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1. These six guidelines were introduced by Spener in his Pia Desideria (Pious Desires) (1675). See F.L. Cross, (ed.) 'Pia Desideria', The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (London, 1958), 1070.

and new life were the essence of Pietism. The orthodox Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone emphasized man's status, his existence and his relation to God. The Pietists, however, concerned about the necessity of personal sanctification, were interested in stimulating rebirth and regeneration.

The Passion story provided the devout Pietist with models of tolerance and virtue, personified in the suffering of Christ. The central issues of Pietistic theology, the concept of redemption and Christ's reconciliation of man with God, form the apex of the Passion story. In the sermons and teachings of the Pietist pastor August Hermann Francke, recorded in his Glauchisches Gedenck-Büchlein (Leipzig/Halle, 1693), Christians were encouraged to identify with Christ in the last stages of his life and to accept his virtuous, humble, patient, gentle and loving conduct as a paragon of Christian virtue. Considerable emphasis was placed by Francke on the suffering of Christ in preparing the path for eternal salvation and also on the notion that one should understand the shedding of Christ's blood as the most solemn reason for faith.<sup>1</sup> In its firm intention to inspire compassion and repentance Pietism emphasized the sensational aspects of the Passion story. The infliction of pain, the suffering and bleeding of Christ, a certain glorification of the instruments of torture, the ecstatic expression

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1. See A.H. Francke: Glauchisches Gedenck-Büchlein (Leipzig/Halle, 1693), 129-130.

of love and the emotional identification of oneself with the stations of suffering are important aspects of Pietistic reflection of the Passion story.<sup>1</sup>

The vocabulary of Pietism reflects this vivid sensationalism and fervent emotionalism quite markedly; in no text is this clearer, nor indeed more refined, than in Brockes's Passion text of 1712. Nevertheless, this vocabulary is still founded upon the excessive emotionalism, the extravagant imagery, the rhetoric and the pompous ornateness of Baroque language and manners. Indeed, Brockes's enthusiasm for the sensual theatricality of early Baroque poetry inspired his translation into German, published only three years after his Passion text, of Giambattista Marino's (1569-1625) devotional poetic epic La Strage degli innocenti (The Slaughter of the Innocents) (published posthumously, 1632).<sup>2</sup> The influence of Marino's poetry on the work of Brockes is not hard to find; the fluent musicality, the idyllic pastoral landscapes, the imaginative use of metaphor and, in general, the excellent command of technical skills, are features common to both poets.<sup>3</sup>

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1. See I. König: op.cit., 57. It is certainly not true that Catholicism also emphasized such things. Whilst Catholicism insisted that it was important to merit God's grace, orthodox Lutheran Protestantism emphasized a doctrine of justification by grace through faith. Pietism inspired greater personal involvement in the act of worship and the expression of faith.
  2. See B.H. Brockes: Verteutschter Bethlehemitischer Kinder-Mord des Ritters Marino, nebst des Herrn Uebersetzers eigenen Werken (Köln and Hamburg, 1715).
  3. Brockes's Passion text had a precursor in the German language in Christian Friedrich Hunold's ('Menantes', 1681-1721) Der blutige und sterbende Jesus (set to music by Reinhard Keiser in 1705). This was the first Passion oratorio in which the entire text was the poetic creation of the author and did not incorporate direct quotations from the Gospel text. Brockes's text, however, differs markedly from Hunold's, in that it draws on all four Gospels, makes use of an Evangelist-narrator and inserts chorale verses at key moments.



Although small in number, the four chorales in Brockes's Der für die Sünden der Welt gemarterte und sterbende Jesus express vividly the selective sifting of the Pietistic mind. The verses are uniform in their cry of repentance, yet they are the cry of an individual and not of the anonymous congregation. The composer however, in setting these verses for chorus, creates a collective response, though the personal cry of individual members of the congregation is his aim:

Ich bin ein Glied an deinem Leib,  
des tröst' ich mich von Herzen;  
von dir ich ungeschieden bleib'  
in Todesnot und Schmerzen.  
Wann ich gleich sterb', so sterb ich dir,  
Ein ewges Leben hast du mir  
mit deinem Tod erworben. <sup>1</sup>

These verses have been carefully chosen to stimulate personal identification ('Ich' - 'mein') with the stations of the Passion story that have just been depicted.

The Soliloquia, short 'solo cantatas', comprising recitatives and arias in varying combinations, constitute extended moments of meditation, in addition to the contemplative arias that appear at regular intervals. In particular, the arias sung by the allegorical figures of the 'Daughter of Zion' ('Die Tochter

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1. I am a limb on Thy body, which comforts me profoundly; from Thee I never shall be separated, in peril of death or in suffering. And when I die, I die in Thee - Thou hast given me, through Thine own death, eternal life. (This is a literal prose translation of the original verse.)

Zion') and the 'Believing Soul' ('Die Gläubige Seele') express personal grief, representing that of the whole Christian community. It is in these lines that we encounter Brockes the poet and believer speaking the language of his time. With the aria of the 'Daughter of Zion', commenting on the Last Supper, we find Pietistic theology combined with what some squeamish souls would regard as the poor taste of late Baroque poetry:

Gott selbst, der Brunnquell alles Guten,  
 ein unerschöpflichs Gnadenmeer  
 fängt für die Sünder an zu bluten,  
 bis er von allem Blute leer,  
 und reicht aus diesen Gnadenfluten<sup>1</sup>  
 uns selbst sein Blut zu trinken her.

This combination of drama and emotion, of vividly natural imagery and clarity of purpose, superbly emphasizes the uninterrupted flow of sacrifice promising salvation and man's identification with the suffering of Christ. In its choice of vocabulary, Brockes's text overflows with Pietistic images, with its emphasis on the soul, on emotion, compassion, repentance, personal faith, conversion, forgiveness and an individual development of faith and devotion.<sup>2</sup>

Brockes's Passion oratorio belongs to a period in German history when Pietism was at its strongest. Pietism stimulated, above all, introspective thought and refined self-expression, clearly

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1. The Lord himself, font of all that is good, an inexhaustible pool of grace, starts for the sinner's sake to bleed, till he is completely drained of all his blood and offers us from this flood of mercy his own blood for our sustenance. (Prose translation by the present writer.)

2. See H. Frederichs: Das Verhältnis vom Text und Musik in den Brockespassionen Keisers, Händels, Telemanns und Matthesons (Munich-Salzburg, 1975), 82.

evident in devotional writings at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Brockes's tendency in his poetry towards an intensification of individual reflection found endorsement in Pietist practice. This mode of devotion, however, constituted a breeding ground for the Enlightenment. In its opposition to orthodox doctrine, its encouragement of personal experience and practice, its commitment to educational reform and the rejection of ties with ecclesiastical structures and control, Pietism embodied many principles of rationalist thought.<sup>1</sup> Brockes's poetic masterpiece, the Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott (Earthly Joy in God) (Hamburg, 1721-1748), begun some time before his appointment to the Hamburg Senate in 1720, presents a fine contrast to the Passion text of 1712. The Irdisches Vergnügen is an extended hymn of praise to the glory of God's creation. The emphasis here is on God's gift of reason to man, by which factor alone man is capable of arriving at religion; gone is the importance of revelation and the supernatural, gone are the concepts of 'sin' and 'guilt'.<sup>2</sup> This is the age of reason, the era of natural religion, the Aufklärung.

Whether we consult Locke or Leibniz, Descartes or Wolff, the new emphasis is on Vernunft - reason. The 'enlightened' man

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1. See A. Richardson and J. Bowden, (ed.): A New Dictionary of Christian Theology (London, 1983), 447.

2. See H. Frederichs: op.cit., 78.

drew conclusions through experience and did not rely on innate ideas, he reflected on nature and that which is 'natural', responded to the ideas of progression and rejected the authority of tradition.<sup>1</sup> The effect of this development on theology was to emphasize the truths and morality of natural religion without the interference of miracles or the supernatural. The figure of Jesus represented no longer a personal centre of faith but a moral teacher.<sup>2</sup> With Pietism there had been a transference of emphasis from the creeds to the Scriptures,<sup>3</sup> itself a preparation for enlightened thought. In the Enlightenment, however, the exclusive claim of the Bible as the source of Divine revelation was shattered by the acknowledgement of the shared merits of biblical and natural revelations of God; this constituted the balanced combination of belief and reason.

### New Directions in Literature

In the forty years which separate the Passion texts of Brockes and Ramler, theological and philosophical ideas in Germany underwent important changes. If these changes were the result of man's awakening to the irrationality of traditional

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1. See A. Richardson and J. Bowden (ed): op.cit., 179-180.

2. See W. Walker: A History of the Christian Church (Edinburgh, 1970), 482.

3. Ibid., 446.

concepts of faith and existence, they were stimulated by the gradual emerging of a vernacular language, a sign that a people has something important to say.

Two distinct causes helped to forge a vernacular literary language in Germany during the eighteenth century: the rejection of Latin as the language of instruction in German universities and academic writings, and the emancipation of the Bürger from cultural dependency on princely courts. Leipzig, Halle, and later Göttingen, as influential seats of learning, stimulated the development in academic circles, whilst Leipzig and Hamburg, as progressive trade and merchant centres, addressed their citizens in journals encouraging self-respect, moral virtue and cultural awareness. Christian Thomasius (1655-1728), besides giving the first lectures in the vernacular at a German university and publishing a series of philosophical works in German, also offered the public, for the first time, literary journals in the vernacular.<sup>1</sup> Although Thomasius was a pedant whose literary language was overloaded with foreign words and inflated with the bombast of Baroque sentence structure, he was, nevertheless, a significant pioneer. Very soon, in the philosophical writings of Christian Wolff (1679-1754) and Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700-1766), and in the popular 'moral weeklies' Der Vernünfftler (The Casuist)<sup>2</sup>, Die Discourse der Mahlern (The

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1. These were the so-called Monatsgespräche (Monthly Discussions) which appeared in Leipzig from January 1688 until April 1690.

2. Hamburg, May 1713 - May 1714; edited by Johann Mattheson.

Discourses of Artists)<sup>1</sup>, Die Patriot (The Patriot)<sup>2</sup>, and Die Vernünfftigen Tadlerinnen (The Rational Female Faultfinders)<sup>3</sup>, a purification of the vernacular from all foreign idioms and rhetorical bombast helped to stabilize a literary language which Germans were proud to own.<sup>4</sup>

At the time of Ramler's Passion text, Germany could boast a national literary style. In the same year that Gottsched published his definitive grammar Grundlegung einer deutschen Sprachkunst, nach den Mustern der besten Schriftsteller des vorigen und jetzigen Jahrhunderts (Foundation of a German Grammar, after the examples of the best Authors of the previous and the present Centuries) (Leipzig, 1748), Klopstock issued the first three cantos of his epic work Der Messias (1748-1773). Whereas before him German writers had written mainly about poetry, Klopstock was the first man actually to write, with greater conviction, expressive poetry. Klopstock's style, however, is lyrical rather than epic, a shortcoming in a

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1. Zürich, 1721-1723; with contributions from the Gottsched pupils Johann Jakob Bodmer (1698-1783) and Johann Jakob Breitinger (1701-1776).
  2. Hamburg, January 1724 - December 1726; with contributions from Brockes and Michael Richey.
  3. Leipzig, 1725-1726; edited and written by Gottsched.
  4. See W.H. Bruford: Germany in the Eighteenth Century: The Social Background of the Literary Revival (Cambridge, 1965), 294. The authority on German literature and language in the eighteenth century is Eric A. Blackall: The Emergence of German as a Literary Language 1700-1775 (Ithaca and London, 1978).

monumental work. Nevertheless, the bold expressive writing and the affecting lyricism of his poetry were of enormous significance for the future development of poetry in German. The new purpose of poetry - and literature in general - was to move and to incite emotional responses in the reader, instead of merely satisfying spiritual needs or furnishing entertainment. Expression was the novelty.

The importance of Klopstock's Der Messias in the context of this study needs further clarification. The expressive quality of Klopstock's poetry exerted considerable influence on poets in the second half of the eighteenth century. The theological aspect of Der Messias, however, is no longer a reflection of the times, for it is firmly rooted in Pietism and emphasizes Christ's redemption of mankind. As we shall see, the new theology of the Aufklärung, in particular the ideology evidenced in Ramler's Tod Jesu, played down quite considerably the role of Christ as Redeemer. It is the vocabulary, the poetical language of Pietism, emphasizing introspective contemplation and refined self-expression, that prepared the ground for the empfindsame (sentimental) language of German poetry of the second half of the eighteenth century.

### Theology in the Enlightenment

In Berlin, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the benevolent despotism of Frederick the Great made possible the development of a theology of the Aufklärung. But the ruler was himself no great believer. Whilst he rejected the idea of the immortality of the soul, Frederick the Great tolerated the ethical teaching of the Church, in the interest of peace and order in the state. The stimulus for Ramler's Passion cantata did not come from the king but from the king's sister, Princess

Anna Amalia. Anna Amalia was a devout Christian and, in further contrast to her brother, had a high regard for the efforts of German poets and writers to establish a national literature.<sup>1</sup> A structural plan of the desired content of the commissioned Passion text was sent by Princess Anna Amalia to the poet Ramler. The theological inspiration for the plan came from the court pastor August Friedrich Wilhelm Sack (1703-1786), whose ideas would have been known to the Princess, since she enjoyed his personal counsel and heard his sermons in church.

Sack was one of the leading Neologen (New Theologians) of his day.<sup>2</sup> These theologians concentrated on a new, historical appreciation of the Bible and dismissed the irrationality of revelation. Sack's theological ideology is documented in his eight-part Vertheidigter Gläube der Christen (In Defence of Christian Faith) (Berlin, 1748-1751). Salvation is attainable not through the justification of man through God's grace, the doctrine of orthodox Lutheranism, but through active pursuit of salvation in the form of conversion from evil to good and by virtue of conduct. The redemption of the soul through Christ does not replace the necessity for virtuous living; without turning from sin to virtue there can be no grace.<sup>3</sup> In his sermons, Sack placed greater emphasis on the moral-ethical aspect of religion and stressed Christ's merits, his composure and

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1. See I. König, op. cit., 43-45.

2. Ibid., 61.

3. See I. König, op. cit., 62, in reference to Sack's Vertheidigter Gläube der Christen.



neighbourly love, as well as his personal characteristics and virtues as a paragon for true Christian conduct.<sup>1</sup> This ideology forms the basis of Ramler's Passion text Der Tod Jesu.

### A New Concept of Oratorio

In close relationship to the theological-philosophical and literary developments that prepared the ground for Ramler's text, there arose, in the middle of the century, a new concept of oratorio. Although Ramler and Graun's composition is often referred to in contemporary publications, journals and letters as a 'Passion Cantata', it belongs to the genre of the 'Passion Oratorio', as defined by the eighteenth century theorist and composer Johann Abraham Peter Schulz (1747-1800), the author of the article 'Oratorium' in the second volume of Johann Georg Sulzer's Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste.<sup>2</sup> Whereas Scheibe and Krause had regarded oratorio as a drama, with narration and dialogue,<sup>3</sup> Schulz emphasized the necessity to develop a 'lyrical' account of the chosen subject. Schulz assumed knowledge of the story on the part of the listener, and insisted that dialogue and narrative were superfluous. The poet's aim, he asserted, must be to stimulate the listener's emotional response to the feelings

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1. Ibid., 64-65, in reference to A.F.W. Sack's Lebensbeschreibung nebst einigen von ihm hinterlassenen Briefen und Schriften, herausgegeben von dessen Sohne Friedrich Samuel Gottfried Sack (Berlin, 1789).

2. Published in two volumes: Leipzig, 1771 and 1774. A second edition appeared in 1792. This article appears in volume 2, pp. 852-854.

3. See J.A. Scheibe: Der critische Musicus (Leipzig, 1745), 186-194 and C.G. Krause: Von der musicalischen Poesie (Berlin, 1752), 470.

and sentiments expressed. Ramler's Tod Jesu gives significant evidence of this new concept of a 'lyrical' oratorio.

### Ramler's Text

Whereas Brockes, and Hunold before him, had written a complete dramatic account of the Passion story, from the Last Supper to the Burial of Christ, Ramler concentrates his - and our - attention on the events in Gethsemane and on Golgotha. The emphasis has been transferred from dramatic narration and dialogue to emotional reflection on the essential moments of the Passion story. What we have is a lyrical account of the events, without a narrator or any 'speaking' characters. Whilst in Brockes's text the central themes had been the redemption of man and his reconciliation with God, Ramler, in accordance with the ideas of the New Theologians, has the spiritual and physical suffering of Jesus, his supreme ethical moral bearing, and the immortality of mankind as central issues. The aria texts have very little relationship to actual occurrences in the Passion story, for they stress a general modified Christian doctrine, in which the moral-ethical aspect predominates.<sup>1</sup> The moral aspect of the arias assists the poet in his portrayal of Christ not as Saviour but as teacher, as a model of virtue. In response to the words of Christ from the cross 'Mein Vater, ach! vergieb es ihnen: sie thun unwissend was sie thun',<sup>2</sup> which conclude an extended passage of recitative, Ramler follows with the duet-aria:

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1. See I. König: op.cit., 56.

2. My father, oh! forgive them: they know not what they do.  
(Luke, 23, verse 34.)

Feinde, die ihr mich betrübt,  
seht, wie sehr mein Herz euch liebt:  
euch verzeihn ist meine Rache.

Die ihr mich im Unglück schmäht,  
hört mein ernstliches Gebeth:  
dass euch Gott beglückter mache.

Solche Tugend lernt ein Christ.

Gott! Gott! Jehova, Heiligster,  
du verzeihst dem Übertreter  
alle Schuld.

Gott! Gott! Jehova, Gütigster,  
du erzeigst dem Missethäter  
tausend Huld.

Selig wer dir ähnlich ist!<sup>1</sup>

The recitative texts display greater emotional expression, yet are more concise and direct than in Brockes' text. The theatrical-emotional baroque language of Brockes, however, has given way to the expressive lyricism of Ramler's observations of personal suffering. If the arias are the expression of general themes of Christian faith in the Aufklärung, the recitatives constitute the voice of sensitive (empfindsame) depiction of human anguish in a natural environment:

Was hör ich hier für Worte schallen!  
Ach ist es Petrus, der itzt spricht:  
ich kenne diesen Menschen nicht.  
Wie tief bist du von deinem Edelmut gefallen!  
Doch siehe! Jesus wendet sich,

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1. You enemies who afflict me, see how my heart loves you; my vengeance is to forgive you. You who revile me in my misfortune, hear my fervent prayer: may God make you more fortunate. A Christian learns such virtue. God! God! Jehovah, Thou holiest, Thou forgivest the transgressor's guilt. God! God! Jehovah, most gracious, Thou grantest the sinner a thousand graces. Blessed is he who is like Thee.

und blickt ihn an: er fühlt den Blick,  
 er geht zurück,  
 er weinet bitterlich.<sup>1</sup>

This is powerful writing, which provokes a reaction from the reader: 'Was hör ich ...', 'er fühlt den Blick ...' and, ultimately, 'er weinet bitterlich'; the emotional involvement of the listener and the reader is sought and he cannot fail to be moved by the directness of Ramler's address. There is nothing as simple, nor as powerful as this in earlier Passion oratorio poetry.

Certain features of Ramler's poetic language give his poetry its lyrical and expressive directness. Whilst the Gospel text narrates the Passion story in the past tense, adopted also by Brockes in his Passion oratorio, Ramler has chosen the historic present tense for the episodes of Gethsemane and Golgotha. This gives a greater sense of actuality and draws us, readers and listeners alike, into the action as if we ourselves were present. An excellent example is Peter's denial of Christ, quoted above. This practice is further intensified by the insertion of words or phrases which appeal directly to the sympathies of the listener: 'Ach seht' (Ah, look), 'Seht welch ein Mensch' (See what a man he is), or 'Ach! es ist um Ihn geschehen!' (Ah! It has come to pass!). Ramler, furthermore, creates vivid impressions of ominous

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1. What words are these I hear resounding! Oh! it is Peter who now speaks: "I know not the man". How deeply you have fallen from your nobility. Yet look! Jesus turns and looks him in the face: he senses the look, he falls back and weeps bitterly.

natural surroundings: 'Gethsemane! Gethsemane! Wen hören deine Mauern so bange, so verlassen trauren?' (Gethsemane! Gethsemane! Whom do your walls hear, lamenting so anxiously, so desolately?) or 'Da steht der traurige, verhängnisvolle Pfahl' (There stands the sad, fatal stake). To all of this must be added Ramler's highly imaginative, and by no means excessive introduction of adjectival phrases. Whereas in the Gospel telling of the Passion story adjectives are relatively sparse, Ramler's Passion text spreads them generously throughout. Their function is to intensify the emotions of the Passion story and the response of the listener: 'Mitleidig folgt er seinen Herrn zum Cajaphas' (Full of compassion he follows his Lord to Caiaphas), 'eine freche, verworfne Mörderhand' (the impudent, vile hand of a murderer), 'die finstre Stunde' (the sad hour), or 'die peinlich langsam sterbende' (dying in slow torment). In common with the images of 'movement' depicted in much pietistic devotional poetry, Ramler opts for verbs, or compound constructions, which create movement: 'Erheitert steht er auf' (Cheered he arises), 'klimm ich zu der Tugend Tempel matt den steilen Pfad hinauf' (exhausted, I climb the steep path to the Temple of Virtue), or 'Sein ganzer Körper fliegt am Kreuz empor' (His whole body flies up from the cross).

All of these features, as well as the careful selection of an expressive vocabulary, give added emphasis to the pain and suffering of Christ, more vividly portrayed by Ramler than in the Gospel texts. Indeed, the poet concentrates essentially on depicting these sensations as if they are the anguished feelings of a wounded follower. There is none of the bombastic

imagery of baroque poetry. A comparison of the following lines with the aria from Brockes' Passion oratorio quoted above<sup>1</sup> will serve to emphasize this point: 'Du siegest Jerusalem, und Jesus blutet schon ... Ein Strom quillt Stirn und Wang' herab' (Thou conquerest, Jerusalem, and Jesus bleeds already ... A stream flows from his brow and cheek.)

Ramler's text shows a particularly fine sense of the relationship between recitative and aria. We have drawn attention earlier to the moral aspect of Ramler's aria texts in this oratorio. It is a sign of concern for continuity that the closing lines of each recitative, often words spoken by Jesus, point towards or anticipate the message of the following aria:

(recit. :) O wacht und betet, meine Brüder!

(aria :) Ein Gebeth um neue Stärke  
zur Vollendung edler Werke ...<sup>2</sup>

(recit. :) Ich sage dir, du wirst noch heute  
mit mir im Paradiese seyn!

(aria :) Singt dem göttlichen Propheten,  
der den Trost vom Himmel bringet: ...<sup>3</sup>

Recitative and aria are allotted different yet complementary functions. In the recitative Ramler presents a lyrical and

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1. See p. 164, supra.

2. O watch and pray, my brothers! A prayer for new strengths to carry out noble works...

3. I say to you, today you will be with me in paradise! Sing to the prophet of God, who brings solace from heaven ...

sensitive report of the Passion story, with a considerable amount of emotional involvement.<sup>1</sup> The arias, however, and also the chorales and choruses which always follow an aria in preference to a recitative, emphasize the religious ideas and moral messages inherent in the Passion story.<sup>2</sup> The recitative has been liberated from its conventional role of developing the plot in dialogue and narrative, a consequence of the tendencies in contemporary literature towards intensified lyrical expression of emotional feelings. The moral teachings of the arias, chorales and choruses are in accordance with the theological ideology of the Aufklärung, imbued with the sensitive perception of human compassion. Ramler's text, moreover, corresponds quite closely to the requirements of 'musical-poetry', as outlined by Krause in his theoretical work Von der musicalischen Poesie,<sup>3</sup> further confirming its position as the Passion text of the Aufklärung.<sup>4</sup>

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1. The recitative passages are freely structured, with lines of varying length, free distribution of rhyme and a general adherence to the same metre.
  2. The arias are all in the da capo form, with a contrasting middle section that emphasizes the darker side of the message which is then contradicted by the return of the positive moral expressed in the main section. The lines are short, generally containing eight syllables, and the number of lines varies from eight to fourteen. In the arias Ramler favours iambic and trochaic metres and a free distribution of rhyme. Two of the chorales have original texts by Ramler, the others are taken from pre-existing chorale verses. Of the five choruses, only the last has a text by Ramler, all the others using short biblical sentences from the Old and New Testament.
  3. See I. König, op. cit., 97-137, in particular pp. 97-111, for a thorough discussion of the influence of Krause's book on the 'musical-poetry' of Ramler.
  4. Ibid., 148.

Ramler's Der Tod Jesu, in Graun's highly popular musical setting, is one of the best representatives of a Passion oratorio entirely in tune with the spirit of the Enlightenment. Graun's music provides excellent evidence of the musical language that had evolved in Berlin during a decade and a half of benevolent despotism under Frederick the Great. Graun's Tod Jesu might have qualified for the title of the Passion oratorio of the Aufklärung if, in that same year, his friend and colleague Telemann had not performed his own setting of Ramler's text in Hamburg. Both are works of the Enlightenment, by men with 'enlightened' attitudes towards their art. Their musical languages, however, although clearly expressing mutual aims, speak distinctly different musical dialects.

#### A Comparison of Telemann and Graun's Settings

This study has aimed to show that Telemann and Graun were very much alert to the developments, the inherent problems and the aesthetic importance of music during the first half of the eighteenth century. The year 1755 does not mark the beginning of their mutual interests and, thus, of this comparison, but was in many ways a major climactic point. For some considerable time, Telemann and Graun had been regarded as artistic brothers:



Bach's sacred compositions are always more artificial and laborious; they are by no means of such vigour, conviction and wise reflection as the works of Telemann and Graun.<sup>1</sup>

Scheibe's criticism of the music of Johann Sebastian Bach causes considerable discussion in present day studies of the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> What seems quite obvious, however, is that Scheibe regarded the music of Telemann and Graun, as well as that of Hasse and Handel, as more natural and, what is more important, more expressive than the music of J.S. Bach. No matter how the true interpretation of Scheibe's criticism of Bach should read, it is significant that here we have a theorist and musician writing in 1738, praising the sacred music of Telemann and Graun above that of all other German composers.

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1. 'Bachische Kirchen-Stücke sind allemahl künstlicher und mühsamer; keineswegs aber von solchem Nachdrucke, Überzeugung, und von solchem vernünftigen Nachdencken, als die Telemannischen und Graunischen Wercke.' See J.A. Scheibe: 'Sendschreiben an Sr. HochEdl. Herrn Capellmeister Mattheson, über den Kern melodischer Wissenschaft, von dem Verfasser des sogenannten Critischen Musici abgelassen', in: Gültige/Zeugnisse/über die jüngste/Matthesonisch-Musicalische/KernSchrift,/Als ein/Fügllicher Anhang derselben,/zum Druck befördert/von/Aristoxen, dem jüngern .../Hamburg, der Autor, 1738, p.11.
  2. See I. Willheim: Johann Adolph Scheibe: German Musical Thought in Transition (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1963), 240-285; G.J. Buelow: 'In Defence of J.A. Scheibe against J.S. Bach', in: Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association, ci (1974-75), 85-100; and G. Wagner: 'J.A. Scheibe - J.S. Bach: Versuch einer Bewertung', in Bach-Jahrbuch, 68 (1982), 33-49.

We have no information as to which sacred compositions of Carl Heinrich Graun were known to Scheibe, but Telemann's Hamburg cantatas and oratorios were certainly familiar to him.<sup>1</sup> Scheibe had had ample opportunity to hear Bach's music in Leipzig, where he was born, educated and, until 1735, had been professionally active as teacher and composer. His musical ideal, however, was the vocal melody, the functional harmony, the elegant phrasing, the rhythmical vitality and the fervent expressiveness of the compositions of Telemann and Graun.

The year 1755 also constitutes an important stage in the individual lives of Telemann and Graun. Graun, at the age of fifty-one or fifty-two, was turning again to sacred music after almost two and a half decades of virtually exclusive dedication to opera and secular music. His last opera, Merope, was written and performed the following year, shortly before the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. With the exception of his Te Deum (1757), Graun composed no more music on the grand scale. Telemann, however, an 'alter Greis' (an old man) of seventy-four, was embarking on a new phase of creativity that was to produce some of his finest large-scale compositions and inspire renewed respect from his Berlin colleagues and friends. Their settings of Ramler's Tod Jesu are works of their maturity; their musical languages had long been established and stabilized.

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1. Could Scheibe have become acquainted with Graun's early sacred music through their mutual friend Telemann? It is also possible that Scheibe had heard some of Graun's compositions when he applied, albeit unsuccessfully, in 1736 for an organist's appointment at Wolfenbüttel.

In his Versuch einer auserlesenen musikalischen Bibliothek (Essay on an Exquisite Musical Library),<sup>1</sup> the North German man of letters Christoph Daniel Ebeling (1744-1817) ventured a comparison of the Telemann and Graun settings of Ramler's Tod Jesu:

... whereby Telemann's work suffers only in the comparison with Graun's composition. Feeling and emotion is to be found in both, but in the latter everything to a greater degree, with more melody, as well as more workmanship and diligence in the choruses. Telemann seems to have arranged his choruses, contrary to his custom, only indifferently, and to have applied more diligence in the recitatives which, for the most part, are accompanied.<sup>2</sup>

Ebeling's appraisals of Telemann's compositions are full of enthusiasm, yet in the case of Der Tod Jesu the Hamburg professor had the ever-popular setting by Graun firmly established in his mind, and was forced to draw comparisons. Hamburg, Ebeling's home from 1759, had already become a major

1. See Hamburger Unterhaltungen, x (Hamburg, 1770).
2. '... wobey Telemanns Arbeit nur durch die Vergleichung mit der Graunischen Composition verliert, Affekt und Gefühl wird man in beyden finden, doch in letztern alles in höhern Grade und überhaupt mehr Melodie, wie auch in den Chören mehr Arbeit und Fleiß ist. Telemann scheint hier wider seine Gewohnheit die Chöre nur mittelmäßig bearbeitet, und auf die Recitative, welche meistens accompagnirt sind, mehr Fleiß gewandt zu haben:' See G.Ph. Telemann: Singen ist das Fundament zur Music in allen Dingen. Eine Dokumentensammlung (Leipzig, 1981), 296.

centre for the performance of Graun's composition which, it seems, very soon ousted Telemann's setting in the popularity of the Hamburg public. A notice in the Hamburg newspaper Hamburger Correspondent, for 10 March 1792, announces a performance of Telemann's Tod Jesu, following a long interval of no performances. The notice mentions Graun's 'masterpiece' ('Meisterstück'), a work that is very often to be heard, but emphatically stresses that the unjustly neglected work by Telemann is of equally great importance.<sup>1</sup>

### Musical Personalities

Graun, in his Tod Jesu, as in his entire compositional output, is a melodist, a lyrical rather than a dramatic depicter of human sentiment, and a master of instrumental sonorities. His musical language is of Italian, in particular Venetian,<sup>2</sup> origin, but his finely poised cantabile operatic style has, over the years, become coloured by exposure to the craftsman-like processing of the German mind. The finest examples of his art are the choruses and arias. The recitatives, in which a greater degree of flexibility of musical expression is required, merely sketch the sensations depicted in Ramler's texts instead of preparing the emotional foundations onto which the arias are then subsequently mounted. The music of Graun's Tod Jesu is certainly expressive, but it remains on the surface and seldom penetrates deeper into the core of

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1. See Hamburger Correspondent: 1792 - No.40. Wednesday 10 March. This article is discussed in I. König: op.cit., 36-37, fn. 10. It had originally been planned to hold the performance on Sunday 28 March, but, owing to some difficulties, the concert was postponed until Sunday 15 April. (See also Hamburger Correspondent: 1792 - No.48. Wednesday 24 March and No.59. Friday 13 April.)

2. During his informative years in Dresden, Graun had been exposed to the works of Lotti and J.D. Heinichen, the operas and serenades of whom are typical examples of the Venetian style in music.

human emotion. This is not the fault of Ramler's text, as Telemann's setting will confirm.

Telemann's versatility defies categorization. In Der Tod Jesu Telemann is a dedicated musician, with a superb command of literary interpretation. Here is a musical poet, a poetic musician at work. Telemann's musical language had long since absorbed all extraneous influences; it is idiosyncratically 'his own' language. The finest examples of his art are indeed the recitatives, most of which are accompagnati; here music and text are interlocked, forming one unit of expression. No less impressive are the arias and choruses, which closely adhere to the basic affect expressed in each section of the text, thus creating a balance of contrast and variety.

### The Music

The opening chorale, condemning mankind for requiring Christ's atonement, is set by Telemann and Graun in a simple syllabic and essentially diatonic style, both cadencing on the dominant, in anticipation of the following chorus. Graun, however, repeats the final line of the chorale, for his cadence on the dominant. 'Sein Odem ist schwach' (His breath is weak), the opening line of this chorus, transfers us instantly into the Garden of Gethsemane, and into the tormented soul of Christ. The dominant sentiments are grief, misery and dejection. There seems little cause for variety or episodic treatment of the text. Both composers have chosen the sombre key of C minor and both emphasize the word 'schwach' by quiet diminished harmonies. Graun creates a feeling of grief in the pulsating bass, the syncopated sobbing figures and the sighing broken

chord cantilenas in the upper instruments. Telemann is more economical in his means; simple note repetition lasting a whole bar creates an atmosphere of weakness, fragility and grief:

EXAMPLE 1a - Graun: Der Tod Jesu.<sup>1</sup> Chorus 'Sein Odem...', bars 1-3.

*Non troppo largo*

VI. I  
VI. II  
Vla  
Sop.  
Alt.  
Ten.  
Bass  
B.C.

Sein O-dem ist schwach

EXAMPLE 1b - Telemann: Der Tod Jesu.<sup>2</sup> Chorus 'Sein Odem ist schwach', bars 1-3.

*[Adagio]*

VI. I  
VI. II  
Vla  
Sop.  
Alt.  
Ten.  
Bass  
B.C.

Sein O-dem ist schwach: sei-ne

1. All musical examples from Graun's Der Tod Jesu are taken from H.E. Serwer (ed.): C.H. Graun: Der Tod Jesu (Madison, Wisconsin, 1975).

2. All musical examples from Telemann's Der Tod Jesu are taken from the critical edition that the author of this study is presently preparing.

Both composers begin homophonically, but whereas Telemann maintains this same texture throughout, Graun sets the lines 'Seine Tage sind abgekürzet.' (His hour is nigh) and 'Seine Seele ist voll Jammer' (His soul is full of misery) contrapuntally, and writes two short fugal sections with two independent fugal subjects. There is too much activity here for someone whose breathing is 'weak':

EXAMPLE 2 - Graun: Der Tod Jesu. First chorus, bars 21-24:

21.

Ten. Vla. Bass B.C.

Tasto solo

Sei-ne Seele ist voll Jam - (mer).

f Seine Seele ist voll Jam - (mer).

After the entry of the second voice in the third bar, the first voice continues its chromatic moaning for another six bars. Telemann creates tension by a chromatically rising bass line, thirteen bars in length, leading into the prophecy: 'Sein Leben ist nahe bei der Hölle' (His life approaches the abyss), that then falls immediately after the words 'Sein Leben', in anticipation of the falling dejected soprano melody which follows. Both composers end with homophonic statements of this final line. There is certainly 'mehr Arbeit und Fleiß' in Graun's first chorus, but is this really necessary?

The following recitative depicts the emotional reactions of a spectator of Jesus' personal torment in Gethsemane. Both Telemann and Graun employ instruments, but the former

adds two Flauti traversi to the basic four-part ensemble of stringed instruments. Graun begins with a one-bar instrumental ritornello, which the solo voice (Soprano) answers with measured, rhythmically symmetrical declamation of the text. The instruments play throughout and the voice remains, as a result of this, firmly bound to a regular metre. There is relatively little variety of expression and any attempt at more specific textual emphasis fails. Telemann, on the other hand, begins with the voice alone, with no preparatory instrumental prelude. The first three lines of text are supported by the continuo until, at the mention of 'verlassen trauern' (desolate lamenting), the flutes and upper strings enter to comment on the sorrowful atmosphere with short lilting figures. Throughout this accompanied recitative, indeed one of Telemann's finest examples of this genre, the voice is supported, yet never suffocated by the accompanying instruments. Whilst in Graun's setting one has little chance to register any change of mood, Telemann clearly separates one idea from the next with carefully placed pauses, varied instrumental figuration and none of the wayward harmonic modulations characteristic of Graun's recitative music. The words of Jesus, 'Betrübt ist meine Seele! bis in den Tod' (My soul is sorrowful even unto death), which end this first recitative, find only perfunctory expression in Graun's setting; Telemann gives them emphasis by changing to triple metre, composing a touchingly affective arioso:



EXAMPLE 3 - Telemann: Der Tod Jesu. Recitative 'Gethsemane! Gethsemane!', closing arioso:

Fl. I  
Fl. II

Vln. I  
Vln. II

Vla

Bass

B.c.

16.  $\dot{a}2$

(her-) -ab: Er ruft: Be-trübt-ist mei-ne See-le

4<sub>4</sub> 6 7 4<sub>2</sub> 3

The following aria, which portrays Christ as guardian and protector is the only passage in the entire text that draws attention to Christ's role as Redeemer. Both Telemann and Graun begin with bold upward surging figures which later subside to admit the expression of a more tender idea, thus contrasting the steadfastness of the 'Held' ('hero') Jesus with the weakness of the sinner. Graun has a short, very fragile interruption in the tonic minor (B $\flat$ ), whilst Telemann is content with mere chromatic passing notes suggesting the relative minor but still firmly rooted in the tonic. The Hamburg and Berlin instrumental and vocal styles are clearly contrasted here; the former is more energetic, essentially two-part writing, the latter is smoother, melodically more elaborate, with more sequential repetition and

generally adopting a four-part texture. The middle section of the aria, which represents the Day of Judgement, has two quite different settings. Both composers, however, have been inspired by the tender figure in the opening section for the beginning of the middle section, in contemplation of the end of earthly existence. Graun begins in B♭ minor and Telemann has a gentle oscillating figure. But whereas Telemann goes on to paint an extremely vivid picture of thunder and earth tremors, by means of stile concitato, with extended melismas on the word 'bebt' ('quake'), Graun is less prepared to allow dramatic word-painting to interrupt the cantabile character of this section, apart from some references to thunder. The closing question 'wer wird allda mein Schutzgott sein?' (Who then will be my protector?) finds both composers in a contemplative mood. This aria is followed by a simple, syllabic chorale, proclaiming confidence in the protection and consolation of the Saviour.

The next recitative is a continuation of the scene in Gethsemane, concentrating on Jesus' prayer and his patience towards the weakness of his disciples. Graun sets the text throughout with support only from the continuo, but has three short arioso passages, including some text repetition as well as sequential repetition in the melody. Each of these passages is dominated by the same melodic motif: a descending diminished fourth (later a perfect fourth), followed by a rising semitone, with imitation between the voice and the bass line:

EXAMPLE 4 - Graun: Der Tod Jesu: Recitative 'Ach mein Immanuel',  
the first, second and third ariosi:

The sentiment here is of weakness before God and lack of personal control. Some examples of poor declamation can be found in this recitative, in particular the opening exclamation with its inadequate accentuation of the important word 'mein' and the frequent rests which continually interrupt the flow of thought, for example in the line 'Erheitert steht er auf [- pause -] von der erstaunten Erde' (Cheered, he arises [- pause -] from the astonished earth). Telemann's setting of this recitative again incorporates instruments (strings and continuo). His opening, accompanied for the first two bars by the continuo alone, gives correct accentuation to the text, and he continues by emphasizing each phase in Christ's communion with God, through careful text declamation. At the mention of Christ discovering the sleeping disciples the voice is accompanied by held notes in the upper strings without continuo support. The triple metre arioso to Christ's words 'Der Geist ist willig nur der Leib ist schwach' (The spirit is willing, only the flesh is weak) is also for voice and upper strings alone, without continuo. The closing appeal to his disciples, 'O wacht und betet, meine Brüder!' (O watch and pray, my brothers!) with continuo support only, prepares us for the moral message of the next aria.

The second aria stresses the importance of prayer. The atmosphere of humble supplication is perfectly captured in Graun's simple opening melody with its delicate lied character, supported by a pedal-point in the bass. This is contrasted with an exciting rising scale figure in the violins and flutes, supported by the remaining instruments, including two bassoons, which depicts the parting of the clouds. Telemann also adds two flutes to his ensemble of strings, yet he aims at exclusive concentration on the depiction of the central theme of the aria: communication through prayer with God in heaven. Telemann does not aim at contrast but at clarity of message.

The optimism and reverence expressed in this aria is completely shattered by the following recitative. We are still in Gethsemane but now we observe the arrest of Jesus, his delivery to Caiaphas, and Peter's denial. Telemann begins with a vivid portrayal of the arrival of the soldiers, brandishing their weapons, to arrest Jesus, with concitato figuration in the opening instrumental ritornello. He again requires the additional expressive means of accompanied recitative for vivid descriptions of the onslaught of the soldiers, of Christ's composure and magnanimity at his arrest, and of the dejection of Peter. Nevertheless, the instruments are silent much of the time, for example at Peter's denial, and as he weeps bitterly only the continuo is required:

EXAMPLE 5 - Telemann: *Der Tod Jesu*. Recitative 'Nun klingen Waffnen', the closing arioso:

Bass

35. [35.]

er geht zu-rück, er wei - - net bit - ter-lich.

B.C.

6 5 #6 #6 6 4 4 6 4 #

Graun's setting is for continuo and voice only. It has none of the drama nor the gentle lyricism of Telemann's setting. As in an earlier example, Graun again uses the same material for two short arioso passages, firstly for Jesus' surrender and his request for his friends' freedom and then again later at Peter's denial of Jesus. Both these passages use a bold, self-confident, dotted rhythmic figure. Telemann also uses the same figure in his setting of Jesus' surrender:

EXAMPLE 6a - Graun: *Der Tod Jesu*. Recitative 'Nun klingen Waffnen', bars 9-11:

Ten.

9.

selbst; groß-mü-tig spricht er: Sucht ihr mich, sucht ihr mich, so las-set meine Freunde,

B.C.

4 4 # 6 # 6 # 6 # 6

meine Freunde ge - hen

6 4 # 6 6

EXAMPLE 6b - Telemann: *Der Tod Jesu*. Recitative 'Nun klingen Waffnen', bars 11 and 12:

Violin I  
Violin II  
Viola  
Bass  
Cello

großmütig spricht: sucht ihr mich, sucht ihr mich, so las-set meine Freude ge- hen

Once again we notice, in Graun's setting, a certain lack of care in the declamation of the text, as over-emphasis is given to unimportant words ('bei' and 'wie') and unstressed syllables are stressed (größmütig). Yet it is interesting to notice that Graun has inserted a bar of triple metre recitative in the interest, we must assume, of accuracy of accentuation:

EXAMPLE 7 - Graun: *Der Tod Jesu*. Recitative 'Nun klingen Waffnen', bars 16-18:

Ten.  
B.C.

76.  
8 (der) ein zige von al-len, er folgt, zur Hülfе schwach, von fern; mit - Lei-dig folgt er seinen Herrn



a minor seventh, in the obbligato oboe d'amore) and weeping (a chromatically descending figure, with some syncopations). Telemann, without resorting to bolder characterization, is still able to express the passing images of the text, without disturbing the general atmosphere established at the outset. Both composers adopt minor tonality for the portrayal in the middle section of the bitter pangs of repentance. Telemann is, characteristically, more declamatory whilst Graun is more concerned with melodic contour. In both settings we observe pedal points at the depiction of an 'ominous bed of roses' and a melismatic rising figure, with chromatic movement, depicting the sinner, affected by remorse. The tender world of the repeated opening section reminds us of our human frailty.

The aria is followed by a chorus, expressing the humility and shame of sinners. Telemann and Graun begin homophonically. At the words 'O wehe!' (O woe), expressing the sinner's painful remorse, both lean heavily on dissonant harmonies, but whilst Graun softens the blows by returning immediately to smoother diatonic harmony for the following line, as well as repeating the homophonic opening, Telemann writes a series of fugal expositions based on a strikingly dissonant and chromatic subject:



EXAMPLE 9 - Telemann: Der Tod Jesu. Chorus 'Unsre Seele',  
bars 9-16:

9. *stark* [forte]

Sop. Vln. I & II  
Alt. Vln. II  
Ten. Vla.  
Bass  
B.c.

o, we-he! das wir so ge-sün-di-ge-t haben so ge-sün-  
o, we-he! das wir so ge-sün-di-ge-t ha  
o, we-he! das wir so ge-  
o, we-he! das wir so ge-  
[stark]  
# 5 # # 6 47

Graun's setting of the line 'dass wir so gesündigt haben!' (that we have so sinned!) is also characterized by much imitation, and incorporates a melodic figure emphasizing a major seventh. The effect is, however, much smoother and there is none of the melodic and harmonic tension that is a hallmark of Telemann's setting. The chorale which follows stresses personal conversion from evil to good, in the search for regeneration and new life.

The next recitative is concerned with the mockery of Jesus after his trial before Pilate. The savagery of the persecutors is strikingly set off by the calm composure and brotherly love shown by the tolerant Jesus. For this, the longest of all the recitatives in this Passion oratorio,

both composers opted for continuo support alone. This recitative can be regarded as typical of the melodic and harmonic practices of both composers in such passages. Graun often restricts the melodic contour and, consequently, the expressive power of his recitative by excessive repetition, narrowness of compass, repetition of similar rhythmic formulae, constant insertion of pauses, and somewhat rigid harmonies:<sup>1</sup>

EXAMPLE 10 - Graun: *Der Tod Jesu*. Recitative 'Jerusalem voll Mordlust', bars 13-18:

The musical score for Example 10 consists of two systems. The first system shows the Bass line (Bass) and the Continuo line (B.C.). The Bass line starts with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#), with a time signature of 2/4. The lyrics under the Bass line are: "in Purpor ist er schon des Volkes Hohngelächter: damit er ohne". The B.C. line starts with a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#), with a time signature of 2/4. The second system shows the Bass line and the Continuo line. The Bass line starts with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#), with a time signature of 2/4. The lyrics under the Bass line are: "Trost in seiner Marter sey, damit die Schmach sein Herz ihm breche". The B.C. line starts with a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#), with a time signature of 2/4. The Continuo line has figured bass notation: 4+, 6, #6, 2.

Telemann, on the other hand, whilst remaining within the confines of a minor ninth, avoids melodic and rhythmic stagnation by emphasizing different areas of this compass, refraining from monotone recitation, varying rhythmic patterns,

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1. In operatic recitative the harmonies are relatively uncomplex, to ensure swiftness of delivery and to keep the singer on pitch. In the oratorio at this time, however, recitative texts contained considerably more than the business of the plot and this greater degree of expressiveness stimulated a slower delivery and more variety in the harmonies.

never interrupting the literal flow, giving functional interest to harmonic development and providing extra emphasis where this seems appropriate ('Hohngelächter' - jeering, 'ohne Trost' - without consolation, and 'Schmach' - dishonour). Whereas Graun writes a more conventional operatic recitative, Telemann's considerably more expressive treatment brings a fine intermingling of elements of recitative and arioso:

EXAMPLE 11 - Telemann: *Der Tod Jesu*. Recitative 'Jerusalem voll Mordlust', bars 9-12.

Handwritten musical score for Telemann's *Der Tod Jesu*, recitative 'Jerusalem voll Mordlust', bars 9-12. The score is in G major, 3/4 time, and features a tenor (Ten.) and basso continuo (B.c.) part. The tenor part is marked '9.' and '12.' and includes the lyrics: 'in Purpurister schon des Volkes Hohnge-lächter: damit er ohne Kost in seiner Marter sey, damit die Schmach'. The basso continuo part includes figured bass notation: 6, b7, b, 4+, b7, 4+.

Both composers have short arioso sections at the words 'Sein Blut komm über uns' ('His blood upon us') and 'Ihr Töchter Zions, weinet nicht' ('You daughters of Zion, weep not'). Telemann, however, gives greater melodic interest to two further lines ('Voll Liebe steht er da' - there he stands full of love, and 'Ein Strom quillt Stirn und Wang' herab' - a stream flows from his brow and cheek) both beautifully depicting Jesus' calmness and composure.

The aria that follows praises two of Christ's greatest virtues, his steadfastness and his cheerfulness: 'So stehet ein Berg Gottes' (Thus stands a mountain of God). Both Telemann and Graun have chosen the majestic key of D major but only Telemann has added to the basic ensemble of stringed instruments, incorporating an obbligato horn part. Arpeggio fanfare figures and lively concitato passages abound in both settings of this aria text.

It seems highly probable that Telemann's setting of this aria inspired Graun in his choice of material at the beginning of his Te Deum, written just over a year later. The rising fanfare motif, the semiquaver embroidered repetition of this idea, and the five-note figure falling by step, all have their origin in Telemann's aria 'So stehet ein Berg Gottes':

EXAMPLE 12a - Telemann: Der Tod Jesu. Aria 'So stehet ein Berg Gottes', bars 1 and 2, 11 and 12:

Handwritten musical score for Telemann's 'Der Tod Jesu', showing four staves: Horn in C (Hrn. in C), Violin I (Vla. I), Violin II (Vla. II), and Bassoon (B.C.). The score is in D major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The tempo is marked 'Munter Conimeted' (lively and spirited). The score shows bars 1 and 2, and bars 11 and 12. The Horn part features a fanfare motif. The string parts (Violins and Bassoon) play a rhythmic accompaniment. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

EXAMPLE 12b - Graun: Te Deum. Opening bars:

Viol. I, II  
+ 2 Fl., 2 Ob., 2 Horn.

Piano  
reduction

3. C. + 2 Bassoons.

The 'mountain of God' and the 'hero from Canaan'; this is the figure of Jesus, as represented in Ramler's text and held before us as a paragon in the following chorus: 'Christus hat uns ein Vorbild gelassen, auf dass wir sollen nachfolgen seinen Fusstapfen' (Christ has left us a model, so that we should follow in his footsteps). Graun sets this biblical sentence (1 Peter 2, 21) as a double-fugue. The first fugue subject is a bold figure with intervallic leaps<sup>1</sup> and the second subject, in contrast, moves by step. After both subjects have been established and heard in all voices, Graun presents a grand procession of both subjects simultaneously:

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1. Telemann's grandson, Georg Michael Telemann, criticized Graun's text accentuation in the fugue subject, suggesting the following, it must be admitted, more accurate declamation of the text:

Christus hat uns ein Vor-bild, ein Vor-bild ge-

See F. Chrysander: 'Briefe von K.Ph.E. Bach und G.M. Telemann', Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, iv (1869), No. 24, 186.

EXAMPLE 13 - Graun: Der Tod Jesu. Chorus 'Christus hat uns ein Vorbild gelassen', bars 28-31:

28.

Sop. Vn. I auf daß wir sol - len nach - fol -

Alto Vn. II Christus hat uns ein Vor - bild ge - las -

Ten. Vla. (Füß-) - stäp - fen, auf daß wir

Basso B. C. (Füß-) - stäp - fen, Chris - tus hat uns ein

This is certainly one of Graun's finest movements and justly confirms the composer's reputation as an excellent architect of choral counterpoint.<sup>1</sup>

Telemann's setting is less ambitious but no less grand than Graun's. Following the majestic D major aria, Telemann sets this chorus in B minor, giving greater gravity to his interpretation of the text. Furthermore, the opening line is set homophonically, with emphatic repetitions of the word 'Vorbild' (model). To depict the idea of following in Christ's footsteps, Telemann has a strict two-part canon at the lower octave, at a bar's distance, between unison female and male voices, with independent agitated driving figures in the violins, the united forces push on relentlessly to the final cadence thirty-six bars later:

1. The entire fugue is quoted, in short score, in A. Schering, (ed.): Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen (Wiesbaden, 1931), No. 308, pp. 464-467.

EXAMPLE 14 - Telemann: Der Tod Jesu. Chorus 'Christus hat uns ein Vorbild gelassen', bars 9-13:

The musical score is arranged in five systems. The first system contains the Violin I and Violin II staves. The second system contains the vocal parts: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass, with German lyrics written below the notes. The third system contains the Viola, Bass, and Continuo staves. The lyrics are: 'Daß wir sollen nach- folgen seinen Fuß- tap- fen, sei- nen Fuß- tap- fen, sei- nen Fuß-'. The Continuo line includes figured bass notation: 6, 6, #, #, #, #, #, #, #.

A chorale follows expressing loyalty to the Christian faith.

The remaining sections of the Passion oratorio are concerned with Christ's last hours at Golgotha. In the recitative that follows, a bleak picture is given of the crucifixion and mockery of Christ, placed firmly in perspective by the gentle depiction of Christ's patience and serenity. Again, Graun's recitative is too measured and disjointed, lacking true melodic contour. On a number of occasions the declamation comes to a halt, with the continuo accompaniment either resting with the voice (bars 8 and 9) or rendering a rather perfunctory cadence (bars 11 and 12, and bar 26). Even the concluding arioso setting of Jesus' words 'Mein Vater, ach! vergieb es ihnen: sie thun unwissend, was sie thun' (My Father, oh! Forgive them: they know not what they do) demonstrates a somewhat lackadaisical manner, emphasized all the more by the heavy, inappropriate stressing of the short exclamation 'ach!', an exclamation of resignation and concern, not of surprise or horror:

EXAMPLE 15 - Graun: *Der Tod Jesu*. Recitative 'Da steht der traurige, verhängnisvolle Pfahl', closing arioso:

27. Adagio

Sop. (Jesus) ruft: MEIN Va-ter, MEIN Va-ter, ach! vergiebes ihnen

B.C. 6 6 # 6 6 # #b b

Telemann gives powerful expression to each of the text's vivid images: a rising melodic contour emphasizing an augmented fourth for the 'verhängnisvolle Pfahl' (fatal stake), a gentle arioso melody and sighing figures in the unaccompanied violins for the 'matt gequälte Seele' (sorrow-worn soul), short jagged chords for the 'gespitzte Keile' (pointed nails) and many other similarly vivid musical interpretations of the text. Not once does one have the impression that this expressive word-painting goes beyond the limits of good taste. Ramler's text cries out for the expressive treatment that Telemann gives to it:

EXAMPLE 16 - Telemann: *Der Tod Jesu*. Recitative 'Da steht der traurige ...', closing arioso:

Mäßig [moderately]

Vn. I  
Vn. II gelinde [softly]

Vla.

Alt. Mein Va-ter, Ach! - vergieb es ihnen: sieht unwissend was sie tun.

B.C. # 6 # 5 # 6 # # #



The following duet is an unrestrained expression of Christ's love for his persecutors, upheld as one of Christ's virtues that each person must aspire to. Graun's writing is extremely ornate in this piece and the presence of two obbligato flutes, consequently, brings the elegance of the Berlin instrumental style into his writing. Telemann, too, has an added instrument, a solo flute, which doubles the first violin part. Moreover, Telemann's melodies are also very galant, with juxtaposition of triplet and groups of four semiquavers, affective phrasing of semiquavers in pairs, sighing appoggiaturas, and elegantly balanced phrase structures.

The recitative that follows continues the theme of Christ's forgiveness and brotherly love. From the cross Jesus shows compassion for his mother in her hour of grief, and prophesies that the criminal crucified beside him will join him in paradise. Graun's continuo accompanied recitative is in the same style as the other semplice recitatives discussed above. A curious example of poor word-setting may be found in bar 24, where, although the note values do in fact correspond well to the spoken delivery of the text, the note-repetitions make this one of the crudest examples of Graun's declamatory style, and gives further confirmation of his loyalty to the recitative practice of Italian opera seria:

EXAMPLE 17 - Graun: *Der Tod Jesu*. Recitative 'Wer ist der Heilige', bars 23-25:

23.

Sop. Er kehrt sein Antlitz hin zu dem an seiner Seite gekreuzigten Ver- brecher

B.C.

6 Bb

A comparison with Telemann's setting of the same words will show how a melodic contour, also incorporating pitch repetition, and greater rhythmic elasticity give a more musical expression to the words:

EXAMPLE 18 - Telemann: *Der Tod Jesu*. Recitative 'Wer ist der Heilige', bars 21-24:

22.

Sop. Er kehrt sein Antlitz hin zu dem an seiner Seite ge- kreuzig-ten Ver- brecher.

B.C.

Telemann's setting of this recitative makes use of varying metres, inserting triple metre within the basic framework of a quadruple metre, as he had advocated in his correspondence with Graun in the 1750s. If we eliminate those passages that have a clear arioso character, usually emphasizing the drive towards a cadence, we are left with a solitary triple metre bar insertion, a clear example of Telemann's intentions:

EXAMPLE 19 - Telemann: Der Tod Jesu. Recitative 'Wer ist der Heilige', bars 17-19:

The musical score shows two staves. The top staff is for Soprano (Sop.) and the bottom staff is for Bassoon (bc). Both are in common time (C). The Soprano part begins with a fermata over the first measure, marked '17.'. The lyrics are: (ent-)zückt, und fühlet keine Wunden, weil er jetzt einen Strahl von Trost den. The Bassoon part consists of a few notes and rests, with a '3' above the second measure.

The next aria is a revelatory vision of life after death, depicted as a gradual floating upwards of the spirit: 'Steig' auf der Geschöpfe Leiter, bis zum Seraph!' (Climb the ladder of the creator unto the seraphim!). Both composers have melodic figures suggesting floating upwards. Whereas Graun's music loses its direction during the course of the opening ritornello (strings and continuo), somewhat stultified through repetitions which generate little movement, Telemann climbs higher and higher up the ladder. Telemann scores his aria for strings as well as two flutes, which are given some material independent of the violins. The upward ascent of voice and instruments continues throughout the aria, permeating also the central section, with its gently lilting song.

The jubilant chorus which now follows is a reassuring proclamation of God's grace. Telemann contrasts the lively homophonic cries of 'Freuet euch alle, ihr Frommen' (Rejoice all you pious men) with a fugal section, whose bold subject

clearly expresses faith in God's powers: 'denn des Herrn Wort ist wahrhaftig. Und was er zusaget, das hält er gewiss' (For the word of God is true. And what he pledges, he surely fulfils). Graun sets the first two lines homophonically, with smoother, less jubilant choral writing; only the final line is set by Graun contrapuntally, to a subject that moves in the same direction as that of the homophonic opening section:

EXAMPLE 20 - Graun: *Der Tod Jesu*. Chorus 'Freuet euch alle', bars 9-12, and 26-31:

The musical score for Example 20 consists of seven staves. The top two staves are for Violins I and II (Vln. I and Vln. II), followed by Viola (Vla.), Soprano (Sop.), Alto (Alt.), Tenor (Ten.), Bass (Bass), and Bassoon (B.c.). The score is in 3/4 time and begins with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first system covers bars 9-12, and the second system covers bars 26-31. The lyrics are: 'Freuet euch alle ihr Frommen, und was er zusaget, das hält er gewiss, hält'. Performance markings include 'f' (forte) at the beginning of the first system and 'f tasto solo' at the beginning of the second system. The score also includes various musical notations such as trills (tr.), slurs, and dynamic markings.

Neither composer adheres strictly to the general principles of fugal practice, freely developing material as he feels fit. Telemann generates excitement in his fugal writing through the ascending harmonic modulations of the cries 'gewiß' (surely):

EXAMPLE 21 - Telemann: Der Tod Jesu. Chorus 'Freuet euch alle',  
bars 20-22:

The musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is for Sopranos (Sop. Vln. I Ob. I), the second for Alto (Alt. Vln. II Ob. II), the third for Tenor (Ten. Vla.), and the bottom for Bass (Bass B.C.). The music is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: (hält) - er ge-wip, ge-wip, ge-wip, ge-wip, ge-wip, ge-wip, und (wahr-) - haf - - - tig, ge-wip, ge-wip, ge-wip, ge-wip, - was (ge-) - wip, ge-wip, ge-wip, ge-wip, ge-wip, ge-wip, denn des das hält er ge-wip, ge-wip, ge-wip, ge-wip, denn des.

Graun, holding our interest by means of a constant forward drive, repeats the homophonic section at the end of the chorus, whilst Telemann repeats his in the middle, ending with the imitative writing that is derived from the free treatment of his fugue subject. The chorus is followed by a chorale hoping for a place in 'die neue Welt' (the new world).

The remaining four sections of Ramler's text form a closely integrated unit, maintaining emotional continuity over a longer period. This begins with a description of the Ninth Hour and Christ's death (recitative), followed by the lament of Seraphim and a depiction of the earthquake (Accompagnement), an expression of loss contradicted by the moral gains (chorale and aria fragments) and the concluding utterance of a humble offering of worship (chorus).

Graun begins this final group of movements with a recitativo semplice which displays considerably greater melodic and rhythmic flexibility than earlier sections. The melody constantly outlines diminished intervals and there is much

chromatic writing in the bass and enharmonic modulation. A general feeling of emotional disorientation is created by the harmonic boldness of Graun's recitative. The Accompagnement that follows, taking its first chord from the final cadence of the previous number, is one of Graun's most expressive movements. The style is familiar from Telemann's accompanied recitatives, but the treatment is more expansive. Instrumental interruptions, or rather commentaries, are longer (generally a whole bar in comparison to Telemann's half-bar interpolations) and the harmonic structure is fairly stable, despite the powerful use of diminished harmonies. This is expressive writing, yet all the expression is in the orchestra. The vocal line cannot approach the intensity of Telemann's setting.

The alternation of chorale verses and aria fragments which then follows is masterly. Three chorale verses, with progressively expanding instrumental and vocal forces (i - SA soli, with 2 oboes and strings; ii - SAT soli, with 2 oboes, 2 flutes and strings; and iii - SATB chorus and soli, with 2 oboes, 2 flutes, 2 bassoons and strings), are answered each time by an aria fragment (B solo, 2 bassoons and continuo). These contrast sorrow and mourning (chorale: slow, smooth writing, G minor) with reassurance and rejoicing (aria fragments: lively and rhythmical, G major). This section ends with the reassuring words, now heard for the third time, from Revelation 5,5: 'Weinet nicht! Es hat überwunden der Löwe vom Stamm Juda' (Do not cry! The lion from the house of Judah has conquered!).

The final chorus is Graun at his most expressive. It is a freely developed homophonic chorus, with no imitation or extended contrapuntal writing. The way the composer has followed the emotional demands of the text has made this a free rhapsodic movement, full of powerful expression:

EXAMPLE 22 - Graun: *Der Tod Jesu*. Final chorus 'Hier liegen wir gerührte Sünder', bars 1-8:

The musical score for Example 22, Graun's *Der Tod Jesu* Final chorus, consists of five staves. The top staff is for Violin I and II, marked *ff* and *3 bars sempre*. The second staff is for Viola, also marked *ff*. The third staff is for Soprano and Alto, with a *3 bars tacet* marking. The fourth staff is for Tenor and Bass, with the lyrics "Hier lie-gen wir, hier lie-gen wir ge-rühr-te Sünder" written below. The fifth staff is for Bassoon, marked *ff* and *3 bars sempre*, with figured bass notation: 4 3, 4, 5, 4 3, 4 3. The tempo is marked *Largo* and the dynamics range from *ff* to *p*.

Telemann begins this final group of movements with an emotionally highly-charged accompanied recitative. All contrasting dramatic and emotional nuances of the text are given due attention. This moment, Christ's last hour, constitutes for Telemann the dramatic climax of the work. Dramatic concitato figures in the orchestra, expressing Christ's pain and the horror of death, contrast strongly with the final sombre, touchingly tender announcements of Christ's death. The descent of the Seraphim is the subject depicted in the gently floating instrumental ritornello (nine bars,

the first six of which are without continuo) which opens Telemann's Accompagnement. This ritornello introduces a melodic motif which, repeated later five times by the Bass soloist, represents the termination of Christ's existence on earth:

EXAMPLE 23 - Telemann: Der Tod Jesu. Accompagnement 'Es steigen Seraphim', bars 1-3 and 33-35:

The musical score consists of five staves. The top staff is for Flutes I and II (Fl. I, Fl. II) in G major, 3/4 time. The second staff is for Violins I and II (Vln. I, Vln. II) in G major, 3/4 time, with the instruction 'gelinde [softly]'. The third staff is for Viola (Vla.) in G major, 3/4 time. The fourth staff is for Bass Solo (Bass solo) in G major, 3/4 time, with the lyrics 'Er ist nicht mehr, nicht mehr, nicht mehr, nicht mehr,'. The fifth staff is for Cello and Double Bass (C. & D.B.) in G major, 3/4 time. The score shows the first three bars and the last three bars of the section.

The dramatic intensity found in Graun's setting of this section is not Telemann's aim here. The depiction of the earthquake in Telemann's setting is far less theatrical than one might expect from him. But his aim in this entire section is much less the depiction of external chaos than the expression of physical weightlessness, of the departure of the soul from



Christ's body.<sup>1</sup>

The following section, identical in structure with Graun's movement, brings more variety from Telemann than Graun. At the outset we hear a simple, syllabic setting of the first verse of the chorale for four-part chorus (G minor). Telemann follows this with the first aria fragment (Bass solo, with continuo accompaniment, B♭ major). Whereas Graun began each time with a direct entry of the voice, Telemann prefaces the first interpolated aria fragment with a six-bar continuo ritornello and, in further contrast to Graun, concludes each aria fragment with a five-bar postlude for strings and oboes.<sup>2</sup> For the second and third verses of the chorale Telemann has opted for a paraphrased statement of the chorale melody, with some discreet melodic ornamentation, for solo voice (Alto), obbligato instrument (second verse: oboe; third verse: flute) and continuo. The overall effect is less contemplative and calm than in Graun's setting, yet the structural command of the movement is excellent.

Telemann's final chorus is a masterpiece of reverent expression and sober understatement. It is a simple homophonic song of lament, a wonderfully serene expression of Christian worship. This simple and supplicating chorus is surely one of the finest of the Aufklärung:

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1. See F.W. Marpurg: 'Unterricht vom Recitativ', Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst ..., ii, Letter XCVII (12 June 1762), 259-260, which mentions both Graun and Telemann's Accompagnement 'Es steigen Seraphim' as examples of a through-composed accompanied recitative with arioso insertions, in which a central key or tonality is maintained throughout.

2. The last aria fragment is in the form of a duet for two Basses, but using the same material as in the previous two aria fragments.

EXAMPLE 24 - Telemann: Der Tod Jesu. Final chorus 'Hier liegen wir gerührte Sünder', bars 1 and 2, and 8 - 10:

Traurig [sad]

1. 8

Sop. Vn. I Ob. I  
Hier lie-gen wir ge-rühr-te Sünder, trank, nimm un-ser Op-

Alt. Vn. II Ob. II  
Hier lie-gen wir ge-rühr-te Sünder, trank, nimm un-ser Op-fer an nimm unser

Ten. Vla.  
Hier lie-gen wir ge-rühr-te Sünder, trank nimm un-ser Op-fer, nimm unser

Bass  
Hier lie-gen wir ge-rühr-te Sünder, trank, nimm un-ser Opfer, un-ser

B.C.  
6 6/4 6 6/4 7/4 5/2 3 [2] allein [cembalo tacet] 5

### Attitudes and Reactions

Christoph Daniel Ebeling's opinion of Telemann's Der Tod Jesu is characteristic of the general reception of his music after his death. Objections to his strong predilection for 'musikalische Mahlereyen' (musical painting, i.e. word-painting), which was thought to emphasize particular words to the detriment of the general atmosphere of a piece or movement, were not uncommon amongst his contemporaries and still exist even today.<sup>1</sup>

1. See C.D. Ebeling: 'Versuch einer auserlesenen musikalischen Bibliothek', Hamburger Unterhaltungen, x (Hamburg, 1770), quoted in G.Ph. Telemann: Singen ist das Fundament..., 295. The passage in question is quoted on page 181, supra.

Graun's Tod Jesu more than adequately satisfied the demands of the late eighteenth century citizen for affecting expression of a decidedly 'natural', undogmatic Christian ideology. Musically, the composition can also be considered natural and undogmatic, with its mellifluous, flowing melodies, unobtrusive harmonic colourings and general air of happily pious religiosity.

The immense popularity of Graun's Der Tod Jesu throughout Germany made it virtually impossible for any other German Passion composition to establish a firm place in the yearly musical celebrations of Holy Week. However, the existence of quite a considerable number of manuscript sources of Telemann's Tod Jesu in libraries in East and West Germany, Poland, Belgium, Denmark and Austria,<sup>1</sup> generally the work of eighteenth century copyists, suggests a wide interest in this particular work of Telemann's last years and possibly indicates a performance tradition of which we possess only scant factual evidence.

Mention has already been made of a performance of Telemann's Der Tod Jesu in Hamburg in 1792, after a long period of virtual neglect.<sup>2</sup> A collection of vocal and instrumental parts in the hand of Telemann's grandson Georg Michael Telemann<sup>3</sup> corroborates a performance of the work in Riga, in 1819

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1. W. Menke: Thematisches Verzeichnis der Vokalwerke von Georg Philipp Telemann. Vol. 2 (Frankfurt, 1983), 21, lists thirteen extant sources, to which must be added a fourteenth source, apparently unknown to Werner Menke, consulted by the present author in A - Wn, S.A.68.C.21.

2. See p. 182, supra.

3. D - Brd - B, Mus.ms. 21 722/3.

and/or 1820, where Georg Michael held a post as Music Director from 1773. These parts contain extensive reworkings by Georg Michael of his grandfather's score, to correspond to Ramler's revised version of the text, published in 1768. The folder of parts also contains four printed texts, dated Riga 1765, 1794 and 1820 (two identical copies). None of these texts, however, mentions a composer's name and, therefore, any of the composers who set Ramler's Tod Jesu could have been involved, with the exception, however, of the 1820 text, which clearly complements the reworking of Telemann's setting made by his grandson Georg Michael in 1819. A comparison of the 1820 printed texts and the vocal and instrumental parts of Georg Michael Telemann's revision of Der Tod Jesu, dated 1819, confirms that the work must have been performed in either, or both of the years in question. The work performed is, however, as close to Georg Philipp Telemann's Der Tod Jesu as Sir Hamilton Harty's Handel 'arrangements' were to the original compositions. Furthermore, the text is Ramler's extensively revised version of 1768, with its many alterations, omissions and substitutions.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See I. König: Studien zum Libretto des 'Tod Jesu' ..., 139-143, for a detailed discussion of Ramler's revision of his Passion text in 1760 and 1768. Besides minor textual alterations, we find a terzett 'Rette mich, ich flehe dir', in place of the aria 'Ein Gebeth um neue Stärcke', followed immediately by a chorus 'Herr, höre die Stimme unseres Flehens', which led to the omission of the choruses 'Christus hat uns ein Vorbild gelassen' and 'Freuet euch alle, ihr Frommen', although in the position of the latter chorus a chorus to the words 'Gelobet sey der Herr, der unsre Seelen erlöset hat' has been inserted.

The nineteenth century was not very generous in its praise of Telemann's music. It seems possible, however, in view of Georg Michael Telemann's performances of his grandfather's music, that a false impression of the true nature of this music could have been acquired by the century's writers on music. Carl von Winterfeld,<sup>1</sup> writing in the fifth decade of the century, referred to Telemann's Tod Jesu as a 'fruit' ('Frucht') of his last years, then betraying, a few lines later, his attitude towards Telemann's setting as a competitive reaction to Graun's setting. Telemann is not judged here for his own merits but for his inability to conform to the methods of Graun; over-emphatic expression of particular sensations has been exaggerated, in Winterfeld's opinion, to the detriment of the overall general atmosphere. We must not forget, however, that Winterfeld spent most of his life in Berlin and Breslau, and therefore witnessed the traditional annual reverence of Graun's Tod Jesu in performance, both as a listener and as a singer, for he was for some time a member of the Berlin amateur choir, the Singakademie.<sup>2</sup>

A number of years later Carl Bitter<sup>3</sup> gave to his comparison of the Tod Jesu of Graun and Telemann a more objective critical

1. C. von Winterfeld: Der evangelische Kirchengesang und sein Verhältnis zur Kunst des Tonsatzes. Vol. 3, (Leipzig, 1847), 229-233.

2. See I. König, op. cit., 23, fn. 3.

3. See C.H. Bitter. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Oratoriums (Berlin, 1872), 370-371.

opinion, although he too had witnessed the flourishing cultivation of Graun's work in Berlin. Certainly, Bitter's praise for Graun's Tod Jesu knows no limits, but he sees in Telemann's Tod Jesu a work that exhibits the composer's merits 'in besonderem Grade' ('to an exceptional degree'), finding much praise for his arias and recitatives as well as his choruses. The compositional process is outlined with positive words of praise, yet what Bitter misses is true religious meaning, 'solemn devotion to art' ('weihevoll<sup>e</sup> Hingebung an die Kunst') and sublimity. That Telemann's Tod Jesu by no means lacks these qualities has, it is hoped, been amply demonstrated above. The extent to which the nineteenth century wished these qualities to be prominent in sacred compositions can by no means be held against Telemann, nor for that matter can the present-day disregard for the 'sentimentality' of the stile galant and Empfindsamkeit be regarded as an aesthetic criterion of criticism.

Graun and Telemann deserve to be mentioned together in the context of oratorio composition in the Aufklärung. In their dedicated settings of the Passion text Der Tod Jesu, both composed in 1755, Telemann and Graun, together with the poet Ramler, established a musical genre that was to hold the interest of future generations for quite some time.

## APPENDICES

APPENDIX I - The Telemann-Graun Correspondence: An English  
Translation

I

GRAUN to TELEMANN: REINSBERG, 7 DECEMBER 1739

Honourable

Most highly respected Capellmeister

Whether I am not in some measure to be excused on account of failing to reply, I leave to Your Honour's own gracious judgement. Whereas I do not recollect having received a reply to my letter, which I mailed to Your Honour from Wolfenbüttel, in which I [5] requested delivery of certain books of music which must be subscribed to. I suspect, however, that my letter has, in a certain way, met the same fate that befell your letter, since in my absence my brother opened it, in the belief that it belonged to him, mislaid and lost it. After some time, I learnt that Your Honour had [10] journeyed to France, on account of which I was then forced to postpone my correspondence. The reason why I now, somewhat later, reply, is thus: I wanted, as far as the catalogue is concerned, to have assembled a number of musical customers in Berlin, however, on account of a journey to Dresden, by official command, I shall



[5] be prevented for a while from doing this. As soon as I return I shall straightway indicate to Your Honour all possible signs of my endeavours. In the hope of which, I remain with particular respect, which I have always had,

Your Honour's

most obedient

C.H. Graun

[20]

My wife, and also my little daughter of three-quarters of a year, commit themselves to you, although they do not know you, most humbly.

[5] Reinsberg, 7 December 1739.

Next Friday I shall travel via Berlin to Dresden, where I shall be pleased to be of service to Your Honour.

## II

GRAUN to TELEMANN: BERLIN, 15 JUNE 1740

Honourable

Most highly respected Capellmeister

Your generous nature cannot but take pleasure in the well-being of a neighbour; I shall strive to emulate Your Honour in this as well as in our métier. I only wish that if indeed a musical lucky star should rise here, that it also shine upon [5] Your Honour; increasing years detract nothing from your merits, and of the shortcomings of your knowledge the entire rational musical world knows otherwise, for this world knows of only one Telemann.

I regret, as far as the other points are concerned, that [6] up to now I have achieved little, partly because we have been at Reinsberg and Ruppin most of the time, and partly on account of the poverty hitherto of local musical enthusiasts. In future, presumably, more concerts will be held here than until now.

Your Honour mentioned in your last letter a violoncellist. [7] Up to now nothing has happened about augmenting the Capelle; as soon as this happens, however, Your Honour will be notified. The royal funeral will take place on 22 June; two singers have been sent for from Dresden for the funeral music. Since it is not

possible to perform a large church composition with two people, I  
[20]hesitate to invite you, my esteemed friend, to something as  
inferior as this. Should an opportunity arise, as will presum-  
ably soon be the case, to perform something better, I will  
have the warmest pleasure to see Your Honour here. I, who remain  
with sincerest respect

[25]

Your Honour's,  
my most highly respected  
Capellmeister's  
most obedient servant  
C.H. Graun.

[30] Berlin, 15 June 1740.

## III

GRAUN to TELEMANN: BERLIN, 22 JUNE 1743

Honourable

Most highly respected Sir

Helping Your Honour's good will and your son in the matter in question is to blame for the long delay in my replying. I always hoped and believed to be able to send you an agreeable answer on account of this matter, but I have always been fobbed [5] off with patience and hope by the person who has control over the disposition, because the candidates, whom he had to take care of by high command, were too numerous. I shall now not be able to speak to this person for some time, because he has been sent from our court to Ansbach to cure the countess. On his [10] return, however, I shall make further requests in this matter.

Your Honour's endeavour to show the world that our practical music must have coherence and order, as well as other faculties, is most laudable and necessary, partly to give those scholars ignorant in music a better idea of our métier, and partly to [15] open the eyes of those half-scholars in the métier (who are, in all sciences, the most dangerous) in order that they get a taste of order and coherence and do not start to seek and choose such ideas which then pile up on one another. This question of order and coherence has almost vanished among the present Italian opera [20] scribblers, so that it will be difficult to come across a thoroughly

adequate aria by them.

Your Honour will graciously forgive me that I am not totally in agreement with your sentiments in your previous letter with regard to scansion. So far as I consider arias which do not have [25] proper scansion in the poetry, I find, for the most part, that the composer has had to twist the melody in order to correct the poet's error. Or the composer has followed the poet's scansion and produced a long syllable out of what would otherwise be a short one, which occurs somewhat more rarely in Italian than in French [30] music, where one will observe the like on almost all pages (I would be inclined to say lines) because the Frenchman makes himself much less dependent on the scansion than the Italian.

Since I mention poetry I must tell Your Honour something about our former poet Bottarelli. This scoundrel, who received [35] almost 600 rthl [reichsthaler] annually, comes to Charlottenburg to hand over to the king his new opera Scipio, goes for a stroll in the palace, comes into the chapel, cuts off golden braids, sells these to Jews, is interrogated the next day, taken to Spandau the following day, where he is locked up for three [40] weeks; after serving his sentence he must flee the country. He has formerly been imprisoned in Florence by the Inquisition for three and a half years, on account of blasphemy and other misdeeds, but escaped and came to these parts, where he came into money by means of some aptitude in poetry; he was an atheist, [45] but recently was privileged to be admitted into the holy company of Freemasons.

I am trying as much as possible, with regard to a few subscribers, as indeed some will already have come forward to the publisher.

[50] As far as our musical conditions are concerned, a couple of new Italian recruits have again arrived. The one is called Bucella, a dwarf of a person, with a poor voice, but rather agile; the other is Pasqualini with a rather better voice, but dull and full of musical mistakes. These two will be of no credit to our [55] theatre. This coming autumn Artaserse and Scipione will be performed here; the former I shall start first. I do not know if it would give Your Honour pleasure to hear this opera, but I do know that I would take great pleasure in seeing Your Honour in person here.

[60] I remain, moreover, with constant respect

Your Honour's  
most obedient servant  
C.H. Graun

Berlin, 22 June 1743

## IV

GRAUN to TELEMANN: BERLIN, 20 JUNE 1747

Honourable

Most highly respected Sir

For the kind information which Your Honour has given me regarding the musical society, I offer you my most humble thanks; it agrees mostly with the information which I have received from our illustrious Pisendel, except that he, possibly through somewhat [5] excessive modesty, did not wish to say as much. It amazes me that this musicians' circle lowers itself so much as to attempt to press such an honour upon those practical musicians outside the circle, for those whom I have spoken with have rejected it in different ways but have not been able to escape with a good grace. [10] Our Quantz is at a loss for a valid excuse. All fear the satirical quill of the incompetent critics who, through their miserable practice, show how much their hearts are susceptible to noble and beautiful musical feelings. Hitherto, experience has made me believe that one cannot be both a mathematician and [15] a moving composer, at least, I have no knowledge of such a person.

At last I have received the portrait of the merchant Vogel, which is enclosed here. Herr Schmidt, through friendship, has passed this on to me.

[20] My ideas concerning the over-intense fervour of a poet of church music are based on first hand experience. As my friends have occasion rightly to criticize such fervent places, I, however, have been able to find nothing, to my excuse, other than the poet's over-intense and, sometimes, misplaced expressions. At [25] this moment a badly applied expression in your otherwise quite beautiful Passion comes to mind, where the poet places immediately after the death of our Saviour a chorus with the following words: 'Glück zu o Erlöser du hast es vollbracht etc' [A Blessing on you, oh Redeemer, you have accomplished it etc].

[30] Here criticism is directed entirely at the poet; how could the composer possibly think other than cheerfully and merrily with such words. Should our poets, however, be endowed in future with a Divine fervour, as with the old prophets, then I would consider it blasphemy to object to this.

[35] I am entirely of your opinion that operatic gallantries constitute the liveliest part in church music too.

Finally, I bid farewell to your love and friendship and remain with constant respect

Your Honour's  
most obedient Servant  
C.H. Graun

[40]

Berlin, 20 June 1747.



GRAUN to TELEMANN: BERLIN, 1 MAY 1751

Honourable

Most highly respected Capellmeister!

It has in no way been my intention to judge French music as entirely bad, for it would be reprehensible obstinacy to be unwilling to recognize the excellence of other nations, but I only wished to say that I do not deem the French recitative style to [5] be natural. Hence, I wrote that I had not yet seen any reasonable examples of it because, besides its inopportunately disposed ariosi, it is also composed in a way that frequently runs against the musical rhetoric; the operas of Rameau are proof enough. That I have indicated to Your Honour my petty obstinacy, on account of a few [10] sentences brought to bear by you which appeared audacious to me, is not at all due to lack of respect for your merits, but rather to quarrel with you in a friendly manner and a little out of affection for you. Moreover, I am certain that you will not accept indiscriminately what someone else tells you. For that reason I [15] would not expect any irritability from your good heart; should something occur, however, I shall submit myself to a musical punishment and will therefore kiss your quill. To you my loyal and friendly heart promises more caution in future.

Herr Quantz sent me the enclosed letter. I think that Your [20] Honour would have been satisfied with two lines. If the over-sensitive, public squabbles of Herr Finazzi and Herr C. [apell] M. [eister] Scheibe were restrained as far as possible, music, in my opinion, would

not suffer at all.

As I presume from your letter that you have not heard  
[25] Reginello yourself, I shall take the liberty to express my humble  
opinion of him. I believe that if he had a good voice he could  
pass as the very best singer of our time, for he has more knowledge  
of harmony than all those I know and have known, and if he had a  
better voice, as he himself admits, he would exaggerate far less.  
[30] I sang together with him in my chamber a duet in which he displayed  
so much invention and judgement that I was quite charmed. His voice  
and figure have quashed everything here which is genuinely and  
well-meaningly said of him; one cares in the world more about  
the shell than the kernel.

[35] You wrote, my esteemed friend, that a Capellmeister or  
Concertmeister post is vacant in Hanover, but I have found no-one  
who could justly be commended to you for that post; to recommend  
someone from our Service would risk disgrace. The bearer of this  
letter, one by the name of Filippo Pio, has come forward to me,  
[40] and since he had learnt that you had written to me on account of  
this service he requested me to recommend him to you in the best  
way. He has lived mostly outside his home country in the last  
fourteen years, consequently he is almost more a German than an  
Italian. Our Benda, who has often heard him, speaks very well of  
[45] him. He is said to play thoroughly sensibly and with gusto, and  
can be trusted to give a concert; moreover, he is said to be of

a good character. I have not heard him. You will know, my esteemed friend, after you have heard him yourself, whether he is qualified for it. Furthermore, I bid farewell, with most humble compliments from my wife and daughter, and remain with constant respect:

Your Honour's  
most obedient Servant  
C.H. Graun

[55] Berlin, 1 May 1751.

## VI

GRAUN to TELEMANN: BERLIN, 9 NOVEMBER 1751

Honourable

Most highly respected Sir!

I perceive from your latest letter that you require proof on account of my discontent with respect to the French recitative and particularly that of Rameau. On the enclosed sheet appears as No. 1 an example in which the inopportune aria-like style and [5] the unobserved rhetoric are clearly to be seen; in the opera Castor et Pollux, page 61, where Têlaïre answers Castor, [This is an error; Têlaïre is conversing with Pollux] the following words, with their notes, are found at the end of their conversation or récitatifs:

D'un frere in-for-tu- né re-su-ci-ter la cen-dre, l'ar-ra-cher au tom-beau, aban-don-ner d'y de-  
 -scen-dre, tri-om-pher de- vos feux, des siens E-tre l'ap-puy, le rendra un jour à ce qu'il  
 ai-me; c'est mon-tres à Jupi-ter mê-me que vous ê-tes di-gne de lui.

[10] In my opinion Têlaïre should attempt to convince Castor [This is an error; Têlaïre is conversing with Pollux] more emphatically, perhaps in the following way:

D'un frere in-for-tu-né ré-su-ci-ter la cendre, l'arra-cher au tom-beau, même-cher d'y de  
 -scandir, triom-pher de vos fuy, des siens être l'ap-puy, le ren-dre au jour  
 à ce qui aime; c'est mon-ter à Jupi-ter mê-me, que vous é-tes di-gne de lui.

Pollux ends his speech, page 58, with the following words:

'Et c'est par luy que je respire.' Full stop and not? Rameau

[5] makes the following inflexion out of it:

Son amour vit enco-re, et c'est par luy que je re-spi-re

Why not rather as follows?:

Et c'est par luy que je re-spi-re

Page 59 is precisely the same:

Té-lai-re vos pleurs sont les Dieux qui com-man-dent

And the like is to be found in abundance with him. Page 82 is a beautiful piece of recitative which out of curiosity is included:

Enfants du ciel, charmés d'un Dieu qui sou - pi - re.

Et vous qui fai - tes les vœux, triompher d'un Dieu qui sou - pi - re.

[20] Mon Cher! You laugh nevertheless a little secretly as well! The pause  $\hat{\wedge}$  is very well disposed, except that one forgets what the children of heaven are meant to be doing. It is a pity that there are not trumpets and drums at the beginning; it would make the speech of Jupiter even more robust.

[25] On page 148 'je vo---le' and page 149 'volez---' are highly judiciously expressed in recitative:

Vieux, tu veux mou-ir - pour moi, je re-hai-trai pour el-le je  
vo - le a sa voi que m'ap-pel-le.  
ses jours sont commea-cez vo-lez - - - volez Mercure o-béis-sez

and in the following line:

du toner-re, Rend un Hé-ros à la terre, vo-lez - - - volez Mercure

When I said of the French recitative that the Italian type is more rational than the French, I am speaking of the way it is written, which you, my esteemed friend, yourself also employ; you do not bring about any *arioso* without justification. (Here comes to my attention a recitative of Rameau, page 33, which is composed in the following manner):

D'un spectacle nou-veau que la pompe s'ap-pré-te, Minerve à l'amour va s'u-nir. Les  
arts vont préparer la fê-te, l'a-mour va s'embel-lir.

I do not see what would be forfeited if the even metre were  
 [35] maintained throughout. For example:

D'aspecta de nou-veau que la pompe s'a-prê-te! Mi-nerve à l'amour va s'u-  
 - nir, les arts vont pré-parer la fê-te, l'amour va l'em-bel-lir.

The inflexion of this recitative, I admit, does not please me at all, but I have only wanted to show by means of this that I consider it to be more natural in this manner. (Note: because the change of metre makes, without justification, difficulties for the singer  
 [40] and accompanists, it is thus not natural). I deem to be a principal rule: that one must not create any unnatural difficulties without important reasons. Between ourselves, it seems to me that the French art of recitative singing resembles the howling of dogs. But I never approve of a bad execution or a Calcuttan-cockerel-  
 [45] language, as you justly call the affected Italian recitative singing, because this Calcuttan-cockerel-language is no longer used by any good Italian singer, but only by the blunderers. I only wish that I had heard Reginello sing recitative. Salimbeni and our Astrua of course do not bark like some simpletons from  
 [50] their nation, and when they apply accents, as a rule, they have their reason, which is easier to hear than to describe.



Apropos of Salimbeni, he is lying fatally ill with consumption in Vienna. It is a great pity.

Returning to Rameau, whom the Parisians call (you, mon cher, [55] do surely not) 'le Grand Rameau, l'Honneur de la France' (Note: Indeed, Rameau must himself believe that he is this, for he said, as Hasse recounts, he could not do anything badly). Where then does his rhetorical, philosophical and mathematical erudition manifest itself? In the melody or in the harmony? (Note: Regarding [60] the harmony I am sure you, mon cher, will also find much to criticize). I confess, I have had little or nothing to do with mathematics and also in my youth had no opportunity. I have, however, learnt that mathematical composers (Note: In Mizler's Odes mathematical composition shines forth) have given practical music little [65] of advantage or honour, for, as I have seen, the great mathematician Euler stated false chords and chords which go against true practical harmony. I have spoken to him and he confessed that he had no experience in practical music except that in his youth he played the viola di [sic] Gamba a little. The Grand Rameau made this [70] assertion in his Traité de l'Origine de l'Harmonie: all dissonances can be resolved in consonance, it can be any consonance. Thus he deems the following chords to be regular:



unlike:



Mathematics may permit such rules, but in practical music I look  
 [15] upon them with suspicion.

Altogether, the French manner of recitative does not please me at all, and, as I have come to realize in my life, it is not liked in any part of the world, other than in France, but as soon as it steps across the border it gives rise to aversion.

[20] Furthermore, regarding your three examples, I know well that their figuring has its logic, with the exception of the augmented seventh, which indeed is not well enough expressed with a mere 7. The dash - makes it indeed somewhat easy for the accompanist but it will certainly be most necessary to invent a completely new  
 [25] keyboard instrument and organ with sub sub sub semitonii for the same harmonies, because on customary instruments this seventh is no longer a dissonance. In the melody, however, since there are no words present, there is something bitter and sour, especially at the end of the third example. In the first example I see clearly  
 [30] why, mon cher, you used the Quintam superfluum in D minor, it should of course prepare the augmented seventh, but, but, but, with your gracious permission, I consider it to be the result of rational deliberation which you meant in jest and perhaps in order to puzzle a few people who have less knowledge.

[35] I do not believe that Your Honour means me when you say that many people could become spoilt who, in the course of time might not like any hot spices. I also occasionally sprinkle a few grains where I believe that the words require it and hope to achieve a good effect. (Note: [These are notes found in the margin]

[40] and make it easier for the singer). And I do not consider it

bad that three or four notes, whatever they may be, played on the Clavier at the same time, cannot be executed in a chordal fashion for a melody, whether it be bitter or sour, can be found above it.

(Note:[These are notes found in the margin] Similarly, many [105]phrases in composition can be executed in a regular fashion but this does not mean that they are necessarily pleasing).

I, for my part, regard spices which are too hot useful neither for healthy nor sick people. All doctors advise the healthy against them; neither will they recommend them for the sick, even [110]if they should desire them. To put an end to our dispute, Your Honour clearly prefers a hotter musical spice than I, so let us retain our individual taste and thus it shall remain in the future. Love will indeed probably find us another opportunity to disagree.

[115] I have just come to hear that Salimbeni, after fourteen days stay in Alvernico, which I fancy lies in Carinthia, died on the journey to Milan baciando sempre il Crocefisso in Compagnia d'un Capucino e d'un Jesuita. It is a pity; the world of singing loses much with him.

[120] Please find enclosed the chorus which you twice requested from me. In my estimation, it is not the same as may have been described to Your Honour, for it is a lightly constructed melody in tutti which is free of hot spices and like a potion which nature has given to all men, gratis and without aversion.

[125] Also enclosed are a few lighter arias from Armide.

I do not have the honour to know the critic of the Spree, who is secretary to the Count Rothenburg, otherwise your commission

would have been carried out.

Herr Quantz sends his most humble compliments and requests [130] that if perchance a certain Herr von Molteniz [sic.] should come forward to you, you remind him to give some news about his state of health, because he has heard nothing of him since his departure and is thus worried about him, since at the time of his departure the great flood took place.

[135] Your Honour is greatly benevolent and honours me with the flower commission; no amount of inconvenience will prevent me from doing this.

The Concertmeister at Plön, Pio, cannot praise your kindness enough, as he has you alone to thank for his happiness. He is said to be [140] highly viewed by his master.

Esteemed friend, do not take my excessive scribbling amiss if you lose a quarter or half an hour through it. If you request it, I hope to improve in the future. My wife and daughter Caroline, likewise my brother, send their humblest compliments. I can not [145] do other than to take my leave with the customary sincere and great respect

Your Honour's  
most sincere servant  
and friend  
C.H. Graun

[150]

Berlin, 9 November 1751.

## VII

TELEMANN to GRAUN : HAMBURG, 15 DECEMBER 1751

Honourable  
 especially highly revered Herr and  
 most beloved friend!

We shall come to an agreement. Your Honour desires to prove that the recitative of the Italians is more rational than that of the French. I say they are both worthless in as much as we credit them with having a resemblance to speech; but I shall, if you [5] insist on it, concede to you, in a peace-loving manner, your first sentence, with the reservation of a time for reflection on the other, and also approve of the mandate that in future all people shall recite according to the Italian manner. But on the other hand, concerning the rhetoric, which you choose almost completely to [10] deny the French composers, I have a word to say after I have presupposed that these composers falsely believe to bring about melodical beauties through the broadening of phrases, ariosi, protracted suspensions (which some Parisian singers, through the enharmonic step, tend to drag out) and trills, the latter in a [15] different way to the others. Moreover, they are obliged to do this, since the listeners have become accustomed to it. When Your Honour collected together the music which you sent to me you chose the wrong examples, for most of them bear witness to a by no means small

insight into the art of oration. These are to be examined.

- [20] That the predominant effect of No. 1 is heroic is apparent from the words: 'Digne de Jupiter même'. The composer has not only attained this effect but has alluded to the subsidiary words in passing: 'Infortunée', tender, 'resusciter', a rolling trill, 'l'arracher au tombeau', splendid, 'm'empêcher', a pause, 'trionpher', [25] defiant, without an appoggiatura, and supported by a trill on 'de', 'appuy', a masculine ending, 'à ce, qu'il aime', tender, 'même', noble, 'digne', an expansion. The following could be rejected: that the comma is placed after 'descendre' as is the semicolon after 'aime', and that with 'Jupiter' the middle syllable is long. [30] I am almost inclined to go through the bass, for it will show that without becoming dull it could not have been anything other than as it is.

- How does our Italian deal with No. 2? The harmony is half the time melancholy, bitter, sour, and the subsidiary words are all [35] expressed the same, in spite of their dissimilarity, and thus exhaust the ear. I do indeed know that it is an old humdrum way in the case of such lines where the poet composes his paragraphs with gradually more and more ardour to also elevate the music gradually, but most certainly not in a monotonous way which, with all its' [40] order, is and remains dry.

- In the second bar there is a pause, whereby the literal sense is interrupted. In the seventh bar four syllables have been created from 'rendre au jour' where only three are available; and the last note in this bar goes against the stress which occurs only on the [45] first and third crotchets. 'Même' is much too low.

No. 3. 'Que je respire' is here not an expression of a question. To a great extent the French interrogate differently from the Italians. 'Respire' and its broadening is the intention here. The 'que' of the altered example, in the upper register, should have [50] no emphasis at all here, especially since it is not 'keh' but 'kö', very short and as all other 'e's without an accent are pronounced at the end of a word.

No. 4 is once again not intended to be a question. The majesty, in addition to the phrase broadening, has given rise to this arioso.

[55] No. 5. The little imitations I find not bad. 'Ciel' and 'Dieux' are once more based on the phrase broadening; without a pause mark this latter word would have been too short which, however, would have been better extended by means of a triplet.

'Triompher', 'voler', 'chanter', 'rire', 'gloire', 'victoire', and [60] a few more less noteworthy words must be expressed in recitative approximately as here, if the listener is not to complain. In arias they spread further. 'Ra--ge' in my Polyphême was, however, rejected as 'unprivileged'.

No. 7. The holding of the note at 'nouveau' is unnecessary; on [65] the other hand there should have been a pause after 'apprête'.

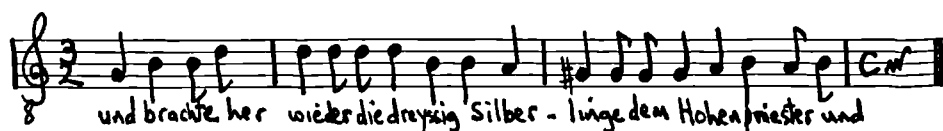
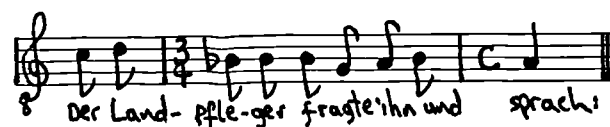
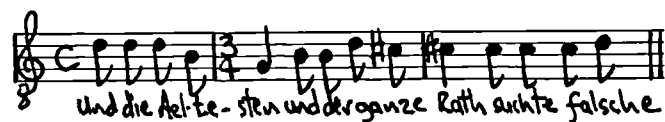
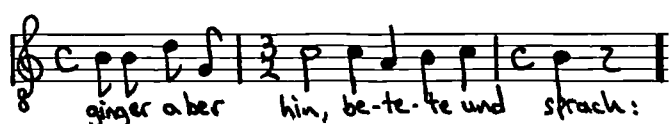
No. 8. 'Minerve à l'amour va s'unir' should have had more parity with the remaining sounds with quavers and semi-quavers, (which also comes to my attention at 'préparer la fête'), since I do not recollect having found four semi-quavers successively in [70] an Italian recitative.

No. 9. The resolution of the ninths here are none other than delayed octaves which, as yet, are joined evidently by fifths in the alto part, or sixths with 'b' and 'g'. The sevenths and octaves are,

on account of the small intervals between them, not better, although [85] the old composers, including even Corelli in his soli, made use of them.

The metre changes cause the French no difficulties at all; everything flows continuously like champagne. Even my by no means witch-like orchestra did not pull any faces when I wrote a Passion in [80] the same style a few years ago. The afore-mentioned changes are certainly arbitrary there but often also necessary because of the continuity of the phrase, such as: 'd'un frère resusciter la cendre; les arts vont préparer la fête', between which no pauses can be inserted.

[85] This necessity, or at least a means to make the words more flowing without lengthening certain notes to fill up the spaces, manifests itself not infrequently in the verses of diverse languages, and especially in the prose, par Exemple, in my passion:



If I compose my recitative generally according to the Italian [90] foot, and at the same time (to its health) perpetrate also all its



weaknesses, it is in order to swim with the tide and not lay myself open to accusations of heretic obstinacy. I have, however, also written complete cycles of music for the church year where I have intermingled ariosi in all appropriate sections with consideration [95] and effect.

Whether the French recitative is not favoured in any part of the world I am not sure, because history books mention nothing about this. Perhaps the Italian recitative fares no better, since neither of us have been there, even if here and there we tolerate [100] it as in Holland and England they tolerate the sectarians. Why have Italian cantatas gone out of fashion and been replaced by single arias? Is it not seemingly because of the recitative? At least I have known Germans, Englishmen, Russians, Poles, etc. and also a few Jews, who have sung to me from memory complete scenes from [105] Atys, Bellérophon, etc. That amounts to the fact that they liked them. On the other hand, not a single person has come forward to me who has said any more of the Italian recitative than 'it is beautiful, excellent, incomparable, but I have not been able to remember anything of it'. Just imagine they are speaking of a music as living as the [110] spoken word!

Finally, I still have a bone to pick with Your Honour on account of my alleged misgivings, which we shall examine to see if this is in fact what they really are. In my first invention I join together the figures by means of dashes indicating the sounds in [115] those cases where they do in fact change as they progress but in effect remain the same as the first one. This, you admit yourself, is of great use to the continuo players in that the backs or fronts

of the figures are not clogged up with ♭ , # , ♯ , and therefore illegible.

[120] It surprises me that you disinherit the sole major seventh in this piece since it does not have a hair's breadth less validity than its great relatives. The major seventh, when it appears in the present key of C without key signature, should be provided with a #; this, I am sure you will trust to my judgement. As with [125] everything which could still be said on this subject, I have my own order of what I am talking about which is not unworthy of your better attention.

You mention, your Clavier has no A♭ , therefore my major seventh is no longer a dissonance. But, if I were to say, your [130] Clavier has a B♭ missing, on the other hand A♭ is there. Enough: all keyboards have two faces, a raised face and a lowered face. I will only mention the sole 'G' which has been known for a long time almost only to the organ blowers - I don't know why - that D# - [F] x is a major third, and D# - G is a minor fourth. Since, in both cases [135] with this note, a healthy harmony arises in the present temperament, I do not see why one should invalidate the others.

Regarding my three extensive examples in the harmony, Your Honour is more pleased with the harmony than with the melody which you put in second place and have thrown overboard for being bitter [140] and sour. (If it were only the end of the third example). Nevertheless, if one wanted to strengthen the bass in the melody and, instead of my pepper sprinkle in cinnamon or other such like spices from Your Honour, it would not taste bad, whether there were words there or not. But this is how it was meant to be. Moreover, I have not [145] yet experienced anyone dying whilst listening to these harmonies; but rather that the French have applauded them and Herr Capell-

meister Scheibe has taken no less a delight in them, according to the introduction of his treatise on intervals. I have for so many years wearily melodised and copied myself a few thousand times, [150] (as others like me) and have consequently come to this conclusion: If there is nothing new to be found in the melody, then one must search for it in the harmony. Yes, people say: One should not go too far. I reply: As far as the deepest foundation, if one wishes to merit the name of an assiduous master. This I have endeavoured [155] to achieve with my work on my system of intervals and do me no disservice on account of useless hair splitting, but much more expect some gratitude at least from future generations. Whether indeed everything in the world, with your permission, has its particular use, thus Herr Sorge shrugs his shoulders in his treatise [160] (page 395) with regard to the employment of the major seventh, and others, who have been capable of nothing more than uneven melodies, also deem this to be only a half truth. Have I not been obliged to defend my offspring and to show their use?

Furthermore, I am still, as before, of Your Honour's opinion: [165] one should deal with such sentences cautiously, as with the virgin bride, or as with your delightful Carolinchen, whose beautiful hand I kiss! The rest I will send with the next post, and quite a lot.

I thank you very much for the arias from Armide which you [170] sent me. They give evidence of Your Honour's forte in Italian music, in which you can serve as a model even to its greatest masters. Squire von Moldenit has himself written to Quantz

whom I highly esteem.

I shall postpone the flower commission until near the spring,  
[15]but please make young Herr Dr. Roloff aware that I miss his  
contributions.

I save the best until last: to your dearest wife, my most  
honoured patron, and to your brother, the great virtuoso, my very  
best compliments etc.

[16]

Hamburg, 15 December 1751.

## VIII

GRAUN to TELEMANN: BERLIN, 14 JANUARY 1752

Honourable  
 Most highly respected Herr  
 Most kind Friend!

Our peace appears to me to be like the perpetual peace of most potentates, which sometimes is easily broken again. In the meantime we shall postpone the total decision in our recitative dispute until we both receive news of whether, perhaps in Turkey, a better [s] type of recitative can be used than either the French or the Italian one; thereupon we shall recite according to the Turkish manner.

You claim that in the comments which I sent you I chose the wrong examples; I cannot find this, and I could almost believe that [v] Your Honour has attempted, out of jest or slight malice, to extol the great insight into the art of oration of our famous recitative composers, for you wish to make me believe, through a little frivolity that at 'Infortunée' the expression is tender. I believe, however, that even if it were 'bien heureux' the expression could [s] perfectly well remain the same, for otherwise it would follow that one could not use at all the Modus minores for heroic expressions, which experience, and your own example, disprove.

To express 'Resuscitation' by means of a rolling trill seems quite strange to me, because only one case of raising from the dead

[20] is known (Note: Lazarus and a few others I shall not mention) where all of the circumstances are precisely described, but the writings mention nothing to the point that at the same time something was rolled. The expression at 'l'arracher au tombeau' you regard as splendid; at this rate the melody to the words 'Der ward für uns [25] in der Nacht' from the Hymn Christus der uns selig macht, can also pass as splendid. As an example of this I believe that the music would be more fitting to the text if the words were 'mettre dans le tombeau' than it is as the composer has written. At 'm'empêcher' the last syllable absolutely must have a pause, [30] because it is the infinitive. But a word which had the opposite meaning of 'empêcher' would have to have exactly such a pause. At 'd'y descendre' the music, in the soprano as well as in the bass, goes against the sense of the words, because it rises more than it falls. I cannot find defiance in the music at 'trionpher'; [35] the music would seem even more fitting to a petition. I consider the first syllable of 'de vos feux' to be extended too long and 'vos' not long enough, since indeed 'de' is ∪ [unstressed] and 'vos' is - - - [stressed ].

At 'Appuy' the masculine ending is acceptable, with the [40] condition that if a feminine ending were there nothing would be lost. French ears, which are pleased by the fall of a fifth in a single melody, as in this example, are accustomed to such an ending. In your work one does not find this recitative structure, thus it is a sign that it does not please you especially. I cannot [45] find any tenderness at 'a ce qu'il aime', for with the opposite, 'a ce qu'il hait', the music could equally well fit. With the


supposed nobility of the word 'même', I imagine a miserable French howling because two syllables must be articulated on a high note which will be troublesome for the most skilled singers. The expansion [50] of the phrase at 'digne' appears to me to be inopportune because one does not say 'di---gne' but 'digne', drawn very closely together - especially since there is none of the beauty of recitative in the musical setting. That you, my esteemed friend, do not accept the carelessness in the expression of the comma after 'descendre' and [55] the semicolon after 'aime' nor the lengthening of the middle syllable in the word 'Jupiter', shows that 'l'Honneur de la France' cannot completely escape your criticism.

Mon Cher! It seems to me that in this you are a little too partial towards the nation, otherwise you would not accept so [60] easily the same fundamental mistakes against rhetoric, especially since all pages of Rameau are full of them.

You asked, Mon Cher! 'How does our Italian deal with No. 2?' As a German, like you, I attempt to express the noblest things in the whole speech, which are found in the lines where the poet [65] composes his paragraphs with gradually more and more ardour; however, I absolutely shun trying to give musical expression to individual words, unless it falls naturally, to avoid becoming ridiculous. I stand by the 'humdrum old way' (as you chose to call it), which seems reasonable to me for in the gradual rising of the music is to be [70] found a genuine imitation of the speaker who will, and must, raise up his voice.

The literal sense cannot be interrupted by the pause in the second bar, for the average recitative singer knows that in this style he must not bind himself to the bar; besides, pauses are

[75] often only a means to give the scansion its proper stress, especially since the bass does not change its chords. I believed that French enunciation demanded that in the seventh bar four syllables be created, since the Frenchman, as I fancy, does not say 'rendre' but 'rander'. As in this case, the 'r' is followed [80] by the diphthong 'au', the slurring of the syllable did not appear good to me, and so the Italians have enticed me (if I have not erred here), since they mostly pronounce every syllable - although in the scansion the poet may require them unpronounced. I also remember that French actors recite their poetry as if it were [85] prose and do not observe strictly the number of syllables. Meanwhile, I shall concede, should I have erred on this point. But I also believe the less poetic licence there is, the purer the poetry.

The last note of this bar, according to my perception, has enough weight because it is a crotchet; on the other hand, the [90] last syllable in the example:  in accordance

with my Saxon pronunciations, requires no stress. The reason why I placed 'même' low was because I thought that the emphasis in this line should be placed on 'montrer', and I shall think the same in every similar case. I shall put an end to our present friendly [95] quarrel, otherwise the letter might lose its form, but I cannot help saying that I am not pleased with your sentence: 'if in the melody there is nothing new to be found ...'. In the case of most of the French composers I do indeed believe that melody is exhausted, but not in the case of Telemann if only he would not [100] himself cause satiety by writing too much!



And to search for new notes in harmony seems to me like searching for new letters in a language. Our present language teachers are on the contrary doing away with many letters. The following notes I do not consider new for I have myself used them [105] sometimes:



And if one deals with such sentences as cautiously as with the virgin bride, then we will both soon make peace.

At present I have been unable to learn anything of a young Herr Doctor Roloff. One of the ecclesiastical gentlemen said: [110] He may be residing in Frankfurt-an-der-Oder. I shall make further efforts in this matter.

A Dio, dearest friend. If only it were possible for my respect for you to grow and I believed that our quarrel would contribute to this, for to quarrel in such a friendly way gives me great [115] pleasure. Farewell, and besides the most humble compliments of my wife, daughter and brother, believe that I shall remain till my end

Your most sincere,

humblest

[120] C.H. Graun

Berlin, 14 January 1752.

## IX

GRAUN to TELEMANN: BERLIN, 15 MAY 1756

Honourable  
 Most highly revered Herr  
 Esteemed Friend!

The delay in my reply is partly due to your somewhat questionable praises, in particular the conclusion: 'I shall investigate whether I have meant everything seriously'.

The dear, somewhat satirical Telemann, has already played a joke [5] like this on me when, regarding the recitative, he partly took the side of Rameau und partly didn't. I have repeatedly mused over your letter more than twenty times, to enjoy to the full the bitter and the sweet things; I have, however, still not found the latter - except for the sweet name by which you call me 'your dear friend'. [10] On the other hand, a minor task for our Princess Amalia has prevented me from fulfilling my obligation.

Your Passion oratorio was performed here with great approval. Our St. Peter's church has never been so full. The instrumental music was well executed, but the singers in any Saxon and Thuringian towns [15] would have done much better, but, due to much rehearsal, they did produce the notes in such a way that one could understand pretty well the author's intention.

I have the score in which I observe the most fashionable choruses which are most fitting for church and for the words, the most

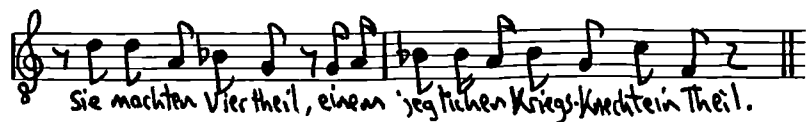
[20] agreeable arias, amongst which this one: 'Wo bistu kleiner Raum der Erde?' has often been sung with feeling by my brother and me. Enough! I have mentioned only a little of this which is full of beauty, but with genuine earnestness; my esteemed Friend! You want to have something to quarrel about! Here is something quite [25] considerable. With the words 'Hauche doch einmahl die mattgequälte Seele von Dir' you make the syllables 'von' long and 'Dir' short. According to my pronunciation (Note: I may be wrong) the last monosyllabic word in a sentence is always long: e.g.

Er kam wieder zŭ sīch. Er nahm es wieder zŭ sīch.

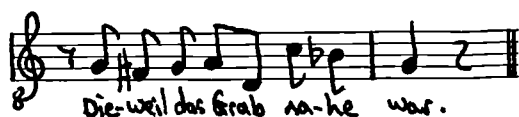
[30] Er sprach zŭ mīr. Er gab es vŏn sīch.

Er schickte zŭ mīr. Er lieff mīr nāch. etc.

The so-called 'Vollkommener Capellmeister' Mattheson is also of your opinion (Page 177). He set down various examples and their corrections, but not many please me. e.g.: 'Sie machten vier [35] Theil, einen jeglichen etc.'. There is a difference between 'Vier Theil' and 'Viertheil'; with Mattheson, however, the music produces 'Viertheil':



Particularly with the words: 'Dieweil das Grab nahe war' the correction is extremely beautiful:



[40] That was well argued!

Will the music, however, gain much through such hair-splitting? I have recently seen Odes by Mattheson and Mizler. What perfection! Talking and doing are two different things. But my lifelong respect for Telemann, which I shall always retain, is always the same, and

[45] I remain

Your Honour's  
most devoted servant  
and friend  
C.H. Graun

[50] Berlin, 15 May 1756.

My brother, who for the past three months has been unable to walk due to a foot injury, will hopefully have a speedy recovery, whereupon he will fulfil his obligation.

APPENDIX II - A List of Lieder Collections Published in  
Germany between 1733 and 1767.

	<u>First publi- shed:</u>	<u>Re- print:</u>
Valentin Rathgeber:		
<u>Ohren-vergnügendes und Gemuth-ergötzendes Ta- fel-Confect; Bestehend in 12. kurtzweiligen Sing- oder Tafel-Stücken von 1.2. oder 3 Stimmen mit einem Clavier oder Violon- cello zu accompagniren (Augsburg: J.J. Lotter, 1733).</u>	1733	
Georg Philipp Telemann:		
<u>Singe-, Spiel- und Generalbaß-Übungen (Hamburg: the composer, 1733-1734).</u>	1733- 1734	
Johann Sigismund Scholze ('Sperontes'):		
<u>Singende Muse an der Pleiße in 2 mahl 50 Oden, der neuesten und besten musicalischen Stücke, mit den darzu gehörigen Melodien zu belieb- ter Clavier-Übung und Gemüths-Ergötzung, nebst einem Anhang aus J.C. Günthers Gedichten (Leipzig: 'auf Kosten der Tustigen Gesellschaft', 1736).</u>	1736	1740 1741 1747 1751
Johann Friedrich Gräfe:		
<u>Sammlung verschiedener und auserlesener Oden zu welchen von den berühmtesten Meistern in der Music eigene Melodeyen verfertigt worden, besorgt und herausgegeben von einem Liebhaber der Music und Poesie (Halle: the composer, 1737).</u>	1737	1740 1743
Valentin Rathgeber:		
<u>Ohren-vergnügendes und Gemuth-ergötzendes Tafel-Confect; ... Volumes two and three (Augsburg: J.J. Lotter, 1737).</u>	1737	

Lorenz Christoph Mizler:

Erste Sammlung auserlesener moralischer Oden zum Nutzen und Vergnügen der Liebhaber des Claviers (Leipzig: the composer, 1740). 1740 1741  
1746

Johann Friedrich Gräfe:

Sammlung verschiedener und auserlesener Oden ... Volume two (Halle: the composer, 1740). 1740

Lorenz Christoph Mizler:

Zweyte Sammlung auserlesener moralischer Oden ... (Leipzig: the composer, 1741). 1741

Georg Philipp Telemann:

Vier und zwanzig theils ernsthafte, theils scherzende Oden, mit leichten und fast für alle Häuse bequemen Melodien versehen (Hamburg: Chr. Herold, 1741). 1741

Johann Friedrich Gräfe:

Sammlung verschiedener und auserlesener Oden ... Volume three (Halle: the composer, 1741). 1741

Lorenz Christoph Mizler:

Dritte Sammlung auserlesener moralischer Oden ... (Leipzig: the composer, 1742). 1742

Johann Valentin Görner:

Sammlung Neuer Oden und Lieder (Hamburg: J.C. Bohn, 1742). 1742 1744  
1752  
1756

Johann Sigismund Scholze ('Sperontes'):

Singende Muse an der Pleiße ... Volume two 1742 1751  
(Leipzig: 'auf Kosten der Lustigen Gesellschaft', 1742).

Musicalischer Zeitvertreib (Leipzig and Frankfurt, 1743). 1743

Johann Sigismund Scholze ('Sperontes'):

Singende Muse an der Pleiße ... Volume three 1743 1751  
(Leipzig: 'auf Kosten der Lustigen Gesellschaft', 1743).

Johann Friedrich Gräfe:

Sammlung verschiedener und auserlesener Oden ... Volume four 1743  
(Halle: the composer, 1743).

Johann Valentin Görner:

Sammlung neuer Oden und Lieder Volume two 1744 1752  
(Hamburg: J.C. Bohn, 1744). 1756

Johann Sigismund Scholze ('Sperontes'):

Singende Muse an der Pleiße ... Volume four 1745 1751  
(Leipzig: 'auf Kosten der Lustigen Gesellschaft', 1745).

Musicalischer Zeitvertreib Volume two 1746  
(Leipzig and Frankfurt, 1746).

Adolph Carl Kuntzen:

Lieder zum Unschuldigen Zeitvertreib 1748  
(Hamburg: s.n., 1748).

Johann Adolph Scheibe:

Neue Freymaurer-Lieder mit bequemen Melodien, 1749  
verfertigt und herausgegeben von einem Mit-  
gliede der Loge Zorobabel (Copenhagen: Fr.  
Chr. Mumme, 1749).

Johann Ernst Bach:

Sammlung auserlesener Fabeln mit darzu ver- 1749  
fertigten Melodeyen (Nürnberg: J.U. Hoffner,  
1749).

Johann Friedrich Doles:

Neue Lieder nebst ihren Melodien (Leipzig: 1750  
J.G. Dyck, 1750).

Johann Mattheson:

Odeon morale jucundum et vitale (Nürnberg: 1751  
J.U. Hoffner, 1751).

Musicalischer Zeitvertreib Volume three 1751  
(Leipzig and Frankfurt, 1751).

Johann Valentin Görner:

Sammlung Neuer Oden und Lieder Volume three 1752 1757  
(Hamburg: J.C. Bohn, 1752).

Christian Gottfried Krause/Carl Wilhelm Ramler:

Oden mit Melodien (Berlin: F.W. Birnstiel, 1753  
1753).

Adolph Carl Kuntzen:

Lieder zum Unschuldigen Zeitvertreib Volume 1754  
two (Lübeck: s.n., 1754).



Christian Gottfried Krause/Carl Wilhelm Ramler:

Oden mit Melodien Volume two (Berlin: F.W. Birnstiel, 1755). 1755

Berlinische Oden und Lieder (Leipzig: J.G.I. Breitkopf, 1756). 1756

Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg:

Neuen Lieder zum Singen beym Clavier (Berlin: G.A. Lange, 1756). 1756

Adolph Carl Kuntzen:

Lieder zum Unschuldigen Zeitvertreib Volume three (London: J.Chr. Haberkorn, 1756). 1756  
Although this collection was published in England, it has been included in this list to give a complete picture of the popularity of Kuntzen's lieder collections.

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach:

Herrn Prof. Gellerts geistliche Oden und Lieder (Berlin: G.L. Winter, 1758). 1758 1759  
1764  
1771  
1784

Geistliche, moralische und weltliche Oden von verschiedenen Dichtern und Componisten (Berlin: G.A. Lange and Leipzig: J.G.I. Breitkopf, 1758). 1758

Geistliche Oden gesetzt von einigen Tonkünstlern in Berlin (Berlin: C.F. Voß and Leipzig: J.G.I. Breitkopf, 1758). 1758

Berlinische Oden und Lieder Volume two (Leipzig: J.G.I. Breitkopf, 1759). 1759

- Herrn Professor Gellerts Oden und Lieder nebst einigen Fabeln ... in die Musik gesetzt von Berlinischen Tonkünstlern (Leipzig: J.G.I. Breitkopf, 1759). 1759
- Kleine Clavierstücke nebst einigen Oden von verschiedenen Tonkünstlern Two volumes (Berlin: F.W. Birnstiel, 1760). 1760
- Musikalisches Allerley (Berlin: F.W. Birnstiel, 1761). 1761
- Musikalisches Allerley continued (Berlin: F.W. Birnstiel, 1761). 1761
- Carl Heinrich Graun:
- Auserlesene Oden zum Singen beym Clavier (Berlin: A. Wever, 1761). 1761 1764  
1774
- Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach:
- Oden mit Melodien (Berlin: A. Wever and Leipzig: J.G.I. Breitkopf, 1762). 1762 1774
- Johann Philipp Kirnberger:
- Lieder mit Melodien (Berlin: A. Wever and Leipzig: J.G.I. Breitkopf, 1762). 1762 1774
- Musikalisches Mancherley (Berlin: G.L. Winter, 1762). 1762
- Musikalisches Allerley continued (Berlin: F.W. Birnstiel, 1762). 1762

- Berlinische Oden und Lieder Volume three 1763  
(Leipzig: B.Chr. Breitkopf und Sohn, 1763).
- Carl Heinrich Graun:
- Auserlesene Oden zum Singen beym Clavier, 1764 1764  
vom Herrn Capellmeister Graun und einigen 1774  
andern guten Meistern Volume two (Berlin:  
A. Wever, 1764).
- Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach:
- Zwölf geistliche Oden und Lieder als ein 1764 1771  
Anhang zu Gellerts geistlichen Oden und  
Lieder (Berlin: G.L. Winter, 1764).
- Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach:
- Der Wirth und die Gäste. Eine Singode von 1766  
Herrn Gleim (Berlin: G.L. Winter, 1766).
- Johann Adolph Scheibe:
- Kleine Lieder für Kinder zur Beförderung der 1766  
Tugend mit Melodien zum Singen beym Klavier  
(Flensburg: J.Chr. Korte, 1766).
- Christian Gottfried Krause:
- Lieder der Deutschen mit Melodien Four volumes 1767-  
(Berlin: G.L. Winter, 1767-1768). 1768

APPENDIX III - A List of Theoretical Works on Music  
and Musical Journals published in  
Berlin from 1748-1767

Christian Gottfried Krause:

Lettre à M. le Marquis de B\*\*\* sur la différence entre 1748  
la musique italienne et françoise (Berlin: s.n.,  
 1748).  
 German translation in Fr.W. Marpurg: Historisch-  
kritische Beyträge.

Johann Friedrich Agricola:

Schreiben eines reisenden Liebhabers der Musik von 1749  
der Tyber, an den critischen Musikus an der Spree  
(Berlin: s.n., 11 March 1749).

Schreiben an Herrn ---, in welchen F.A.O., sein 1749  
Schreiben an den critischen Musikus an der Spree  
vertheidiget, und auf dessen Wiederlegung ant-  
wortet (Berlin: s.n., 6 July 1749).

Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg:

Der Critische Musicus an der Spree (50 weekly issues, 1749-  
 1749-50; published together in one volume as:) 1749-  
Des critischen Musikus an der Spree (Berlin: A. Haude 1750  
 and J.C. Spener, 1750).

Johann Friedrich Agricola:

Sendschreiben an die Herrn Verfasser der Freyen 1750  
Urtheile in Hamburg, das Schreiben an den Herrn  
critischen Musikus an der Spree betreffend  
(Berlin: s.n., 1750).

Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg:

Die Kunst das Clavier zu spielen, durch den Verfasser des critischen Musicus an der Spree 1750  
(Berlin: Gedruckt mit den Henningischen Schriften, 1750; repr. Berlin: A. Haude and J.C. Spener, 1751).

Christian Gottfried Krause:

Von der musicalischen Poesie (Berlin: J.Fr. Voß, 1752). 1752

Johann Carl Conrad Oelrichs:

Historische Nachricht von den akademischen Würden in der Musik und öffentlichen musikalischen Akademien und Gesellschaften (Berlin, s.n., 1752). 1752

Johann Joachim Quantz:

Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen (Berlin: J.Fr. Voß, 1752). 1752

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach:

Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen 1753  
(Berlin: Chr. Fr. Henning (C.Ph.E. Bach), 1753; repr. Berlin: G.L. Winter (C.Ph.E. Bach), 1759).

Friedrich Wilhelm Riedt:

Versuch über die Musikalische Intervallen, in Ansehung ihrer Anzahl, ihres eigentlichen Sitzes, und natürlichen Vorzugs in der Composition 1753  
(Berlin: s.n., 1753).

Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg:

Abhandlung von der Fuge, nach den Grundsätzen und Exempein der besten deutschen und ausländischen Meister Two volumes (Berlin: A Haude and J.C. Spener, 1753-1754). 1753-1754  
French translation - Traité de la fugue et du contrepoint, divisé en deux Parties, par Mr. Marpourg (Berlin: A.Haude and J.C.Spener, 1756).

Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg:

Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik Five volumes (Berlin: G.A. Lange, 1754-1762, and 1778). 1754-1762, 1778

Christoph Nichelmann:

Die Melodie nach ihrem Wesen sowohl, als nach ihren Eigenschaften (Danzig: J.Chr. Schuster, and Hamburg: Chr. Herolds, 1755). 1755  
Although this treatise was not published at Berlin it was without any doubt written there.

(Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach?):

Gedanken eines Liebhabers der Tonkunst über Herrn Nichelmanns Tractat von der Melodie (Nordhausen, 1755). 1755

Christoph Nichelmann:

Die Vortrefflichkeit der Gedanken des Herrn Caspar Dünkelfeindes über die Abhandlung von der Melodie ins Licht gesetzt von einem Musikfreunde (s.l., s.n., s.d.). circa July 1755

Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg:

Anleitung zum Clavierspielen, der schönern Ausübung der heutigen Zeit gemäss (Berlin: A.Haude and J.C. Spener, 1755) 1755  
French translation - Principes du clavecin par M. Marpourg (Berlin: A.Haude and J.C. Spener, 1756).

Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition mit zwe-drey-vier-fünf-sechs-sieben bis acht und mehrern Stimmen, für Anfänger und geübtere 1755-1758, 1760  
Three volumes and a supplement (Berlin: Schütz's widow and Lange, 1755-1758, and 1760).

Johann Friedrich Agricola:

Anleitung zur Singkunst, Aus dem Italiänischen des Herrn Peter Franz Tosi ... mit Erläuterungen und Zusätzen von Johann Friedrich Agricola (Berlin: G.L. Winter, 1757). 1757

Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg:

Hrn d'Alembert's, Mitglied der Königl.Preuss.Academie der Wissenschaften ... Systematische Einleitung in die musicalische Setzkunst, nach den Lehrsätzen des Herrn Rameau. Aus dem Französischen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen vermehrt (Leipzig: J.G.I. Breitkopf, 1757). Although published in Leipzig, Marpurg had worked on this translation in Berlin. 1757

Anfangsgründe der theoretischen Musik (Leipzig: J.G.I.Breitkopf, 1757). 1757

Anleitung zur Singcomposition (Berlin: G.A. Lange, 1758). 1758

Kritische Einleitung in die Geschichte und Lehrsätze der alten und neuen Musik (Berlin: G.A. Lange, 1759). 1759

Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst, mit kleinen Clavierstücken und Singoden, begleitet von einer musikalischen Gesellschaft in Berlin Three volumes (Berlin: F.W. Birnstiel, 1759-1764). 1759-1764

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach:

Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen. Zweyter Theil (Berlin: G.L. Winter, 1762). 1762

Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg:

Anleitung zur Musik überhaupt, und zur Singkunst besonders, mit Uebungsexempeln erläutert (Berlin: A. Wever, 1763). 1763

APPENDIX IV - Biographical Material on Persons Mentioned  
in this Thesis

Adlung, Jakob (1699-1762). German musician and theorist.

Agricola, Johann Friedrich (1720-1774). German composer, singing teacher and music theorist.

Albinoni, Tomaso Giovanni (1671-1751). Italian composer and violinist.

d'Alembert, Jean le Rond (1717-1783). French writer, scientist and philosopher.

Alers, Christian Wilhelm (1737-1806). German theologian and writer.

Anacreon (c.582 - c.485 BC). Greek lyric poet.

Anna Amalia (1723-1787). Youngest sister of Frederick the Great. Enthusiastic patron of music.

Astrua (Astroa), Giovanna (?1725-?1758). Italian soprano; sang in Berlin from 1747 until 1756.

Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel (1714-1788). Second son of J.S. Bach; Telemann's successor in Hamburg.

Bach, Johann Christian (1735-1782). Youngest son of J.S. Bach; known as the 'English Bach'.

Bach, Johann Christoph Friedrich (1732-1795). Eldest surviving son of J.S. Bach; known as the 'Bückeberg Bach'.

Bach, Johann Sebastian (1685-1750).

Benda, Franz (František) (1709-1786). Bohemian violinist and composer.

Benda, Georg (1722-1795). German musician; brother of Franz Benda.

Bockemeyer, Heinrich (1679-1751). German composer and theorist.

Bodmer, Johann Jakob (1698-1783). Swiss poet and writer; pupil of Gottsched.



Bollioud-Mermet, Louis (1709-1794). French academician and musician.

Botarelli, Giovanni Gualberto (mid-18th Century). Italian librettist.

Breitinger, Johann Jakob (1701-1776). Swiss poet and writer; pupil of Gottsched.

Breitkopf, Johann Gottlob Immanuel (1719-1794). German printer and publisher of music.

Brockes, Barthold Heinrich (1680-1747). German poet; town councillor in Hamburg from 1720.

Bümler, Georg Heinrich (1669-1745). German composer, singer and theorist.

Buffardin, Pierre Gabriel (1690-1768). French flautist; teacher of J.J. Quantz.

Burney, Charles (1726-1814). English organist, composer, music collector and historian.

Caldara, Antonio (c.1670-1736). Italian composer.

Carpser, Peter (1699-1759). Renowned German surgeon, resident in Hamburg.

Castel, Louis-Bertrand (1688-1757). French mathematician, journalist and theorist.

Champmeslé (mid-17th Century). Renowned French tragedienne; inspired Lully in the creation of recitative in French.

Chrysander, Friedrich (1826-1901). German musicologist and editor of a complete edition of Handel's works.

Corelli, Arcangelo (1653-1713).

Cramer, Johann Andreas (1723-1788). Protestant theologian and writer.

Descartes, René (1596-1650). French mathematician and philosopher; the father of modern philosophy.

Diderot, Denis (1713-1783). French philosopher and writer; chief-editor of the Encyclopédie.

Doles, Johann Friedrich (1715-1797). German composer; Thomas-kantor in Leipzig from 1755 until 1789.

Dreyer, Johann Matthias (1716-1769). German poet.

Dryden, John (1631-1700). English poet and dramatist.

Ebeling, Christoph Daniel (1744-1817). German writer on music.

Ebert, Johann Arnold (1723-1795). German poet and writer.

Eitner, Robert (1832-1905). German musicologist.

Eschenburg, Johann Joachim (1743-1820). German aesthetician and literary historian.

Euler, Leonhard (1707-1783). Swiss mathematician.

Fabricius, Johann Albert (1669-1736). German writer and professor of classics; co-founder, with Brockes and Richey, of a 'Teutsch-übende Gesellschaft' in Hamburg in 1715.

Fasch, Carl Friedrich Christian (1736-1800). German composer and instrumentalist.

Finazzi, Filippo (18th Century). Italian castrato; a member of the Mingotti touring company.

Franck, Johann Wolfgang (c.1644 - c.1710). German composer; wrote many works for the Hamburg Opera.

Francke, August Hermann (1663-1727). Protestant theologian and one of the fathers of Pietism.

Friedrich I (1657-1713). Friedrich III, Elector of Brandenburg, as Friedrich I, the first King of Prussia, from 1701.

Friedrich II 'the Great' (1712-1786). King of Prussia from 1740.

Friedrich Wilhelm I (1688-1740). Son of Friedrich I and second King of Prussia; father of Frederick the Great.

Fux, Johann Joseph (1660-1741). Composer and theorist.

Gasparini, Giovanna (18th Century). Italian soprano.

Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott (1715-1769). German poet.

- Giovannini (first name unknown) (mid-18th Century). Italian composer and violinist.
- Giseke, Nicolaus Dietrich (1724-1765). German poet.
- Gleim, Johann Wilhelm Ludwig (1719-1803). German poet; close friend of Ramler.
- Gluck, Christoph Willibald (1714-1787).
- Görner, Johann Valentin (1702-1762). German composer; published Tieder collections in Hamburg.
- Gottsched, Johann Christoph (1700-1766). German writer and literary historian.
- Graf, Christian Ernst (1723-1804). German composer and violinist.
- Graf, Friedrich Hartmann (1727-1795). German flautist and composer; brother of C.E. Graf.
- Gräfe, Johann Friedrich (1711-1787). German composer and publisher of Tieder.
- Graun, Carl Heinrich (1703 or 1704 - 1759).
- Graun, Johann Gottlieb (1702 or 1703 - 1771). German violinist and composer; brother of C.H. Graun.
- Graupner, Johann Christoph (1683-1760). German composer.
- Grundig, Johann Zacharias (1669-1720). German Cantor.
- Günther, Christian (1695-1723). German poet.
- Hagedorn, Friedrich von (1708-1754). German poet.
- Handel, George Frideric (1685-1759).
- Harty, Sir (Herbert) Hamilton (1879-1941). Irish composer, conductor and pianist; expanded the orchestration of Handel's 'Water Music' and 'Fireworks Music' to suit contemporary taste.
- Hasse, Johann Adolf (1699-1783). German composer of opera.
- Hebenstreit, Pantaleon (1667-1750). German violinist and inventor of the 'Pantaleon'.

Heinichen, Johann David (1683-1729). German composer and theorist.

Hiller, Johann Adam (1728-1804). German composer and theorist.

Horace (65 - 8 BC). Roman lyric poet.

Hunold, Christian Friedrich ('Menantes') (1681-1721). German poet and librettist.

Hurlebusch, Conrad Friedrich (c.1696-1765). German composer of lieder.

Jommelli, Nicolò (1714-1774). Italian composer of opera and sacred music.

Kayser, Margaretha Susanna (18th Century). German soprano associated with the Hamburg Opera.

Keiser, Reinhard (1674-1739). German opera composer.

Kircher, Athanasius (1601-1680). German historian, theologian and music theorist.

Kirnberger, Johann Philipp (1721-1783). German music theorist and composer.

Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb (1724-1803). German poet; forerunner of German classicism.

König, Johann Ulrich von (1688-1744). German poet and opera librettist.

Krause, Christian Gottfried (1719-1770). German writer on music and composer; founder of the First Berlin Lieder School.

Kreusser, Georg Anton (1743-1810). German composer and violinist.

Kuhnau, Johann (1660-1722). German composer; Bach's predecessor in Leipzig.

Kunzen, Adolph Karl (1720-1781). German composer of lieder.

Kusser, Johann Sigmund (1660-1727). German composer.

La Fontaine, Jean de (1621-1695). French poet; writer of fables.

Le Cerf de la Viéville, Jean Laurent (1674-1707). French writer on music.

- Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm (1646-1716). German philosopher.
- Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim (1729-1781). German poet and dramatist.
- Locke, John (1632-1704). English philosopher and writer.
- Losius, Johann Christoph (c.1655-1732). Rector of the Andreanum Gymnasium in Hildesheim.
- Lotti, Antonio (c.1667-1740). Italian composer, organist and Capellmeister.
- Lotti, Santa Stella (died 1759). Celebrated soprano; wife of Antonio Lotti.
- Lucchesini, Giacomo de (died 1739). Co-founder of Mizler's Leipzig 'Korrespondierende Societät'.
- Lully, Jean-Baptiste (1632-1687).
- Marino, Giambattista (1569-1625). Italian poet.
- Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm (1718-1795). German composer and theorist.
- Mattheson, Johann (1681-1764). German composer, writer and music theorist.
- Mersenne, Marin (1588-1648). French philosopher.
- Metastasio, Pietro (1698-1782). Italian poet and librettist.
- Minato, Nicolò (died some time after 1698). Italian poet and librettist.
- Mingotti, Pietro (c.1702-1759). Italian opera manager.
- Mizler, Lorenz Christoph (1711-1778). German writer and composer. Founder of the Leipzig 'Korrespondierende Societät'.
- Moldenit, Joachim von (18th Century). Danish flautist; pupil of Quantz.
- Morgenstern, Karl Simon (1770-1852). German philologist.

Müller, Johann Samuel (1701-1773). Rector of the Hamburg Johanneum from 1732.

Neumeister, Erdmann (1671-1756). German cantata poet and theologian.

Nichelmann, Christoph (1717-1762). German composer, harpsichord-ist and theorist; pupil of J.S. Bach, Telemann and others.

Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista (1710-1736). Italian composer.

Pfeiffer, Johann (1697-1761). German violinist and composer.

Pio, Philippo Maria (18th Century). German violinist.

Piscator, Conrad (18th Century). Hamburg printer of texts and libretti.

Poelchau, Georg Johann Daniel (1773-1836). German music librarian and collector of manuscripts.

Pope, Alexander (1688-1744). English poet.

Praetorius, Michael (1571 or 1572 - 1621). German composer and theorist.

Prior, Matthew (1664-1721). English poet.

Quantz, Johann Joachim (1697-1773). German flautist, composer and theorist.

Raguenet, François (c.1660-1722). French writer on music.

Rameau, Jean-Philippe (1683-1764).

Ramler, Carl Wilhelm (1725-1798). German poet; author of the Passion text Der Tod Jesu.

Rathgeber, Valentin (1682-1750). German composer.

Reginello (18th Century). Italian castrato.

Reichardt, Johann Friedrich (1752-1814). German composer and writer on music.

Reinhold, Theodor Christlieb (1682-1755). German Cantor and composer.

Richey, Michael (1678-1761). German poet; co-founder, with Fabricius and Brockes, of a 'Teutschübende Gesellschaft' in 1715 in Hamburg.

Richter, Johann Christian (1689-1744). German oboist.

Riedt, Friedrich Wilhelm (1710-1783). German flautist.

Rinaldo di Capua (c.1705 - c.1780). Italian composer.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1712-1778). French philosopher, composer and music theorist.

Ruhnke, Martin (born 1921). German musicologist; editor of TMW.

Sack, August Friedrich Wilhelm (1703-1786). German pastor and theologian of the Aufklärung.

Sack, Johann Philipp (1722-1763). German composer; one of the founder members of the 'Musikübende Gesellschaft' (1749) in Berlin.

Salimbeni, Felice (?1712 - 1751). Italian castrato; sang in Berlin between 1743 and 1750.

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Schlegel, Johann Adolf (1721-1793). German poet.

Schmid, Balthasar (1705-1749). German music publisher.

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Sophie Charlotte (1668-1750). Queen of Prussia; wife of Friedrich I of Prussia.

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'Sperontes' - see Scholze.

Spiess, Meinrad (1683-1761). German composer and theorist.

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Stölzel, Gottfried Heinrich (1690-1749). German composer and Capellmeister.

Stoppe, Daniel (1697-1747). German poet.

Süßmilch, Johann Peter (1707-1767). German pastor.

Sulzer, Johann Georg (1720-1779). German philosopher and aesthetician.

Tagliazucchi (18th Century). Italian librettist active at the court of Berlin.

Tartini, Giuseppe (1692-1770). Italian composer and violinist.

Telemann, Georg Michael (1748-1831). German Cantor; grandson of G.Ph. Telemann.

Telemann, Georg Philipp (1681-1767).

Thomasius, Christian (1655-1728). German professor of law and philosopher.

Torelli, Giuseppe (1658-1709). Italian composer and violinist.

Tosi, Pier Francesco (c.1653-1732). Italian singer, teacher, composer and writer on music.

Uffenbach, Johann Friedrich Armand von (1687-1769). City councillor in Frankfurt; enthusiastic patron of music. Minor librettist.



Uz, Johann Peter (1720-1796). German poet.

Vivaldi, Antonio (1678-1741).

Voltaire, François-Marie (1696-1778). French writer and philosopher.

Volumier, Jean-Baptiste (1677-1728). Flemish violinist and composer.

Walther, Johann Gottfried (1684-1748). German composer, theorist and lexicographer.

Weichmann, Christian Friedrich (1698-1770). German poet.

Weiss, Silvius Leopold (1686-1750). German lutenist.

Wolff, Christian (1679-1754). German philosopher of the Aufklärung.

Zachariä, Friedrich Wilhelm (1726-1777). German poet, composer and pianist; active as teacher in Braunschweig.

Zelenka, Jan (Dismas) Lukáš (1679-1745). Bohemian composer.

Zelter, Carl Friedrich (1758-1832). German composer and theorist.

Zimmermann, Joachim Johann Daniel (1710-1767). German theologian and poet; pupil of Neumeister. Pastor at St. Catherine's Church in Hamburg.

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